DISSENTATIONS
ON THE
PROPHECIES,
WHICH
HAVE REMARKABLY BEEN FULFILLED,
AND AT THIS
TIME ARE FULFILLING IN THE WORLD.

BY THOMAS NEWTON, D.D.
LATE LORD BISHOP OF BRISTOL.

IN TWO VOLUMES.
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SON; AND R. S. KIRBY.

1817.
TOLERATION: THE CUT-THROAT OF TRUE RELIGION

The Presbytery testify against a sinful and almost boundless toleration, granted anno 1712, a woeful fruit of the union; by which toleration act, not only those of the Episcopal communion in Scotland have the protection of authority, but a wide door is cast open, and ample pass given to all sects and heretics (popish recusants and anti-trinitarians some way excepted, who yet are numerous in the nation), to make whatever attacks they please upon the kingdom and interest of our glorious Redeemer, in order to the advancement of their own and the devil's, and all with impunity. The foresaid act warrants the Episcopal clergy publicly to administer all ordinances, and perform their worship after their own manner with all the popish canons and ceremonies thereof, and obliges all magistrates to protect and assist them, while it destroys the hedge of church discipline against the scandalous and profane, and is, therefore, a settling and establishing of prelacy in Scotland, giving it a security, little, if anything, inferior to that which the established church has. Again, by a clause in the toleration bill, the security given by former laws to Presbyterian church government and discipline, is undermined and taken away, at least rendered ineffectual, and made the subject of ridicule to the openly profane, by the civil magistrate's withdrawing his concurrence, in as much as it declares the civil pain of excommunication to be taken away, and that none are to be compelled to appear before church judicatures. There is nothing in religion of an indifferent nature; "For whoever [saith Christ] shall break one of the least of these commandments, and shall teach men so, shall be called least in the kingdom of heaven." It must, then, be the most daring wickedness, and an affronting of the Majesty of Heaven in the highest manner, for an earthly monarch to pretend to enact a toleration of religions, and thereby give a liberty where the divine law has laid a restraint; it implies an exalting of himself, not only to an equality with, but to a state of superiority above, the God of glory. Whatever principles are of divine authority require no toleration from man; it is wickedness to pretend to do it, seeing whatever comes under the necessity of a toleration, properly so-called, falls, at the same time, under the notion of a crime. And no less wicked is it for a magistrate to protect, by a promiscuous toleration, all heretics, heresies and errors; yet, it is a manifest breach to trust, and plain perverting the end of his office, seeing he is appointed to be custos et vindix utriusque tabulan, intrusted with the concerns of God's glory, as well as the interests of men. Experience has, in every age, taught, that a toleration of all religions is the cut-throat and ruin of all true religion. It is the most effectual method that ever the policy of hell hatched, to banish all true godliness out of the world. But however manifold the evils be that toleration is big with, this church, instead of opposing, seems to have complied therewith, and to be of toleration principles; which is evident, not only from their receiving into communion the Scots curates, of which above; but from their joining in communion with Mr. Whitefield (an English curate and member of that church, and ring leader of the Methodists there), when he is in Scotland. Again, it is known, that when the Scots gentlemen are sent to attend the British parliament, or at any time in England, they do, many of them, join in communion with the prelatic church — nay, are guilty of taking the sacramental test (that is, taking the sacrament after their superstitious manner, to qualify them for any public post); yet this church receives them into the closest communion, without requiring any satisfaction for these evils; whereby they act contrary to Christ's example, in purging and keeping his house pure, and contrary to the Scripture; Rev. ii. 14, 15, 20.

Excerpted from: The Act, Declaration and Testimony for the Whole of Our Covenanted Reformation... by the Reformed Presbytery, pp. 89-90 (a SWRB rare bound photocopy [1761], reprinted 1995 from the 1876 edition).

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1817.
BELIEF SHOULD ALWAYS GO BEFORE BAPTISM, OR WHY BAPTIZE INFANTS?

It is objected, “Belief should always go before Baptism.” Does not the Evangelist Mark say, “He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved?” (Mark xvi. 16.) Infants cannot believe; therefore they ought not to be baptized.

Well, that half text, so often quoted, really proves nothing whatever against Infant Baptism. Take the text as it stands, only take the whole of it, and take the context with it; and the meaning is perfectly plain. It refers to the Gospel being preached “in all the world,” the great heathen world beyond the bounds of Israel. It is to be preached and heard under solemn sanctions. It carries with it “a savour of life and of death.” Everywhere it calls for faith, and confession of faith before men. “He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be condemned.”

The promise and the warning apply only to the case under consideration. You can no more rightly infer from these words — it is purely a matter of inference at the most — that the infants of believers should not be baptized, than that they cannot be saved, because they cannot believe. Yet “He that believeth not shall be condemned.” You might just as well argue from the Apostle’s rule: “He that will not work neither let him eat,” that because infants do not work they should get nothing to eat. In both cases, the words apply to those only in reference to whom they are spoken. And the historical situation makes it perfectly clear how the first disciples would understand Christ’s command about “discipling the nations.”

If we are asked: “Why baptize unconscionable babes?” our answer is: Because it is in accordance with Scripture principle, and Scripture precedent in the Church of God from the days of Abraham to the days of Christ. If unconscious babes were circumcised, as we know, according to the will of God, on the ground of their parents’ faith, why should they not be baptized on the ground of their parents’ faith?” “If ye be Christ’s, then are ye Abraham’s seed, and heirs according to the promise.” “For to you is the promise.” Peter said, speaking to devout Jews and Gentile proselytes, “and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call unto Him.” (Gal. iii. 29) The Saviour “called the babes unto Him, and took them up in His arms and blessed them,” when brought to Him in the arms of believing mothers. “He was much displeased” with the disciples, who, with the best intentions, would have forbidden them to be brought for the blessing, because they were but unconscious babes, who could neither understand nor believe. Is there no danger of a like mistake being made in our time by those who, with the best of motives, would act in a similar way?

From the “rare bound photocopy” by Douglas Bannerman, Difficulties About Baptism (1898, $4.53 from SWRB). In this book (of 86 pages) Bannerman deals with the nature of the difficulties raised by questions arising from the Baptist view of baptism, in the context of the Christian church generally, both Scripturally and historically.
DEDICATION.

themselves, but made much greater by Your handsome manner of conferring them, unsolicited, unasked, unexpected, I will not say, undeserved, because that would be calling Your Grace's judgment in question; but I will endeavor to deserve them: and indeed I should think any ferment ill bestowed upon me, that did not incite and animate me more to prosecute my studies, and thereby to prove myself more worthy of Your Grace's favor and kindness to,

My Lord,

Your Grace's ever obliged

and dutiful humble servant,

Nov. 3, 1758.

THOMAS NEWTON

THE

CONTENTS

OF THE

SECOND VOLUME.

DISSESSATION XVIII.

Our Saviour's prophecies relating to the destruction of Jerusalem.

IN FOUR PARTS.

PART I.

p. 1—29.

Prophecies and miracles continued longer in the Jewish church than in the Christian, and why; p. 1, 2. No Christian prophecies recorded, but some of our Saviour and his apostles, particularly St. Paul and St. John; p. 2. A short summary of our Saviour's prophecies; p. 2, 3. None more remarkable than those relating to the destruction of Jerusalem, which were written and published several years before that event; p. 3—6. Our Saviour's tenderness and affection for his country shown in his lamenting and weeping over Jerusalem; p. 6—8. The magnificence of the temple, and particularly the prodigious size of the stones; p. 8. The total and utter destruction of the city and temple foretold, and both destroyed accordingly; p. 8, 9. The purport of the disciples question and the phrases of the coming of Christ and of the end of the world, shown to signify the destruction of Jerusalem; p. 10—12. The disciples ask two things, first the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, and secondly the signs of it; our Saviour answers the last first; p. 12. False Christs the first sign; p. 13, 14. The next signs wars and rumours of wars; p. 14. Nation rising against nation, and kingdom against kingdom; p. 14—16.
CONTENTS.

Famines, pestilences, and earthquakes in divers places; p. 16-18. Fearful sights and great signs from heaven; p. 18-21. These the beginning of sorrows; p. 21. From the calamities of the nation he passeth to those of the Christians in particular; p. 22. As cruel persecutions; p. 22, 23. Apostates and traitors of their own brethren; p. 23. False teachers and false prophets; p. 24. Lukewarmness and coolness among Christians; p. 24. But still he who shall endure to the end, the same shall be saved; ibid. The gospel to be universally published before the destruction of Jerusalem, and was so in Britain as well as other parts; p. 25-27. Reflections upon, what hath been said; p. 27. The first upon the surprising manner in which these prophecies have been fulfilled; ibid. Another upon the sincerity and ingenuity of Christ, and the courage and constancy of his disciples; p. 27. A third on the sudden and amazing progress of the gospel; p. 27, 28. A fourth on the signals and presages of the ruin of states; p. 28, 29.

Dissertation XIX.

The same subject continued.

PART II.

p. 29-54.

After the circumstances which passed before the siege, we are to treat of those which happened during the siege and after it; p. 29, 30. The abomination of desolation standing in the holy place, the Roman army besieging Jerusalem; p. 30. Then the Christians to fly into the mountains; p. 31. Their flight must be sudden and hasty; p. 31, 32. Woe unto them that are with child and that give suck in those days, exemplified particularly in the story of a noble woman, who killed and cast her own sucking child; p. 32, 33. To pray that their flight be not in the winter, neither on the sabbath day; p. 33, 34. Providentially ordered that there were such favorable opportunities of escaping, before the city was closely besieged; p. 34, 35. The great calamities and miseries of the Jewish nation in those days; p. 35, 36. None of the Jews would have escaped destruction, had not the days been shortened for the sake of the Christian Jews; p. 37-39. A more particular caution against false Christ and false prophets about the time of the siege and destruction of Jerusalem; p. 39, 40. Their pretending to work miracles; p. 40. Their conducting their fol-

Dissertation XX.

The same subject continued.

Part III.

p. 54-76.

The final destruction of Jerusalem foretold in very figurative language; p. 54. The like figures used by the ancient prophets; p. 55. The same figurative style in the following verses; p. 55, 56. Dr. Warburton's account of this figurative language; p. 56, 58. The number of those who fell by the edge of the sword; p. 58-60. An account of those who were led away captive into all nations; p. 60, 61. Jerusalem trodden down of the Gentiles; p. 61, 62. A deduction of the history of Jerusalem from the destruction by Titus to the present time; p. 62-76. Its ruined and desolate state under Vespasian and Titus; p. 62, 63. Rebuilt by Adrian, and the Jews rebellion thereupon, and final dispersion; p. 63, 64. Repaired by Constantine, and adorned with many stately edifices and churches, with a further dispersion of the Jews; p. 65. Julian's project to settle the Jews, and his attempt to rebuild the temple miraculously defeated; p. 66, 67. State of Jerusalem under the succeeding emperors; p. 67, 68. Taken and plundered by the Persians; p. 68. Surrounded to the Saracens; p. 68. Passed from the Saracens to the Turks of the Seljukian race, and from the Turks to the Egyptians; p. 69, 70. Taken from the Egyptians by the Franks or Latin Christians; p. 70. Recovered by the sultans of Egypt; p. 71, 72. Comes under the
CONTENTS.

dominion of the Mamalues; p. 72, 73. Annexed to the dominions of the Turks of the Ottoman race, in whose hands it is at present; p. 73, 74. Likely to remain in subjection to the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled; p. 75. What the fulfilling of the times of the Gentiles; p. 75, 76.

D I S S E R T A T I O N  X X I .

The same subject continued.

P A R T  I V .

p. 76—88.

From the signs our Saviour proceeds to treat concerning the time of the destruction of Jerusalem; p. 76, 77. He affirms that it would be in the present generation; p. 78. Some then living would behold and suffer these calamities; p. 78. But still the exact time unknown to all creatures; p. 78, 79. According to St. Mark unknown to the Son; p. 79. The genuineness of that text vindicated, and the sense explained; p. 80, 81. The destruction of Jerusalem typical of the end of the world; p. 81, 82. Reflections upon the whole; p. 82, &c. The exact completion of these prophecies a strong proof of revelation; p. 83. The prophecies plain and easy, taken from Moses and Daniel, but improved and enlarged; p. 83, 84. Vespasian and Titus wonderfully raised up and preserved for the completion of these prophecies, and Josephus for the illustration of their completion; p. 84, 85. The great use and advantage of his history in this respect; p. 85, 86. The cause of these heavy judgments on the Jews, their crucifying of Jesus; p. 86, 87. Some correspondence between their crime and their punishment; p. 87. Application to us Christians; p. 87, 88.

D I S S E R T A T I O N  X X I I .

St. Paul's prophecy of the Man of Sin.

p. 88—130.

St. Paul's and St. John's prophecies copied from Daniel with some improvements; p. 89. Two most memorable prophecies of St. Paul, the first of the man of sin; p. 89. I. The sense and meaning of the passage; p. 89, 90. The coming of Christ in this place, and the day of Christ, not meant of the destruction of Jerusalem, but of the end of the world; p. 91, 92. Other memorable events to take place before; p. 92, 93.

CONTENTS.

What the apostacy; p. 93. Who the man of sin; p. 93, 94. His exalting himself; p. 94, 95. His sitting in the temple of God; p. 95, 96. These things communicated before to the Thessalonians; p. 96, 97. What hindered the revelation of the man of sin; p. 97. His destruction foretold before his other qualifications; p. 98. His other qualifications described; ibid. II. This prophecy strangely mistaken and misrepresented by some famous commentators; p. 98—111. Grotius's application of it to Caligula and Simon Magus, refuted; p. 98—101. Hammond's application of it to Simon Magus and the Gnostics, refuted; p. 101—103. Le Clerc's application of it to the rebellious Jews and Simon the son of Gioras, refuted; p. 103—105. Whitby's application of it to the Jewish nation with their high priest and Sanhedrim, refuted; p. 105, 106. Wetstein's application of it to Titus and the Flavian family, refuted; p. 106—108. They did favor the true interpretation, who apply it to events after the destruction of Jerusalem; p. 108. Application of it to Mohammed, refuted; p. 109. Application of it to the Reformation, refuted; p. 110. Application to the future Antichrist of the papists, refuted; p. 110, 111. III. The true application of this prophecy; p. 111, &c. The apostacy charged upon the church of Rome; p. 111, 112. The pope shown to be the man of sin; p. 112—114. How these things came to be mentioned in an epistle to the Thessalonians rather than to the Romans; p. 114, 115. The seeds of popery sown in the apostle's time; p. 116. The empire of the man of sin raised on the ruins of the Roman empire; p. 116. Machiavel cited to show how this was effected; p. 116—118. Miracles pretended in the church of Rome; p. 119. The empire of the man of sin will be totally destroyed; p. 120. The man of sin the same as the little horn or mighty king in Daniel; p. 120, 121. Generally both by ancients and moderns denominated Antichrist; p. 121, 122. The ancient fathers give much the same interpretation of this whole passage; p. 122. Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and Tertullian in the second century; p. 122. Origen in the third century; p. 123. Lactantius, Cyril, and Ambrose in the fourth century; p. 123, 124. Jerome, Austin, and Chrysostome in the latter end of the fourth, or the beginning of the fifth century; p. 124, 125. Whosoever affected the title of universal bishop, he was Antichrist in the opinion of pope Gregory the great; p. 126. How the true notion of Antichrist was suppressed, and revived again with the reformation; p. 127, 128. How this doctrine afterwards became unfashionable, but is now growing into repute again; p. 129. Conclusion; such a prophecy as once a proof of revelation, and an antidote to popery; the blindness of the papists in this particular; p. 129, 130.
Dissertation XXIII.

St. Paul's prophecy of the apostasy of the latter times.

p. 130—149.

St. Paul much affected with the foresight of the great apostasy of Christians; p. 130. Described here more particularly; p. 131. I. The apostasy shown to be idolatry; p. 131, 132. Some in scripture often signifies many; p. 133, 134. The apostasy to be great and general; p. 134. The same in the Jewish and Christian church; p. 135. II. Shown more particularly to consist in the worshipping of demons; p. 135, 136. Demons in the Gentile theology middle powers and mediators between the Gods and men; p. 137. Two kinds of demons, souls of men deified or canonized after death, and separate spirits; p. 138. Good and bad demons; p. 138, 139. The Gentile notion of demons has sometimes place in scripture; p. 140—142. A passage in Epiphanius, that much confirms and illustrates the foregoing exposition; p. 142—144. The worship of saints and angels now the same as the worship of demons formerly; p. 144, 145. The rise of this worship; p. 145. Too much promoted and encouraged by the fathers from Constantine's time, and particularly by Theodoret; p. 146, 147. The conformity between the Pagan and Popish worship; p. 148, 149. III. The worship of the dead to take place in the latter times; p. 149. What these latter times are; p. 150, 151. IV. The worship of demons foretold expressly by the Spirit in Daniel; p. 151. V. Propagated and established through the hypocrisy of liars; p. 152, 153. VI. Forbidding to marry, a farther character of these men; p. 154, 155. Who first recommended the profession of single life; p. 155, 156. The same persons, who prohibited marriage, promoted the worship of the dead; p. 156, 157. VII. The last note of these men, commanding to abstain from meats; p. 157. The same persons, who propagated the worship of the dead, impose also abstinence from meats; p. 158. This abstinence perverting the purpose of nature; p. 159. All creatures to be received with thanksgiving; ibid.

Dissertation XXIV.

An Analysis of the Revelation.

In Two Parts.

Part I.

p. 161—287.

Very useful to trace the rise and progress of religions and governments; p. 161. None more wonderful than that of Rome in its success and prevalence; ibid. This signified beforehand by the Spirit of prophecy, and particularly in the revelation; p. 162. The objections made to this book by several learned men; p. 162, 163. This book difficult to explain; p. 163. A memorable story to this purpose, of Bishop Lloyd of Worcester; p. 163, 164. This book not therefore to be despised or neglected; p. 164. The right method of interpreting it; p. 164, 165. What helps and assistances are requisite; p. 165. Hard fate of the best interpreters of this book; p. 166. Great encouragement however in the divine benediction; p. 166.

Chap. I. Ver. 1, 2, 3: contain the title of the book, the scope and design of it, and the blessing on him that readeth, and on them that attend to it; p. 166. Ver. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8: the dedication to the seven churches of Asia, and a solemn preface to show the great authority of the divine revealer; p. 167. Ver. 9—20: the place, the time, and manner of the first vision; p. 168, 169. The place, Patmos, whither St. John was banished in the reign of Nero more probably than in that of Domitian; p. 169. The arguments for this opinion; p. 169—173. The Revelation given on the Lord's day; p. 173. The manner and circumstances of the first vision; p. 173.

Chap. II. III. contain the seven epistles to the seven churches of Asia; p. 173—187. Why these seven addressed particularly; p. 178. These epistles not prophetic, but peculiar to the church of that age; p. 179, 180. The excellent form and structure of these epistles; ibid. In what sense they may be said to be prophetic; p. 180. Present state of the seven churches; p. 180—187. Of Ephesus; p. 180, 181. Of Smyrna; p. 181, 182. Of Pergamus; p. 182, 183. Of Thyatira; p. 183. Of Sardis; p. 184. Of Philadelphia; p. 184, 185. Of Laodicea; p. 185, 186. Use that we are to make of these judgments; p. 186, 187.
CHAPTER IV. The preparatory vision to things which must be hereafter; p. 187, 188. The scenery drawn in allusion to the incampment of the children of Israel in the wilderness, and to the tabernacle or temple; p. 188, 189.

CHAPTER V. A continuation of the preparatory vision, in order to show the great importance of the prophecies here delivered; p. 189, 190. Future events supposed to be written in a book; p. 191. This book sealed with seven seals, signifyng so many periods of prophecy: ibid. The Son of God alone qualified to open the seals; p. 192. Whereupon all creatures sing praises to God and to Christ; ibid.

CHAPTER VI. Ver. 1, 2: contain the first seal or period, memorable for conquest; p. 192. This period commences with Vespassian, includes the conquest of Judea, and continues during the reigns of the Flavian family and the short reign of Nerva; 192, 193. Ver. 3, 4: the second seal or period noted for war and slaughter; p. 194. This period commences with Trajan; ibid. Comprehends the horrid wars and slaughters of the Jews and Romans in the reigns of Trajan and Adrian; 195, 196. Continues during the reigns of Trajan and his successors by blood or adoption; p. 196. Ver. 5, 6: the third seal or period, characterized by the strict execution of justice, and by the procuration of corn and oil and wine; p. 197. This period commences with Septimius Severus; p. 198. He and Alexander Severus just and severe emperors, and no less celebrated for procuring corn and oil, &c.; p. 198, 199. This period continues during the reigns of the Septimian family; p. 199. Ver. 7, 8: the fourth seal or period, distinguished by a concurrence of evils, war, and famine, and pestilence, and wild beasts; 199, 200. This period commences with Maximin; p. 200. The wars of this period; p. 200. The famines; p. 201. The pestilences; p. 201, 202. The wild beasts; p. 203. This period from Maximin to Diocletian; ibid. Ver. 9, 10, 11: the fifth seal or period, remarkable for a dreadful persecution of the Christians; p. 203, 204. This the tenth and last general persecution, begun by Diocletian; p. 204. From hence a memorable era, called the era of Diocletian, or era of martyrs; p. 205. Ver. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17: the sixth seal or period remarkable for great changes and revolutions, expressed by great commotions in the earth and in the heavens; p. 205. No change greater than the subversion of the Heathen, and establishment of the Christian religion; p. 206, 207. The like figures of speech used by other prophets; p. 207. The same thing expressed afterwards in plainer language; p. 207, 208.

CHAPTER VII. A continuation of the sixth seal or period; p. 208, 209. A description of the peace of the church in Constantin's time; p. 210. And of the great accession of converts to it; p.
CONTENTS.

of women; p. 227, 228. Their teeth as the teeth of lions, their breast-plates as it were breast-plates of iron, and the sound of their wings as the sound of chariots; p. 228. Like unto scorpions; p. 229. Their king called the destroyer; ibid. Their hurting men five months, how to be understood; ibid., &c. Fulfilled in every possible construction; p. 230, 231. Conclusion of this woe; p. 232. Ver. 13—21: a prophecy of the Euphratéan horsemen or Turks and Othmans; p. 232, 233. At the sounding of the sixth trumpet the four angels or four sultanes of the Turks and Othmans are loosed from the river Euphrates; p. 233, 234. In what sense they are said to be prepared for an hour, and a day, and a month, and a year, to slay the third part of men; p. 235—237. Their numerous armies, and especially their cavalry; p. 237, 238. Their delight in scarlet, blue, and yellow; p. 238. The use of great guns and gun-powder among them; ibid. Their power to do hurt by their tails, or the poisonous train of their religion; p. 239, 240. The miserable condition of the remains of the Greek church among them; p. 240. The Latin or western church not at all reclaimed by the ruin of the Greek or eastern church; but still persist in their idolatry and wickedness; ibid.

CHAP. X. A preparatory vision to the prophecies relating to the western church; p. 241, 242. The angel with the little book or codex to the larger book of the Apocalypse; p. 242. This properly disposed under the sixth trumpet, to describe the state of the western church after the description of the state of the eastern; ibid. Cannot be known what things were meant by the seven thunders; ibid. Tho' the little book describes the calamities of the western church, yet it is declared that they shall all have a happy period under the seventh trumpet; p. 243. St. John to publish the contents of this little book as well as the larger book of the Apocalypse; ibid.

CHAP. XI. Ver. 1—14: the contents of the little book; p. 244, &c. The measuring of the temple to show that during all this period there were some true Christians, who conformed to the rule and measure of God's word; p. 245. The church to be troden under foot by Gentiles in worship and practice forty and two months; p. 246. Some true witnesses however to protest against the corruptions of religion; ibid. Why said to be two witnesses; ibid. To prophecy in sackcloth, as long as the grand corruption itself lasted; p. 246, 247. The character of these witnesses, and of the power and effect of their preaching; p. 247. The passion, death, and resurrection, and ascension of the witnesses; p. 248—250. Some apply this prophecy of the death and resurrection of the witnesses to John Huss and Jerome of Prague, whose doctrinia revived after their death in their followers; p. 250. Others to the protestants of the league of Smalcald, who were entirely routed by the emperor Charles V. in the battle of Mühlberg; but upon the change of affairs the emperor was obliged, by the treaty of Passau, to allow them the free exercise of their religion; p. 251. Some again to the massacre of the protestants in France, and to Henry III. afterwards granting them the free exercise of their religion; p. 251, 252. Others again to later events, Peter Juriaen to the persecution of the protestants by Lewis XIV. Bishop Lloyd and Whiston to the duke of Savoy's persecution of the protestants in the valleys of Piedmont, and his re-establishing them afterwards; p. 252, 253. In all these cases there may be some resemblance, but none of these is the last persecution, and this prophecy remains yet to be fulfilled; p. 253, 254. When it shall be accomplished, the sixth trumpet and the second woe shall end; p. 254. An historical deduction to show that there have been some true witnesses, who have professed doctrines contrary to those of the church of Rome, from the seventh century down to the Reformation; p. 254, &c. Witnesses in the eighth century; p. 255, 256. The emperors Leo Isaurius and Constantine Copronymus, and the council of Constantinople; p. 255. Charlemain and the council of Francfort; ibid. The British churches and Alcinus; p. 256. The council of Forojilud; ibid. Paulinus, bishop of Aquileia; ibid. Witnesses in the ninth century; p. 256—259. The emperors of the east, Nicephorus, Leo Armenius, &c. and the emperors of the west, Charles the great, and Lewis the pious; p. 256. The council of Paris; p. 257. Agobard, archbishop of Lyons; ibid. Transubstantiation first advanced by Paschassinus Radbertus, and opposed by many learned men; ibid. Ramus Maurus; p. 257, 258. Bertramus; p. 258. Johannes Scotus; p. 258, 259. Angilberhtus and the church of Milan; p. 259. Claude, bishop of Turin; ibid. Witnesses in tenth century; p. 259—263. State of this century; p. 259, 260. The council of Troye; p. 260. Athelstan, 261. Elfer, earl of Mercia; ibid. Heriger and Alfric; p. 261, 262. The council of Rheims; and Gerbert, archbishop of Rheims; p. 262, 263. Witnesses in the eleventh century; p. 263—266. State of this century; p. 263. William the conqueror, and William Rufus; ibid. Heretics of Orleans; p. 264. Heretics in Flanders; ibid. Berengarius and his followers; p. 264, 265. Ecclesiastics in Germany, &c. p. 265. The council of Winchester; ibid. Witnesses in the twelfth century; p. 266—273. The constitutions of Claridon; p. 266. Flagellins; ibid. St. Bernard; ibid. Joachin of Gabriam; p. 267. Peter de Brussel and Henry his disciple; p. 267, 268. Arnold of Brescia; p. 268. The Waldenses and Albigeuses; ibid. Their opinions; vol. ii.
CONTENTS.


Ver. 15, 16, 17, 18: a summary account of the seventh trumpet and the third woe, the particulars will be enlarged hereafter; p. 286, 287. Conclusion of the first part; p. 287.

DISSERTATION XXV.

An Analysis of the Revelation.

PART II.

p. 288—305.

The right division of the Revelation into two parts; p. 288. This latter part an enlargement and illustration of the former; p. 288, 289. Ver. 19. of the eleventh chapter should have been made ver. 1. of the twelfth chapter; p. 289.

CHAP. XII. Ver. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6: the church persecuted by the great red dragon; p. 280—284. The church represented as a mother bearing children unto Christ; p. 281, 282. The great red dragon the Heathen Roman empire; p. 282, 283. His jealousy of the church from the beginning; p. 283. But yet the church brought many children unto Christ, and in time such as were promoted to the empire; ibid. Constantine particularly, who ruled all nations with a rod of iron; p. 283, 284. The woman's flight in the wilderness here anticipated, cometh in properly afterwards; p. 284. Ver. 7—12: the war in heaven re-

CONTENTS.

presents the contests between the Heathen and Christian religions; p. 294—297. The Christian prevails over the Heathen religion; p. 295. Constantine himself and the Christians of his time describe his conquests under the same image; p. 296. Still new woes, this but for a short time, threatened to the inhabitants of the earth; p. 297. Ver. 13—17. The dragon despoiled still persecutes the church; p. 297—300. Attempts to restore the Pagan, and ruin the Christian religion; p. 298. The church now under the protection of the empire; ibid. Her flight afterwards in the wilderness; ibid. Inundations of barbarous nations excited to overwhelm the Christian religion; p. 299. But on the contrary the Heathen conquerors submit to the religion of the conquered Christians; p. 300. Another method of persecuting the church; ibid.

CHAP. XIII. Ver. 1—10: the description of the ten-horned beast successor to the great red dragon; p. 300—309. All, both papists and protestants, agree that the beast represents the Roman empire; p. 301. Shown to be not Pagan but Christian, not imperial but papal Rome; ibid. How successor to the great red dragon; p. 303, 304. How one of his heads was as it were wounded to death, and his deadly wound was healed; p. 304, 305. The world in submitting to the religion of the beast did in effect submit again to the religion of the dragon; p. 305, 306. The beast perfectly like the little horn in Daniel; p. 305, 306. A general account of his blasphemies and exploits, and how long to prevail and prosper; p. 306. A particular account of his blasphemies; p. 307. His making war with the saints, and overcoming them, and so establishing his authority; p. 307, 308. An admonition to engage attention; p. 308. Something added by way of consolation to the church; p. 309. Ver. 11—18: the description of the two-horned beast; p. 309—312. The ten-horned beast the Roman state in general, the two-horned beast the Roman clergy in particular; p. 310. His rise, and power, and authority; p. 311. His pretended miracles; p. 311, 312. His making an image to the beast; p. 312, 313. What this image of the beast is; p. 313, 314. His interdicts and excommunications; p. 314—316. The number of the beast explained; p. 316—319.

CHAP. XIV. Ver. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5: the state of the true church in opposition to that of the beast; p. 319—321. Ver. 6, 7: the first principal effort towards a reformation in the public opposition of emperors and bishops to the worship of saints and images in the eighth and ninth centuries; p. 321—323. Ver. 8: another effort by the Waldenses and Albigenses, who pronounced the church of Rome to be the apocalyptic Babylon, and denounced her destruction; p. 321, 325. Ver. 9—13: the
CONTENTS.

third effort by Martin Luther and his fellow-reformers, who
protested against all the corruptions of the church of Rome,
as destructive of salvation; p. 325—329. A solemn declara-
tion from heaven to comfort them; p. 326. How the dead were
blessed from henceforth; p. 326, 327. Ver. 14—20: repre-
sent the judgments of God upon the followers and adherents
of the beast under the figures, first of harvest, then of vin-
tage; p. 329—331. These judgments yet to be fulfilled; p.
330, 331.

CHAP. XV. a preparatory vision to the pouring out of the seven
vials; p. 331—334. These seven last plagues belong to the
seventh and last trumpet, or the third and last woe trumpet,
and consequently are not yet fulfilled; p. 332, 333. Seven an-
gels appointed to pour out the seven vials; p. 333, 334.

CHAP. XVI. Ver. 1: the commission to pour out the seven vi-
als, which are so many steps of the ruin of the Roman church,
as the trumpets were of the ruin of the Roman empire; p.
334, 335. Rome resembles Egypt in her punishments as well
as in her crimes; p. 335. Ver. 2: the first vial or plague;
ibid. Ver. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7: the second and third vials or plagues;
p. 335, 336. Ver. 8, 9: the fourth vial or plague; p. 337.
Ver. 10, 11: the fifth vial or plague; p. 337, 338. Ver. 12,
13, 14, 15, 16: the sixth vial or plague; p. 338, 339. Ver.
17, 18, 19, 20, 21: the seventh or last vial or plague; p. 339
—341.

CHAP. XVII. Having seen how Rome resembles Egypt in her
plagues, we shall now see her fall compared to Babylon; p.
341. Ver. 1—6: an account promised of her state and condi-
tion; p. 342, &c. St. John called upon to see the conden-
amation and execution of the great whore; p. 342. This charac-
ter more proper to modern than ancient Rome; p. 343. Her
sitting upon a scarlet colored beast with seven heads and ten
horns; p. 344, 345. Her ornaments of purple and scarlet col-
or, with gold and precious stones, and pearls; p. 345, 346.
Her inebriating cup; p. 346. Her inscription upon her fore-
head; p. 346—348. Her being drunken with the blood of the
saints; p. 348, 349. Ver. 7—18: the angel explains the
mystery of the woman, and of the beast that carried her; p.
349, &c. A general account of the beast and his threefold
state; p. 350, 351. The seven heads are explained primarily
to signify the seven mountains on which Rome is situated; p.
351. Also to signify seven forms of government; ibid. What
the five fallen; ibid. What the sixth; p. 352. What the se-
venth or eighth; p. 353, 354. The ten horns explained to
signify ten kings or kingdoms; p. 354. Their giving their
power and strength unto the beast; p. 355. The extensive-
ness of the power and dominion of Rome; ibid. The same
kings, who helped to raise her, to pull her down; p. 356, 357.
The woman explained to signify the great city, or Rome;
p. 357.

CHAP. XVIII. Ver. 1—8: a description of the fall and destruc-
tion of spiritual Babylon; p. 357, &c. To become the habita-
tion of devils and foul spirits; p. 358. A warning to forsake
her communion; p. 359. To be utterly burnt with fire; ibid.
Ver. 9—20: the consequences of her fall, the lamentations of
some, and rejoicings of others; p. 360—362. Ver. 21—24:
her utter desolation foretold; p. 362—364.

CHAP. XIX. Ver. 1—10: the church exhort ed to praise God
for his judgments upon her; p. 364, 365. Her smoke to rise
up for ever and ever; p. 365. God also to be praised for the
happy state of the reformed church in this period; p. 366. St.
John prohibited to worship the angel; ibid. Ver. 11—21: the
victory and triumph of Christ over the beast and the false
prophet; p. 366—369.

CHAP. XX. Ver. 1—6. Satan is bound, and the famous millen-
num commences, or the resurrection of the saints, and their
reign upon earth for a thousand years; p. 369—371. The
millennium not yet fulfilled, though the resurrection be taken
figuratively; p. 371. But the resurrection to be understood
literally; p. 372. Other prophets have foretold, that there
shall be such a happy period as the millennium; p. 372, 373.
St. John only, that the martyrs shall rise to partake of it, and
that it shall continue a thousand years; ibid. The Jewish
and Christian church have both believed, that these thousand
years will be the seventh millenary of the world; p. 373. Quotations
from Jewish writers to this purpose; p. 373, 374. From
Christian writers, St. Barnabas, Justin Martyr, Tertullian,
Lactantius, &c.; p. 374—378. How this doctrine grew after-
wards into diacreption; p. 378, 379. Great caution required
in treating of it; p. 379. Ver. 7—10: Satan to be loosed
again, and to deceive the nations, Gog and Magog; p. 379,
&c. How Gog and Magog are to be understood; p. 380,
381. The final overthrow of Satan; p. 382. Ver. 11—15:
the general resurrection and judgment, and the end of the
world; p. 382, 383.

CHAP. XXI. Ver. 1—8: the new heaven, the new earth, and
the new Jerusalem; p. 383, 384. The new heaven and the
new earth to take place after the millennium; p. 384—386.
Ver. 9—27: a more particular description of the new Jerusa-
lem; p. 387—389.

CHAP. XXII. Ver. 1—5: a continuation of the description of
the new Jerusalem; p. 390. Ver. 6, 7: a ratification and
of the corruption of the last days; *ibid.* II. Not only foretold that there should be such a power, but the place and the persons likewise are pointed out; *ibid.* &c. In Daniel’s description of the little horn, which only one person in the world can fully answer; p. 404, 405. Daniel’s character of the blasphemous king, which agrees better with the head of the Roman, than with the head of the Greek church; p. 405, 406. In St. Paul’s portrait of the man of sin; p. 406, 407. In St. John’s vision of the ten-horned beast, and of the woman riding upon the beast; p. 407, 408. Several arguments to show that not pagan, but papal Rome was intended; p. 408, 409. III. Besides the place and the persons, the time also is signified of this tyrannical power, when, and how long; p. 409, &c. To arise in the latter days of the Roman empire; p. 410, 411. To prevail 1260 years; p. 411. The beginning of these 1260 years not to be dated too early; *ibid.* To be fixed in the eighth century, and probably in the year 727; p. 412. IV. The fall and destruction of this antichristian power; p. 413, &c. The second woe of the Ottoman empire must end, before the third woe can be poured out upon the kingdom of the beast; p. 414. Divine judgments upon the kingdom of the beast displayed under variety of figures and representations; p. 414, 415. Antichrist and his seat both to be destroyed by fire; p. 415, 416. About the time of the fall of the Ottoman empire and of the Christian Antichrist, the conversion and restoration of the Jews; p. 416, 417. The proper order of these events; p. 418, 419. After the destruction of Antichrist the glorious millennium commences, or the kingdom of Christ upon earth for a thousand years; p. 419, 420. Best to forebear all curious inquiries into this subject; p. 420, 421. After the thousand years and the general judgment, the world to be destroyed, and the new heaven and the new earth to succeed; p. 422. Conclusion; the corruptions of popery being so particularly foretold, we have the less reason to be surprised and offended at them; *ibid.* The gospel will finally prevail over all enemies and opposers; p. 422.

CONCLUSION.

p. 422–440.

From these instances of the truth of prophecy may be inferred the truth of revelation; p. 422, 423. A summary view of the prophecies now fulfilling in the world; p. 423–425. A large quotation from Dr. Clarke, tending to confirm and illustrate...
CONTENTS.
the same subject; p. 425—435. No room for any possible forgery of the prophecies; p. 436. The harmony, variety, and beauty of the prophetic writings; ibid. Tho' some parts are obscure for good reasons, yet others are sufficiently clear, and the perfect completion will produce a perfect understanding of all the prophecies; p. 436, 437. Human learning requisite to explain the prophecies, and particularly a competent knowledge of history; p. 437. The patrons of infidelity are only pretenders to learning and knowledge; p. 438. Modern infidelity worse even than that of the Jews; ibid. So many instances of prophecies and their completions, the strongest attestations of a divine revelation; p. 438, 439. Miracles and other proofs of the truth of the Christian religion; p. 439, 440. Prophecies accomplished the greatest of all miracles; p. 439. Conclusion, 440.

DISSERTATIONS
ON THE

PROPHECIES,
WHICH HAVE REMARKABLY BEEN FULFILLED, AND AT THIS TIME ARE FULFILLING IN THE WORLD.

XVIII.
OUR SAVIOUR'S PROPHECIES RELATING TO THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

IN FOUR PARTS.

PART I.

THE Jewish church, consisting only of a single nation, and living under a theocracy or the immediate government of God, experienced continual interpositions of a particular extraordinary providence in its favor and protection, and was from time to time instructed by prophets raised up and sent one after another as occasions required. But the Christian church being designed to comprehend the whole world, was like the world at first erected by miracle, but like the world too is since governed by a general ordinary providence, by established laws, and the mediation of second causes. This difference in the nature and constitution of the two churches, is the reason why prophecies, and miracles, and other supernatural powers, which were continued so long, and repeated so frequently in the Jewish church, were in the Christian church confined to the first ages, and limited chiefly to the persons of our blessed Saviour, and his disciples, and their companions.

VOL. II.
Dissertations on

There were prophets (Acts xi. 27.) who came from Jerusalem unto Antioch. One of them, named Agabus, (ver. 28.) foretold the great dearth, which came to pass in the days of Claudius Cesar. The same prophet foretold likewise (Acts xxi. 10, 11.) the bonds and imprisonment of St. Paul. Philip the evangelist had also (ver. 9.) four daughters, virgins, which did prophesy. Prophetic as well as other spiritual gifts abounded in the primitive church; their sons and their daughters did prophesy, (Acts ii. 17.) their young men saw visions, and their old men dreamed dreams. But the only prophecies, which the Spirit of God hath thought fit to record and preserve, are some delivered by our blessed Saviour himself, and by his apostles, particularly St. Paul and St. John.

Our blessed Saviour, as he was the great subject of prophecy, so was an illustrious prophet himself; as he excelled in all other spiritual gifts and graces, so was eminent in this also, and gave ample proofs of his divine commission by his prophecies as well as by his miracles. What he said upon one occasion, is equally applicable to all his predictions, that their accomplishment is a sufficient attestation of his being the Messiah; (John xiii. 19.) Now I tell you before it come, that when it is come to pass, ye may believe that I am he. He foretold not only his own passion, death, and resurrection, but also the manner and circumstances of them, that he should be betrayed by one of the twelve, even by Judas Iscariot the son of Simon; that all the rest should be offended because of him that very night, and notwithstanding their protestations to the contrary should forsake him and fly; that Peter particularly, who was more zealous and eager than the rest, before the cock crew twice should deny him thrice; that he should be betrayed to the chief priests, and be delivered to the Gentiles to mock, and to scourge, to spit upon, and to kill him; that he should be crucified, and the third day should rise again, and appear to his disciples in Galilee. He foretold that his apostles should be enabled of plain fishers to become fishers of men; that they should be induced with power from on high to speak with new tongues and to work miracles; that they should go forth into all nations, and publish the glad tidings of the gospel unto the uttermost parts of the earth. He foretold the persecutions and sufferings which his disciples should undergo, and particularly by what manner of death Peter in his old age should glorify God, and that John should survive till after the destruction of Jerusalem. He foretold the rejection of the Jews and the calling of the Gentiles; that the kingdom of heaven should be taken away from the former, and be given to the latter, who should bring forth the fruits thereof; that the number of his disciples from small beginnings should increase wonderfully, as a little seed growth into a tree, and a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump; that his church should be so founded upon a rock, that it should stand for ever, and all the powers of hell should not prevail against it. These things were most of them contrary to all human appearances, and impossible to be foreseen by human prudence or effected by human power; and he must be thoroughly acquainted with the hearts of men, and with the direction and disposition of future events, who could foretell them with certainty and exactness: and some of them are actually accomplishing in the world at this present time.

But none of our Saviour's prophecies are more remarkable than those relating to the destruction of Jerusalem, as none are more proper and pertinent to the design of these discourses: and we will consider them as they lie in the twenty-fourth chapter of St. Matthew, taking in also what is superadded by the other evangelists upon parallel occasions. These prophecies were delivered by our Saviour about forty years, and were committed to writing by St. Matthew about thirty years, before they were to take effect. St. Matthew's is universally allowed to be the (1) first of the four Gospels; the

(1) απεκδε μετα πρεσβηνιστα τον των πτω των, ἡσαυρισειν Ἱερω Χριστον Ματθαου. Primum evangelium scriptum esse a Mattheo, prius quam publicatum, postea vero apostolo Iesu Christi. Origens, apud Euseb. Eccles. Hist, Lib. 6. Cap. 25. &c. &c. | The first was written by Matthew, who
first in time, as it is always placed the first in order. It was written, as (2) most writers affirm, in the eighth year after the ascension of our Saviour. It must have been written before the dispersion of the apostles, because (3) St. Bartholomew is said to have taken it along with him into India, and to have left it there, where it was found several years afterwards by Pantænus. If the general tradition of antiquity be true, that it was written originally in Hebrew, it certainly was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, for there was no occasion for writing in that language after the destruction of Jerusalem and the dispersion of the Jews into all nations. It is asserted upon (4) good authority, that the Gospels of Mark and Luke were approved and confirmed, the one by St. Peter, the other by St. Paul. So Papias Bishop of Hierapolis and Clemenx Alexandria says expressly that the Gospel of St. Mark was written at the desire of the new converts, and ratified by St. Peter. So the learned Origen affirms, that the second Gospel is that of Mark, who wrote as Peter dictated to him; and the third Gospel is that of Luke, which is commended by Paul. So Tertullian saith, that Mark's Gospel is affirmed to be Peter's, whose interpreter Mark was; and Luke's

once was a publican, but afterwards an apostle of Jesus Christ.' See Origen quoted by Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History, Book VI. Chap. xxv. &c. (2) On croit que saint Mathieu commence à travailler à son évangile, la troisième année après la resurrection du Sauveur; c'est à dire, l'an 41 de l'ère vulgaire. Presque tous les anciens manuscrits Grecs le marquent ainsi à la fin de son volume. Calvin, Preface. Magna comma consequitum Patres, Matthaeum, in gradum credentium ex Judæis in Palæstina, evangelioum suum scripsisse, et quidem, ut multis addunt, Hierosolymis, octavo post ascensionem Christi annos, qui Claudii imperatores primos fuls. Wetstein. (3) It is believed that St. Matthew began to engage in writing his Gospel, in the eighth year after the resurrection of the Saviour; that is, in the forty-first year of the Vulgar Era. This is marked in almost all the Greek manuscripts at the end of his book. See Calvin's Preface. 'The Christian fathers, with general consent, declare that Matthew wrote his Gospel, for the sake of believers among the Jews in Palestine, and indeed, as many add, in the city of Jerusalem, in the eight year after the ascension of Christ, which was the first of the emperor Claudius.' Wetstein.)


THE PROPHECIES.

Gospel they are wont to ascribe to Paul. So Jerome saith, that the Gospel according to Mark, who was the disciple and interpreter of Peter, is said to be Peter's. These authorities are more than sufficient to weigh down the single testimony of Irenæus to the contrary: but besides these Gregory Nazianzen, Athanasius, and other fathers might be alleged to prove, that the Gospel of Mark and Luke received the approbation, the one of St. Peter, the other of St. Paul; and it is very well known, that both these apostles suffered martyrdom under Nero. The Gospel of St. Mark must have been written at least in the reign of Nero; for he died in that reign, in the (5) eighth year of Nero according to Jerome. The Gospel of St. Luke was written before the Acts of the Apostles, as appears from the preface to the latter; and the Acts of the Apostles concluding with St. Paul's dwelling at Rome two years, it is probable that this book was written soon after that time, and before the death of St. Paul. It may be concluded then as certain, that three of the four Gospels were written and published before the destruction of Jerusalem; Dr. Lardner himself, who fixed the time of writing the three first Gospels later than most other authors, yet (6) maintains that they were all published some years before the destruction of Jerusalem; and in all probability the writers themselves were dead before that period; St. Matthew and St. Mark were certainly so; and consequently it cannot with any color of reason be pretended, that the predictions were written after the events. St. John is the only evangelist, who lived and wrote after the destruction of Jerusalem; and he purposely omits these prophecies, to prevent this very evil, as we may suppose with reason. Neither can it be pretended, that these predictions were (7) interpolations made afterwards, because they are inserted in several places, and

woven into the very substance of the Gospels; and because they are cited and alluded to by ancient writers, as well as other parts; and because they were not to be accomplished all at once, but required several ages to their perfect completion; and we see them, in some instances, fulfilling to this very day.

In the conclusion of the twenty-third chapter of St. Matthew, our Saviour had with the most merciful severity, with the most compassionate justice, pronounced the sentence of desolation upon Jerusalem: (ver. 37, 38.) O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not! Behold, your house is left unto you desolate.

In like manner, upon another occasion, when he was approaching to Jerusalem, (Luke xix. 41, 42.) he beheld the city, and wept over it, saying, If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes. So deeply was our Saviour affected, and so tenderly did he lament over the calamities, which were coming upon his nation! Such a generous and amiable pattern of a patriot spirit hath he left to his disciples; and so contrary to truth is the insinuation of a (8) noble writer, that there is nothing in the Gospels to recommend and encourage the love of one’s country.

When our Saviour uttered that pathetic lamentation recorded in the twenty-third chapter of St. Matthew, he was in the temple, speaking to a mixt audience of his disciples and the multitude: and as he was departing out of the temple, (ver. 1st. of the twenty-fourth chapter) his disciples came to him for to show him the buildings of the temple, intimating what a pitiable calamity they thought it, that so magnificent a structure should be destroyed. In the other Gospels they are represented as saying, (Mark xiii. 1.) Master, see what manner of stones, and what buildings are here; and as speaking of the temple, (Luke xxi. 5.) how it was adorned with goodly stones, and gifts. The gifts of ages were reposed there, the (9) presents of kings and emperors as well as the offerings of the Jews; and as the whole temple was built with the greatest cost and magnificence, so nothing was more stupendous than the uncommon measure of the stones. The disciples appear to have admired them particularly, and to have thought them very extraordinary; and indeed they were of a size almost incredible. Those (1) employed in the foundations were in magnitude forty cubits, that is above sixty feet, a cubit being somewhat more than a foot and a half; and the superstructure was worthy of such foundations. There were some stones of the whitest marble forty-five cubits long, five cubits high, and six cubits broad, as a priest of the temple hath described them.

Such a structure as this, one would have expected, might have endured for many generations, and was indeed worthy of the highest admiration; but notwithstanding our Saviour assures his disciples, (ver. 6.) There shall not be left here one stone upon another that shall not be thrown down. Our Saviour in his prophecies frequently alludes to phrases and expressions used by the ancient prophets; and as the prophet Haggai (ii. 18.) expresseth the building of the temple by a stone being laid upon a stone, so Christ expresseth the destruction of it by one stone not being left upon another. In the same manner he speaketh of and to the city, (Luke xix. 44.) They shall lay thee even with the ground, and shall not leave in


(1) εἴρηκεν δὲ τισσεποβολοίωσιν της Μεθόδου τοις δεμπαρίας. Saxia vero in extraccione usque ad quadragenorum cubitorum magnitudinis. [The size of the stones used for the foundation of the building, was forty cubits.] 

(9) τὸν εἰς τοῦτο κύκλον μεγαλοπροβαλλόμενον τιον ιδοὺ τοις θείον συμβολήν. [The magnificence of the superstructure was worthy of such a foundation.] 

(10) Saxorum autem quibus extraccionum et fudum templem, quodam cratum xiv cubitos longos, alta v. et alta vi. [Some of the stones with which the temple was reared, were forty-five cubits in length, five in height, and sixth in breadth.] 

thee one stone upon another: It is a proverbial and figu-

rative manner of expression, to denote an utter destruc-
tion: and the prophecy would have been amply fulfilled, if
the city and temple had been utterly ruined, though every
single stone had not been overturned. But it happened
in this case, that the words were almost literally fulfilled,
and scarce one stone was left upon another. For when
the Romans had taken Jerusalem (2), Titus ordered his
soldiers to dig up the foundations both of all the city
and the temple. The temple was a building of such
strength and grandeur, of such splendor and beauty,
that it was likely to be preserved, as it was worthy to
be preserved, for a monument of the victory and

The prophecies.

The prophecies.


glory of the Roman empire. Titus was accordingly
very desirous of preserving it, and (3) protested to
the Jews, who had fortified themselves within it, that
he would preserve it, even against their will. He
had (4) expressed the like desire of preserving the city
too, and sent Josephus and other Jews again and again
to their countrymen, to persuade them to a surrender.
But an over-ruling providence directed things otherwise.
The Jews themselves (5) first set fire to the porticos
of the temple, and then the Romans. One of the soldiers,
(6) neither waiting for any command, nor trembling for
such an attempt, but urged by a certain divine impulse,
threw a burning brand in at the golden window, and


(4) Τιμίας τετοιοὶ ὁ τῶν συμμετέχων, ὡς τοῦ τῶν συμμετέχων. Quo tempore nules quidem, non expectavi, omnes tunc, mandato, neque tantum laetior, divino quidem impetum frexeris, &c. &c. [When one of the soldiers, neither waiting for the word of command, nor fearing to perpetrate such an action, but hurried on by a certain divine impulse, &c.] Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 4. Sect. 5. p. 1278. Edit. Hudson.

(5) Titus (7) ran immediately to the temple, and com-
manded his soldiers to extinguish the flame. But nei-
ther exhortations nor threatenings could restrain their
violence. They either could not hear, or would not hear;
and those behind encouraged those before to set fire to
the temple. He was still for preserving the holy place.
He commanded his soldiers even to be beaten for dis-
obeying him: but their anger, and their hatred of the
Jews, and a certain warlike vehemence fury overcame
their reverence for their general, and their dread for his
commands. A soldier in the dark set fire to the doors:
and thus, as Josephus (8) says, the temple was burnt
against the will of Caesar. Afterwards, as we (9) read
in the Jewish Talmud and in Maimonides, Turnus Ru-
fus, or rather (1) Terentius Rufus, who was left to com-
mand the army at Jerusalem, did with a ploughshare
tear up the foundation of the temple; and thereby sig-
nally fulfilled those words of Micah, (iii. 12.) Therefore
shall Zion for your sake be ploughed as a field. Euse-
bius (2) too affirms, that it was ploughed up by the
Romans, and he saw it lying in ruins. The (3) city also
shared the same fate, and was burnt and destroyed as well
as the temple. The (4) Romans burnt the extreme parts
of the city, and demolished the walls. Three (5) towers
only, and some part of the wall were left standing, for


(8) ἠματίας δὲ ἡμίν τοις οὖσιν ἱεροπλατίναις. Et templum quidem hoc modo exurit, invito Caesar.[And thus the temple was burnt contrary to the will of Caesar.] Sect. 7. p. 1279.

(9) See them quoted in Lightfoot, Whitby Weisstein, &c. upon the place.

(1) Τιμίωσας τετοιοὶ ὁ τῶν συμμετέχων, τῷ τῶν συμμετέχων. Terentius Rufus; nuncque exerebat profectus refectus crat. [Terentius Rufus, for he was left commander of the army.] Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 7. Cap. 2. p. 1298.


the better incamping of the soldiers, and to show to posterity what a city and how fortified the valor of the Romans had taken. All the rest of the city was so demolished and levelled with the ground, that they who came to see it, could not believe that it was ever inhabited. After the city was thus taken and destroyed, (6) great riches were found among the ruins, and the Romans dug it up in search of the treasures, which had been concealed and buried in the earth: So literally were our Saviour’s words accomplished in the ruin both of the city and of the temple; and well might Eleazar (7) say, that God had delivered his most holy city to be burnt, and to be subverted by their enemies: and (8) wish that they all had died, before they saw that holy city demolished by the hands of their enemies, and the sacred temple so wickedly dug up from the foundations.

In this plain manner our Saviour, now drawing near to his fatal hour, foretold the absolute ruin and destruction of the city and temple. The disciples were curious to know more of these events, when they should be, and how they should be; but yet thought it not proper to ask him at present, the multitude probably still flocking about him: and therefore they take an opportunity of coming unto him privately as he was setting upon the mount of Olives, whence was a good prospect of the city and temple, and there prefer their request to him, (ver. 3.) Tell us when these things shall be, and what shall be the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the world? These are only different expressions to denote the same period with the destruction of Jerusalem; for when they conceivewould be the destruction of Jerusalem, then they conceived would be the coming of Christ; and when they conceived would be the coming of Christ, then they conceived would be the end of the world, or (9) rather (as it should be rendered) the conclusion of the age. The end of the world or the conclusion of the age is the same period with the destruction of Jerusalem; for there being two ages (as they were called) among the Jews, the one under the law, the other under the Messiah; when the city and temple were destroyed, and the Jewish policy in church and state, the dissolved, the former age must of course be concluded, and the age under the Messiah be commenced. It is true the phrase εὐθείας τῆς αἰώνος most usually signifies the end of the world properly so called; as in the parable of the tares (Matt. xiii. 39.) the harvest is εὐθείας τῆς αἰώνος the end of this world; As therefore the tares (ver. 40.) are gathered and burnt in the fire, so shall it be in τῇ εὐθείᾳ τῆς αἰώνος τῆς in the end of this world. And again (ver. 49.) So shall it be in τῇ εὐθείᾳ τῆς αἰώνος at the end of the world, the angels shall come forth, and sever the wicked from among the just. In like manner our Saviour says to his disciples (Matt. xxviii. 20.) Lo, I am with you always, εἰς τῇ εὐθείᾳ τῆς αἰώνος even unto the end of the world. But here the phrase appears to be used much in the same manner as in the Epistle to the Hebrews, (ix. 28.) But now once in the end of the world hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself: in the end of the world, εἰς τῇ εὐθείᾳ τῆς αἰώνος, in the conclusion of the Jewish age or ages: And these, I think, are all the places where the phrase occurs in scripture. The coming of Christ is also the same period with the destruction of Jerusalem, as may appear from several places in the Gospels, and particularly from these two passages. There are some standing here, saith our blessed Lord, (Matt. xvi. 28.) who shall not taste of death till they see the son of man coming in his kingdom, that is evidently, there are some standing here who shall live, not till the end of the world, to the coming of Christ.

(7) τὴν ἀπολλονίαν τῆς πόλεως τῆς Ἰερουσαλήμς ἔδωκεν τοις στρατιωτικοῖς, καὶ κατεργάσει τῷ καὶ τῷ πέτρῳ τῆς θρόνου τῆς Ἰερουσαλήμς. Urbemque sibi sacrasimsera tradidisset hostibus ut in medio perisset et fundamenta denueret. And he hath delivered up his most holy city to the enemy, to be burnt with fire, and to be dug up from its foundations.
(8) καὶ οἱ ἰδοὺ τῆς πόλεως τῆς Ἰερουσαλήμς ἐκδόθην τῇ ἱλαστηρίῳ τῆς ἱερασίας αὐτῆς. Acque utinam omnes fruissent mortum, primum illum saecrum sanctum sanctissimum hostium manifestum essendi videns communi, primumque tempum tanta impietae fundamentis crue. And I wish we had all died, sooner than seen that holy city utterly destroyed by the hands of the enemy, and that holy temple thus impiously dug up from its foundations. Joseph, ibid. Sect. 7. p. 1322. Edit. Hudson.
(9) εὐθείας τῆς αἰώνος. [Translated in the text.]
to judge mankind, but till the destruction of Jerusalem, to
the coming of Christ in judgment upon the Jews. In
another place (John xxi. 22) speaking to Peter concerning
John, he saith, "If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? what is it to thee, if I will that he
live till the destruction of Jerusalem? as in truth he did,
and longer. The coming of Christ and the conclusion of
the age being therefore only different expressions to de-
ote the same period with the destruction of Jerusalem,
the purport of the question plainly is, when shall the de-
struction of Jerusalem be, and what shall be the signs of
it? In the parallel place of St. Mark (xiii. 4) the question
is put thus, When shall these things be, and what shall be
the sign when all these things shall be fulfilled? In the
parallel place of St. Luke (xxi. 7) the question is put thus,
When shall these things be, and what sign will there be,
when these things shall come to pass? So that the dis-
ciples ask two things, first the time of the destruction of
Jerusalem, when these things shall be; and secondly the
signs of it, and what shall be the sign when all these
things shall be fulfilled as it is in St. Mark, and what will
be the sign when these things shall come to pass as it is
in St. Luke, and what shall be the sign of thy coming
and of the conclusion of the age as it is in St. Matthew.
The latter part of the question our Saviour answereth
first, and treateth of the signs of his coming and the de-
struction of Jerusalem from the 4th to the 31st verse in-
clusive; and then passeth on to the other part of the
question concerning the time of his coming: And these
two heads of our Saviour's answer shall likewise in the
same method and order be made the subject of this and
some subsequent discourses.

Our blessed Saviour treateth of the signs of his com-
ing and the destruction of Jerusalem from the 4th to the
31st verse inclusive; by signs meaning the circumstances
and accidents, which should forerun, usher in, and attend
this great event: and I am persuaded the whole compass
of history cannot furnish us with a prophecy more ex-
actly fulfilled in all points than this hath been.

False Christs our Saviour mentions as the first sign

of his coming, (ver. 4 and 5.) Take heed that no man de-
ceive you for many shall come in my name, saying, I am
Christ; and shall deceive many. With this he begins in
all the evangelists, and in all useth almost the very same
words; only in St. Luke (xxi. 8.) he addeth the time
draweth near; and indeed within a little time this part of
the prophecy began to be fulfilled. For very soon after
9, 10.) and bewitched the people of Samaria, giving out
that himself was some great one: to whom they all gave
heed, from the least to the greatest, saying, This man
is the great power of God. He boasted himself likewise
(1) among the Jews, as the Son of God. Of the same
stamp and character was also (2) Dositheus the
Samaritan who pretended that he was the Christ fore-
told by Moses. In the reign of Claudius, about twelve
years after the death of our Saviour, when Cuspius Fa-
dus was procurator of Judea, a certain impostor named
Theudas, persuaded a great multitude with their best
effects to follow him to the river Jordan; for he said
that he was a prophet, and promised to divide the river
for their passage, and saying these things he deceived
many; (3) saith Josephus. But Fadus sent a troop of
horse against them, who falling unexpectedly upon them,
killed many, and made many prisoners; and having
taken Theudas himself alive, they cut off his head, and
brought it to Jerusalem. A few years afterwards in the
reign of Nero, and under the procuratorship of Felix,

(2) καὶ μὲν τὴν ἡκον ἐν χρυσί τίμεσε καὶ ὁ Ἰωάννης Δοσίθεον ἔστησεν ὁ
Εμακενιος διὰ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ προφητείῳ ὡς ὁ Ἰωάννης Χρῖστος καὶ εἰς τοῖς οὖν
τοῖς ἰδιώταις κηρύσσετο. Post Jesu tempora voluit et Dositheum quidem
Samariae suis personae, ut esset Christus illum, quem Moses prædicaret,
quemque est nomen sine sale uta doctrina concilii. [* And after the time of
Jeus, the Samaritan, Dositheus, wished to persuade the Samaritans that he
was the Christ prophesied of by Moses; and he seemed to gain some by his
(3) καὶ τὰ πρῶτα τοῖς πρῶτοι προφητεύει ἐν Χανανείᾳ σομουλιούς πλυνθότως
decept. [*And saying these things he deceived many.] Joseph. Antiq.
these impostors arose so frequent, that (4) many of them were apprehended and killed every day. They seduced great numbers of the people still expecting the Messiah; and well therefore might our Saviour caution his disciples against them.

The next signs he giveth of his coming are several terrible calamities, as wars and rumours of wars, famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes in divers places, (ver. 6 and 7.) And ye shall hear of wars and rumors of wars; see that ye be not troubled: for all these things must come to pass, but the end is not yet. For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom: and there shall be famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes, in divers places. Accordingly there were wars and rumors of wars, as appears in all the historians of those times, and above all in Josephus. To relate the particulars would indeed be to transcribe great part of his history of the Jewish wars. There were more especially rumors of wars, (5) when Caligula the Roman emperor ordered his statue to be set up in the temple of Jerusalem, which the Jews refused to suffer, and persisted in their refusal; and having therefore reason to apprehend a war from the Romans, were in such a consternation that they omitted even the tilling of their lands: but this storm was soon blown over, and their fears were dissipated by the timely death of that emperor.

It is said moreover, that nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom. Here, as (6) Grotius well observes, Christ declares that greater disturbances than those which happened under Caligula, should fall out in the latter times of Claudius, and in the reign of Nero. That of nation against nation portended the dissensions, insurrections, and mutual slaughter of the Jews and those of other nations, who dwelt in the same cities together: as particularly at (7) Caesar, where the Jews and Syrians contended about the right of the city, which contention at length proceeded so far, that above twenty thousand Jews were slain, and the city was cleared of the Jewish inhabitants. At this blow the (8) whole nation of the Jews were exasperated; and dividing themselves into parties, they burnt and plundered the neighbouring cities and villages of the Syrians, and made an immense slaughter of the people. The Syrians in revenge destroyed not a less number of the Jews, and every city, as (9) Scythopolis the inhabitants compelled the Jews who resided among them to fight against their own countrymen, and after the victory basely setting upon

(4) τῶν μετὰ τὸ Φασίλης πουλῆσαι καὶ ιμάτια κινεῖται—καθαρὰς ανέμοι οὐρανόι quidem multos,—quotidie captos, Felix sustulit. [Felix apprehending many of them day after day, caused them to be put to death.] Joseph. ibid. Cap. 7. Sect. 5. p. 492.


(6) Indicat Christus majores quam sub Caio excitavit caedes immidue ultimus temporibus Claudianus, et Neourum principatus. Iulius desit, et esculi significat Judeos et quo aitam erat gnomina isdem in civitatis morantes mutuis inter se sedibus collidentes; quo contigit Caesarum primum, deinde Scythopoli, Polemidae, Tyri, Gadara, versus Alexandriæ, deinde et Damasci. Iulius autem pauperem et poenitentiam signavit tetarcharum et provinciarum apertam inter se bella.—Hoc referri debet Judaeorum in Cremnabiturum Iulium adversus Philadelphos ob finitum controversiam, Cuspio Pado

procurator: Judeorum et Galilaeorum bellum adversus Samaritanos, procuratorem Cassarum postremo bellum primum s aciratis quos vocabant, decine ab universa Judeorum genti numquam adversus Romanos et Agrippam aliosque Romani imperii socios, quid initium habuit Gessis Florus procurator. [*Christ declares that greater slaughter should fall out in the latter years of Claudius, and in the reign of Nero, than had taken place in the time of Caligula. That expression of "nation against nation," portends that the Jews, and the people of other nations dwelling in the same cities, should mutually kill one another. This happened first at Cesarea, then at Scythopolis, Pellaenas, Tyre, Gadara, again at Alexandria, and afterwards at Damascus. That of "kingdom against kingdom," designates the open wars of tetrarchies, and provinces against one another. Of this kind was the war of the Jews dwelling in Perea, against the Philadelphians, during the procuratorship of Cuspio Fadus; the war of the Jews and Galileans against the Samaritans, during the procuratorship of Cassarum; and lastly, the first war carried on by those that were called assassins, and afterwards by the whole Jewish nation against the Romans, against Agrippa, and the allies of the Roman people, which began during the procuratorship of Gessius Florus.*] Grot.


(9) Ibid. Sect. 2. quod seque woel eis duxtus est exeatius erat exercitus. [*And every city was divided into two armies.*] P. 1096.

them by night, murdered above thirteen thousand of them, and spoiled their goods. At (2) Ascalon they killed two thousand and five hundred, at Ptolemais two thousand, and made not a few prisoners. The Tyrians put many to death, and imprisoned more. The people of Gadarra did likewise, and all the other cities of Syria, in proportion as they hated or feared the Jews. At Alexandria (3) the old enmity was revived between the Jews and Heathens, and many fell on both sides, but of the Jews to the number of fifty thousand. The (4) people of Damascus too conspired against the Jews of the same city, and assaulting them unarmed, killed ten thousand of them. That of kingdom against kingdom portended the open wars of different tetrarchies and provinces against one another: as (5) that of the Jews who dwelt in Perea against the people of Philadelphia concerning their bounds, while Cuspius Fadus was procurator: and (6) that of the Jews and Galilæans against the Samaritans, for the murder of some Galilæans going up to the Feast at Jerusalem while Cumanus was procurator; and (7) that of the whole nation of the Jews against the Romans and Agrippa and other allies of the Roman empire, which began while Gessius Florus was procurator. But as (8) Josephus saith, there was not only sedition and civil war throughout Judea, but likewise in Italy, Otho and Vitellius contending for the empire.

It is farther added, and there shall be famins, and pestilences, and earthquakes in divers places. There were famins, as particularly that prophesied of by Agabus,

and mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, (xi. 28.) and by (9) Suetonius and other prophane historians referred to by Eusebius, which came to pass in the days of Claudius Caesar, and was so severe at Jerusalem, that, as (1) Josephus saith, many perished for want of victuals. And pestilences, for these are the usual attendants upon famins. Scarcity and badness of provisions almost always end in some epidemical distemper. We see many died by reason of the famin in the reign of Claudius: and (2) Josephus farther informs us, that when Niger was killed by the Jewish zealots, he imprecated besides other calamities famin and pestilence upon them, (λίπωτε καὶ λίπωτε the very words used by the evangelist) which all, saith he, God ratified and brought to pass against the ungodly. And earthquakes in divers places, as particularly that (3) in Crete in the reign of Claudius, mentioned by Philostratus in his life of Apollonius, and those also mentioned by Philostratus at Smyrna, Miletus, Chios, Samos, in all which places some Jews inhabited; and those (4) at Rome mentioned by Tacitus; and that (5) at Laodicea in the reign of Nero mentioned by Tacitus, which city was overthrown, as were likewise Hierapolis and Colossos; and that in (6) Campania, mentioned by Seneca; and that

(3) Ibid. Sect. 7. et 8.
(7) Ibid. Cap. 17.
(8) Οὐ μόνος δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ιαπεινὴν ταῖς νήσοις καὶ σωλήνας πολυδακτύλα μεταφέρει καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ιταλίαν. Verum non solum per Judæam erat solitus et bellum civilis, sed etiam in Italia. [But there was not only sedition and a civil war throughout Judea, but also in Italy.] De Bell. Jud. Lib. 4. Cap. 9. Sect. 9. p. 1290.

(3) Gravissima morets qui in Creta acceperit Claudio imperante meminit Philostratius in vitam Apollonii. Hic terræ motu Smyrnæ, Miletæ, Chio, Samo paulo ante tempora excisa urbis Hierosolymorum. [Philostros in his life of Apollonius, makes mention of a dreadful earthquake, which happened in Crete, during the reign of Claudius. He also notices of earthquakes at Smyrna, Miletus, Chios, Samos, a little before the destruction of the city of Jerusalem.] Grot. in locum.

VOL. II.
people being assembled to celebrate the feast of unleavened bread, at the ninth hour of the night there shone so great a light about the altar and the temple, that it seemed to be bright day, and this continued for half an hour; that (3) at the same feast a cow, led by the priest to sacrifice, brought forth a lamb in the middle of the temple; that (4) the eastern gate of the temple, which was of solid brass and very heavy, was scarcely shut in an evening by twenty men, and was fastened by strong bars and bolts, was seen at the sixth hour of the night opened of its own accord, and could hardly be shut again; that (5) before the setting of the sun there were seen over all the country chariots and armies fighting in the clouds, and besieging cities; that (6) at the feast of Pentecost, as the priests were going into the inner temple by night as usual to attend their service, they heard first a motion and noise, and then a voice as of a multitude saying, Let us depart hence; and (7) what he reckons as the most terrible of all, that 

(3) καὶ κατὰ τὸν οἶκον ἵππον μὲν αὐτὴν ἔγειτο καὶ τὴν ἑτερὰν λύγισαν ἀναίρετον. In each of the sacrifices ad libitum, the custom was for the牲畜 to be killed outside the temple, and then the body of the animal was brought into the temple. 

(4) τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν οἰκήμα τὸν Ναὸν ἔγειτο καὶ τὴν θύραν τῆς θυάτηρας. In the case of the temple, the doors were open for the priest to enter and perform the sacrifices. 

(5) τὸ δὲ τοῦ θυσίας τοῦ προφήτη τοῦ Ποντικοῦ ἐνδεχόμενον τοῦ συγκεκριμένος χρόνου, τοῦ δὲ τοῦ συγκεκριμένου χρόνου. The time of the sacrifice was fixed by the priests. 

(6) τὸ δὲ τοῦ συγκεκριμένος χρόνου. The time of the sacrifice was fixed by the priests. 

(7) τὸ δὲ τοῦ συγκεκριμένος χρόνου. The time of the sacrifice was fixed by the priests.
one Jesus, an ordinary country fellow, four years before the war began, when the city was in peace and plenty, came to the feast of tabernacles, and ran crying up and down the streets day and night. 'A voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds, a voice against Jerusalem and the temple, a voice against the bridegrooms and the brides, a voice against all the people.' The magistrates endeavoured by stripes and torture, to restrain him; but he still cried with a mournful voice, 'Woe woe to Jerusalem.' This he continued to do for seven years and five months together, and especially at the great festivals; and he neither grew housethor nor was tired: but went about the walls, and cried with a loud voice, 'Woe woe to the city, and to the people, and to the temple;' and as he added at last, 'Woe woe also to myself,' it happened that a stone from some sling or engin immediately struck him dead. These were indeed fearfull signs and great sights from heaven: and there is not a more credible historian than the author who relates them, and who appeals to the testimony of those who saw and heard them. But it may add some weight to his relation, that Tacitus, the Roman historian, also gives us a summary account of the same occurrences. He saith that there happened several prodigies, armies were seen engaging in the heavens, arms were seen glittering, and the temple shone with the sudden fire of the clouds, the doors of the temple opened suddenly, and a voice greater than human was heard, that the gods were departing; and likewise a great motion of their departing. Dr. Jortin's (9) remark is very pertinent. "If Christ had not expressly foretold this, many, who give little

(8) Everenrail prodigiae—Visae per celum concurrens aries, ruinantia arma, et subito nubem igne collirem templum. Expassae repente de-lubri fores, et audita major humanæ vox, Excedere deos. Sinuus ingenis motus excedentium. ['Prodigies happened.—Arms were seen engaging in the heavens.—Arms appeared glittering.—The temple shone with the sudden fire of the clouds.—The doors of the temple were suddenly thrown wide open, and a voice more than human was heard, that the gods were departing, and at the same time a great motion of their departing.' Tacit. Hist. Lib. 5. p. 217. Edit. Lipsii.


"heed to portents, and who know that historians have been too credulous in that point, would have suspected that Josephus exaggerated, and that Tacitus was misinformed; but as the testimonies of Josephus and Tacitus confirm the predictions of Christ, so the predictions of Christ confirm the wonders recorded by these historians." But even allowing all that incredulity can urge—that in the great calamities of war, and famine, and pestilence, the people always grow superstitious, and are struck with religious panics;—that they see nothing then but prodigies and portents, which in happier seasons are overlooked;—that some of these appear to be formed in imitation of the Greek and Roman historians, as particularly the cow's bringing forth a lamb;—that armies fighting in the clouds, seen in calamitous times in all ages and countries, are nothing more than meteors, such as the aurora borealis;—in short, allowing that some of these prodigies were feigned, and others were exaggerated, yet the prediction of them is not the less divine on that account. Whether they were supernatural, or the fictions only of a disordered imagination, yet they were believed as realities, and had all the effects of realities, and were equally worthy to be made the objects of prophecy. Fearful sights and great signs from heaven they certainly were, as much as if they had been created on purpose to astonish the earth.

But notwithstanding all these terrible calamities our Saviour exhorts his disciples not to be troubled. The Jews may be under dreadful apprehensions, as they were particularly in the case of Caligula above mentioned; but be not ye troubled, for all these things must come to pass, but the end is not yet, but the destruction of Jerusalem is not yet. All these are only the beginning of sorrows (ver. 8.) απ' αυτων. Great troubles and calamities are often expressed in scripture-language metaphorically by the pains of traveling women. All these are only the first pangs and throws, and are nothing to that hard labor which shall follow.
From the calamities of the nation in general, he passeth to those of the Christians in particular: and indeed the former were in great measure the occasion of the latter; famines, pestilences, earthquakes, and the like calamities being reckoned judgments for the sins of the Christians, and the poor Christians being often maltreated and persecuted on that account, as we learn from some of the earliest apologists for the Christian religion. Now the calamities which were to befall the Christians were cruel persecutions, (ver. 9.) Then shall they deliver you up to be afflicted, and shall kill you; and ye shall be hated of all nations, not only of the Jews: but likewise of the Gentiles, for my name's sake. St. Mark and St. Luke are rather more particular. St. Mark saith (xiii. 9, 11.) They shall deliver you up to councils; and in the synagogues ye shall be beaten, and ye shall be brought before rulers and kings for my sake, for a testimony against them. But when they shall lead you, and deliver you up, take no thought beforehand what ye shall speak, neither do ye meditate: but whatsoever shall be given you in that hour, that speak ye: for it is not ye that speak, but the Holy Ghost. St. Luke saith (xxi. 12, 13, 14, 15.) But before all these they shall lay their hands on you, and persecute you, delivering you up to the synagogues, and into prisons, being brought before kings and rulers for my name's sake. And it shall turn to you for a testimony. Settle it therefore in your hearts, not to meditate before, what ye shall answer. For I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay nor resist. We need look no farther than the Acts of the Apostles for the completion of these particulars. There are instances enough of the sufferings of some Christians, and of the deaths of others. Some are delivered to councils, as Peter and John, (iv. 5, &c.) Some are brought before rulers and kings, as Paul before Gallio, (xviii. 12.) Felix, (xxiv.) Festus and Agrippa, (xxv.) Some have a mouth and wisdom which all their adversaries were not able to gainsay nor resist, as it is said of Stephen, (vi. 10) that they were not able to resist the wisdom and the spirit by which he spake, and Paul made even Felix to tremble, (xxiv. 25.) and the gospel still prevailed against all opposition and persecution whatever. Some are imprisoned, as Peter and John. (iv. 3.) Some are beaten, as Paul and Silas. (xvi. 23.) Some are put to death, as Stephen, (vii. 59.) and James the brother of John. (xxii. 2.) But if we would look farther, we have a more melancholy proof of the truth of this prediction, in the persecutions under Nero, in which (besides numberless other Christians) fell those (1) two great champions of our faith, St. Peter and St. Paul. And it was nominis praetium, as (2) Tertullian calleth it; it was a war against the very name. Though a man was possessed of every human virtue, yet it was crime enough, if he was a Christian; so true were our Saviour's words, that they should be hated of all nations for his name's sake. But they were not only to be hated of all nations, but were also to be betrayed by apostates and traitors of their own brethren, (ver. 10.) And then shall many be offended, and shall betray one another, and shall hate one another. By reason of persecution many shall be offended, and apostatize from the faith; as particularly those mentioned by St. Paul in his second Epistle to Timothy, (i. 15.) Phygellus and Hermogenes, who with many others in Asia turned away from him, and (vi. 10.) Demas who forsook him, having loved this present world. But they shall not only apostatize from the faith, but also shall betray one another, and shall hate one another. To illustrate this point we need only cite a sentence out of Tacitus speaking of the persecution under Nero. At first, says (3) he, several were seized who confessed, and then by their discovery a great multitude of others were convicted and barbarously executed.

(3) Primo corrupti qui fatae sunt, deinde indigero comma multitudine ingens convitii sunt. Et perennibus addita iudicio, &c. [* At first a few were laid hold on who confessed, by their evidence great multitudes were afterwards convicted. Mockery was used also in putting them to death, &c.*]
False teachers too and false prophets were to infest the church, (ver. 11.) And many false prophets shall rise, and shall deceive many. Such particularly was Simon Magnus, and his followers the Gnostics were very numerous. Such also were the Judaizing teachers, false apostles, as they are called by St. Paul, (2 Cor. xi. 13.) deceitful workers, transforming themselves into the apostles of Christ. Such also were Iymeneus and Philetus, of whom the apostle complains (2 Tim. ii. 17, 18.) that they affirmed the resurrection to be past already, and overthrew the faith of some.

The genuine fruit and effect of these evils was lukewarmness and coolness among Christians, (ver. 12.) And because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold. By reason of these trials and persecutions from without, and these apostacies and false prophets from within, the love of many to Christ and his doctrin, and also their love to one another, shall wax cold. Some shall openly desert the faith, (as ver. 10.) others shall corrupt it, (as ver. 11.) and others again (as here.) shall grow indifferent to it. And (not to mention other instances) who can hear St. Paul complaining at Rome (2 Tim. iv. 16.) that at his first answer no man stood with him, but all men forsook him; who can hear the divine author of the Epistle to the Hebrews exhorting them (x. 25.) not to forsake the assembling of themselves together, as the manner of some is; and not conclude the event to have sufficiently justified our Saviour’s prediction.

But he that shall endure unto the end; (ver. 13.) but he who shall not be terrified by these trials and persecutions; he who shall neither apostatize from the faith himself, nor be seduced by others; he who shall not be ashamed to profess his faith in Christ, and his love to the brethren; the same shall be saved, saved both here and hereafter. There shall not an hair of your head perish, as it is in St. Luke: (xxi. 18.) and indeed it is very remarkable, and was certainly a most signal act of providence, that none of the Christians perished in the destruction of Jerusalem. So true and prophetic also was that assertion of

St. Peter upon this same occasion, (2 Pet. ii. 9.) The Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptations.

But notwithstanding the persecutions and calamities of the Christians, there was to be an universal publication of the gospel before the destruction of Jerusalem, (ver. 14.) And this gospel of the kingdom (this gospel of the kingdom of God) shall be preached in all the world, for a witness unto all nations, and then shall the end come; and then shall the destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the Jewish polity come to pass; when all nations shall be or may be convinced of the crying sin of the Jews in crucifying the Lord of glory, and of the justice of God’s judgments upon them for it. The Acts of the Apostles contain only a small part of the history of a small part of the Apostles; and yet even in that history we see, the gospel was widely disseminated, and had taken root in the most considerable parts of the Roman empire. As early as in the reign of Nero, (4) the Christians were grown so numerous at Rome, as to raise the jealousy of the government, and the first general persecution was commenced against them under pretence of their having set fire to the city, of which the emperor himself was really guilty, but willing to transfer the blame and odium upon the poor innocent Christians. Clement, who was a contemporary and fellow-laborer with St. Paul, (5) says of him in particular, that he was a preacher both in the east and in the west, that he taught the whole world righteousness, and traveled as far as to the utmost borders of the west; and if such were the labors of one apostle, though the chiepest of the apostles, what were the united labors of them all? It appears indeed from the writers of the history of the church, that before the destruction of Jerusalem the

(4) Tacit. Annal. Lib. 15.
(5) περὶ γεγυμαίαν ἐν τῷ ἐπιστάμενῷ καὶ ἐν τῇ δικαι-οστίᾳ, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῇ μακρόπορε ἐν ἀνεκπαίδευτον διδάσκαλον, τῶν παντῶν πάνω τὰς διδασκαλίας, καὶ πάνω τὰς δικαιοσύνας. Petrus factus in oriente ac occidente, totum mundum docens justitiam, et ad occidentem terminum veniens. [He was a preacher in the east and west.—The whole world was taught righteousness by him. In his travels he came to the utmost bounds of the west.] Clem. Epist. ad Corinth. I. Cap. 5.
gospel was not only preached in the lesser Asia, and Greece, and Italy, the great theatres of action then in the world; but was likewise propagated as far northward as Scythia, as far southward as Ethiopia, as far eastward as Parthia and India, as far westward as Spain and Britain. Our ancestors of this island seem to have lain as remote from the scene of our Saviour's actions as almost any nation, and were a (6) rough inhospitable people, as unlikely to receive so civilized an institution as any people whatever. But yet there is (7) some probability, that the gospel was preached here by St. Simon the apostle; there is much greater probability, that it was preached here by St. Paul; and there is absolute certainty that Christianity was planted in this country in the days of the apostles, before the destruction of Jerusalem. Agreeably to this (8) Eusebius informs us, that the apostles preached the gospel in all the world; and some of them passed beyond the ocean to the Britannic iles. Theodoret likewise (9) affirms, that the apostles had induced every nation and kind of men to embrace the gospel, and among the converted nations he reckons particularly the Britons. St. Paul himself in his Epistle to the Colossians (i. 6, 23.) speaketh of the gospel's being come into all the world, and preached to every creature under heaven; and in his Epistle to the Romans (x. 18.) very elegantly applies to the lights of the church what the Psalmist said of the lights of heaven, their sound went into all the earth and their words unto the ends of the world. But how improbable, and in all human appearance impossible was it, that a few poor fishermen and such inferior illiterate persons should propagate and establish a new religion, in so short a space of time, throughout the world? Doubtless it was not man's but God's work, and from the same divine spirit proceeded both the prophecy and the completion!

We have deduced the prophecies as low as to the siege of Jerusalem; and now let us stop to make a few short reflections upon what has been said.

The first reflection that naturally occurs, is the strange and surprising manner in which these prophecies have been fulfilled, and the great argument that may thence be drawn for the truth of our Saviour's divine mission: but we shall have a fitter opportunity for enlarging upon this hereafter.

Another reflection we may make on the sincerity and ingenuity of Christ, and the courage and constancy of his disciples. Had Jesus been an impostor, he would, like all other impostors, have fed his followers with fair hopes and promises: but on the contrary we see, that he denounced persecution to be the lot of his disciples, he pointed out to them the difficulties they must encounter, the fiery trials they must undergo; and yet they did not therefore stagger in their faith, they did not therefore, like faint hearted soldiers, forsake their colors and desert his service. One hardly knoweth whom to admire most, him for dealing so plainly with them, or them for adhering so steadily to him. Such instances are rarely found of openness on one side, and of fidelity on the other.

A third reflection we may make on the sudden and amazing progress of the Gospel, that it should spread so far and so wide before the destruction of Jerusalem. The greatness of the work that was wrought, the meanness of the instruments which wrought it, and the short time that it was wrought in, must force all considerings men to say (Psal. cxviii. 23.) This is the Lord's doing, it is marvellous in our eyes. The Mohammedan religion indeed in less than a century overran a great part of the world; but then it was propagated by the sword, and
owed its success to arms and violence. But the Christian religion was diffused over the face of the earth in the space of forty years, and prevailed not only without the sword but against the sword, not only without the powers civil and military to support it, but against them all united to oppress it. And what but the Spirit of God could bid it thus go forth (Rev. vi. 2.) conquering and to conquer? Had this counsel or this work been of men, as Gamaliel argued, (Acts v. 28.) it would have come to nought; but being of God nothing could overthrow it.

A fourth reflection we may make (and it is the last that I shall make) that seldom any state is ruined, but there are evident signals and presages of it. Few people have their fate particularly foretold by prophets, like the Jews; nor indeed can the fate of any people be so particularly foretold, the time, the manner, and all the circumstances preceding and succeeding, without divine inspiration. So many passages and circumstances cannot be particularly foretold unless particularly revealed; but in the general, without the spirit of prophecy, it is no difficult matter to perceive when cities and kingdoms are tending toward their final period and dissolution. There are as certain tokens and symptoms of a consumption and decay in the body politic, as in the body natural. I would not prestage ill to my country; but when we consider the many hairiness and presumptuous sins of this nation, the licentiousness and violation of all order and discipline, the daring insolence of robbers and smugglers in open defiance of all law and justice, the factions and divisions, the venality and corruption, the avarice and profusion of all ranks and degrees among us, the total want of public spirit and ardent passion for private ends and interests, the luxury and gaming and dissoluteness in high life, and the laziness and drunkenness and debauchery in low life, and above all that bare-faced ridicule of all virtue and decency, and that scandalous neglect, and I wish I could not say contempt of all public worship and religion; when we consider these things, these signs of the times, the stoutest and most sanguine of us all must tremble at the natural and probable consequences of them. God give us grace, that we may know (Luke xix. 42.) at least in this our day, the things which belong unto our peace, before they are hid from our eyes. Never may such blindness happen to us, as befell the Jews; but may we (Is. lv. 6, 7.) seek the Lord while he may be found, and call upon him while he is near; and return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy upon us, and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon.

XIX.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

PART II.

The preceding discourse was concerning the signs of the destruction of Jerusalem, that is the circumstances and accidents, which were to be the forerunners and attendants of this great event. Those are already specified which passed before the siege, and now we proceed to treat of those which happened during the siege and after it. Never was prophecy more punctually fulfilled, and it will be very well worth our time and attention to trace the particulars.

Whene re therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place, (whoso readeth let him understand.) Then let them which be in Judea flee into the mountains. (ver. 15 and 16.) Whatever difficulty there is in these words, it may be cleared up by the parallel place in St. Luke, (xxi. 20, 21.) And when ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that the desolation thereof is nigh. Then let them which are in Judea flee to the mountains. So that the abomination of desolation is the Roman army, and the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place is
the Roman army besieging Jerusalem. This, saith our Saviour, is the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, in the ninth and eleventh chapters; and so let every one who readeth those prophecies, understand them. The Roman army is called the abomination for its ensigns and images which were so to the Jews. As Chrysostom affirms (1) every idol and every image of a man was called an abomination among the Jews. For this reason as (2) Josephus informs us, the principal Jews earnestly intreated Vitellius, governor of Syria, when he was conducting his army through Judea against Aretas king of the Arabsians, to lead it another way; and he greatly obliged them by complying with their request. We farther learn from (3) Josephus, that after the city was taken, the Romans brought their ensigns into the temple, and placed them over against the eastern gate, and sacrificed to them there. The Roman army is therefore fitly called the abomination, and the abomination of desolation, as it was to desolate and lay waste Jerusalem: and this army's besieging Jerusalem is called standing where it ought not, as it is in St. Mark; (xiii. 14:) or standing in the holy place, as it is in St. Matthew; the city and such a compass of ground about it being accounted holy. When therefore the Roman army shall advance to besiege Jerusalem, then let them who are in Judea consult their own safety, and fly into the mountains. This counsel was wisely remembered, and put in practice by the Christians afterwards. Josephus informs us, that when Cestius Gallus came with

his army against Jerusalem, (4) many fled from the city as if it would be taken presently: and after his retreat, (5) many of the noble Jews departed out of the city, as out of a sinking ship: and a few years afterwards, when Vespasian was drawing his forces towards Jerusalem, (6) a great multitude fled from Jericho to the mountainous country for their security. It is probable that there were some Christians among these, but we learn more certainly from (7) ecclesiastical historians, that at this juncture all who believed in Christ left Jerusalem, and removed to Pella and other places beyond the river Jordan, so that they all marvelously escaped the general shipwreck of their country, and we do not read any where that so much as one of them perished in the destruction of Jerusalem. Of such signal service was this caution of our Saviour to the believers.

He prosecutes the same subject in the following verses. Let him which is on the house-top, not come down to take any thing out of his house. (ver. 17.) The (8) houses of the Jews, as well as those of the ancient Greeks and Romans, were flat on the top for them to walk upon, and had usually stairs on the outside, by which they might ascend and descend without coming into the house. In the eastern walled cities these flat-roofed houses usually formed continued terraces from one end of the city to the other, which terraces terminated at the gates. He therefore who is walking and regaling himself upon the house-top, let him not come down to take any thing out of his house; but let him instantly pursue

(1) ἕκκαν εἰδολιαν, καὶ παν τῶν αἰθίων σπέρμα της Ἰουδαίας βασιλέως ἡμῶν ἐκεῖ οὐκ ἔχει, εἰς συμβουλέαν καὶ οἰκονομίαν ἐπὶ πάντας ἄριστος αἰθίων, ὡς εἰς ἅλλας ἱεραίας συπήκεις, ἡδονήν τε αἰθίων καὶ μετὰ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτῶν. [The idol and every image of a man, by the Jews was called an abomination.] [Every idol and every image of a man, by the Jews was called an abomination.] • Advers. Judeos, v. Orat. v. p. 616, Vol. 1. Edit. Benedict. •


(3) καθελόντων τας σημαίας ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, καὶ ἐπεί τι τῆς αἰθιωνίας συπήκεις, ἡδονήν τε αἰθίων καὶ μετὰ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτῶν. [Having brought their standards into the temple, and having placed them opposite to the eastern gate, they sacrificed to them in that place.] • Joseph, de Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Sect. 1. p. 1283. Edit Hudson.
his course along the tops of the houses, and escape out at the city-gate as fast as he possibly can. *Neither let him which is in the field, return back to take his clothes.* (ver. 18.) Our Saviour maketh use of these expressions to intimate, that their flight must be as sudden and hasty as Lot's was out of Sodom. And the Christians escaping just as they did was the more providential, because afterwards (9) all egress out of the city was prevented.

*And woe unto them that are with child, and unto them that give suck in those days.* (ver. 19.) For neither will such persons be in a condition to fly, neither will they be well able to endure the distress and hardships of a siege. This woe was sufficiently fulfilled in the cruel slaughters which were made both of the women and children, and particularly in that grievous famish, which so miserably afflicted Jerusalem during the siege. For as Josephus reports, (1) mothers snatched the food from their infants out of their very mouths: and again in another place, (2) the houses were full of women and children, who perished by famish. But Josephus still relates a more horrid story; and I make no question, that our Saviour with his spirit of prophecy had this particular incident in view. There (3) was one Mary, the daughter of Eleazar, illustrious for her family and riches. She having been stript and plundered of all her substance and provisions by the soldiers, out of necessity and fury killed her own sucking child, and having boiled him devoured half of him, and covering up the rest preserved it for another time. The soldiers soon came allure by the smell of victuals, and threatened to kill her immediately, if she would not produce what she had dressed. But she replied that she had reserved a

good part for them, and uncovered the relics of her son. Dread and astonishment seized them, and they stood stupified at the sight. "But this, said she, is my own son, and thus my work. Eat, for even I have eaten. Be not you more tender than a woman, nor more compassionate than a mother. But if you have a religious abhorrence of my victim, I truly have eaten half, and let the rest remain for me." They went away trembling, fearful to do this one thing; and hardly left this food for the mother. The whole city was struck with horror, says the historian, at this wickedness: and they were pronounced blessed, who died before they had heard or seen such great evils. So true also was what our Saviour declared on another occasion, when the women were bewailing and lamenting him, as he was led to execution; (Luke xxiii. 28, 29, 30.) *Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves, and for your children.* For behold, the days are coming, in which they shall say, Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the paps which never gave suck. Then shall they begin to say to the mountains, Fall on us; and to the hills, Cover us. Proverbial expressions to signify their desire of any shelter or refuge; and so very desirous were they of hiding themselves that (4) some thousands of them crept even into the common-sewers, and there miserably perished, or were dragged out to slaughter.

*But pray ye that your flight be not in the winter, neither on the sabbath-day.* (ver. 20.) Pray that these evils be not further aggravated by the concurrence of other natural and moral evils, such as the inclemencies of the seasons and your own superstitions. Pray that your flight be not in the winter; for the hardness of the season, the badness of the roads, the shortness of the days, will all be great impediments to your flight: neither on the sabbath-day: that you may not raise the indignation of the Jews by travelling on that day, nor be hindered from doing it by your own superstition. It seemeth to be spoken a good deal in condensation to the Jewish pre-

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judices, a sabbath-day’s journey among the Jews being
but about a mile. In the parallel place of St. Mark (xiii.
18.) it is observable, that the evangelist saith only, And
pray ye that your flight be not in the winter, without any
mention of the sabbath-day.

As our Saviour cautioned his disciples to fly, when
they should see Jerusalem encompassed with armies;
so it was very providentially ordered, that Jerusalem
should be compassed with armies, and yet that they
should have such favourable opportunities of making
their escape. In the twelfth year of Nero, Cestius Gal-
lus, the president of Syria, came against Jerusalem with
a powerful army. He might, as Josephus (5) affirms,
if he would have assaulted the city, have presently taken
it, and thereby have put an end to the war. But
without any just reason, and contrary to the expectation of
all, he raised the siege, and departed. Vespasian was
deputed in his room to govern Syria, and to carry on
the war against the Jews. This great general, (6) hav-
ing subdued all the country, prepared to besiege Jeru-
usalem, and invested the city on every side. But the
news of Nero’s death, and soon afterwards of Galba’s,
and the disturbances which thereupon ensued in the Ro-
man empire; and the civil wars between Otho and Vi-
tellius, held Vespasian and Titus in suspense; and they
thought it unseasonable to engage in a foreign war,
while they were anxious for the safety of their own
country. By these means the expedition against Jeru-
alem was deferred for some time; and the city was not
actually besieged in form, till after Vespasian was con-

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(8) Judaeos autem eodem tempore pacem aeternam donavit. Et
nunc Deus suos exspectat qui cum ipsum requierit. Cuius

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(9) But along with all means of escaping, all hope of safety was cut off to the Jews.}
not been over the like, neither shall be any more after it
even to the years of many generations. Of the same kind
is that in Daniel, (xii. 1.) There shall be a time of trouble,
such as never was since there was a nation, even to that
same time: and that in the first book of Maccabees, (ix.
27.) There was great affliction in Israel, the like where-
of was not since the time that a prophet was not seen
amongst them. Our Saviour therefore might fitly apply
the same manner of speaking upon the present occasion:
but he doth not make use of proverbial expressions with
out a proper meaning; and this may be understood even
literally. For indeed all history cannot furnish us with
a parallel to the calamities and miseries of the Jews;
ravin and murder, famin and pestilence within: fire and
sword, and all the terrors of war without. Our Saviour
wept at the foresight of these calamities, and it is almost
impossible for persons of any humanity to read the rela-
tion of them in Josephus without weeping too. That
historian might therefore well say, as he doth in (9) the
preface to his history, ' Our city of all those which have
been subjected to the Romans, was advanced to the
highest felicity, and was thrust down again to the ex-
tremest misery: for if the misfortunes of all from the
beginning of the world were compared with those of
the Jews, they would appear much inferior upon the
comparison: and again in another (1) place he saith,
'To speak in brief, no other city ever suffered such
tsions, as no other generation from the beginning of
the world was ever more fruitful of wickedness.' St.
Luke expresseth the reason thus, (xxi. 22.) For these

be the days of vengeance, that all things which are
written may be fulfilled. These be the days of venge-
ance, wherein the calamities foretold by Moses, Joel,
Daniel, and other prophets, as well as those predicted by
our Saviour shall all meet as in one common center, and
be fulfilled with aggravation on this generation. These
be the days of vengeance too in another sense, as if God's
vengeance had certain periods and revolvements, and the
same days were fatal to the Jews, and destined to their
destruction. For it is very memorable, and matter of just
admiratio according to (2) Josephus, that the temple
was burnt by the Romans in the same month, and on
the same day of the month, as it was before by the Baby-
lonians.

Nothing so violent can be of long continuance.
These calamities were so severe, that like fire, they must
in time have consumed all, and have left nothing for
themselves to prav upon. And except those days should
be shortened there should no flesh be saved. (ver. 22.) If
these wars and desolations were to continue, none of the
Jews would escape destruction, they would all be cut off
root and branch. I think (3) Josephus computes the
number of those who perished in the siege at eleven
hundred thousand, besides those who were slain in other
places: and if the Romans had gone on destroying in
this manner, the whole nation of the Jews would cer-
tainly in a little time have been extirpated. But for the
elect's sake, but for the sake of the Christian Jews, those
days shall be shortened. But for the elect's sake, whom he
hath chosen, the Lord hath shortened the days, as it is
expressed in St. Mark, (xiii. 20.) The elect is a well known
appellation in scripture and antiquity for the Christians;

(9) επετελείτο γὰρ τὴν ἦλθον Ἰουδαίων πόλεις ἐν οἴκαις εἰς τίτλας τε εἰκασι-
νασις συνηθείς προδίδοντο τινὲς χελωνίας, καὶ τοῦ ἐργατοῦ συνεργασθοῦσαν καταπιεῖται. Τι ἦν
δεκαπεντάκοντα εἰκασινεῖς ἐκτρώγοντας, προθέσεως θεοῦ, εἰς τίτλας μετὰ δοκιμαζό-
(1) Μετὰ τοῦτο φρενάρεται μικρὸς ὀλίγος τιμὴς πύρινης, ἀλλὰ τιμὴς ἡμῶν ἡ
καταπίπτει ἡμῶν καθιστήρωμα. Φρενάρεται, ἂν αὐτήν πρέπειν, καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἐπιλεύθερον τῷ Ἱσσωνῷ κατέχειν, ἀλλὰ τῷ Ἰσσωνῷ εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν ἡμῶν. [Translated in the text.] Lib. 2. Cap. 10. Sect. 5. p. 2346.
and the Christian Jews, partly through the fury of the Zealots on one hand, and the hatred of the Romans on the other, and partly through the difficulty of subsisting in the mountains without houses or provisions, would in all probability have been almost all destroyed either by the sword or by famine, if the days had not been shortened. But providentially the days were shortened. Titus himself (4) was desirous of putting a speedy end to the siege, having Rome and the riches and the pleasures there before his eyes. Some of his officers (5) proposed to him to turn the siege into a blockade, and since they could not take the city by storm, to starve it into a surrender: but he thought it not becoming to sit still with so great an army; and he feared lest the length of the time should diminish the glory of his success; every thing indeed may be effected in time, but celebrity contributes much to the fame and splendor of actions. The besieged too helped to shorten the days by (6) their divisions and mutual slaytings; by (7) burning their provisions, which would have sufficed for many years; and by (8) fatally deserting their strong holds, where they could never have been taken by force, but by famine alone. By these means the days were shortened; and indeed otherwise Jerusalem could never have been taken in so short a time, so well fortified as it was, and so well fitted to sustain a longer siege. The enemy without could hardly ever have prevailed but for the factions and seditions within. Titus himself could not but ascribe his success to God, as he was viewing the fortifications, after the city was taken. His words to his friends were very remarkable. "We have fought, (9) said he, with God on our side; and it is God who hath pulled the Jews out of these strong holds; for what could the hands of men or machines against these towers?" God therefore, in the opinion of Titus as well as of St. Mark, shortened the days. After the destruction of Jerusalem too, God inclined the heart of Titus to take some pity upon the remnant of the Jews, and to restrain the nations from exercising the cruelty that they would have exercised towards them. At Antioch particularly (where the disciples were first called Christians) (1) the senate and the people earnestly importuned him to expel the Jews out of the city; but he prudently answered, that their country whether they should return being laid waste, there was no place that could receive them. Then they requested him to deprive the Jews of their former privileges, but those he permitted them to enjoy as before. Thus for the elect's sake those days of persecution were shortened.

Our blessed Lord had cautioned his disciples against false Christs and false prophets before, but he giveth a more particular caution against them about the time of the siege and destruction of Jerusalem. (ver. 23 and 24.) Then if any man shall say unto you, Lo here is Christ or there, believe it not; For there shall arise false Christs and false prophets, and shall shewe great signs and wonders, insomuch that (if it were possible) they shall deceive the shorted.
very elect. And in fact many such impostors did arise about that time, as we learn from (2) Josephus, and promised deliverance from God, being suborned by the tyrants or governors to prevent the people and soldiers from deserting to the Romans; and the lower the Jews were reduced, the more disposed would they be to listen to these deceptions, and the more ready to follow the deceivers. Hegesippus too in (3) Eusebius mentions the coming of false Christs and false prophets about the same time. But as it was to little purpose for a man to take upon him the character of the Christ, or even of a prophet, without miracles to vouch his divine mission; so it was the common artifice and pretence of these impostors to show signs and wonders, σημεῖα καὶ τεραταὶ, the very words used by Christ in his prophecy, and by (4) Josephus in his history. Simon Magus performed great wonders according to the account that is given of him in the Acts of the Apostles. (viii. 9, 10, 11) There was a certain man called Simon, which before time in the same city used sorcery, and bewitched the people of Samaria, giving out that himself was some great one: To whom they all gave heed from the least to the greatest, saying, This man is the great power of God: And to him they had regard, because that of long time he had bewitched them with sorceries. Dositheus likewise was reputed to work wonders according to (5) Origen: Barchochebas too, who (6) Jerome saith pretended to vomit flames. Such also were the Jews, of whom St. Paul speaketh, (2 Tim. iii. 8, 13.) comparing them to Jannes and Jambres, famous magicians of Egypt, who withstood Moses, as these also resisted the truth, men of corrupt minds, reproubing concerning the faith, παράθυροι αὐθαυστικῶν καὶ ἐκείνης, wicked men and impostors. There is a strange propensity in mankind to believe things marvelous and astonishing: and no wonder, that weak and wicked men, Jews and Samaritans, were deceived by such impostors; when if it had been possible they would have deceived the very elect, the Christians themselves.

But behold, saith our Saviour, I have told you before, (ver. 23.) Behold I have given you sufficient warning. Wherefore if they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the desert, go not forth; behold, he is in the secret chambers, believe it not, (ver. 26.) It is surprising that our Saviour should not only forset the appearance of these impostors, but also the manner and circumstances of their conduct. For some he mentions as appearing in the desert, and some in the secret chambers; and the event hath in all points answered to the prediction. Several of the false Christs and false prophets conducted their followers into the desert. Josephus in his (7) Antiquities saith expressly, that many impostors and cheats persuaded the people to follow them into the desert, where they promised to show manifest wonders and signs done by the providence, of God; and many being persuaded suffered the punishment of their folly; for Felix brought them back, and chastised them. Again in his (8) history

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(2) στολεὶς ὕπατος γεμάτης γὰρ ἂν τῶν προσμετέχων πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦ συνεργεῖται, ἔστηκεν ἆπτα τῆς οἰκίας. οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι καὶ τοῖς παρασκευασμαῖς, ὡς ἰδιαίτερον, καὶ παρὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐπιφανῆς ἔλεγεν οὐκ ἀληθεύει. 


(7) οἱ δὲ γεγονὸς καὶ ἀπαλής εἰ σώματος τοῦ θυγατέρας τοῦ Ἰωάννου καὶ τῷ τῶν θεῶν ἁγιών συμμετέχοντες, οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι καὶ τοῖς παρασκευασμαῖς, ὡς ἰδιαίτερον ἐπιφανῆς ἔλεγεν οὐκ ἀληθεύει. 

(8) εἰ τὸ δὲ τὸ ἄνθρωπος καὶ τοῖς παρασκευασμαῖς, συμμετέχει τοῖς των θεῶν, ἐκείνης γὰρ τῶν προφητείων, καὶ τῶν ἁγιωτάτων, δέχεται τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ πρὸς τὸν πυρὸν.
of the Jewish war, speaking of the same persons he saith, that these impostors, under a pretence of divine inspiration, affected innovations and changes, persuaded the multitude to grow mad, and led them forth into the desert, as if God would there show them the signs of liberty. Against these Felix, for it seemed to be the foundation of a revolt, sent horse and foot soldiers, and slew a great number of them. The Egyptian false prophet mentioned by (9) Josephus, and in the Acts of the Apostles, (xxi. 38.) led out into the wilderness four thousand men that were murderers: but Felix marching with his forces, and coming to an agreement with him, the Egyptian himself with a few others fled away, and most of those who had been with him were slain or taken prisoners. There was likewise another impostor mentioned by (1) Josephus, who promised salvation to the people, and a cessation of all evils, if they would follow him into the desert; but Festus sent horse and foot against him, and destroyed the deceiver himself, and those who followed him. These things happened before the destruction of Jerusalem, and a little after (2) Jonathan a weaver persuaded not a few indigent fellows to adhere to him, and led them forth into the desert, promising there to show signs and apparitions; but his followers most were slain, some were made prisoners, and he himself was afterwards taken, and burnt alive by order of Vespasian. As several of these impostors thus conducted their followers into the desert, so did others into the secret chambers or places of security: as particularly the pseudoprophets mentioned by (3) Josephus, who declared to the people in the city, that God commanded them to go up into the temple, and there they should receive the signs of deliverance. A multitude of men, women, and children, went up accordingly; but instead of deliverance, the place was set on fire by the Romans, and six thousand perished miserably in the flames, or by throwing themselves down to escape them.

Our Saviour therefore might well caution his disciples both against the former and the latter sort of these deceivers. For as the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west; so shall also the coming of the Son of man be. (ver. 27.) His coming will not be in this or that particular place, but like the lightning will be sudden and universal. The appearance of the true Christ will be as distinguishable from that of the false Christ, as lightning which shineth all around the hemisphere is from...
a blaze of straw. What a learned (4) Prelate observes from Josephus is very memorable, that the "Roman army entered into Judea on the east side of it, and carried on their conquests westward, as if not only the extremity of the ruin, but the very route, which the army would take, was intended in the comparison of the lightning coming out of the east, and shining even unto the west." For wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together. (ver. 28.) By the word carcase, as the same excellent (5) Prelate justly remarks, is meant the Jewish nation, which was morally and judicially dead, and whose destruction was pronounced in the decrees of heaven. Our Saviour, after his usual manner, applied a proverbial expression with a particular meaning. For as, according to the old proverb, wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together; so wheresoever the Jews are, there will Christ be taking vengeance upon them by the Romans, who are properly compared to eagles as the fiercest birds of prey, and whose ensign was an eagle, to which probably our Saviour in this passage alluded. And as it was said, so was it done; for the victories of the Romans were not confined to this or that place, but like a flood overran the whole land. Josephus saith that (6) there was no part of Judea, which did not partake of the calamities of the capital city. At Antioch (7) the Jews being falsely accused of a design to burn the city, many of them were burnt in the theatre, and others were slain. The Romans pursued, and took, and slew them every where, as particularly (8) at the siege of Machærus; at (9) the wood Jardes, where the Jews were surrounded, and none of them escaped, but being not fewer than three thousand were all slain; and (1) at Masada, where being closely besieged, and upon the point of being taken, they first murdered their wives and children, and then themselves to the number of nine hundred and sixty, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. When (2) Judea was totally subdued, the danger extended to those who dwelt at a distance. Many (3) were slain in Egypt, and their temple there was shut up; and (4) in Cyrene the followers of Jonathan a weaver, and author of new disturbances, were most of them slain; he himself was taken prisoner, and by his false accusation three thousand of the richest Jews were condemned and put to death: and with this account Josephus concludes his history of the Jewish war.

There was something so very extraordinary in the conduct of these false Christs and false prophets, and in their appearance at that time particularly, that it may not be improper to bestow some considerations upon this subject especially as these considerations may tend to confirm and strengthen us in our most holy religion.

1. It is obvious to observe from hence, that in all probability there hath been a true prophet, a true Christ, otherwise there would hardly have been so many cheats and counterfeiters. Fictions are usually formed upon realities; and there would be nothing spurious, but for the sake of something true and genuine. There would be no bad money, if there was none current and good. There would be no quacks and empirics, if there were no physicians able to perform real cures. In like manner there would be no pretenders to divine inspiration, were none truly and divinely inspired. There would not (we may reasonably presume) have been so many false Messiahs, had not a true Messiah been promised by God, and expected by men. And if a Messiah hath

(5) Ditto, p. 22.
(8) Ibid. Cap. 6.
(9) Ibid. Sect. 3.

(1) Ibid. Cap. 9.
(2) Ibid. Cap. 10. Sect. 1.
(3) Ibid. Cap. 10.
(4) Ibid. Cap. 11.
come from God, whom can we so properly pitch up on
for the person, as the man Christ Jesus? If there were
also some mock prophets in imitation of Mohammed,
yet their number was nothing near so considerable, and
his success was sufficient to excite and encourage them;
whereas the fate and condition of Jesus would rather
have deterred any impostors from following his ex-
ample.
2. Another natural observation from hence is, that
the Messiah was particularly expected about the time of
our Saviour, and consequently that the prophets had
beforehand marked out that very time for his coming.
For we read not of any false Messiahs before the age of
our Saviour, nor of so many in any age after; and why
did they rise at that time particularly, if the Messiah was
not at that time particularly expected? and why did the
Jews expect their Messiah at that time more than at any
other, if that was not the time before appointed for his
coming? The prophet Daniel in particular had foretold,
(ix. 25, &c.) that Messiah the prince should come
towards the end of seventy weeks of years, or 490 years,
from the going forth of the decree to restore and rebuild
Jerusalem. Before these weeks of years were, by one
account or other, near expiring, history saith nothing of
the false Messiahs; but when the prophetic weeks drew
towards a conclusion, then these impostors arose fre-
quent, like so many meteors to dazzle the eyes, and
mislead the wondering steps of Jews and Samaritans.
Nothing can be a more evident and convincing proof,
that the Jews then understood the prophecy in the same
sense as the Christians, however they may endeavor to
evade the force of it now. They pretend that the com-
ing of the Messiah was delayed for the sins of the people,
and therefore they still live in expectation of him, though
they know neither the time nor the place of his appear-
ing. Strange! that he who was to come for the sins of
the people, should delay his coming for their sins: and
more strange still! that God should falsify so many of
his promises made by the mouths of his holy prophets.
(Num. xxiii. 19.) God is not a man that he should lie,

neither the son of man that he should repent: hath he
said, and would he not do it? or hath he spoken, and
would he not make it good?
3. It may be farther observed from hence, that the
Messiah was expected to work miracles. Miracles are
the credentials of a messenger from God: and it was
foretold particularly of the Messiah, that he should work
miracles. There was no pretending therefore to the
character of the Messiah without the necessary qualifi-
cations. Had not the power of working miracles been
esteemed an essential ingredient in the character of the
Messiah, these impostors would never have had the
assurance to pretend to it, or been so foolish as to hazard
their reputation, and venture their whole success upon
such an experiment: but all of them to a man drew the
people after them with a pretence of working miracles,
of showing signs, and wonders, and apparitions. Now
the very miracles which the Messiah was to perform,
Jesus hath performed, and none other besides Jesus.
The prophet Isaiah foretold, that the Messiah should
cure the lame and the blind, the deaf and the dumb; and
accordingly these very persons were cured in great num-
bers by Jesus. The prophet Isaiah foretold likewise,
that these miracles should be wrought in the desert; and
accordingly in the desert Jesus wrought them: and by
the way I suppose this prophecy was one principal rea-
son why most of the false Christs and false prophets led
their followers into solitudes and deserts, promising there
to show signs and wonders. The prophet Isaiah foretold
(xxx. 1, &c.) The wilderness and the solitary place shall
be glad for them, and the desert shall rejoice, and blossom
as the rose.—They shall see the glory of the Lord, and
the excellency of our God.—The eyes of the blind shall
be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped.
The lame man shall leap as an hart, and the tongue of the
dumb sing. The apostle and evangelist St. Matthew re-
lates (xxv. 29, &c.) that Jesus departed from thence (from
the coasts of Tyre and Sidon) and came nigh unto the sea
of Galilee, and went up into a mountain, and sat down
there. And great multitudes came unto him, having with
them those that were lame, blind, dumb, maimed, and many others, and cast them down at Jesus' feet, and he healed them: insomuch that the multitude wondered when they saw the dumb to speak, the maimed to be whole, the lame to walk, and the blind to see: and they glorified the God of Israel. Since then the miracles of the Messiah were wrought by Jesus alone, Jesus alone can have any just claim to be the Messiah: and from his works we may conclude (John vi. 14.) This is of a truth that prophet that should come into the world.

4. Very observable is the difference between the conduct and success of these deceivers and of Jesus Christ: for in him we have all the marks and characters of simplicity and truth, in them fraud and imposture. They were men of debauched lives and vicious principles: he did no sin. (1 Pet. ii. 22.) neither was guile found in his mouth; even Pilate his judge declared (John xix. 6.) that he could find no fault in him. They lived by rapin and spoil, by plunder and murder: He (Luke ix. 56.) came not to destroy men's lives but to save them; He fed the hungry, healed the sick, and went from place to place doing good. Their conduct breathes nothing but ambition and pride, cruelty and revenge: his behaviour was all humility and meekness, charity and love of mankind. They were actuated by worldly motives, and proposed to themselves secular ends and interests; Jesus was the farthest removed from any suspicion of that kind, and when the people would have taken him (John vi. 15.) to make him a king, he withdrew himself from them, and departed again into a mountain himself alone. Their pretensions were accommodated to the carnal expectations of the Jews, and withal were backed by force and violence, and yet could not succeed and prosper: on the contrary, the religion of Jesus was spiritual, disclaimed all force, and took the way (humanly speaking) not to prevail, and yet prevailed against all the power and opposition of the world. Now of these who were the deceivers, think you, who was the true Christ? Had Jesus been an impostor, he would have lived and acted like an impostor. Had his design been any thing like theirs,
sphus expresseth it, ἧπιον to grow enthusiastically mad, as if they were possessed and actuated by some spirit or demon: and indeed no plague or epidemical distemper is more catching and contagious than enthusiasm. It passeth from man to man like wild-fire. The imagination is soon heated, and there is rarely judgment enough to cool it again. The very elect, even good Christians themselves, if they attend to enthusiasts, will be in danger of taking the infection, and be continually liable to be Ephes. iv. 14.) tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, if they have not (as all have not) a sufficient ballast of discretion to keep them steedly. In reality enthusiasts know as little of the revelation given us by Christ, as of the reason given us by God. They are blind leaders of the blind. Wherefore if they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the desert, behold his power is experienced in field preaching, go not forth; behold he is in the secret chambers, behold his presence is conspicuous in the tabernacles or conventicles, believe it not. He is best sought in his word, and in his works; and he will certainly be found by those, and those alone, who love him, not with fanaticism and enthusiasm, but in truth and soberness, so as to keep his commandments, which is the only infallible proof and legitimate issue of love. For as our Saviour himself saith, (John xiv. 23.) If a man love me, he will keep my words; and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him.

6. Once more it is to be observed, that we must not credit every one, who cometh to us with a pretence of working miracles. For the false Christs and false prophets pretended to show great signs and wonders; and yet notwithstanding all their miraculous pretensions, our blessed Lord cautions his disciples not to believe or follow them. But then the question will be naturally asked, If we must not believe those who work miracles, whom we believe? how shall we know whether a person doth or doth not act by commission from heaven? how shall we distinguish whether the doctrine is of God or of men? Indeed if miracles were not possible to be wrought at all, as some have pretended: or could be wrought only by God, or those who are commissioned by him, as others have argued; the reply would be obvious and easy: but that miracles are possible to be wrought is a truth agreeable to reason, and that they may be wrought by evil spirits is a supposition agreeable to scripture; and therefore the best answer is, that reason must judge in this case as in every other, and determine of the miracles by the doctrines which they are alleged to confirm. If a doctrine is evil, no miracles can be wrought by a divine power in its behalf; for God can never set his hand and seal to a lie. If a doctrine is good, then we may be certain, that the miracles vouched for it were not wrought by the power of evil spirits; for at that rate, according to our Saviour's argument, (Luke xi. 18.) Satan would be divided against himself, and his kingdom could not stand. Good spirits can never confirm and establish what is evil, neither can evil spirits be supposed to promote what is good. Supposing that the miracles pretended in favor of Paganism were all real miracles, yet as they lead men to a corrupt religion and idolatrous worship, no reverence, no regard is to be paid to them, according to the command of Moses, (Deut. xiii. 1, &c.) If there arise among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and giveth thee a sign or a wonder, And the sign or the wonder come to pass, whereby he speaketh unto thee, saying, Let us go after other gods (which thou hast not known) and let us serve them: Thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams; for the Lord your God proveth you, to know whether you love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul. In like manner we must not admit any thing contrary to the doctrines of Christ and his apostles, whatever miracles are boasted to recommend and authorize it. For the doctrines of the Christian religion are not only perfectly agreeable to reason, but moreover God hath confirmed it, amply confirmed it by miracles, and hath enjoined us strictly to adhere to it; and God can never be supposed to work miracles to confirm contradictions: and therefore
allowing (what we cannot reasonably allow) that the miracles of Apollo and other impostors were true and well attested, yet the foundation of Christ standeth firm, and cannot at all be shaken by them. Should any man, or number of men, with ever so great and confident a pretence to infallibility assert—that it is our duty implicitly to believe and obey the church: when Christ commands us (Matt. xxii. 9.) to call no man father upon earth, for one is our Father which is in heaven—that the service of God is to be performed in an unknown tongue; when St. Paul in his first Epistle to the Corinthians hath written a whole chapter (xv.) expressly against it—that the sacrament of the Lord's supper is to be administered only in one kind; when Christ instituted it, (Matt. xxvi.) and his apostles ordered it (1 Cor. x.) to be celebrated in both—that the propitiatory sacrifice of Christ is to be repeated in the mass; when the divine author of the Epistle to the Hebrews teacheth us, (x. 10.) that the body of Jesus Christ was offered once for all, and (ver. 14.) that by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified—that men may arrive at such heights of virtue as to perform works of merit and supererogation; when our Saviour orders us, (Luke xvii. 10.) after we have done all those things which are commanded us, to say, we are unprofitable servants, we have done but that which was our duty to do—that attrition and confession together with the absolution of the priest will put a dying sinner into a state of grace and salvation; when the scripture again and again declares (Heb. xii. 14.) that without holiness no man shall see the Lord, and (1 Cor. vi. 9.) the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God—that the souls of men, even of good men, immediately after death pass into purgatory; when St. John is commanded from heaven to write, (Rev. xiv. 13.) Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, that they may rest from their labours, and their works do follow them—that we must worship images and the relics of the saints; when our Saviour teacheth us, (Matt. iv. 10.) that we must worship the Lord God, and him only we must serve—that we must invoke and adore saints and angels; when the apostle chargeth us (Col. ii. 18.) to let no man beguile us of our reward in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels—that we must pray to the virgin Mary and all saints to intercede for us; when St. Paul affirins, (1 Tim. ii. 5.) that as there is only one God, so there is only one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus—that it is lawful to fill the world with rebellions and treasons, with persecutions and massacres, for the sake of religion and the church; when St. James assures us, (i. 20.) that the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God; and when Christ maketh universal love and charity the distinguishing mark and badge of his disciples, (John xiii. 35.) By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another—I say should any man assert these things so directly contrary to reason and to the word of God, and vouch even so many miracles in confirmation of them, yet we should make no scruple to reject and renounce them all. Nay we are obliged to denounce anathema against the teacher of such doctrines, though he were an apostle, though he were an angel from heaven: and for this we have the warrant and authority of St. Paul, and to show that he laid particular stress upon it, he repeats it twice with great vehemence, (Gal. i. 8, 9.) Tho' we or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed. As we said before, so say I now again, If any one preach any other gospel unto you, than that ye have received, let him be accursed. Indeed the miracles alleged in support of these doctrines are such ridiculous incredible things that a man must have faith, I do not say to remove mountains, but to swallow mountains, who can receive for truth the legends of the church of Rome. But admitting that any of the Romish miracles were undeniable matters of fact, and were attested by the best and most authentic records of time, yet I know not what the Bishop of Rome would gain by it, but a better title to be thought Antichrist. For we know that the coming of Antichrist, as St. Paul declares, (2 Thess. ii. 9, 10.) is after the working of Satan
with all power and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness: and he doth great wonders in the sight of men, according to the prophecy of St. John, (Rev. xiii. 13, 14.) and deceiveth them that dwell on the earth by means of those miracles which he hath power to do. Nor indeed is anything more congruous and reasonable, than that God (2 Thess. ii. 10, 11.) should send men strong delusion, that they should believe a lie, because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved.

But to return from this digression, though I hope neither an improper nor unedifying digression, to our main subject.

XX.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

PART III.

We are now come to the last act of this dismal tragedy, the destruction of Jerusalem and the final dissolution of the Jewish polity in church and state, which our Saviour for several reasons might not think fit to declare nakedly and plainly, and therefore chooseth to clothe his discourse in figurative language. "He might possibly do it, as (1) Dr Jortin conceives, to perplex the unbelieving persecuting Jews, if his discourses should ever fall into their hands, that they might not learn to avoid the impending evil." Immediately after the tribulation of those days, shall the sun be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken. Commentators generally understand

this and what follows of the end of the world and of Christ's coming to judgment: but the words immediately after the tribulation of those days show evidently that he is not speaking of any distant event, but of something immediately consequent upon the tribulation before mentioned, and that must be the destruction of Jerusalem. It is true, his figures are very strong, but no stronger than are used by the ancient prophets upon similar occasions. The prophet Isaiah speaking in the same manner of Babylon, (xiii. 9, 10.) Behold the day of the Lord cometh, cruel both with wrath and fierce anger, to lay the land desolate; and he shall destroy the sinners thereof out of it. For the stars of heaven and the constellations thereof shall not give their light; the sun shall be darkened in his going forth, and the moon shall not cause her light to shine. The prophet Ezekiel speaking in the same manner of Egypt, (xxxii. 7, 8.) And when I shall put thee out, I will cover the heaven, and make the stars thereof dark: I will cover the sun with a cloud, and the moon shall not give her light. And the bright lights of heaven will I make dark over thee, and set darkness upon thy land, saith the Lord God. The prophet Daniel speaketh in the same manner of the slaughter of the Jews by the little horn, whether by the little horn be understood Antichus Epiphanes or the power of the Romans; (viii. 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: And the prophet Joel of this very destruction of Jerusalem, (ii. 30, 31.) And I will shew wonders in the heavens and in the earth, blood and fire and pillars of smoke. The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before the great and terrible day of the Lord come. Thus it is that in the prophetic language great commotions and revolutions upon earth, are often represented by commotions and changes in the heavens.

Our Saviour proceedeth in the same figurative stile (ver. 30.) And then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven; and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of man coming in
the clouds of heaven, and with power and great glory. The plain meaning of it is, that the destruction of Jerusalem will be such a remarkable instance of divine vengeance, such a signal manifestation of Christ's power and glory, that all the Jewish tribes shall mourn, and many will be led from hence to acknowledge Christ and the Christian religion. In the ancient prophets, God is frequently described as coming in the clouds, upon any remarkable interposition and manifestation of his power; and the same description is here applied to Christ. The destruction of Jerusalem will be as ample a manifestation of Christ's power and glory, as if he was himself to come visibly in the clouds of heaven.

The same sort of metaphor is carried on in the next verse, (ver. 31.) And he shall send his angels with the great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other. This is all in the stile and phraseology of the prophets, and stript of its figures meaneth only, that after the destruction of Jerusalem, Christ by his angels or ministers will gather to himself a glorious church out of all the nations under heaven. The Jews shall be thrust out, as he expresseth himself in another place, (Luke xiii. 28, 29.) and they shall come from the east, and from the west, and from the north, and from the south; and shall sit down in the kingdom of God.

No one ever so little versed in history needeth to be told, that the Christian religion spread and prevailed mightily after this period; and hardly any one thing contributed more to this success of the gospel, than the destruction of Jerusalem, falling out in the very manner and with the very circumstances so particularly foretold by our blessed Saviour.

What Dr. Warburton hath (2) written upon the same subject will much illustrate and enforce the foregoing exposition. " The prophecy of Jesus, concerning the approaching destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, is conceived in such high and swelling terms, that not

(2) Warburton's Julian, Book I, Chap. 1. p. 21, &c. 2d Edit.
of principalities and powers, whether spiritual or civil, 
are signified by the shaking heaven and earth, the 
darkening the sun and moon, and the falling of the 
stars; as the rise and establishment of new ones are 
by processions in the clouds of heaven, by the sound 
of trumpets, and the assembling together of hosts and 
congregations."

This language, as he observes (3) in another place, 
was borrowed from the ancient hieroglyphics. "For as 
in the hieroglyphic writing, the sun, moon, and stars, 
were used to represent states and empires, kings, 
queens, and nobility; their eclipse and extinction, 
temporary disasters, or entire overthrow, &c. so in like 
manner the holy prophets call kings and empires 
by the names of the heavenly luminaries; their mis-
fortunes and overthrow are represented by eclipses and 
extinction; stars falling from the firmament are em-
ployed to denote the destruction of the nobility, &c. 
In a word, the prophetic style seems to be a speaking 
hieroglyphic. These observations will not only assist 
us in the study of the Old and New Testament, but 
likewise vindicate their character from the idle lies 
cavils of modern libertines, who have foolishly mistaken 
that for the peculiar workmanship of the prophet's 
heated imagination, which was the sober established 
language of their times, and which God and his Son 
condescended to employ as the properest conveyance of 
the high mysterious ways of providence in the revela-
tion of themselves to mankind."

To St. Matthew's account St. Luke addeth, (xxi. 24.) 
And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be 
led away captive into all nations; and Jerusalem shall 
be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the 
Gentiles be fulfilled. The number of those who fell by 
the edge of the sword, was indeed very great. Of those 
who perished during the whole siege, there were, as Jose-
phus (4) saith, eleven hundred thousand. Many were also

(4) τὸν ᾿Ιασσήνων κάλλος πίστευτε τοῖς παλαιοῖς, μορφῇ ἐκείνη καὶ διά 
tolius autem obsidione temporc undiscectus quintum voluminum millias perierunt.

slain (5) at other times and in other places. By the 
command of Florus, who was the first author of the war, 
there were slain at Jerusalem (6) three thousand and six 
hundred: By the inhabitants of Cæsarea (7) above 
twenty thousand: At Scythopolis (8) above thirteen 
thousand: At Ascalon (9) two thousand five hundred, 
and at Ptolemais two thousand: At Alexandria, under 
Tiberius Alexander the president, (1) fifty thousand: 
At Joppa, when it was taken by Cestius Gallus, (2) 
eight thousand four hundred: In a mountain called 
Asamon near Sephoris (3) above two thousand: At 
Damascus (4) ten thousand: In a battle with the Ro-
mans at Ascalon (5) ten thousand: In an ambuscade 
under the same place (6) eight thousand: At Japha (7) 
fifteen thousand: Of the Samaritans upon Mount Gar-
zin (8) eleven thousand and six hundred: At Jotap (9) 
fifty thousand: At Joppa, when taken by Vespasian, 
(1) four thousand two hundred: At Tarichaea (2) six 
thousand five hundred, and after the city was taken 
twelve thousand: At Gamala (3) four thousand slave, be-
sides five thousand who threw themselves down a pre-
cipice: Of those who fled with John from Gischala (4) 
six thousand: Of the Gadarenes (5) fifteen thousand

(8) ibid. Sect. 3.
(9) ibid. Sect. 5.
(1) ibid. Sect. 8.
(2) ibid. Sect. 10.
(3) ibid. Sect. 11.
(4) ibid. Cap. 20. Sect. 2.
(5) Lib. 3. Cap. 2. Sect. 2.
(6) ibid. Sect. 3.
(7) ibid. Cap. 7. Sect. 31.
(8) ibid. Sect. 32.
(9) ibid. Sect. 36.
(1) ibid. Cap. 8. Sect. 3.
(2) ibid. Cap. 9. Sect. 9, 10,
(3) ibid. Cap. 1. Sect. 10.
(4) ibid. Cap. 2. Sect. 5.
(5) ibid. Cap. 7. Sect. 5.
slain, besides an infinite number drowned: In the villages of Idumea (6) above ten thousand slain: At Gerasa (7) a thousand: At Macherus (8) seventeen hundred: In the wood of Jardes (9) three thousand: In the castle of Masada (1) nine hundred and sixty: In Cyrene by Catullus the governor (2) three thousand. Besides these many of every age, sex and condition, were slain in this war, who are not reckoned; but of these who are reckoned, the number amounts to above one million, three hundred fifty-seven thousand, six hundred and sixty; which would appear almost incredible, if their own historian had not so particularly enumerated them.

But besides the Jews who fell by the edge of the sword, others were also to be led away captive into all nations: and considering the number of the slain, the number of the captives too was very great. There were taken particularly at Japha (3) two thousand one hundred and thirty: At Jotaphta (4) one thousand two hundred: At Tarichea (5) six thousand chosen young men were sent to Nero, the rest sold to the number of thirty thousand and four hundred, besides those who were given to Agrippa: Of the Gadarenes (6) two thousand two hundred: In Idumea (7) above a thousand. Many besides these were taken at Jerusalem, so that as Josephus himself (8) informs us, the number of the captives taken in

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(9) Ibid. Sect. 5.
(12) Lib. 3. Cap. 7. Sect. 31.
(13) Ibid. Sect. 36.
(15) Ibid. Cap. 4. Sect. 5.

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the whole war amounted to ninety-seven thousand; the tall and handsome young men Titus reserved for his triumph; of the rest, those above seventeen years of age were sent to the works in Egypt, but most were distributed through the Roman provinces, to be destroyed in their theatres by the sword or by the wild beasts; those under seventeen were sold for slaves. Of these captives many underwent hard fate. Eleven thousand of them (9) perished for want. Titus exhibited all sorts of shows and spectacles at Cæsarea, and (1) many of the captives were there destroyed, some being exposed to the wild beasts, and others compelled to fight in troops against one another. At Cæsarea too in honour of his brother’s birth-day (2) two thousand five hundred Jews were slain; and a great number likewise at Berytus in honor of his father’s. The like (3) was done in other cities of Syria. Those whom he reserved for his triumph (4) were Simon and John, the generals of the captives, and seven hundred others of remarkable stature and beauty. Thus were the Jews miserably tormented, and distributed over the Roman provinces; and are they not still distressed and dispersed over all the nations of the earth?

As the Jews were to be led away captive into all nations, so Jerusalem was to be trodden down of the Gentiles,
until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled. And accordingly Jerusalem has never since been in the possession of the Jews, but hath constantly been in subjection to some other nation, as first to the Romans, and afterwards to the Saracens, and then to the Franks, and then to the Mahommedans, and now to the Turks.

Titus, as it was related before, (5) commanded all the city as well as the temple to be destroyed: only three towers were left standing for monuments to posterity of the strength of the city, and so much of the wall as encompassed the city on the west, for barracks for the soldiers who were left there in garrison. All the rest of the city was so totally demolished, that there was no likelihood of its ever being inhabited again. The soldiers who were left there, (6) were the tenth legion, with some troops of horse and companies of foot, (7) under the command of Terentius Rufus. When Titus (8) came again to Jerusalem in his way from Syria to Egypt, and beheld the sad devastation of the city, and called to mind its former splendour and beauty, he could not help lamenting over it, and cursing the authors of the rebellion, who had compelled him to the cruel necessity of destroying so fine a city. Vespasian (9) ordered all the lands of the Jews to be sold for his own use; and all the Jews, wheresoever they dwelt, to pay each man every year the same sum to the capitol of Rome, that they had before paid to the temple at Jerusalem. The desolation was so complete, that Eleazar (1) said to his countrymen: 'What is become of our city, which was believed to be inhabited by God? It is rooted up from the very foundations, and the only monument of it that is left, is the camp of those who destroyed it, still pitched upon its remains. Some unhappy old men sit over the ashes of the temple, and a few women reserved by the enemy for the basest of injuries.'

The first who (2) rebuilt Jerusalem, though not at all exactly on the same spot, was the Roman emperor Titus Adrian, and he called it after his own name Ælia, and placed in it a Roman colony, and dedicated a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus in the room of the temple of the true God. While he was visiting the eastern parts of the empire, he came to Jerusalem, as (3) Epiphanius informs us, forty-seven years after its destruction by Titus, and found the city all leveled with the ground, and the temple of God trodden under foot, except a few houses: and he then formed the resolution of rebuilding it, but his design was not put into execution till towards the latter end of his reign. The Jews, naturally of a seditious spirit, were inflamed (4) upon this occasion into open rebellion, to recover their native city and country out of the hands of heathen violators and oppressors: and they were headed by a man called (5) Barchochab, a vile robber and murderer, whose name signifying the son of a star, he confidently pretended that he was the person prophesied of by Balaam in those words, (Numb. xxiv. 17.) There shall come a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel. They were (6) successful in their first enterprises through the neglect of the Romans: and it is probable, as the rebellion was raised for this purpose, that they made themselves masters of Ælia, or the new Jerusalem, and massacred or chased from thence the heathen inhabitants, and the Romans besieged and took it again; for we read in

(6) Ibid. Sect. 3.
(7) Ibid. Cap. 2.
(8) Ibid. Cap. 5. Sect. 2.
(4) Dionis. Hist. ibid.
emperor Constantine the Great. 'The name of Jerusalem had grown into such disuse, and was so little remembered or known, especially among the Heathens, that when (7) one of the martyrs of Palestine, who suffered in the persecution under Maximin, was examined of what country he was, and answered of Jerusalem, neither the governor of the province, nor any of his assistants could comprehend what city it was or where situated. But in Constantine's time it began to resume its ancient name; and this emperor enlarged and beautified it with so many stately edifices and churches, that (8) Euseb. said more like a courtier than a bishop, that this perhaps was the new Jerusalem, which was foretold by the prophets. The Jews, who hated and abhorred the Christian religion as much or more than the heathen, (9) assembled again, as we learn from St. Chrysostom, to recover their city, and to rebuild their temple; but the emperor with his soldiers repressed their vain attempt; and having caused their ears to be cut off, and their bodies to be marked for rebels, he dispersed them over all the provinces of his empire, as so many fugitives and slaves.

The laws of Constantine, and of his son and successor Constantius, were likewise in other respects very severe against the Jews: but Julian, called the Apostate, the nephew of Constantine, and successor of Constantius, was more favorably inclined towards them; not that he really liked the Jews, but disliked the Christians, and out of prejudice and hatred to the Christian religion resolved to re-establish the Jewish worship and ceremonies. Our Saviour had said that Jerusalem should be trodden down of the Gentiles; and he would defeat the prophecy, and restore the Jews. For this purpose he (1) wrote

(7) Euseb. de Mart. Palavst. Cap. 11.
(8) ταύτα δὲ τοιαύτα πέρα τοις διε προφητικοις ιστοριοις εννοειται η ιερουσαλημ, ἀρχικὸς λαοὺς τερτος τερτιος τερτιος
kindly to the whole body or community of the Jews, expressing his concern for their former ill treatment, and assuring them of his protection from future oppression; and concluding with a promise, that (2) if he was successful in the Persian war, he would rebuild the holy city Jerusalem, restore them to their habitations, live with them there, and join with them in worshipping the great God of the universe. His zeal even exceeded his promise; for before he set out from Antioch on his Persian expedition, he proposed to begin with (3) rebuilding the temple of Jerusalem, with the greatest magnificence. He assigned immense sums for the building. He gave it in charge to Alypius of Antioch, who had formerly been lieutenant in Britain, to superintend and hasten the work. Alypius set about it vigorously. The governor of the province assisted him in it. But horrible balls of fire bursting forth near the foundations, with frequent assaults, rendered the place inaccessible to the workmen, who were burnt several times: and in this

manner the fiery element obstinately repelling them, the enterprise was laid aside. What a signal providence was it, that this no more than the former attempts should succeed and prosper; and that rather than the prophecies should be defeated, a prodigy was wrought even by the testimony of a faithful heathen historian? The interposition certainly was as providential, as the attempt was impious: and the account here given is nothing more than what Julian himself and his own historian have testified. There are indeed many witnesses to the truth of the fact, whom an (4) able critic hath well drawn together, and ranged in this order. "Ammianus Marcellinus an Heathen, Zemuch David a Jew, who confessed that Julian was divinitus impeditus, hindered by God in this attempt: Nazianzen and Chrysostom among the Greeks, St. Ambrose and Rufinus among the Latins, who flourished at the very time when this was done: Theodoret and Sozomen orthodoxo-"dox historians, Philostorgius an Arian, Socrates a favorer of the Novatians, who writ the story within the space of fifty years after the thing was done, and whilst the eye-witnesses of the fact were yet surviving." But the public hath lately been obliged with the best and fullest account of this whole transaction in Dr. Warburton's Julian, where the evidence for the miracle is set in the strongest light, and all objections are clearly refuted, to the triumph of faith and the confusion of infidelity.

Julian was the last of the Heathen emperors. His successor Jovian made it the business of his short reign, to undo, as much as was possible, all that Julian had done: and the succeeding emperors were generally for repressing Judaism, in the same proportion as they were zealous for promoting Christianity. Adrian's edict was (5) revived, which prohibited all Jews from entering into Jerusalem, or coming near the city; and guards were posted to enforce the execution of it. This was a


(3) Ambitussum quandam apud Hierosolymam templum, quod post multa et interecca certamina obstante Vespasiano posteaque Tito nigré est expugnatum, instaurare sumptibus cogitabat immodioces: negotiumque matutum, quod cum Hierosolymam delerat Amytchensi, quin eum Britannias narraverat pro prefectoribus. Cum itaque rei imitari instar aliquorum instar Alapius, javaratque provincie rector, mitemi globi flammarum prope fundamenta crebris assilibus crumpenitis, secare locum existis aliquoties openatus inaccessum: hocque modo elementum distinctius repellebant, cessavit inceptum. I. He thought of rebuilding at a vast expense, the once magnificent temple of Jerusalem, which with difficulty was destroyed, after many furious battles, in a siege under Vespasian, and afterwards under Titus. He gave the charge of preparing for, and hastening on this work, to Alypius of Antioch, who formerly had been lieutenant in Britain. When Alypius, assisted by the governor of the province, was vigorously engaged in this business, horrible balls of fire bursting out from near the foundation with frequent assaults rendered the place inaccessible to the workmen, who were burnt several times. In this manner the element of fire obstinately opposing them, the undertaking was laid aside.


very lucrative station to the soldiers; for the Jews (6) used to give money for permission to come and see the ruins of their city and temple, and to weep over them, especially on the day wherein Jerusalem had been taken and destroyed by the Romans. It doth not appear that the Jews had ever the liberty of approaching the city, unless by stealth or by purchase, as long as it continued in subjection to the Greek emperors. It continued in subjection to the Greek emperors, till this, as well as the neighbouring cities and countries, fell under the dominion of the Saracens. Only in the former part of the seventh century after Christ, and in the beginning of the reign of the emperor Heraclius, it was (7) taken and plundered by Chosroes king of Persia, and the greatest cruelties were exercised on the inhabitants. Ninety thousand Christians are said to have been sold and sacrificed to the malice and revenge of the Jews. But Heraclius soon repelled and routed the Persians, rescued Jerusalem out of their hands, and banished all Jews, forbidding them, under the severest penalties, to come within three miles of the city.

Jerusalem was hardly recovered from the depredations of the Persians, before it was exposed to a worse evil by the conquering arms of the Saracens. It was in the beginning of the same seventh century, that Mohammed began to preach and propagate his new religion; and this little cloud, which was at first no bigger than a man's hand, soon overspread and darkened the whole hemisphere. Mohammed himself conquered some parts of Arabia. His successor Abuhakek broke into Palestine and Syria. Omar the next caliph was one of the most rapid conquerors, who ever spread desolation upon the face of the earth. His reign was of no longer duration than ten years and a half; and in that time he subdued all Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Egypt. His (8) army invested Jerusalem. He came thither in

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of the Selzuccian race had made themselves masters of Persia, had usurped the government, but submitted to the religion of the country; and being firmly seated there, they extended their conquests as far as Jerusalem, and farther. They drove out the Arabians, and also despoiled the caliphs of their power over it; and they kept possession of it, till being weakened by divisions among themselves, they were ejected by the caliph of Egypt. The caliph of Egypt, perceiving the divisions and weakness of the Turks, advanced to Jerusalem with a great army; and the Turks expecting no succour, presently surrendered it to him. But though it thus changed masters, and passed from the Arabians to the Turks, and from the Turks to the Egyptians, yet the religion professed there was still the same, the Mohammedan being authorized and established, and the Christian only tolerated upon payment of tribute.

The Egyptians enjoyed their conquests but a little while; for in (4) the same year that they took possession of it, they were dispossessed again by the Franks as they are generally denominated, or the Latin Christians. Peter the hermit of Amiens in France went on a pilgrimage to Palestine, and there having seen and shared in the distresses and miseries of the Christians, he represented them at his return in such pathetic terms, that by his preaching and instigation, and by the authority of pope Urban II. and the Council of Clermont, the west was stirred up against the east, Europe against Asia, the Christians against the Musulmam, for the retaking of Jerusalem, and for the recovery of the holy land out of the hands of the infidels. It was the epidemic madness of the time; and old and young, men and women, priests and soldiers, monks and merchants, peasants and mechanics, all were eager to assume the cross, and to set out for what they thought the holy wars. Some assert that the number of those who went out on this expedi-


family of Saladin, but thirty years after his nephew Al Moadham, sultan of Damascus, was obliged to demolish the walls, not being able to keep it himself, and fearing lest the Franks, who were then again become formidable in those parts, should establish themselves again in a place of such strength. Afterwards in the year 1228, another of Saladin’s family, Al Kamel, the sultan of Egypt, who after the death of his kinsman Al Moadham enjoyed part of his estates, to secure his own kingdom, made a treaty with the Franks, and yielded up Jerusalem to the emperor Frederic II. upon condition that he should not rebuild the walls, and that the mosques should be reserved for the devotions of the Mussulmen. Frederic was accordingly crowned king there, but soon returned into Europe. Not many years intervened before the Christians broke the truce; and Melecsalah, sultan of Egypt, being greatly offended, marched directly towards Jerusalem, put all the Franks therein to the sword, demolished the castle which they had built, sacked and raised the city, not even sparing the sepulchre of our Saviour, which till that time had never been violated or defiled; and before the end of the same century, the crusaders or European Christians were totally extirpated out of the holy land, having lost in their eastern expeditions, according to some accounts, above two millions of persons.

Before this time the Mamaluchs or the foreign slaves to the Egyptian sultans had usurped the government from their masters: and soon after this Kazan the chieftain of the Mogul-Tartars made an irruption into Syria, routed Al Naser the Sultan of Egypt, had Damascus surrendered to him, and ordered Jerusalem to be repaired and fortified. But being recalled by great troubles in Persia, he was obliged to quit his new conquests, and the Mamaluch sultan of Egypt soon took possession of them again. In like manner the great Timur or Tamerlane, like a mighty torrent, overwhelmed Asia, and vanquished both the Turkish and Egyptian sultans, he went twice in passing and repassing to visit the holy city, gave many presents to the religious persons, and freed the inhabitants from subsidies and garrisons. But the ebb was almost as sudden as the flood. He died within a few years, and his sons and grandsons quarrelling about the succession, his vast empire in a little time mouldered away; and Jerusalem with the neighbouring countries reverted to the obedience of the Mamaluchs again. It was indeed in a ruined and desolate state, as Chalcocondylas, describes it, and the Christians paid large tribute to the sultans of Egypt for access to the sepulchre of Jesus. And in the same state it continued, with little variation, under the dominion of the Mamaluchs, for the space of above 250 years, till at length this with the other territories of the Mamaluchs fell a prey to the arms of the Turks of the Ottoman race.

It was about the year 1516 that Selim the ninth emperor of the Turks turned his arms against Egypt; and having conquered one sultan, and hanged another, he annexed Syria, Egypt, and all the dominions of the Mamaluchs to the Ottoman empire. In his way to Egypt, he did as Kazan and Tamerlane had done before him; he went to visit the holy city, the seat of so many prophets, and the scene of so many miracles. It lay at that time miserably deformed and ruined, ac-

(9) Knolles and Savage, p. 95. Voltaire, ibid.
corded: to the (6) account of a contemporary historian, not inhabited by the Jews who were banished into all the world, but by a few Christians who paid large tribute to the Egyptian sultans for the possession of the holy sepulchre. Selim offered up his devotions at the monuments of the old prophets, and presented the Christian priests with as much money as was sufficient to buy them provisions for six months; and having stayed there one night, he went to join his army at Gaza. From that time to this the Ottoman emperors have (7) possessed it under the title of Hami, that is of protectors, and not of masters; though they are more properly tyrants and oppressors. Turks, Arabsians, and Christians of various sects and nations dwell there out of reverence to the place; but very few Jews; and of those the greatest part, as (3) Basnage says, are beggars and live upon alms. The Jews say, that when the Messiah shall come, the city will undergo a conflagration and inundation in order to be purified from the defilements, which the Christian and Mohammedan have committed in it; and therefore they chose not to settle there. But the writer just mentioned assigns two more probable and natural reasons. "One is, that the Mohammedans look upon "Jerusalem as a holy place; and therefore there are "a great many Saints and devout Musselmans, who "have taken up their abode there, who are persecutors "of the Jews as well as of the Christians, so that they

"have less tranquillity and liberty in Jerusalem than in "other places: and as there is very little trade, there is "not much to be got, and this want of gain drives them "away."

By thus tracing the history of Jerusalem from the destruction by Titus to the present time, it appears evidently, that as the Jews have been led away captive into "all nations, so Jerusalem hath been trodden down of the "Gentiles. There are now almost 1700 years, in which the Jewish nation have been a standing monument of the truth of Christ's predictions, themselves dispersed over the face of the whole earth, and their land groaning under the yoke of foreign lords and conquerors: And at this day there is no reason to doubt but they will continue in the same state, nor ever recover their native country, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled. Our Saviour's words are very memorable, Jerusalem shall be "trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gen-
tiles be fulfilled. It is still trodden down by the Gentiles, and consequently the times of the Gentiles are not yet fulfilled. When the times of the Gentiles shall be fulfilled, then the expression implies that the Jews shall be restored: And for what reason, can we believe, that though they are dispersed among all nations, yet by a constant miracle they are kept distinct from all but for the farther manifestation of God's purposes towards them? The prophecies have been accomplished to the greatest exactness in the destruction of their city, and its continuing still subject to strangers, in the dispersion of their people, and their living still separate from all people; and why should not the remaining parts of the same prophecies be as fully accomplished too in their restoration, at the proper season, when the times of the Gentiles shall be ful-
filled? The times of the Gentiles will be fulfilled, when the times of the four great kingdoms of the Gentiles according to Daniel's prophecies shall be expired, and the fifth kingdom or the kingdom of Christ shall be set up in their place, and the saints of the most High shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever. Jerusalem, as it has hitherto remained, so pro-
hably will remain in subjection to the Gentiles, until these times of the Gentiles be fulfilled; or as St. Paul expresseth it, (Rom. xi. 25, 26.) until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in; and so all Israel shall be saved, and become again the people of God. The fulness of the Jews will come in as well as the fulness of the Gentiles. For (ver. 12, &c.) if the fall of them be the riches of the world, and the diminishing of them the riches of the Gentiles; how much more their fulness? For I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery, that blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in: And so all Israel shall be saved.

XXI.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

PART IV.

WHEN we first entered on an explanation of our Saviour's prophecies relating to the destruction of Jerusalem, comprised chiefly in this 24th chapter of St. Matthew, it was observed that the disciples in their question propose two things to our Saviour, first when should be the time of his coming or the destruction of Jerusalem, and secondly what should be the signs of it, (ver. 3.) Tell us when shall these things be, and what shall be the signs of thy coming, and of the conclusion of the age. The latter part of the question our Saviour answereth first, and treateth at large of the signs of the destruction of Jerusalem from the 4th verse of the chapter to the 31st inclusive. He toucheth upon the most material passages and incidents, not only of those which were to forerun this great event, but likewise of those which were to attend, and immediately to follow upon it: and having thus answered the latter part of the question, he proceeds now in verse 32d to answer the former part of the question, as to the time of his coming and the destruction of Jerusalem.

He begins with observing that the signs which he had given would be as certain an indication of the time of his coming, as the fig-tree's putting forth its leaves is of the approach of summer; (ver. 32, 33.) Now learn a parable of the fig-tree: when his branch is yet tender, and putteth forth leaves, ye know that summer is nigh: So likewise ye, when ye shall see all these things, know that it is near, or he is near, even at the doors. He proceeds to declare that the time of his coming was at no very great distance; and to show that he hath been speaking all this while of the destruction of Jerusalem, he affirms with his usual affirmation, (ver. 34.) Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass, till all these things be fulfilled. It is to me a wonder how any man can refer part of the foregoing discourse to the destruction of Jerusalem, and part to the end of the world, or any other distant event, when it is said so positively here in the conclusion, All these things shall be fulfilled in this generation. It seemeth as if our Saviour had been aware of some such misapplication of his words, by adding yet greater force and emphasis to his affirmation, (ver. 35.) Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away. It is a common figure of speech in the oriental languages, to say of two things that the one shall be and the other shall not be, when the meaning is only that the one shall happen sooner or more easily than the other. As in this instance of our Saviour, Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away, the meaning is, Heaven and earth shall sooner or more easily pass away than my words shall pass away; the frame of the universe shall sooner or more easily be dissolved than my words shall not be fulfilled: And thus it is expressed by St. Luke upon a like occasion, (xvi. 17.) It is easier for heaven and earth to pass than one tittle of the law to fail.
In another place he says (Mat. xvi. 23.) There are some standing here, who shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom: intimating that it would not succeed immediately, and yet not at such a distance of time, but that some then living should be spectators of the calamities coming upon the nation. In like manner he says to the women, who bewailed and lamented him as he was going to be crucified, (Luke xxiii. 28.) Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves, and for your children: which sufficiently implied, that the days of distress and misery were coming; and would fall on them and their children. But at that time there was not any appearance of such immediate ruin. The wisest politician could not have inferred it from the then present state of affairs. Nothing less than divine prescience could have certainly foreseen and foretold it.

But still the exact time of this judgment was unknown to all creatures, (ver. 36.) But of that day and hour knoweth no man, no not the angels in heaven, but my Father only. The word ἔσται (1) is of larger signification than ἡμέρα; and besides it seemed somewhat improper to say Of that day and hour knoweth no man; for if the day was not known, certainly the hour was not, and it was superfluous to make such an addition. I conceive therefore that the passage should be rendered, not Of that day and hour knoweth no man, but Of that day and season knoweth no man, as the word is frequently used in the best authors both sacred and profane. It is true our Saviour declares, All these things shall be fulfilled in this generation; it is true the prophet Daniel hath given some intimation of the time in his famous prophecy of the seventy weeks: but though this great revolution was to happen in that generation; though it was to happen towards the conclusion of seventy weeks or 490 years to be computed from a certain date that is not easy to be fixed; yet the

(1) ἔσται hic non diei particular red latius sumit temporis ambitum intelligo, &c. ['I consider ἔσται here as denoting not a part of a day, but a portion of time, taken in a larger sense.'] Grot. in locum.
tion of Jerusalem, from the 5th to the 27th verse inclusive; and then at verse the 28th he proceeds to treat of the time of his coming and the destruction of Jerusalem. The text in St. Matthew is, Of that day and season knoweth no man, no not the angels of heaven, but my Father only. The text in St. Mark is, Of that day and season knoweth no man, no not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son but the Father. It is true the words καὶ ὡς ἐστιν, neither the Son, were omitted in some copies of St. Mark, as they are inserted in some copies of St. Matthew: but there is no sufficient authority for the omission in St. Mark, any more than for the insertion in St. Matthew. Erasmus and some of the moderns (2) are of opinion, that the words were omitted in the text of St. Matthew, lest they should afford a handle to the Arians for proving the Son to be inferior to the Father: but it was to little purpose to erase them out of St. Matthew, and to leave them standing in St. Mark. On the contrary St. Ambrose and some of the ancients (3) assert, that they were inserted in the text of St. Mark by the Arians: but there is as little foundation or pretence for this assertion, as there is for the other. It is much more probable that they were omitted in some copies of St. Mark by some indiscreet orthodox, who thought them to bear too hard upon our Saviour’s dignity. For all the most ancient copies and translations extant retain them; the most ancient fathers quote them, and comment upon them; and certainly it is easier for words to be omitted in a copy so as that the omission should not generally prevail afterwards, than it is for words to be inserted in a copy so as that the insertion should generally prevail afterwards. Admit the words therefore as the

(2) Proinde suspicor hoc a nonnullis sub tractum, ne Arianus e constantia confirmandis illum esse Patrem minorem, &c. Eras. in loc. [Wherefore I suspect that these words have been withdrawn by some, lest they should give the Arians a handle for proving their doctrine, that the Son is inferior to the Father, &c.]

(3) Ambros. de Fide, Lib. 5. Cap. 8. Veteres Graeci codices non habent, Quod non situs est; sed non minores est, si et hoc subiatur, quae scripturas interpolaverint divinas. [The ancient Greek copies have not these words, knoweth, neither the Son, but it is not to be wondered at, that men who have interpolated the holy scriptures, should have falsified them here.]
destruction of Jerusalem, to be typical of the end of the world. The destruction of a great city is a lively type and image of the end of the world; and we may observe that our Saviour no sooner begins to speak of the destruction of Jerusalem, than his figures are raised, his language is swelled, and he expresseth himself in such terms, as in a lower sense indeed are applicable to the destruction of Jerusalem, but describe something higher in their proper and genuine signification. The sun shall be darkened, the moon shall not give her light, the stars shall fall from heaven, the powers of the heavens shall be shaken, the Son of man shall come in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory, and he shall send his angels with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other. These passages in a figurative sense as we have seen may be understood of the destruction of Jerusalem, but in their literal sense can be meant only of the end of the world. In like manner that text, Of that day and season knoweth no man, no not the angels of heaven, but my Father only; the consistence and connection of the discourse oblige us to understand it as spoken of the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, but in a higher sense it may be true also of the time of the end of the world and the general judgment. All the subsequent discourse too, we may observe, doth not relate so properly to the destruction of Jerusalem, as to the end of the world and the general judgment. Our Saviour losteth sight as it were of his former subject, and adapts his discourse more to the latter. And the end of the Jewish state was in a manner the end of the world to many of the Jews.

The remaining part of the chapter is so clear and easy as to need no comment or explanation. It will be more proper to conclude with some useful reflections upon the whole.

It appears next to impossible, that any man should duly consider these prophecies, and the exact completion of them; and if he is a believer, not be confirmed in the faith; or if he is an infidel, not be converted. Can any stronger proof be given of a divine revelation than the spirit of prophecy; and can any stronger proof be given of the spirit of prophecy, than the examples now before us, in which so many contingencies, and I might say improbabilities, which human wisdom or prudence could never foresee, are so particularly foretold, and so punctually accomplished! At the time when Christ pronounced these prophecies, the Roman governor resided at Jerusalem, and had a force sufficient to keep the people in obedience; and could human prudence foresee that the city as well as the country would revolt and rebel against the Romans? Could human prudence foresee famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes in divers places? Could human prudence foresee the speedy propagation of the gospel so contrary to all human probability? Could human prudence foresee such an utter destruction of Jerusalem with all the circumstances preceding and following it? It was never the custom of the Romans absolutely to ruin any of their provinces. It was improbable therefore that such a thing should happen at all, and still more improbable that it should happen under the humane and generous Titus, who was indeed, as he was (4) called, the love and delight of mankind.

What is usually objected to the other predictions of holy writ, cannot with any pretense be objected to these prophecies of our Saviour, that they are figurative and obscure; for nothing can be conveyed in plainer simpler terms, except where he affected some obscurity, as it hath been shown, for particular reasons. It is allowed indeed that some of these prophecies are taken from Moses and Daniel. Our Saviour prophesying of the same events hath borrowed and applied some of the same images and expressions. But this is a commendation rather than any discredit to his predictions. He hath built upon the foundations of the inspired writers before him; but what a superstructure hath he raised? He hath acted in this case as in every other, like one who came

(1) Amor ac deliciae humani generis. [Translated in the text.] Suet. in Tito. Sect. 2.
not to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfill them. He hath manifested himself to be a true prophet, by his exact interpretation and application of other prophets. He is also much more particular and circumstantial than either Moses or Daniel. In several instances his prophecies are entirely new, and properly his own; and besides he uses greater precision in fixing and confining the time to that very generation.

For the completion of these prophecies the persons seem to have been wonderfully raised up and preserved by divine providence. Vespasian was promoted from obscurity; and though feared and hated by Nero, yet was preferred by him, and singled out as the only general among the Romans who was equal to such a war; God perhaps, as (5) Josephus intimates, so disposing and ordering affairs. He had subdued the greatest part of Judea, when he was advanced to the empire; and he was happy in putting an end to the civil wars, and to the other troubles and calamities of the state, or otherwise he would hardly have been at leisure to prosecute the war with the Jews. Titus was wonderfully preserved in the most critical articles of danger. While he was taking a view of the city, he was surrounded by the enemy, and nothing less was expected than that he should be slain, or made prisoner: but he resolutely broke thro’ the midst of them, and though unarmed yet arrived unhurt at his own camp: upon which (6) Josephus maketh this reflection, that from hence it is obvious to understand, that the turns of war and the dangers of princes are under the peculiar care of God. Josephus himself was also no less wonderfully preserved than Titus, the one to destroy the city, and the other to record its destruction. He marvelously escaped from the snare

which were laid for him (7) by John of Gischala, and (8) by Jesus the chief of the robbers; and when (9) his companions were determined to kill him and themselves rather than surrender to the Romans, he prevailed with them to draw lots who should be killed, the one after the other; and at last he was left with only one other, whom he persuaded to submit with him to the Romans. Thus was he saved from the most imminent destruction; and he himself esteemed it as it certainly was, a singular instance of divine providence.

As Vespasian and Titus seem to have been raised up and preserved for the completion of these prophecies, so might Josephus for the illustration of their completion. For the particular passages and transactions, by which we prove the completion of these prophecies, we derive not so much from Christian writers, who might be suspected of a design to parallel the events with the predictions, as from Heathen authors, and chiefly from Josephus the Jewish historian, who tho’ very exact and minute in other relations, yet avoids as much as ever he can the mention of Christ and the Christian religion. He doth not so much as once mention the name of false Christs, though he hath frequent occasion to speak largely of false prophets; so cautious was he of touching upon any thing, that might lead him to the acknowledgment of the true Christ. His silence here is as remarkable, as his copiousness upon other subjects. It is indeed very providential, that a more particular detail, a more exact history is preserved of the destruction of Jerusalem, and of all the circumstances relating to it, than of any other matter whatsoever transacted so long ago; and it is an additional advantage to our cause, that these accounts are transmitted to us by a Jew, and by a Jew who was himself an eye-witness to most of the things which he relates. As a general in the wars he must have had an exact knowledge of all transactions, and as a Jewish priest he would not relate them with any favor

(5) τοιούτος οὖν τό ἐπάθα περὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ παράκλησις χρείαν είτε δύναται εἰτε προσκυνήσεως εἰτε νεκροκόμων τοῦ Θεοῦ, εἰς την σαφὲνς αἰτίαν θεωτικήν, Deo cura esse et hortum momenta et regum pericul. [Translated in the text.] Ib. Lib. 5. Cap. 2. Sect. 2. p. 1216.


(7) Josephi Vita, Sect. 17, &c.
(8) Ibid. Sect. 22.
or partiality to the Christian cause. His history (1) was approved by Vespasian and Titus (who ordered it to be published) and by king Agrippa and many others, both Jews and Romans, who were present in those wars. He had likewise many enemies, who would readily have convicted him of any falsification, if he had been guilty of any. He designed nothing less, and yet as if he had designed nothing more, his history of the Jewish wars may serve as a larger comment on our Saviour's prophecies of the destruction of Jerusalem. If any one would compare our Saviour's words with that writer's history of the whole war, as (2) Eusebius very well observes, he could not but admire and acknowledge our Saviour's prescience and prediction to be wonderful above nature, and truly divine.

The predictions are the clearest, as the calamities were the greatest which the world ever saw: and what hainous sin was it, that could bring down such heavy judgments on the Jewish church and nation? Can any other with half so much probability be assigned, as what the scripture assigns, their crucifying the Lord of glory? As St. Paul expresseth it, (1 Thess. ii. 15, 16.) They both killed the Lord Jesus, and their own prophets, and persecuted the apostles, and so filled up their sins, and wrath came upon them to the uttermost. This is always objected as the most capital sin of the nation: and upon reflection, we shall find really some correspondence between their crime and their punishment. They put Jesus to death when the nation was assembled to celebrate the passover; and when the (3) nation was assembled too to celebrate the passover, Titus shut them up within the walls of Jerusalem. The rejection of the true Messiah was their crime; and the following of false Messiahs to their destruction was their punishment. They sold and bought Jesus as a slave; and they themselves were afterwards sold and bought as slaves at the lowest prices. They preferred a robber and murderer to Jesus, whom they crucified between two thieves; and they themselves (4) were afterwards infested with bands of thieves and robbers. They put Jesus to death, lest the Romans should come and take away their place and nation; and the Romans did come and take away their place and nation. They crucified Jesus before the walls of Jerusalem; and before the walls of Jerusalem they themselves were crucified in such numbers, that it is (5) said room was wanted for the crosses, and crosses for the bodies. I should think it hardly possible for any man to lay these things together, and not conclude the Jews own impregnation to be remarkably fulfilled upon them, (Mat. xxvii. 25.) His blood be on us and on our children.

We Christians cannot indeed be guilty of the very same offence in crucifying the Lord of glory: but it behoves us to consider, whether we may not be guilty in the same kind, and by our sins and iniquities (Hebr. vi. 25.) crucify the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame; and therefore whether being like them in their crime, we may not also resemble them in their punishment. They rejected the Messiah, and we indeed have received him: but have our lives been all agreeable to our holy profession, or rather as we have had opportunities of knowing Christ more, have we not obeyed him less than other Christians, and (Hebr. x. 29.) trodden under foot the Son of God, and counted the blood of the covenant wherewith we are sanctified an unholy thing, and done despite unto the spirit of grace? The flagrant crimes of the Jews, and the principal sources of their

(2) συμμετέχας δὲ τις τα τω σώτηρος ὦν κείσε τοις λυπηκαι τῆς συμπλήρωσις ἔκφρασε της στις τοις πάντως χωρίως, οι νυν καὶ αποδόχασετε, θάνατος καὶ αἰματος καὶ ἐνεργείας ἐπαναφέρετε τα άλυα τοις καὶ προσφέρετε τα σώτηρος ἡμῖν διεργαστα. Quod si quis servatoris nostri verba cum iis compacte, quae ab eodem scriptore de universo bello commendanda sunt, fieri non putet quin admiretur prescientiam ac predictionem servatoris nostri, quae vere divinam et supra medium stupendum esse fatetur. [Translated in the text.] Euseb. Jeron. Hist. Lib. 3. Cap. 7.
(5) καὶ διὰ το σπαθός γυμνοκε κείμενοι τοις γαιοις και γαμος τοις συμμετοχης, et propriis multitudinem spatium crucibus decent, et corporibus aegra. [And on account of the multitude, space was wanting for crosses, and crosses for bodies.] Ibid. Lib. 3. Cap. 11. Sect. 1. p. 1247.
calamities, in the opinion of (6) Josephus, were their trampling upon all human laws, deriding divine things, and making a jest of the oracles of the prophets as so many dreams and fables: and how hath the same spirit of licentiousness and infidelity prevailed likewise among us? How have the laws and lawful authority been insulted with equal insolence and impunity? How have the holy scriptures, those treasures of divine wisdom, not only been neglected, but despised, derided, and abused to the worst purposes? How have the principal articles of our faith been denied, the prophecies and miracles of Moses and the prophets, of Christ and his apostles been ridiculed, and impiety and blasphemy not only been whispered in the ear, but proclaimed from the press? How hath all public worship and religion, and the administration of the sacraments been slighted and contemned, and the sabbath profaned by those chiefly who ought to set a better example, to whom much is given, and of whom therefore much will be required? And if for their sins and provocations (Rom. xi. 21, 20.) God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest he also spare not thee. Because of unbelief they were broken off, and thou standest by faith. Be not high-minded, but fear. God bore long with the Jews; and hath he not bore long with us too? But he cut them off, when the measure of their iniquities was full; and let us beware lest our measure be not also well-nigh full, and we be not growing ripe for excision. What was said of the church of Ephesus, is very applicable to us and our own case. (Rev. ii. 5.) Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of his place, except thou repent.

(6) natapatae me ha cites autem deorum aedificat, euge to dea, kai the tov proforon avrois [A 'cretos] ousi aeront; axeipin axeuripes axeuripes. et ab illis quidem omne jux humanorum concobatur, divina autem quaque deridebantur, et prophetarum oracula ut praestigiatorum communita subsumentur. [Every law of man was trampled under foot by them. Things divine were ridiculed, and they made a jest of the laws, (others read, the oracles) of the prophets, as if they had been the devices of jugglers.] Ibid. Lib. 4. Cap. 6. Sect. 3. p. 1118. Edit. Hudson.

XXII.

ST. PAUL'S PROPHECY OF THE MAN OF SIN.

As our blessed Saviour hath cited and appealed to the book of Daniel, so likewise have his apostles drawn from the same fountain. St. Paul's and St. John's predictions are in a manner the copies of Daniel's originals with some improvements and additions. The same times, the same persons, and the same events are described by St. Paul and St. John as well as by Daniel; and it might therefore with reason be expected, that there should be some similitude and resemblance in the principal features and characters.

St. Paul hath left in writing, besides others, two most memorable prophecies, both relating to the same subject, the one concerning the man of sin, the other concerning the apostasy of the latter times, the former contained in the second Epistle to the Thessalonians, and the latter in the first Epistle to Timothy. The prophecy concerning the man of sin, having been delivered first in time, may fitly be considered first in order: and for the fuller manifestation of the truth and exactness of this prediction, it may be proper 1st, to investigate the genuine sense and meaning of the passage; 2dly, to show how it hath been mistaken and misapplied by some famous commentators; and 3dly, to vindicate and establish what we conceive to be the only true and legitimate application.

1. In the first place it is proper to investigate the genuine sense and meaning of the passage; for a prophecy must be rightly understood, before it can be rightly applied. The apostle introduces the subject thus, (2 Thess. ii. 1, 2.) Now we beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by our gathering together unto him, That ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter, as from us, as that the day of Christ is at hand. The proposition, which
is translated by, ought rather to have been translated concerning, as it signifies (1) in other places of scripture, and in other authors both Greek and Latin. Now we beseech you, brethren, concerning the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and our gathering together unto him. For he doth not beseech them by the coming of Christ, but the coming of Christ is the subject of which he is treating; and it is in relation to this subject, that he desires them not to be disturbed or affrighted, neither by revelation, nor by message, nor by letter, as from him, as if the day of Christ's coming was at hand. The phrases of the coming of Christ and the day of Christ may be understood, either figuratively of his coming in judgment upon the Jews, or literally of his coming in glory to judge the world. Sometimes indeed they are used in the former sense, but they are more generally employed in the latter, by the writers of the New Testament: and the latter is the proper significatur in this place, as the context will evince beyond contradiction. St. Paul himself had planted the church in Thessalonica; and it consisted principally of converts from among the gentile idolaters, because it is said (1 Thess. i. 9) that they turned to God from idols, to serve the living and true God. What occasion was there therefore to admonish them particularly of the destruction of Jerusalem? Or (2) why should they be under such agitations and terrors upon that account? What connection had Macedonia with Judea, or Thessalonica with Jerusalem? What share were the Christian converts to have in the calamities of the rebellious and unbelieving Jews; and why should they not rather have

(1) So it is rendered Rom. ix. 27. ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐπὶ τῷ ἱερικῷ, ἐν τῷ σάρκι ἐπὶ τῷ σάρκι, ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ἐπὶ τῷ νόμῳ. See likewise 2 Cor. i. 7. viii. 23, 24, &c. Galen, Lib. 1. ad Glauc. ἐπὶ πάντα ἐπὶ τῷ πάντω, ἐπὶ κάθε χρόνῳ, ἐπὶ κάθε καιρῷ. (on causes of illness.)

(2) At quis hic terror locus, si de Judaearum exiodio ageribatur? Quid Macedoniae cum Judaeis, Thessal. cum Hieros. quid commune Christianis cum periculo rebellium Judaearum? &c. [But what ground was there for this terror, if he was treating concerning the destruction of the Jews? What had Macedonia to do with Judea, or Thessalonica with Jerusalem? Or what danger could Christians be in from the rebellion of the Jews?] Simplicius in Polyc. Synops.

been comforted than troubled at the punishment of their invertebrate enemies? Besides (3) how could the apostle deny that the destruction of the Jews was at hand, when it was at hand, as he saith himself (1 Thess. ii. 16.) and the wrath is come upon them to the uttermost? He knew, and they knew, for our Saviour had declared, that the destruction of Jerusalem would come to pass in that generation: and what a ridiculous comfort must it be to tell them, that it would not happen immediately, but would be accomplished within less than twenty years? The phrases therefore of the coming of Christ and the day of Christ cannot in this place relate to the destruction of Jerusalem, but must necessarily be taken in the more general acceptance of his coming to judge the world. So the phrase is constantly used in the former Epistle. In one place the apostle saith (ii. 19.) What is our hope, or joy, or crown of rejoicing? are not even ye in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at his coming? In another place he wisheth (iii. 13.) that the Lord may establish their hearts unblameable in holiness before God, even our Father, at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ with all his saints: And in a third place he prayeth (v. 23.) that their whole spirit, and soul, and body, be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. These texts evidently refer to the general judgment: and if the phrase be constantly so employed in the former Epistle, why should it not be taken after the same manner in this Epistle? In the former Epistle the apostle had exhorted the Thessalonians to moderate sorrow for the dead by the consideration of the resurrection and the general judgment, (iv. 13, &c.) I would not have you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not, even as others which have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus died, and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus, will God bring with him. For this we say unto you by the word
of the Lord, that we which are alive, and remain unto the coming of the Lord, shall not prevent them which are asleep. For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first. Then we which are alive, and remain, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord. But of the times and the seasons of these things, as he proceeds, (v. 1, 2.) brethren, ye have no need that I write unto you. For yourselves know perfectly that the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night. Some persons having mistaken the apostle’s meaning: and having inferred from some of these expressions, that the end of the world was now approaching: and the day of Christ was now at hand, the apostle sets himself in this place to rectify that mistaken notion: and it is with reference to this coming of Christ, to this day of the Lord, to this our gathering together unto him in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air: that he beseeches the Thessalonians not to be shaken from their steadfastness, nor to be troubled and terrified, as if it was now at hand. Nothing then can be more evident and undeniable, than the coming of Christ here intended is his second coming in glory to judge the world: and of this his second coming the apostle had spoken before, in this same Epistle, and in the chapter before this. (ver. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.) It is a righteous thing with God to recompense tribulation to them that trouble you: And to you who are troubled, rest with us, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ: Who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power; When he shall come to be glorified in his saints, and to be admired in all them that believe in that day.

It was a point of great importance for the Thessalonians not to be mistaken in this particular: because if they were taught to believe that the coming of Christ was at hand, and he should not come according to their expectation, they might be staggered in their faith, and finding part of their creed to be false, might be hasty enough to conclude that the whole was so. Where by the way we may observe Mr. Gibbon’s want of judgment in assigning the notion of Christ’s coming specifilcally as one of the great causes of the growth and increase of the Christian church, when it appears from this passage that it had a contrary effect, and tended to shake and unsettle their minds, and to disturb and trouble instead of inviting and engaging them. The apostle therefore cautions them in the strongest manner against this delusion: and assures them that other memorable events will take place before the coming of our Lord. (ver. 3 and 4.) Let no man deceive you by any means: for that day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition: Who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God. The day of Christ shall not come, except there come the apostasy first. The apostasy here described is plainly not of a civil, but of a religious nature; not a revolt from the government, but a defection from the true religion and worship, departing from the faith, (1 Tim. iv. 1.) a departing from the living God, (Heb. iii. 12.) as the word is used by the apostle in other places. In the original it is the apostacy with an article to give it an emphasis. The article being added, as Erasmus (4) remarks, signifies that famous and before predicted apostasy. So likewise it is the ἁμαρτία τοῦ αἵματος of the man of sin: the like article and the like emphasis: and St. (5) Ambrose, that he might express the force of the article, hath rendered it that man, as have likewise our English translators. If then the notion of the man of sin be derived from any ancient prophet, it must be derived from Daniel, who hath described the like arrogant and tyrannical power: (vii. 25.) He shall speak great words against the most High,

(4) Articulus additus significat invenien titiam et ante predictam defectionem. [Translated in the text.] Erasm. in locum.

(5) D. Ambrosius, ut explicaret vim articuli, legit homo ille, &c. [Translated in the text.] Erasm. ibid.
Daniel, He shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every God, and speak marvellous things against the God of Gods. The features, you see, exactly resemble each other. He opposeth and exalteth himself above all, τιν θεόν ἐπιστάντες καὶ ἐπιστάντες_above all, one that is called God, or that is worshipped, τιν θεόν ἐπιστάντες, alluding to the title of the Roman emperors, sacerdotes, augustus or venerable. He shall oppose, for the prophets speak of things future as present; he shall oppose, and exalt himself not only above inferior magistrates, who are sometimes called Gods in holy writ, but even above the greatest emperors, and shall arrogate to himself divine honors. So that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God: By the temple of God the apostle could not well mean the temple of Jerusalem, because that he knew very well would be totally destroyed within a few years. It is an observation of the learned Bochart, that (6) after the death of Christ the temple at Jerusalem is never called by the apostles the temple of God; and if at any time they make mention of the house or temple of God, they mean the church in general, or every particular believer. It is certain, the temple or house of God is the Christian church in the usual style of the apostles. St. Paul thus addreseth the Corinthians in his first Epistle, (iii. 16, 17.) Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you? If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy: for the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are: and thus again in his second Epistle, (vi. 16.) What agreement hath the temple of God with idols? for ye are the temple of the living God. He adviseth Timothy (1 Tim. iii. 15.) how he ought to behave himself in the house of God, which is the church of the living God, as a pillar and ground of the truth. St. John also writeth thus to the angel of the church in Philadelphia, (Rev. iii. 12.) Him that overcometh will I make a pillar

(6) Verum a Christi obitu templum Hierosolimitanum munquam ab apostolis templum Dei vocatur; et si quando de Dei aede vel templo sermo mentat habeant, tum vel ecclesiam in genere, vel singularem quamquam fidelem, in vocibus intellecta volunt. [Translated in the text.] Bocharti Examen Libelli de Antichristo, Tom. 2, Col. 1047.
in the temple of my God. These few examples out of many are sufficient to prove, that under the gospel dispensation the temple of God is the church of Christ: and the man of sin's sitting implies his ruling and presiding there, and sitting there as God implies his claiming divine authority in things spiritual as well as temporal, and showing himself that he is God implies his doing it with great pride and pomp, with great parade and ostentation.

These things were not asserted now merely to serve the present occasion. The apostle had insisted upon these topics, while he was at Thessalonica; so that he thought it a part of his duty, as he made it a part of his preaching and doctrin, to forewarn his new converts of the grand apostasy that would infest the church. (ver. 5, 6, 7.) Remember ye not, that when I was yet with you, I told you these things? And now ye know what withholdeth, that he might be revealed in his time. For the mystery of iniquity doth already work: only he who now letteth, will let, until he be taken out of the way. The man of sin therefore was not then revealed. His time was not yet come, or the season for his manifestation. The mystery of iniquity was indeed already working: for there is a mystery of iniquity as well as a mystery of Godliness, (1 Tim. iii. 16.) the one in direct opposition to the other. The seeds of corruption were sown, but they were not yet grown up to any maturity. The leaven was fermenting in some parts, but it was far from having yet infected the whole mass. The man of sin was yet hardly conceived in the womb; it must be some time before he could be brought forth. There was some obstacle that hindered his appearance, the apostle speaketh doubtfully whether thing or person; and this obstacle would continue to hinder, till it was taken out of the way. What this was we cannot determin with absolute certainty at so great a distance of time; but if we may rely upon the concurrent testimonies of the fathers, it was the Roman empire. Most probably it was somewhat relating to the higher powers, because the apostle observes such caution. He mentioned it in discourse, but would not commit it to writing. He afterwards exhorts the Thessalonians. (ver. 15.) Brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word, or our epistle. This was one of the traditions which he thought more proper to teach by word than by epistle.

When this obstacle shall be removed, then, as the apostle proceeds, (ver. 8.) shall that wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming. Nothing can be plainer than that ἐρρυόμενος, the lawless, the wicked one here mentioned, and the man of sin must be one and the same person. The apostle was speaking before of what hindered that he should be revealed, and would continue to hinder until it was taken out of the way: And then shall the wicked one be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume, &c. Not that he should be consumed immediately after he was revealed; but the apostle, to comfort the Thessalonians, no sooner mentions his revelation, than he foretells also his destruction, even before he describes his other qualifications. His other qualifications should have been described first in order of time, but the apostle hastens to what was first and warmest in his thoughts and wishes. Whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming. If these two clauses refer to two distinct and different events, the meaning manifestly is, that the Lord Jesus shall gradually consume him with the free preaching and publication of his word, and shall utterly destroy him at his second coming in the glory of his Father with the holy angels. If these two clauses relate to one and the same event, it is a pleonasm that is very usual in the sacred as well as in all oriental writings; and the purport plainly is, that the Lord Jesus shall destroy him with the greatest facility, when he shall be revealed from heaven (as the apostle hath expressed it in the preceding chapter) with his mighty angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The apostle was eager to foretel the destruction of
the man of sin; and for this purpose having broken in upon his subject, he now returns to it again, and describes the other qualifications, by which this wicked one should advance and establish himself in the world. He should rise to credit and authority by the most diabolical methods, should pretend to supernatural powers, and boast of revelations, visions, and miracles, false in themselves, and applied to promote false doctrines, (ver. 9.) Whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders. He should likewise practise all other wicked arts of deceit, should be guilty of the most impious frauds and impositions upon mankind; but should prevail only among those who are destitute of a sincere affection for the truth, whereby they might obtain eternal salvation; (ver. 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. And indeed it is a just and righteous judgment of God to give them over to vanities and lies in this world, and to condemnation in the next, who have no regard for truth and virtue, but delight in falsehood and wickedness, (ver. 11, and 12.) And for this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie: That they might all be damned, who believe not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness.

II. Upon this survey there appears little room to doubt of the genuine sense and meaning of the passage; but it hath strangely been mistaken and misapplied by some famous commentators, though more agree in the interpretation than in the application of this prophecy.

I. Excellently learned as Grotius was, a consummate scholar, a judicious critic, a valuable author; yet was he certainly no prophet, nor son of a prophet. In explaining the prophecies, scarcely have more mistakes been committed by any of the worst and weakest commentators, than by him who is usually one of the best and ablest. He understands this prophecy of the times preceding the destruction of Jerusalem. The man of sin (7) was

(7) Denudet ingenium suum Caium.—Sic et Caius omnibus &c. His gentium praebuit, etiam Jovi Olympio et Capitolino.—Recte autem dicitur Caius

the Roman emperor Caligula, who did not at first discover his wicked disposition. He vainly preferred himself before all the gods of the nation, even before Jupiter Olympus and Capitolinus; and ordered his statue to be set up in the temple at Jerusalem. He was hindered from disclosing and exercising his intended malice against the Jews by his awe of Vitellius, who was at that time governor of Syria and Judea, and was as powerful as he was beloved in those provinces. What follows Grotius could not by any means accommodate to Caligula, and therefore substitutes another, and supposes that the wicked one was Simon Magus, who was revealed and came to Rome soon after the beginning of the reign of Claudius. He was there baffled and disgraced by St. Peter; but Christ may well be said to have done what was done by Peter. He pretended also to work great miracles, and by his magical illusions deceived many, the Samaritans first, and afterwards the Romans. But in answer it may be observed, that this Epistle of St. Paul, as (8) all other good critics and

senset possessae in templo Dei, quia simulacrum suum iis locolocari jussit.—L. Vitellius, earn Paulus ista deretum, et bene scriberat, Syriam et Judaeam te-nebat, vir apud Judaeos gratiosus, et magnum exercitum imperans, ut propter eam facile inisset, si tam graviter Judaeorum animus expressus sit. Caius, eorum tutelam suspicere et provinciam sui facere juris. Ideo Caius, antequam propositionem exsequatur, temporis exspectabat quo L. Vitellius pro vincia decedenter.—Recte autem impius dicitur Simon Magus, qui pullo post invicem Claudianus principatus Romanus venit.—Bene autem dixit Christus de eis, quod facit per Peleum.—Ostenta ista et proelium Simonis magico, &c. Decipitur ab eo hominibus malis pretius. Judaeis Samariarum primum, deinde et Romanis. "Let Caius lay open his wicked disposition.—Thus Caius preferred himself before all the gods of the nations, even before Jupiter Olympus and Capitolinus.—It is said with propriety, that Caius "had seated himself in the temple of God" for he had ventured his image to be placed there.—L. Vitellius, at the time that Paul spoke and wrote those words, was governor of Syria and Judea, a man very acceptable to the Jews, and commanding a powerful army. To him, on that account, it would have been a very easy matter, if Caius had so much exasperated the minds of the Jews, to have obtained, by patronizing them, the sovereignty of that province. Therefore Caius, before he executed his design, waited till Vitellius should depart from the province.—With propriety, Simon Magus is called "the wicked one." He soon after Claudius began to reign, came to Rome.—Christ may well be said to have done that, which he did by Peter. The prophecies and magical deceptions of Simon, &c. Men that were to perish miserably are deceived by him.—He means the Samaritans first, and after them the Romans."

chronologers agree, and as is evident indeed from history, was written in the latter part of the reign of Claudius, who was successor to Caligula: and if so, the apostle according to this interpretation is here prophesying of things which were past already. The coming of Christ, as it hath been before proved undeniably, relates to a more distant period than the destruction of Jerusalem. Besides, how could Caligula with any tolerable sense and meaning be called an apostate from either the Jewish or the Christian religion? He never sat in the temple of God; he commanded indeed his statue to be placed there; but was dissuaded from his purpose, as (9) Philo testifies, by the intreaties of king Agrippa, and sent an order to Petronius governor of Syria not to make any innovation in the temple of the Jews. He was so far from being kept in awe by the virtues of Vitellius, that Vitellius on the contrary was a most sordid adulator, as both (1) Tacitus and Suetonius expressly affirm; and instead of restraining Caligula from affecting divine honors, he was the first who incited him to it. Moreover it is the greatest violence to the context, to make the man of sin and the wicked one two distinct persons, when they are so manifestly one and the same. The contest between St. Peter and Simon Magus at Rome, if ever it happened at all, did not happen in the reign of Claudius: but most probably there never was any such transaction; the whole story is probably a fabulous legend, and consequently can be no foundation for a true exposition of any prophecy. Where too is the consistency and propriety in interpreting the coming of Christ in ver. 1. of the destruction of Jerusalem, and in ver. 8. of the destruction of Simon Magus, though


(1) Exemplar apud posteros auctoritatis dedecoris habetur. [*By posterity he is regarded as a pattern of disgraceful adulation.] Tacit. Annal. Lib. 6. p. 71. Edit. Lipsii. Idem miri in adulando ingenit, primus C. Caesarum adulator ut Deum instituit. [*This same man, who had a wonderful talent at flattery, was the first that prompted Caesar to affect divine honours.] Suet. in Vitellio. Sect. 2.

Simon Magus was not destroyed, but was only thrown out of his chariot, and his leg broken in the fall. These are some of the absurdities in Grotius's interpretation and application of this prophecy, which you may see more largely exposed and refuted by (2) Bochart among the foreign, and by Dr. Henry More among our English Writers.

2. Dr. Hammond is every where full of Simon Magus and the Gnostics, so that it is the less to be wondered that he should introduce them upon this occasion, and apply this whole prophecy to them, wherein he is more consistent than Grotius, who applies part to Simon Magus, and part to Caligula. The apostasy, (3) according to him, was a great departure or defection from the faith to the heresy of the Gnostics. The man of sin and the wicked one was Simon Magus, that wicked impostor, together with his followers the Gnostics. What hindered their showing themselves and making open profession of their hostility against the orthodox Christians, was the apostles not having yet given over preaching to the Jews, and turned to the Gentiles. This same magician opposed himself against Christ, setting himself up for the chief or first God, superior to all other Gods; and accordingly was publicly worshipped by the Samaritans and others, and had a statue erected to him at Rome by the emperor Claudius. Him Christ destroyed in an extraordinary manner by the preaching and miracles of St. Peter; and all the apostatizing Gnostics who adhered to him, were involved in the destruction of the unbelieving Jews, with whom they had joined against the Christians. But the principal objection to this exposition is the same as to that of Grotius, that the apostle is here made to foretell things after the events. Simon Magus was already revealed, (Acts viii. 9, 10,) and had bewitched the people of Samaria, giving out that himself was some great one: To whom they all gave heed from the least to the greatest, saying, This man is the great power


(3) See Hammond's Paraphrase and Annotations.
of God. Dr. Hammond himself contends, that Simon came to Rome, and was there honored as God, at the beginning of the reign of Claudius; but this Epistle was written in the latter part of the same reign, and even the Doctor in (4) another place confesseth it. The apostles too had already turned from the Jews to the Gentiles. Paul and Barnabas had declared to the Jews at Antioch in Pisidia, (Acts xiii. 46.) *It was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you; but seeing ye put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles:* but this transaction was before this Epistle was written, and indeed before ever Paul went to Thessalonica. As part of the facts here predicted as future were already past, so the other part are manifestly false, or of uncertain credit at best. The statue erected to Simon Magus at Rome, and his public defeat there by the preaching and miracles of St. Peter in the presence of the emperor, are no better than fables. Even papists doubt the truth of these things, and well may others deny it. Simon Magus might perhaps have many followers; but it doth not appear that many of the Christians apostatized to him. Simon Magus might perhaps be worshipped by the Samaritans; but it doth not appear that he was ever worshipped in the temple of God in Jerusalem, or in any house of God belonging to the Christians. He died by all accounts some years before the destruction of Jerusalem; and it doth not appear that any of the Gnostics were involved in the destruction of the unbelieving Jews. They were so far from being all involved in the same destruction as Dr. Hammond asserts, that that sect flourished most after the destruction of Jerusalem, and the second century after Christ is sometimes distinguished by the title of Seculum Gnosticum or the age of the Gnostics. Besides when it is said *Whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming,* it is evident that the same person who was to be consumed with the spirit of his mouth, was also to be destroyed with the brightness of his coming: but according to this exposition, Simon Magus was consumed by the spirit of his mouth, that is by the prayer and preaching of St. Peter; and the unbelieving Jews and Gnostics were destroyed together by the brightness of his coming, that is by the destruction of Jerusalem. They who desire to see a farther refutation of this exposition, may find it in (5) Le Clerc among the foreign, and in Whity among our English commentators.

3. Le Clerc, whose comment on the New Testament is a translation and supplement of Hammond's, hath not demolished his hypothesis without erecting (6) another of his own, which he esteems much more probable than

(4) See his Pref. to the 1st Epist. to the Thessalonians.
the conjecture both of Grotius and Hammond. He supposeth that the apostasy was the great revolt of the Jews from the Romans. The man of sin was the rebellious Jews, and especially their famous leader Simon, not Magnus, but the son of Gioras. They trampled upon all authority divine and human. They seised and profaned the temple of God. What hindered was what restrained the Jews from breaking into open rebellion, which was partly the reverence of the Jewish magistrates, and partly the fear of the Roman armies. The mystery of iniquity was the spirit of rebellion then working under the mask of liberty. The seditious Jews were also the wicked one; and they had among them false prophets and impostors, who pretended to show great signs and wonders. But to this hypothesis it may be replied, that the apostasy is plainly a defection from the true religion, and it is used in no other sense by the apostle. It was not likely that he should entertain his new Gentile converts with discourses about the Jewish state and government, whereby they had little concern or connexion. It was also scarce worthy of the spirit of prophecy to say, that the destruction of Jerusalem should not happen, unless there was first a rebellion of the Jews. No good reason is assigned, why Simon the son of Gioras should be reputed the man of sin, rather than other fictious leaders, John and Eleazar. No proof is alleged, that he was ever worshipped in the temple of God as God. He was not exalted above every God or emperor; for he was vanquished and made the emperor's prisoner. His coming was not with all signs and lying wonders; for he never pretended to any such power. He was not destroyed in the destruction of Jerusalem; but was preserved alive, and (7) was afterwards led in triumph at Rome, and then was dragged through the streets with a rope about his neck, and was severely scourged, and at last put to death in the common prison. Besides it is not very consistent in this learned critic, by the coming of


Christ in ver. 8. to understand the destruction of Jerusalem, and in his note upon ver. 1. to say that (8) the coming of Christ both in the first Epistle to the Thessalonians, and in this, is the coming of Christ to judge the quick and dead.

4. Dr. Whiby's (9) scheme is somewhat perplexed and confused, as if he was not satisfied himself with his own explication. "The apostasy is the revolt of the Jews from the Roman empire, or from the faith." If the former, it is the same mistaken notion as Le Clerc's. If the latter, it is true that many were to apostatize from the faith, before the destruction of Jerusalem, according to the prediction of our Saviour: but it doth not appear that their number was so very great, as to deserve to be called by way of eminence and distinction the apostasy. "The man of sin is the Jewish nation "with their high-priest and sanhedrim." But the Jewish nation with their high-priest and sanhedrim could not be said to apostatize from the faith which they never received; and those Christian Jews, who did apostatize, were never united under any one head or leader, famous or infamous enough to merit the title of the man of sin. The Jewish nation too with their high-priest and sanhedrim were already revealed; and most of the instances which this author allegeth, of their opposing the Christian religion, and exalting themselves above all laws divine and human, were prior to the date of this Epistle. He was himself aware of this objection, and endeavors to prevent it by saying, "that these are the descriptions of "the man of sin, by which the Thessalonians might then "know him, and they run all in the present tense, "showing what he already did." But it is the known and usual style of prophecy to speak of things future as present, intimating that though future they are as sure and certain as if they were even now present. "He "who now letteth is the Roman emperor Claudius, and

(8) magnum Christi et in 1 Ep. ad Thessalonicenses, et in hac est adventus Chrísti, ad judicandum de vivis et mortuis. [Translated in the text.] Cleric. ibid.

(9) See Whiby's Paraphrase and Commentary.
"he will let until he be taken out of the way; that is, "he will hinder the Jews' from breaking out into an "open rebellion in his time, they being so signally and "particularly obliged by him." But how utterly im-
probable it is, that the apostle should talk and write of Jewish politics to Gentile converts! If Claudius with-
held the Jews from revolt from the Roman govern-
ment, did he withhold them also from apostatizing from the Christian faith? or what was it that withheld them? and what then becomes of that interpretation? "When "Claudius shall be taken out of the way, as he was by "poison, then they shall be revealed, either by actual "apostasy from the Roman government, or by the great "apostasy of the believers of that nation." But the apostasy of believers was not near so great nor universal as the apostasy from the Roman government. Here too is the same ambiguity and uncertainty as before. The prophecy plainly intends one sort of apostasy, and this learned commentator proposeth two, and inclines sometimes to the one, and sometimes to the other, as may best suit his hypothesis. He is guilty too of the same inconsistency as Le Clerc, in interpreting the coming of Christ in the former Epistle, and in this Epistle, and in the first verse of this very chapter, of his coming to judge the world; and yet in verse the eighth, of his coming to destroy Jerusalem. But if the destruction of Jerusalem only was meant, what need had the Thessalonians to be under such consternation, to be shaken in mind, and to be troubled, that the wrath is come upon them to the uttermost, as the apostle saith, (1 Thess. ii. 15, 16.) who both killed the Lord Jesus, and their own prophets, and have persecuted us; and they please not God, and are contrary to all men, forbidding us to speak to the Gentiles, that they might be saved? It was matter of consolation, rather than of trouble or terror to the Thes-
salonians; and as such the apostle mentions it in his former Epistle.

5. But of all the applications of this prophecy none is more extraordinary than that of the late professor Wet-
stein, the learned and laborious editor of the New Testa-
ment with the various readings and copious annotations.
"By the man of sin and the wicked one he (1) un-
stands Titus or the Flavian family. The mystery of iniquity was then working, because at that time Vespasian had borne the office of consul, had received the honors of a triumph, and even under Caligula had entertained some hopes of the empire. He who leteth was Nero, who was now adopted by the emperor." One is really unamed and grieved to see a scholar and critic fall into such absurdities. What! was Titus then, as well as the emperor Julian, an apostate? Was he, who was one of the best emperors, the love and delight of mankind, to be branded with the odious appellations of the man of sin and the wicked one? Even Domitian was not worse than several other emperors both before and after him. How did Titus and the Flavian family oppose and exalt them-
selves above every God or emperor? How did they as God sit in the temple of God, showing themselves that they were Gods? Why was Vespasian's hoping for the empire the mystery of iniquity, more than Galba's, or Otho's, or Vitellius's hoping for the same? When Nero was taken out of the way, were not these three emperors Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, all revealed before the Flavian family? How was the coming of Titus and the Flavian family with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness? How were their adherents and followers such eminently as re-
ceived not the love of truth that they might be saved, but believed a lie, that they might be damned, and had plea-
sure in unrighteousness? How were Titus and the Flavian family destroyed in the destruction of Jerusalem, when they were themselves the destroyers of it, and reigned several years afterwards? Was there an illus-
rious coming of Christ, when Titus or any of the Flavian family died? Or how can the Lord be said to consume them with the spirit of his mouth, and to destroy them

(1) Intelligo Titum sive domum Flaviam—μαρτυρει της ανωσίας Εο-
tempore Vespasianus consultationem jam esserat, triumphales accepit, et iam sub Graio in opem imperii venerat.—κατακράτος, Nero jam adoptatus erat, &c. [Translated in the text.] Weustenius locum.
with the brightness of his coming? It surpriseth all comprehension, how this learned professor could think of such an application, without asking himself some such questions; or how he could ask himself any such questions, without clearly perceiving the impossibility of answering them. We cannot suppose that he would have made a compliment of his religion, but he hath certainly of his understanding to Cardinal Quirini, in this instance as well as his comment upon the Revelation, which, (2) as he humbly hopeth, will not displease his eminency, and then he shall be transcendently happy.

It is a farther objection to Wetstein, as also to Grotius, Hammond, Le Clerc, and Whitby, that they are so singular in their opinions; they differ as much from one another, as from the generality of interpreters; and as they dissent from all who went before them, so they are followed by none who came after them. If this prophecy was fulfilled, as these critics conceive, before the destruction of Jerusalem, it is surprising that none of the fathers should agree with any of them in the same application, and that the discovery should first be made sixteen or seventeen hundred years after the completion. The fathers might differ and be mistaken in the circumstances of a prophecy which was yet to be fulfilled; but that a prophecy should be remarkably accomplished before their time, and they be totally ignorant of it, and speak of the accomplishment as still future, is not very credible, and will always be a strong presumptive argument against any such interpretation. The foundation of all the mistakes of these learned men is their interpreting the coming of Christ, of the destruction of Jerusalem; whereas the context, as it hath been shown, plainly evinces, and they themselves at other times acknowledge, that it is to be understood of his coming to judge the world. They therefore bid fairer for the true interpre-

(2) — cui si, uti spero, vel interpretationem Apocalypsecos, vel conatum salem memnon displicisse intellecturo; subhemi forium sidera vertice. [Which if, as I hope, I shall understand, that my interpretation of the Revelation, or at least the attempt that I have made, has not displeased, I shall transcendently exult.] Idem. de Interpret. Apoc. Tom. 2. p. 804.

(3) See Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 26 and 28. 8th Edit. 1773.
coming of Christ in power and great glory: it necessarily follows that it was to be carried on not by one man, but by a succession of men in several ages. It cannot be taking root and growing imperceptibly 1700 years and more, and yet flourish under its chief head only three years and a half. There needeth not surely so much preparation for so little effect. Neither are three years and a half a period sufficient for Antichrist to act the part and to fulfill the characters which are assigned him; unless he hath also this property of divinity, that one day is with him as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day.

III. The detection of falsehood is the next step towards the discovery of truth: and having seen how this passage hath been mistaken and misapplied by some famous commentators, we may be the better enabled to vindicate and establish what we conceive to be the only true and legitimate application. The Thessalonians, from some expressions in the former Epistle, were alarmed as if the end of the world was at hand, and Christ was coming to judgment. The apostle, to correct their mistakes and dissipate their fears, assures them, that the coming of Christ will not be yet awhile; there will be first a great apostasy or defection of Christians from the true faith and worship. This apostasy all the concurrent marks and characters will justify us in charging upon the church of Rome. The apostle mentions this apostasy in another place, (1 Tim. iv. 1, &c.) and specifies some articles, as doctrines of demons, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which will warrant the same conclusion. The true Christian worship is the worship of the one only God through the one only mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus: and from this worship the church of Rome hath notoriously departed by substituting other mediators, and invoking and adoring saints and angels. Nothing is apostasy, if idolatry be not; and the same kind of idolatry is practised in the church of Rome, that the prophets and inspired writers arraign and condemn as apostasy and rebellion in the Jewish Church. The Jews never totally rejected the true

God, but only worshipped him through the medium of some image, or in conjunction with some other being: and are not the members of the church of Rome (5) guilty of the same idolatry and apostasy in the worship of images, in the adoration of the host, in the invocation of angels and saints, and in the obligation of prayers and praises to the virgin Mary, as much or more than to God blessed for ever? This is the grand corruption of the Christian church, this is the apostasy as it is emphatically called, and deserves to be called, the apostasy that the apostle had warned the Thessalonians of before, the apostasy that had also been foretold by the prophet Daniel.

If the apostasy be rightly charged upon the church of Rome, it follows of consequence that the man of sin is the pope, not meaning this or that pope in particular, but the pope in general, as the chief head and supporter of this apostasy. The apostasy produces him, and he again promotes the apostasy. He is properly the man of sin, not only on account of the scandalous lives of many popes, but by reason of their more scandalous doctrines and principles, dispensing with the most necessary duties, and granting or rather selling pardons and indulgences to the most abominable crimes. Or if by sin be meant idolatry particularly as in the Old Testament, it is evident to all how he hath corrupted the worship of God, and perverted it from spirit and truth to superstition and idolatry of the grossest kind. He also, like the false apostle Judas, is the son of perdition, whether actively as being the cause and occasion of destruction to others, or passively as being destined and devoted to destruction himself. He opposeth; he is the great adversary to God and man, excommunicating and anathematizing, persecuting and destroying by crusades and inquisitions, by massacres and horrid executions, those sincere Christians, who prefer the word of God to all the authority of men. The Heathen emperor of Rome may have slain his thou-

(5) See Stillingfleet's Discourse concerning the Idolatry of the Church of Rome, Chap. 1 and 2. Vol. 5. of his works.
greater authority than the word of God, and commanding them to be received under the penalty of the same or greater damnation. Like another Salmoenus he is proud to imitate the state and thunder of the Almighty; and is stiled, and pleased to be (9) stiled, "Our Lord God the pope; another God upon the earth; king of kings, and lord of lords. The same is the dominion of God and the pope. To believe that our Lord God the pope might not decree, as he decreed, it were a matter of heresy. The power of the pope is greater than all created power, and extends itself to things celestial, terrestrial, and infernal. The pope doeth whatsoever he listeth, even things unlawful, and is more than God. Such blasphemies are not only allowed, but are even approved, encouraged, and rewarded in the writers of the church of Rome; and they are not only the extravagances of private writers, but are the language even of public decreals and acts of councils. So that the pope is evidently the God upon earth: at least there is no one like him, who exalteth himself above every God; no one like him, who sitteth as God in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God.

But if the bishop of Rome be the man of sin, it may seem somewhat strange that the apostle should mention these things in an Epistle to the Thessalonians, and not rather in his Epistle to the Romans. But this epistle was written four or five years before that to the Romans, and there was no occasion to mention the same things again in another epistle. What was written to the Thessalonians or any particular church, was in effect written to all the churches, the epistles being designed for general edification, and intended to be read publicly in the congregations of the faithful. When St. Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans, he had not been at Rome, and consequently could not allude to any former discourse with them, as with the Thessalonians: and these things were not proper to be fully explained in a letter, and especially in a letter addressed to the Christian converts at the capital city of the empire. The apostles with all their prudence were represented as enemies to government, and were charged with turning the world upside down; (Acts xvi. 6.) but the accusation would have been sounded higher, if St. Paul had denounced openly and to Romans too, the destruction of the Roman empire. However he admonished them to beware of apostasy, (Rom. xi. 20, 22.) and to continue in God's goodness, or otherwise they shall be cut off: and afterwards when he visited Rome, and dwelt there two whole years, (Acts xxviii. 30.) he might have frequent opportunities of informing them particularly of these things. It is not to be supposed, that he discoursed of these things only to the Thessalonians. It was a matter of concern to all Christians to be forewarned of the great corruption of Christianity, that they might be neither surprised into it, nor offended at it; and the caution was the more necessary, as the mystery of iniquity was already working. The seeds of popery were sown in the apostle's time; for even then idolatry was stealing into the church, (1 Cor. x. 14.) and a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels, (Col. ii. 18.) strife and divisions, (1 Cor. iii. 3.) an adulterating and handling of the word of God deceitfully, (2 Cor. iii. 17. iv. 2.) a gain of godliness, and teaching of things for filthy lucre's sake, (1 Tim. vi. 5. Tit. i. 11.) a vain observation of festivals. (Gal. iv. 10.) a vain distinction of meats, (1 Cor. viii. 8.) a neglecting of the body, (Col. ii. 23.) traditions, and commandments, and doctrines of men, (Col. ii 8, 22.) with other corruptions and innovations. All heresies were in a manner the forerunners of the man of sin: and Simon Magnus in particular was so lively a type and figure of the wicked one, that he hath been mistaken, as we see, for the wicked one himself.

The foundations of popery were laid indeed in the apostles' days, but the superstructure was raised by degrees, and several ages passed before the building was completed, and the man of sin was revealed in full perfection. St. Paul having communicated to the Thessalonians what it was that hindered his appearance, it was natural for other Christians also who read this Epistle, to inquire what withholdeth that he might be revealed in his time; and the apostle without doubt would impart it to other Christians as freely as to the Thessalonians; and the Thessalonians and other Christians might deliver it to their successors, and so the tradition might generally prevail, and the tradition that generally prevailed was that what hindered was the Roman empire: and therefore the primitive Christians in the public offices of the church prayed for its peace and welfare, as knowing that when the Roman empire should be dissolved and broken into pieces, the empire of the man of sin would be raised on its ruins. How this revolution was effected, no writer can better inform us than (1) Machiavel. "The emperor of Rome quitting Rome to hold his residence at Constantinople, the Roman empire began to decline, but the church of Rome augmented as fast. Nevertheless, until the coming in of the Lombards, all Italy being under the dominion either of emperors or kings, the bishops assumed no more power than what was due to their doctrin and manners; in civil affairs, they were subject to the civil power.—But Theodoric king of the Goths fixing his seat at Ravenna, was that which advanced their interest, and made them more considerable in Italy; for there being no other prince left in Rome, the Romans were forced for protection to pay greater allegiance to the pope. And yet their authority advanced no further at that time, than to obtain the preference before the church of Ravenna. But the Lombards having invaded, and reduced Italy into several cantons, the pope took the opportunity, and began to hold up his head for being as it were governor and principal at Rome, the emperor of Constantinople and the Lombards bare him a respect, so that the Romans (by mediation of their pope) began to treat and confederate with Longinus the emperor's lieutenant] and the Lombards, not as subjects, but as equals and companions; which said custom continuing, and the popes entering into alliance sometimes with the Lombards, and sometimes with the Greeks, contracted great reputation to their dignity. But the destruction of the eastern empire following so close under the reign of the emperor Heraclius,—the pope lost the convenience of the emperor's protection in time of adversity, and the power of the Lombards increasing too fast on the other side, he thought it but necessary to address himself to the king of France for assistance.—Gregory the third being created pope, and Aistolphy king of the Lombards, Aistolphy contrary to league and agreement seized upon Ravenna, and made war upon the pope. Gregory not daring (for the reasons above-said) to depend upon the weakness of the empire, or the fidelity of the Lombards, (whom he had already found false) applied himself to Pepin—for relief against the Lombards. Pepin returned answer, that he would be ready to assist him, but he desired first to have the honor to see him, and pay his personal respects. Upon which invitation pope Gregory went into France, passing through the Lombards quarters, without any interruption, so great reverence they bare to religion in those days. Being arrived and honorably received in France, he was at some time dismissed with an army into Italy; which having besieged Pavia, and reduced the Lombards to distress, Aistolphy was constrained to certain terms of agreement with the French, which were obtained by the intercession of the pope.—Among the rest of the articles of that treaty it was agreed, that Aistolphy should restore all the lands he had usurped from the church. But when the French army was returned

(1) Machiavel's Hist. of Florence, Book 1. p. 6, &c. of the English translation.
into France. Aistulfus forgot his engagement, which put the pope upon a second application to king Pepin, who supplied him again, sent a new army into Italy, overcame the Lombards, and possessed himself of Ravenna, and (contrary to the desire of the German emperor) gave it to the pope, with all the lands under that exarchate.—In the interim Aistulfus died, and Desiderio a Lombard, and duke of Tuscany, taking up arms to succeed him, begged assistance of the pope, with promise of perpetual anoint for the future. At first Desiderio was very punctual,—delivered up the towns as he took them to the pope, according to his engagement to king Pepin: nor was there any exarch sent afterwards from Constantinople to Ravenna, but all was arbitrary, and managed according to the pleasure of the pope. Not long after Pepin died, and Charles his son succeeded in the government, who was called the great from the greatness of his exploits. About the same time Theodore the first was advanced to the papacy, and falling out with Desiderio was besieged by him in Rome. In his exigency the pope had recourse to the king of France, (as his predecessor had done before him) and Charles not only supplied him with an army, but marching over the Alps at the head of it himself, he besieged Desiderio in Pavia, took him and his son in it, sent them both prisoners into France, and went in person to Rome to visit the pope, where he adjudged and determined, that his Holiness being God’s vicar, could not be subject to the judgment of men. For which the pope and people together declared him emperor, and Rome began again to have an emperor of the west; and whereas formerly the popes were confirmed by the emperors, the emperor now in his election was to be beholden to the pope; by which means the power and dignity of the empire declined, and the church began to advance, and by these steps to usurp upon the authority of temporal princes.

In this manner the emperor of Rome, or he who letteth, was taken out of the way, and the bishop of Rome was advanced in his stead. In the same proportion as the power of the empire decreased, the authority of the church increased, the latter at the expense and ruin of the former; till at length the pope grew up above all, and the wicked one was fully manifested and revealed, or the last of the last as he may be called; for the pope (2) is declared again and again not to be bound by any law of God or man. His coming is after the energy of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness: and doth it require any particular proof, or is it not generally known, that the pretensions of the pope, and the corruptions of the church of Rome are all supported and authorized by feigned visions and miracles, by pious frauds and impostures of every kind? Bellarmin reckons (3) the glory of miracles as the eleventh note of the catholic church, but the apostle assigns them as a distinguishing mark and character of the man of sin. The church of Rome pretends to miracles, Mohammed disclaims them; and this is one very good reason, why the man of sin is the pope rather than the Turk. There hath been printed at London, so lately as in the year 1756, a book intituled The miraculous power of the church of Christ asserted through each successive century from the apostles down to the present time; and from thence the author draweth the conclusion, that the catholic church is the true church of Christ. They must certainly not receive the love of the truth, but have pleasure in unrighteousness, who can believe such fabulous and ridiculous legends, who hold it a mortal sin but to doubt of any article of their religion, who deny the free exercise of private judgment, who take away the free use of the holy scriptures, and so shut up the kingdom of heaven against men, neither going in themselves, neither suffering them, who were entering, to go in. If they will still maintain their miracles to be true, yet they are no proof of

(2) See Bishop Jewel’s Apology and Defence, p. 313, 314, 430, &c.
the true church, but rather of the contrary. They are
the miracles here predicted, and if they were really
wrought, were wrought in favor of falsehood: and in-
deed it is a proper retaliation, that God in his judg-
ments should send men strong delusion that they should
believe a lie, who received not the love of the truth that
they might be saved; a proper retaliation, that he
should suffer some real miracles to be wrought, to de-
ceive those, who have counterfeited so many miracles to
deceive others.

But how much soever the man of sin may be exalted,
and how long soever he may reign, yet at last the Lord
shall consume him with the spirit of his mouth, and shall
destroy him with the brightness of his coming. This is
partly taken from the prophet Isaiah, (xi. 4.) and with
the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked one: where
the Jews, as Lightfoot (4) observes, "put an emphasis
"upon that word in the prophet the wicked one, as it
"appeareth by the Chaldee paraphrast, who hath ut-
"tered it He shall destroy the wicked Roman." If the
two clauses, as it was said before, relate to two different
events, the meaning manifestly is, that the Lord Jesus
shall gradually consume him with the free preaching of
his gospel, and shall utterly destroy him at his second
coming in the glory of his Father. The former began
to take effect at the Reformation, and the latter will be
accomplished in God's appointed time. The man of sin
is now upon the decline, and he will be totally abolished,
when Christ shall come in judgment. The kingdom of
falsehood and sin shall end, and the reign of truth and
virtue shall succeed. Great is the truth, and will at last
prevail.

The man of sin then is the same arbitrary and wicked
power that is described by Daniel under the characters
of the little horn and the mighty king. In St. Paul he is
revealed, when the Roman empire is taken out of the
way; and in Daniel the Roman empire is first broken
into several kingdoms, and he cometh up among them.


In St. Paul he opposeth; and in Daniel he doeth according
to his will, and throweth out the saints of the most High.
In St. Paul he exalteth himself above all that is called
God or that is worshipped, showing himself that he is
God; and in Daniel he exalteth himself and magnifieth
himself above every God, and speaketh marvellous things
against the God of Gods. In St. Paul he is the lawless
one; and in Daniel he changeth times and laws. In St.
Paul his coming is with all deceivableness of unrighte-
oness; and in Daniel he practiseth and prospereth, and
through his policy causeth craft to prosper in his
hand. According to St. Paul the Lord shall consume
him with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy him
with the brightness of his coming; and according to
Daniel a fiery stream shall issue and come forth from the
judge, and his body shall be given to the burning flame,
and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and to
destroy it unto the end. Then the characters and circum-
stances are so much the same, that they must belong to one
and the same person.

The tyrannical power thus described by Daniel and
St. Paul, and afterwards by St. John, is both by ancients
and moderns generally denominate Antichrist; and the
name is proper and expressive enough, as it may signify
(5) both the enemy of Christ, and the vicer of Christ:
and no one is more the enemy of Christ than he who
arrogates his name and power, as no one more directly
opposes the king than he who assumes his title and author-
ity. The name began to prevail in St. John's time. For
he addresseth himself to the Christians as having heard of
the coming of Antichrist, and calleth the heretics of his
time by the same common name: (1 Ep. ii. 18, 22.) As
ye have heard that the Antichrist shall come, even now
are there many Antichrists: Who is a liar but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ? he is the Antichrist that denieth the Father and the Son. As St.
Paul hath said, The mystery of iniquity doth already work: so St. John speaketh of the spirit of Antichrist as then

(5) Ant. signifies pro, vice, loco ['for, in the room of, in the place of;'] as well
as contra, e regione, ex uicem: ['against, contrary to, in opposition to,'] and
antedatissimus is prae, ['a vicinity;'] adiecit, proemini, ['a proemum;']
in the world; (iv. 3.) This is that spirit of Antichrist, whereof you have heard that it should come, and even now already is it in the world. Afterwards (2 Eph. 7, 8.) he stilleth him emphatically the deceiver and the Antichrist, and warneth the Christians to look to themselves. The fathers too speak of Antichrist and of the man of sin as one and the same person; and give much the same interpretation of that here been given of the whole passage: only it is not to be supposed, that they who wrote before the events, could be so very exact in the application of each particular, as those who have the advantage of writing after the events, and of comparing the prophecy and its completion together.

Justin Martyr, who flourished before the middle of the second century, (6) considers the man of sin, or as he elsewhere calleth him the man of blasphemy, as altogether the same with the little horn in Daniel; and affirms that he, who shall speak blasphematic words against the most High, is now at the doors. Irenæus, who lived in the same century, hath written (7) a whole chapter of the fraud, and pride, and tyrannical reign of Antichrist, as they are described by Daniel and St. Paul in his second Epistle to the Thessalonians. Tertullian, who became famous at the latter end of the same century, expounding those words only he who now letteth shall let, until he be taken out of the way, (8) says, 'who can this be but the Roman state, the division of which into ten kingdoms will bring on Antichrist, and then the wicked one shall be revealed.' And in his Apology he (9) assigns it

who by magical and wicked artifice shall seize the Roman power." Ambrose archbishop of Milan in the same century, or Hilary the deacon, or the author (whoever he was) of the comment upon St. Paul's epistles, which paseeth under the name of St. Ambrose, proposes much the same interpretation, and affirms that the failing or decay of the Roman empire, Antichrist shall appear.

Jerome, Austin, and Chrysostome flourished in the latter end of the fourth, or the beginning of the fifth century. St. Jerome in his explanation of this passage (5) says, 'that Antichrist shall sit in the temple of God, either at Jerusalem (as some imagine) or in the church (as we more truly judge) showing himself that he is Christ and the Son of God: and unless the Roman empire be first desolated, and Antichrist precede, Christ shall not come.—And now ye know what withholdeth that he might be revealed in his time, that is, ye know very well, what is the reason why Antichrist doth not come at present. He is not willing to say openly, that the Roman empire should be destroyed, which they who command think fit to be eternal.—For if he had said openly and boldly, that Antichrist shall not come, unless the Roman empire be first destroyed, it might probably have proved the occasion of a persecution against the church.' Jerome was himself a witness to the barbarous nations beginning to tear in pieces the Roman empire, and upon this occasion (6).

(4) Post defectum regni Romani apparatum Antichristum, &c. [Translated in the text.] Ambros. in locum.

(5) Et in templo Dei, vel Jeresydins (ut quidam putant) vel in ecclesia (ut verius arbitramur) sceleris, ostendens te tanquam ipse sit Christus et filius Dei: Nisi inquit, fuerit Romanum imperium aude desolatum, et Antichristus praeecesserit, Christus non veniet.—Et now ye know what withholdeth that he might be revealed in his time, that is, ye know very well, what is the reason why Antichrist doth not come at present. He is not willing to say openly, that the Roman empire should be destroyed, which they who command think fit to be eternal.—For if he had said openly and boldly, that Antichrist shall not come, unless the Roman empire be first destroyed, it might probably have proved the occasion of a persecution against the church.' Jerome was himself a witness to the barbarous nations beginning to tear in pieces the Roman empire, and upon this occasion (6).


Antichrist was the Roman empire, but when the Roman empire should be broken in pieces, and be no longer able to withhold him, then he should appear in the Christian church, and damine principally in the church of Rome. Even in the opinion of a bishop of Rome, Gregory the great, who sat in the chair at the end of the sixth century, whosoever affected the title of universal bishop, he was Antichrist, or the forerunner of Antichrist. "I speak it confidently, says (9) he, that whosoever calleth himself universal bishop, or desireth so to be called, in the pride of his heart he doth forerun Antichrist." When John, then bishop of Constantinople, first usurped this title, Gregory made answer, "By this pride of his, what thing else is signified, but that the time of Antichrist is now at hand?" Again he says upon the same occasion, "The king of pride (that is Antichrist) approaches; and what is wicked to be spoken, an army of priests is prepared. When the papal doctrics and the papal authority prevailed over all, it was natural to think and expect, that the true notion of Antichrist would be stifled, and that the doctors of the church would endeavor to give another turn and interpretation to this passage. That night of ignorance was so thick and dark, that there was hardly here and there a single star to be seen in the whole hemisphere. But so nooner was there any glimmering or dawning of a reformation, than the true notion of Antichrist, which had been so long suppressed, broke out again. As early as the year 1120 a treatise was published concerning Antichrist, wherein (1)

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(9) Ego sedamus dico, quod quisquis in universalem sacerdotaum vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in cathedra sanctissimi Romani episcopi, sicut a nostris sacerdotum antiquis, --- [Translated in the text.] "I say, he who calls himself universal bishop, desires to be so called, in the pride of his heart he is Antichrist," said Gregory the Great. "When the papal doctrines and the papal authority prevailed over all, it was natural to think and expect, that the true notion of Antichrist was not to be stifled, and that the doctors of the church would endeavor to give another turn and interpretation to this passage. That night of ignorance was so thick and dark, that there was hardly here and there a single star to be seen in the whole hemisphere. But so no sooner was there any glimmering or dawning of a reformation, than the true notion of Antichrist, which had been so long suppressed, broke out again. As early as the year 1120 a treatise was published concerning Antichrist, wherein (1) the faithful are admonished, that the great Antichrist was long ago come, in vain was he still expected, he was now by the permission of God advanced in years; and the author, having described the corrupt state of the church at that time, says afterwards, "This state of men (not a single man) is Antichrist, the whore of Babylon, the fourth beast of Daniel, (to wit in his last state as it is said) that man of sin and son of perdition, who is exalted above every God, so that he sitteth in the temple of God, that is, the church, showing himself that he is God; who is now come with all kind of seduction and lies in those who perish." The Waldenses and Albigenses propagated the same opinions in the same century. That the pope was Antichrist was the general doctrine of the first reformers everywhere. Here in England it was (2) advanced by Wickliff, and was learnedly established by that great and able champion of the Reformation, Bishop Jewell, in his Apology and Defense, and more largely in his Exposition upon the two Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians. This doctrine contributed not a little to promote the Reformation; and wheresoever the one prevailed, the other prevailed also.

Such doctrine as this must necessarily give great offence to the bigots and devotees of the church of Rome: and no wonder therefore that (3) in the last Lateran council the pope gave strict commandment to all preachers, that no man should presume once to speak of the coming of Antichrist. The king of France also (4) with the advice of his counsel interdicted, that any one should call the pope Antichrist; and Grotius, who was ambassador...

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(4) —Praedecessorum vocation usus consilio interdictit nec quis popam Antichristum vocet. ["Following the counsel of the most prudent men, he interdicted all from calling the pope by the name of Antichrist." Grot. de Antichristo in principio.]"
in France from the crown of Sweden, in a vain hope and expectation of reconciling the disputes and differences between papists and protestants, composed his treatise concerning Antichrist, not wickedly, but weakly; with an honest intention it may be presumed, but it is certain with pernicious effect; more like an advocate for one party, than a moderator between both. At the same time in England, though James the first had written a treatise to prove the pope Antichrist, yet this doctrine was growing unfashionable during his reign, and more so in that of his son who married a bigotted popish princess; even while Mr. Mede was living, who had exerted more learning and sagacity in explaining the prophecies, and in fixing the true idea of Antichrist, than perhaps any writer in any age. But probably for this very reason he was looked upon with an evil eye, and (to the disgrace of the times) obtained no preferment, tho' he was eminently deserving of the best and greatest. He says himself in one of his letters (Epist. 36.) that his notions about gemmiflexion towards the altar "would have made another man a dean, or a prebend, or something else" ere this: but the point of the pope's being Antichrist, "as a dead fly, marred the savor of that ointment." The abuse also that some fanatics made of this doctrine greatly prejudiced the world against it. It was esteemed a mark of a puritan, and was a certain obstacle to preferment, for any man to preach that the pope was Antichrist: and Dr. Montague, a famous court-chaplain at that time, who endeavored also to prove that the power of the king was absolute, (3) endeavored also to prove that the notes and characters of Antichrist belonged to the Turk rather than to the Pope: and herein he was followed by several divines, and by no less a man than Bishop Fell, if he was the compiler or approver, (as he is commonly said to have been) of (6) the Paraphrase and Annotations upon all St. Paul's Epistles. There are fashions in divinity as well as in every thing else: and therefore the true doc-

(6) Printed at the Theatre in Oxford 1684, and said to be published under the direction of Bishop Fell.

(7) Mr. Langford's Notes and Characters of the Man of Sin. Printed in 1746. Dr. Benson's Dissertation concerning the Man of Sin, 

THE PROPHECIES. 129

trin of Antichrist was for some time suspended, and false hypotheses were invented; and it may surprise any one, that so little was said upon this subject in the long controversies concerning popery during the reigns of Charles and James the second. It is hoped that the truth is now emerging again. Some laudable (7) attempts have lately been made to revive and restore it: and if I have not proved that this interpretation is preferable to all others, I have taken pains and proved nothing.

But it hath been proved, as I conceive, that this is the genuine sense and meaning of the apostle, that this only is entirely consistent with the context, that every other interpretation is forced and unnatural, that this is liable to no material objection, that it coincides perfectly with Daniel, that it is agreeable to the tradition of the primitive church, and that it hath been exactly fulfilled in all particulars, which cannot be said of any other interpretation whatsoever. Such a prophecy as this is at once an illustrious proof of divine revelation, and an excellent antidote to the poison of popery. It is like a two edged sword, that will cut both ways, and wound the deist with one side, and the papist with the other. The papists are in some respect like the Jews. As the Jews believe not that Christ is come according to the prophecies, but still live in expectation of him: so neither do the papists perceive that Antichrist is come according to the prophecies, but still maintain that he shall arise hereafter. The apostle not only foretels this blindness and infatuation, but likewise assigns the reason, because they received not the love of the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness. But to the protestants, who believe and profess that both the Christ and Antichrist are come, we may say with the apostle (ver. 13, 14.) We are bound to give thanks alway to God, for you, brethren beloved of the Lord, because God hath chosen you to salvation, thro' sanctification of the spirit, and belief of the truth: Whereunto he called you by the gospel, to the obtaining of the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ.
The apostle proceeds (ver. 15): Therefo, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word, or our epistle: and certainly there is not any oral tradition that hath a juster claim to be thought apostolical, than this of the man of sin's succeeding upon the decline of the Roman empire, and exalting himself over all. Wherefore to conclude, as the apostle concludes the subject, (ver. 16, 17.) Now our Lord Jesus Christ himself, and God even our Father, who hath loved us, and hath given us everlasting consolation, and good hope, through grace, Comfort your hearts, and establish you in every good word and work.

XXIII.

ST. PAUL'S PROPHECY OF THE APOSTASY OF THE LATTER TIMES.

ST. Paul was a man of lively thought and strong imagination. None of the apostles had a warmer zeal for Christ and the Christian religion. He was, as he saith himself, (2 Cor. xi. 23, 28, 29.) in labors more abundant, he had the care of all the churches: Who is weak, saith he, and I am not weak? who is offended, and I burn not? It was natural for such a mind to be deeply affected with the foresight of the great apostacy of Christians from the true Christian faith and worship, and to lament it, and to forewarn his disciples of it, as often as there was occasion. He made this apostacy one topic of his discourse to the Thessalonians, while he was yet with them: and afterwards in his second Epistle to them, he gave them to understand that the day of Christ was not at hand, as they apprehended; for there should come the apostacy first; implying that it should be both extensive and of long duration. He mentions this apostacy again in his first Epistle to Timothy, and describes more particularly wherein it should consist, and at what time, and by what means it should be propagated and advanced in the world, (1 Tim. iv. 1, 2, 3.) Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils. Speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with a hot iron; Forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth. The passage perhaps may better be translated thus, But the Spirit speaketh expressly: He had been speaking before of the mystery of godliness, and now he proceeds to speak of the mystery of iniquity in opposition to it, But the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall apostatize from the faith, giving heed to erroneous spirits and doctrines concerning demons, Through the hypocrisy of liars, having their consciences seared with a hot iron, Forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving by the believers and them who know the truth. This translation will be justified by the following considerations, wherein it is proposed to show the true interpretation and exact completion of this prophecy. But this subject hath been so fully and learnedly discussed by the excellent (1) Mr. Mede, that we must be greatly obliged to him in the course of this dissertation. The dress and clothing may be somewhat different, but the body and substance must be much the same: and they must be referred to his works, who are desirous of obtaining farther satisfaction. Not that we would make a transcript only of any writer; we should hope to enforce and improve the subject by some new arguments and new illustrations; as every scribe instructed unto the kingdom of heaven (Matt. xiii. 32.) is like unto a man that is an householder, who bringeth forth out of his treasure things new as well as old.

1. The first thing to be considered is the apostacy here

predicted, Some shall depart or rather shall apostatize from the faith. The apostle had predicted the same thing before to the Thessalonians, The day of Christ shall not come, except there come a falling away or rather the apostasy first. In the original the words are of the same import and derivation, ἀποστασία and ἀποστασιά, and they should have been translated both alike, as the same thing was intended in both places. An apostasy from the faith may be total or partial, either when we renounce the whole, or when we deny some principal and essential article of it. The writers of the New Testament frequently derive their language as well as their ideas from the Old; and by considering what was accounted apostasy under the Mosaical economy, we may form the better notion of what it is under the Christian dispensation. It doth not appear that the Jews or Israelites ever totally renounced and abandoned the living and true God; he never ceased altogether to be their God, or they to be his people: but they revolted from their allegiance to God, when they worshipped him in an image, as in the golden calves, which was the sin and apostasy of Jeroboam; and when they worshipped other gods besides him, as Baalim and the host of heaven, which was the sin and apostasy of Ahab and Manasseh: and for the same reason the idolatry of Ahaz is by the Greek interpreters called (2 Chron. xxix. 19.) ἄπεσα καὶ ἀπεστάσατο ἐκ τοῦ Κυρίου. He apostatized greatly from the Lord. Apostasy therefore was idolatry in the Jewish Church, and it is the same in the Christian. This argument may receive some illustration from a (2) similar passage in St. Peter (2 Pet. ii. 1.) There were false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them. As there were false prophets among the children of Israel, who seduced them to idolatry and the worshipping of other Gods besides the true God; so there shall be false teachers among Christians, who by plausible pretences and imperceptible degrees shall bring in the like damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them, professing themselves to be his servants bought with a price, and yet denying him to be their Lord and Master by applying to other lords and mediators. It is not any error, or every heresy, that is apostasy from the faith. It is a revolt in the principal and essential article, when we worship God by any image or representation, or when we worship other beings besides God, and pray unto other mediators besides the one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus. This is the very essence of Christian worship, to worship the one true God through the one true Christ; and to worship any other God or any other mediator, is apostasy and rebellion against God and against Christ. It is, as St. Paul saith, (Col. ii. 19.) not holding the head, but depending upon other heads; it is, as St. Peter expresseth it, denying the Lord that bought us, and serving other lords: and the denial of such an essential part may as properly be called apostasy, as if we were to renounce the whole Christian faith and worship. It is renouncing them in effect, and not treating and regarding God as God, or Christ as Christ.

Such is the nature of apostasy from the faith; and it is implied that this apostasy should be general, and infect great numbers. For though it is said only Some shall apostatize, yet by some in this place many are understood. The word some may usually denote few in English; but in the learned languages it frequently signifies a multitude, and there are abundant instances in scripture. In St. John's Gospel it is said (vi. 66.) that Many of Jesus his disciples, when they had heard this, said, This is an hard saying, who can hear it? and again a little afterwards (ver. 66.) Many of his disciples went back, and walked no more with him: but Jesus himself speaking of these many saith (ver. 64.) There are some of you that believe not; so that some are plainly the same as many. St. Paul speaking of the infidelity and rejection of the Jews saith, (Rom. xi. 17.) that some of the branches are broken off: but those some, it is evident, were the
main body of the nation. The same apostle informs the Corinthians, (1 Cor. x. 5, 6.) that With many of the Israelites God was not well pleased; for they were overthrown in the wilderness: and their punishments were intended for examples to Christians. Wherefore he concludes (ver. 7.) Neither be ye idolaters, as were some of them; as it is written, The people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play: where some are manifestly the same as the people. Again (ver. 8.) Neither let us commit fornication, as some of them committed, and fell in one day three and twenty thousand: where some are equivalent to many thousands again. Ver. 9.) Neither let us tempt Christ, as some of them also tempted, and were destroyed of serpents: where some are the same with much people; for we read (Num. xxi. 6.) that the Lord sent fiery serpents among the people, and they bit the people, and much people of Israel died. And again (ver. 10.) Neither murmur ye, as some of them also murmured, and were destroyed of the destroyer: where some are the same with all the congregation except Joshua and Caleb; for we read (Num. xiv. 1, 2.) that All the congregation lifted up their voice, and cried: and the people wept that night. And all the children of Israel murmured against Moses, and against Aaron; and the whole congregation said unto them, Would God that we had died in the land of Egypt, or would God that we had died in this wilderness: and they had their wish, except Joshua and Caleb, they all died in the wilderness. Some therefore may signify many, but not all; as the apostle speaketh elsewhere. (Heb. iii. 16.) For some when they had heard, did provoke; howbeit not all that came out of Egypt by Moses. The apostle might have the same meaning in this place; and this apostasy may be general and extensive, and include many but not all. If only some few persons were to be concerned and engaged in it, it was scarcely an object worthy of prophecy; nor could that properly be pointed out as a peculiarity of the latter times, which is common to all times, or in all times there are some apostates or other. It must necessarily be a great apostasy; and it is called, as it hath been shown, the apostasy by way of eminence and distinction; but it would hardly have been distinguished in this emphatical manner, if only an inconsiderable number were to profess and embrace it. Other prophecies likewise intimate, that there should be a great and general corruption and apostasy in the Christian church; and the event will also confirm us in our opinion. For we have seen and still see a great part of Christendom guilty of the same sort of apostasy and defection as the Israelites were in former times. As the Israelites worshipped God in the golden calf and golden calves; for (Exod. xxxii. 5.) they proclaimed a feast to the Lord, and said (ver. 4, and I Kings xi. 28.) Behold thy God, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt; so there are Christians who worship their Creator and Redeemer in an image, or in a crucifix, or in the sacramental bread. As the Israelites worshipped Baalim or departed heroes, and as the Psalmist saith (Psal. cxvi. 28.) their sacrifices of the dead: so there are Christians who worship departed saints, and institute fasts and festivals, and offer up prayers and praises unto them. And as this apostasy overspread the church of Israel for many ages, so it hath for many ages too overspread the church of Christ. The apostasy therefore is the very same in both churches. The apostle foresaw and foretold it; and upon the mention of Israel's provocation, very properly admonished the Christians to beware of the like inidelity and apostasy, (Heb. iii. 12.) Take heed, Brethren, lest there be in any of you an evil heart of unbelief in departing, in the time of temptation, in apostatising from the living God.

II. It is more particularly shown, wherein this apostasy should consist, in the following words, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils, or rather giving heed to erroneous spirits and doctrines concerning demons. For I conceive not the meaning to be, that this apostasy should proceed from the suggestion of evil spirits and instigation of devils. That would be no peculiar mark of distinction; that might be said of any wickedness in general, as well as of this in particular. The means too by which this apostasy should be propagated, and the
persons who should propagate it, are described afterwards; so that this part is to be understood rather of things than of persons, rather of the matter wherein this apostasy should consist, than of the first teachers and authors of it. Spirits seem to be much the same in sense as doctrians, as Mr. Mede and other divines have observed the same word to be used also by St. John. (1 John iv. 1.) Beloved, believe not every spirit, that is every doctrin, but try the spirits, that is the doctrins, whether they are of God; because many false prophets are gone out into the world. Spirits and doctrins therefore may be considered, the latter word as explanatory of the former: and error sometimes signifying (3) idolatry, errorous doctrins may comprehend idolatrous as well as false doctrins. But it is still farther added for explanation, that these doctrins should be doctrins of deceiv or of demons; where the genitive case is not to be taken actively, as if demons were the authors of these doctrins, but passively, as if demons were the subject of these doctrins. Thus a doctrin of vanities (δεισια σημεία πατίρων Jer. x. 8.) is a doctrin concerning vanities or idols. The doctrin of the Lord (δεισία του Κυρίου, Acts xiii. 12.) is the doctrin concerning him: Then the deputy when he saw what was done, believed, being astonished at the doctrin of the Lord. The doctrins of baptisms (δείσια βαπτίσεως Heb. vi. 2.) and of laying on of hands, and of resurrection of the dead, and of eternal judgment, are doctrins relating to all these particulars. And by the same construction δεισαλλια δεισια, doctrins of demons, are doctrins about and concerning demons. This is therefore a prophecy that the idolatrous theology of demons professed by the Gentiles should be revived among Christians. Christians should in process of time degenerate, and resemble the Gentiles as well as the apostate Jews. They should not only apostatize after the manner of the Jews, but should also worship demons after the manner of the Gentiles.

Demons, according to the theology of the Gentiles, were middle powers between the sovran Gods and mortal men. So saith Plato, the most competent judge and the most consummate writer in these subjects; (4) Even "demons is a middle being between God and mortal man." These demons were regarded as mediators and agents between the Gods and men. So saith Plato again, (5) "God is not approached by man, but all the commerce and intercourse between Gods and men is by the mediation of demons. The demons, saith he, are interpreters and conveyers from men to the Gods, and from the Gods to men, of the supplications and sacrifices on the one part, and of the commands and rewards of sacrifices on the other." Apuleius, a later philosopher, giveth (6) the like description. "Demons are middle powers, by whom both our desires and deserts pass unto the Gods; they are carriers between man on earth and the Gods in heaven; hence of prayers, thence of gifts; they convey too and fro, hence petitions, thence supplies; or they are interpreters on both sides, and bearers of salvation; for it would not be, saith he, for the majesty of the celestial Gods, to take care of these things." The whole is summed up by the said Apuleius (7) in few words.


(5) Ουτοι δε αραβησεν της μητας, έποιησεν δε εις των διαλεξαστων δεισαι, δευς ουκ ειναι ωμεν ειναι, δευς δεισαι ειναι ωμεν και είναι δεισια πατερα τους Θεους των δεισιων των δεισιων των και δεισιας των. Demons autem cum homine non insector, sed per homines daemonium commissa cum divinis atque colligunt inter deos hominesque conficuntur. "εμενωτες και διαπερσωσθε θεοι της πατης, και αναστησθε τα πατη τον θεον των μεν των διασκεπτων των των εις της επομενης των και απολογεν των δουλων. Interpretes et portentaria quasi munera fungitur, ut res humanas ad deos, divinas ad homines transmittat: herum quidem preces et sacrificia, illorum vero praepeta et sacrificiorum remunerationes. [Translated in the text.] Ibid. p. 282, 293.

(6) Μετα ποιεται, per quam desideria nostra et merita ad deos commend, interpretes eosque cotidieque vectores, hominum indigentias, qui ulterius propter humanae petitiones, humanae supplicationis, in clarum utriusque intellectus et salubriteris. Necesse enim pro majestate deorum creatum fuerit, hanc curare. [Translated in the text.] Apuleius de Deo Socratis, p. 671, 677. Edit. Delphi.

maintains, that all those who die valiantly in war are of
Hesiod’s golden generation, and are male demons; and
we ought for ever afterwards to serve and adore their
sepulchres, as the sepulchres of demons. The same
also we decree, whenever any of those who were
judged excellently good in life, die either of old age,
or in any other manner. ‘The other kind of demons
were such as had never been the souls of men, nor ever
dwell in mortal bodies. Thus Apuleius (2) informs us,
‘There is another and higher kind of demons, who
were always free from the incumbrances of the body;
and out of this higher order Plato supposed that
guards were appointed unto them.’ Ammonius
likewise in Plutarch (3) reckons two kind of demons,
souls separated from bodies, or such as had never in
habited bodies at all. ‘These latter demons may be par
alleled with angels, as the former may with canonic saints:
and as we Christians believe that there are good and
evil angels, so did the Gentiles that there were good and
evil demons. According to Plutarch (4) ‘it was
a very ancient opinion, that there are certain wicked
and malignant demons who envy good men, and en
devor to hinder them in the pursuit of virtue, lest they
Reliquiis autem tempus eorum sepulchra velinti demum colemus, et divinis
homobrus processeum. Eademque sancuemus atque exhibemus ipsis,
qui quorum singularis cupis arbatis dignitatem excellere arvis, vel quem
erat alio quum modo et vita excesserint. [Translated in the text.] Plato
(2) Superiores aliiquos duas unam genus, qui sequer a corporis
compendium, et nubibus liberis—Ex hac sublimiori diversum genus, cui autem
Plato singulis hominibus in vita agendi testes, et codex singulorum
(3) ut dictum est alium, ut eis mecumque in sacro pacto
animi securit a corpore, aut omnino nihil est cum corpore
(4) ταύτα τών ταλαντ—λογος τοις ἄγγελοις δεινωμα καὶ γαιωμεν, προς
συναρτον τοις ἀγαθῶς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ τοις προσφέρων αὐτοῖς, τιμίων καὶ
φυλικῆς ἐπάνω χαίρον τοις ἀνθρώποις τον αὐτον ως μιὸς 
διαμισθεῖσαν ἀπείρως τοις ἀνθρώποις φυλικῆς ἀνθρώποις. Οὐ 
τελειωθοῦσιν ὁμολογοῦσιν—μαλα δαιμονοι, καὶ μετα τοις ἀνθρώποις τις 
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should be partakers at last of greater happiness than they enjoy.' This was the opinion of all the later philosophers, and Plutarch undeniably affirms it of the very ancient ones.

But here it is objected, that though this might be the notion of the Gentiles concerning demons, yet the scripture-account of them is very different: for in the scripture, as St. Austin (5) observes, we never read of good demons; but wheresoever in those writings the name of demon occurs, none but evil spirits are meant: and it must be confessed and allowed, that this is the most usual signification of the word; but some instances may be alleged to the contrary. When St. Paul was at Athens, and preached the gospel in that city, certain philosophers of the Epicureans and of the Stoics encountered him (Acts xvii. 18.) and charged him with being a setter forth of strange gods εὐαγγελίζων strange demons, because he preached unto them Jesus and the resurrection. Here demons cannot possibly signify devils, but must necessarily refer to Jesus, who according to Paul's preaching (ver. 31.) was raised from the dead, and appointed to be the lord and judge of the world. At the same time the apostle retorts the charge upon the Athenians (ver. 22.)

Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious, λατρευοντες τα τελαμονια too much addicted to the worship of demons; and they worshipped demons or dead men deified in abundance; but he declared unto them (ver. 24.) God who made the world, and all things therein. St. Paul in his first Epistle thus exhorts the Corinthians (1 Cor. x. 14, 20, 21.) Flee from idolatry. The things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, δαιμονιον, to demons, and not to God: and I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils, δαιμονιοι, demons. Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of devils, δαιμονιον, of demons; ye cannot be partakers

of the Lord's table, and of the table of devils, δαιμονιον, of demons. The apostle is here showing the great inconsistency of the Christian worship with the idolatrous worship performed by the Heathens. The Heathens worshipped Jupiter, Apollo, Venus, and numberless other beings, who were reputed demons, but who were properly deceased men and women deified. Corinth in particular (6) was much devoted to the worship of Venus; there she had a most magnificent temple and service; and the city was called the city of Venus. The apostle therefore declares that all such worship is utterly inconsistent with the true worship of Christ. For that would be acknowledging him for their only lord, and at the same time acknowledging other lords. And (ver. 22.) do we provoke the Lord to jealousy: are we stronger than he? These passages, together with the text that we are considering, are, I think, all the places in St. Paul's discourses or epistles, where the word demon occurs; and as he was of all the apostles the most learned in the philosophy and theology of the Gentiles, and as he was speaking and writing to Gentiles, that might be the reason of his adopting the same notion of demons. He had plainly adhered to this notion a little before in the same Epistle to the Corinthians, (1 Cor. viii. 4, 5, 6.) and the passage cannot be so well understood without it. There is none other God but one. For though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or on earth: whether Dei celstes, celestial Gods, as they are usually denominated, or δαιμονια επιχειρημον, earthly demons, as they are named by Hesiod, mediators and agents between heaven and earth: as there be gods many and lords many; as the Gentiles acknowledge a plurality of such superior and inferior deities; But to us Christians there is but one God the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him, εστιν. we to him are to direct all our services; and the Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him, δυναται, we by or through him alone have access unto the

Father. They have a multitude of gods and lords, but we have only one of each sort. It is the same doctrine that he inculcates likewise in his first Epistle to Timothy, (ii. 5.) For there is one God, and one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus. As St. Paul here foretells that Christians in the latter times should attend to doctrics concerning demons, so St. John also foretells (Rev. ix. 20.) that notwithstanding the plagues of the Arabian locusts and of the Euphrates horsemen, yet they should not repent of the works of their hands, that they should not worship devils, διαβόλους, demons, where the word is plainly used in the same sense as by St. Paul: for Christians never actually worshipped devils, but they worshipped demons, deceased men and women and angels, and idols of gold and silver, and brass, and stone, and of wood, which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk; and they still continue to worship them, notwithstanding the grievous calamities inflicted on the Christian church by the Saracens first, and by the Turks afterwards, as we shall see in the proper place.

There is a passage in Epiphanius, which will very much illustrate and confirm our explanation of St. Paul. That father, who was very zealous against the worship of saints and images, which was then springing up in the church, loudly complains of some Arabian Christians, who made a goddess of the blessed virgin, and offered a cake to her as to the queen of heaven. He condemns their heresy as impious and abominable, and (7) declares that there also is fulfilled that of the apostle, Some shall apostatize from the sound doctrines, giving heed to fables and doctrines of demons: for they shall be, saith the apostle, worshippers of the dead, as in Israel also they were worshipped, meaning the Baalim and Ashtaroth who were worshipped by the children of Israel. It is observable that he explains, as well as recites the words of the apostle. He expounds the faith by the sound doctrine, erroneous spirits by fables, and doctrines of demons by worshipping of the dead; and to show more particularly what he meant, he subjoins two examples more of such worship; one of the Sichemites, who had a goddess under the title of Jephtha's daughter; and the other of the Egyptians; who worshipped Therematis, that daughter of Pharaoh, who was at the charge of educating Moses. Now whether this latter clause, For they shall be worshippers of the dead, as in Israel also they were worshipped, be genuine or not, it may serve our purpose in some measure either way. If it was the original text of St. Paul, as (8) Beza and more particularly Mr. Mann contend, then the point that we have been proving is established beyond all possible contradiction. If it was only a marginal reading added by way of explication, as (9) Mr. Mede and Dr. Mill suppose, it still evinces that Epiphanius, and some before his time, understood the passage in the same manner that we have explained it. The apostle delivers the prophecy as a plain and express one; and it cannot be denied, that the passage is much improved, and the sense is made much clearer by this addition. Epiphanius too recites this addition, as the very words of the apostle; and a man of his character for probity and piety would not be guilty of forging such a testimony. If it be not quoted by other fathers, nor appear in other copies, it is probable that the fathers, who began this worship very early, would not be forward to produce a text to their own conviction and confusion; and it is possible that when this worship prevailed almost universally, a text which so plainly condemned it, might be wholly omitted; as in later times, for the same reason, we have seen (1) in some catechisms and manuals of devotion, the se-

(7) πλησάνται γὰς καὶ ἐπὶ τέκνα ταῦ, ἀποτροπάτους τινα τῆς ἑυερίας ἀκάλλας, προσευχόμενοι μὲν ἐναὶ ἀποτροπαίας ἡμεῖς, ἐστερικοὶ γὰς, φησὶν ἱερεῖς ἀποτροπεῖν, ὁ Κυρίῳ ἐν τῷ ἥρασι τοῦ Ἔρωτοῦ. Πάντα γὰς ἐν ἐπί τοῦ ἵππου. 

(8) Beza in locum. Mr. Mann's Critical Notes on some passages of Scripture. p. 92—103.


(1) Bishop Stillingfleet in his Doctrines and Practices of the Church of Rome, in answer to the author of A Papist misreprposed and represented, treating of the second commandment, says, "The dispute about this: no. Whether the second commandment may be found in any of their books, but by what au-
could left out of the ten commandments, and the tenth divided into two to make up the number. It ought not indeed to be concealed, that Clemens Alexandrinus, a celebrated father and writer of the second century, hath (2) cited this passage of St. Paul, just as it appears in our present copies, which is a considerable argument in support of the common reading. But possibly the same persons who left the words in question out of St. Paul, might also leave them out of Clemens Alexandrinus; and they might have struck them out of Epiphanius too, if they had been equally aware of them, or if the thing had been equally practicable, and the context would have suffered it without the palpable discovery of the fraud. Upon the whole it may be concluded concerning this passage in Epiphanius, that if it does not exhibit the genuine reading, yet at least it establisheth the genuine sense and meaning of the text of St. Paul.

It appears then that the doctrines of demons, which prevailed so long in the Heathen world, should be revived and established in the Christian church: and is not the worship of saints and angels now in all respects the same that the worship of demons was in former times? The name only is different, the thing is identically the same. The Heathens, as we see, looked upon their demons as mediators and intercessors between God and men: and are not the saints and angels regarded in the same light by many professed Christians? Some tendency to the worshiping of angels was observed even in the apostle's time, insomuch that he thought proper to give this caution to the Colossians, (ii. 18.) Let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels: and this admonition, we may suppose, checked and suppressed this worship for some generations. The worshipping of the dead was not introduced so early into the church; it was advanced by slower degrees; and what was at first nothing more than a pious and decent respect to the memory of saints and martyrs, degenerated at last into an impious and idolatrous adoration. At first (3) annual festivals were instituted to their honor: the next step was praying in the cemeteries at their sepulchres; then their bodies were translated into churches; then a power of working miracles was attributed to their dead bodies, bones, and other relics; then their wonder-working relics were conveyed from place to place, and distributed among the other churches; then they were invoked and adored for performing such miracles, for assisting men in their devotions, and interceding for them with God; and not only the churches, but even the fields and highways were filled with altars for invoking them.

As early as the time of Constantine, the first Christian emperor, we find Eusebius, one of the best and most learned of the fathers, quoting and approving Hierocles' and Plato's notions before-mentioned concerning demons, and then (4) adding 'These things are belittling upon the decease of the favorites of God. whom you may properly call the champions of the true religion: Whence it is our custom to assemble at their sepulchres.'


which are done by us: for such as were illustrious for piety, and for the sake thereof received martyrdom, we also name deliverers and physicians, not calling them demons, (let us not be so desperately mad) but the friends and sincere servants of God. Here Theodoret plainly allows the thing, and only disapproves the name. Again he (8) saith in the same exulted strain concerning the martyrs, 'They who are well pray for the continuance of health, and they who have been long sick pray for recovery: the barren also pray for children; and they who are to make a long journey desire them to be their companions and guides in the way: not going to them as Gods, but applying to them as to divine men, and beseeching them to become intercessors for them with God.' Nay he saith (9) 'that the martyrs have blotted out of the minds of men the memory of those who were called Gods.' For our Lord hath brought his dead into the place of your Gods, whom he hath utterly abolished, and hath given their honor to the martyrs: for instead of the
feasts of Jupiter and of Bacchus are now celebrated the festivals of Peter, and Paul, and Thomas, and the other martyrs. Wherefore seeing the advantage of honoring the martyrs, fly, O friends, from the error of the demons; and using the martyrs as lights and guides, pursue the way which leadeth directly to God. Here are the doctrines of demons evidently revived, only the name is altered, and the saints are substituted for the demons, the Divi or deified men of the Christians for the Divi or deified men of the Heathens.

The promoters of this worship were sensible that it was the same, and that the one succeeded to the other; and as the worship is the same, so likewise is it performed with the same ceremonies, whether these ceremonies were derived from the same source of superstition common to the whole race of mankind, or were the direct copies of one another. The (1) burning of incense or perfumes on several altars at one and the same time; the sprinkling of holy water, or a mixture of salt and common water, at going into and coming out of places of public worship; the lighting up of a great number of lamps and wax-candles, in broad day-light, before the altars and statues of their deities; the hanging up of votive offerings and rich presents as attestations of so many miraculous cures and deliverances from diseases and dangers; the canonization or deification of deceased worthies; the assigning of distinct provinces or prefectures to departed heroes and saints; the worshipping and adoring of the dead in their sepulchres, shrines, and relics; the consecrating and bowing down to images; the attributing of miraculous powers and virtues to idols; the setting up of little oratories, altars and statues, in the streets and highways, and on the tops of mountains; the carrying of images and relics in pompous processions with numerous lights, and with

(1) The reader may see this conformity between Poppery and Paganism proved at large by Dr. Henry More in his Second Part of the Mystery of Iniquity, B. 1. Chap. 17. by Dr. Middleton in his Letter from Rome, by Mr. Seward in his Dissertation on the Conformity between Poppery and Paganism, and other learned and ingenious authors.

music and singing; flagellations at solemn seasons, under the notion of pence; the making a sanctuary of temples and churches; a great variety of religious orders and fraternities of priests; the shaving of priests, or the tonsure, as it is called, on the crown of their heads; the imposing of celibacy and vows of chastity on the religious of both sexes; all these and many more rites and ceremonies are equally parts of Pagan and of Popish superstition. Nay the very same temples, the very same altars, the very same images, which once were consecrated to Jupiter and the other demons, are now consecrated to the virgin Mary and the other saints. The very same titles and inscriptions are ascribed to both; the very same prodigies and miracles are related of these as of those. In short the whole almost of Paganism is converted and applied to Poppery; the one is manifestly formed upon the same plan and principles as the other; so that there is not only a conformity, but even an uniformity in the worship of ancient and modern, of Heathen and Christian Rome.

III. Such an apostasy as this of reviving the doctrines of demons and worshipping the dead, was not likely to succeed and take place immediately; it should prevail and prosper in the last times. The phrase of the last times or days, or the last times or days, as it hath been observed upon (2) a former occasion, signifies any time yet to come; but denotes more particularly the times of Christianity. So we find it used by some of the ancient prophets, as for example Isaiah, Micah, and Joel. Isaiah saith (ii. 2.) And it shall come to pass in the last days that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it. Micah to the same purpose, and almost in the same words, (iv. 1.) But in the last days it shall come to pass, that the mountain of the house of the Lord shall be established in the top of the mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills, and people shall flow unto it. And Joel, as he is quoted by St.

(2) In Dissertation IV.
ungodly lusts. So likewise St. Paul. (2 Tim. iii. 1.)
This know also that in the last days perilous times shall come. These also are the latter times spoken of in the text. In these times the worship of the dead should principally prevail; and that it hath so prevailed, all mankind can testify. The practice might begin before, but the popes have authorized and established it by law. The popish worship is more the worship of demons than of God or Christ.

IV. Another remarkable peculiarity of this prophecy is the solemn and emphatic manner in which it is delivered, The Spirit speaketh expressly. Everyone will readily apprehend, that by the Spirit is meant the holy Spirit of God which inspired the prophets and apostles. So the Spirit (Acts viii. 29.) said unto Philip, Go near, and join thyself to this chariot. So the Spirit (Acts x. 19.) said unto Peter, Behold three men seek thee. So the Spirit (Rev. xiv. 13.) saith, Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord, that they may rest from their labors. But these things the Spirit only said; it is not affirmed, that he said them expressly. The Spirit’s speaking expressly, as (4) Erasmus and others expound it, is his speaking precisely and certainly, not obscurely and involvedly, as he was wont to speak in the prophets: and Whitby argues farther, that in those times of prophecy, when the prophets had the government of the churches, and spake still in the public assemblies, it might reasonably be said, The Spirit speaketh expressly what they taught expressly in the church. St. Paul indeed before predicted this apostasy both in discourse and in a letter to the Thessalonians, and he is by some supposed to refer to that epistle in this place. But tho’ the predictions are alike, yet they are not expressly the same: the general subject is the same in both, but the particular circumstances are different, so that the one cannot be said to be copied from the other. There the

(3) In Dissertation XIV.

Peter, (Acts ii. 16, 17.) But this is that which was spoken by the prophet Joel: And it shall come to pass in the last days (saith God) I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh. The times of Christianity may properly be called the latter times or days, or the last times or days, because it is the last of all God’s revelations to mankind. Daniel also having measured all future time by the succession of four principal kingdoms, and having affirmed that the kingdom of Christ should be set up during the last of the four kingdoms, the phrase of the latter times or days, or of the last times or days, may still more properly signify the times of the Christian dispensation. Thus it is applied by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, (Heb. i. 1, 2.) God, who at sundry times, and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son. Thus also St. Peter, (1 Pet. i. 20.) Christ verily was foreordained before the foundation of the world, but was manifest in these last times for you.

But there is a farther notation of time in the prophet Daniel; there are the last times taken singly and comparatively, or the latter times (as I may say after Mr. Mede) of the last times, which are the times of the little horn or of Antichrist, (Dan. vii.) who should arise during the latter part of the last of the four kingdoms, and should be destroyed together with it, after having continued a time, and times, and half a time. What these times signify, and how they are to be computed, hath been shown in a (3) former dissertation; and it is in reference to these times especially, that many things under the gospel-dispensation are predicted to fall out in the latter times or days or in the last times or days. So St. Peter speaketh (2 Pet. iii. 3.) There shall come in the last days scoffers walking after their own lusts. So too St. Jude, (ver. 17, 18.) Beloved, remember ye the words which were spoken before of the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ: How that they told you, there should be workers in the last time, who should walk after their own

(4) Præcæpta præcæpìt, non observ. et iuxtâ, quænammodum loqui solit in prophetis.  Præcæpta, signifies in a limited and precise manner, in opposition to that which is obscure and involved, as God speak to speak by the prophets.” [B.V.M.] in loco. Whitby ibid.
apostasy is predicted, here it is specified wherein it is to consist. I would therefore prefer Mr. Mede's interpretation, that *the Spirit speaketh expressly* what he speaketh in express words in some place or other of divine writ: and the Spirit hath spoken the same things in express words before in the prophecy of Daniel. Daniel hath foretold in express words the worship of new demons or demons: (Dan. xi. 38.) And with God, or instead of God Mahuzzim in his estate shall he honor; even with God, or instead of God, those whom his fathers knew not shall he honor with gold and silver, and with precious stones, and desirable things. The *Mahuzzim* of Daniel are the same as the demons of St. Paul, Gods-protectors or Saints-protectors, defenders and guardians of mankind. Daniel also hath foretold in express words, that this worship should be accompanied with a prohibition of marriage: (ver. 37.) Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women; that is he shall neglect and discourage the desire of wives, and all conjugal affection. Daniel hath likewise intimated that this worship should take place in the latter times; for he hath described it in the latter part of his prophecy, and these times he hath expressly named a time and times and half a time. If the reader hath been at the trouble of perusing the latter dissertation upon the eleventh chapter of Daniel, he will more easily perceive the connexion and resemblance between the two prophecies. This therefore is a prophecy not dictated merely by private suggestion and inspiration, but taken out of the written word. It is a prophecy not only of St. Paul, but of Daniel too, or rather of Daniel confirmed and approved by St. Paul.

V. Having shown wherein the great apostasy of the latter times consists, namely in reviving the doctrines concerning demons, and worshipping the dead, the apostle proceeds to describe by what means and by what persons it should be propagated and established in the world: *Speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with a hot iron,* or rather *Through the hypocrisy of liars, having their conscience seared with a hot iron.* For the preposition *v in* often signifies as well by or through: as in St. Mark's gospel, (ix. 29.) *This kind can come forth by nothing but by prayer and fasting: and again in the Acts of the Apostles,* (xvii. 31.) *God hath appointed a day in the which he will judge the world in righteousness v apolō by that man whom he hath ordained: and again in St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans,* (xii. 11.) *Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil v apō the by or with good: and again in St. Paul's Epistle to Titus,* (i. 9.) *That he may be able v δικαιοσύνη by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers: and so likewise in the text, v ὑποθέτει by or through hypocrisy.* Liars too or speaking lies *ψεύδομαι* cannot possibly be joined in conjunction with *δικαιοσύνη* demons or devils: for how can demons or devils be said to speak lies in hypocrisy, and to have their conscience seared with a hot iron? Besides if *δικαιοσύνη* demons be taken for devils, and not in the sense that we have explained it, nor with the addition of Epiphanes, then it is not expressed at all, wherein the great apostasy of the latter times consists. The forbidding to marry and commanding to abstain from meats are circumstances only and appendages of the great apostasy, and not the great apostasy itself, which is always represented in scripture as *spiritual fornication or idolatry* of one kind or other, and it is not likely that the apostle should specify the circumstantial errors, and omit the main and capital crime. In this place it is not the great apostasy that he is describing, but the characters and qualities of the authors and promoters of it. Castalio therefore very properly (5) translates *v ὑποθέτει* *ψεύδομαι* through the dissimulation of men speaking lies: I have added *me* says he, lest speaking lies and what follows be referred to demons or devils. It is plain then that the great apostasy of the latter times was to prevail

(5) *Per simulationem hominum fe'silegorum* Hominiis addi, *ψεύδομαι* et sequentia referentur ad demonia. [Translated in the text]
through the hypocrisy of liars having their conscience scared with a hot iron: and hath not the great idolatry of Christians, and the worship of the dead particularly, been diffused and advanced in the world by such instruments and agents, who have (Rom. i. 25.) changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for ever? It is impossible to relate or enumerate all the various falsehoods and lies, which have been invented and propagated for this purpose; the fabulous books forged under the names of apostles, saints, and martyrs; the fabulous legends of their lives, actions, sufferings, and deaths; the fabulous miracles ascribed to their sepulchres, bones, and other relics; the fabulous dreams and revelations, visions and apparitions of the dead to the living; and even the fabulous saints, who never existed but in the imagination of their worshippers: And all these stories the monks, the priests, the Bishops of the church, have imposed and obtruded upon mankind, it is difficult to say, whether the greater artifice or cruelty, with greater confidence or hypocrisy and pretended sanctity, a more hardened face or a more hardened conscience. The history of the church, saith Pascal, is the history of truth: but as written by bigotted papists, it is rather the history of lies. So well doth this prophecy coincide and agree with the preceding one, that the coming of the man of sin should be after the working of Satan with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness.

VI. A further character of these men is given in the following words, forbidding to marry. The same hypocritical liars, who should promote the worship of demons, should also prohibit lawful marriage. Saturninus or Saturninus, who flourished in the second century, was, as Theodoret (6) affirms, the first Christian, who declared matrimony to be the doctrine of the devil, and exhorted men to abstain from animal food. But according (7) to Irenæus and Eusebius, Tatian, who had been a disciple of Justin Martyr, was the first author of this heresy; at least he concurred in opinion with Saturninus and Marcion; and their followers were called the Continents from their continence in regard to marriage and meats. The Gnostics likewise, as Irenæus and Clemens Alexandrinus (8) informs us, asserted that to marry and beget children proceeded from the devil; and under pretence of continence were impious both against the creature and Creator, teaching that men ought not to bring into the world unhappy persons, nor supply food for death. Other heretics in the third century advanced the same doctrines, but they were generally reputed heretics, and their doctrines were condemned by the church. The council of Eliberis in Spain, which was held in the year of Christ 305, was I think the first, that by public authority (9) forbade the clergy to marry, and commanded even those who were married to abstain altogether from their wives. The council of Neocesarea, in the year 314, only (10) forbade unmarried presbyters to marry on the penalty of degradation. At the first general council of Nice, in

the year 325, a motion was (2) made to restrain the clergy from all conjugal society with their wives: but it was strongly opposed by Paphnutius, a famous Egyptian bishop, who yet himself was never married; and to him the whole council agreed, and left every man to his liberty as before. But the monks had not yet prevailed; the monks soon after overspread the eastern church, and the western too: and as the monks were the first who brought single life into repute; so they were the first also who revived and promoted the worship of demons. It is a thing universally known, that one of the primary and most essential laws and constitutions of all monks, whether solitary or associated, whether living in deserts or in convents, is the profession of single life, to abstain from marriage themselves, and to discourage it all they can in others. It is equally certain, that the monks had the principal share in promoting and propagating the worship of the dead; and either out of credulity, or for worse reasons, recommended it to the people with all the pomp and power of their eloquence in their homilies and orations. Read only some of the most celebrated fathers; read the (3) orations of Basil on the martyr Manas, and on the forty martyrs; read the orations of Epiphanius Syrus on the death of Basil, and on the forty martyrs, and on the praises of the holy martyrs; read the orations of Gregory Nazianzen on Athanasius, and on Basil, and on Cyprian; read the orations of Gregory Nyssen on Epiphanius Syrus, and on the martyr Theodorus, and on Meletius bishop of Antioch; read the sixty-sixth, and other homilies of Chrysostom; read his oration on the martyrs of Egypt, and other orations; and you will be greatly astonished to find, how full they are of this sort of superstition, what powers and miracles are ascribed to the saints, what prayers and praises are

offered up to them. All these were monks, and most of them bishops too, in the fourth century: and the superstitious worship which these monks begun, the succeeding monks completed, till at length the very relics and images of the dead were worshipped as much as the dead themselves. The monks then were the principal promoters of the worship of the dead in former times: and who are the great patrons and advocates of the same worship now? Are not their legitimate successors and descendents, the monks and priests and bishops of the church of Rome? and do not they also profess and recommend single life, as well as the worship of saints and angels? As long ago as the year 386, pope (4) Siricius held a council of eighty bishops of Rome, and forbade the clergy to cohabit with their wives. This decree was confirmed by pope (5) Innocent at the beginning of the fifth century; and the celibacy of the clergy was fully decreed by (6) Gregory the seventh in the eleventh century; and this hath been the universal law and practice of the church ever since. Thus hath the worship of demons and the prohibition of marriage constantly gone hand in hand together: and as they who maintain the one, maintain the other: so it is no less remarkable, that they who disclaim the one, disclaim also the other, and assert the liberty which nature, or (to speak more properly) the author of nature hath indulged to all mankind.

Our Maker bids increase: Who bids abstain.
But our destroyer, foe to God and man?

VII. The last note and character of these men is commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth: where in the original the word commanding is not expressed but understood, with an ellipsis

(3) Epiphanius ibid. p. 767. Bingham's Antiquities, B. 4, Ch. 5, Sect. 7.
(4) The reader may see some extracts out of all these in Sir Isaac Newton's observations on Duns Scot, Chap. 11.
that commentators (7) have observed to be sometimes used by the best classic authors. The same lying hypocrites who should promote the worship of demons, should not only prohibit lawful marriage, but likewise impose unnecessary abstinence from meats: and these two, as indeed it is fit they should, usually go together, as constituent parts of the same hypocrisy. As we learn from (8) Irenæus, the ancient heretics called Continentes, who taught that marriage was not to be contracted. reproving the primitive work of God, and tacitly accusing him who made man and woman for the procreation of human kind, introduced abstinence also from animal food, showing themselves ungrateful to God who created all things. It is as much the law and constitution of all monks to abstain from meats as from marriage. Some never eat any flesh, others only of certain kinds and on certain days. Frequent fasts are the rule, the boast of their order; and their carnal humility is their spiritual pride. So lived the monks of the ancient church; so live, with less strictness perhaps but with greater ostenta-

(7) Ἐστι λέγει δὲ Ἡρωδ. Καὶ δεσποταὶ quod addidit humane locum igitur Epiphanius, ut addiderit quod addit Syrus. Sintis ferme θεμελίωθεν τιν εἰς Cor. xiv. 34. et hic supra n. 12. Sic Phædrus, Non vero dimittit, non enim esse sine, nonne ipse, inquit, jubeo. [7] There is here an elision of a word wanting, of a contrary signification. For the word κατακλωσμα, commanding, which Epiphanius when quoting this passage supplies, or κατακλωσμα, making, which is the word supplied by the Syriac interpreter, is wanting. There is a similar elision in 1 Cor. xiv. 31. and in chap. n. 12. Thuc Phædrus also says, Non vero dimittit, non enim esse sine, that is if I do not forbid her to be divorced, but command that she should be tortured to death by hunger, where the word jubeo, I command, is to be supplied. [8] Grot, locum.

(8) το Καλλικρατις ἐγκακίας κακίας εἰσέλθετο τα ἐφαρμοσμένα τα τῆς Θεοῦ, καὶ οἰκίας κατακλωσμάτως πρὸς τὸν κόσμον μικρόν ἀνθρώπων, κατακλωσμάτως καὶ τὴν οἰκίας τα μικρά ἀνθρώπων ἐκείνης τοῦ Ἰερουσαλήμ. [8] Grot, locum, Continentes, decreant non contrahendum esse matrimonium: reprehendit primitium illud opificium Dei, et tacitum accereto. Deus qui maculam et feminam condidit ad procreationem generis humano. Inde, exente elaborem ab eo eorum que animata appelland, negatos se evisciendos erga eum qui unicerum creavit Deum. [9] They who are called Continentes, preach that marriage is not to be contracted, making void the primitive work of God, and tacitly blaming him who made male and female for the procreation of mankind. They have brought in an abstinence from the use of what is called animal food, shewing themselves ungrateful to that God who created all things.] Iren., early Eusebius, Eccles. Hist. Lib. 4. Cap. 20.
and inculcate these things: (ver. 6.) If thou put the brethren in remembrance of these things, thou shalt be a good minister of Jesus Christ, nourished up in the words of faith, and of good doctrin, whereunto thou hast attained. All that is preached up of such abstinence and mortification, as well as all the legends of the saints, are no better than profane and old wives fables: Godliness is the only thing; that will truly avail us here and hereafter. (ver. 7 and 8.) But refuse profane and old wives fables, and exercise thyself rather unto godliness; For bodily exercise profiteth little; but godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come.

IT is very useful, as well as very curious and entertaining to trace the rise and progress of religions and governments; and in taking a survey of all the different religions and governments of the world, there is none perhaps that will strike us more with wonder and astonishment than that of Rome, how such a mystery of iniquity could succeed at first and prosper so long, and under the name of Christ introduce Antichrist. Other heresies and schisms have obtained place and credit among men for a time, and then have been happily exposed and suppressed. Arianism once succeeded almost universally; for a while it grew and flourished mightily, but in process of time it withered and faded away. But Popery hath now prevailed I know not how many centuries, and her renowned hierarchs have not, like the fathers of other sects, stole into secret meetings and conventicles, but have infected the very heart of the Christian church, and usurped the chief seat of the western world: have not only engaged in their cause private persons, and led captive silly women, but have trampled on the necks of princes and emperors themselves, and

Vol. II.
the lords and tyrants of mankind have yet been the blind slaves and vassals of the holy see. Rome Christian hath carried her conquests even farther than Rome Pagan. The Romanists themselves make universality and perpetuity the special marks and characters of their church: and no people more industrious than they in compassing 

sea and land to make proselytes.

All sincere protestants cannot but be greatly grieved at the success and prevalence of this religion, and the papists as much boast and glory in it, and for this reason proudly denominate theirs the catholic religion. But it will abate all confidence on the one hand, and banish all scruples on the other; if we consider that this is nothing more than what was signified before hand by the Spirit of prophecy. It is directly foretold, that there should be such a power as that of the Pope of Rome, exercised in the Christian church, and that it should prevail for a long season, but at last should have a fall. Several clear and express prophecies to this purpose have been produced out of Daniel and St. Paul in the course of these dissertations; but others clearer still, and more copious and particular, may be found in the Apocalypse or Revelation of St. John, who was the greatest as he was the last prophet of the Christian dispensation, and hath comprehended in this book, and pointed out the most memorable events and revolutions in the church from the apostles days to the consummation of the mystery of God.

But to this book of the Apocalypse or Revelation it is usually objected, that it is so wrapt and involved in figures and allegories, is so wild and visionary, is so dark and obscure, that any thing or nothing; at least nothing clear and certain, can be proved or collected from it. So learned a man as Scaliger is noted for saying (1)

(1) Calvinius opinat, quod in Apocalypsin non scrisset. [Translated in the text.] Vide Scaligeram semper p. 41. But Scaliger was not very consistent in his opinion of the Revelation. For as the Bishop of Rochester remarks, he says in another place, Hoc possum gloriari me nihil ignorare quos in Apocalypsin, Canonicum verum librum, propheticam scelitiam, praeclaram capit, in quo septies repetitur: ignorum eum idem tempus posteiore, an futurum sit. [This I can boast of, that I am ignorant of none of those things that are prophetically written in that truly canonical book.]

that Calvin was wise, because he wrote no comment upon the Revelation. A celebrated (2) wit and divine of our own church hath not scrupled to assert that that book either finds a man mad, or makes him so. Whitby, though an useful commentator on the other books of the New Testament, would not yet adventure upon the Revelation. "I confess I do it not (3) (says he,) for want of wisdom; that is because I neither have sufficient reading nor judgment, to discern the intention of the prophecies contained in that book." Voltaire is pleased to say, that Sir Isaac Newton wrote his comment upon the Revelation, to console mankind for the great superiority that he had over them in other respects: but Voltaire, though a very agreeable, is yet a very superficial writer, and often mistaken in his judgment of men and things. He never was more mistaken, than in affirming that Sir Isaac Newton has explained the Revelation in the same manner with all those who went before him; a most evident proof that he had never read either the one or the others, for if ever he had read them, he must have perceived the difference. However it is undeniable that even the most learned men have miscarried in nothing more than in their comments and explanations of this book. To explain this book perfectly is not the work of one man or of one age; and probably it will never all be clearly understood, till it is all fulfilled. It is a memorable thing, that Bishop Burnet (4) relates to this purpose of his friend the most learned Bishop Lloyd of Worcester. He says that that excellent person was employed above twenty years in studying the Revelation with an amazing diligence and exactness, and that he had foretold and proved from the Revelation the peace made between the Turk and the Emperor in the year 1698 long before it was made, and that after this he said the time of the Turks hurting the

Revelation, excepting that chapter where a see is seven times repeated. For I know not whether that time be past, or still to come." Scaligerian, p. 13.

(2) Dr. South, See Vol. 2. Ser. II. p. 422. 6th Edit.

(3) See Whitby's Pref. to his Treatise of the Millennium.

papa. Christians was at an end: and he was so positive in this, that he consented that all his scheme should be laid aside, if (5) ever the Turk engaged in a new war with them. But it is very well known, that the Turk and the Emperor have engaged in a new war since that time, and probably may engage again, so that by his own consent all his scheme is to be laid aside: and if so great a master of learning, so nice a critic in chronology and history, one who perhaps understood the prophetic writings better than any man of his time, was so grossly mistaken in the most positive of his calculations, it may serve at least as an admonition to others of inferior abilities to beware how they meddle with these matters, and rather to avoid the rocks and shelves about which they see so many shipwrecks.

Not that this book is therefore to be despised or neglected. They who censure and dissuade the study of it, do it for the most part because they have not studied it themselves, and imagin the difficulties to be greater than they are in reality. It is still the sure word of prophecy; and men of learning and leisure cannot better employ their time and abilities than in studying and explaining this book, provided they do it, as Lord (6) Bacon adviseth, "with great wisdom, sobriety, and reverence." Lord Bacon adviseth it with regard to all the prophecies, but such caution and reverence are more especially due to this of St John. "The folly of interpreters has been, as Sir Isaac Newton (7) observes, to forget times and things by this prophecy, as if God designed to make them prophets. By this rashness they have not only exposed themselves, but brought the pro-

(5) Upon reflection I think it not impossible that Bishop Burnet might mistake, and so might misrepresent Bishop Lloyd's meaning. If he said indeed, that the Turks would never engage in a new war with the papal Christians, he was plainly in the wrong, the event hath shown that he was in the wrong. If he said only that the Turks would no more hurt the papal Christians, would no more trouble any Christian state or potentate, he was probably in the right; the prophet seemeth to intimate the same thing, and the event hath to confirm it.

(6) — Magna cum sapiencia, sobrietate, et reverentia. [Translated in the text.] See the quotation prefixed to the Introduction.

(7) Sir Isaac Newton's Observations upon the Apocalypse, Chap. 1, p. 251.

prophecy also into contempt. The design of God was much otherwise. He gave this and the prophecies of the Old Testament, not to gratify men's curiosities by enabling them to foreknow things, but that after they were fulfilled they might be interpreted by the event, and his own providence, not the interpreters, be then manifested thereby to the world." If therefore we would confine ourselves to the rules of just criticism, and not indulge lawless and extravagant fancies; if we would be content with sober and genuine interpretation, and not pretend to be prophets, nor presume to be wise above what is written; we should more consider those passages which have already been accomplished, than frame conjectures about those which remain yet to be fulfilled. Where the facts may be compared with the predictions, there we have some clue to guide us thro' the labyrinth: and though it may be difficult to trace out every minute resemblance, yet there are some strong lines and features, which I think cannot fail of striking every one, who will but impartially and duly examin them.

We should be wanting to the subject, and leave our work unfinished, if we should omit so material a part of prophecy. And yet such a disposition is not to be entered upon hastily, but after a diligent perusal of the best authors, both foreign and domestic; and it will be happy, if out of them all there can be formed one entire system, complete and consistent in all its parts. As Sir Isaac Newton (8) says, "Among the interpreters of the last age, there is scarce one of note who hath not made some discovery worth knowing." But our greatest obligations are owing to three particularly, Mr. Mede, Vitringa, and Dannuz. We shall find reason generally to concur with one or more of them; but as they often differ from one another, so we shall differ sometimes from all the three, and follow other guides, or perhaps no guides at all. What satisfaction we may give to others, is very uncertain; we shall at least have

(8) Sir Isaac Newton, ibid. p. 353.
the satisfaction ourselves of tracing the ways of providence. It is little encouragement to this kind of studies to reflect, that two of the most learned men of their times, as well as two of the best interpreters of this book, Mr. Mede and Mr. Dabney, the one died a fellow of a college, and the other a vicar of a poor vicarage in Yorkshire. Mr. Mede, as we read in the memoirs of his life, was so modest, that he wished for nothing more than a donative or sincere to be added to his fellowship; but even this he could not obtain.

Aha! what boots it with incessant care,
To tend the homely sighted shepherd's trade,
And strictly meditate the thankless Muse?
Were it not better done as others use, &c.

*Milton's Lycidas.*

But however let us proceed, encouraged by that divine benediction, Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein.

**CHAP. I.**

1 The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him, to show unto his servants things which must shortly come to pass; and he sent and signified it by his angel unto his servant John:

2 Who bare record of the word of God, and of the testimony of Jesus Christ, and of all things that he saw.

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

The book opens (ver. 1, 2, 3.) with the title or inscription of the book itself; the scope and design of it, to foretell things which should shortly begin to be fulfilled, and succeed in their due season and order, till all were accomplished; and the blessing pronounced on him who shall read and explain it, and on them, who shall hear and attend to it. The distinction is remarkable of him that readeth, and of them that hear; for books being then in manuscript were in much fewer hands, and it was a much readier way to publish a prophecy or any thing by public reading than by transcribing copies. It was too the custom of that age to read all the apostolical writings in the congregations of the faithful: but now only some few parts of this book are appointed to be read on certain festivals.

4 John to the seven churches which are in Asia:
Grace be unto you, and peace from him which is, and which was, and which is to come; and from the seven spirits which are before his throne;

5 And from Jesus Christ, who is the faithful witness, and the first-begotten of the dead, and the prince of the kings of the earth: Unto him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood,

6 And hath made us kings and priests unto God and his Father: to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.

7 Behold he cometh with clouds; and every eye shall see him, and they also which pierced him: and all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of him: even so, Amen.

8 I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty.

The apostle dedicates his book (ver. 4, 5, 6.) to the seven churches of the Lydian or proconsular Asia, wishing them grace and peace from the eternal God as the author and giver; and from the seven spirits, the representatives and ministers of the Holy Ghost, as the instruments; and from Jesus Christ as the mediator, who is mentioned last, because the subsequent discourse more immediately relates to him. To the dedication he subjoins a short and solemn preface (ver. 7, 8.) to show the
great authority of the divine person, who had com-missioned him to write the Revelation.

9 I John, who also am your brother, and com-panion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and pa-tience of Jesus Christ, was in the isle that is called Patmos, for the word of God, and for the testimony of Jesus Christ.

10 I was in the spirit on the Lord’s day, and heard behind me a great voice, as of a trumpet,

11 Saying, I am Alpha and Omega, the first and the last: and, What thou seest, write in a book, and send it unto the seven churches which are in Asia: unto Ephesus, and unto Smyrna, and unto Perga-mos, and unto Thyatira, and unto Sardis, and unto Philadelphia, and unto Laodicea.

12 And I turned to see the voice that spake with me, and being turned, I saw seven golden candle-sticks;

13 And in the midst of the seven candlesticks, one like unto the Son of man, clothed with a garment down to the foot, and girt about the paps with a golden girdle.

14 His head and his hairs were white like wool, as white as snow; and his eyes were as a flame of fire;

15 And his feet like unto fine brass, as if they burned in a furnace: and his voice as the sound of many waters.

16 And he had in his right hand seven stars: and out of his mouth went a sharp two-edged sword: and his countenance was as the sun shineth in his strength.

17 And when I saw him, I fell at his feet as dead: and he laid his right hand upon me, saying unto me, Fear not; I am the first and the last:

18 I am he that liveth, and was dead; and behold I am alive for ever more, Amen; and have the keys of hell and of death.

19 Write the things which thou hast seen, and the things which are, and the things which shall be hereafter.

20 The mystery of the seven stars which thou sawest in my right hand, and the seven golden candlesticks. The seven stars are the angels of the seven churches: and the seven candlesticks which thou sawest, are the seven churches.

He then (ver. 9—20.) mentions the place, where the Revelation was given, and describes the manner and circumstances of the first vision. The place, where the Revelation was given, was Patmos, a desolate island in the Archipelago, whether he was banished for the confession of the gospel. It is not well known, at what time, or by whom he was banished into this island; but we may suppose it to have happened in the reign of Nero more probably than in that of Domitian. It is indeed the more general opinion, that the Apocalypse was written in Domitian’s reign; and this opinion is founded upon the (9) testimony of Irenaeus, who was the disciple of Polycarp, who had been the disciple of St. John. This authority is great, and is made still greater, as it is confirmed by (1) Eusebius in his Chronicle and in his Ecclesiastical History. But Eusebius a little afterwards in the (2) same history recites a memorable story out of Clemens Alexandrinus; that St. John, after he returned from Patmos, committed a hopeful young man to the care of a certain bishop; that the bishop received him into his house, educated, instructed, and at length baptized him; that the bishop afterwards remitting of his care and strictness, the young man was corrupted by idle and desperate companions, revealed with them, robbed with them, and forming them into a gang of high-way men was made their captain, and became the terror of

all the country; that after some time St. John coming
upon other occasions to revisit the same bishop, inquired
after the young man, and was informed that he was not to be found in the church, but in such a moun-
tain with his fellow-robbers; that St. John called for a
horse, and rode immediately to the place; that when the
young man saw him, he fled away from him; that St. John
forgetting his age, pursued eagerly after him, recollected
him, and restored him to the church. Now all these transac-
tions must necessarily take up some years; and may seem
credible if St. John was banished by Nero, but are altogether impossible if he was banished by Domitian; for he survived Domitian but a very few years, and he was then near 100 years old, and so very weak and infirm that (3) he was with great diffi-
culty carried to church, and could hardly speak a few
words to the people, and much less ride briskly after a
young robber. Epiphanius (4) asserts, that he was
banished into Patmos, and wrote the Apocalypse there,
in the reign of Claudius: but Epiphanius being not a
correct writer, he might possibly mistake Claudius for
his successor Nero, especially as Nero had assumed
the name of Claudius, by whom he was adopted. Nero
Claudius Caesar. This date is perhaps near as much too
early, as the time of Domitian is too late. The churches
of Syria have thus (5) inscribed their version, 'The
Revelation made to John the Evangelist by God in
the island Patmos, into which he was banished by
Nero the Caesar.' The ancient Commentators (6)
Andreas and Arctas affirm, that it was understood to be
written before the destruction of Jerusalem. But if it was
written before the destruction of Jerusalem, it might
naturally be expected that such a memorable event
would not have been unnoticed in this prediction; and

Ed. Benedict.
(5) Revelatione que facta est Iesu evangelista, a Deo in Patmos insula, in
quae injet;us est a Nerone Cæsare. [Translated in the text.]

neither was it unnoticed in this prediction, as will be
seen hereafter. Our Saviour's repeating so frequently
in this book, Behold, I come quickly—Behold he cometh
with clouds, and every eye shall see him, and they also
who pierced him, and all kindreds of the earth shall wait
because of him—and the like expressions, cannot surely be
so well understood of any other event as of the destruction
of Jerusalem, which coming was also spoken of in the gos-
mps, and what other coming was there so speedy and
conspicuous? So many spurious Apocalypses, written
by Cerinthus and others in early times, demonstrate
evidently that the Apocalypse of St. John, in imitation
whereof they were written, was still earlier, and was held
in high estimation among Christians. But what is to me
an unanswerable argument, the stile itself, so full of He-
braisms, and as I may say so full of barbarisms and even
solecisms, as some (7) even of the ancients have observed,
manifestly evinces, that the author was but lately come
out of Judea, was little accustomed to write in Greek,
and had not yet attained to that greater purity of stile, which appears in his Gospels and Epistles. On
the contrary it is urged, that there are internal marks in
the book itself of its being of a later date than Nero's
reign, that the churches of Asia could not have changed
and degenerated so much in so short a space of time,
that they had not then been exposed to persecution, nor
had Antipas suffered martyrdom at Pergamum, the per-
secutions by Nero being confined to the metropolis of
the empire. But why might not St. John charge the
churches of Asia with having degenerated and fallen
from their first love, as well as St. Paul accuse the church
of Corinth, (I Cor. iii. 3.) of being carnal and having en-
ting and strife and divisions among them; or complain
of the churches of Galatia, (Galat. i. 6.) I marvel that ye
are so soon removed from them that called you into the

(7) διαδεξηται μετα της παραγωγης των αρχων εις την εποχην αυτης δει τη
ενεργη την συναγωνιαν οντως αιοιδαινην και σωματικων 
αληθειαν παρα παρα ευαγγελιαν. [Verum dictam emus
non aedificum Graecum animadverti, sed barbarismos atque interdum solen-
dismos imprimatam. | But I observe that his dialect and language are not purely Greek, but that he uses barbarisms and, sometimes solecisms.]
[According to Alex. and Bähr. Hist. Eccles. Lib. 7. Cap. 25.]
grace of Christ unto another gospel (iii. 1.) O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you that ye should not obey the truth, before whose eyes Jesus Christ hath been evidently set forth; or write to Timothy the first Bishop of Ephesus (2 Tim. i. 15.) This thou knowest that all they which are in Asia be turned away from me? Why might not the churches of Asia be liable to persecution, when it is said (2 Tim. iii. 12.) that all who will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution; when unto the Philippians (i. 29.) it was given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake; and when the Thessalonians (1 Thess. ii. 14.) suffered like things of their own countrymen, as the churches in Judea of the Jews; and manifested (2 Thess. i. 4.) their patience and faith in all their persecutions and tribulations which they endured? As for Antipas there is no genuine history or authentic account of him; it is not known, who or what he was, when he suffered, or who caused him to be put to death, so that nothing can be from thence inferred one way or other. Neither is it certain that the persecutions by Nero were confined to the metropolis; they raged indeed most there, but were extended likewise over all the provinces, as (8) Orosius testifies with others. Sir Isaac Newton hath farther (9) shown, that in the Epistles of St. Peter, and in St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, there are several allusions to this book of the Apocalypse; and St. Peter and St. Paul, all the ancients agree, suffered martyrdom in the end of Nero's reign. It may indeed be retorted, that St. John might borrow from St. Peter and St. Paul, as well as St. Peter and St. Paul from St. John; but if you will consider and compare the passages together, you will find sufficient reason to be convinced, that St. Peter's and St. Paul's are the copies, and St. John the original. Moreover it is to be observed, that this Revelation was given on the Lord's

day, when the apostle's heart and affections, as we may reasonably suppose, were subdued by the meditations and devotions of the day, and rendered more recipient of divine inspiration. The heavenly visions were vouch-safed to St. John, as they were before to Daniel; (Dan. ix. x.) after supplication and prayer: and there being (1) two kinds of prophetic revelation in a vision and a dream, the Jews accounted a vision superior to a dream, as representing things more perfectly and to the life.

In the first vision Jesus Christ, or his angel, speaking in his name, and acting in his person, appears amid the seven golden candlesticks, meaning the seven churches. His clothing is somewhat like the high priest's, and he is described much in the same manner as the divine appearances in Daniel's visions. (Dan. vii. 9. x. 5., &c.) St. John at the sight of so glorious a person fell down senseless before him, as Daniel did upon the same occasion; and like Daniel too, he is graciously raised and encouraged, and commanded to write the things which he had seen, contained in this chapter, and the things which are, the present state of the seven churches represented in the two next chapters, and the things which shall be hereafter, the future events which begin to be exhibited in the fourth chapter, as it is there said (ver. 1.) Come up hither, and I will show thee things which must be hereafter.

CHAP. II.

1 UNTO the angel of the church of Ephesus, write, These things saith he that holdeth the seven stars in his right hand, who walketh in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks;

2 I know thy works, and thy labour, and thy patience, and how thou canst not bear them which are evil: and thou hast tried them which say they

(8) Prima Romanis Christianos supplicius et mortibus affectit: ac per omnes provincias port persecutionem evertent imperavit. [He first punished and put to death the Christians at Rome, and gave order that the same persecution should extend to all the provinces.] Lab. 7. Cap. 7. p. 423. Edit. Havercamp.

(9) Sir Isaac Newton's Obs. upon the Apoc. Chap. 1. p. 239—246.
are apostles, and are not; and hast found them liars:
3 And hast borne, and hast patience, and for my name's sake hast laboured, and hast not fainted.
4 Nevertheless, I have somewhat against thee, because thou hast left thy first love.
5 Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of his place, except thou repent.
6 But this thou hast, that thou hastest the deeds of the Nicolaitans, which I also hate.
7 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches. To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God.
8 And unto the angel of the church in Smyrna, write, These things saith the first and the last, which was dead, and is alive;
9 I know thy works, and tribulation, and poverty, (but thou art rich) and I know the blasphemy of them which say they are Jews, and are not, but are the synagogue of Satan.
10 Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer: behold, the devil shall cast some of you into prison, that ye may be tried; and ye shall have tribulation ten days: be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.
11 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches, He that overcometh, shall not be hurt of the second death.
12 And to the angel of the church in Pergamos, write, These things saith he, which hath the sharp sword with two edges;
13 I know thy works, and where thou dwellest, even where Satan's seat is: and thou holdest fast my name, and hast not denied my faith, even in those days wherein Antipas was my faithful martyr, who was slain among you, where Satan dwelleth.

14 But I have a few things against thee, because thou hast there them that hold the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balac to cast a stumbling-block before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed unto idols, and commit fornication.
15 So hast thou also them that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitans, which thing I hate.
16 Repent; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will fight against them with the sword of my mouth.
17 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches. To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the hidden manna, and will give him a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth, saving he that receiveth it.
18 And unto the angel of the church in Thyatira, write, These things saith the Son of God, who hath his eyes like unto a flame of fire, and his feet are like fine brass:
19 I know thy works, and charity, and service, and faith, and thy patience, and thy works; and the last to be more than the first.
20 Notwithstanding, I have a few things against thee, because thou sufferest that woman Jezebel, which calleth herself a prophetess, to teach and seduce my servants to commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed unto idols.
21 And I gave her space to repent of her fornication, and she repented not.
22 Behold, I will cast her into a bed, and them that commit adultery with her into great tribulation, except they repent of their deeds.
23 And I will kill her children with death; and all the churches shall know that I am he which searcheth the reins and hearts: and I will give unto every one of you according to your works.
24 But unto you I say, and unto the rest in Thyatira, As many as have not this doctrine, and
which have not known the depths of Satan, as they speak, I will put upon you none other burden.

25 But that which ye have already, hold fast till I come.

26 And he that overcometh and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations:

27 (And he shall rule them with a rod of iron; as the vessels of a potter shall they be broken to shivers) even as I received of my Father.

28 And I will give him the morning star.

29 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.

CHAP. III.

1 AND unto the angel of the church in Sardis, write, These things saith he that hath the seven spirits of God, and the seven stars; I know thy works, that thou hast a name, that thou livest, and art dead.

2 Be watchful and strengthen the things which remain, that are ready to die: for I have not found thy works perfect before God.

3 Remember therefore how thou hast received and heard, and hold fast and repent. If therefore thou shalt not watch, I will come on thee as a thief, and thou shalt not know what hour I will come upon thee.

4 Thou hast a few names even in Sardis, which have not defiled their garments; and they shall walk with me in white: for they are worthy.

5 He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment; and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life, but I will confess his name before my Father and before his angels.

6 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.

7 And to the angel of the church in Philadelphia, write, These things saith he that is holy, he that is true, he that hath the key of David, he that openeth, and no man shutteth; and shutteth, and no man openeth:

8 I know thy works: behold, I have set before thee an open door, and no man can shut it: for thou hatest the works of the evil, and them which exercise fraud, and hast kept my word, and hast not denied my name.

9 Behold, I will make them of the synagogue of Satan (which say they are Jews, and are not, but do lie) behold, I will make them to come and worship before thy feet, and to know that I have loved thee.

10 Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I also will keep thee from the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth.

11 Behold, I come quickly: hold that fast which thou hast, that no man take thy crown.

12 Him that overcometh, will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out: and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, which is new Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven from my God: and I will write upon him my new name.

13 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.

14 And unto the angel of the church of the Laodiceans, write, These things saith the Amen, the faithful and true witness, the beginning of the creation of God:

15 I know thy works that thou art neither cold nor hot: I would thou wert cold or hot.

16 So then, because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth.

17 Because thou sayest, I am rich, and increased with goods, and have need of nothing: and knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poore, and blind, and naked.

18 Remember therefore, how thou hast received and heard, and hold fast, and repent: if therefore thou shalt repent, otherwise I will come unto thee as a thief, and thou shalt not know what hour I will come upon thee.

19 And I will put upon thee thearkin, and will make thyFootstool of shame.

20 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.
not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked.

18 I counsel thee to buy of me gold tried in the fire, that thou mayest be rich; and white raiment, that thou mayest be clothed; and that the shame of thy nakedness do not appear; and anoint thine eyes with eye-salve, that thou mayest see.

19 As many as I love, I rebuke and chasten: be zealous therefore, and repent.

20 Behold, I stand at the door and knock; if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me.

21 To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his throne.

22 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.

The second and third chapters contain the seven epistles to the seven churches of Asia, Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamus, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea. These seven are addressed particularly, because they were under St. John’s immediate inspection; he (1) constituted bishops over them; he was as it were their metropolitan, and resided much at Ephesus, which is therefore named the first of the seven. The main subjects too of this book are comprised of sevens, seven churches, seven seals, seven trumpets, and seven vials; as seven was also a mystical number throughout the Old Testament. Many contend, and among them such learned men as More and Vitringa, that the seven epistles are prophetic of so many successive periods and states of the church from the beginning to the conclusion of all. But it doth not appear, that there are or were to be seven periods of the church, neither more or less; and no two men can agree in assigning the same periods. There are likewise in these epistles several innate characters, which are peculiar to the church of that age, and cannot be so well applied to the church of any other age. Besides other arguments, there is also this plain reason; the last state of the church is described in this very book as the most glorious of all, but in the last state in these epistles, that of Laodicea, the church is represented as wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked.

But tho’ these epistles have rather a literal than a mystical meaning; yet they contain excellent moral precepts and exhortations, commendations and reproofs, promises and threatenings, which may be of use and instruction to the church in all ages. The form and order of the parts you will find the same almost in all the epistles; first a command to write; then some character and attributes of the speaker, taken from the vision in the first chapter, and appropriated to the matter of each epistle; then commendations or reproofs with suitable promises or threatenings; and then in all the same conclusion, He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.

What therefore the Spirit saith unto one church, he saith in some measure to all the churches. The church of Ephesus in particular is admonished to repent, and forewarned that if she would not repent, her candelstick should be removed out of his place. But this admonition belonged equally to all the churches; and hath not the candelstick been accordingly removed out of its place, and the light of the gospel taken from them? Were they not ruined and overthrown by their heresies and divisions from within, and by the arts of the Saracens from without? and doth not Mohammedism still prevail and prosper in those countries, which were once the glory of Christendom, their churches turned into mosques, their worship into superstition? Ephesus in particular, (2) which was


(2) Hodie enim huc nunc Asiaseoliam magnificissimae exemplum, plane sedet, causis et gorgiutis deformata, non civitas, sed vires; et ubi dem superserit una Christianorum familia, ut ex certis constat testim. idemque eruditus viris, qui habuerunt Ephesum descripserunt, Smithio. (Notit. Sept. Eccles. As. p. 4.) et Runiculio. (de Stat. Eccel. Gr. p. 50.)
once so magnificent and glorious a city, is become a
mean sordid village, with scarcely a single family of
Christians dwelling in it, as approved authors testify.
To the church of Smyrna it is predicted, that she should
have tribulation ten days or ten years, according to the
usual stile of prophecy; and the greatest persecution
that the primitive church ever endured was the perse-
cution of Diocletian, which lasted (3) ten years, and
grievously afflicted all the Asian, and indeed all the eastern
churches. This character can agree to none of the
other general persecutions, for none of the others lasted
(4) so long as ten years. As the commendatory and re-
proving part of these epistles exhibits the present state
of the churches, so the promissory and threatening part
foretells something of their future condition; and in this
sense, and in none other, can these epistles be said to be
prophetic.

The first epistle is addressed to the church of Ephesus,
as it was the metropolis of the Lydian Asia, and the
place of St. John's principal residence. It was, accord-
ing to (3) Strabo, one of the best and most glorious
cities, and the greatest emporium of the proper Asia.
It is called by Pliny (6) one of the eyes of Asia,
Smyrna being the other: but now, as eye-witnesses (7)
have related, it is venerable for nothing but the ruins
of palaces, temples, and amphitheatres. It is called by

ence, is now a sordid village, defaced by little cottages and cabins, and is
rather a village than a city. Here there is scarcely to be found one family of
Christians remaining, as we are assured by credible witnesses, men of
learning, who have given us a description of modern Ephesus: vide, Smith
(Present State of the Seven Churches of Asia, p. 4.) and Ricaut (State of
the Greek Church, page 50.) Vitring, p. 73, 74.
(3) Strabo, Lib. 8, Cap. 15 et 16. Lactant. de Mort. Pere-
rent, Cap. 48.
(4) Quod persecutionem multis facta est ac diurna, Nam deum
incum, &c. f Which persecution was of longer continuance than any that
went before it, for during ten years, &c.] Oros, Lib. 7, Cap. 35, p. 528.
Church, Chap. 2. Wheler's and Spin's Voyages, B. 3. Van Egmont's and
Heyman's Travels, Vol. 1, Chap. 9.

the Turks Ajasaluk, or the temple of the moon, from
the magnificent structure formerly dedicated to Diana.
The church of St. Paul is wholly destroyed. The little
which remains of that of St. Mark is nodding to ruin.
The only church remaining is that dedicated to St. John,
which is now converted into a Turkish mosque. The
whole town is nothing but a habitation for herdsmen and
farmers, living in low and humble cottages of dirt, shel-
tered from the extremities of weather by mighty masses
of ruinous walls; the pride and ostentation of former
days, and the emblem in these, of the frailty of the
world, and the transient vanity of human glory. All
the inhabitants of this once famous city amount not now
to above forty or fifty families of Turks, without one
Christian family among them: so strikingly hath the de-
cumation been fulfilled, that their candlestick should
be removed out of his place.

Smyrna was the nearest city to Ephesus, and for that
reason probably was addressed in the second place. It is
situated (8) on lower ground than the ancient city, and
lieth about forty-five miles northward of Ephesus. It is
called Esur by the Turks, and is celebrated not so
much for the splendor and pomp of the buildings (for
they are rather mean and ruinous) as for the number,
and wealth, and commerce of the inhabitants. The
Turks have here fifteen mosques, and the Jews several
synagogues. Among these enemies of the Christian
name the Christian religion also flourish in some de-
gree. Smyrna stills retains the dignity of a metropolis,
altho' there are only two churches of the Greeks. But
besides them, here is a great number of Christians of
all nations, sects, and languages. The Latin church hath
a monastery of Franciscans. The Armenians have one
church. But the English, who are the most considerable
number, next to the Greeks and Armenians, have only
one chapel in the consul's house, which is a shame, says
Wheler, considering the great wealth they heap up here,
beyond all the rest: yet they commonly excel them in their pastor; for I esteem a good English priest, an evangelist, if compared with any of the rest. Frequent plagues and earthquakes are the great calamities of the place; but the Christians are here more considerable, and in a far better condition than in any other of the seven churches: as if the promise was still in some measure made good to Smyrna. Fears none of those things, which thou shalt suffer; be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.

Pergamus, formerly the metropolis of the Hellenistic Mysia, and the seat of the Attalic kings, is (9) by the Turks with some little variation still called Bergamo, and hath its situation about sixty four miles to the north of Smyrna. Here are some good buildings, but more ruins. All the city almost is occupied by the Turks, very few families of Christians being left, whose state is very sad and deplorable. Here is only one church remaining, dedicated to St. Theodore; and that the name of Christ is not wholly lost and forgotten in Pergamus, is owing to the care of the metropolitan of Smyrna, who continually sendeth hither a priest to perform the sacred offices. The cathedral church of St. John is buried in its own ruins; their angel or bishop removed; and its fair pillars adorn the graves and rotten carcasses of its destroyers, the Turks; who are esteemed about two or three thousand souls in number. Its other fine church, called Santa Sophia, is turned into a mosque, and daily profaned with the blasphemies of the false prophet. There are not in the whole town above a dozen or fifteen families of miserable Christians, who till the ground to gain their bread, and live in the most abject and sordid servitude. There is the less reason to wonder at the wretched condition of this church, when we consider that it was the very throne of Satan; that they ran greedily after the error of Balaam, to eat things sacrificed unto idols, and to commit fornication; and that they held the impure doctrines of the Nicolaitans, which

(9) Smith, Ryeaut, Wheeler and Spon, ibid.

Christ detested. It was denounced unto them to repent, or else he would come unto them quickly and fight against them, as the event evinces that he hath done.

Next to Pergamus is Thyatira (1) situated at the distance of about forty-eight miles to the south-east. Certain heretics called Aligeri (which may not improperly be interpreted unreasonable men) have (2) affirmed, but have only affirmed without any proof that at the time of St. John's writing there was no Christian church at Thyatira. Epiphanius admits it, and hence infers that St. John must have written with a prophetic spirit. The objection is frivolous, and Epiphanius might have returned a better answer than argumentum ad homines, and instead of allowing the fact and arguing from thence for the divinity of the book, he should absolutely have denied their affirmation. For there is no just reason for doubting, that at this time there was a Christian church at Thyatira. This very epistle is a sufficient proof of it. It is said expressly, (Acts xix. 10.) that all they who dwelt in Asia (meaning Asia Minor) heard the word of the Lord Jesus, both Jews and Greeks: and what ground is there for thinking that the city of Thyatira was alone excepted? It is said particularly, (Acts xvi. 14.) that Lydia an eminent trader and seller of purple, of the city of Thyatira, was baptized with her household. At present the city is called by the Turks (3) Akhisar or the white castle, from the great quantities of white marble there abounding. Only one ancient edifice is left standing. The rest, even the churches, are so destroyed, that no vestiges of them are to be found. The principal inhabitants are Turks, who have here eight mosques, when not so much as one Christian church is still remaining. So terribly have the divine judgments been poured upon this church for committing fornication, and eating things sacrificed unto idols: And

(1) Smith and Ryeaut, ibid.
(3) Smith and Ryeaut, ibid.
I gave her space to repent of her fornication, and she repented not.

Sardis, once the renowned capital of Creesus and the rich Lydian kings, (4) is now no longer worthy of the name of a city. It lieth about thirty-three miles to the south of Thyatira, and is called by the Turks Sart or Sard, with little or no variation from the old original name. It is a most sad spectacle, nor can one forbear weeping over the ruins of so great a city. For now it is no more than an ignoble village, with low and wretched cottages of clay; nor hath it any other inhabitants, besides shepherds and herdsmen, who feed their flocks and cattle in the neighbouring plains. Yet the great extent and grandeur of the ruins abundantly show, how large and splendid a city it was formerly. The Turks themselves have only one mosque, a beautiful one indeed, perverted to that use from a Christian church. Very few Christians are here to be found; and they with much patience, or rather senseless stupidity, sustain a miserable servitude; and what is far more miserable, are without a church, without a priest among them. Such is the deplorable state of once the most glorious city, but who were found blameworthy before God: she was dead, even while she lived: and she is punished accordingly.

Philadelphia, so called from Attalus Philadelphus its builder, (5) is distant from Sardis about twenty-seven miles to the south-east. It is called by the Turks Ash Shahr, or the beautiful city, on account of its delightful situation, standing on the declivity of the mountain Taurus, and having a most pleasant prospect on the plains beneath, well furnished with divers villages, and watered by the river Pactolus. It still retains the form of a city, with something of trade to invite the people to it, being the road of the Persian caravans. Here is little of antiquity remaining, besides the ruins of a church dedicated to St. John, which is now made a dunghill to receive the offals of dead beasts. Howsoever, God hath been pleased to preserve some of this place to make profession of the Christian faith, there being above two hundred houses of Christians, and four churches; whereof the chief is dedicated to Panagia or the Holy Virgin; the other to St. George, who is of great name among the oriental Christians; the third to St. Theodore; and the fourth to St. Taxarchos, as St. Michael the arch-angel is called by the Greeks. Next to Smyrna this city hath the greatest number of Christians, and Christ hath promised a more particular protection to it: I know thy works: behold, I have set before thee an open door, and one can shut it: for thou hast a little strength, and hast kept my word, and hast not denied my name. Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I also will keep thee from the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth. Than which, as Dr. Spon saith what could be said more formally to foretell the coming of the Turks, the open enemies of Christianity, who seem to be sent on purpose for the punishment of our crimes, and to distinguish the faithful from the false Christians, who pretend to be so, and are not?

Laodicea lay south of Philadelphia, in the way to return to Ephesus; and if you will inspect the maps of Asia Minor, you will find the seven churches to lie in a kind of circular form, so that the natural progress was from Ephesus to Smyrna, from Smyrna to Pergamus, from Pergamus to Thyatira, from Thyatira to Sardis, from Sardis to Philadelphia, from Philadelphia to Laodicea, and from Laodicea round to Ephesus again; which is the method and order that St. John hath observed in addressing them, and was probably the circuit that he took in his visitation. That there was a flourishing church at Laodicea in the primitive times of Christianity, is evident from St. Paul’s Epistle to the Colossians, wherein frequent mention is made of the Laodiceans, as well as from this Epistle of St. John. But the doom of Laodicea (6) seems to have been more severe

(4) Smith, Rycaut, Wheeler and Spon, ibid, Van Egmont’s and Heynou’s Travels, Chap. 10.
(5) Smith, Rycaut, Wheeler and Spon, ibid.
(6) Smith, Rycaut, Wheeler and Spon, ibid.
and terrible than that of almost any other of the seven churches. For it is now utterly destroyed and forsaken of men, and is become an habitation only for wolves, foxes, and jackails, a den of dragons, snakes, and vipers. And that because the Lord hath executed the judgment, that he had pronounced upon her: that all the world might know, and tremble at the fierce anger of God against impenitent, negligent, and careless sinners. For such was the accusation of the lukewarm Laodiceans, who grew proud and self-conceited, thinking themselves much better than they really were. Wherefore, because they were neither hot nor cold, they were loathsome to Christ; and he therefore assured them that he would spit them out of his mouth. The ruins show it to have been a very great city, situate upon six or seven hills, and encompassing a large space of ground. Some notion may be formed of its former greatness and glory from three theatres and a circus which are remaining, one of which is truly admirable, as it was capable of containing above thirty thousand men, into whose area they descended by fifty steps. This city is now called Eski Hisar or the old castle; and though it was once the mother-church of sixteen bishopricks, yet it now lieth desolate, not so much as inhabited by shepherds, and so far from shewing any of the ornaments of God's ancient worship, it cannot now boast of an anchorite's or hermit's chapel, where God's name is praised or invoked.

Such is the state and condition of these seven once glorious and flourishing churches; and there cannot be a stronger proof of the truth of prophecy, nor a more effectual warning to other Christians. "These objects, as Wheler (7) justly observes, ought to make us, who yet enjoy the divine mercies, to tremble, and earnestly contend to find out from whence we are fallen, and do daily fall from bad to worse; that God is a God of purer eyes than to behold iniquity; and seeing the axe is thus long since put to the root of the tree, should it not make us repent and turn to God, lest we likewise perish?—We see here what destruction the Lord hath brought upon the earth. But it is the Lord's doing; and thence we may reap no small advantage by considering how just he is in all his judgments, and faithful in all his promises." We may truly say (1 Cor. x. 11, 12) that all these things happened unto them for examples; and they are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come. Wherefore let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall.

CHAP. IV.

1 After this, I looked, and behold, a door was open in heaven: and the first voice which I heard, was as it were of a trumpet talking with me; which said, Come up hither, and I will shew thee things which must be hereafter.

2 And immediately I was in the spirit: and behold, a throne was set in heaven, and one sat on the throne.

3 And he that sat was to look upon like a jasper, and a sardine stone: and there was a rainbow round about the throne, in sight like unto an emerald.

4 And round about the throne were four and twenty seats: and upon the seats I saw four and twenty elders sitting clothed in white raiment; and they had on their heads crowns of gold.

5 And out of the throne proceeded lightnings, and thunders, and voices: And there were seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, which are the seven spirits of God.

6 And before the throne there was a sea of glass like unto crystal: And in the midst of the throne, and round about the throne were four beasts full of eyes before and behind.

7 And the first beast was like a lion, and the se-
second beast like a calf, and the third beast had the face of a man, and the fourth beast was like a flying eagle.

8 And the four beasts had each of them six wings about him, and they were full of eyes within; and they rest not day and night, saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God almighty, which was, and is, and is to come.

9 And when those beasts give glory, and honour, and thanks to him that sitteth on the throne, who liveth for ever and ever,

10 The four and twenty elders fall down before him that sitteth on the throne, and worship him that liveth for ever and ever, and cast their crowns before the throne, saying,

11 Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory and honour and power: for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are, and were created.

After this vision relating to the things which are, other visions succeed of the things which must be hereafter. (ver. 1.) The scene is laid in heaven; and the scenery is drawn in allusion to (Numbers i. ii.) the encampment of the children of Israel in the wilderness. God is represented (ver. 2, 3.) sitting on his throne, as in the tabernacle or temple, much in the same manner as the prophet Ezekiel (i. 26, 27, 28.) hath described him. Next to the tabernacle incamped the priests and Levites; and next to the throne (ver. 4.) were four and twenty elders sitting, answering to the princes of the four and twenty courses of the Jewish priests: clothed in white raiment, as emblems of their purity and sanctity; and they had on their heads crowns of gold. Christ having made them (1 Pet. ii. 9.) a royal priesthood, and (Rev. v. 10.) kings and priests unto God. Out of the throne proceeded (ver. 5.) lightnings and thunders, and voices, the usual concomitants and attendants of the divine presence: and there were seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, answering to the golden candlestick with seven lamps, which was before the most holy place in the tabernacle. Before the throne there was also (ver. 6.) a sea of glass, like unto crystal, answering to the great molten sea or laver in the temple of Solomon: and in the midst of the throne, and round about the throne, that before and behind the throne, and on each side of the throne, were four beasts or rather four living creatures, (εἰκός) representing the heads of the whole congregation in the four quarters of the world, and resembling the Cherubim and Seraphim in Ezekiel's and Isaiah's visions, (Ezek. i. 10 x. 11 Is. vi. 2, 3.) or rather resembling the four standards or ensigns of the four divisions in the camp of Israel, according to the (8) traditional description of them by Jewish writers. The first living creature was like a lion, (ver. 7.) which was the standard of Judah with the two other tribes in the eastern division; and the second like a calf or ox, which was the standard of Ephraim with the two other tribes in the western division; and the third had a face as a man, which was the standard of Reuben with the two other tribes in the southern division; and the fourth was like a flying eagle, which was the standard of Dan with the two other tribes in the northern division: and this traditional description agrees also with the four faces of the Cherub in Ezekiel's visions. Of these living creatures and of the elders the constant employment (ver. 8—11.) is to celebrate, in hymns of praise and thanksgiving, the great and wonderful works of creation and providence.

CHAP. V.

1 And I saw in the right hand of him that sat on the throne, a book written within and on the backside, sealed with seven seals.

2 And I saw a strong angel, proclaiming with a loud voice, Who is worthy to open the book, and to loose the seals thereof?
3 And no man in heaven, nor in earth, neither under the earth, was able to open the book, neither to look thereon.

4 And I wept much because no man was found worthy to open, and to read the book, neither to look thereon.

5 And one of the elders saith unto me, Weep not: behold, the Lion of the tribe of Juda, the root of David, hath prevailed to open the book, and to loose the seven seals thereof.

6 And I beheld, and lo, in the midst of the throne, and of the four beasts, and in the midst of the elders stood a Lamb, as it had been slain, having seven horns, and seven eyes, which are the seven spirits of God sent forth into all the earth.

7 And he came and took the book out of the right hand of him that sat upon the throne.

8 And when he had taken the book, the four beasts, and four and twenty elders fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps, and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of saints.

9 And they sang a new song, saying, Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof: for thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation:

10 And hast made us unto our God kings and priests: and we shall reign on the earth.

11 And I beheld, and I heard the voice of many angels round about the throne, and the beasts and the elders: and the number of them was ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands:

12 Saying with a loud voice, Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing.

13 And every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, heard I, saying, Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever.

14 And the four beasts said, Amen. And the four and twenty elders fell down and worshipped him that liveth for ever and ever.

Future events are supposed by St. John, as well as by Daniel and other prophets, in a beautiful figure, to be registered in a book, for the greater certainty of them. This book (ver. 1.) is in the right hand of God, to denote that as he alone directs the affairs of futurity, so he alone is able to reveal them. This book, thro' the abundance of the matter, was (9) written within and on the back side; as the roll of the book, which was spread before Ezekiel. (ii. 10.) was written within and without. It was also sealed, to signify that the decrees of God are inscrutable, and sealed with seven seals, referring to so many signal periods of prophecy. In short we should conceive of this book, that it was such an one as the ancients used, a volume or roll of a book, or more properly a volume consisting of seven volumes, so that the opening of one seal laid open the contents only of one volume. All creatures are challenged (ver. 2.) to open the book, and to loose the seals thereof. But (ver. 3.) no one (save) in heaven, nor in earth, neither under the earth, neither angels, nor men, nor departed spirits, were any of them qualified to comprehend and communicate the secret purposes of God. St. John wept much (ver. 4.) at the sad disappointment: but who now is concerned or grieved, that he cannot understand these prophecies? However he is comforted (ver. 5.) with an assurance, that still there was one who had power and authority to reveal and accomplish the counsels of God. The Son of God, and he

(9) So in Juvenal, Sat. 1. 5.

="summi plena jam margine libri,
Scriptus et in tergo, usque ad liminatus Orestes.
Ut -- and Orestes' bulky rage
Unsatis'd with margins closely writ.
Foams over the covers; and not finish'd yet."
alone, was found worthy to be the great revealer and interpreter of his Father’s oracles; (ver. 6, &c.) and he obtained this privilege by the merits of his sufferings and death. Whereupon the whole church, (ver. 8, &c.) and all the angels, (ver. 11, &c.) and all creatures (ver. 13, &c.) sing praises to God and to the Lamb for such glorious manifestations of divine providence. All this is by way of preface or introduction, to show the great dignity, importance, and excellence of the prophecies here delivered.

CHAP. VI.

1 And I saw when the Lamb opened one of the seals, and I heard as it were the noise of thunder, one of the four beasts saying, Come, and see.

2 And I saw, and behold, a white horse; and he that sat on him had a bow, and a crown was given unto him, and he went forth conquering, and to conquer.

As the seals are opened in order, so the events follow in order too. The first seal or period (ver. 1, 2.) is memorable for conquest, and was proclaimed by the first of the four living creatures, who was like a lion, and had his station in the east. And I saw, and behold, a white horse; and he that sat on him had a bow, and a crown was given unto him, and he went forth conquering, and to conquer. This first period commences with Vespasian and Titus, who from commanding (1) in the east were advanced to the empire; and Vespasian for this reason was regarded, (2) both by Romans and foreigners, as that great prince, who was to come out of the east, and obtain dominion over the world. They

(1) Hujus (Viti]ii) tempore Vespasianus in oriente principatum arrisit. [In his (Vitellius’) time, Vespasian seized the chief command in the east.]


to denote from what part we are to look for the completion of the prophecy: and as Trajan proceeded from the west, Septimius Severus from the south, and Maximin from the north, what other emperor before them, besides Vespasian, came from the east, which was the station of the lion, who made the first proclamation? It should seem therefore that the interpretation which was first proposed is the more eligible, and indeed I cannot see how this first seal can be well explicated otherwise, consistently with the truth of history and other circumstances of the prophecy; and if this be the true interpretation, this is a farther argument that the book was more probably written in the persecutions under Nero than in those under Domitian.

3 And when he had opened the second seal, I heard the second beast say, Come and see.

4 And there went out another horse that was red: and power was given to him that sat thereon, to take peace from the earth, and that they should kill one another: and there was given unto him a great sword.

The second seal or period (ver. 3, 4.) is noted for war and slaughter, and was proclaimed by the second living creature, who was like an ox, and had his station in the west. And there went out another horse that was red: and power was given to him that sat thereon, to take peace from the earth, and that they should kill one another: and there was given unto him a great sword. This second period commenced with Trajan, who came from the west, being (3) a Spaniard by birth, and was the first foreigner who was elevated to the imperial throne. In his reign and that of his successor Adrian there were horrid wars and slaughters, and especially between the rebellions Jews and the

marching against them slew a very great multitude of them there. Orosius treating of the same time saith, (6) that the Jews with an incredible commotion, made wild as it were with rage, rose at once in different parts of the earth. For throughout all Lydia they waged the fiercest wars against the inhabitants, and the country was almost desolated. Egypt also and Cyrene and Thebais they disturbed with cruel seditions. But in Alexandria they were overcome in battle. In Mesopotamia also war was made upon the rebellious Jews by the command of the emperor. So that many thousands of them were destroyed with great slaughter. They utterly destroyed Salamis, a city of Cyprus, having first murdered all the inhabitants. These things were transacted in the reign of Trajan; and in the reign of Adrian (7) was their great rebellion under their false Messiah Barchochab, and their final dispersion, after fifty of their strongest castles and nine hundred and eighty-five of their best towns had been demolished, and after five hundred and eighty thousand men had been slain by the sword, besides an infinite number who had perished by famine and sickness and other casualties, with great loss and slaughter too of the Romans, insomuch that the emperor forbore the usual salutations in his letters to the senate. Here was another illustrious triumph of Christ over his enemies; and the Jews and the Romans, both the persecutors of the Christians, were remarkably made the dreadful executioners of divine vengeance upon one another. The great sword and the red horse are expressive emblems of this slaughtering and bloody period; and the proclamation for slaughter is fitly made by a creature like an ox that is destined for slaughter. This period continued during the reign of Trajan and his successors by blood or adoption about 95 years.

5 And when he had opened the third seal, I heard the third beast say, Come and see. And I beheld, and lo, a black horse; and he that sat on had a pair of balances in his hand.

6 And I heard a voice in the midst of the four beasts say, A measure of wheat for a penny, and three measures of barley for a penny; and see thou hurt not the oil and the wine.

The third seal or period (ver. 5, 6.) is characterized by the strict execution of justice and judgment, and by the procurement of corn and oil and wine; and was proclaimed by the third living creature, who was like a man, and had his station in the south. And I beheld, and lo, a black horse; and he that sat on him had a pair of balances in his hand. And I heard a voice in the midst of the four living creatures say, A measure of wheat for a penny, and three measures of barley for a penny; and see thou hurt not the oil and the wine. Where Grotius and others have (8) observed, that a chenix of corn, the measure here mentioned, was a man's daily allowance, as a penny was his daily wages; so that if his daily labor could earn no more than his daily bread, without other provision for himself or his family, corn must needs bear a very high price. But whatever may be the capacity of the chenix, which is difficult to be determined, as it was different in different times and countries; yet such care and such regulations about the necessities of life imply some want and scarcity of them. Scarcity obligeth men to exactness in the price and measure of things. In short, the intent of the prophecy would have been, that the enemies were to be destroyed and scattered as the enemy of the world is, and that the means of life were to be sparing and dear, as having been the case with the enemy of the world, and as it was likely to be the case with the enemies of the church.


(8) Est autem yong frutis tantum, quanto homo susus in diem indicat, ut ex Hierodule ibi tertio et septimo observatur erudit, ali etiam ex Hippocrates. Dio Lact. E. 1. et 2. Dion. Lact. et Ael. Demet. vero tantum, quantum quoque de merenti poterat homo strenuus laborans, ut videre est Matt. xx. 2, &c. Ut a chenix of wheat was as much as a man in health stands daily in need of, as the learned have remarked out of the third and seventh books of Hierocles, or more from Hippocrates, Lactancius, and other authorities. But a Demetian was as much money as a man working vigorously could earn in a day, as is manifest from Matt. xx. 2, &c.] Grot. In locum. Vide etiam Vitring p. 590.
7 And when he had opened the fourth seal, I heard the voice of the fourth beast say, Come, and see.

8 And I looked, and behold, a pale horse; and his name that sat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him; and power was given unto them, over the fourth part of the earth, to kill with sword, and with hunger, and with death, and with the beasts of the earth.

The fourth seal or period (ver. 7, 8) is distinguished by a concurrence of evils, war, and famine, and pestilence, and wild beasts; and was proclaimed by the fourth living creature, who was like an eagle, and had his station in the north. And I looked, and behold, a pale horse; and his name that sat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him: and power was given unto them, over the fourth part of the earth, to kill with sword and with hunger, and with death, and with the beasts of the earth. These are the same four sore judgments, with which Ezekiel (xiv. 21.) threatened Jerusalem, the sword, and the famine, and the noisome beast, and the pestilence: for in the oriental languages the pestilence is emphatically (5)
stiled death. These four were to destroy the fourth part of mankind; and the image is very poetical, of death riding on a pale horse, and hell or the grave following with him, ready to swallow up the dead corpses. This period commenced with Maximin, who was an emperor from the north, being (6) born of barbarous parents in a village of Thrace. He was indeed a barbarian in all respects. There was not, as (7) historian affirms, a more cruel animal upon the earth; he was so cruel, that he was deservedly called by the name of Cyclops, Basiris, Phalaris, and the worst of tyrants. The history of his and several succeeding reigns is full of wars and murders, mutinies of soldiers, and invasions of foreign armies, rebellions of subjects, and deaths of princes. There were more than twenty emperors in the space of fifty years, and all or most of them died in war, or were murdered by their own soldiers and subjects. Besides lawful emperors, there were in the reign of Gallicius (8)

thirty tyrants or usurpers, who set up in different parts of the empire, and came all to violent and miserable ends. Here was sufficient employment for the sword; and such wars and devastations must necessarily produce a famin, and the famin is another distinguishing calamity of this period. In the reign of Gallus the Scythians made such incursions, that (9) not one nation subject to the Romans were left unvasted by them, and every unwalled town, and most of the walled cities were taken by them. In the reign of Probus also (1) there was a great famin throughout the world; and for want of victuals the army mutinied, and slew him. An usual consequence of famin is the pestilence, and the pestilence is the third distinguishing calamity of this period. This pestilence, according to (2) Zosimus, arising from Ethiopia, while Gallus and Volusian were emperors, prevailed all the Roman provinces, and for fifteen years together incredibly exhausted them; and so learned a man as Lipsius declares, that he never read of any greater plague, for the space of time that it lasted, or of land that it overspread. Zosimus, speaking of the devastations of the Scythians in the reign of Gallus before mentioned, farther addeth, that (3) the pestilence not
firms of Gallus and Volusian, that (9) their reign was remarkable only for the pestilence and diseases and sickness. Orosius (1) asserts much the same thing: and Trebellius Pollio likewise (2) informs us, that in the reign of Gallienus the pestilence was so great that five thousand men died in one day. When the countries lie thus uncultivated, uninhabited, unfrequented, the wild beasts multiply, and come into the towns to devour men; which is the fourth distinguishing calamity of this period. This would appear a probable consequence of the former calamities, if history had recorded nothing of it: but we read in history that (3) five hundred wolves altogether entered into a city, which was deserted by its inhabitants, and where the young Maximin chanced to be. It is well known, that the Heathens maliciously ascribed all public calamities to the Christians, and among them we find objected (4) the wars which they were obliged to wage with lions and wild beasts: as we may collect from Arnobius, who wrote soon after this time. The color of the pale horse is very suitable to the mortality of this period; and the proclamation for death and destruction is fitly made by a creature like an eagle that watches for carcasses. This period continued from Maximin to Diocletian about fifty years.

9 And when he had opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held.

(1) Hae sola pernicie insignes Gallus et Volusianus. [Gallus and Volusian have been remarkable for these miseries alone.] Oros. Hist. Lib. 7. Cap. 21.
(2) Pestilentia tamquam exsiriterat, ut uno die quinque millia hominum perirent. [Translated in the text.] Trebell. Pollio in Gall. p. 177, ibid.
(3) Luptam urnam quingentum simul ingressi sunt, in quam se Maximinos concutierant— qua per ducta civitatem venienti Maximano pointur. [Five hundred wolves at once entered a city into which Maximin had betaken himself. That city deserted by its inhabitants, had its gates standing open to that prince when he came to it.] Julius Capitolin. in Max. Jun. p. 159, ibid.
(4) Quando cum fera leonis, et psalum cecinissent mensis sextus sit? Non autem: [When had we wars with wild beasts, and had we with leopards? It was not in former times?] Arnob. adv. Gentes. Lib. I. p. 5. Edit. Lugd. Bat. 1604.
10 And they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?

11 And white robes were given unto every one of them, and it was said unto them, that they should rest yet a little season, until their fellow servants also, and their brethren that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled.

The following seals have nothing extrinsical, like the proclamation of the living creatures, to determine from what quarter we must expect their completion; but they are sufficiently distinguished by their internal marks and characters. The fifth seal or period is remarkable for a dreadful persecution of the Christians, who are represented (ver. 9.) lying under the altar, (for the scene is still in the tabernacle or temple) as sacrifices newly slain and offered to God. They cry aloud (ver. 10.) for the Lord to judge and avenge their cause; that is, the cruelties exercised upon them were of so barbarous and atrocious a nature, as to deserve and provoke the vengeance of the Lord. White robes are given unto every one of them (ver. 11.) as a token of their justification and acceptance with God; and they are exhorted to rest for a season, till the number of the martyrs be completed, when they shall receive their full reward, as we shall see hereafter. Where Mr. Lowman (5) observes very well, that “this representation seems much to favor the immediate happiness of departed saints, and hardly to consist with that uncomfortable opinion, the insensible state of departed souls, till after the resurrection.” There were other persecutions before, but this was by far the most considerable, the tenth and last general persecution which was begun by Diocletian, and continued by others, and lasted longer, and extended farther, and was sharper and more bloody than any or all preceding; and therefore this was particularly predicted. Eusebius and Lactantius, who were two eye-witnesses, have (6)

The sixth seal or period produceth mighty changes and revolutions, which according to the prophetic style are expressed by great commotions in the earth and in the heavens. The very same images, the very same expressions are employed by other prophets concerning the mutations and alterations of religions and governments; and why may they not therefore with equal fitness and propriety be applied to one of the greatest and most memorable revolutions which ever were in the world, the subversion of the heathen religion, and establishment of the Christian, which was begun by Constantine the great, and was completed by his successors? The series of the prophecy requires this application, and all the phrases and expressions will easily admit of such a construction. And I beheld when he had opened the sixth seal. (ver. 12.) and lo, there was a great earthquake, or rather a great concussion; for the word in the original comprehends the shaking of heaven as well as of earth. The same phrase is used by the prophet Haggai (ii. 6. 21.) concerning the first coming of Christ, I will shake the heavens and the earth: and this shaking, as the apostle saith, (Heb. xii. 27.) signifies the removing of those things which are shaken; and so the prophet Haggai himself explains it, I will shake the heavens and the earth, and I will overthrow the throne of kingdoms, and I will destroy the strength of the kingdoms of the Heathen; And where was ever a greater concussion or removal, than when Christianity was advanced to the throne of Paganism, and Idolatry gave place to the true religion? Then follow the particular effects of this general concussion, (ver. 12, 13, 14.) And the sun became black as sackcloth of hair, and the moon became as blood; And the stars of heaven fell unto the earth, even as a fig-tree casteth her untimely figs when she is shaken of a mighty wind; And the heavens departed as a scroll when it is rolled together; and every mountain and island were moved out of their places. Isaiah speaketh much in the same manner concerning Babylon and Idumea; (xiii. 10. xxxiv. 4.) For the stars of heaven and the constellations thereof shall not give their light; the sun shall be darkened in his going forth, and the moon shall not cause her light to shine: And all the host of heaven shall be dissolved, and the heavens shall be rolled together as a scroll; and all their host shall fall down as the leaf falleth off from the vine, and as a falling fig from the fig-tree; And Jeremiah concerning the land of Judah, (iv. 23, 24.) I beheld the earth, and lo, it was without form and void; and the heavens and they had no light: I beheld the mountains, and lo, they trembled, and all the hills moved lightly; And Ezekiel concerning Egypt, (xxxii. 7.) And when I shall put thee out, I will cover the heaven, and make the stars thereof dark: I will cover the sun with a cloud, and the moon shall not give her light: And Joel concerning Jerusalem, (ii. 10. 31.) The earth shall quake before them, the heavens shall tremble, the sun and the moon shall be dark, and the stars shall withdraw their shining: the sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before the great and the terrible day of the Lord come: And our Saviour himself also concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, (Matt. xxiv. 29.) The sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken. Now it is certain, that the fall of any of these cities and kingdoms was not of greater concern and consequence to the world, nor more deserving to be described in such pompous figures, than the fall of the Pagan Roman empire, when the great lights of the heathen world, the sun, moon, and stars, the powers civil and ecclesiastical, were all eclipsed and obscured, the heathen emperors and Caesars were slain, the heathen priests and augurs were extirpated, the heathen officers and magistrates were removed, the heathen temples were demolished, and their revenues appropriated to better uses. It is customary with the prophets, after they have described a thing in the most symbolical and figurative diction, to represent the same again in plainer language: and the same method is observed here, (ver. 15, 16, 17.) And the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men, and every bond-man, and every free-man, that is
Maximian, Galerius, Maximin, Maxentius, Licinius, &c.; with all their adherents and followers, were so routed and dispersed, that they hid themselves in the dens, and in the rocks of the mountains, and said to the mountains and rocks, Fall on us, and hide us; expressions used, as in other prophets, (Is. ii. 19, 21. Hos. x. 8. Luke xxiii. 30.) to denote the utmost terror and consternation; Fall on us, and hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb; for the great day of his wrath is come; and who shall be able to stand? This is therefore a triumph of Christ over his heathen enemies, and a triumph after a severe persecution; so that the time and all the circumstances, as well as the series and order of the prophecy, agree perfectly with this interpretation. (9) Galerius, (1) Maximin, and (2) Licinius made even a public confession of their guilt, recanted their degrees and edicts against the Christians, and acknowledged the just judgments of God and of Christ in their destruction.

Chapter VII.

And after these things, I saw four angels standing on the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds of the earth, that the wind should not blow on the earth, nor on the sea, nor on any tree.

And I saw another angel ascending from the east, having the seal of the living God: and he cried with a loud voice to the four angels, to whom it was given to hurt the earth and the sea.

Saying, Hurt not the earth, neither the sea, nor the trees, till we have sealed the servants of our God in their foreheads.

And I said unto him, Sir, thou knowest. And he said to me, These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.

Therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple: and he that sitteth on his throne shall dwell among them.

They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more, neither shall the sun light upon them, nor any heat.

For the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne, shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters: And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes.

What follows in this chapter is still a continuation of the sixth seal, for the seventh seal is not opened till the beginning of the next chapter. It is a description of the state of the church in Constantine's time, of the peace and protection that it should enjoy under the civil powers, and of the great accession that should be made to it both of Jews and Gentiles. Four angels (ver. 1, 2, 3.) are ordered by another angel to restrain the four winds from blowing with violence on any part of the world; to show that these were halcyon days, wherein the former wars and persecutions should cease, and peace and tranquillity be restored for a season. Eusebius is very copious upon this subject in several parts of his writings; and hath (3) applied that passage of the Psalmist in the version of the Seventy, (Psal. xlvii. S. 9.) Come hither, and behold the works of the Lord, what wonders he hath wrought in the earth: He maketh wars to cease unto the end of the earth, he breaketh the bow, and cutteth the spear asunder, he burneth the chariot in the fire; which things, saith he, being manifestly fulfilled in our times, we rejoice.

THE PROPHECIES.

Lactantius also (4) saith in the same triumphant strain, that tranquillity being restored throughout the world, the church which was lately ruined riseth again. Now after the violent agitations of so great a tempest, a calm air and the desired light become resplendent. Now God hath relieved the afflicted. Now he hath wiped away the tears of the sorrowful. These are testimonies of contemporary writers; and some (5) medals of Constantine are still preserved with the head of this emperor on one side and this inscription CONSTANTINUS AUG. and on the reverse BEATA TRANQUILLITAS, Blessed Tranquillity. During this time of tranquillity the servants of God were to be sealed in their foreheads. It is an expression in allusion to the ancient custom of marking servants in their foreheads to distinguish what they were, and to whom they belonged. Now among Christians baptism being the seal of the covenant between God and man, is therefore by ancient writers (6) often called the seal, the sign, the mark and character of the Lord: and it was the (7) practice in early times, as it is at present, to make the sign of the cross upon the foreheads of the parties baptized. The same sign of the cross was also made at confirmation; and upon many other occasions the Christians signed themselves with the sign of the cross in their foreheads, as a token that they were not ashamed of a crucified Master, that on the contrary they gloried in the cross of Christ, and triumphed in that symbol and representation of it. The sealing therefore of the servants of God in their foreheads at this juncture can imply no less, than that many converts should be baptized, and those, who before, in times of persecution, had been compelled to worship God in private, should now make a free, open, and public profession of their religion; and

(3) Euseb. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 20. Cap. 1. εσπερινης ἑμείς ἐργαζόμενοι, ἐπειδὴ ἡμῶν ἔσπερίνης ἱππαρκος ἁπαξ ἔσπερινης ἑμείς ἐργαζόμενοι—Quam eum omnium nostrum temporibus manifeste comple- ptem omnino, lati deinceps at gratulabunti. [Over which things as manifestly fulfilled in our time, we greatly rejoice.]


(5) See Daubuz. p. 311.


that such an accession was made to the church, every one knoweth who knoweth any thing of the history of this time.

As the church of Christ was first formed out of the Jewish church and nation, so here (ver. 4—8.) the spiritual Israel is first mentioned: and the number of the thousands of Israel is that of the twelve patriarchs multiplied by the twelve apostles, which we shall find to be a sacred number throughout the Revelation. But the twelve tribes are not enumerated here in the same method and order, as they are in other places of holy scripture. Judah hath the first rank and precedence, because from him descended the Messiah. Dan is entirely omitted, and Ephraim is not mentioned, because they were the principal promoters of idolatry, and therefore Levi is substituted in the room of the one, and Joseph is mentioned instead of the other. The children too of the bond-women and of the free-women are confounded together, there being (Gal. iii. 28.) in Christ Jesus neither bond nor free. Besides some of all the tribes of Israel, there was an innumerable multitude of all nations and tongues, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands, (ver. 9, 10.) who received and embraced the gospel: and as Sulpicius Severus (8) says, it is wonderful how much the Christian religion prevailed at that time. The historians, who have written of this reign, (9) relate how even the most remote and barbarous nations were converted to the faith, Jews as well as Gentiles. One historian in particular (1) affirms, that at the time when Constantine took possession of Rome after the death of Maxentius, there were baptized more than twelve thousand Jews and Heathens, besides women and children. The angels also (ver. 11,

12.) join in the celebration of God upon this occasion: for if there is joy (Luke xv. 10.) in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth, much more may those heavenly spirits rejoice at the conversion of whole countries and nations. Then one of the elders (ver. 13—17.) explains to St. John some particulars relating to this innumerable multitude of all nations. They have palms in their hands, as tokens of their victory and triumph over tribulation and persecution. They are arrayed in white robes, as emblems of their sanctity and justification through the merits and death of Christ. They are, like the children of Israel, arrived at their Canaan or land of rest, and they shall no more suffer hunger or thirst, or heat, as they did in the wilderness. They are now happily freed from all their former troubles and molestations; and their heathen adversaries shall no more prevail against them. This period we may suppose to have continued with some little interruption, from the reign of Constantine the great to the death of Theodosius the great, about 70 years.

CHAP. VIII.

1 AND when he had opened the seventh seal, there was silence in heaven about the space of half an hour.

2 And I saw the seven angels which stood before God; and to them were given seven trumpets.

3 And another angel came and stood at the altar, having a golden censer; and there was given him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne.

4 And the smoke of the incense, which came with the prayers of the saints, ascended up before God, out of the angel's hand.

5 And the angel took the censer, and filled it with fire of the altar, and cast it into the earth: and
there were voices, and thunderings, and lightnings, and an earthquake.

6 And the seven angels which had the seven trumpets, prepared themselves to sound.

The seventh seal or period is of much longer duration, and comprehends many more events than any of the former seals. It comprehends indeed seven periods distinguished by the sounding of seven trumpets. At the opening of this seal (ver. 1.) there was silence in heaven about the space of half an hour. This silence of half an hour is a sign that the peace of the church would continue but for a short season. It is an interval and pause as it were between the foregoing and the succeeding visions. It is a mark of seclusion, to procure attention, and to prepare the mind for great and signal events; and not without an allusion to a ceremony among the Jews. Philo (2) informs us, the incense used to be offered before the morning, and after the evening sacrifice; and while the sacrifices were made, (2 Chron. xxix. 25—28.) the voices and instruments, and trumpets sounded; while the priest went into the temple to burn incense, (Luke i. 10.) all were silent, and the people prayed without to themselves. Now this was the morning of the church, and therefore the silence precedes the sounding of the trumpets. It was necessary before the trumpets could be sounded, that they should be given (ver. 2.) to the seven archangels, who were to execute the will of God, and to sound the trumpets each in his season. At the same time (ver. 3, 4, 5.) another angel, like the priest, having a golden censer, offered incense with the prayers of all saints; and then filled the censer with fire of the altar, and casteth it into the earth; as in Ezekiel (x. 2.) coals of fire are taken from between the cherubim, and scattered over Jerusalem, to denote the judgments of God to be executed upon that city. Whereupon immediately ensue voices,

and thunderings, and lightnings, and an earthquake, the usual prophetic signs and preludes of great calamities and commotions upon earth. Then the angels (ver. 6.) prepare themselves to sound; and as the seals foretold the state and condition of the Roman empire before and till it became Christian, so the trumpets foreshow the fate and condition of it afterwards. The sound of the trumpet, as Jeremiah (iv. 19.) says, and as every one understands it, is the alarm of war: and the sounding of these trumpets is designed to rouse and excite the nations against the Roman empire, called the third part of the world, as perhaps including the third part of the world, and being scattered principally in Europe, the third part of the world at that time.

7 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 trees was burnt up, and all green grass was burnt up.

At the sounding of the first trumpet (ver. 7.) the barbarous nations, like a storm of hail and fire mingled with blood, invade the Roman territories; and destroy the third part of trees, that is the trees of the third part of the earth, and the green grass, that is both old and young, high and low, rich and poor together. Theodosius the great died in the year 395; and no sooner was he dead, than the (3) Huns, Goths, and other barbarians, like hail for multitude, and breathing fire and slaughter, broke in upon the best provinces of the empire both in the east and west, with greater success than they had ever done before. But by this trumpet, I conceive, were principally intended the irruptions and depredations of the Goths (4) under the conduct of the famous Alaric, who began his incursions in the same year 395, first ravaged Greece, then wasted Italy, besieged Rome, and

(2) —σταυρωθεὶς ομορριάλας παρὰ τον εστραφη — adae munimentum et post expeditum archiem. [* Before the morning and after the evening sacrifice.] Philo de Vadinus, p. 836 Edit. Paris. 1640.


was bought off at an exorbitant price, besieged it again in the year 410, took and plundered the city, and set fire to it in several places. Philostorgius, who lived in and wrote of these times, (5) saith that 'the sword of the barbarians destroyed the greatest multitude of men; and among other calamities dry heats with flashes of flame and whirlwinds of fire occasioned various and intolerable terrors; yea, and hail greater than could be held in a man's hand fell down in several places, weighing as much as eight pounds.' Well therefore might the prophet compare these incursions of the barbarians to hail and fire mingled with blood. Claudian in like manner compares them to (6) a storm of hail in his poem on this very war. Jerome also (7) saith of some of these barbarians, 'that they came on unexpectedly every where, and marching quicker than report, spared not religion, nor dignities, nor age, nor had compassion on crying infants; those were compelled to die, who had not yet begun to live.' So truly did they destroy the trees and the green grass together.

8 And the second angel sounded, and as it were a great mountain burning with fire was cast into

(6) Claudian, de Bello Gothico, vers. 173.
Exhibit, quorumque vagae impietatis Romanus,
Gradulat aut mobilitum per devia seem
Precipitam, per clausam, rumit.
[Wherever the Fury dashed these towers, like hail, or a disease, they rushed headlong through all barriers opposed to them.] Where Mr. Davenport would read minit, a shower, instead of mud, a disease.

(7) Inseristi ubique aviditatem, et famamcelebratit vicinatorem, non religioni,
non dignitatis, non avati pacem, non vagnitiae miserantiam infantum.

9 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.

At the sounding of the second trumpet (ver. 8, 9.) as it were a great mountain burning with fire, that is a great warlike nation or hero, (for in the (8) style of poetry, which is near akin to the style of prophecy, heroes are compared to mountains:) cast into the sea, turneth the third part of it into blood, and destroyeth the fishes and the ships therein; that is, falling on the Roman empire, maketh a sea of blood, with horrible destruction of the cities and inhabitants; for waters, as the angel afterwards (xvii. 15.) explains them to St. John, are peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues, and the third part is all along the Roman empire; for it possessed in Asia and Africa, as much as it wanted in Europe to make up the third part of the world; and the principal part was in Europe, the third part of the world at that time. The next great ravagers after Ataric and his Goths were Attila and his Huns, who for the space of fourteen years, as (9) Sigonius says, shook the east and west with the most cruel fear, and deformed the provinces of each empire with all kind of plundering.

(5) Sigonius de Occidentali Imperio. Lib. 13. Huntica jam fine bella seclere obdivuit, qua post per quattuordecim annos seavisima orientem, occidentemque formidincem comiscerunt, atque utinam imperii provinciam commiscereste, stage, utique incendium delevabant. [Here we shall begin on account of the wars of the Huns, which for fourteen years shook the east and west with the most cruel terror, and which by plundering, slaughtering, and burning, disfigured the provinces of both empires.]
slaughter, and burning. They (1) first wasted Thrace, Macedon and Greece, putting all to fire and sword, and compelled the eastern emperor, Theodosius the second, to purchase a shameful peace. Then Attila turned his arms against the western emperor, Valentinian the third; entered Gaul with seven hundred thousand men, and not content with taking and spoiling, set most of the cities on fire. But at length being there vigorously opposed, he fell upon Italy, took and destroyed Aquileia with several other cities, slaying the inhabitants, and laying the buildings in ashes, and (2) filled all places between the Alps and Apennine with flight, depopulation, slaughter, servitude, burning, and desperation. He was preparing to march to Rome, but was diverted from his purpose by a solemn embassy from the emperor, and the promise of an annual tribute; and so concluding a truce, retired out of Italy, and passed into his own dominions beyond the Danube. Such a man might properly be compared to a great mountain burning with fire, who really was, as he called himself, (3) the scourge of God, and the terror of men, and boasted that he was sent into the world by God for this purpose, that as the executioner of his just anger he might fill the earth with all kinds of evils, and he bounded his cruelty and passion by nothing less than blood and burning.

10 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:

11 And the name of the star is called Wormwood: and the third part of the waters became

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(1) Sigerius ibid. Jornandes de rebus Gest. &c. &c.
(3) Qui quacque Flacculum Dei, et Terrorem hominum appellabat, et ad id in mundum a Deo mihius jacetabat, ut tanguum justae ilius vindice terrae omnium generis permutaret, et erudiaret Dominum suum non nisi sanguine et incendio terminabat. [Translated in the Text.] Sigerius ibid.

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THE PROPHECIES.

At the sounding of the third trumpet (ver. 10, 11.) a great prince appears like a star shooting from heaven to earth; a similitude not (4) unusual in poetry. His coming therefore is sudden and unexpected, and his stay but short. The name of the star is called Wormwood, and he infected the third part of the rivers and fountains with the bitterness of wormwood; that is, he is a bitter enemy, and proveth the author of grievous calamities to the Roman empire. The rivers and fountains have a near connection with the sea; and it was within two years after Attila’s retreat from Italy, that Valentinian was murdered, and Maximus who had caused him to be murdered reigned in his stead, (5) Genseric the king of the Vandals settled in Africa was solicited by Eudoxia the widow of the deceased emperor, to come and revenge his death. Genseric accordingly embarked with three hundred thousand Vandals and Moors, and arrived upon the Roman coast in June 455, the emperor and people not expecting nor thinking of any such enemy. He landed his men, and marched directly towards Rome; whereupon the inhabitants flying into the woods and mountains, the city fell an easy prey into his hands. He abandoned it to the cruelty and avarice of his soldiers, who plundered it for fourteen days together, not only spoiling the private houses and palaces, but stripping the public buildings, and even the churches of their riches and ornaments. He then set sail again for Africa, carrying away with him immense
wealth and an innumerable multitude of captives, to- together with the empress Eudoxia and her two daughters; and left the state so weakened, that in a little time it was utterly subverted. Some critics understand rivers and fountains with relation to doctrines; and in this sense the application is still very proper to Genseric, who was a most bigotted Arian, and during his whole reign most cruelly persecuted the orthodox Christians. Victor Uti- censis, or Vitensis as he is more usually called, who (6) wrote in three books the history of this persecution by the Vandals, speaking of St. Austin (7) hath used this very same metaphor, of the river of his eloquence being dried up, and his sweetness turned into the bitterness of wormwood.

12 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.

At the sounding of the fourth trumpet (ver. 12.) the third part of the sun, moon, and stars, that is the great lights of the Roman empire, are eclipsed and darkened, and remain in darkness for some time. Genseric left the western empire in a weak and desperate condition. It struggled hard, and gasped as it were for breath, through (8) eight short and turbulent reigns, for the space of twenty years, and at length expired in the year 476 under Mounyllus, or Augustulphus as he was named in deign, being a diminutive Augustus. This change

(7) Time ille eloquentiae, quod uberrim per annos campos ecclesiae decurrent, ipso metu victam est lumen; atque ducendo sanctitatis dulcem proprietatem, in annubulis abhinc versa est. ['Then that river of eloquence, which flowed in such abundance through all the fields of the church, was dried up through fear, and his intellectual sweetness was changed into the bitterness of wormwood.'] Victor Vit. de Persecut. Vand. Lib. 1. n. 3. Vide also vitam Augustini, Lib. 8. Cap. 11. Sect. 2. Edi. Benedict.
Exarch of Ravenna, as were also his successors in the same office. Rome was degraded to the same level with other places, and from being the queen of cities and empress of the world was reduced to a poor dukedom, and made tributary to Ravenna which she had used to govern.

13 And I beheld, and heard an angel flying through the midst of heaven, saying with a loud voice, Woe, woe, woe to the inhabiters of the earth, by reason of the other voices of the trumpet of the three angels which are yet to sound.

Notice is then proclaimed by an angel (ver. 13.) that the three other trumpets sound to still greater and more terrible plagues, and are therefore distinguished from the former by the name of woe. The design of this messenger is to raise our attention to the following trumpets; and the following we shall find to be more strongly marked than the foregoing. The foregoing relate chiefly to the downfall of the western empire; the two following relate chiefly to the downfall of the eastern empire. The foregoing are described more succinctly, and contain a less compass of time; the following are set forth with more particular circumstances, and are of longer duration as well as of larger description.

CHAP. IX.

1 And the fifth angel sounded, and I saw a star fall from heaven unto the earth: and to him was given the key of the bottomless pit.
2 And he opened the bottomless pit, and there arose a smoke out of the pit, as the smoke of a great furnace: and the sun and the air were darkness, by reason of the smoke of the pit.
3 And there came out of the smoke locusts upon the earth; and unto them was given power, as the scorpions of the earth have power.

4 And it was commanded them that they should not hurt the grass of the earth, neither any green thing, neither any tree; but only those men which have not the seal of God in their foreheads.
5 And to them it was given that they should not kill them, but that they should be tormented five months: and their torment was as the torment of a scorpion, when he striketh a man.
6 And in those days shall men seek death, and shall not find it; and shall desire to die, and death shall flee from them.
7 And the shapes of the locusts were like unto horses prepared unto battle; and on their heads were as it were crowns like gold, and their faces were as the faces of men.
8 And they had hair as the hair of women, and their teeth were as the teeth of lions.
9 And they had breastplates, as it were breastplates of iron; and the sound of their wings was as the sound of chariots of many horses running to battle.
10 And they had tails like unto scorpions, and there were stings in their tails: and their power was to hurt men five months.
11 And they had a king over them, which is the angel of the bottomless pit, whose name in the Hebrew tongue is Abaddon, but in the Greek tongue hath his name Apollyon.
12 One woe is past, and behold, there come two woes more hereafter.

At the sounding of the fifth trumpet (ver. 1, 2, 3.) a star fallen from heaven, meaning the wicked impostor Mohammed, opened the bottomless pit, and there arose a smoke out of the pit, and the sun and the air were darkness by it; that is, a false religion was set up, which filled the world with darkness and error; and swarms of Saracen or Arabian locusts overspread the earth. A false prophet is very fitly typified by a blazing star or meteor. The Arabians likewise are properly compared to locusts,
not only because numerous armies frequently are so, but also because swarms of locusts often arise from Arabia: and also because in the plagues of Egypt, to which constant allusion is made in these trumpets, the locusts, (Exod. x. 13.) are brought by an east wind, that is from from Arabia, which lay eastward of Egypt: and also because in the book of Judges (vii. 12.) the people of Arabia are compared to locusts or grasshoppers for multitude, for in the original the word for both is the same. As the natural locusts (4) are bred in pits and holes of the earth, so these mystical locusts are truly infernal, and proceed with the smoke from the bottomless pit. It is too a remarkable coincidence that at this time the sun and the air were really darkened. For we learn from an (5) eminent Arabian historian, that ‘in the seventeenth year of Heraclius half the body of the sun was eclipsed, and this defect continued from the former Tisrin to Hazirin, (that is from October to June) so that only a little of its light appeared.’ The seventeenth year of Heraclius (6) coincides with the year of Christ 626, and with the fifth year of the Hegira; and at this time Mohammed was training and exercising his followers in deprivations at home, to fit and prepare them for greater conquests abroad.

It was commanded them (ver. 4.) that they should not hurt the grass of the earth, neither any green thing, neither any tree; which demonstrates that these were not natural, but symbolical locusts. The like injunctions were given to the Arabian officers and soldiers. When Yazid was marching with the army to invade Syria, Abu-beker charged him (7) with this among other orders; ‘Destroy no palm-trees, nor burn any fields of corn; cut down no fruit trees, nor do any mischief to cattle.


"only such as you kill to eat." Their commission is to hurt only those men who have not the seal of God in their foreheads; that is those who are not the true servants of God, but are corrupt and idolatrous Christians. Now from history it appears evidently, that in those countries of Asia, Africa, and Europe, where the Saracens extended their conquests, the Christians were generally guilty of idolatry in the worshipping of saints, if not of images; and it was the pretense of Mohammed and his followers to chastise them for it, and to re-establish the unity of the Godhead. The parts which remained the freest from the general infection were Savoy, Piedmont, and the southern parts of France, which were afterwards the nurseries and habitations of the Waldenses and Albigenses; and it is very memorable, that (8) when the Saracens approached these parts, they were defeated with great slaughter by the famous Charles Martel in several engagements.

As they were to hurt only the corrupt and idolatrous Christians, so these (ver. 5, 6.) they were not to kill but only to torment, and should bring such calamities upon the earth, as should make men weary of their lives. Not that it could be supposed that the Saracens would not kill many thousands in their incursions. On the contrary their angel (ver. 11.) hath the name of the destroyer. They might kill them as individuals, but still they should not kill them as a political body, as a state or empire. They might greatly harass and torment both the Greek and the Latin churches, but they should not utterly extirpate the one or the other. They besieged Constantinople, and (9) even plundered Rome; but they could not make themselves masters of either of those capital cities. The Greek empire suffered most from them, as it lay nearest to them. They dismembered it of Syria, and Egypt, and some other of its best and richest provinces; but they were never able to subdue and conquer the whole. As often as they besieged Con-

(9) Sigonii Hist. de Regno Italiae. Lib. 5. Ann. 816.
Who have constantly worn turbans or mitres, and boast of having those ornaments for their common attire, which are crowns and diadems with other people. The crowns also signify the kingdoms and dominions which they should acquire. For, as Mr. Mede (5) excellently observes, "No nation had ever so wide a command, nor ever were so many kingdoms, so many regions subjugated in so short a space of time. It sounds incredible, yet most true it is; that in the space of eighty or not many more years, they subdued and acquired to the diabolical kingdom of Mohammed, Palestine, Syria, both Armenia, almost all Asia Minor, Persia, India, Egypt, Numidia, all Barbary even to the river Niger, Portugal, Spain. Neither did their fortune or ambition stop here, till they had added also a great part of Italy, as far as to the gates of Rome; moreover Sicily, Caudia, Cyprus, and the other islands of the Mediterranean sea. Good God! how great a tract of land! how many crowns were here! Whence also it is worthy of observation, that mention is not made here, as in other trumpets, of the third part; forasmuch as this plague fell no less without the bounds of the Roman empire than within it, and extended itself even to the remotest Indies."

They had also faces as the faces of men, and hair as the hair of women: and the Arabians wore their beards, or at least mustaches, as men; while the hair of their heads

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was flowing or plaited like that of women; as (6) Pliny and other ancient authors testify. Another property copied from Joel is their having teeth as the teeth of lions; that is strong to devour. So Joel describes the locusts (i. 6.) as a nation whose teeth are the teeth of a lion, and he hath the cheek teeth of a great lion; and is wonderful how they bite and gnaw all things, as (7) Pliny says, even the doors of houses. They had also breast-plates as if were breast plates of iron: and the locusts have a hard shell or skin, which (8) hath been called their armour. This figure is designed to express the defensive, as the former was the offensive arms of the Saracens. And the sound of their wings was as the sound of chariots of many horses running to battle. Much the same comparison hath been used by Joel, (ii. 5.) Like the noise of chariots on the tops of mountains shall they leap: and (9) Pliny affirms, that they fly with so great a noise of their wings, that they may be taken for birds. Their wings, and the sound of their wings, denote the swiftness and rapacity of their conquests; and it is indeed astonishing, that in less than a century they erected an empire, which extended from India to Spain.

Moreover they are thrice compared unto scorpions, (ver. 3, 5, 10.) and had stings in their tails like unto scorpions: that is they should draw a poisonous train after them, and wherever they carried their arms, there also they should distil the venom of a false religion. It is farther added (ver. 11.) that they had a king over them; the same person should exercise temporal as well as spiritual sovereignty over them; and the caliphs were their emperors, as well as the heads of their religion. The king is the same as the star or angel of the bottomless pit, whose name is Abaddon in Hebrew, and Apollyon in Greek, that is the destroyer. Mr. Mede (1) imagines, that this is some allusion to the name of Obodas, the common name of the kings of that part of Arabia from whence Mohammed came, as Pharaoh was the common name of the kings of Egypt, and Caesar of the emperors of Rome: and such allusions are not unusual in the stile of scripture. However that be, the name agrees perfectly well with Mohammed and the caliphs his successors, who were the authors of all those horrid wars and desolations, and openly taught and professed that their religion was to be propagated and established by the sword.

One difficulty, and the greatest of all, remains yet to be explained; and that is the period of five months assigned to these locusts, which being twice mentioned, merits the more particular consideration. They tormented men five months, (ver. 4.) and again (ver. 10.) their power was to hurt men five months. It is said without doubt in conformity to the type; for locusts (2) are

(6) Arabes mitrati dignum, aut intenso crine; barba aubradite, prater- quam in superie ore barba. Aliis et barba istora. ['The Arabians bear mitres, or keep the hair shaven; their beard is shaven off, excepting on the upper lip. Some do not shave this also.'] Plin. ibid. Pannonia crinis intonos, mitrata capita, parvus in eterne barba. ['The hair of many of them is not cut, their heads are covered with a mitre, a piece of the beard is shaven close to the skin.'] Solinus. Cap. 33. p. 46. Edit. Salmasi. Crinius quadram, &c. ['A certain man with long hair.'] Annian. Marcell. Lib. 31. ubi mentat Valesius, Tails erat habitus Saracenorum, ut docebat Hieronymus in Vita Malchi. Esse miti cernua cambrariaque sceleros Ismae- lios irruunt, crinis vitulati capillis, &c. et Theodorus Mopsuestus in caput X Hieremi, Saracenos ait comun a fronte quidem detenture, retro autem intonsam detenture, &c. ['Where Valesius has this note. Such was the dress of the Saracens as Jerome informs us in his life of Malchi. Lo suddenly the Ismaelites riding on horses and camels, rush in, wearing long hair, and having their heads tied up with ribbons,' &c. and Theodorus, Bishop of Mopsuestia on Jerem. x. saith 'that the Saracens pulled off the hair from their foreheads, but behind suffered it to hang down,' &c.] p. 364. Edit. Paris. 1691.


--- cognatus dorsi durescit antrix.

Armillis natura cutem.

['Their kindred covering hardens on their back.

Nature hath armed their skin.']

(9) Tundo velut pennorum stridre, ut alie alites crebuntur. [Translated in the text.] Plin. ibid.
observed to live about five months, that is from April to September. Scorpions too, as (3) Bochart asserts, are noxious for no longer a term, the cold rendering them torpid and inactive. But of these locusts it is said, not that their duration or existence was only for five months, but their power of hurting and tormenting men continued five months. Now these months may either be months commonly so taken: or prophetic months, consisting each of 30 days, as St. John reckons them, and so making 150 years at the rate of each day for a year; or the number being repeated twice, the sums may be thought to be doubled, and five months and five months in prophetic computation will amount to 300 years. If these months be taken for common months, then, as the natural locusts live and do hurt only in the five summer-months, so the Saracens, in the five summer-months too, made their excursions, and retired again in the winter. It appears that this was their usual practice, and particularly when (4) they first besieged Constantinople in the time of Constantine Pogonatus. For
"from the month of April till September, they pertinaciously continued their siege, and then despairing of success, departed to Cyzicm, where they wintered. and in spring again renewed the war: and this course they held for seven years, as the Greek annals tell us." If these months be taken for prophetic months or 150 years, it was within that space of time

(3) Nece frustra est, quod mysticus locustis, que scorpium canas habet, non datur prophetae mensis humanibus, nisi per menses quinque. Quippe ut locusta, non scorpiones dum non nocent. Nam per frigora torpescit, nec qualiter ab his est periodus. [No is it in vain said, that the power of hurting was not given to these mystical locusts, which have the tails of scorpions, for more than five months. For neither do locusts nor scorpions prove hurtful for a longer time. For they are terminated by the cold, and danger from them is no longer to be feared.] Bochart, ibid. Lib. 4. Cap. 29. Col. 610.


that the Saracens made their principal conquests. Their empire might subsist much longer, but their power of hurting and tormenting men was exerted chiefly within that period. Read the history of the Saracens, and you will find that their greatest exploits were performed, their greatest conquests were made, between the (5) year 612 when Mohammed first opened the bottomless pit, and began publicly to teach and propagate this imposture, and the year 782 when the caliph Almansor built Bagdad, to fix there the seat of his empire, and called it the city of peace. Syria, Persia, India, and the greatest part of Asia; Egypt, and the greatest part of Africa; Spain, and some parts of Europe, were all subdued in the intermediate time. But when the caliphs, who before had removed from place to place, fixed their habitation at Bagdad, then the Saracens ceased from their excursions and ravages like locusts, and became a settled nation; then they made no more such rapid and amazing conquests as before, but only engaged in common and ordinary wars like other nations; then their power and glory began to decline, and their empire by little and little to moulder away; then they had no longer, like the prophetic locusts, one king over them, Spain (6) having revolted in the year 736, and set up another caliph in opposition to the reigning house of Abbas. If these months be taken doubly, or for 300 years, then according to (7) Sir Isaac Newton, "the whole time that the caliphs of the Saracens reigned with a temporal dominion at Damascus and Bagdad together, was 300 years, viz. from the year 637 to the year 936 inclusive:" when (8) their empire was broken and divided into several principalities or kingdoms. So that let these five months be taken in any


(7) Sir Isaac Newton on the Apocalypse. Chap. 2. p. 305. See likewise p. 91 of Mr. Jackson's Address to the Deists; wherein are some pertinent observations concerning the completion of this and the succeeding Woe.

possible construction, the event will still answer, and the
prophecy will still be fulfilled; the second method of
interpretation and application appears much more pro-
able than either the first or the third.
In the conclusion it is added, (ver. 12.) One woe is
past, and behold there come two woes more hereafter. This
is added not only to distinguish the woes, and to mark
more strongly each period, but also to suggest that some
time will intervene between this first woe of the Arabian
locusts, and the next of the Euphratean horsemen. The
similitude between the locusts and Arabinians is indeed so
great that it cannot fail of striking every curious observer:
and a farther resemblance is (9) noted by Mr. Daubuz,
that "there hath happened in the extent of this torment
a coincidence of the event with the nature of the
locusts. The Saracens have made inroads into all those
parts of Christendom where the natural locusts are wont
to be seen and known to do mischief and no where
else: and that too in the same proportion. Where
the locusts are seldom seen, there the Saracens stayed
little: where the natural locusts are often seen, there
the Saracens abode most; and where they breed most,
there the Saracens had their beginning and greatest
power. This may easily be verified by history."

13 And the sixth angel sounded, and I heard
a voice from the four horns of the golden altar, which
is before God,
14 Saying to the sixth angel which had the trum-
pet, Loose the four angels which are bound in
the great river Euphrates.
15 And the four angels were loosed, which were
prepared for an hour, and a day, and a month, and
a year, for to slay the third part of men.
16 And the number of the army of the horsemen
were two hundred thousand thousand: and I heard
the number of them.

(9) Daubuz, p. 409.

17 And thus I saw the horses in the vision, and
them that sat on them, having breast-plates of fire,
and of jacinth, and brimstone: and the heads of
the horses were as the heads of lions; and out
of their mouths issued fire, and smoke, and brim-
stone.
18 By these three was the third part of men killed,
by the fire, and by the smoke, and by the brimstone,
which issued out of their mouths.
19 For their power is in their mouth, and in their
tails: for their tails were like unto serpents, and had
heads, and with them they do hurt.
20 And the rest of the men which were not killed
by these plagues, yet repeated not of the works of
their hands, that they should not worship devils,
and idols of gold and silver, and brass, and stone,
and of wood: which neither can see, nor hear, nor
walk:
21 Neither repented they of their murders, nor
of their sorceries, nor of their fornication, nor of their
thefts.

At the sounding of the sixth trumpet (ver. 13, 14, 15.)
a voice proceeded from the four horns of the golden
altar, (for the scene was still in the temple) ordering
the angel of the sixth trumpet to loose the four angels which
were bound in the great river Euphrates; and they were
loosed accordingly. Such a voice proceeding from the
four horns of the golden altar is a strong indication of the
divine displeasure; and plainly intimates that the sins of
men must have been very great, when the altar, which
was their sanctuary and protection, called aloud for ven-
geance. The four angels are the four sulhianes or four
leaders of the Turks and Othmaans. For there were
four principal sulhianes, or kingdoms of the Turks,
bordering upon the river Euphrates; (1) one at Bag-
dad founded by Togruil Beg, or Tangilopix, as he is

perii. Heylin's Cosm. B. 3, p. 726. Edit. 1763. introduct. to the Hist. of
more usually called, in the year 1055: another at Damascus founded by Tagjuddaualas or Ducas in the year 1079: a third at Aleppo founded by Sjarfuddaualas or Meleck in the same year 1079: and the fourth at Iconium in Asia Minor founded by Sedyuddaualas or Culth Muses, or his son, in the year 1080. These four sultanes subsisted several years afterwards; and the sultanes were bound and restrained from extending their conquests farther than the territories and countries adjoining to the river Euphrates, primarily by the good providence of God, and secondarily by the crusades or expeditions of the European Christians into the holy land in the latter part of the eleventh, and in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Nay the European Christians took several cities and countries from them, and confined them within narrower bounds. But when an end was put to the crusades, and the Christians totally abandoned their conquest in Syria and Palestine, as they did in the latter part of the thirteenth century; then the four angels on the river Euphrates were loosed. Soliman Shah (2) the first and chief founder of the Othman race, retreating with his three sons from Jengiz Chan and the Tartars, would have passed the river Euphrates, but was unfortunately drowned, the time of loosing the four angels being not yet come. Discouraged at this sad accident, two of his sons returned to their former habitations; but Ortagul the third, with his three sons Condoz, Sarubani, and Othman, remained some time in those parts, and having obtained leave of Aladin the sultan of Iconium, he came with four hundred of his Turks, and settled in the mountains of Armenia. From thence they began their excursions; and the other Turks associating with them, and following their standard, they gained several victories over the Tartars on one side, and over the Christians on the other. Ortagul (3) dying in the year 1288, Othman his son succeeded him in power and authority; and in the year 1299, as some say with the consent of Aladin himself, he was proclaimed sultan, and founded a new empire; and the people afterwards, as well as the new empire, were called by his name. For tho' they disclaim the name of Turks, and assume that of Othmans, yet nothing is more certain, than that they are a mixt multitude, the remains of the four sultanes above mentioned, as well as the descendants particularly of the house of Othman.

In this manner and at this time the four angels were loosed, which were prepared for an hour, and a day, and a month, and a year, for to slay the third part of men, that is as before, the men of the Roman empire, and especially in Europe, the third part of the world. The Latin or Western empire was broken to pieces under the four first trumpets; the Greek or eastern empire was cruelly hurt and tormented under the fifth trumpet; and here under the sixth trumpet it is to be slain and utterly destroyed. Accordingly all Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Thrace, Macedon, Greece, and all the countries, which formerly belonged to the Greeks or eastern Caesars, the Othmans have conquered, and subjugated to their dominions. They first (4) passed over into Europe in the reign of Orchan their second emperor, and in the year 1357; they (5) took Constantinople in the reign of Mohammed their seventh emperor, and in the year 1453; and in time all the remaining parts of the Greek empire shared the fate of the capital city. The last of their conquests were (6) Candia or the ancient Crete in 1699, and Cananiec in 1672. For the execution of this great work it is said that they were prepared for an hour, and a day, and an month, and a year; which will admit either of a literal or a mystical interpretation; and the former will hold good, if the latter

should fail. If it be taken literally, it is only expressing the same thing by different words, as peoples and multitudes and nations and tongues are jointly used in other places: and then the meaning is that the were prepared ready to execute the divine commission at any time or for any time, any hour, or day, or month, or year that God should appoint. If it be taken mystically, and the hour, and day, and month, and year be a prophetic hour, and day, and month, and year, then a year (according to St. John's, who follows herein Daniel's computation) consisting of 330 days is 360 years, and a month consisting of 30 days is 30 years, and a day is a year, and an hour in the same proportion is 15 days: so that the whole period of the Othmans slaying the third part of men, or subduing the Christian states in the Greek or Roman empire, amounts to 391 years and 15 days. Now it is wonderfully remarkable, that the first conquest mentioned in history, of the Othmans over the Christians, was (7) in the year of the Hegira 680 and the year of Christ 1281. For Ortoqul "in that year, " (according to the accurate historian Saadi) crowned "his victories with the conquest of the famous city of Kutahia upon the Greeks." Compute 391 years from that time, and they will terminate in the year 1672: and in that year as it was hinted before, Mohammed the fourth (8) took Camenice from the Poles. " and forty "eight towns and villages in the territory of Camenice "were delivered up" to the sultan upon the treaty of peace. Whereupon Prince Cantemir hath made this memorable reflection, "This was the last victory by "which any advantage accrual to the Othman state, or "any city or province was annexed to the ancient "borders of the empire." Accordingly to which observation, he hath entitled the former part of his history of the growth of the Othman empire, and the following part of the decay of the Othman empire. Other wars and slaughters, as he says, have ensued. The Turks even besieged Vienna in 1683: but this exceeding the bounds of their commission, they were defeated. Belgrade and other places may have been taken from them, and surrendered to them again; but still they have subdued no new state or potentate of Christendom now for the space of between 80 and 90 years; and in all probability they never may again, their empire appearing rather to decrease than increase. Here then the prophecy and the event agree exactly in the period of 391 years; and if more accurate and authentic histories of the Othmans were brought to light, and we knew the very day wherein Kutahia was taken as certainly as we know that wherein Camenice was taken, the like exactness might also be found in the 15 days. But the time be limited for the Othmans slaying the third part of men, yet no time is fixed for the duration of their empire; only this second woe will end, when the third woe, (xi. 14.) or the destruction of the beast, shall be at hand.

A description is then given (ver. 16, 17, 18, 19.) of the forces, and of the means and instruments by which the Othmans should effect the ruin of the eastern empire. Their armies are described as very numerous, myriads of myriads: and who knoweth not what mighty armies the Othman emperors have brought into the field? When Mohammed the second besieged Constantinople, he had (9) about four hundred thousand men in his army, besides a powerful fleet of thirty larger and two hundred lesser ships. They are described too chiefly as horsemen; and so they are described both by Ezekiel and by Daniel: as there was occasion to observe in the last dissertation upon Daniel: and it is well known, that their armies consisted chiefly of cavalry, especially before the order of Janizaries was instituted by Amurath the first. The Janizaries may be the guard of the

court, but the Timariots, or horsemen holding lands by serving in the wars, are the strength of the government: and these, as Heylin (1) affirms, are in all accounted between seven and eight hundred thousand fighting men; some say that they are a million; and besides these, there are Spahi's and other horsemen in the emperor's pay.

In the vision, that is in appearance, and not in reality, they had breast-plates of fire, and of jacinth or hyacinth, and brimstone. The color of fire is red, of hyacinth blue, and of brimstone yellow: and this, as Mr. Daubuz (2) observes, "hath a literal accomplishment; for the "Othmans, from the first time of their appearance, "have affected to wear such warlike apparel of scarlet, "blue, and yellow." Of the Spahi's particularly some have red, and some have yellow standards, and others red or yellow mixt with other colors. In appearance too the heads of the horses were as the heads of lions, to denote their strength, courage, and fierceness; and out of their mouths issued fire, and smoke, and brimstone. A manifest allusion to great guns and gunpowder, which were invented under this trumpet, and were of such signal service to the Othmans in their wars. For by these three was the third part of men killed, by these the Othmans made such havoc and destruction in the Greek or eastern empire. Amurath the second (3) broke into Peloponnesus, and took several strong places by the means of his artillery. But his son Mohammed at the siege of Constantinople (4) employed such great guns,

(3) Chalcedon. Lib. 7.
(4) Τάντα λύχνος βρομῇ, καθά τέκνη σπηλαίων. τοιούτα δέ έτοίμα την θεοτόκου μετάβαται τόπον. μετάβαται τόπον θυσίαν τετράδιον. τοιούτα δέ έτοίμα την θεοτόκου μετάβαται τόπον.

as were never made before. One is described to have been of such a monstrous size, that it was drawn by seventy yoke of oxen and by two thousand men. There were two more, each of which discharged a stone of the weight of two talents. Others emitted a stone of the weight of half a talent. But the greatest of all discharged a ball of the weight of three talents, or about three hundred pounds; and the report of this cannon is said to have been so great, that all the country round about was shaken to the distance of forty furlongs. For forty days the walls was battered by these guns, and so many breaches were made, that the city was taken by assault, and an end put to the Grecian empire.

Moreover they had power to do hurt by their tails, as well by their mouths, their tails being like unto serpents, and having heads. In this respect they very much resemble the locusts; only the different tails are accommodated to the different creatures, the tails of scorpions to locusts; the tails of serpents with a head at each end to horses. By this figure it is meant, that the Turks draw after them the same poisonous trains as the Saracens; they profess and propagate the same imposture; they do hurt not only by their conquests, but also by spreading their false doctrine; and wherever they establish their dominion, there too they establish their religion. Many indeed of the Greek church remained, and are still remaining among them; but they are (5) made to pay dearly for the exercise of their religion; and are subjected to a capitation tax, which is rigorously exacted from all above fourteen years of age; are burdened besides, with the most heavy and arbitrary impositions upon every occasion; are compelled to the lowest and

all that were known before his time.— The size of one gun was so great, that it required seventy yoke of oxen and two thousand men to drag it along. The king had two very large guns, each of which threw a stone that weighed two talents. Others threw a stone of the weight of half a talent. The largest gun discharged a ball which weighed about three talents. At the discharging of this gun, we are told that the Ancient city, to the distance of forty furlongs, was shaken. Already had the wall of the city been vigorously battered for the space of forty days.] Chalcedon. Lib. 7. p. 203, 204. Edit. Paris. p. 158, 159. Edit. Venet.
(5) See Smith's and Rycart's accounts of the Greek church.
most servile drudgery, are abused in their persons, and robbed of their property: have not only the mortification of seeing some of their friends and kindred daily apostatize to the ruling religion, but had even their children taken from them to be educated therein, of whom the more robust and hardly were trained up to the soldiery, the more weakly and tender were castrated for the seraglio: but notwithstanding these persecutions and oppressions some remains of the Greek church are still preserved among them, as we may reasonably conclude, to serve some great and mysterious ends of providence.

But tho' the Greek church was thus ruined and oppressed, the rest of men (ver. 20, 21) who were not killed by these plagues, the Latin church which pretty well escaped these calamities, yet repented not of the works of their hands, that they should not worship devils, 

\[\pi\text{ay}\text{ov}a\] demons or second mediatory Gods, as it hath largely been shown before, saints and angels, and idols of gold and silver and brass and stone and wood. From hence it is evident, that these calamities were inflicted upon the Christians for their idolatry. As the eastern churches were first in the crime, so they were first likewise in the punishment. At first they were visited by the plague of the Saracens, but this working no change or reformation, they were again chastised by the still greater plague of the Othmans; were partly overthrown by the former, and were entirely ruined by the latter. What churches were then remaining, which were guilty of the like idolatry, but the western, or those in the communion with Rome? And the western were not at all reclaimed by the ruin of the eastern, but persisted still in the worship of saints, and (what is worse) the worship of images, which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk: and the world is witness to the completion of this prophecy to this day. Neither repented they of their murders, their persecutions and inquisitions, nor of their sorceries, their pretended miracles and revelations, nor of their fornication, their public stews and uncleanness, nor of their thefts, their exactions and impositions on mankind: and they are as notorious for their licentiousness and wickedness, as for their superstition and idolatry. As they therefore refused to take warning by the two former woes, the third woe, as we shall see, will fall with vengeance upon them.

CHAP. X.

1 And I saw another mighty angel come down from heaven, clothed with a cloud, and a rainbow was upon his head, and his face was as it were the sun, and his feet as pillars of fire.

2 And he had in his hand a little book open: and he set his right foot upon the sea, and his left foot on the earth.

3 And cried with a loud voice, as when a lion roar eth: and when he had cried, seven thunders uttered their voices.

4 And when the seven thunders had uttered their voices, I was about to write: and I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Seal up those things which the seven thunders uttered, and write them not.

5 And the angel which I saw stand upon the sea, and upon the earth, lifted up his hand to heaven,

6 And sware by him that liveth for ever and ever, who created heaven and the things that therein are, and the earth and the things that therein are, and the sea and the things which are therein, that there should be time no longer:

7 But in the days of the voice of the seventh angel, when he shall begin to sound, the mystery of God should be finished, as he hath declared to his servants the prophets.

8 And the voice which I heard from heaven spake unto me again, and said, Go, and take the little book which is open in the hand of the angel which standeth upon the sea, and upon the earth.
9 And I went unto the angel, and said unto him, Give me the little book. And he said unto me, Take it, and eat it up; and it shall make thy belly bitter, but it shall be in thy mouth as sweet as honey.

10 And I took the little book out of the angel’s hand, and ate it up; and it was in my mouth as sweet as honey: and as soon as I had eaten it, my belly was bitter.

11 And he said unto me, Thou must prophesy again before many peoples, and nations, and tongues, and kings.

St. John, in the conclusion of the last chapter, having touched upon the corruption of the western church, proceeds now to deliver some prophecies relating to this lamentable event. But before he enters upon the subject, he (and the church in him) is prepared for it by an august and consolatory vision. Another mighty angel came down from heaven (ver. 1.) described somewhat like the angel in the three last chapters of Daniel, and in the first chapter of the Revelation. He had in his hand (ver. 2.) a little book, βιβλίον, a little book or codex different from the βιβλία, or book mentioned before: and it was open, that all men might freely read and consider it. It was indeed a codex to the larger book, and properly cometh under the sixth trumpet, to describe the state of the western church after the description of the state of the eastern: and this with good reason made a separate and distinct prophecy, on account of the importance of the matter, as well as for engaging the greater attention. He set his right foot upon the sea, and his left foot on the earth, to show the extent of his power and commission: and when he had cried aloud, (ver. 3.) seven thunders uttered their voices. St. John would have written down (ver. 4.) those things which the seven thunders uttered, but was forbidden to do it. As we know not the subjects of the seven thunders, so neither can we know the reasons for suppressing them: but it may be conceived, that something might be proper to be revealed to the

apostle, and yet not to be communicated to the church. By these seven thunders, Vitringa understands the seven great crusades or expeditions of the western Christians for the conquest of the holy land, and Daubuz the seven kingdoms which received and established the protestant reformation by law. But doth it not savour rather of vanity and presumption than of wisdom and knowledge, to pretend to conjecture what they are, when the Holy Spirit hath purposely concealed them? Then the angel (ver. 5, 6, 7.) lifted up his hand to heaven, like the angel in Daniel, xii. 7.) and saith by him: Verily, verily, I say unto thee, that the time shall not be yet, but it shall be in the days of the seventh trumpet, that the mystery of God shall be finished, and the glorious state of his church be perfected, agreeably to the good things which he hath promised, as ver. 14. to his servants the prophets. This is said for the consolation of Christians, that tho’ the little book describes the calamities of the western church, yet they shall all have a happy period under the seventh trumpet. St. John is then ordered (ver. 8, 9, 10.) to eat the little book, as Ezekiel (iii. 3.) did upon a like occasion: and he ate it up; he thoroughly considered, and digested it; and found it to be, as he was informed it would be, sweet as honey in his mouth, but bitter in his stomach. The knowledge of future things at first was pleasant, but the sad contents of the little book afterwards filled his soul with sorrow. But these contents were not to be sealed up like those of the seven thunders; this little book was to be published (ver. 11.) as well as the larger book of the Apocalypse; it was a kind of second prophecy, added to the former; and as it concerned kings and nations, so it was to be made public for their use and information. But if here, as some contend, the prophecy begins again anew, the subject is resumed from the beginning, and all that follows is contained in the little book, then the little book contains more matter than the larger book, and part of the sealed book is made part of the open book, which is

contrary to the regularity and order of the Apocalypse, and in great measure destroys the beauty and symmetry of the different parts; for it is evident and undeniable, that the seventh trumpet is the seventh part of the seventh seal, as the seventh seal is the seventh part of the sealed book, and consequently can be no part of the little open book, which endeth as we shall see, with the sixth trumpet, and immediately before the sounding of the seventh.

CHAP. XI.

1 And there was given me a reed like unto a rod: and the angel stood, saying, Rise, and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein.

2 But the court which is without the temple, leave out and measure it not; for it is given unto the Gentiles: and the holy city shall they tread under foot forty and two months.

3 And I will give power unto my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy a thousand two hundred and threescore days clothed in sackcloth.

4 These are the two olive-trees, and the two candlesticks standing before the God of the earth.

5 And if any man will hurt them, fire proceedeth out of their mouth, and devoureth their enemies: and if any man will hurt them, he must in this manner be killed.

6 These have power to shut heaven, that it rain not in the days of their prophecy: and have power over waters to turn them to blood, and to smite the earth with all plagues as they will.

7 And when they shall have finished their testimony, the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit, shall make war against them, and shall overcome them, and kill them.

8 And their dead bodies shall lie in the street of the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also our Lord was crucified.

9 And they of the people, and kindreds, and tongues, and nations, shall see their dead bodies three days and a half, and shall not suffer their dead bodies to be put in graves.

10 And they that dwell upon the earth shall rejoice over them, and make merry, and shall send gifts one to another; because these two prophets tormented them that dwell on the earth.

11 And after three days and an half, the spirit of life from God entered into them; and they stood upon their feet, and great fear fell upon them which saw them.

12 And they heard a great voice from heaven, saying unto them, Come up hither. And they ascended up to heaven in a cloud, and their enemies beheld them.

13 And the same hour was there a great earthquake, and the tenth part of the city fell, and in the earthquake were slain of men seven thousand: and the remnant were a little numbered, and gave glory to the God of heaven.

14 The second woe is past, and behold, the third woe cometh quickly.

In the former part of this chapter, from the first verse to the fourteenth, are exhibited the contents of this little book. St. John is commanded (ver. 1.) to measure the inner court, the temple of God, and the altar, and them who worship therein, to show that during all this period there were some true Christians, who conformed to the rule and measure of God's word. This measuring might allude more particularly to the Reformation from popery, which fell out under this sixth trumpet; and one of the moral causes of it was the Ottomans taking of Constantinople, whereupon the Greeks flying from their own country, and bringing their books with them into the more western parts of Europe, proved the happy occasion of the revival of learning; as the revival of learn-
ing opened mens eyes, and proved the happy occasion of the Reformation. But tho' the inner court, which includes the smaller number, was measured, yet the outer court, which implies the far greater part, was left out (ver. 2.) and rejected, as being in the possession of Christians only in name, but Gentiles in worship and practice, who profaned it with heathenish superstition and idolatry: and they shall tread under foot the holy city, they shall trample upon, and tyrannize over the church of Christ, for the space of forty and two months.

At the same time God should raise up some true and faithful witnesses (ver. 3.) to preach and protest against these innovations and corruptions of religion; for there were protestants long before ever the name came into use. Of these witnesses there should be, tho' but a small, yet a competent number; and it was a sufficient reason for making them two witnesses, because that is the number required by the law, and approved by the gospel, (Deut. xix. 15. Matt. xviii. 16.) In the mouth of two witnesses shall every word be established: and upon former occasions two have often been joined in commission, as Moses and Aaron in Egypt, Elijah and Elisha in the apostasy of the ten tribes, and Zerubbabel and Jeshua after the Babylonish captivity, to whom these witnesses are particularly compared. Our Saviour himself sent forth his disciples (Luke x. 1.) two and two: and it hath been observed also, that the principal reformers have usually appeared as it were in pairs, as the Waldenses and Albigenses, John Huss and Jerome of Prague, Luther and Calvin, Cranmer and Ridley, and their followers. Not that I conceive, that any two particular men, or two particular churches, were intended by this prophecy; but only it was meant in the general, that there should be some in every age, tho' but a few in number, who should bear witness to the truth, and declare against the iniquity and idolatry of their times. They should not be discouraged even by persecution and oppression, but tho' cloathed in sackcloth, and living in a mourning and afflicted state, should yet prophesy, should yet preach the sincere word of God, and de-
and doctrin. They have also power over the waters to turn them to blood, and to smite the earth with all plagues as often as they will, that is, they are like Moses and Aaron, who inflicted these plagues on Egypt: and they may be said to smite the earth with the plagues which they denounced, for in scripture-language the prophets are often said to do those things, which they declare and foretell. But it is most highly probable, that these particulars will receive a more literal accomplishment, when the plagues of God and the vials of his wrath (Chap. xvi.) shall be poured out upon men, in consequence of their having so long resisted the testimony of the witnesses. Their cause and the cause of truth will finally be avenged on all their enemies.

Next after this description of the power and office of the witnesses, follows a prediction of those things, which shall befall them at the latter end of their ministry; and their passion, and death, and resurrection, and ascension are copied from our Saviour's, who is emphatically stiled (iii. 14.) the faithful and true witness; but with this difference, that his was real, theirs are figurative and mystical. And when they shall have finished, et evai têleisou, when they shall be about finishing their testimony, (ver. 7) the beast that ascendeth out of the abyss, the tyrannical power of Rome, of which we shall hear more hereafter, shall make war against them, and shall overcome them and kill them. The beast indeed shall make war against them all the time that they are performing their ministry; but when they shall be near finishing it, he shall so make war against them, as to overcome them, and kill them. They shall be subdued and suppressed, be degraded from all power and authority, be deprived of all offices and functions, and be politically dead, if not naturally so. In this low and abject state they shall lie some time (ver. 8.) in the street of the great city, in some conspicuous place within the jurisdiction of (7) Rome, which

(7) Mr. Mann, the late learned Master of the Charter-house, in some manuscript notes upon Vitringa's book on the Revelation, communicated to me by my friend Dr. Jontin, hath the following to prove that not Jerusalem but Rome was intended in this place. Rev. xii. 8. The great city which spiri

spiritually is called Sodom for corruption of manners, and Egypt, for tyranny and oppression of the people of God, where also our Lord was crucified spiritually, being crucified afresh in the sufferings of his faithful martyrs. Nay to show the greater indignity and cruelty to the martyrs, their dead bodies shall not only be publicly exposed. (ver. 9.) but they shall be denied even the common privilege of burial, which is the case of many protestants in popish countries: and their enemies shall rejoice and insult over them, (ver. 10.) and shall send mutually is called Sodom and Egypt, where their Lord was crucified. 1. "Jerusalem in ver. 2. of this very chapter, is called the holy city; can it be in so few periods intended under the names of Sodom and Egypt? 2. "The holy city or Jerusalem ver. 2. was to be wasted and tied under foot by the Gentiles for 42 months: the two witnesses were to prophesy the same space of time: how then should their carcasses lie in the streets of Jerusalem so wasted? 3. "Jerusalem in this book is four times called the holy city, never the Great (unless it be here meant). The Great City is twelve times repeated only of Babylon, i.e. Rome; is it probable it should be here used of Jerusalem? 4. "In ver. 13. at the revival of the two witnesses after being dead three days and a half, the tenth part of the city fell; but in ver. 2. Jerusalem is already wasted, and not supposed to be rebuilt; and therefore incapable of being so damaged. 5. "And were Jerusalem rebuilt, the enemies of Christ out of all people, tongues and nations (ver. 9.) could not assemble there; nor the beast exact the slain witnesses but in his own capital. 6. "Object. There are two characteristics assigned, which fit Jerusalem only, that it is spiritually or figuratively called Sodom and Egypt: as Jerusalem is compared to Sodom, Isa. i. 10. and 9. (of Egypt in instance.) 1. " Ans. That Capernam (Mat. xii. 23, 24.) is likewise compared to Sodom by Christ; and so is any city that shall reject the Gospel. Matt. x. 15. Whence Tertullian (adv. Jud. c. 9) observes of this very name, Nece hoc nomum Sacrifitius divinis, figurante ut translationem nominis, ex comparatione crimini. So Rome might be called Sodom for wickedness, and Egypt for the oppression of God's people. 2. " Object. The second characteristic, where also our Lord was crucified, determines the place to Jerusalem beyond all possibility of doubting. 2. "Ans. Mills says, The Text should be read, ' Or ex Kepis symbolon airgeidos, where their Lord was crucified, or had been crucified; yet indeed without making any great difference to the literal sense. But why may not this expression be used figuratively as well as the preceding? why may not the Lord of the two witnesses be spiritually crucified; where they are spiritually slain? St. Paul to the Galatians uses this expression figuratively 3 or 4 times: The Ep. to the Heb. vi. 6. uses it figuratively, and perhaps in the very sense it may bear here. Thus it is capable of another, which is authorised from Christ himself, for Matt. x. 23. 24. and Acts ix. 4, 5, he declares himself to suffer what is done to him followers. In that Great City therefore, which was drunk with the blood of the saints, and the martyrs of Jesus, Chap. xvi. 6. Jesus himself must be said to be crucified.
tual presents and congratulations one to another, for their deliverance from these tormenters, whose life and doctrine were a continual reproach to them. But after three days and a half, (ver. 11) that is in the prophetic stile after three years and a half, for no less time is requisite for all these transactions, they shall be raised again by the spirit of God, and (ver. 12) shall ascend up to heaven; they shall not only be restored to their pristine state, but shall be further promoted to dignity and honor; and that by a great voice from heaven, by the voice of public authority. At the same hour there shall be a great earthquake, there shall be great commotions in the world; and the tenth part of the city shall fall, as an omen and earnest of a still greater fall; and seven thousand names of men, or seven thousand men of name, shall be slain; and the remainder in their fright and fear shall acknowledge the great power of God.

Some interpreters are of opinion, that this prophecy of the death and resurrection of the witnesses received its completion (8) in the case of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, who were two faithful witnesses and martyrs of the blessed Jesus. It is very well known, that they were condemned to death, and afterwards burnt for heresy by the council of Constance. Which council sitting about three years and a half, from November 1414 to April 1418, their bodies may that time he said to have lain unburied in the street of the great city, in Constance where was the greatest assembly not only of bishops and cardinals, but likewise of ambassadors, barons, counts, dukes, princes, and the emperor himself. But after the council was dissolved, these two preachers were restored as it were to life in their disciples and followers, who propagated the same doctrins, maintained them by force of arms as well as by preaching, and even vanquished the Imperialists in several battles. It was truly said to them Come up hither, whom they were invited to the council of

Basil with a promise of redress of grievances: but the council having dealt fraudulently with them, they broke out again into open rebellion, and the tenth part of the city fell, the kingdom of Bohemia revolted, and fell alike from its obedience to the pope and emperor.

Others refer this prophecy to (9) the protestants of the league of Smalcald, who were entirely routed by the emperor Charles V. in the battle of Mulburg on the 24th of April 1547; when the two great champions of the protestants, John Frederic, elector of Saxony, was taken prisoner, and the Landgrave of Hesse was forced to surrender himself, and to beg pardon of the emperor. Protestantism was then in a manner suppressed, and the mass restored. The witnesses were dead, but not buried; and the papists rejoiced over them, and made merry, and sent gifts one to another. But this joy and triumph of theirs were of no very long continuance; for in the space of about three years and a half, the protestants were raised again at Magdeburg, and defeated and took the duke of Mecklenburgh prisoner in December 1550. From that time their affairs changed for the better almost every day; success attended their arms and counsels; and the emperor was obliged by the treaty of Passau to allow them the free exercise of their religion, and to re-admit them into the imperial chamber, from which they had ever since the victory of Mulburg been excluded. Here was indeed a great earthquake, a great commotion, in which many thousands were slain; and the tenth part of the city fell, a great part of the German empire renounced the authority, and abandoned the commnion of the church of Rome.

Some again may think this prophecy very applicable to (1) the horrid massacre of the protestants at Paris, and in other cities of France, begun on the memorable eve of St. Bartholomew's day 1572. According to the best authors, there were slain thirty or forty thousand hu-


Dissertations on

gonots in a few days; and among them without doubt many true witnesses and faithful martyrs of Jesus Christ. Their dead bodies lay in the street of the great city, one of the greatest cities of Europe; for they were not suffered to be buried, being the bodies of heretics; but were dragged thro' the street, or thrown into the river, or hung upon gibbets, and exposed to public infamy. Great rejoicings too were made in the courts of France, Rome, and Spain; they went in procession to the churches, they returned public thanks to God, they sung Te Deums, they celebrated jubilees, they struck medals; and it was enacted that St. Bartholomew's day should ever afterwards be kept with double pomp and solemnity. But neither was this joy of long continuance; for in little more than three years and a half, Henry III., who succeeded his brother Charles IX. entered into a treaty with the hugonots, which was concluded and published on the 14th of May 1576, whereby all the former sentences against them were reversed, and the free and open exercise of their religion was granted to them; they were to be admitted to all honors, dignities, and offices, as well as the papists; and the judges were to be half of the one religion, and half of the other; with other articles greatly to their advantage, which were in a manner the resurrection of the witnesses, and their ascension into heaven. The great earthquake, and the falling of the tenth part of the city, and the slaying of thousands of men, according to this hypothesis, must be referred to the great commotions and civil wars, which for several years afterwards cruelly disturbed, and almost destroyed the kingdom of France.

Others have again recourse to later events, and the latter indeed the better and fitter for the purpose. Peter Jurieu, a famous divine of the French church at Rotterdam, (2) imagined that the persecution then carried on by Lewis XIV. against the protestants of France, after the revocation of the edict of Nantes in October 1685, would be the last persecution of the church: that during this time the witnesses would lie dead, but should recover and revive within a few years, and the Reformation should be established in that kingdom by royal authority; the whole country should renounce popery, and embrace the protestant religion. Bishop Lloyd and after him Mr. Whiston (3) apply this prophecy to the poor protestants in the valleys of Piedmont, who by a cruel edict of their sovran the Duke of Savoy, instigated by the French king, were imprisoned and murdered, or banished and totally dissipated at the latter end of the year 1655. They were kindly received and succored by the protestant states; and after a while secretly entering Savoy with their swords in their hands, they regained their ancient possessions with great slaughter of their enemies; and the Duke himself, having then left the French interest, granted them a full pardon; and re-established them by another edict signed June 4, 1690, just three years and a half after their total dissipation. Bishop Lloyd not only understood the prophecy in this manner, but what is very remarkable, made the application even before the event took place, as Mr. Whiston relates, and upon this ground encouraged a refugee minister of the Vaudois, whose name was Jordan, to return home, and returning he heard the joyful news of the deliverance and restitution of his country. These were indeed most barbarous persecutions of the protestants both in France and Savoy; and at the same time popery here in England was advanced to the throne, and threatened an utter subversion of our religion and liberties, but in little more than three years and a half a happy deliverance was wrought by the glorious Revolution.

In all these cases there may be some resemblance to the prophecy before us, of the death and resurrection of the witnesses; and it may please an overruling providence so to dispose and order events, that the calamities and afflictions of the church may in some measure run parallel one to another, and all the former efforts of


that tyrannical and persecuting power called the beast, may be the types and figures as it were of this his last and greatest effort against the witnesses. But those instances sufficiently answer in some respects, yet they are deficient in others, and particularly in this, that they are none of them the last persecution; others have been since, and in all probability will be again. Besides as the two witnesses are designed to be the representatives of the protestants in general, so the persecution must be general too, and not confined to this or that particular church or nation. We are now living under the sixth trumpet: and the empire of the Euphrates is or Othmans is still subsisting, and perhaps in as large extent as ever: the beast is still reigning; and the witnesses are still, in some times and places more, in some less, prophesying in sackcloth. It will not be till toward the end of their testimony, and that end seems to be yet at some distance, that the great victory and triumph of the beast, and the suppression, and resurrection, and exaltation of the witnesses will take effect. When all these things shall be accomplished, then the sixth trumpet will end, then the second woe shall be past, (ver. 14.) the Othman empire shall be broken in the same manner that Ezekiel (xxxviii. xxxix.) and Daniel (xi. 44, 45.) have predicted; the sufferings of the witnesses shall cease, and they shall be raised and exalted above their enemies: and when the second woe shall be thus past, behold the third woe, or the total destruction of the beast, cometh quickly. Some time intervened between the first and the second woes: but upon the ceasing of the second, the third shall commence immediately.

It appears then that the greater part of this prophecy relating to the witnesses remains yet to be fulfilled: but possibly some may question whether any part of it hath been fulfilled; whether there have been any such persons as the witnesses, any true and faithful servants of Jesus Christ, who have in every age professed doctrines contrary to those maintained by the pope and church of Rome. The truth of the fact will best appear by an historical deduction; and if it can be proved, that there have constantly been such witnesses from the seventh century down to the Reformation, during the most glorious period of popery, I presume there can be little doubt about the times preceding or following. As there hath been occasion to observe before, the seeds of popery were sown even in the apostles' time, but they were not grown up to maturity, the power of the pope as a horn or temporal prince was not established till the eighth century; and from thence therefore it will be proper to begin our deduction, when the beast began to reign, and the witnesses to prophesy in sackcloth.

Great as the power of the Latin church was grown in the eighth century, the Greek church still dissented from it, and opposed it. The emperors (4) Leo Isauricus and his son Constantine Copronymus not only vigorously opposed the worship of images, but also denied the intercession of saints, and burnt and destroyed their relics. In the year 754 Constantine Copronymus held a general council at Constantinople of 338 bishops, who prohibited unanimously the worship of saints as well as of images; and (5) declared that 'only one image was constituted by Christ himself, namely the bread and wine in the eucharist, which represent the body and blood of Christ:' than which there cannot be a stronger declaration against the doctrine of transubstantiation as well as against the worship of images. It is true that the second council of Nice in the year 787 restored and established the worship of images, and the pope ratified and confirmed it; but nevertheless great opposition was made to it by several churches in the west. Charlemain (6) held a council at Francfort in

the year 794, consisting of 300 bishops of various nations, who condemned equally the second council of Nice and the worship of images. The Carolin books were also set forth under the name and authority of that great monarch; and the doctrines therein contained, of the sufficiency of the scriptures, of the worship of God alone, of prayers in the vulgar tongue, of the eucharist, of justification, of repentance, of pretended visions and miracles, and various other points, are such as a papist would abhor, and a protestant would subscribe. Not to seek for farther instances, the (7) British churches lamented and execrated the second council of Nice; and the famous Albin or Alcuin wrote a letter against it, disproving and refuting it by express authorities of holy scripture; which letter was transmitted to Charles the great in the name of the bishops and other great men of the kingdom. Even at Italy (8) the council of Foro-Julio prescribed the use of no other creed but that of the apostles, so that they had no conception of the necessity of so many additional articles, as have since been made by pope Pius IV. and received by the church. Some even of the Italian bishops assisted at the council of Francfort before mentioned, and particularly Paulinus bishop of Aquileia bore a principal part in it.

Pepery prevailed still more in the ninth century, but yet not without considerable opposition. Not only (9) the emperors of the east, Nicephorus, Leo Armenius, Michael Balbus, Theophillus, and the emperors of the west, Charles the great, and Lewis the pious, but also several prelates and ecclesiastics, opposed the absolute power and supremacy of the pope, together with the worship of images, and invocation of saints and angels. The capitularies and edicts of Charles the great and


(5) Mabriti Dominus corpus sanctissimi nostri Domini corpus et vegetal, et in quoque corpus et reliquis, et per visibilia opus invisibilia ostendit. Sicut enim cibus materialis fornicatus natus corpus et vegetal, etc. et hats in coenas kindesticenum mundi et robur, sacramento in alimentum corporis reditum, virtute autem sacramento aeterna vita adiuvatur. [Translated in the text.] Inst. Cicer. Lib. vol. II.
his own sentiments; 'Our Lord would have the sacrament of his body and blood be taken and eaten by the faithful, that by a visible work an invisible effect might appear. For as the material food outwardly nourishes and refreshes the body, so also the word of God inwardly nourishes and strengthens the soul.' Again: 'the sacrament is reduced into the nourishment of the body, but by the virtue of the sacrament eternal life is obtained.' Bertramus or Ratramnus as he is otherwise called, a monk of Corbie, wrote a book of the body and blood of our Lord, which he inscribed to the emperor Charles the bald. The emperor (6) had inquired of him, whether the same body, which was born of Mary, and suffered, and was dead and buried, and which sitteth at the right hand of the Father, is what is daily taken in the mouth of the faithful by the mystery of the sacrament in the church: and Bertram answers, that the difference between them is 'as great as between the pledge and the thing for which the pledge is delivered; as great as between the image and the thing whose image it is; as great as between the representation, and the reality.' He says (7) in several places, that 'the bread and wine are figuratively the body of Christ, spiritually not corporally, in figure, in image, in mystery, not in truth, or real existence, or presence of the substance.' Johannes Scotus, the famous Irishman, for the Irish were the Scots of those times, (8) wrote also a book of the eucharist by the command of Charles the bald: and therein he asserted, that 'the sacrament of the altar is not the true body, nor the true blood of our Lord, but only the memorial of the true body and of the true blood.' He was after this invited into England by king Alfred, was preferred by him, and honored with the title of martyr after his death; which is at least a strong presumption, that the church of England had not at that time received the doctrine of transubstantiation. In Italy itself (9) Angilbertus, archbishop of Milan, would not acknowledge the supremacy of the pope, nor did the church of Milan submit to the see of Rome till two hundred years afterwards. But no one was more willing, as indeed no one of that age was more able to stem the torrent of superstition than Claude bishop of Turin, in his numerous writings and comments upon scripture. He (1) asserted the equality of all the apostles with St. Peter, and maintained that Jesus Christ was the only head of the church. He overthrew the doctrine of merit and all pretences to works of supererogation. He rejected traditions in matters of religion, held the church to be subject to error, and denied the use of prayers for the dead. He proposed the doctrine of the eucharist in a manner totally different from Paschiasius Radbertus, and entirely conformable to the sense of the ancient church. He opposed with all his might the worship of saints, of relics, of images, together with pilgrimages, penances, and other superstitions of the like kind. He may in a manner be said to have sown the seeds of the Reformation in his diocese of Turin; and his doctri-
the coming of Christ. Genebrard (2) says, 'This is called the unhappy age, being destitute of men famous for wit and learning, as also of famous princes and popes; in which scarce any thing was done worthy of the memory of posterity.' He subjoins, 'But chiefly unhappy in this one thing, that for almost 150 years about 50 popes totally degenerated from the virtue of their ancestors, being more like apostates than apostles.' Baronius himself (3) designates it an iron, a leaden, and obscure age: and declares that 'Christ was then, as it appears, in a very deep sleep, when the ship was covered with waves; and what seemed worse, when the Lord was thus asleep, there were wanting disciples who by their cries might awaken him, being themselves all fast asleep.' It is not to be wondered, that in so long and dark a night as this, while all were asleep, the subtle enemy should sow his tares in great abundance. However there were some few like lights shining in a dark place, who renounced against the degeneracy and superstition of the times. The resolutions and decrees of the councils of Frankfort and Paris against the worship of images (4) had still some force and influence in Germany, in France, in England, and other countries. In the former part of this century, in the year 909, a council (5) was held at Troisy, a village near Soissons in France:


(3) En novum incohatur seculum, quod si asperti ac boni sertitata ferreus, malus et damnabilis deformeque plumbum, in improprium appellatae consecutus abscendat. [This new age commences, which from its roughness, and bareness of what is good, has usually been called the iron age; from its deformity through the evil that abounded therein, the leaden age; and from the want of writers, the obscure age]...—Baron. ad ann. 500. Dormientem tuam placent ait (ut apparat) soporem Christi, cum unius luminis operibusus; at quod deturiam videbatur, deerrant Dominum sic dormientem clamantium excitarant discipuli, stercoribus omnibus. [Translated in the text.] Ibid. ad ann. 909. Usser. ibid. Spanhem. ibid.


and having made several wise and good regulations, they concluded with a profession of the things, which Christians ought to believe and practise: and in that profession are none of those things which constitute the sum of popish doctrin, nothing of the pope's being head of the church, nothing of the daily sacrifice of the mass, or of purgatory, or of the worship of creatures, or of commemitory sacraments, or of confession to the priest, but of pure and sincere confession to God; so much did this council differ from the spirit and principles of the council of Trent. Many churches (6) still retained the use of the scriptures in the vulgar tongue: and in England particularly Athelstan caused them to be translated into the Anglo-Saxon idiom. Great opposition (7) was also made in several countries to the celerity of the clergy: and several councils were held upon the controversy between the monks and the secular clergy, and particularly in England, where Elfric earl of Mercia expelled the monks out of the monasteries in that province, and introduced the clergy with their wives. Many too even in this age denied the doctrine of transsubstantiation. Heiger abbat of Lobes near Liege (8) wrote expressly against it; as did also (9) Alfric in England, whose homily for Easter used to be read publicly in the churches. His principal aim therein (1) is to prove, 'that we spiritually take the body of Christ, and drink his blood, when with true faith we partake of that holy sacrament; the bread and wine cannot by any benefitation


in the year 991, and Gerbert archbishop of Rheims, who declared 'that if the pope did amiss, he was liable to the censures of the church; and speaking of the pope then reigning John XV, 'What,' says he, 'do you conceive this man, sitting on a lofty throne glittering in purple cloathing and in gold, what, I say, do you conceive him to be? If he is destitute of charity, and is stuffed up by knowlege alone, he is Antichrist sitting in the temple of God, and showing himself that he is God.' He was afterwards himself chosen pope under the name of Sylvester II, and possibly the change of his situation might produce a change in his sentiments.

Much of the same complexion with the tenth was the eleventh century, equally sunk in proligacy, superstition and ignorance, but yet not without some superior spirits to bear testimony against it. The papal power was in this century carried beyond all bounds by the ambition and arrogance of the reigning popes, and particularly by the violence and haughtiness of Gregory VII, whose former name was Hildebrand, or Hell-brand, as he hath often been denominated. But yet there were emperors and councils, which were held in this age by the authority of kings and bishops, show evidently that the power of the pope had not yet extended over all. Nay there were kings and bishops who opposed the supremacy of the pope; and none more than (4) the council of Rheims.


(3) Non fit tam aures: hac sacrificium corpus ejus in quo passus est pro nobis, necque sanguis ejus quem pro nobis effluuit, sed spiritualiter corpus ejus effluens et sanguinem sicut manna quod de ccelo placuit, et aqua quae de terra fuit, sit in abditus apostolicae. [Translated in the text.] Apud Usser. ibid, et Cass. ibid.


(5) Fidelitate sacre nobis, nec volo; quia nec ego promisi, nec antecessores meos antecessoribus suis id facierem consensisse et statu. Cap. 7. Sect. 9.

pope, without his permission, had no manner of jurisdiction in England. Early in this century, there (7) appeared at Orleans some heretics as they were called, who maintained that the consecration of the priest could not change the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, and that it was unprofitable to pray to saints and angels; and they were condemned by the council of Orleans in the year 1017. Not long after these (8) appeared other heretics of the same stamp in Flanders, who were also condemned by the synod of Arras in the year 1025. They came originally from Italy, where they had been the disciples of Gundulphus; and they are said to have admitted no scripture but the gospels and apostolical writings; to have denied the reality of the body and blood of Christ in the eucharist; to have attributed no religious worship to the holy confessors, none to the cross, none to images, nor to temples, nor altars; and to have asserted, that there was no purgatory, and that penances after death could not absolve the deceased from their sins. Other tenets were ascribed to them, which were really heretical; and perhaps they might hold some errors, as well as some truths: or perhaps their adversaries, as it hath been their usual artifice, might lay things to their charge merely to blacken and defame them. Not long after these (9) arose the famous Berengarius, a native of Tours, and archdeacon of Angers, who more professedly wrote against the doctrine of transubstantiation: and also (1) called the church of Rome a church of malignants, the council of va
tility, and the seat of Satan.' It is true that he was compelled by the authority of popes and councils to renounce, abjure, and burn his writings. But his was all a forced, and not in the least a voluntary recantation.

(8) Spanheim, ibid. Dupin, ibid. Allix's Remarks upon the ancient Church of Flanders, Chap. 11.

As often as he recanted, he relapsed again. He returned like a dog to his vomit, as a (2) contemporary popish writer expresseth it. He lived and died in the same sentiments. His heresy was from him called the Berengarian heresy; and his followers were so numerous, that as (3) old historians relate, he had corrupted almost all the French, Italians, and English with his depravities. When Gregory VII. had, both by letters, and by a council held at Rome in the year 1074, strictly forbidden the marriage of the clergy, it raised (4) great commotions among the ecclesiastics in Germany; who not only complained of the pope for imposing this yoke, but likewise accused him of advancing a notion insupportable, and contrary to the words of our Saviour, who saith that all are not able to live in continence, and to the words of the apostle, who ordereeth those who have not the gift of continence to marry. They added that this law, in forcing the ordinary course of nature, would be the cause of great disorders; that they would rather renounce the priesthood than marriage; and the pope should provide, if he could, angels to govern the church, since he refused to be served by men. This was the language of these corrupt ecclesiastics, as (5) Dupin hath called them: but the decree of the pope was no less opposed in France, in Flanders, in Italy, and England, than in Germany. A council was held at Winchester in the year 1076, wherein it was (6) decreed indeed, that no canon should marry; but the priests in the country, who were already marri

(2) Quod lecit comedere heresin sacrissis in synodo abjuravit, ad vnum

(3) Lodev tempore, Berengarius Turonensis, in herreram pravitatem, nonnulios Gallos, Italos, et Anglos, suas jam præ corruendas præ
titates. [At the same time Berengar of Tours, having fallen into her
tical depravity, had already nearly corrupted all the French, the Italians, and the English with his errors.] Matt. Westmonast. et Hist. Rod. in anno 1077. Usser, ibid. Sect. 27.
(5) 'C'est ainsi que ces ecclesiastes courroux publient. ['It was thus that these corrupt Ecclesiastics used to speak.'] Dupin, ibid. p. 36.
ried, were allowed to cohabit with their wives; whereas the popes had enjoined all priests without distinction to put away their wives, or to forbear the exercise of their office. Wherupon Mr Collier hath made this just reflection; "From hence it appears that the papal supremacy had not reached its zenith in this century, and that the English bishops did not believe the papal triarchal power arbitrary and unlimited, but that a national church had some reserves of liberty, and might dissent from the constitutions of the see of Rome upon occasion."

Europe hitherto was involved in the dark night of popery, with only some stars appearing here and there in the horizon; but in the twelfth century there began to be visible some streaks of the morning light, some dawns of a reformation. Here in England, during the reign of Henry II, the famous constitutions of Clarendon were sworn to and signed both by the clergy and the laity, in recognition of the rights of the crown, particularly forbidding all appeals to Rome without the King's licence, and appointing the trial of criminal clerks before secular judges: but the best account of this as well as of the other memorable transactions of this reign the public expects with some impatience from one of the most masterly and elegant writers of the present age, a friend to religion and virtue, a friend to liberty and his country; and the public expectations have been since fully answered. Fluentius bishop of Florence (7) taught publicly, that Antichrist was born, and came into the world: whereupon pope Paschal II went to Florence, held a council there in the year 1105, and severely reprimanded the bishop, and strictly forbade him to preach any such doctrine. St. Bernard himself, devoted as he was and bigotted to the church of Rome in other respects, (8) yet inveighed loudly against the corruption of the clergy, and the pride and tyranny of the popes, saying that they were the ministers of Christ and served Antichrist, that nothing remained but that the man of sin should be revealed, that the beast in the Apocalypse occupied St. Peter's chair, with other expressions to the same effect. While our King Richard I. was at Messina in Sicily, going upon his expedition to the holy land, he sent for the famous abbot Joachim of Calabria, and heard him with much satisfaction explain the Apocalypse, and discourse of Antichrist. He said that Antichrist was already born in the city of Rome, and that he would be advanced to the apostolical chair, and exalted above all that is called God or is worshipped. So that some true notion of Antichrist began to spread even among the members of the church of Rome; and no wonder it prevailed among those, who more directly opposed the doctrines of that church. Peter de Bruis and Henry his disciple (1) taught in several parts of France, that the body and blood of Christ were not offered in the theatrical mass; that the doctrine of the change of the substances in the sacrament is false; that sacrifices, that is masses, prayers, alms, and other works of the living for the dead, are foolish and impious, and profit them nothing; that priests and monks ought rather to marry than to burn; that crosses are not to be adored, or venerated, and so many crosses, serving to superstition, ought rather to be removed than retained: and they both were martyrs, the one being burnt, and

the other imprisoned for life, on account of their doc-
trines. Other heresies were raised to their charge, and
their own writings are not extant to speak for them;
but these things they taught and professed, their enemies
themselves being judges. Arnold of Brescia (2) held
opinions contrary to those of the church concerning the
sacrament, and preached mightily against the temporal
power and jurisdiction of the pope and the clergy; for
which he was burnt at Rome in the year 1155, and his
ashes were thrown into the Tyber, to prevent the people
from expressing any veneration for his relics. But the
ture witnesses, and as I may say the protestants of this
age, were the Waldenses and Albigenses, who began to
be famous at this time, and being dispersed into various
places were distinguished by various appellations. Their
first and proper name seemeth to have been Vallenses, or
inhabitants of the valleys; and so saith (3) one of the
oldest writers, Ebrard of Bethune who wrote in the year
1212: "They call themselves Vallenses, because they
abide in the valley of tears," alluding to their situation
in the valleys of Piedmont. They were called Albigenses
from Alby a city in the southern parts of France, where
also great numbers of them were situated. They were
afterwards denominated Vallenses or Waldenses, from
Peter Valdo or Waldo, a rich citizen of Lyons, and a
considerable leader of the sect. From Lyons too they
were called Leonists, and Cathari from the professed pur-
ity of their life and doctrin, as others since have had
the name of Puritans. As there was a variety of names,
so there might be some diversity of opinions among them;
but that they were not guilty of Manicheism and other
abominable heresies, which have been charged upon them, is certain and evident from all the remains
of their creeds, confessions, and writings. Their opinions

Chap. 18.
(3) Vallenses se appellant, co quod in valle lachrymarum mancant.

(4) are thus recited from an old manuscript by the Centu-
riators of Magdeburg.
In articles of faith the authority of the holy scripture
is the highest, and for that reason it is the rule of judg-
ing; so that whatsoever agreeth not with the word of
God, is deservedly to be rejected and avoided.
The decrees of fathers and councils are so far to be
approved, as they agree with the word of God.
The reading and knowledge of the holy scriptures is
free and necessary for all men, the laity as well as the
clergy; yea and the writings of the prophets and apos-
tles are to be read rather than the comments of men.
The sacraments of the church of Christ are two, bap-
tism and the supper of the Lord.

(4) In articulis fidei summan esse saeculorum scripturam auctoris, canone
ob causam esse illam normam judicandi; ut quippecum verbo Dei non
congruat, merito sit repudiatum et fugiendum.
Patrum et conciliorum dogmata extensa probanda, quatenus cum verbo
Dei conveniunt.
Sacrorum scripturarum lectionem et cognitionem, omnibus hominibus,
tum laici, tum saecularis vita, liberae et necessarium esse; in quo plura pro-
demum et apostolorum testamentum legis saepe, quum hominum com-
neta.
Duo esse ecclesiae Christi sacramenta, baptismum et eucharistiam Domini.
Utiusque speciei unus, pro sacramento et laica, a Christo institutum
esse.
Missas esse impias, ac falsores esse, pro mortuis missicare.
Purgatorium esse figuraturum hominum; credentes cuin, in vitam exter-
nam, non credentes autem, in damnationem eternam venire.
Sanctorum mortuorum invocationes et cultum, esse idolatriam.
Romanam ecclesiam esse mercetricam Babyloniam.
Papam et epi scopos non obtinerendum; quia unum ecclesiae Christi.
Papam non habere praeterea super omnes ecclesias Christi, nec habere
potestatem utiusque gladi.
Ecclesiis Christi esse, quae facturem Christi verbo audiat, et sacra-
mentisque proficiscitur, ubiqueque loco esse existat.
Vota esse hominum fignura, Domini patriciada.
Tot ordinis esse, tot characteres bestiar.
Monochasmus esse cadaeay fortitudin.
Temporum tot superstitiones dedications, memorias mortuorum, bene-
diciones elucubrationes, peregrinationes, tot secta superst.
ious, perpetuum istis hominum induturnum beau, ac reliquiae hennbium
observationum, verbi doctrinam et institutionem manifeste impeditant,
esse inventiones diabolicas.
Concilium sacrum esse licitem et necessarium. [Translated in the
text.]
Hic ex antiquo manuscripto libros praefatur, ] These things we pro-
Cap. 8. 434, 439. Edin. Basil. 1624. See also the Confession of the Faith
The receiving in both kinds for priests and people was instituted by Christ.

Masses are impious; and it is madness to say masses for the dead.

Purgatory is an invention of men; for they who believe, go into eternal life, they who believe not, into eternal damnation.

The inventing and worshipping of dead saints is idolatry.

The church of Rome is the whore of Babylon.

We must not obey the pope and bishops; because they are the wolves of the church of Christ.

The pope hath not the primacy over all the churches of Christ, neither hath he the power of both swords.

That is the church of Christ which heareth the sincere word of Christ, and useth the sacraments instituted by him, in what place soever it exist.

Vows of celibacy are inventions of men, and occasions of Sodomy.

So many orders are so many characters of the beast.

Monarchy is a shining carcass.

So many superstitious dedications of churches, commemorations of the dead, beneficences of creatures, pilgrimages, so many forced fastings, so many superfluous festivals, those perpetual bowellings (meaning the singing and chanting) of unlearned men, and the observations of the other ceremonies, manifestly hindering the teaching and learning of the word, are diabolical inventions.

The marriage of priests is lawful and necessary.

Much hath been written in censure and condemnation of this sect both by enemies and friends, by papists and protestants. If they have been grossly misrepresented and vilified on one side, they have been amply vindicated and justified on the other; but I will only produce the testimonies of three witnesses concerning them, whom both sides must allow to be unquestionable, Reinerius, Thuanus, and Mezeray. Reinerius (5) flourished about the year 1524; and his testimony is the more remarkable, as he was a Dominican, and inquisitor general.

(5) Inter annes secundas, quae adhuc sunt vel fortunat, non est vermis minor ecclesiae quam Reinerianum. Il licet tres de causis, Prius est, quia est diuturnum, alter enim dicunt, quod duraverit a tempore Sylvestri; aliquis, a tempore apostolorum. Secundo, quia est narration; licet enim nulla est materia, Terrae, quae est omnium initii, immutatum blasphematum in Deum audientium horum religiones indicat, hoc iste testimonium magnae habet singulatim, sed idem dominionem ecclesie ab homine divinita, et quiescens et tempore Dei credentem, et omnes articulos qui in symbolo continuerunt, salutem Romanam ecclesie blasphematum et et eos, qui multitudine necorum suis est ad credendum. (Translated in the text.)

Reiner, contra Horezt. Cap. 4, p. 54. Edit. Inst. 1613. Uscc. n. Ibid. Cap. 6. Sect. 11. Cap. 8. Sect. 1. Cave Hist. Litt. Vol. 2 ad ann. 1214, p. 392. Uscher hath added other remarkable testimonies concerning the morals of the Waldenses and their followers. Pontificis quodam inquisitor. (Hemer. Bohem. Script. 8, Frechen edit. p. 231.) Leoniniani, sive Waldensium mores descripturus, hujusmodi utitur praetulam: Sequatur heresies per nove et velae. Sunt enim in moribus compositi, et modi et superbia in vestibus non hebdom. Sic. Miserum praecipue temporis in quibus compositi et multitudo mores horetores ecclesiasticae insigni. De simplici Claudius Seyssius archiepiscopus Terrinensis; (Seyss. tract. adversus errores sect. Waldensicam. Edit. Paris. Ann. 1529, to. 1.) Non nihil eis ad hanc Valdensium confirmandam tolerandam sectam confess, quod prae saepe simile religionemque nostram assumant, in religius forme positorem quam eunti Christo etiam agunt. Non enim ut eis aduentur, quam non nobis Dei in reuerentia praebent, qui non praebent quod bene fide implent, et in proprietate parvis maxime dependet, apostolice verum doctrinaeque servare se solos protestantes: ob idque posteriorem ecclesiæ apud is, velut inasini et veris Christi disciplinas, resideri affertam pro eis fidei religioneque in egestate mortis, et in voto perseverantium patri, pulchri et gloriosius docuit. Franciscus Bohemius, Waldensium, de universo perhibuit testimonia qui fidem ipsius non unimissimus. (Clt. A Joachim Cavendario de Cleric. Pan. Bohem. Dicito inquit) quod in moribus et institutionibus, reversione inserbitur, et verba in sermo, in caritate fratrum omnium, Sed addit eorum et inconfessibile et passione, ut praebeat a sacro insec Еs. (A certain Protestant sect) a certain of the Bohemian affairs published by Uehrens, p. 231.) who is about to describe the morals of the Leoninian Waldenses, maketh use of this preface. Heresies are known by their manners and words. In their manners they are quiet and modest. Nothing of pride appears in their dress. So truly wrought were those times, wherein quiet and modest manners were to be accounted the marks of heathens. Claude Seyssel, Archbishop of Terrin, in his treatise against the errors and sect of the Waldenses, in the Paris edition of 1520, and much last, speaking of the same, hath these words. "It contributes not a little towards the establishment and toleration of the sect of the Waldenses, that excepting in these things which they take for gain and against our faith and religion, in most other things they lead a pure life that other Christians. For they do not take no oath, unless proposed, and seldom pronounce the name of God in vain. They are very carefully exact in fulfilling their promises. The greater part of them live in poverty and penance, that they alone observe the practice and doctrine of the apostles, and in that account they esteem the power of the church is lodged with them as the ancient and true disciples of Christ, for the sake of whose faith and religion, they regard it honourable and glorious to live in poverty and to suffer persecution from us."

James Leonardstein, a Dominican, hath given a similar testimony to the Bohemian brethren, who descended from the Waldenses, who is quoted by Joseph Camerarius, concerning the church of the Bohemian Brethren."

"I affirm," saith he, "that they are excellent in their words and life, true in
Among all the sects, which still are or have been, there is not any more pernicious to the church than that of the Leonists. And this for three reasons. The first is, because it is older; for some say that it hath endured from the time of pope Sylvester; others, from the time of the apostles. The second, because it is more general; for there is scarce any country wherein this sect is not. The third, because when all other sects beget horror in the hearers by the outrageousness of their blasphemies against God, this of the Leonists hath a great show of piety; because they live justly before men, and believe all things rightly concerning God, and all the articles which are contained in the creed; only they blaspheme the church of Rome and the clergy; whom the multitude of the laity is easy to believe. The credit of Thuanus as an historian is too well established to need any recommendation; and he is (6) so candid and impartial, as to distinguish between their real opinions, and those heresies which were falsely imputed to them by their enemies. Peter Valdo a wealthy citizen of Lyons about the year of Christ 1170 gave name to the Waldenses. He (as Guy de Perpiglian, bishop of Elne in Roussillon, who exercised the office of inquisitor against the Waldenses, hath left testi-


ried in writing) leaving his house and goods, devoted himself wholly to the profession of the gospel, and took care to have the writings of the prophets and apostles translated into the vulgar tongue—When now in a little time he had many followers about him, he sent them forth as his disciples into all parts to propagate the gospel—Their fixed opinions were said to be these: that the church of Rome, because she hath renounced the true faith of Christ, is the whore of Babylon, and that barren tree, which Christ himself hath cursed, and commanded to be rooted up; therefore we must by no means obey the pope, and the bishops who cherish his errors: that the monastic life is the sink of the church, and an hellish institution; its vows are vain, and subservient only to the filthy love of boys: the orders of the presbytery are the marks of the great beast, which is mentioned in the Apocalypse; the fire of purgatory, the sacrifice of the mass, the feast of the dedications of churches, the worship of saints, and propitiations for the dead, are inventions of Satan. To these principal and certain heads of their doctrine others were offended and added, concerning marriage, the resurrection, the state of the soul after death, and concerning meats. Mezeray, the celebrated historiographer of France, is short, but full to our purpose; for he saith, that they had almost the same opinions as those who are now called Calvinists. It cannot be objected that this is protestant evidence, for they were all three members of the church of Rome.

In the thirteenth century, the Waldenses and Albigenses had spread and prevailed so far, and were prevailing still further, that the pope thought it necessary to exert his utmost efforts to suppress them. For this purpose the first croisade was proclaimed of Christians against Christians, and the office of inquisition was first erected, the one to subdue their bodies, the other to enslave their souls. It is enough to make the blood run

church of Rome in many respects. At the beginning of this century (1) Almeric and his disciples were charged with several heresies, and were condemned by the second council of Paris in the year 1209. They might possibly hold some heterodox opinions; but their great offence was their denying the change of the substance of the bread and wine in the eucharist, their opposing the worship of saints, images and relics, and their affirming that the pope was Antichrist, that Rome was Babylon, and that the prelates were the members and ministers of Antichrist: so that these differed little from the Waldenses and Albigenses. William of St. Amour, a doctor of the Sorbonne, (2) wrote a treatise of the perils of the last times, wherein he applied that prophecy of St. Paul, (2 Tim. iii. 1.) This know also that in the last days perilous times shall come, to the mendicant orders and preachers of his time; and it was so severe a satir upon the Dominicans, that pope Alexander IV. condemned it, as containing perverse sentiments, contrary to the power and authority of the Roman pontiff and of the other bishops, and in fine as a hook capable of causing great scandals and troubles in the church. Robert Grossethead or Greathead, bishop of Lincoln, (3) in his speeches and writings inveighed bitterly against the corruption and superstition, the lewdness and wickedness of the clergy in general, and the rapacity and avarice, the tyranny and antichristianism of pope Innocent IV. in particular. He was also no less a friend to (4) civil and religious liberty, and ordered all the violators of Magna Charta, whosoever and wheresoever they were within his diocese, to be excommunicated. Matthew Paris, a contemporary historian, hath (5) re-

lated the substance of his dying discourses, wherein he proves the pope to be an heretic, and deservedly to be called Antichrist: and concludes with giving him the character of 'refuter of the pope, reprover of prelates, corrector of monks, director of priests, instructor of the clergy, and in short the hammer to beat down the 'Romans and to bring them into contempt.' It is no marvel that such a man was excommunicated; but he (6) little regarded the censure, and appealed from the court of Innocent to the tribunal of Christ. Not to mention others, Matthew Paris himself hath painted in the most lively colors the corruptions and abominations of the see of Rome, the tyranny, superstition, simony, and wickedness of the popes and clergy. A protestant historian could not more freely lash and expose the vices of the times, than he did who was a monk of St. Albans.

As they are not all Israel which are of Israel; so neither have all the members of the Romish church believed all her doctrines. Dante and Petrarch, the former of whom died, and the latter was born as well as died, in the fourteenth century, were (7) severe satirists upon the times, and wrote freely against the temporal dominion of the pope, and the corruptions of the clergy, treating Rome as Babylon, and the pope as Antichrist: and they probably did more hurt to the court and church of Rome by their wit and mirth, than others by invective and declamation. Peter Fitz Cassiodor, whether a fictitious or a real person, (8) addressed a remonstrance to the church of England against the tyranny, avarice and exactions of the court of Rome, advising and exhorting the English to shake off the Roman yoke from their necks. Michael Casenaeus and William Occam (9) ex-

(6) Excommunicatus appellavit a curia Innocentii ad tribunal Christi. ('When excommunicated he appealed from the court of Innocent to the tribunal of Christ.') Henri de Knyghton, Lib. 2. inter Scriptores x. p. 2436.

posed the various errors and heresies of John XXII. to the number of 77; and secure in the protection of the emperor, they set at nought the thunder of the pope's excommunications. Marsilius, a famous lawyer of Padua, (1) wrote a treatise entitled The defender of peace, wherein he advanced the power of the emperor above that of the pope in things spiritual as well as temporal; painted in the strongest colors the pride, ambition, and luxury of the court of Rome; and abundantly proved that the pope had not by divine right the least authority or preeminence over other bishops. It is no wonder that the author and his book were condemned together. But there were other and better witnesses than these in this age. It was shown before from Thuanus, that the Waldenses and Albigenses being persecuted in their own country, fled for refuge into foreign nations, some into Germany, and some into Britain. In Germany they grew and multiplied so fast, notwithstanding the rage and violence of crusaders and inquisitors, that at the beginning of this century (2) it is computed, that there were eighty thousand of them in Bohemia, Austria, and the neighbouring territories: and they pertinaciously defended their doctrines even unto death. Among a variety of other names they were called Lollardus from (3) one Walter Lollard, who preached in Germany about the year 1315 against the authority of the pope, the intercession of saints, the mass, extreme unction, and other ceremonies and superstitions of the church of Rome; and was burned alive at Cologne in the year 1322. In England also they were denominated Lollards, tho there was a man more worthy to have given name to the sect, the deservedly famous John Wickliff, the honor of his own and the admiration of all succeeding times. Rector only of Lutterworth, he (4) filled all England, and almost all Europe with his doctrin. He

began to grow famous about the year 1360 by preaching and writing against the superstitions of the age; the tyranny of the pope, the erroneous doctrines and vicious lives of the monks and the clergy; and especially by defending the royal and ecclesiastical jurisdiction against the usurpations of the popes and mendicant friars. The more he opposed, the more reason he found for opposition. He translated the canonical scriptures into the English language, and wrote comments upon them. He demonstrated the antichristianity of popery, and the abomination of desolation in the temple of God. He asserted the one true sacrifice of Christ, and opposed the sacrifice of the mass, transubstantiation, the adoration of the host, the seven sacraments, purgatory, prayers for the dead, the worship of saints and images, and in short all the principal corruptions and superstitions of the church of Rome. His success too was greater than he could have expected. The princes, the people, the university of Oxford, many even of the clergy, favored and supported him, and embraced his opinions. His enemies have charged him with several heterodox notions; but many years ago was published An apology for John Wickliff, shewing his conformity with the new Church of England, &c. collected out of his written works in the Bodleian library by Thomas James, keeper of the same, at Oxford 1608. This truly good and great man died of the palsy the last day of the year 1386, but his doctrines did not die with him. His books were read in the public schools and colleges at Oxford, and were recommended to the diligent perusal of each student in the university, till they were condemned and prohibited by the council of Constance in the next century. His followers the Lollards in the year 1395 presented (5) a remonstrance to the parliament, which contained these with other articles; that when the church of England began to mismanage her temporalities in conformity to the precedents of Rome, faith, hope, and charity began to take their leave of her communion; that the English priesthood derived from Rome, and pretending to a power superior to angels, is not that priesthood which Christ settled upon his apostles; that injoining celibacy to the clergy was the occasion of scandalous irregularities in the church; that the pretended miracles of transubstantiation runs the greatest part of Christendom upon idolatry; that exorcisms and benedictions pronounced over wine, bread, water, the mitre, the cross, &c. have more of necromancy than religion in them; that prayer made for the dead is a wrong ground for charity and religious endowments; that pilgrimages, prayers, and offerings made to images and crosses, are near of a kin to idolatry; that auricular confession makes the priests proud, lets them into the secrets of the penitent, gives opportunities for intrigues, and is attended with scandalous consequences, as well as the doctrin of indulgences; that the vow of single life undertaken by women in the church of England is the occasion of horrible disorders, &c. Some false tenets might be contained in the same remonstrance; for alas, who is there that holdeth the truth without any mixture or alloy of error? They denied the infallibility of the pope, and they could not well pretend to be infallible themselves.

Two things contributed much to the revival of learning in the fifteenth century, the Greeks flying with their books from Constantinople which the Turks had taken, and the invention of printing. As learning more revived, so the truth prevailed more; and the more the truth prevailed, the fury of persecution increased in proportion. Wickliff himself had been permitted to die in peace; but after his death (6) his doctrines were condemned, his books were burnt, his very body was dug up and burnt too, by a decree of the council of Constance, and the command of pope Martin V, executed by Richard Fleming, bishop of Lincoln. His followers however were not discouraged, and many of them witnessed a good confession even unto death. William Sawtre,


parish priest of St. Osith in London, (7) hath the honor of being the first who was burnt for heresy in England; which was done in the reign of Henry IV, at the beginning of this century. A few years afterwards Thomas Badby (8) was convicted of heresy, and ordered also to be burnt in Smithfield. Henry prince of Wales was present at his execution; and the poor man showing very sensible signs of the torment he endured, the prince out of compassion commanded the fire to be removed, and promised him pardon, and a pension for life, provided he would retract his errors. But Badby being come to himself, resolutely rejected this offer; he chose rather to die with a good, than to live with an evil conscience; and so the fire was kindled again, and he was consumed to ashes. In the next reign Sir John Oldcastle, baron of Cobham, (9) was prosecuted for being the principal patron and abettor of the Lollards. Being examined before the archbishop of Canterbury, he declared against transubstantiation, penances, the worshipping of the cross, the power of the keys; and asserted that the pope was Antichrist and the head of that body, the bishops were the members, and the friars the hinder parts of the antichristian society. He was therefore pronounced a heretic convert, and delivered over to the secular power. But before the day fixed for his execution he escaped out of prison; and being charged by his enemies with endeavouring to make an insurrection, he was outlawed for high treason; and being taken afterwards, he was hanged as a traitor, and burnt hanging as an heretic, being the first nobleman in England who suffered death for the cause of religion. It was the great blot and stain of Henry the fifth's reign and character, that while he was carrying the glory of the English arms abroad, he was still persecuting the poor Lollards at home. But notwithstanding these persecutions, and the severest laws and proclamations against

them, their numbers still increased, not only among the people, but even in parliament, not only in England, but even in foreign countries, and especially in Bohemia. For there (1) John Huss and Jerome of Prague having received Wicklif's books advanced and propagated the same doctrines; for which they were both condemned to the flames, and suffered death with the most heroic fortitude. It was a most unjust sentence, contrary to all faith and the solemn engagement of a safe conduct, and drew after it the most fatal consequences. For out of their ashes a civil war was kindled; the Bohemians revolted against the emperor, and maintained and defended their opinions by arms as well as by arguments. What the opinions generally received among the Bohemians were, we may learn with some exactness from one, who had opportunities of being well informed by living and conversing some time among them, and was far from being prejudiced in their favor, Aeneas Sylvius, who being afterwards chosen pope, assumed the name of Pius II. These then were (2) their opinions according

Romanum pravum religios episcopis parem esse.
Inter sacerdotes nullum discrimen; presbyterum non dignitatem sed vitæ meritum elicere poterat.
Animas e corporibus excedentes, aut in externas e vestigio genas mergi,
ant perpetum conspecti gaudia.
Purgatorium ignem nullum inveneri.
Vivum esse orare pro mortuis, et avarice sacerdotalis inventum.
Deit et sanctorum imaginibus deleantur.
Aequam palmarumque beneficiorum irridendi.
Mundicantum religiique malle deumnibus inventae.
Sacerdotes pueros esse ducer, solat contentos dicemus.
Liberam cuncta praelectionem verbi Dei patere.
Nullum capitale precatum, quamvisimum majorum nulli vitiati gratia, tolerandum.
Qui mortalis culpa reus sit, cum nunc seculari, nunc ecclesiasticæ dignitatem potiri, neque paremum ci.
Confirmationem, quam elirmente pontifices inducunt, et extremam operationem inter ecclesiam sacramento minimæ contineri.
Antierendum confessionemktam etiam esse: suisse sunt quæque Deo in obliti suo consuet: pecat.
Baptisca illius unde, nulla interjecta sacri olei mixtura recipiendum.
to him, who, we may be certain would not represent them better, if he would not represent them worse, than they were in reality.

1. The pope of Rome is equal with other bishops.
2. Among priests there is no difference; nor dignity, but merit giveth the preference.
3. Souls departing out of bodies, are immediately either plunged into eternal punishments, or attain eternal joys.
4. There is no purgatory fire.
5. It is in vain to pray for the dead, and an invention of priestly covetousness.
6. The images of God and the saints ought to be destroyed.
7. The blessing of water and palm branches is ridiculous.
8. The religion of the mendicants was invented by evil demons.
9. Priests ought to be poor, content with alms alone.
10. Every one hath free liberty to preach the word of God.
11. No capital sin ought to be tolerated, altho' for the sake of avoiding a greater evil.
12. He who is guilty of mortal sin ought not to enjoy any secular or ecclesiastical dignity, nor is he to be obeyed.
13. Confirmation, which the bishops celebrate with anointing, and extreme unction, are by no means contained among the sacraments of the church.
14. Aural confession is trilling; it is sufficient for every one in his chamber to confess his sins unto God.
15. Baptism ought to be celebrated without any mixture of holy oil.
16. The use of church-yards is vain, invented for the sake of gain; in whatsoever ground human bodies are buried, it maketh no difference.
17. The temple of the great God is the whole world; they confine his majesty, who build churches, monasteries, and oratories, as if the divine goodness would be found more propitious in them.
18. Sacerdotal vestments, ornaments of altars, palls, corporals, chalices, patins and vessels of this sort are of no moment.
19. A priest in any place, at any time can consecrate the body of Christ, and administer it to those who desire it; it is sufficient, if he repeat only the sacramental words.
20. The suffrages of the saints reigning with Christ in heaven are implored in vain, forasmuch as they cannot help us.
21. The time is consumed in vain in singing and saying the canonical hours.
22. We should cease from work on no day, except that which is now called the Lord's day.
23. The festivals of saints are altogether to be rejected.
24. The fasts also instituted by the church have no merit in them.

These were the opinions of the Bohemians or Hussites, for which they fought as well as disputed against the pope and emperor. At first they were victorious under the conduct of the famous John Ziska; and when they were beaten at last, they retired into the mountains and caves, where they continued distinguished by the name of the Bohemian brethren till the time of the Reformation. Even in the bosom of the church of Rome there were many good men, who called aloud for a reformation in
Dissertations on

faith as well as in morals, in doctrine as well as in discipline. One instance is more particularly worthy of our attention. Jeronimo Savonarola (3) was a Dominican, celebrated in all Italy, and especially in Florence, for the great purity and strictness of his life and doctrine. He preached freely against the vices of the age, the luxury, avarice, and debauchery of the Roman clergy in general, and the tyranny and wickedness in particular of pope Alexander VI. and his son Caesar Borgia. In his discourses, sermons and writings, he pressed the necessity of holding a general council and of making a general reformation: and he wrote particularly a treatise (4) entitled *The lamentation of the spouse of Christ against false apostles, or an exhortation to the faithful that they would pray unto the Lord for the renovation of the church.* But what was the fruit and consequence of all his pious zeal? He was excommunicated, he was imprisoned, he was tortured, he was burnt; which he suffered with all possible constancy on the 23d of May 1498, and in the 46th year of his age. All persons of any note or eminence bear a double character in the world, and so doth Savonarola, his admirers extolling him as the best of men and the prophet of God, his enemies reviling him as the worst of impostors and hypocrites; but if his works may speak for him, they are, in the (5) opinion of Dupin, "full of grace and maxims of piety: he speaketh freely there against the vices, and teacheth the most pure and the most excelled morality."

We are now arrived at the sixteenth century, *seculum reformationum* as it hath been called, or the age of reformation. The materials had in great measure been collected, and the foundations had been laid deep before, but this age had the happiness of seeing the superstruct-


(5) Les ouvrages de cet auteur sont pleins d'action et de maximes de piété; il y parle librement contre les vices, et y enseigne la morale la plus pure et la plus relevée. [Footnote 3 in the text.] Dupin. ibid.


was always in the Bible. "The Bible, as Chillingworth (9) says, the Bible only is the religion of protestants."

15 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.

16 And the four and twenty elders which sat before God on their seats, fell upon their faces and worshipped God.

17 Saying, We give thee thanks, O Lord God almighty, which art and wast, and art to come; because thou hast taken to thee thy great power, and hast reigned.

18 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 shouldst destroy them which destroy the earth.

We are now come to the seventh and last trumpet, or the third woe-trumpet, and the seventh trumpet as well as all the trumpets being comprehended under the seventh seal, and the seventh seal and all the seals being constituent parts or members of the sealed book, it is evident that the seventh trumpet cannot any way belong to the little open book, but is plainly distinct from it, the little book being no more than an appendage to the sixth trumpet, and the contents all comprehended under it, or at least ending with it. The forty and two months of the Gentiles treading the holy city under foot, and the 1260 days of the witnesses prophesying in sackcloth are 1260 synchronical years, and terminate at the same time with the fall of the Ottoman empire or the end of the sixth trumpet or second woe-trumpet. And when the second woe is past, it is said, (xi. 14.) behold, the third woe cometh quickly. At the sounding of the seventh trumpet (ver. 15.) the third woe commenceth, which is rather implied than expressed, as it will be described more fully hereafter. The third woe brought on the inhabitants of the earth is the ruin and downfall of the Antichristian kingdom: and then, and not till then, according to the heavenly chorus, the kingdoms of this world will become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever. St. John is rapt and hurried away as it were to a view of the happy millennium, without considering the steps preceding and conducting to it. At the same time the four and twenty elders, or the ministers of the church, (ver. 16, 17, 18.) are represented as praising and glorifying God for manifesting his power and kingdom more than he had done before: and give likewise an intimation of some succeeding events, as the anger of the nations, Gog and Magog, (xx. 8.) and the wrath of God, displayed in their destruction, (xx. 9.) and the judging of the dead, or the general judgment, (xx. 12.) and the rewarding of all the good, small and great, as well as the punishing of the wicked. Here we have only a summary account of the circumstances and occurrences of the seventh trumpet, but the particulars will be dilated and enlarged upon hereafter.

And thus are we arrived at the consummation of all things, through a series of prophecies extending from the apostles’ days to the end of the world. It is this series which has been our clue to conduct us in our interpretation of these prophecies: and though some of them may be dark and obscure, considered in themselves, yet they receive light and illustration from others preceding and following. All together they are as it were a chain of prophecies, whereof one link depends on, and supports another. If any parts remain yet obscure and unsatisfactory, they may perhaps be cleared up by what the apostle himself hath added by way of explanation.

XXV.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE REVELATION.

PART II.

Most of the best commentators divide the Apocalypse or Revelation into two parts, the book 
sealed with seven seals, and the little book 
as it is called several times. But it happens unluckily, 
that according to their division the lesser book is made to 
contain as much or more than the larger: whereas in truth 
the little book is nothing more than a part of the 
sealed book, and is added as a codicil or appendix to it.

If we were to divide the Revelation, as they would have 
it divided, into two parts, the former ending with Chap. 
IX, and the latter beginning with Chap. X, the whole 
frame of the book would be disjointed, and things 
would be separated, which are plainly connected togeth- 
er and dependent upon one another. The former part, 
as they agree, comprehends the book sealed with seven 
seals, which are all opened in order; but the seventh 
seal consists of the seven trumpets, and of the seven 
trumpets the three last are distinguished by the name of 
the three woe trumpets; so that the seven trumpets, as 
well as the seven seals, all belong properly to the former 
part. Whereas if we were to follow the other division, 
the trumpets would be divided, the three last trumpets 
would be divided from each other, the sixth trumpet it- 
self would be divided, would begin in the former part 
of the book, and end in the latter, and the seventh 
trumpet would remain separated from the rest, which 
would be a strange interruption of the series and order 
of the prophecies, and greatly disturb and confound the 
course of events. The former part, instead of closing with 
the seventh trumpet, would then break off in the 
middle of the sixth trumpet; the latter part would then 
commence under the sixth trumpet, and after that would 
follow the seventh and last trumpet, and after this the 
general subject of the Revelation would be resumed 
from the beginning of the Christian era, which instead 
of coming in after so many events posterior in point of 
time, ought certainly to be the beginning of the latter 
part. For we would also divide the Revelation into 
two parts, or rather the book so divides itself. For the 
former part proceeds, as we have seen, in a regular 
and successive series from the apostle’s days to the consum- 
mation of all things. Nothing can be added, but it 
must fall some where or other within the compass of this 
period; it must in some measure be a resumption of the 
same subjects; and this latter part may most properly 
be considered as an enlargement and illustration of the 
former. Several things, which were only touched upon, 
and delivered in dark hints before, require to be more 
copiously handled, and placed in a stronger light.

It was said that the beast should make war against the wit- 
nesses, and overcome them: but who or what the beast is 
we may reasonably conjecture indeed, but the apostle 
himself will more surely explain. The transactions of 
the seventh trumpet are all summed up and comprised 
in a few verses, but we shall see the particulars branched 
out and enlarged into as many chapters. In short this 
latter part is designed as a supplement to the former, to 
complete what was deficient, to explain what was du- 
bious, to illustrate what was obscure: and as the former 
described more the destinies of the Roman empire, so 
this latter relates more to the fates of the Christian 
church.

19 And the temple of God was opened in hea-
ven, and there was seen in his temple the ark of 
his testament: and there were lightnings, and 
voices, and thunberings, and an earthquake, and 
great hail.

This last verse of the eleventh chapter, in my opinion, 
should have been made the first verse of the twelfth 
vol. ii.
chapter; for it appears to be the beginning of a new subject. It is somewhat like the beginning of Isaiah's vision; (vi. 1.) I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne (the ark) high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple. It is somewhat like the beginning of St. John's prophetic visions; (iv. 1, 2.) I looked, and behold a door was opened in heaven; and behold, a throne was set in heaven, and one sat on the throne. This is much in the same spirit: And the temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was seen in his temple the ark of his testament; that is, more open discoveries were now made, and the mystery of God was revealed to the prophet. Lightnings, and voices, and thunders, and an earthquake, and great hail, are the usual concomitants and attendants of the divine presence, and especially at the giving of new laws and new revelations. So at Mount Sinai (Exod. xx. 16, &c.) there were thunders, and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount, and the voice of the trumpet exceeding loud, and the whole mount quaked greatly. So likewise in this very book of the Apocalypse, before the opening of the seven seals (iv. 5.) there were lightnings, and thunders, and voices. So again before the sounding of the seven trumpets (viii. 5.) there were voices, and thunders, and lightnings, and an earthquake: and with as much reason they are made in this place the signs and preludes of the revelations and judgments, which are to follow. It is no just objection, that a new subject is supposed to begin with the conjunction and; for this is frequent in the style of the Hebrews; some books, as Numbers, Joshua, the two books of Samuel, and others, begin with Vau or and; and the same objection would hold equally against beginning the division with the first verse of the next chapter.

CHAP. XII.

1 And there appeared a great wonder in heaven, a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars:

2 And she being with child, cried, traveling in birth, and pained to be delivered.

3 And there appeared another wonder in heaven, and behold, a great red dragon, having seven heads, and ten horns, and seven crowns upon his head.

4 And his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth: and the dragon stood before the woman which was ready to be delivered, for to devour her child as soon as it was born.

5 And she brought forth a man-child, who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron: and her child was caught up unto God, and to his throne.

6 And the woman fled into the wilderness, where she hath a place prepared of God, that they should feed her there a thousand two hundred and three-score days.

St. John resumes his subject from the beginning, and represents the church (ver. 1, 2.) as a woman, and a mother bearing children unto Christ. She is clothed by the sun, invested with the rays of Jesus Christ the sun of righteousness; having the moon, the (1) Jewish new moons and festivals as well as all sublunary things, under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars, an emblem of her being under the light and guidance of the twelve apostles. And she being with child, cried, traveling in birth, and pained to be delivered. St. Paul hath made use of the same metaphor, and applied it to his preaching and propagating of the gospel in the midst of tribulation and persecution. (Gal. iv. 19.) My little children of whom I travel in birth again, until Christ be formed in you. But the words of St. John are much stronger, and more emphatically express the pangs, and

(1) A learned correspondent observes, that the Jewish religion is aptly compared to the moon, as its light is not its own, but furnished by the Christian religion, to which it relates, and wherein its types are accomplished.
troubles, and torments, which the church endured from the first publication of the gospel to the time of Constantine the great, when she was in some measure eased of her pains, and brought forth a deliverer. Mr. Whiston carries the comparison farther. (Essay on the Revelation. Part 3. Vision 3.) "For 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 it is as well known, that 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," reckoning according to the prophetical account a day for a year. At the same time there appeared (ver. 3.) a great dragon; which is the well known sign or symbol of the Devil and Satan, and of his agents and instruments. We find the kings and people of Egypt, who were the great persecutors of the primitive church of Israel, distinguished by this title in several places of the Old Testament: Psal. lxxxiv. 13. Is. ii. 9. Ezek. xxix. 3.) and with as much reason and propriety may the people and emperors of Rome, who were the great persecutors of the primitive church of Christ, be called by the same name, as they were actuated by the same principle. For that the Roman empire was here figured, the characters and attributes of the dragon plainly evince. He is a great red dragon: and purple or scarlet was the distinguishing color of the Roman emperors, consuls, and generals; as it hath been once of the popes and cardinals. His seven heads, as the angel afterwards (xvii. 9, 10) explains the vision, allude to the seven mountains upon which Rome was built, and to the seven form of government, which successively prevailed there. His ten horns typify the ten kingdoms, into which the Roman empire was divided; and the seven crowns upon his heads denote, that at this time the imperial power was in Rome, the high city, as Prop-

pertius (2) describes it, seated on seven hills, which presides over the whole world. His tail also (ver. 4.) drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth: that is, he subjected the third part of the princes and potentates of the earth; and the Roman empire, as we have seen before, is represented as the third part of the world. He stood before the woman, which was ready to be delivered, to devour her child as soon as it was born: and the Roman emperors and magistrates kept a jealous watchful eye over the Christians from the beginning. As Pharaoh laid snares for the male children of the Hebrews, and Herod for the infant Christ, the son of Mary; so did the Roman dragon for the mystic Christ, the son of the church, that he might destroy him even in his infancy. But notwithstanding the jealousy and envy of the Romans, the gospel was widely diffused and propagated, and the church brought many children under Christ, and in time such as were promoted to the empire. She brought forth a man-child, who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron. (ver. 5.) It was predicted that Christ should rule over the nations, (Psal. ii. 9.) Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron, thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel: but Christ, who is himself invisible in the heavens, ruleth visibly in Christian magistrates, princes, and emperors. It was therefore promised before to Christians in general, (ii. 26, 27.) He that overcometh, and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations (And he shall rule them with a rod of iron; as the vessels of a potter shall they be broken to shivers) even as I received of my Father. But it should seem that Constantine was here particularly intended, for whose life (3) the dragon Galerius laid many snares, but he providentially escaped them all; and notwithstanding all opposition, was caught up unto the throne of God, was not

[Translated in the text.]
[Propert. Lib. 3. El. 11. ver. 57.]
(2) Septem urbs alta jugis, totiique presidet orbis.
only secured by the divine protection, but was advanced to the imperial throne, called the throne of God, for (Rom. xiii. 1.) there is no power but of God: the powers that be, are ordained of God. He too ruled all nations with a rod of iron: for he had not only the Romans, who before had persecuted the church, under his dominion, but also (4) subdued the Scythians, Sarmatians, and other barbarous nations, who had never before been subject to the Roman empire: and as the learned (5) Spanheim informs us, there are still extant medals and coins of his with these inscriptions, the subdue of the barbarous nations, the conqueror of all nations, everywhere conqueror and the like. What is added (ver. 6.) of the woman's flying into the wilderness for a thousand two hundred and three score days is said by way of prolepsis or anticipation. For the war in heaven between Michael and the dragon, and other subsequent events, were prior in order of time to the flight of the woman into the wilderness: but before the prophet passeth on to a new subject, he giveth a general account of what happened to the woman afterwards, and entereth more into the particulars in their proper place.

7 And there was war in heaven; Michael and his angels fought against the dragon, and the dragon fought and his angels:

8 And prevailed not, neither was their place found any more in heaven.

9 And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world: he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him.

10 And I heard a loud voice, saying in heaven, Now is come salvation, and strength, and the kingdom of our God, and the power of his Christ: for

the accuser of our brethren is cast down, which accuseth them before our God day and night.

11 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.

12 Therefore rejoice, ye heavens, and ye that dwell in them. Woe to the inhabitants of the earth, and of the sea: for the devil is come down unto you, having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time.

It might reasonably be presumed, that all the powers of idolatry would be strenuously exerted against the establishment of Christianity, and especially against the establishment of a Christian on the imperial throne; and these struggles and contentions between the Heathen and the Christian religions are represented (ver. 7.) by war in heaven between the angels of darkness and angels of light. Michael was (Dan. x. 21, xii. 1.) the tutelar angel and protector of the Jewish church. He performs here the same office of champion for the Christian church. He and the good angels, who are sent forth (Hebr. i. 14.) to minister to the heirs of salvation, were the invisible agents on one side, as the devil and his evil angels were on the other. The visible actors in the cause of Christianity were the believing emperors and ministers of the word, the martyrs and confessors; and in support of idolatry were the persecuting emperors and heathen magistrates together with the whole train of priests and sophists. This contest lasted several years, and the final issue of it was (ver. 8, 9.) that the Christian prevailed over the Heathen religion; the Heathens were deposed from all rule and authority, and the Christians were advanced to dominion and empire in their stead. Our Saviour said to his disciples casting devils out of the bodies of men, (Luke x. 18.) I beheld Satan as lightning, fall from heaven. In the same figure Satan fell from heaven, and was cast out into the earth, when he was thrust out of the imperial throne, and his angels were cast out with him, not only all the heathen priests and
officers civil and military were cashiered, but their very gods and demons, who before were adored for their divinity, became the subjects of contempt and execration. It is very remarkable, that Constantine himself and the Christians of his time describe his conquests under the same image, as if they had understood that this prophecy had received its accomplishment in him. Constantine himself, in his epistle to Eusebius and other bishops concerning the re- edifying and repairing of churches, saith, that liberty being now restored, and that dragon being removed from the administration of public affairs, by the providence of the Great God; and by my ministry, I esteem the great power of God to have been made manifest even to all. Moreover a picture of Constantine was set up over the palace gate, with the cross over his head, and under his feet the great enemy of mankind, who persecuted the church by means of impious tyrants, in the form of a dragon, ransacked with a dart thro' the midst of his body, and alling headlong into the depth of the sea; in allusion, it is said expressly, to the divine oracles in the books of the prophets, where that evil spirit is called the dragon and the crooked serpent. Upon this victory of the church, there is introduced (ver. 10.) a triumphant hymn of thanksgiving for the depression of idolatry, and exaltation of true religion: for now it was no longer in the power of the heathen persecutors, as Satan accused holy Job before God, to accuse the innocent Christians before the Roman governors, as the perpetrators of all crimes, and the causes of all calamities. It was not by


(7) Euseb. de Vita Constant. Lib. 3. Cap. 3. οἱ δὲ ἔργα καὶ κεφαλαία ἡμῶς, τοὺς τῆς πολεμίας τῶν Θεοῦ διὰ τῆς τῆς πολεμίας τοῖν θρόνων, τοῖς τῆς πολεμίας τοῖς ἐν παραδόντων τιμηθεῖσι, τοῖς τῆς πολεμίας τοῖς ἐν μισθῷ. Λαύεται ἐν εἰσοδίᾳ καὶ ἐπισκόπῳ γενέσθαι τῷ εἰσοδίῳ τοῖς ἐν παραδόντων τοῖς τιμηθεῖσι, τοῖς τῆς πολεμίας τοῖς ἐν μισθῷ. [Translated in the text.]

temporal means or arms that the Christians obtained this victory. (ver. 11.) but by spiritual, by the merits and death of their Redeemer, by their constant profession of the truth, and by their patient suffering of all kinds of tortures even unto death; and the blood of the martyrs hath been often called the seed of the church. This victory was indeed (ver. 12.) matter of joy and triumph to the blessed angels and glorified saints in heaven, by whose sufferings it was in great measure obtained; but still new woes are threatened to the inhabitants of the earth; for tho' the dragon was deposed, yet was he not destroyed; tho' idolatry was depressed, yet was it not wholly suppressed; there was still many Pagans intermixed with the Christians, and the devil would incite fresh troubles and disturbances on earth, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time, it would not be long before the Pagan religion should be totally abolished, and the Christian religion prevail in all the Roman empire.

13 And when the dragon saw that he was cast unto the earth, he persecuted the woman which brought forth the man-child.

14 And to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness, into her place; where she is nourished for a time, and times, and half a time, from the face of the serpent.

15 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.

16 And the earth helped the woman, and the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed up the flood, which the dragon cast out of his mouth.

17 And the dragon was wroth with the woman, and went to make war with the remnant of her seed, which kept the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ.

When the dragon was thus deposed from the imperial
throned and cast unto the earth, (ver. 13.) he still continued to persecute the church with equal malice, though not with equal power. He made several attempts to restore the Pagan idolatry in the reign of Constantine, and afterwards in the reign of Julian; he traduced and abused the Christian religion by such writers as Hierocles, Libanius, Eunapius, and others of the same stamp and character; he rent and troubled the church with heresies and schisms; he stirred up the favorers of the Arians, and especially the kings of the Vandals in Africa, to persecute and destroy the orthodox Christians. These things, as (8) Eusebius saith upon one of these occasions, some malicious and wicked demon, envying the prosperity of the church, effected. But the church was still under the protection of the empire, (ver. 14.) and to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle. As God said to the children of Israel, (Exod. xix. 4.) Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagles wings, and brought you unto myself; so the church was supported and carried as it were on eagles wings: but the similitude is more proper in this case, an eagle being the Roman ensign, and the t\textwings alluding probably to the division that was then made of the eastern and western empire. In this manner was the church protected, and these wings were given, that she might fly into the wilderness, into a place of retirement and security, from the face of the serpent. Not that she fled into the wilderness at this time, but several years afterwards; and there she is nourished for a time, and times, and half a time, that is three prophetic years and a half, which is the same period with the thousand two hundred and threescore days or years beforementioned. So long the church is to remain in a desolate and afflicted state, during the reign of Antichrist; as Elijah, (1 Kings xvii. xviii. Luke iv. 25, 26.) while idolatry and famine prevailed in Israel, was secretly fed and nourished three years and six months in the wilderness. But before the woman fled into the wilderness, the serpent cast out of his mouth water as a flood, (ver. 15.) with intent to wash her away. Waters in the stile of the Apocalypse (xvii. 16.) signify peoples and nations; so that here was a great inundation of various nations, excited by the dragon or the friends and patrons of the old idolatry, to oppress and overcome the Christian religion. Such appeared plainly to have been the design of the dragon, when (9) Stilicho, prime minister of the emperor Honorius, first invited the barbarous heathen nations, the Goths, Alans, Sueves, and Vandals, to invade the Roman empire, 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. Nothing indeed was more likely to produce the ruin and utter subversion of the Christian church, than the irruptions of so many barbarous Heathen nations, into the Roman empire. But the event proved contrary to human appearance and expectation; the earth swallowed up the flood, (ver. 16.) the Barbarians were rather swallowed up by the Romans, than the Romans by the Barbarians; the Heathen conquerors instead of imposing their own, submitted to the religion

(9) Interea comes Stilicho, Vandalarum imbellis, avare, perdice et doloso genere editus, parvpendens quod sub imperatore imperabat, Eucherius illum summorum capitaque tradidit, saepe Christianorum persecutionem a publico privatoque meditatum, in imperium quoque modo sustinente abutabat. Quumqueque Alarum, eumqueque Gothorum generi, et est. —Eucherius, qui ad conciliamentum sub favorum Paganorum, restitutione temporum et errore ecclesiarum imbuturum se regni primordia minabat, &c. [In the mean time Stilicho his prime minister descended from the cowardly, avaricious, perfidious, and crafty nation of the Vandals, not only valuing the authority which he had under the emperor, endeavourd by every means in his power, to raise his son Eucherius to the empire, who, as many have told us, from his earliest years, and even when a private person, designed the persecution of the Christians. For this reason he invited Alaric and the whole nation of the Goths, &c. Eucherius, who to procure to himself the favour of the Paganus, threatened to signalize the commencement of his reign with the restoration of Paganism, and the destruction of Christianity, &c.] Omnis Hist. Lib. 7. Cap. 38. p. 471. Edit. Havercourt. Vide eam Jornandum de Rebus Gélicos et de Regis Suev, et Paulum Diaconum, Lib. 13.
of the conquered Christians; and they not only embraced the religion, but affected even the laws, the manners, the customs, the language, and the very name of Romans, so that the victors were in a manner absorbed and lost among the vanquished. This course not succeeding according to probable expectation, the dragon did not therefore desist from his purpose, (ver. 17.) but only took another method of persecuting the true sons of the church, as we shall see in the next chapter. It is said that he went to make war with the remnant of her seed, who kept the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus; which implies that at this time there was only a remnant, that corruptions were greatly increased, and the faithful were diminished from among the children of men.

CHAP. XIII.

1 And I stood upon the sand of the sea, and saw a beast rise up out of the sea, having seven heads, and ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns, and upon his heads the name 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 seat, and great authority.

3 And I saw one of his heads, as it were wounded to death; and his deadly wound was healed: and all the world wondered after the beast.

4 And they worshipped the dragon which 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 power was given unto him to continue forty and two months.

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 overtake them: and power was given him over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations.

8 And all that dwell upon the earth shall worship him, whose names are not written in the book of life of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world.

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.

Here the beast is described at large, who was only mentioned before: (xi. 7.) and a beast in the prophetic stile is a tyrannical idolatrous empire. The kingdom of God and of Christ is never represented under the image of a beast. As Daniel (vii. 2, 3.) beheld four great beasts, representing the four great empires, come up from a stormy sea, that is from the commotions of the world; so St. John (ver. 1.) saw this beast in like manner rise up out of the sea. He was said before (xi. 7.) to ascend, ἐκ τῆς ἁβυσσίνης, out of the abyss or bottomless pit, and it is said afterwards (xvii. 8.) that he shall ascend, ἐκ τῆς ἁβυσσίνης, out of the abyss or bottomless pit; and here he is said to ascend, ἐκ τῆς ἁβυσσίνης, out of the sea; so that the sea and abyss or bottomless pit are in these passages the same. No doubt is to be made, that this beast was designed to represent the Roman empire; for thus far both ancients and moderns, papists and protestants are agreed: the only doubt and controversy is, whether it was Rome Pagan or Christian, imperial or papal, which may perhaps be fully and clearly determined in the sequel.

St. John saw this beast rising out of the sea, but the Roman empire was risen and established long before St. John's time; and therefore this must be the Roman empire, not in its then present, but in some future shape and
and had her temples and altars with incense and sacrifices offered up to her; and how the papal Rome likewise hath arrogated to herself divine titles and honors, there will be a litter occasion of showing in the following part of this description.

As Daniel's fourth beast (vii. 7.) was without a name, and devoured and brake in pieces the three former; so this beast (ver. 2.) is also without a name, and partakes of the nature and qualities of the three former, having the body of a leopard, which was the third beast or Grecian empire, and the feet of a bear, which was the second beast or Persian empire, and the mouth of a lion, which was the first beast or Babylonian empire; and consequently this must be the same as Daniel's fourth beast, or the Roman empire. But still it is not the same beast, the same empire entirely, but with some variation; and (2) the dragon gave him his power dormus or his armies, and his seat Scio or his imperial throne, and great authority or juris-

(2) Imperium Romano-Papale tune nundine videtur, quum papam omnium ecclesiarum caput esset dixit Justinianus. V. Cod. L. 1. T. 1. A. D. 533, et exeunte haud potius tumquam significationem sed missis ad eum episcopos, quasi legibus. Id Gregorius I. in fines secundii sexti in episcopos Hispanic, Gallici, &c. satris superbe exercuit; successorum septimi milia eorum magis. In utroque ecceuntio paparum inveniatur imaginius cultus, et sanctorum invocatio: nam hic ipsi Gregorius I. insignis memerit deis virgines Mariae. En infra blasphemias. Secundo octavo A. D. 727, imperium civile Romano et ducibus Romanorum, excuscatum pu*hque imperatore Greco, arripit papa (testo Anastasio et Sigeonio de Regno Italice L. 3.) Gregorius II. Interium non only, &c. papis dissentientes, infames, exterior, inestables impet. legibus facta sunt. V. Cod. in quo canonem sequuntur legibus, &c. Nonne ibidem omnia satis clarum præstant magnum illum beatum ex orto sanctetem a doctrina traditur, &c. "The Roman-Papal empire seems then to have arisen, when Justinian called the Pope the head of all churches, and this he did not in word only, but by sending Bishops to him as ambassadors. Gregory I. at the end of the sixth century abused this concession, by treating in a very insolent manner the Bishops of Spain, France, &c. and his successors in the seventh century still more. In both these centuries, the countenance of the popes, the worshipping of images and the invocation of saints much prevailed. For this very Gregory inserted the name of the blessed Virgin Mary in the Litany. Behold from the blasphemies. In the eighth century, A. D. 727, Gregory II. seized the civil government of the city and duchy of Rome, having communicated and expelled the Greek emperor, (as Anastasius and also Sigeonius concerning the kingdom of Italy, Book 3. testify.) In the mean time the orthodox, that is, they who resisted the popes were declared outlaws, infamous, aliens, and incapable of appearing as witnesses. See the Code in which the Caesars of the church are put upon an equal footing with the laws of the empire, &c. Do not all these things sufficiently show that great power was given by the dragon to the beast who was now risen, &c."

Mr. Maurice's MS.
diction over all the parts of his empire. The beast therefore is the successor and substitute of the dragon or of the idolatrous heathen Roman empire: and what other idolatrous power hath succeeded to the heathen emperors in Rome, all the world is a judge and a witness. The dragon having failed in his purpose of restoring the old heathen idolatry, delegates his power to the beast, and thereby introduces a new species of idolatry, nominally different, but essentially the same, the worship of angels and saints instead of the gods and demigods of antiquity.

Another mark, whereby the beast was peculiarly distinguished, was (ver. 3) one of his heads as it were wounded to death. It will appear hereafter, that this head was the sixth head, for five were fallen (xvii. 10.) before St. John's time; and the sixth head was that of the Caesars or emperors, there having been before kings, and consuls, and dictators, and decrevirs, and military tribunes with consular authority. The sixth head was as it were wounded to death, when the Roman empire was overturned by the northern nations, an end was put to the very name of emperor in Momylius Augustulus; or rather, as the government of the Gothic kings was (3) much the same as that of the emperors with only a change of the name, this head was more effectually wounded to death, when Rome was reduced to a poor dukedom, and made tributary to the exarchate of Ravenna: and Sigonius, who hath written the best of these times and of these affairs, includes the history of the Gothic kings in his history of the western empire. But not only one of his heads was as it were wounded to death, but his deadly wound was healed. If it was the sixth head which was wounded, that wound could not be healed by the rising of the seventh head, as interpreters commonly conceive; the same head which was wounded must be healed; and this was effected by the pope and people of Rome revolting from the exarch of Ravenna, and proclaiming Charles the great Augustus and emperor of the Romans. Here the wounded imperial head was healed again, and hath subsisted ever since. At this time, partly thr'o' the pope, and partly thr'o' the emperor, supporting and strengthening each other, the Roman name again became formidable: and all the world wondered after the beast, and (ver. 4.) they worshipped the dragon which 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? No kingdom or empire was like that of the beast, it had not a parallel upon earth, and it was in vain for any to resist or oppose it, it prevailed and triumphed over all; and all the world in submitting thus to the religion of the beast, did in effect submit again to the religion of the dragon, it being the old idolatry with new names. The worshipping of demons and idols is in effect the worshipping of devils.

Wonderful as the beast was, his words and actions (ver. 5—8.) are no less wonderful. He perfectly resembles the little horn in Daniel. As the little horn (Dan. vii. 8, 25.) hath a mouth speaking great things, and spake great words against the most High; so there was given unto the beast a mouth speaking great things, and he opened his mouth in blasphemy against God. As the little horn (Dan. vii. 21.) made war with the saints, and prevailed against them; so it was given unto the beast to make war with the saints and to overcome them. As the little horn prospered (Dan. vii. 25.) until a time, and times, and the dividing of time, that is three prophetic years and a half; so power was given unto the beast to continue, to practice and prosper, forty and two months, which is exactly the same portion of time as three years and a half. We see that not only the same images, but almost the same words are employed; and the portraits being so perfectly alike, it might fairly be presumed, if there was no other argument, that they were both drawn for the same person: and having before clearly discovered who sat for the one, we cannot now be at any loss to determine who sat for the other. It is the Roman beast in his last state or under his seventh head; and he hath a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies; and

(3) — regnum veteris imperii ex omni parti similimum. [* The government was in every respect very similar to that under the ancient empire.*] Sigonius de Occidentali Imperio. Lib. 16. Ann. 494.
what can be greater things and blasphemies, than the (4) claims of universal bishop, infallible judge of all controversies, sovran of kings, disposer of kingdoms, vicegerent of Christ, and God upon earth! He hath also power to continue or rather to practise, to prevail, and prosper, forty and two months. Some read to make war, not rightly understanding, I suppose, what was meant by alone; but it signifies to continue, to exist for no longer a term, but he is to practise, to prosper and prevail forty and two months; as the holy city (xi. 2.) is to be troden under foot of the Gentiles forty and two months which are the 1260 days or years of the reign of Antichrist. But if by the beast he understood the Heathen Roman empire, the Heathen Roman empire, instead of subsisting 1260, did not subsist 400 years after the date of this prophecy.

After this general account of the blasphemies and exploits of the beast, there follows a specification of the particulars. He opened his mouth in blasphemy against God. Blasphemy against God may be said to be of two kinds, not only speaking dishonourably of the supreme Being, but likewise attributing to the creature what belongs to the Creator, as in idolatry; which is often the sense of the word in scripture; as in Isaiah (lxv. 7.) They have burnt incense upon the mountains, and blasphemed me upon the hills; and in several other places. He blasphemes the name of God by assuming the divine titles and honors to himself, and as it is expressed in the Wisdom of Solomon, (xiv. 21.) by ascribing unto stokes and stocks the incommunicable name. He blasphemes

(6) Prima ejus expeditio incipit in Albigenias et Waldenses, et si quicunque tunc appello, sint veri Christi ecclesia, quorum fata segestas edita fuit ut per Galliam solum, si P. Periones in ejus bello historia recens calcinum inerit, ecce si ad decreta contumax milites. Ab origine Jesu Christi, ad annum 1480, hoc est, paulo pluribus quin et trigesimus annorum, orthodoxorum nongesta tere milites fuisse transulcer, notat Baldinunus de Anticristo. In Belgio solo, ibi quae sumo solum carnibus, salvis, hanc Romanam solis Albae, ad 36 annorum milites, se autem, intra pures不知所云 subitata gloriaest et. Testatur Vergerius, qui ut optime move, Inquisitionem, ut vocant, heretici praetextis ex triginta annorum spatio, centum qui se praetexit Christianorum milites diversis afflactionum generum consuprisso. Fadiem SANDERUS inutilis Lollardos et Sacramentarios in tota Europa ignis traditos esse; quos tamen ut ille mona papa et episcopis, sed a poesiscis magisteribus nee dati possit. Nicolas sic inter prophetiam rem geri oportuit: mun de scoelari beata dictum, quod sanctus bellum faceret, cosce vinceret. [His first expedition was directed against the Albigenas and Waldenses, and against the true worshippers of Christ, and whatever else they were called, of whom so dreadful a slaughter was made, that in France alone, if P. Periones, in his history of this war, has made a correct calculation, there perished ten hundred thousand. — Baldwin in his treatise concerning Antichrist observes, that from the first institution of the Jesus to the year 1480, that is in little more than 30 years, nearly nine hundred thousand of the orthodox were slain. In the Netherlands alone, that barbarous deceiver of the Roman see, the Duke of Alva boasted, within a few years he had caused to be cut off the amount of thirty-six thousand souls, and that by the hand of the common executioner alone. Vergerius, who was well acquainted with the subject, affirming, that the Inquisition of heretical depravity, as they styled themselves, had destroyed, by various kinds of torture, within the space of thirty years, an hundred and fifty thousand Christians. Sanders confesses that an infinite number of Lollards and Sacramentaries were delivered to the flames throughout Europe, who, however, he declares, were not put to death by the Pope and Bishops, but the civil magistrates. And thus indeed, accord-
that in the war with the Albigenses and Waldenses there perished of these poor creatures in France alone a million. From the first institution of the Jesuits to the year 1480, that is in little more than thirty years, nine hundred thousand orthodox Christians were slain. In the Netherlands alone, the Duke of Alva boasted, that within a few years he had dispatched to the amount of thirty-six thousand souls, and those all by the hand of the common executioner. In the space of scarce thirty years, the Inquisition destroyed by various kinds of tortures a hundred and fifty thousand Christians. Sanders himself confesses, that an innumerable multitude of Lollards and Sacramentarians were burnt throughout all Europe, who yet, he says, were not put to death by the pope and bishops, but by the civil magistrates; which perfectly agrees with this prophecy, for of the secular beast it is said, that he should make war with the saints, and overcome them. No wonder that by these means he should obtain an universal authority over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations, and establish his dominion in all the countries of the western Roman empire: and that they should not only submit to all his decrees, but even adore his person, except the faithful few, whose names, as citizens of heaven, were enrolled in the registers of life. Let the Romanists boast therefore that theirs is the catholic church and universal empire; this is so far from being any evidence of the truth, that it is the very brand imputed by the spirit of prophecy.

It was customary with our Saviour, when he would have his auditors pay a particular attention to what he had been saying, to add, He who hath ears to hear, let him hear. St. John repeats the same admonition at the end of each of the seven epistles to the seven churches of Asia, and here in the conclusion of his description of the beast, (ver. 9.) If any man hath an ear, let him hear: and certainly the description of the beast is deserving of the highest attention upon many accounts, and particularly because the right interpretation of the Apocalypse turneth upon it, as one of its main hinges. It is added, by way of consolation to the church, that these enemies of God and of Christ, represented under the character of the beast, shall suffer the law of retaliation, and be as remarkably punished and tormented themselves, as they punished and tormented others, (ver. 10.) He who leadeth into captivity, shall go into captivity; he who killeth with the sword, must be killed with the sword. Such a promise might administer some comfort; and indeed it would be wanted; for the patience and the faith of the saints would be tried to the utmost during the reign of the beast. Here is the patience and the faith of the saints. Of all the trials and persecutions of the church this would be the most severe, and exceed those of the primitive times both in degree and in duration.

11 And I beheld another 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 power 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 wonders, so that he maketh fire come down from heaven on the earth in the sight of men,

14 And deceiveth them that dwell on the earth by the means of those miracles 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.

15 And he had power to give life unto the image of the beast, 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.

16 And he causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads:
17 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,

18 Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast: for it is the number of a man; and his number is six hundred threescore and six.

From the description of the ten horned beast or Roman empire in general, the prophet passeth to that of the two horned beast or Roman church in particular. The beast with ten crowned horns is the Roman empire as divided to ten kingdoms; the beast with two horns like a lamb the Roman hierarchy, or body of the clergy regular and secular. This beast is otherwise called the false prophet, as we shall see in several instances; than which there cannot be a stronger or plainer argument to prove that false doctors or teachers were particularly designed, or the false prophet no more than the beast is a single man, but a body or succession of men propagating false doctrines, and teaching lies for sacred truths. As the first beast rose up out of the sea, that is out of the wars and mults of the world; so this beast (ver. 11.) greweth upon the earth like plants silently and without noise, and the greatest prelates have often been raised from monks and men of the lowest birth and parentage. He had two horns like a lamb; he had, both regular and secular, the appearance of a lamb; he derived his powers from the lamb, and pretended to be like the lamb all meekness and mildness. But spake as a dragon, had a voice of terror like the dragon or Roman emperors in usurping divine titles and honors, commanding idolatry, and in persecuting and slaying the worshippers of God and faithful servants of Jesus Christ. He is an ecclesiastical person, but intermixeth himself much in civil affairs. He is the prime minister, adviser and mover of the first beast, or the beast before mentioned, (ver. 12.) He exerciseth all the power of the beast before him. He holdeth imperium in imperio, an empire within an empire; claimeth a temporal au-

thority as well as a spiritual; hath not only the principal direction of the temporal powers, but often engageth them in his service, and enforceth his canons and decrees with the sword of the civil magistrate. As the first beast concurs to maintain his authority, so he in return confirms and maintains the sovereignty and dominion of the first beast over his subjects; and causeth the earth, and them who dwell therein, to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed. He supports tyranny, as he is by tyranny supported. He insinuates the consciences, as the first beast subjugates the bodies of men. As Mr. Whiston well (7) observes, "He is the common "center and cement which unites all the distinct kings "doms of the Roman empire; and by joining with them "procurres them a blind obedience from their subjects: "and so he is the occasion of the preservation of the old "Roman empire in some kind of unity, and name, and "strength; which otherwise had been quite dissolved by "the inundations and wars succeeding the settlement of "the barbarous nations in that empire."

Such is the power and authority of the beast, and now we shall see what courses he pursues to confirm and establish it. He pretends, like other false prophets, (ver. 13.) to show great signs and wonders and even to call for fire from heaven, as Elias did. His impostures too are so successful, that (ver. 14.) he deceiveth them that dwell on the earth, by the means of those miracles which he hath power to do. In this respect he perfectly resembles St. Paul's man of sin, (2 Thess. ii. 9.) whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness; or rather they are one and the same character represented in different lights, and under different names. It is farther observable, that he is said to perform his miracles in the sight of men in order to deceive them, and in the sight of the beast in order to serve him; but not in the sight of God to serve his cause, or promote his religion. Now miracles, visions, and revelations, are

the mighty boast of the church of Rome; the contrivances of an artful cunning clergy to impose upon an ignorant credulous laity. Even fire is pretended to come down from heaven, as in the case of St. Anthony's fire, and other instances cited by (8) Brightman and other writers on the Revelation, and in solemn excommunications, which are called the thunders of the church, and are performed with the ceremony of casting down burning torches from on high, as symbols and emblems of fire from heaven. Miracles are thought so necessary and essential, that they are reckoned among the notes of the catholic church; and they are alleged principally in support of purgatory, prayers for the dead, the worship of saints, images, and relics, and the like (as they are called) catholic doctrines. But if these miracles were all real, we learn from hence what opinion we ought to frame of them; and what they shall say, if they are all fictitious and counterfeits? They are indeed so far from being any proofs of the true church, that they are rather a proof of a false one; they are, as we see, the distinguishing mark of Antichrist.

The influence of the two-horned beast or corrupted clergy is farther seen in persuading and inducing mankind (ver. 14.) to make an image to the beast, which had the wound by a sword and did live; that is an image and representative of the Roman empire, which was wounded by the sword of the barbarous nations, and revived in the revival of a new emperor of the west. He had also power (ver. 15.) to give life and activity unto the image of the beast. It should not be a dumb and lifeless idol, but should speak and deliver oracles, as the statues of the heathen gods were fain to do, and should cause to be killed as many as would not worship and obey it. Some by this image of the beast (9) understand the rise of the new empire of Charlemain, which was an image of the old Roman empire, and is now become the empire of Germany; but this is the beast himself, who

(8) Vide Brightman, et Poli Synops., in locum.

had the wound by a sword and did live, and not the image of the beast; the rise of this new empire was the healing of his deadly wound, by which he lived again. Others more probably (1) conceive, that this image of the beast is the office of inquisition, which was introduced among the blind vulgar, as a popular scheme, and warmly recommended by the Dominican and Franciscan monks, at first without any voice of command, or power of execution; till courts were erected independent of bishops; and judges, officers, familiars, liars, prisons, and tormentors were appointed, who should put to exquisite punishments, and deliver over to a cruel death all that would not submit with an implicit obedience; but the office of inquisition is established only in some particular papistic countries, and this belongs and extends to all in general. As many as would not worship the image of the beast, the image of the beast should cause to be killed; but there are many papists who do not receive and own the authority of the inquisition, and yet the inquisition doth not attempt to destroy and extirpate all such papists. What appears most probable is, that this image and representative of the beast is the Pope. He is properly the idol of the church. He represents in himself the whole power of the beast, and is the head of all authority temporal as well as spiritual. He is nothing more than a private person without power and without authority, till the two-horned beast or the corrupted clergy by choosing him pope give life unto him, and enable him to speak and utter his decrees, and to persecute even to death as many as refuse to submit to him and to worship him. As soon as he is chosen pope, he is clothed with the pontifical robes, and crowned and placed upon the altar, and the cardinals come and kiss his feet, which ceremony is called adoration. They first elect, and then they worship him, as in the (2) medals of Martin V, where two are represented crowning the pope, and two kneeling before him,
of faith in the church of Rome, as subserving to superstition, idolatry and tyranny, is called the mark or character of the beast; which character is said to be received in their forehead, when they make open and public declaration of their faith, and in their right hand, when they live and act in conformity to it. If any dissent from the stated and authorized forms, they are condemned and excommunicated as heretics; and in consequence of that they are are no longer suffered to buy or sell; they are interdicted from traffic and commerce, and all the benefits of civil society. So Roger Hoveden (4) relates of William the conqueror, that he was so duteous to the pope, that ‘he would not permit any one in his power to buy or sell anything, whom he found disobedient to the apostolic see’. So the canon of the council of Lateran under Pope Alexander the third, made against the Waldenses and Albigenises, (5) injoins upon pain of anathema, that ‘no man presume to entertain or cherish them in his house or land, or exercise traffic with them’. The synod of Tours in France under the same pope (6) orders under the like interination, that ‘no man should presume to receive or assist them, no not so much as to hold any communion with them in selling or buying, that being deprived of the comfort of humanity, they may be compelled to repent of the error of their way.’ Pope Martin V, in his bull set out after the council of Constance (7) commands in


(7) Ne heresios in suis dictis haereticae tenere, contractus sibi, negotiationes exercere, aut humanitatis solatio cum Christianis habeere permittant. [Translated in the text.] Ex Parco apud Danduz. p. 599.
like manner, that they permit not the heretics to have houses in their districts, or enter into contracts, or carry on commerce, or enjoy the comforts of humanity with Christians. In this respect, as Mede (8) observes, the false prophet spoke as the dragon. For the dragon Diocletian published a like edict, that no one should sell or administer any thing to the Christians, unless they had first burnt incense to the gods, as Belus, also rehearseth in the hymn of Justin Martyr: They had not the power of buying or selling any thing, nor were they allowed the liberty of drawing water itself, before they had offered incense to detestable idols. Popish excommunications are therefore like heathen persecutions; and how large a share the corrupted clergy, and especially the monks of former, and the Jesuits of later times, have had in framing and enforcing such cruel interdicts, and in reducing all orders and degrees to so servile a state of subjection, no man of the least reading can want to be informed.

Mention having been made of the number of the beast, or the number of his name, (for they are both the same) the prophet proceeds to inform us what that number is, leaving us from the number to collect the name, (ver. 18.) Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast. It is not therefore a vain and ridiculous attempt to search into this mystery, but on the contrary is recommended to us upon the authority of an apostle. For it is the number of a man; it is a method of numbering practised among men; as the measure of a man (xvi. 17.) is such a measure as men commonly make use of in measuring. It was a method


Non illis emendati quidquam
Ant vendendati copiam
Nee ipsam haereticam aquam
Dabitur licentia
Antiquam turcentration
Detestandos idola.

[Translate in the text.] Mede, p. 509.

practised among the ancients, to denote names by numbers: as the (9) name of Thoth or the Egyptian Mercury was signified by the number 1428; the name of Jupiter, as Ἄρης or the beginning of things, by the number 717; and the name of the sun, as Ἀερίη, or the author of rain, by the number 608. St. Barnabas the companion of St. Paul, in his (1) epistle discovers in like manner the name of Jesus crucified in the number 315: and other instances might be produced, if there was occasion. It hath been the usual method in all God's dispensations, for the holy Spirit to accommodate his expressions to the customs, fashions, and manners of the several ages. Since then this art and mystery of numbers was so much used among the ancients, it is less wonderful that the beast also should have his number, and his number is six hundred and sixty-six. Here only the number is specified: and from the number we must, as well as we can, collect the name. Several names possibly might be cited, which contain this number: but it is evident, that it must be some Greek or Hebrew name; and with the name also the other qualities and properties of the beast must all agree. The name alone will not constitute an agreement; all other particulars must be perfectly applicable, and the name also must comprehend the precise number of 666. No name appears more proper and suitable than that famous one mentioned by Ire-
næus, who lived not long after St. John's time, and was the disciple of Polycarp, the disciple of John. He (2) saith, that 'the name Lateinos contains the number of 666; and it is very likely, because the last kingdom is so called, for they are Latins who now reign; but in this he will not glory': that is, as it becomes a modest and pious man in a point of such difficulty, he will not be too confident of his explication. Lateinos with this is the true orthography, as the Greeks wrote the long of the Latins, and as the Latins themselves (3) wrote in former times. No objection therefore can be drawn from the spelling of the name, and the thing agrees to admiration. For after the division of the empire, the Greeks and other orientalists called the people of the western church or church of Rome Latins; and as Dr. Henry Moore (4) expresseth it, they latinize in every thing. Mass, prayers, hymns, litanies, canonues, decretals, bulls, are conceived in Latin. The papal councils speak in Latin. Women themselves pray in Latin. Nor is the scripture read in any other language under popery, than Latin. Wherefore the council of Trent commanded the vulgar Latin to be the only authentic version. Nor do their doctors doubt to prefer it to the Hebrew and Greek text itself, which was written by the prophets and apostles. In short all things are Latin; the pope having communicated his language to the people under his dominion, as the mark and character of his empire. They them-


(3) So Leminus Lib. vi. 26.

Quorum virtutem hellei fortuna pepereit, Hurrendum ne fideiret parere certum est:


selves indeed choose rather to be called Romans, and more absurdly still Roman Catholics; and probably the apostle, as he hath made use of some Hebrew names in this book, as Abaddon (ix. 11.) and Armageddon (xvi. 16.) so might in this place likewise allude to the name in the Hebrew language. Now Romith is the (5) Hebrew name for the Roman beast or Roman kingdom: and this word, as well as the former word Lateinus, contains the just and exact number of 666. It is really surprising that there should be such a fatal coincidence in both names in both languages, Mr. Pyle (6) asserts, and I believe he may assert very truly, that “no other word, ‘in any language whatever, can be found to express ‘both the same number, and the same thing.”

CHAP. XIV.

1 And I looked, and lo, a Lamb stood on the mount Sion, and with him an hundred four thousand, having his Father’s name written in their foreheads.

2 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 harpers harping with their harps:

3 And they sang as it were a new song before the throne and before the four beasts, and the elders; and no man could learn that song, but the hundred

(5) Romi masc. Romitha fem. to agree with יָדִיעַ beast or kingdom.  

A 30 7 200
B 6
T 300
E 5
J 10
N 50
O 70
Z 200

666

(6) See Pyle’s Paraphrase, p. 104.
and forty and four thousand, which were redeemed from the earth.

4. 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.

5. And in their mouth was found no guile; for they are without fault before the throne of God.

After this melancholy account of the rise and reign of the beast, the Spirit of prophecy delineates, by way of opposition, the state of the true church during the same period, its struggles and contests with the beast, and the judgments of God upon its enemies. Our Saviour is seen (ver. 1) as the true Lamb of God, not only with horns like a lamb, standing on the mount Sion, the place of God's true worship; and with him an hundred forty and four thousand, the same select number that was mentioned before, (vii. 4) the genuine offspring of the twelve apostles apostolically multiplied, and therefore the number of the church, as 665 is the number of the beast; and as the followers of the beast have the name of the beast, so these have the name of God, and as some copies add of Christ, written in their foreheads, being his professed servants, and the same as the witnesses, only represented under different figures. The angels and heavenly quire (ver. 2, 3) with loud voices and instruments of music sing the same new song or Christian song that they sung before: (Chap. v.) and no man could learn that song, but the hundred and forty and four thousand; they alone are the worshippers of the one true God through the one true mediator Jesus Christ; all the rest of mankind offer up their devotions to other objects, and through other mediators. These are they which were not defiled with women; for they are virgins; (ver. 4) they are pure from all the stains and pollutions of spiritual whoredom or idolatry, with which the other parts of the world are miserably debauched and corrupted. These are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth; they adhere constantly to the religion of Christ in all conditions and in all places, whether in adversity or prosperity, whether in conventicles and deserts, or in churches or cities. These were redeemed from among men, rescued from the corruptions of the world, and are consecrated as the first fruits unto God and the Lamb, an earnest and assurance of a more plentiful harvest in succeeding times. And in their mouth was found no guile; (ver. 5) they handle not the word of God deceitfully, they preach the sincere doctrin of Christ, they are as free from hypocrisy as from idolatry; for they are without fault before the throne of God, they resemble their blessed Redeemer, who (1 Pet. ii. 22.) did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth; and are, as the apostle requires Christians to be, (Philip. ii. 15.) blameless and harmless, the sons of God without rebuke in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation. But possibly it may be asked, Where did such a church ever exist, especially before the Reformation: and it may be replied that it hath not existed only in idea; history demonstrates as it hath been before evinced, that there have in every age been some true worshippers of God, and faithful servants of Jesus Christ; and as Elijah did not know the seven thousand men who had never bowed the knee to Baal, so there may have been more true Christians than were always visible.

6. 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.

7. Saying with a loud voice, Fear God, and give 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.

Such is the nature and character of the true Christian church in opposition to the wicked Antichristian kingdom; and three principal efforts have been made towards a reformation at three different times, represented by three angels appearing one after another. Another angel,
(ver. 9.) besides those who were employed in singing.
(ver. 3.) is seen flying in the midst of heaven, and having
the everlasting gospel to preach unto every nation and
people; so that during this period the gospel should still
be preached, which is stiled the everlasting gospel; being
like its divine author (Heb. xiii. 8.) the same yesterday, and
to day, and for ever, in opposition to the novel doctrines
of the beast and the false prophet, which (Matt. xxv. 13.)
should be rooted up as plants not of the heavenly Father's
planting. This angel is farther represented (ver. 7.) saying
with a loud voice, Fear God, and give glory to him,
for the hour of his judgment is come. Prophecy mentions
things as come, which will certainly come: and so our
Saviour said (John xii. 31.) Now is the judgment of this
world; it is denounced with certainty now, and in due
time will be fully executed. But what this angel more
particularly recommends, is the worship of the great cre-
tor of the universe; Worship him that made heaven and
carth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters. It is a
solemn and emphatic exhortation to forsake the reigning
idolatry and superstition, and such exhortations were
made even in the first and earliest times of the beast.
Besides several of the Greek emperors who strenuously
opposed the worship of images, Charlemain himself (7)
held a council at Francfort in the year 791, consisting of
about 300 French, and German, and Italian, and Span-
ish, and British bishops, who condemned all sort of
adoration or worship of images, and rejected the second
council of Nice, which had authorized and established it.
At the same time the Carolin books, as they are called,
four books written by Charles himself or by his autho-
ritv, proving the worship of images to be contrary to the
scripture and to the doctrine and practice of antiquity,
were approved by the council, and transmitted to the
pope. Lewis the pious, the son and successor of Charles,
(8) held a council at Paris in the year 824, which rat-

S 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.

As the admonitions of the first angel had not the proper effect upon the kingdom of the beast, the second angel is commissioned to proclaim the fall of the capital city, (ver. 8.) And there followed another angel, saying, Babylon is fallen, is fallen, that great city. By Babylon was meant Rome, as all authors of all ages and countries agree; but it was not prudent to announce the destruction of Rome in open and direct terms: it was for many wise reasons done covertly under the name of Babylon, which was the great idolatress of the earth, and enemy of the people of God in former, as Rome hath been in later times. By the same figure of speech, that the first angel cried that the hour of his judgment is come, this second angel proclaims that Babylon is fallen; the sentence is as certain, as if it was already executed. For greater certainty too it is repeated twice Babylon is fallen, is fallen; as Joseph said (Gen. xli. 32.) that the dream was doubled unto Pharaoh twice, because the thing is established by God, and God will shortly bring it to pass. The reason then is added of this sentence against Babylon, because she made all nations drink of the wine of her wrath, or rather of the inflaming wine of her fornication. Hers was a kind of a Circéan cup with poisoned liquor to intoxicate and inflame mankind to spiritual fornication. St. John in these figures copies the ancient prophets. In the same manner, and in the same words, did Isaiah foretell the fate of ancient Babylon, (xxi. 9.) Babylon is fallen, is fallen; and Jeremiah hath assigned much the same reason for her destruction, (li. 7.) Babylon hath been a golden cup in the Lord's hand, that made all the earth drunken: the nations have drunken of her wine: therefore the nations are mad. As by the first angel calling upon men to worship God, we understand the opposers of the worship of images in the eighth and ninth centuries, so by this second angel proclaiming the fall of mystic Babylon or Rome, we understand particularly (4) Peter Valdo and those who concurred with him the Waldenses and Albigenases; who were the first heralds, as I may say, of this proclamation, as they first of all in the twelfth century pronounced the church of Rome to be the apocalyptic Babylon, the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth; and for this cause not only departed from her communion themselves, but engaged great numbers also to follow their example, and laid the first foundation of the Reformation. Rome then began to fall; and as the ruin of Babylon was completed by degrees, so likewise will that of Rome; and these holy confessors and martyrs first paved the way to it.

9 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,

10 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:

11 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.

12 Here is the patience of the saints: here are they that keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus.

13 And I heard a voice from heaven, saying

(4) Medo, p. 517, 722, &c. Fred. Spanheim, Hist. Christian. See. 12. Cap. 6. — recessisse a doctrina et praxi recepta Romane ecclesiae, nunquam passam Babylonem, ac confusionem omnium matrem, &c. That they had withdrawn from the established doctrine and practice of the Roman church, and had given to her the name of Babylon, and the mother of all confusion, &c. — Sect. 4. Thumi Hist. Lib. 6. Cap. 16. — Eternas habe dormitam forculam. Ecclesiam Romanam, quoniam verae Christi fidei remanuerit, Babyloniam meretricem esse, &c. These were reported to be their opinions, that the Roman church, because she had denounced the true faith of Christ was the whore of Babylon, &c.] p. 221. Edit. Buckley.
unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead which die in
the Lord, from henceforth, Yea, saith the Spirit,
that they may rest from their labors, and their works
do follow them.

But not only the capital city, not only the principal
agents and promoters of idolatry shall be destroyed; the
commission of the third angel reached farther, and ex-
tends to all the subjects of the beast, whom he consigns
over to everlasting punishment, (ver. 9, 10, 11.) 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, if any man embrace
and profess the religion of the beast, or what is the same
the religion of the pope; the same shall drink of the wine
of the wrath of God, or rather of the poisonous wine of
God. His punishment shall correspond with his crime.
As he drank of the poisonous wine of Babylon, so he shall
be made to drink of the poisonous wine of God, 
which is poured out without mixture, or rather, which is mixt unmixt, the poisonous ingredients
being stronger when mixt with mere or unmixt wine, in
the cup of his indignation; and he shall be tormented day
and night for ever and ever. By this third angel follow-
ing the others with a loud voice we understand principally
Martin Luther and his fellow-reformers, who with a
loud voice protested against all the corruptions of
the church of Rome, and declared them to be destructive of
salvation to all who still obstinately continue in the prac-
tice and profession of them. This would be a time of
great trial, (ver. 12.) Here is the patience of the saints;
here are they who keep the commandments of God, and
the faith of Jesus. And it is very well known, that this
was a time of trial and great persecution; the Reforma-
tion was not introduced and established without much
bloodshed; there were many martyrs in every country.
But they are comforted with a solemn declaration from
heaven, (ver. 13.) And I heard a voice from heaven say-
ing unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead who die in the
Lord, from henceforth, if they die in the faith and obe-
dience of Christ, and more especially if they die martyrs
for his sake: Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest
from their labors, for immediately upon their deaths they
enter into rest; and their works do follow them, they enjoy
now some recompense, and in due time, at the day
of judgment, they shall receive the full reward of their
good works. It is most probable that St. John alluded
to a passage in Isaiah, where the Spirit hath made the
like declaration; (lvi. 1, 2.) The righteous perisheth,
and no man layeth it to heart; and merciful men are
taken away, none considering that the righteous is taken
away from the evil to come: he shall enter into peace:
they shall rest in their beds, each one walking in his up-
rightness. But the greatest difficulty of all is to account
for the words from henceforth; for why should the bles-
sedness of the dead who die in the Lord be restrained to
this time, and commence from this period rather than from
any other, when they are at all times and in all periods
equally blessed, and not more since this time than before?
Commentators are here very much at a loss, and offer little
or nothing that is satisfactory; but the difficulty in great
measure ceases, if we apply this prophecy, as I think it
should be applied, to the Reformation. For from that
time, the blessedness of the dead who die in the Lord
hath not been enlarged, yet it hath been much better
understood, more clearly written and promulgated than
it was before, and the contrary doctrine of purgatory hath
been exploded and banished from the belief of all rea-
sonable men. This truth was moreover one of the lead-
ing principles of the Reformation. What first provoked
Luther’s spirit was the scandalous sale of indulgences;
and the doctrine of indulgences having a close connection
with the doctrine of purgatory, the refutation of the one
naturally led him to the refutation of the other; and his
(5) first work of reformation was his 95 theses or posi-
tions against indulgences, purgatory, and the dependent
doctrins. So that he may be said literally to have ful-

Cap. 5. Sect. 1.
filled the command from heaven, of writing, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, from henceforth: and from that time to this, this truth has been so clearly asserted, and so solidly established, that it is likely to prevail for ever.

A learned and ingenious friend refers these three proclamations of the three angels to later times, and supposes that they are an immediate prelude to the fall of Antichrist and the millennium. But the clue that has principally conducted me thro both parts of the Revelation is following the series of history and the successive order of events. After the description of the two beasts, secular and ecclesiastical, whose power was established according to my hypothesis in the eighth century, but according to most commentators much sooner, there would be a very large chasm without the prediction of any memorable events, if these prophecies relate to the time immediately preceding the fall of Antichrist and the millennium. What a long interval would that be without any prophecy? and how thick would the events follow afterward? for all the particulars not only of this 14th, but likewise of the 16th, 18th, and 19th chapters, must be fulfilled before the commencement of the millennium. I can hardly frame, even in imagination, any events which can answer more exactly to these proclamations of the three angels than the three principal efforts towards a reformation. Charlemain, Valdo, Luther, and their followers, certainly deserve as exalted characters as are here given them: and it would be very strange that there should be so many prophecies relating to the downfall of popery, and none concerning the Reformation. He conceives that.please cannot be represented in such an attitude of triumph and jubilation, as it is in the former part of this chapter, while it is afflicted and persecuted during the reign of the beast. But the church of this period is not drawn in such an attitude of triumph and jubilation as he imagines; there are some intimations of its suffering persecution in this very chapter: and if it was as he imagines, yet why may not the true church be represented like the Apostles and

primitive Christians as sorrowful yet always rejoicing, as rejoicing in tribulation, as exceedingly joyfyl in tribulation, &c.? He farther conceives, that these dead are blessed from henceforth, because they will remain a shorter time in the separate state, and be sooner raised again. But why then is not that reason assigned but quite different ones, that they may rest from their labors, and their works do follow them? These are the reasons which hold equally good at all times, and cannot be restrained and limited to any particular time: and therefore I conceive that the words from henceforth relate not so much to the blessedness of the dead, which is always the same, as to the writing and proclaiming of this doctrin by Luther and the protestant reformers.

14 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.

15 And another angel came out of the temple, crying 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.

16 And he that sat on the cloud, thrust in his sickle on the earth; and the earth was reaped.

17 And another angel came out of the temple which is in heaven, he also having a sharp sickle.

18 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.

19 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.

20 And the wine-press was troden 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.
But still the voices of these three warning angels not having their due influence and effect, the judgments of God will overtake the followers and adherents of the beast, which judgments are represented under the figures of harvest and vintage, (ver. 15—20.) figures not unusual in the prophets, and copied particularly from the prophet Joel, who denounced God’s judgments against the enemies of his people in the like terms; (iii. 13.) Put ye in the sickle, for the harvest is ripe; come, get you down, for the press is full, the fat overflow, for their wickedness is great. What particular events are signified by this harvest and vintage, it appears impossible for any man to determin, time alone can with certainty discover, for these things are yet in futurity. Only it may be observed, that these two signal judgments will as certainly come, as harvest and vintage succeed in their season; and in the course of providence the one will precede the other, as in the course of nature the harvest is before the vintage; and the latter will greatly surpass the former, and be attended with a more terrible destruction of God’s enemies. It is said (ver. 20.) that the blood came even unto the horse-bridles, which is a strong hyperbolical way of speaking to express vast slaughter and effusion of blood; a way of speaking not unknown to the Jews, for (6) the Jerusalem Talmud describing the woful slaughter, which the Roman emperor Adrian made of the Jews at the destruction of the city of Bitter, saith that the horses waded in blood up to the nostrils. Nor are similar examples wanting even in the classic authors: for (7) Silius Italicus, speaking of Annibal’s descent into Italy, useth a like expression of the bridles flowing with much blood. The stage where this bloody tragedy is acted, is without the city, by the space of a thousand and six hun-

(6) In Tannith, Vol. 60, Col. 1. Lightfoot’s Harmony of the N. T. in locum. Vide etiam Eccles. R. ii. 2. Tribus annis cum dimidio obidit Adrianus Bitterem, nec cessaret in ea interficiendae, donec mergeret ecurum in sanguine usque ad os, &c. Adrian besieged the city of Bitter during three years and a half. The slaughter did in it till a horse might have waded in blood up to the nostrils, &c.] apud Westen in locum.

(7) Silius Italicus, iii. 785. —multumque fluuit sanguine tora. [Translated in the text.]

THE PROPHECIES.

dread furlongs, which, as Mr. Mede (8) ingeniously observes, is the measure of stato della chiesa, or the state of the Roman church, or St. Peter’s patrimony, which reaching from the walls of Rome unto the river Po and the marshes of Verona, contains the space of 200 Italian miles, which make exactly 1600 furlongs.

CHAP. XV.

1 AND I saw another sign in heaven, great and marvellous, seven angels having the seven last plagues, for in them is filled up the wrath of God.

2 And I saw as it were a sea of glass mingled with fire; and them that had gotten the victory over the beast, and over his image, and over his marks, and over the number of his name, stand on the sea of glass, having the harps of God.

3 And they sing the songs of Moses the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb, saying, Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty; just and true are thy ways, thou king of saints.

4 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 judgments are made manifest.

5 And after that I looked, and beheld, the temple of the tabernacle of the testimony in heaven was opened:

6 And the seven angels came out of the temple, having the seven plagues, clothed in pure and white linen, and having their breasts girded with golden girdles.

(8) In vicino locum est cui dictus stadiorum numerus periecte convenit: puta stato della chiesa, seu ecclesiae Romanae latitudinem, quod ab urbe Roma usque ad ultimum Padi ostium et Paludes Veronenses pertinet sit spatio milliario et centum titulorum, id est stadiorum 1600. In loco habet. There is a land a place, whose measurement exactly agrees with the number of furlongs here mentioned, and that is stato della chiesa, or the state of the Roman church, which stretching from the city of Rome, to the farthest mouth of the Po and the marshes of Verona, extends for the space of two hundred Italian miles, or sixteen hundred furlongs.] Mede, p. 322.
7 And one of the four beasts gave unto the seven angels, seven golden vials full of the wrath of God, who liveth for ever and ever.

8 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.

God's judgments upon the kingdom of the beast, or Antichristian empire, are hitherto denounced, and described in general terms under the figures of harvest and vintage. A more particular account of them follows under the emblem of seven vials which are called (ver. 1.) the seven last plagues, for in them is filled up the wrath of God. These seven last plagues must necessarily fall under the seventh and last trumpet, or the third and last voe-trumpet; so that as the seventh seal contained the seven trumpets, the seventh trumpet comprehends the seven vials. Not only the concinnity of the prophecy requires this order; for otherwise there would be great confusion, and the vials would interfere with the trumpets, some falling under one trumpet, and some under another: but moreover, if these seven last plagues and the consequent destruction of Babylon be not the subject of the third voe, the third voe is no where described particularly as the the two former woes. When four of the seven trumpets had sounded, it was declared (viii. 13.) Voe, voe, voe to the inhabitants of the earth, by reason of the other voices of the trumpet of the three angels which are yet to sound. Accordingly at the sounding of the fifth trumpet (ix. 1.) commences the voe of the Saracen or Arabian locusts; and in the conclusion is added ver. 12.) One voe is past, and behold, there come two woes more hereafter. At the sounding of the sixth trumpet (ix. 13.) begins the plague of the Euphratian orsomen or Turks; and in the conclusion is added xi. 14.) The second voe is past, and behold, the third voe cometh quickly. At the sounding of the seventh trumpet therefore (xi. 15, &c.) one would naturally expect the description of the third voe to succeed: but as it was before observed, there follows only a short and summary account of the seventh trumpet, and of the joyful rather than of the woeful part of it. A general intimation indeed is given of God's taking unto him his great power, and destroying them who destroy the earth; but the particulars are reserved for this place; and if these last plagues coincide not with the last voe, there are other plagues and other woes after the last; and how can it be said that the wrath of God is filled up in them, if there are are others besides them? If then these seven last plagues synchronize with the seventh and last trumpet, they are all yet to come; for the sixth trumpet is not yet past, nor the voe of the Turkish or Othman empire yet ended: and consequently there is no possibility of explaining them in such a manner as when the prophecies may be parallel with histories, or evinced by ocular demonstration. The many fruitless attempts which have hitherto been made to explain them, are a farther proof that they cannot well be explained, the best interpreters having failed and floundered in this part more than any other. But before the vials are poured out, the scene opens with a preparatory vision, which is the subject of this chapter.

As seven angels sounded the seven trumpets, so seven angels are appointed to pour out the seven vials, angels being always the ministers of providence; and in order to show that these judgments are to fall upon the kingdom of the beast, the true worshippers of God and faithful servants of Jesus, who had escaped victors from the beast, &c. had never submitted to his tyranny or religion, are described (ver. 2, 3, 4.) like unto the children of Israel after their deliverance and escape out of Egypt. For as the children of Israel, (Exod. xv.) having passed through the red sea, stood on the shore, and seeing their enemies overwhelmed with the waters, sang the triumphant song of Moses: so these having passed through the fiery trials of this world, stand on the sea of glass mingled with fire, which was mentioned before, (iv. 6.) and seeing the vials ready to be poured out upon their enemies, sing a song of tri-
umph for the manifestation of the divine judgments; which is called the song of Moses and the song of the Lamb, the words in great measure being taken from the song of Moses and other parts of the Old Testament, and applied in a Christian sense. After this the most holy place of the temple is opened, (ver. 5.) and the seven angels come out of the temple, (ver. 6.) to denote that their commission is immediately from God, clothed like the high priest but in a more august manner, in pure and white linen, to signify the righteousness of these judgments, and having their breasts girded, to show their readiness to execute the divine commands, with golden girdles, as emblems of their power and majesty. A vial then is given unto each of the seven angels (ver. 7.) by one of the four living creatures, the representatives of the church; by which it is intimated, that it is in vindication of the church and true religion that these plagues are inflicted. Moreover the temple is filled with smoke from the glory of God and from his power, so that no man is able to enter into it; (ver. 8.) in the same manner as the tabernacle, when it was consecrated by Moses, and the temple when it was dedicated by Solomon, (Exod. xl. 34, 35; I Kings viii. 10, 11.) were both filled with a cloud and the glory of the Lord, so that neither Moses nor the priests could enter therein: a further proof of the majestic presence and extraordinary interposition of God in the execution of these judgments.

CHAPTER XVI.

1 AND I heard a great voice out of the temple, saying to the seven angels. Go your ways and pour out the vials of the wrath of God upon the earth.

In obedience to the divine command (ver. 1.) the seven angels come forth to pour out the vials of the wrath of God upon the earth: and as the trumpets were so many steps and degrees of the ruin of the Roman empire, so the vials are of the ruin of the Roman church. The one in polity and government is the image of the other; the one is compared to the system of the world, and hath her earth, and sea, and rivers, and sun, as well as the other; and this is the reason of the similitude and resemblance of the judgments in both cases. Some resemblance too there is between these plagues, and those of Egypt. Rome papal hath already (xi. 8.) been distinguished by the title of spiritual Egypt, and resembles Egypt in her punishments as well as in her crimes, tyranny, idolatry, and wickedness.

2 And the first went, and poured out his vial upon the earth; and there fell a noisome and grievous sore upon the men which had the mark of the beast, and upon them which worshipped his image.

Vial the first (ver. 2.) is poured out upon the earth; and so the hail and fire of the first trumpet (viii. 7.) were cast upon the earth. It produceth a noisome and grievous sore; and in this respect resembleth the sixth plague of Egypt, (Exod. ix. 10.) which was boils breaking forth with blains. This plague is inflicted upon the men who had the mark of the beast, and upon them who worshipped his image: which is to be understood of the others also, where it is not expressed. Whether these sores and ulcers are natural or moral, the event must show.

3 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.

4 And the third angel poured out his vial upon the rivers and fountains of waters; and they became blood.

5 And I heard the angel of the waters say, Thou art righteous, O Lord, which art, and wast, and shalt be, because thou hast judged thus:

6 For they have shed the blood of saints and
prophets, and thou hast given them blood to drink; for they are worthy.

7 And I heard another out of the altar say, Even so, Lord God Almighty, true and righteous are thy judgments.

Vial the second (ver. 3.) is poured out upon the sea; and the sea becomes as the blood of a dead man, or as congealed blood: and in like manner under the second trumpet (viii. 8.) the burning mountain was cast into the sea, and the sea became blood. Vial the third (ver. 4.) is poured out upon the rivers and fountains of waters, and they became blood: and in like manner under the third trumpet (viii. 10.) the burning star fell upon the rivers and fountains of waters. There is a close connexion between these two vials; and the effects are similar to the first plague of Egypt, (Exod. vii. 19.) when the waters of Egypt, and their streams, and their rivers, and their ponds, and their pools of water became blood. Seas and rivers of blood manifestly denote great slaughter and devastation: and hereupon (ver. 5, 6.) the angel of the waters, for it was a prevailing opinion in the east, that a (9) particular angel presided over the waters, as others did over other elements and parts of nature, and mention was made before (xiv. 18.) of the angel who had power over fire; this angel of the waters celebrates the righteous judgments of God in adapting and proportioning the punishments of the followers of the beast to their crime; for no law is more just and equitable, than that they who have been guilty of shedding the blood of saints and prophets, should be punished in the effusion of their own blood. Another angel out of the altar (ver. 7.) for (vi. 9.) under the altar were the souls of them who were slain for the word of God and for the testimony which they held, declares his assent in the most solemn manner, Even so, Lord God Almighty, true and righteous are thy judgments.


8 And the fourth angel poured out his vial upon the sun; and power was given unto him to scorch men with fire.

9 And men were scorched with great heat, and blasphemed the name of God, which hath power over these plagues: and they repented not to give him glory.

As the fourth trumpet affected the sun; (viii. 12.) so likewise the fourth vial (ver. 8, 9.) is poured out upon the sun. An intense heat ensues; and men blaspheme the name of God, and repent not to give him glory. Whether by this intense heat of the sun, be meant literally, uncommon sultry seasons, scorching and withering the fruits of the earth, and producing pestilential fevers and inflammations; or figuratively, a most tyrannical and exorbitant exercise of arbitrary power by those who may be called the sun in the firmament of the beast, the pope or emperor; time must discover. Men shall be tormented, and complain grievously; they shall be like the rebellious Jews (Is. viii. 21.) fret themselves, and curse their king, and their God, and look upward, look upward not to pray but only to blaspheme; they shall not have the sense or courage to repent, and forsake their idolatry and wickedness. When the events shall take place, and these things shall all be fulfilled, not only these prophecies of the vials shall be better understood, but also those of the trumpets, to which they bear some analogy and resemblance.

10 And the fifth angel poured out his vial upon the seat of the beast; and his kingdom was full of darkness, and they gnawed their tongues for pain.

11 And blasphemed the God of heaven, because of their pains and their sores, and repented not of their deeds.

Vial the fifth (ver. 10, 11.) is poured out upon the seat or throne of the beast, and his kingdom becomes full of darkness, as Egypt did (Exod. x. 21.) under her mnt vol. II.
plague. This is some great calamity which shall fall upon Rome itself, and shall darken and confound the whole Antichristian empire. But still the consequences of this plague are much the same as those of the foregoing one; for the sufferers, instead of repenting of their deeds, are hardened like Pharaoh, and still persist in their blasphemy and idolatry, and obstinately withstand all attempts at reformation.

12 And the sixth angel poured out his vial upon the great river Euphrates; and the water thereof was dried up, that the way of the kings of the east might be prepared.

13 And I saw three unclean spirits like frogs come out of the mouth of the dragon, and out of the mouth of the beast, and out of the mouth of the false prophet.

14 For they are the spirits of devils, working miracles, which go forth unto the kings of the earth, and of the whole world, to gather them to the battle of that great day of God almighty.

15 Behold, I come as a thief. Blessed is he that watcheth and keepeth his garments, lest he walk naked, and they see his shame.

16 And he gathered them together into a place called in the Hebrew tongue, Armageddon.

Vial the sixth (ver. 12.) is poured out upon the great river Euphrates, and the water thereof is dried up, to prepare a passage for the kings of the east. Whether by Euphrates be meant the river so called, or only a mystic Euphrates, as Rome is mystic Babylon; and whether by the kings of the east be meant the Jews in particular, or any eastern potentates in general; can be matters only of conjecture, and not of certainty and assurance till the event shall make the determination. Whoever they be, they appear to threaten the ruin and destruction of the kingdom of the beast: and therefore (1) the agents and emissaries of popery, (ver. 13, 14.) of the dragon, the representative of the devil, and of the beast, the representative of the antichristian empire, and of the false prophet, the representative of the antichristian church, as disagreeable, as loquacious, as sordid, as impudent (2) as frogs, are employed to oppose them, and stir up the princes and potentates of their communion to make their united and last effort in a religious war. Of necessity these must be times of great trouble and affliction; so that an exhortation is inserted (ver. 15.) by way of parenthesis, of the suddenness of these judgments, and of the blessedness of watching, and of being clothed and prepared for all events. Beza conceives that this verse was transferred thither from the 3d chapter, where it should be subjoined to the 18th verse: but the 3d chapter and the 16th chapter are at too great a distance for such a transposition to be made. However it is certain that this insertion hath in some measure disturbed the sense, and broken the connection of the discourse; for our translators as well as several others render the following words (ver. 16.) And he gathered them together, when the true construction is, And they gathered them together, the evil spirits and agents before mentioned gather all the forces of the popish princes together, into a place called in the Hebrew tongue Armageddon, that is the mountain of destruction.

17 And the seventh angel poured out his vial into the air; and there came a great voice out of the temple of heaven, from the throne, saying, It is done.

18 And there were voices, and thunders, and lightnings: and there was a great earthquake, such as was not since men were upon the earth, so mighty an earthquake and so great.

19 And the great city was divided into three parts; and the cities of the nations fell: and great Babylon came in remembrance before God, to give

(1) The three unclean spirits like frogs Mr. Mann conceives to be the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Jesuits. Dominici, Francisci, et Loy- slitae tres impuros spiritus ruris similis non male referunt. M. S.

unto her the cup of the wine of the fierceness of his wrath.

20 And every island fled away, and the mountains were not found.

21 And there fell upon men a great hail out of heaven, every stone about the weight of a talent: and men blasphemed God because of the plague of the hail; for the plague thereof was exceeding great.

Vial the seventh (ver. 17.) is poured out into the air, the seat of Satan's residence, who is emphatically stiled (Eph. ii. 2.) the prince of the power of the air, and is represented (ver. 13.) as the principal actor in these latter scenes; so that this last period will not only complete the ruin of the kingdom of the beast, but will also shake the kingdom of Satan everywhere. Upon the pouring out of this vial a solemn proclamation is made from the throne of God himself, It is done; in the same sense as the angel before affirmed (x. 7.) that in the days of the seventh trumpet the mystery of God should be finished. Of this vial, as indeed of all the former, the completion is gradual; and the immediate effects and consequences are (ver. 18—21.) voices, and thunders, and lightnings, and an earthquake, and great hail. These portend great calamities. Voices, and thunders, and lightnings, are the usual attendants of the deity, especially in his judgments. Great earthquakes in prophetical language signify great changes and revolutions, and this is such an one as men never felt and experienced before, such as was not since men were upon the earth. Not only the great city is divided into three parts or factions, but the cities of the nations fall from their obedience to her. Her sins are remembered before God, and like another Babylon she will soon be made to drink of the bitter cup of his anger. Nay not only the work of men, the cities fall; but even the works of nature, the islands fly away, and the mountains are not found; which is more than was said before (vi. 14.) that they were moved out of their places, and can import no less than an utter extirpation of ido-

latry. Great hail too often signifies the judgments of God, and these are uncommon judgments. Diodorus, a grave historian (3) speaketh of hailstones which weighed a pound and more; Philostorgius mentions hail that weighed eight pounds; but these are about the weight of a talent, or about a hundred pounds, a strong figure to denote the greatness and severity of these judgments. Put still the men continue obstinate, and blaspheme God because of the plague of the hail; they remain incorrigible under the divine judgments, and shall be destroyed before they will be reformed.

CHAP. XVII.

As the seventh seal, and the seventh trumpet contained many more particulars than any of the former seals, and former trumpets; so the seventh vial contains more than any of the former vials; and the more you consider, the more admirable you will find the structure of this book in all its parts. The destruction of the Antichristian empire is a subject of such importance and consequence, that the Holy Spirit has thought fit to represent it under variety of images. Rome hath already been characterized by the names of spiritual Egypt and Babylon: and having seen how her plagues resemble those of Egypt, we shall now see her fall compared to that of Babylon. It was declared before in general (xiv. 8.) Babylon is fallen, is fallen; but this is a catastrophe deserving of a more particular description, both for a warning to some, and for a consolation to others. But before the description of her fall and destruction, there is premised an account of her state and condition, that there may be no mistake in the application. Rome was meant, as all both

(3) καὶ χαλάζει ἐπὶ τὸ μεγαθέρρωμα ἑξάκοιαν γαρφολίων, εἰς τοὺς καὶ μέθην, 16 magnitudinem incredibilis grandio: minime enim pondo, et quandoque ma-
One of the seven angels, who had the seven vials, (ver. 1.) calleth to St. John. Most probably this was the seventh angel; for under the seventh vial great Babylon came in remembrance before God, and now St. John is called upon to see her condemnation and execution. Come hither, I will shew unto thee the judgment of the great whore, that sitteth upon many waters. So ancient Babylon, which was seated on the great river Euphrates, is described by Jeremiah (li. 13.) as dwelling upon many waters: and from thence the phrase is borrowed, and signifies, according to the angel’s own explanation, (ver. 15.) ruling over many peoples and nations. Neither was this an ordinary prostitute; she was the great whore, (ver. 2.) with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication: as Tyre (Is. xxii. 17.) committed fornication with all the kingdoms of the world upon the face of the earth. Nay not only the kings, but inferior persons, the inhabitants of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication; as it was said of ancient Babylon, (Jer. li. 7.) the nations have drunken her wine, therefore the nations are mad. Fornication in the usual stile of scripture is idolatry; but if it be taken even literally, it is true that modern Rome openly allows the one, as well as practises the other. Ancient Rome doth in no respect so well answer the character; for she ruled more with a rod of iron, than with the wine of her fornication. What, and where were the kings whom she courted and debauched to her communion? What, and where were the people, whom she inveigled and intoxicated with her idolatry? Her ambition was for extending her empire, and not her religion. She permitted even the conquered nations to continue in the religion of their ancestors, and to worship their own gods after their own rituals. She may be said rather to have been corrupted by the importation of foreign vices and superstitions, than to have established her own in other countries.

As Ezekiel, while he was a captive in Chaldea, was conveyed by the spirit to Jerusalem, (Ezek. viii. 3.) so St. John (ver. 3.) is carried away in the spirit into the
wilderness; for there the scene is laid, being a scene of
desolation. When the woman, the true church, was per-
secuted and afflicted, she was said (xii. 14.) to fly into the
wilderness; and in like manner, when the woman, the
false church, is to be destroyed, the vision is presented in
the wilderness. For they are by no means, as some have
imagined, the same woman under various represen-
tations. They are totally distinct and different char-
acters, and drawn in contrast to each other, as appears
from their whole attire and behaviour, and particularly
from these two circumstances; that during the 1260
years while the woman is fed in the wilderness, the beast
and the scarlet whore are reigning and triumphant, and
at the latter end, the whore is burnt with fire, when the
woman as his wife, hath made herself ready for the
marriage of the lamb. A woman sitting upon a beast is
a lively and significative emblem of a church or city di-
recting and governing an empire. In painting and
sculpture, as well as in prophetic language, cities are
often represented in the form of women: and Rome
herself is exhibited (5) in ancient coins as a woman
sitting upon a lion. Here the beast is a scarlet-coloured
beast, for the same reason as the dragon was (xii. 3.)
a red dragon; to denote his cruelty, and in allusion to
the distinguishing color of the Roman emperors and
magistrates. The beast is also full of names of blas-
phemy, having seven heads and ten horns; so that this
is the very same beast which was described in the former
part of the 13th chapter: and the woman in some mea-
sure answers to the two-horned beast or false prophet:
and consequently the woman is Christian and not Pa-
gan Rome; because Rome was become Christian, be-
fore the beast had completely seven heads and ten horns,
that is before the Roman empire experienced its last
form of government, and was divided into ten king-
doms. The woman is arrayed too (ver. 4.) in purple
and scarlet color, this being the color of the popes and
 cardinals, as well as of the emperors and senators of

Rome. Nay the mules and horses, which carry the
popes and cardinals, are covered with scarlet cloth, so
that they may properly be said to ride upon a scarlet co-
lored beast. The woman is also decked with gold and
precious stone, and pearls: and who can sufficiently de-
scribe the pride, and grandeur, and magnificence of the
church of Rome in her vestments and ornaments of all
kinds? Alexander Donatus (6) hath drawn a compa-


and boasting herself to be the city of God, should prove another Babylon in idolatry and cruelty to the people of God. She glories in the name of Roman Catholic, and well therefore may she be called Babylon the great. She affects the style and title of our holy mother the church, but she is in truth the mother of fornications and abominations of the earth. Neither can this character with any propriety be applied to ancient Rome; for she was rather a learner of foreign superstitions, than the mistress of idolatry to other nations; as appears in various instances, and particularly from (2) that solemn form of adoration, which the Romans used when they laid siege to a city, calling for the tutelary deities of the place, and promising them temples, and sacrifices, and other solemnities at Rome. It may be concluded therefore that this part of the prophecy is sufficiently fulfilled, tho' there should be reason to question the truth of what is asserted by some writers, that the word mystery was formerly written in letters of gold upon the forehead of the pope's mitre. Scaliger (3) affirms it upon the authority of the Duke de Montmorency, who received his information from a man of good credit at Rome. Francis le Moyne and Brocardus (4) confirm it, appealing to ocular inspection; and when king James

(2) Macrolli Saturnal. Lib. 3. Cap. 9.
(3) Hen Monsieur de Montmorency estant a Rome du temps qu'on parloit librement et du S. Pere et du S. Siege, apprit d'homme done de foy, qu'a la verite le tiare pontifical avait escrit en fronton en lettres d'or Mysterium. [*The late Duke de Montmorency being at Rome, at a time when persons spake freely both of St. Peter and of the Holy See, learned from a man worthy of credit, that in truth the pope's mitre had written on the front of it in letters of gold the word mystery.*] Scal. in locum apud Cudic. Sici.
(4) Idem quevis confirmant Franc. le Moyne et Jacobus Brocardus in lib. ad autol. provocant, non dissimulante Leonardo Lessis. [*The same is also confirmed by Francis le Moyne and James Brocard appealing to ocular inspection, and Leonardo Lessis not denying it.*] Wolfius in locum. In tiara in mitra popis habes hoc verbum Mysterium scripsum: ut non sit ubi opus linguas interpretationem quercere. [*In the Mitra or mitre of the pope you have this word mystery written, so that you have no need to seek farther for an interpretation.*] Brocard in locum apud Vitring. p. 763. Romanus pontifex, in sua tiara, hoc ipsum nomen inscriptum habuit. Mysterium aut pro ius testa sunt: et cum id Jacobus Rex obiectunt, Lessis negare non potuit. [*The pope of Rome on his mitre had this very name mystery inscribed, which had been attested by eye-witnesses; and when king James objected this, Lessis could not deny it.*] Downam. apud Pol. Synops. in locum.
objected this, Lessius could not deny it. If the thing be true, it is a wonderful coincidence of the event with the letter of the prophecy; but it hath been much controverted, and you may see the authors on both sides in (5) Wolfius. It is much more certain, and none of that communion can deny it, that the ancient mitres were usually adorned with inscriptions. One particularly (6) there is “preserved at Rome as a precious relic of pope Sylvester I, richly but not artfully embroidered with the figure of the virgin Mary crowned, and holding a little Christ, and these words in large capitals under-neath, AVE REGINA CELI, Hail queen of heaven, in the front; of which father Angelo Rocca, keeper of the pope’s sacristry, and an eminent antiquary has given a copper-plate in the third vol. p. 490 of the works of pope Gregory I. and it seems more probably to have belonged to Gregory; because he is said to have first instituted at Rome the litanies to the virgin Mary.” An inscription this directly contrary to that on the forefront of the high priest’s mitre (Exod. xxviii. 36.): HOLINESS TO THE LORD.

Infamous as the woman is for her idolatry, she is no less detestable for her cruelty, which are the two principal characteristics of the Antichristian empire. She is (ver. 6.) drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus: which may indeed be applied both to Pagan and to Christian Rome, for both have in their turns cruelly persecuted the saints and martyrs of Jesus: but the latter is more deserving of the character, as she hath far exceeded the former both in the degree and duration of her persecutions. It is very true, as it was hinted before, that if Rome Pagan hath slain her thousands of innocent Christians, Rome Christian hath slain her ten thousands. For not to mention other outrageous slaughters and barbarities; the crusades against the Waldenses and Albigenses, the murders committed by the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands, the

massacres in France and Ireland, will probably amount to above ten times the number of all the Christians slain in all the ten persecutions of the Roman emperors put together. St. John’s admiration also plainly evinces, that Christian Rome was intended: for it could be no matter of surprise to him, that a Heathen city should persecute the Christians, when he himself had seen and suffered the persecutions under Nero; but that a city professedly Christian, should wanton and riot in the blood of Christians, was a subject of astonishment indeed; and well might he, as it was emphatically expressed, wonder 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 beast that carrieth her, which hath the seven heads and ten horns.

8 The beast that thou sawe, was, and is not; and shall ascend out of the bottomless pit, and 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.

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

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

11 And the 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 which thou sawest, are ten kings, which have received no kingdom as yet; but receive power as kings one hour with the beast.

13 These have one mind, and shall give their power and strength 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, are
called, and chosen, and faithful.

15 And he saith unto me, The waters which thou
savest, where the whore sitteth, are peoples, and
multitudes, and nations, and tongues.

16 And the ten horns which thou sawest upon
the beast, these shall hate the whore, and shall make
her desolate, and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and
burn her with fire.

17 For God hath put in their hearts to fulfill 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.

It was not thought sufficient to represent these things
only in vision; and therefore the angel, like the σάββατος,
annexed, or messenger in the ancient drama, undertakes
to explain (ver. 7.) the mystery, the mystic scene or secret
meaning, of the woman, and of the beast that carrieth
her: and the angel’s interpretation is indeed the best key
to the Revelation, the best clue to direct and conduct us
through this intricate labyrinth.

The mystery of the beast is first explained; and the
beast is considered first in general (ver. 8.) under a three-
fold state or succession, as existing, and then ceasing to
be, and then reviving again, so as to become another
and the same. He was, and is not, και οὐκ εἶναι and yet is,
or according to other copies καὶ οὔτε εἶναι and shall come,
shall ascend out of the bottomless pit. A beast in the
prophetic stile, as we before observed, is a tyrannical ido-
latrours empire; and the Roman empire was idolatrous
under the Heathen emperors, and then ceased to be so
for some time under the Christian emperors, and then
became idolatrous again under the Roman popes, and
so hath continued ever since. It is the same idolatrous
power revived again, but only in another form; and all
the corrupt part of mankind, whose names are not enrolled
as good citizens in the registers of heaven, are pleased
at the revival of it; but in this last form it shall
go into perdition; it shall not, as it did before, cease
for a time, and revive again, but shall be destroyed for
ever.

After this general account of the beast, there follows
an explanation of the particular emblems, with a short
preface intimating that they are deserving of the deepest
attention, and are a proper exercise and trial of the un-
derstanding. Here is the mind which hath wisdom: (ver.
9.) as it was said upon a former occasion, (xiii. 18 )
Here is wisdom; let him that hath understanding count,
&c. The seven heads have a double signification. They
are primarily seven mountains on which the woman sitt-
teth, on which the capital city is seated; which all who
have the least tincture of letters know to be the situa-
tion of Rome. Historians, geographers, and poets, all
speak of the city with seven hills; and passages might
be quoted to this purpose without number and without
end. It is observed too, that new Rome or Constanti-
nople is situated on seven mountains: but these are very
rarely mentioned, and mentioned only by obscure authors,
in comparison of the others; and besides the seven moun-
tains, other particulars also must coincide, which cannot
be found in Constantinople. It is evident therefore, that
the city seated on seven mountains must be Rome; and a
plainer description could not be given of it, without ex-
pressing the name, which there might be several wise
reason for concealing.

As the seven heads signify seven mountains, so they also
signify seven kings, reigning over the seven mountains.
(ver. 10, 11.) καὶ βασιλεὺς ἑπτανότις, And they are seven
kings, or kingdoms, or forms of government, as the word
imports, and hath been shown to import in former in-
stances. Five are fallen, five of these forms of govern-
ment are already past; and one is, the sixth is now sub-
sisting. The five fallen are kings, and consuls, and dic-
tators, and deacons, and military tribunes with consular
authority; as they are enumerated and distinguished by
those who should best know, the two greatest Roman
npostle's days was not yet come, and when he cometh he must continue a short space. For Rome was reduced to a dukedom tributary to the exarch of Ravenna by Longinus, who was sent exarch (9) in the year 566 according to some accounts, or in the year 568 according to others; and (1) the city revolted from the eastern emperor to the pope in the year 727: which is a short space in comparison of the imperial power, which preceded, and lasted above 500 years; and in comparison of the papal power, which followed, and hath now continued about a thousand years. But still possibly you may hesitate whether this is properly a new form of government, Rome being still subject to the imperial power, by being subject to the Greek emperor's deputy, the exarch of Ravenna: and according as you determin this point, the beast that was and is not, was while idolatrous, and was not while not idolatrous, will appear to be the seventh or eighth. If you reckon this a new form of government, (2) the beast that now is is the eighth; if you do not


(1) Sigo, ibid. Lib. 3.

(2) Mr. Mason explains the seventh and eighth otherwise. Quis igitur rex septimae et octavae? Nimmerum ipse papa. Nam ex quo A.D. 531 cum ecclesiasticum omnium capitulum declaravit Justinianus, aliun omnium judicem, ipsum a nullum judicandum, tanta reverentia et obscurior nihil ad imp. ipsius cultus est, ut haec authoritye ipsos subinde reprehendit, interdum etiam anathema percutit, ut non minus dicendum sit regnante in spiritualibus quam in solis rerum imperatoribus. Tum igitur papa e septim illis, id est ex genere etrique ilium principem qui praeecesserat, esse dicendum est, donec A.D. 727 Leonis imp. ipsum, quem anno superiore excommunicavit, prorsum excusat Gregorius II. Romanum et regiones vicinas sub sui subjicat. Ex illo enim tempore papa rex octavus merito liber ius contentum, cum gladio spirituali temporem quoque divinum adoptit. Sic ibi, qui post Leone imp. negaret Romanum papa subjacentem fuisse, sed a Pippo A.D. 752. Exarchatam Ravennae, et papa, datum tantum cum aliis urbibus, non ipsum Romanum; sed mihi videntur non de se, sed umbra tanti certe. | Who then will be the seventh king? Surely the pope. For from the year A.D. 531, in which Justinian declared him the head of all the churches, and others declared him the judge of all, and to be judged by none, he was treated with so much reverence and respect by the emperors themselves, and he now and then reproved them with so much authority, sometimes even anathematizing them, that he might be said to have reigned no less in spiritual things, while he always called himself the servant of servants, than the emperors in temporal things. At that time the pope might be said, to be of these seven, that is, to be of the kind and order of those princes who had gone before him,
reckon this a new form of government, the beast is of the seven; but whether he be the seventh or eighth, he is the last form of government, and goeth into perdition. It appears evidently, that the sixth form of government, which was subsisting in St. John's time, is the imperial; and what form of government hath succeeded to that in Rome, and hath continued for a long space of time, but the papal? The beast therefore, upon which the woman rideth, is the Roman government in its last form: and this, all must acknowledge, is the papal, and not the imperial.

Having explained the mystery of the seven heads, the angel proceeds to the explanation of the ten horns, (ver. 12, 13, 14.) the ten horns are ten kings, who have received no kingdom as yet: and consequently they were not in being at the time of the vision; and indeed the Roman empire was not divided into ten kingdoms, till some time after it was become Christian. But they receive power as kings one hour (3) μιᾶς ώρας, at the same time, or for the same length of time, with the beast: It is true in both senses, they rise and fall together with the beast: and consequently they are not to be reckoned before the rise and establishment of the beast; and accordingly when a catalogue was produced of these ten kings or kingdoms in a dissertation upon Daniel, they were exhibited as they stood in the eighth century, which is the time of the rise and establishment of the beast. Kingdoms they might be before, but they were not before kingdoms or horns of the beast, till they embraced his religion, and submitted to his authority; and

until in the year 727, Gregory II. shook off altogether the yoke of the emperor Leo, whom he had excommunicated in the preceding year, and brought Rome and the adjoining countries under his dominion. For from that time the pope might justly be regarded as the eighth king, since from that time he held the temporal as well as the spiritual sword. I know, there are some who deny, that Rome became subject to the pope, on the expulsion of Leo II., but that this took place after: when in the year A.D. 728 the exarchate of Ravenna, was given by Pepin to the Pope, together with the cities which it included, and not Rome itself; but these appear to me to contend, not for the thing itself, but for the mere shadow.] M.S.

(3) Μιᾶς ώρας tempore. ['At one and the same time.'] Vitr. Mal. at omnem idemque tempus, ut eum identitatem temporis durum in omne compendietur. [*I would choose rather to say, at one and the same time, in order to comprehend the duration with the identity of time.] Mr. Mann's M.S.

the beast strengthened them, as they again strengthened the beast. It is upon the seventh or last head of the beast that the horns are seen growing together; that is upon the Roman empire in its seventh or last form of government; and they are not, like the heads, successive, but contemporary kingdoms. These have one mind, and shall give their power and strength unto the beast; which is easily understood and applied to the princes and states in communion with the church of Rome. However they may differ in other respects, yet they agree in submitting implicitly to the authority of the Roman church, and in defending its rights and prerogatives against all opposers. But where were ever ten kings or kingdoms, who were all unanimous in their submissions to the Roman empire, and voluntarily and of their own accord contributed their power and strength, their forces and riches to support and maintain it? These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them; they persecute the true church of Christ, but the true church shall in the end prevail and triumph over them; which particulars have been fulfilled in part already, and will be more fully accomplished hereafter.

In the former part of this description (ver. 1.) the whore is represented like ancient Babylon, sitting upon many waters: and these waters are here (ver. 15.) said expressly to (4) signify peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues. So many words in the plural number fitly denote the great extensiveness of her power and jurisdiction: and it is a remarkable peculiarity of Rome, different from all other governments in the world, that her authority is not limited to her own immediate subjects, and confined within the bounds of her own dominions, but extends over all kingdoms and countries professing the same religion. She herself glories in the

(4) Ibique heb loco tunc magis apposite, quod ex populi reverentia et favore primâ exercuit pudestas illa papalis, et per decem aut plurâ secundâ populi Romaní suffragis creati sunt papae. [*And that in this place is so much the more in point, because from the reverence and kindness of the people, it was that the papal power was first advanced, and during ten centuries or more the popes were elected by the suffrages of the Roman people.] Mr. Mann's M.S.
title of the Catholic church, and exults in the number of her votaries as a certain proof of the true religion. Cardinal (5) Bellarmine's first note of the true church is the very name of the Catholic church: and his fourth note is multitude, or multitude and variety of believers; for the truly catholic church, says he, ought not only to comprehend all ages, but likewise all places, all nations, all kinds of men. But notwithstanding the general current in her favor, the tide shall turn against her; and the bands which helped to raise her, shall also pull her down. (ver. 16.) The ten horns shall hate the whore; that is by a common figure of the whole for a part, some of the ten kings, for others (xviii. 9.) shall bewail her and lament for her, and (xix. 19.) shall fight and perish in the cause of the beast. Some of the kings who formerly loved her, grown sensible of her exorbitant exactions and oppressions, shall hate her, shall strip, and expose, and plunder her, and utterly consume her with fire. Rome therefore will finally be destroyed by some of the princes, who are reformed, or shall be reformed from popery; and as the kings of France have contributed greatly to her advancement, it is not impossible, nor improbable, that some time or other they may also be the principal authors of her destruction. France hath already shown some tendency towards a reformation, and therefore may appear more likely to accomplish it. Nay the kings of Spain and Portugal, their most catholic and faithful Majesties as they are stilled, have restrained the power of the Pope, and the Inquisition, and have not only banished the Jesuits from their respective kingdoms, but have likewise insisted upon the suppression of that order, which may be considered as leading steps to some further revolution. Such a revolution may more reasonably be expected, because (ver. 17.) this infatuation of popish princes is permitted by divine providence only for a certain period, until the words of God shall be ful-

(5) Primo Nota, est ipsum Catholicam Ecclesiam et Christianam nomen.

THE PROPHECIES.

filled, and particularly the words of the prophet Daniel,
(yii. 25, 26.) They shall be given into his hand, until a time and times, and the dividing of time: But then, as it immediately follows, the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume, and to destroy it into the end.

Little doubt can remain after this, what idolatrous church was meant by the whore of Babylon: But for the greater assuredness it is added by the angel, (ver. 18.) The woman which thou sawest is that great city. The angel had undertaken to tell the mystery of the woman, and of the beast. He hath explained the mystery of the beast, and of his seven heads and ten horns: and his explanation of the mystery of the woman is that great city, which reigneth over the kings of the earth. And what city at the time of the vision, that city, the kingdom of the earth, but Rome? She too hath ever since the woman that city of the earth, if not with temporal, yet at least with spiritual authority. In the arts of government she hath far exceeded all the cities both of ancient and of modern times: as if she had constantly remembered and put in practice the advice of the poet,

Tu regere imperio populum, Romane, mememento;
Haec tua cura attar

Rome therefore is evidently and undeniably this great city; and that Christian and not Heathen, papal and not imperial Rome was meant, hath appeared in several instances, and will appear in several more.

CHAP. XVII.

1 AND after these things I saw another angel come down from heaven, having great power: and the earth was lightened with his glory.

2 And he cried mightily with a strong voice saying, Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen, and is become the habitation of devils, and the hold of
every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird.

3 For all nations have drunk of the wine of the wrath of her fornication, and the kings of the earth have committed fornication with her, and the merchants of the earth are waxed rich through the abundance of her delicacies.

4 And I heard another voice from heaven, saying, Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues:

5 For her sins have reached unto heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities.

6 Reward her even as she rewarded you, and double unto her double, according to her works: in the cup which she hath filled, fill to her double.

7 How much she hath glorified herself, and lived deliciously, so much torment and sorrow give her: for she saith in her heart, I sit a queen, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow.

8 Therefore shall her plagues come in one day, death, and mourning, and famine; and she shall be utterly burnt with fire: for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her.

After this account of the state and condition of spiritual Babylon, there follows a description of her fall and destruction, in the same sublime and figurative stile as Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel have foretold the fall of ancient Babylon and Tyre, the types and emblems of the spiritual Babylon. A mighty and glorious angel descends from heaven, (ver. 1, 2, 3.) and proclaims as before, (xiv. 8.) the fall of Babylon, and together with her punishment, the crimes which deserved it, her idolatry and wickedness. It is farther added, that after her fall she shall be made a scene of desolation, and become the habitation of hateful birds and beasts of prey; as Isaiah also predicted concerning ancient Babylon, (xiii. 21.) Wild beasts of the deserts shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of detestable creatures, and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there: where the word that we translate satyrs, the Seventy translate ἰδαίοις, demons or devils, who (6) were supposed sometimes to take the shape of goats or satyrs, and to haunt forlorn and desolate places: and it is from the translation of the Seventy that the apostle hath borrowed his images and expressions. But if this fall of Babylon was effected by Totilas king of the Ostrogoths, as Grotius affirms, or by Alaric king of the Visigoths, as the Bishop of Meaux contends, how can Rome be said ever since to have been the habitation of devils, and the hold of ever foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird, unless they will allow the popes and cardinals to merit these appellations?

Another voice is also heard from heaven, (ver. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.) exhorting all Christians to forsake the communion of so corrupt a church, lest they should be partakers of her sins and of her plagues, and at the same time denouncing that her punishment shall be great and extraordinary in proportion to her crimes. But was there any such necessity of forsaking the church of Rome in the days of Alaric or Totilas before she had not yet degenerated again into idolatry? or what were then her notorious crimes deserving of such exemplary punishment, unless Rome Christian was to suffer for the sins of Rome Pagan? She saith in her heart, like ancient Babylon, (Is. xlvii. 7, 8.) I sit a queen, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow; She glories like ancient Rome, in the name (7) of the eternal city: but notwithstanding she shall be utterly burnt with fire: for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her. These expressions can imply no less than a total destruction by fire; but Rome hath never yet been totally destroyed by fire. The most that (8) Alaric and (9) Totilas did, was burning

(7) It is to be found in the very title of Kircher's Oliberis Pamphilius, In urbe aeterna ornamentum crestit Innocenti X. Pont. Max. [Innocent X. the supreme Pontiff erected it as an ornament of the eternal city.] apud Dubuis. p. 812.
(8) Tert. de barb. quam ingressi fuerant urbe, sponte discelerunt, facto quidem abominarum edium incendio, &c.; i.e. On the third day, the barbarians of their own accord departed from the city into which they had
departed from thee, and all things which were dainty
and goodly, are departed from thee, and thou shalt
find them no more at all.
15 The merchants of these things which were
made rich by her, shall stand afar off, for the fear of
her torment, weeping and wailing.
16 And saying, Alas, alas, that great city, that
was clothed in purple, and scarlet, and decked with
gold, and precious stones and pearls! for in one hour so
great riches is come to nought.
17 And every ship-master, and all the company
in ships, and sailors, and as many as trade by sea,
stood afar off,
18 And cried when they saw the smoke of
her burning, saying, What city is like unto this
great city?
19 And they cast dust on their heads, and cried
weeping and wailing, saying, Alas, alas, that great city
wherein were made rich all that had ships in the sea,
by reason of her costliness! for in one hour she
made desolate.
20 Rejoice over her, thou heaven, and ye holy
apostles and prophets, for God hath avenged you on
her.

In this solemn manner, by an angel and by a voice
from heaven, is declared the fall of Rome, and her
destruction by fire: and then are set forth the conse-
cuences of her fall, the lamentations of some, and the rejoicings
of others. The kings of her commotion, who have com-
mited fornication, and lived deliciously with her, bewail
and lament for her; (ver. 9, 10.) but what kings were they
who lived deliciously with old Rome, and had reason to
lament her fall? The merchants of the earth weep and
mourn over her; (ver 11 - 17.) for there is an end of all
traffic and commerce with her, whether spiritual or tem-
poral; for it is intimated (ver. 13.) that they make merchan-
dise of the souls as well as of the bodies of men. The
ship-masters, and sailors, and as many as trade by sea,
sep and wail: (ver. 17, 18, 19.) for they can now no-
ger import or export commodities for her, or convey
sengers to and fro; for there is an end of all her costli-
ness. These lamentations are copied from the like la-
mentation over Tyre in the 26th and 27th chapters of
Ezekiel; and are equal to the most mournful strains of
the Greek tragedians over Thebes or Troy. In all they
and afar off, (ver. 10, 15, 17.) as if they were unable
afraid to help and assist her. In all they cry as, alas,
for the third woe as before mentioned; (viii. 13 xi. 14.) for as the fall of
the thman empire is the end of the second woe, so the fall of
one is the completion of the third woe. In all they la-
went the suddenness of her fall: (ver. 10, 17, 19.) for in
one hour is her destruction come. At the same time her
ruin and vengeance are matter of joy and triumph (ver. 20.) to the
apostles and prophets, for God hath avenged them
her; but what reason had the Christians to rejoice over
the calamities brought on Rome by Alaric or Totila,
in which they themselves were the principal sufferers? and
now were these calamities any vindication of their cause
of the cause of true religion?

21 And a mighty angel took up a stone like a
great millstone, and cast it into the sea, saying,
Thus with violence shall that great city Babylon
be thrown down, and shall be found no more
at all.

22 And the voice of harpers, and musicians, and of
pipers, and trumpeters, shall be heard no more
at all in thee: and no craftsman, of whatsoever
craft he be, shall be found any more in thee; and the
sound of a millstone shall be heard no more at all in
thee:

23 And the light of a candle shall shine no more
at all in thee; and the voice of the bridegroom
and of the bride shall be heard no more at all in
thee: for thy merchants were the great men of the
car: for thy sorceries were all nations de-
ceived:

24 And in her was found the blood of prophets,
and of saints, and of all that were slain upon the
earth.

Yet farther to confirm the sudden fall and irrecover-
able destruction of Rome, an emblem is copied and im-
proved from Jeremiah; (li. 63, 64.) a mighty angel
( ver. 21.) casteth a millstone into the sea, declaring that
with the same violence this great city shall be thrown
down, and shall never rise again. Her utter desolation is
further described (ver. 22, 23.) in phrases and expressions
borrowed from the ancient prophets. (Is. xxiv. 8
J er. vii. 34. xvi. 9. xx. 10. Ezek. xxvi. 13.)

There shall be no more musicians for the entertainment
of the rich and great; no more tradesmen or artificers to
furnish the necessities of life; no more servants or
slaves to grind at the mill, and supply the necessities of
life. Nay, there shall be no more lights, no more
bridal songs; the city shall never be peopled again
by new marriages, but shall remain depopulated for ever.
For which utter desolation there are assigned these rea-
sons, (ver. 23, 24.) her pride and luxury, her superstiti-
on, and idolatry, her tyranny and cruelty. Her punishment
shall be as severe and exemplary, as if she had been
guilty of all the persecutions that ever were upon
account of religion; for by her conduct she hath
approved, and imitated, and surpassed them all. But
Rome hath never yet been depopulated and desolated in
this manner. She hath been taken indeed and plundered
(1) by Alaric king of the Visigoths in the year 410,
by Genseric king of the Vandals in the year 455,
by Totila king of the Ostrogoths in the year 546, and by
others since that time: but yet she is still standing and
flourishing, and is honored by many nations as the
metropolis of the Christian world; she still resounds with
singers and musicians; she still excels in arts which serve
to pomp and luxury; she still abounds with candles and
lamps, and torches, burning even by day as well as by

(1) See Petav. Rat. Temp. and Blair’s Chron. Tables.
night; and consequently this prophecy hath not yet been, but remains yet to be fulfilled.

CHAP. XIX.

1 AND after these things I heard a great voice of much people in heaven, saying, Alleluia; Salvation, and glory, and honour, and power unto the Lord our God:

2 For true and righteous are his judgments; for he hath judged the great whore; which did corrupt the earth with her fornication, and hath avenged the blood of his servants at her hand.

3 And again they said Alleluia. And her smoke rose up for ever and ever.

4 And the four and twenty elders, and the four beasts fell down and worshipped God that sat on the throne, saying, Amen; Alleluia.

5 And a voice came out of the throne, saying, Praise our God, all ye his servants, and ye that fear him, both small and great.

6 And I heard as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunders, saying, Alleluia: for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth.

7 Let us be glad and rejoice, and give honour to him: for the marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready.

8 And to her was granted, that she should be arrayed in fine linen, clean and white: for the fine linen is the righteousness of saints.

9 And he saith unto me, Write, Blessed are they which are called unto the marriage-supper of the Lamb. And he saith unto me, These are the true sayings of God.

10 And I fell at his feet to worship him: and he said unto me, See thou do it not: I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren that have the testimony of Jesus: worship God: for the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy.

Hereupon the whole church, (ver. 1-4.) agreeably to the exhortation of the angel, (xviii. 20.) join praises and thanksgivings to Almighty God for his truth and righteousness in judging this idolatrous city, his truth in fulfilling his promise and threatenings, and his righteousness in proportioning her punishment to her crimes. And her smoke rose up for ever and ever: which intimates that she should be made as signal a monument of divine vengeance as Sodom and Gomorrah. It is taken from Isaiah, who hath said much the same thing of Edom, and by Edom (2) the Jews understand Rome. (Isaiah xxxiv. 9, 10.) And the streams thereof shall be turned into pitch; in the genuine (3) editions of the Chaldee paraphrase it is, And the rivers of Rome shall be turned into pitch, and the dust thereof into brimstone, and the land thereof shall become burning pitch. It shall not be quenched night nor day; the smoke thereof shall go up for ever. This tradition of the rabbins may receive some confirmation from these words of the apostle: and such an event may appear the more probable, because the adjacent countries are known to be of a sulphureous and bituminous soil; there have even at Rome been (4) eruptions of subterraneous fire, which have consumed several buildings; so that the fuel seemed to be prepared, and waiteth only for the breath of the Lord to kindle it. But God is praised not only for the destruction of the great seat of idolatry, but also (ver. 5-9.) for the manifest-

(2) R. David in principio Obad. Quod autem dicit prophetæ de multo Edom in extremitate terra, de Rome discipunt. [R. David at the beginning of Obadiah, that what the prophets say of the destruction of Edom in the last times, they have spoken concerning Rome;] Buxtorf. Chal. Lex. in ver. 227.

(3) Et convertentur flumina Rome in piceam, sc. Posthumes editions voce Rome omnium sunt. [And the rivers of Rome shall be turned into pitch,] sc. The later editions have omitted the word Rome. Buxtorf. Idem.

(4) Vgl. Bonis Hist. Lab. 16. in Tito, sæp. de extr. magn. ab igne evas. quem tec. in nostro ante temp. omnem anno incendit ignem admodum Rome partem abstulit, sc. If but another fire bursting forth upon the earth, in the following year, consumed a very great part of Rome, &c.] p. 766. Edit. Leuclaev.
tation of his kingdom, as before, (xi. 17.) and for the happy and glorious state of the reformed Christian church. She is no harlot tainted with idolatry, but a spouse prepared for her Lord Christ; she is not arrayed like an harlot in purple and scarlet color, but like a decent bride, in fine linen, clean and white, as the properest emblem of her purity and sanctity. Christ hath now as St. Paul expresseth it, (Eph. v. 26, 27.) sanctified and cleansed his church with the washing of water, by the word. That he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing, but that it should be holy and without blemish. So great is the felicity of this period, that the angel orders it (ver. 9.) to be particularly noted: and blessed and happy are they who shall live at this time, and be worthy to partake of this marriage feast. It is a matter of consolation to all good Christians, and they may assuredly depend upon it, as the never-failing word of God. St. John was in such rapture and ecstasy at these discoveries, that (ver. 10.) not knowing or not considering what he did, he fell down at the angels feet to worship him: but the angel prohibits all manner of worship, for he was no more than a fellow servant of the apostles, and of all true prophets, of all who have the testimony of Jesus, and the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy. Worship not me then, says the angel; but God, whose servants we both are, and who inspires us both with the same spirit of prophecy.

11 And I saw heaven opened, and behold a white horse; and he that sat upon him was called faithful and true, and in righteousness he doth judge and make war.

12 His eyes were as a flame of fire, and on his head were many crowns; and he had a name written that no man knew but he himself:

13 And he was clothed with a vesture dipped in blood: and his name is called, The Word of God.

14 And the armies which were in heaven followed

ed him upon white horses, cloathed in fine linen, white and clean.

15 And out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword, that with it he should smite the nations: and he shall rule them with a rod of iron; and he treadeth the wine-press of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God.

16 And he hath on his vesture and on his thigh a name written, KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS.

17 And I saw an angel standing in the sun; and he cried with a loud voice, saying to all the fowls that fly in the midst of heaven, Come and gather yourselves together unto the supper of the great God;

18 That ye may eat the flesh of kings, and the flesh of captains, and the flesh of mighty men, and the flesh of horses, and of them that sit on them, and the flesh of all men, both free and bond, both small and great.

19 And I saw the beast and the kings of the earth, and their armies gathered together to make war against him that sat on the horse, and against his army.

20 And the beast was taken, and with him the false prophet that wrought miracles before him, with which he deceived them that had received the mark of the beast, and them that worshipped his image. These both were cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone.

21 And the remnant were slain with the sword of him that sat upon the horse, which sword proceeded out of his mouth: and all the fowls were filled with their flesh.

It was said by the angel, speaking of the kings subject to the beast, (xvii. 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, are called, and chosen, and faithful: and this vision
(ver. 11—21.) is added by way of enlargement and explanation of that great event. *Heaven is opened,* and our Saviour cometh forth riding *upon a white horse,* as a token of his victory and triumph over his enemies. He is described in such characters as are appropriated to him in this book, and in the ancient prophets. *On his head also were many crowns,* to denote his *numerous conquests and kingdoms,* which were now (xi. 15.) *become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ,* and *he shall reign for ever and ever.* As the Jewish high-priest wore the ineffable name of Jehovah on his forehead, so he had *a name written,* which none could perfectly comprehend but himself; *and his name is called* *The Word of God.* He had likewise another *name written* on that part of his vestment which covered his thigh, *King of kings,* and *Lord of lords,* a title much affected by the (5) eastern monarchs, and by Antichrist himself. The pope is (6) *stiled King of kings,* and *Lord of lords,* but what he is only in pretence, Christ is in reality. His armies are *mounted upon white horses,* as well as himself, and are *cloathed in fine linen, white and clean,* as emblems of their victory and sanctity. *An angel standing in the sun,* and so conspicuous to all, in lofty strains copied from the ancient prophets, and particularly from Ezekiel, (xxxix. 17, 18.) calleth the fowls to the great slaughter of Christ's enemies. These enemies are *the beast and the false prophet,* the Antichristian powers civil and ecclesiastical, with *their armies gathered together,* their adherents and followers combined and determined to support idolatry, and oppose all reformation. But the principals, as deserving of the greatest punishment, are *taken, and cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone,* and their followers are *stained with the word of Christ, the sword which proceeded out of his mouth,* and *all the fowls* are *filled with their flesh;* their substance is seised for other persons, and for other uses. In a word, the design of this sublime and figurative description is to show the downfall of Popery, and the triumph of Christianity: the true word of God will prevail over superstition and idolatry; all the powers of Antichrist shall be completely subdued; and the religion of Rome, as well as Rome herself, be totally destroyed.

CHAP. XX.

1 And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit, and a great chain in his hand.

2 And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the devil and Satan, and bound him a thousand years.

3 And cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years should be fulfilled: and after that he must be loosed a little season.

4 And I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them: and I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years.

5 But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished. This is the first resurrection.

6 Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection: on such the second death hath no power, but they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years.
Dissertations on

After the destruction of the beast and of the false prophet, there still remains the dragon, who had delegated his power to them, that old serpent, which is the devil and Satan: but he is bound by an angel, an especial minister of providence; and the famous millennium commences, or the reign of the saints upon earth for a thousand years. (ver. 1—6.) Binding him with a great chain, casting him into the bottomless pit, shutting him up, and setting a seal upon him, are strong figures to show the strict and severe restraint which he should be laid under, that he might deceive the nations no more during this whole period. Wickedness being restrained, the reign of righteousness succeeds, and the administration of justice and judgment is given to the saints of the most High: and the martyrs and confessors of Jesus, not only those who were beheaded or suffered any kind of death under the heathen emperors, but also those who refused to comply with the idolatrous worship of the beast and of his image, are raised from the dead, and have the principal share in the felicities of Christ's kingdom upon earth. But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished; so that it was a peculiar prerogative of the martyrs and confessors above the rest of mankind. This is the first resurrection, a particular resurrection preceding the general one at least a thousand years. Blessed and holy too is he who hath part in the first resurrection; he is holy in all the senses of the word, holy as separated from the common lot of mankind, holy as endowed with all virtuous qualifications, and none but such are admitted to partake of this blessed state. On such the second death hath no power. The second death is a Jewish phrase for the punishment of the wicked after death. So the (7) Chaldee paraphrase of Onkelos upon that text in Deuteronomy (xxxiii. 6.) Let Reuben live, and not die, but let him not die the second death; and the other paraphrases of Jonathan Ben Uziel and of Jerusalem have Let him not die the second death by


which the wicked die in the world to come. It is a familiar phrase in the Chaldee paraphrases and Jewish writings, and in this very book (xx. 14. xxi. 8.) it is declared to be the same as the lake burning with fire and brimstone. The sons of the resurrection therefore shall not die again, but shall live in eternal bliss, as well as enjoy all the glories of the millennium, be priests of God and of Christ, and reign with him a thousand years.

Nothing is more evident than that this prophecy of the millennium, and of the first resurrection, hath not yet been fulfilled, even tho' the resurrection be taken in a figurative sense. For reckon the thousand years with Usher from the time of Christ, or reckon them with Gronious from the time of Constantine, yet neither of these periods, nor indeed any other, will answer the description and character of the millennium, the purity and peace, the holiness and happiness of that blessed state. Before Constantine indeed the church was in greater purity, but was groaning under the persecutions of the heathen emperors. After Constantine the church was in greater prosperity, but was soon shaken and disturbed by heresies and schisms, by the incursions and devastations of the northern nations, by the conquering arms and prevailing imposture of the Saracens, and afterwards of the Turks, by the corruption, idolatry, and wickedness, the usurpation, tyranny, and cruelty of the church of Rome. If Satan was then bound, when can he be said to be loosed? Or how could the saints and the beast, Christ and Antichrist, reign at the same period? This prophecy therefore remains yet to be fulfilled, even tho' the resurrection be taken only for an allegory, which yet the text cannot admit without the greatest torture and violence. For with what propriety can it be said, that some of the dead who were beheaded lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years, but the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished, unless the dying and living again be the same in both places, a proper death and resurrection? Indeed the death and resurrection of the witnesses before mentioned (Chap. xi.) appears from the concurrent circum-
stances of the vision to be figurative, but the death and resurrection here mentioned must for the very same reasons be concluded to be real. If the martyrs rise only in a spiritual sense, then the rest of the dead rise only in a spiritual sense; but if the rest of the dead really rise, the martyrs rise in the same manner. There is no difference between them; and we should be cautious and tender of making the first resurrection an allegory, lest others should reduce the second into an allegory too, like those whom St. Paul mentions (2 Tim. ii. 17, 18.) Iliumencus and Philetus, who concerning the truth have erred, saying that the resurrection is past already, and overthrow the faith of some. It is to this first resurrection that St. Paul alludes, when he affirms (1 Thes. iv. 16.) that the dead in Christ shall rise first, and (1 Cor. xv. 23.) that every man shall be made alive in his own order, Christ the first fruits, afterward they that are Christ's at his coming, and then cometh the end, after the general resurrection.

In the general that there shall be such a happy period as the millennium, that 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 (Dan. vii. 27.) that Christ shall have the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession, (Psal. ii. 8.) that the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea, (Isa. xi. 9.) that the fulness of the Gentiles shall come in, and all Israel shall be saved, (Rom. xi. 25, 26.) in a word that the kingdom of heaven shall be established upon earth, is the plain and express doctrine of Daniel and all the prophets as well as of St. John; and we daily pray for the accomplishment of it in praying Thy kingdom come. But of all the prophets St. John is the only one who hath declared particularly and in express terms, that the martyrs shall rise to partake of the felicities of this kingdom, and that it should continue upon earth a thousand years; and the Jewish church before him, and the Christian church after him, have farther believed and taught, that these thousand years will be the seventh millennium of the world. A pompous heap of quotations might be produced to this purpose both from Jewish and Christian writers: but I choose to select only a few of the most material of each sort; you may find a great number (8) in Dr. Burnet and other authors who have treated of this subject.

Of the Jewish writers (9) Rabbi Ketina, as cited in the Gennara or gloss of their Talmud, said that 'the world endures six thousand years, and one thousand it shall be laid waste, (that is the enemies of God shall be destroyed) whereof it is said, (Is. ii. 11.) the Lord alone shall be exalted in that day. Tradition assures to Rabbi Ketina: as out of seven years every seventh is the year of remission, so out of the seven thousand years of the world the seventh millennium shall be the millennium of remission, that God alone may be exalted in that day.' It was (1) the tradition of the house of Elias, who lived two hundred years or thereabouts before Christ, and the tradition might perhaps be derived from Elias the Tishbite, that 'the world endures six thousand years, two thousand before the Law, two thousand under the Law, and two thousand under the Messiah.' It was also (2) the tradition of the house of Elias, that 'the just whom God shall raise up (meaning in the first-

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(2) Traditio domus Eliae: Justi quod resurget Deus non solus in pulvere, sed in una corpora resurrectionem habebit. [Translated in the text.] Apud Melc. p. 770.
surrection) shall not be turned again into dust. Now if you inquire, how it shall be with the just in those thousand years wherein the holy blessed God shall re-
new his world, whereof it is said And the Lord alone
shall be exalted in that day; you must know that the
holy blessed God will give them the wings as it were
of eagles, that they may fly upon the face of the
waters; whence it is said (Psal xlvi. 2.) Therefore
will we not fear, when the earth shall be changed.
But perhaps you will say, it shall be a pain and afflict-
tion to them. Not at all, for it is said, (Is. xl. 31.) They
that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength, they
shall mount up with wings as eagles.

Of the Christian writers St. Barnabas in the first cen-
tury (3) thus comments upon those words of Moses, And
God made in six days the works of his hands, and he
finished them on the seventh day, and he rested in it,
and sanctified it. Consider, children, what that signifies,
he finished them in six days. This it signifies, that the
Lord God will finish all things in six thousand years.
For a day with him is a thousand years; as he himself
testifieth saying, Behold this day shall be as a thou-
sand years. Therefore, children, in six days, that is
in six thousand years, shall all things be consummated.
And he rested the seventh day: this signifies, that when
his Son shall come, and shall abolish the season of the

(3) Kαὶ τοῦτος ἐκ Θεοῦ ἔτι μαζίς τα ἔργα τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ καταπλάσιον
ἐν ὕπερ τῆς θεότητος, καὶ κατέστη εἰ πάντα, καὶ πεπάρακτος αὐτὸς. Ἡ προσεχή
τεύχη, το λεγεῖ, τα συναφῇς το εἰς ἔργων τοῖς λεγεῖν, τοι προφθέγξιν τε ὁ συ-
nομοὶ τος εἰς ἑξειδογονίαν εἶναι το παῦλο. Η γὰρ ἡμέρα τοῦ ἐκ ἀμπέλου λίθος, ἀλλὰ καὶ
μαθητικοὶ λίθοι, νῦν σαμπλαστὴς ἐγαίνει ὡς χριστός. Οπότε τεύχη, το εἰς ἑξειδογονίαν
το παῦλο εἰς ὑπερβολήν ἔστω συναφὴτεύχην το παῦλο. Καὶ κατάπληκτος τὸ
ἡμέρα τῆς καταπλάσιον τοῦ ἐν ὑπερβολήν τοῖς λεγεῖν ἐν ἀμπέλου καὶ
κατάπληκτος τοῦ ἐν ὑπερβολήν τοῖς λεγεῖν, καὶ κατάπληκτος τοῦ ἐν ὑπερβολήν τοῖς λεγεῖν,
καὶ κατάπληκτος τοῦ ἐν ὑπερβολήν τοῖς λεγεῖν, καὶ κατάπληκτος τοῦ ἐν ὑπερβολή
τοῖς λεγεῖν, καὶ κατάπληκτος τοῦ ἐν ὑπερβολήν τοῖς λεγεῖν.

larged and beautified in a wonderful manner for their
reception in the enjoyment of all sensual pleasures,
for a thousand years before the general resurrection.

But in the original there is no such clause as that, in the enjoyment of all sensual pleasures; it is an addition and interpolation of the Doctor's own, in order to depress the venerable father; and he could not possibly have made it by mistake, he must have done it designedly, for he has cited the original as far as to that clause, and there stopping short has concealed the rest with an &c. If he had fairly cited the whole sentence (as I have done above,) he was sensible that every scholar must have detected the imposition. It is seriously to be lamented, that so learned and ingenious a man, and so very fine a writer as Dr. Middleton was, should in support of any argument have been guilty of so many false quotations as he has been, more than any author I know. Forgery should be deemed a capital offense in literary as well as in civil affairs. It has been the fate of Justin to have his sense misrepresented by others as well as by Dr. Middleton. For he has been made to say that the doctrine of the millennium had not, even in his time, obtained universal reception, but that many Christians of pure and pious principles rejected it, it should have been said, did not acknowledge it, ταῦτα μὴ γνωρίζειν. But Justin could not so palpably contradict himself. The whole context evidently demonstrates, that we should read, with Mede and Tillotson, the passage with a negative, καὶ τῆς καθαρίας καὶ εὐσεβείας that many not of pure and pious principles did not acknowledge it. For some, says he, were called Christians, but are atheistical and godly heretics, καὶ γὰρ λέγομεν μιᾷ χριστιάσει, ὡστε δὲ αδικίας καὶ στεφάνιας αἰσθήσεως. A manifest proof that they were not of pure and godly principles. A little after he subjoins, that some are called Christians, and do not confess this, and deny the resurrection of the dead; τυπικά λέγειν καὶ εὐσεβείαν, καὶ λιγναὶ μὴ εἰς νεκρον αναστησίαν. And then after all follows what was cited before. But I, and as many as are orthodox Christians in all respects, do acknowledge that there shall be a resurrection of the flesh and a thousand years in

Jerusalem, &c.' He thought the doctrine of the millennium of such consequence that he has joined it all along with that of the resurrection of the dead. It is evident therefore that he never meant to say, that they who rejected this doctrine were Christians of pure and pious principles, but the contrary. Tertullian at the beginning of the third century (5) professeth his belief of the kingdom promised to the saints upon earth, of their resurrection for a thousand years, of their living in the new Jerusalem, and therein enjoying all spiritual delights, and of the destruction of the world and the general judgment after the thousand years; and his books of Paradise and of the Hope of the Faithful, if they had not been lost or suppressed, might have afforded ample proofs of all these particulars. Irautin at the beginning of the fourth century (6) is very copious upon this subject in the seventh book of his Divine Institutions. He saith, 'Because all the works of God were finished in six days, it is necessary that the world should remain in this state six ages, that is six thousand years.' And again, 'because having finished the works he rested on the seventh day, and blessed it; it is necessary that at the end of the sixth thousandth year all wickedness should be abolished out of the earth, and justice should reign for a thousand years.' He saith, 'When the Son of God shall have destroyed injustice, and shall have res-

(5) Nam et confessionem in terra nobis regnum promissum, &c. [For we also profess our belief of a kingdom upon earth which has been promised to us, &c.] Tertull. advers. Marcion. Lib. 3. Cap. 21. Edit. Rigaltii. Paris. 1675. (6) Quoniam sex diebus cuncta Dei opera perfecta sunt; perservare sex, id est annum sex millia marere hoc statu mundo necesse est.—Et etsus, quoniam perfectis operibus requirit die septimo, annu benevolit; necesse est, ut in fine sexti millesimii anni mundi abhinc futurum est, et regnat per annos millesimae justitiae. [Translated in the text.] Cap. 11. Verum ille, cum delevisset injustitiam, ut in fine sexti millesimii anni mundi abhinc futurum est, et regnant per annos millesimae justitiae. [Translated in the text.] Cap. 24. Sed idem, cum milium annu regnat, hoc est septem millia eheurint terminari; solvunt demum, &c. Cun vero completi fuerint millesimae annu, sicut, secunda illa, et publica omnia resurrectio, ex quo excitabantur injusti et cruciatum sempernores. Hoc esse dixit sanctum prophetae tarum, quam Christiani sequitur; hae nostra sapientia. [Translated in the text.] Cap. 20.
stored the just to life, he shall be conversant among men a thousand years, and shall rule them with most just government. At the same time the prince of devils shall be bound with chains, and shall be in custody the thousand years of the heavenly kingdom, while justice shall reign in the world, lest he should attempt any evil against the people of God. He saith, 'When the thousand years of the kingdom, that is seven thousand years shall draw towards a conclusion, Satan shall be loosed again: and when the thousand years shall be completed, then shall be that second and public resurrection of all, wherein the unjust shall be raised to everlasting torments.' And having enlarged upon these topics he concludes, 'This is the doctrin of the holy prophets which we Christians follow: this is our wisdom.' In short, the doctrin of the millennium was generally believed in the three first and purest ages; and this belief, as the (7) learned Dodwell hath justly observed, was one principal cause of the fortitude of the primitive Christians; they even coveted martyrdom, in hopes of being partakers of the privileges and glories of the martyrs in the first resurrection.

Afterwards the doctrin grew into disrepute for various reasons. Some both Jewish and Christian writers have debased it with a mixture of fables; they have described the kingdom more like a sensual than a spiritual kingdom, and thereby they have not only exposed themselves, but (what is infinitely worse) the doctrin itself to contempt and ridicule. It hath suffered by the misrepresentations of its enemies, as well as by the indiscre-

(7) Hanni in millenii regno primam fore resurrectionem corporum credentrum primi Christiani. Exit justorum propriae animae resurrectionem, ita martyrum in eo portionem longe esse praecipuum. — Hanc cum sua creditur, dicit requir quantum martyres illius aetatis martyri studio inflammabatur. — 'The primitive Christians believed, that the first resurrection of their bodies would be in the kingdom of the Millennium. And as they believed that that resurrection would be peculiar to the righteous, so they believed that such as were martyrs would have the principal share in it. Since these things were thus believed, it is impossible to describe the influence it had upon the confessors of that age to covet martyrdom.' — Dodwell Dissert. Cyprian. xii. De Martyrum foeditudine. Sec. 20, 21.

7 And when the thousand years are expired, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison.

8 And shall go out to deceive the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them together to battle; the number of whom is as the sand of the sea.

9 And they went up on the breadth of the earth, and compassed the camp of the saints about, and the beloved city; and fire came down from God out of heaven and devoured them.

10 And the devil that deceived them was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where the beast and the false prophet are, and shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever.

At the expiration of the thousand years (ver. 7—10.) the restraint shall be taken off from wickedness, and for a little season as was said before, (ver. 3.) Satan shall be loosed out of his prison, and make one effort more to re-establish his kingdom. As he deceived our first parents in the paradisiacal state, so he shall have the artifice to deceive the nations in this millennial kingdom, to show that no state or condition upon earth is exempted and secured from sinning. The nations, whom he shall deceive, are described as living in the remotest parts of the world; in the four quarters of the earth, in the four angles or corners of the earth; and they are distinguished by the name of Gog and Magog, and are said to be as numerous as the sand of the sea. Gog and Magog seem to have been formerly the general name of the northern nations of Europe and Asia, as the Scythians have been since, and the Tartars are at present. In Ezekiel there is a famous prophecy concerning Gog and Magog, and this prophecy alludes to that in many particulars. Both that of Ezekiel and this of St. John remain yet to be fulfilled; and therefore we cannot be absolutely certain that they may not both relate to the same event, but it appears more probable that they relate to different events. The one is expected to take effect before, but the other will not take effect till after, the millennium. Gog and Magog in Ezekiel are said expressly (xxxviii. 6. 15. xxxix. 2.) to come from the north quarters and the north parts, but in St. John they come from the four quarters or corners of the earth. Gog and Magog in Ezekiel bend their forces against the Jews resettled in their own land, but in St. John they march up against the saints and church of God in general. Gog and Magog in Ezekiel are with very good reason supposed to be the Turks, but the Turks are the authors of the second woe, and the second woe (xi. 14.) is past before the third woe, and the third woe long precedes the time here treated of. Ezekiel's prophecy apparently coincides with the latter part of the eleventh chapter of Daniel, and presignifies the destruction of the Othman empire, which includes Gomer and many European, as well as Ethiopia, Lybia, and other nations. If Gog and Magog in St. John are the same with those in Ezekiel, then we must suppose the Othman empire to subsist throughout the millennium, which can hardly be believed, as it can hardly be reconciled with other prophecies. It may therefore be concluded that Gog and Magog as well as Sodom, and Egypt, and Babylon are mystic names in this book, and the last enemies of the Christian church are so denominated, because Gog and Magog appear to be the last enemies of the Jewish nation. Who they shall be, we cannot pretend to say with any the least degree of certainty. It is a strange whimsical absurd paradox of (9) Dr. Burnet, but his hypothesis betrayed him into it, that they shall be "sons of the earth, generated "from the slime of the ground and the heat of the sun, "as brute creatures were at first." Mr. M'de's (1) conjecture is much more rational, that they shall be the nations of America, the nations of America being in all probability colonies or descendants from the Scythians, that is from Gog and Magog. Whoever they shall be they shall come up from the four corners of the earth, on the breadth of the earth, and shall compass the camp of the saints about, and the beloved city, the new Jerusalem with the saints encamped around it, as the Israelites encamped around the tabernacle in the wilderness. But they shall not succeed and prosper in their attempts; they shall not be able to hurt the church and city of God, but shall

be destroyed, in an extraordinary manner, by fire from heaven: and the devil himself, the promoter and leader of this new apostasy and rebellion against God and his Christ, shall not only be confined as before, but shall be cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where he shall be punished together with the beast and the false prophet who were cast in before him, and shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever.

11 And I saw a great white throne, and him that sat on it, from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away, and there was found no place for them.

12 And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God; and the books were opened: and another book was opened, which is the book of life: and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works.

13 And the sea gave up the dead which were in it; and death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them: and they were judged every man according to their works.

14 And death and hell were cast into the lake of fire. This is the second death.

15 And whosoever was not found written in the book of life, was cast into the lake of fire.

After this last conflict and the final defeat of Satan, there follows (ver. 11-15.) the general resurrection and judgment, represented in a vision of a great white throne, great to show the largeness and extent, while to show the justice and equity of the judgment, and one sitting on it, who can be none other than the Son of God, for (John v. 22.) the Father hath committed all judgment unto the Son: from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away, and there was found no place for them, so that this is properly the end of the world. The dead, both small and great, of all ranks and degrees, as well those who perished at sea and were buried in the waters, as those who died at land, and were buried in graves, are all raised, and stand before the judgment-seat of God, where they are judged every man according to their works, as exactly as if all their actions had been recorded in books. They who are found not worthy to be inrolled in the registers of heaven are cast into the lake of fire; whither also were cast death and hell or the grave, who are here personified, as they are likewise in other places of holy scripture. It may seem strange that death should be cast into the lake of fire which is the second death; but the meaning is that temporal death, which hitherto had exercised dominion over the race of men, shall be totally abolished, and with respect to the wicked be converted into eternal death. Then, as St. Paul saith, (1 Cor. xv. 54, 26.) shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory: for the last enemy that shall be destroyed is death.

CHAP. XXI.

1 AND I saw a new heaven and a new earth; for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away; and there was no more sea.

2 And I John saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of Heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.

3 And I heard a great voice out of heaven, saying, Behold the tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God.

4 And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain: for the former things are passed away.

5 And he that sat upon the throne, said, Behold. I make all things new. And he said unto me, Write: for these words are true and faithful.
6 And he said unto me, It is done. I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end: I will give unto him that is athirst, of the fountain of the water of life freely.

7 He that overcometh shall inherit all things, and I will be his God, and he shall be my son.

8 But the fearful, and unbelieving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone: which is the second death.

A new heaven and a new earth (ver. 1.) succeeded in the room of the first heaven and the first earth, which passed away (xx. 11.) at the general judgment. In the new earth there is this remarkable property, that there is no more sea, which whether it shall be effected by the means which (2) the theorists of the earth have prescribed or by any other, time must discover: but it is evident from hence, that this new heaven and earth are not designed to take place till after the general judgment, for at the general judgment (xx. 13.) the sea gave up the dead which were in it. Many understand the expression figuratively, that there shall be no troubles or commotions in this new world. In this new world too the new Jerusalem appears (ver. 2.) in full glory and splendor. It is described as coming down from God out of heaven: it is a city whose builder and maker is God; and is adorned as the bride for the Lamb, the true church of Christ; and the new Jerusalem, the true church of Christ, subsists as well during the millennium kingdom as after it. At the commencement of the millennium it was said (xix. 7.) The marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready. At the conclusion of the millennium Gog and Magog went up (xx. 9.) against the beloved city: and here it is represented as the metropolis of the new heaven and the new earth. The new Jerusalem shall be the habitation of the saints of the first resurrection, and it shall also be the habitation of the saints of the general resurrection. The church of Christ shall endure through all times and changes in this world, and likewise in the world to come: it shall be glorious upon earth during the millennium, and shall be more glorious still in the new earth after the millennium to all eternity. Earth shall then become as heaven, or rather it shall be a heaven upon earth, (ver. 3.) God dwelling visibly among men: and (ver. 4.) there shall be no more death, which cannot come to pass, till death shall be totally abolished (xx. 14.) by being cast into the lake of fire, and till the former things, the first heaven and the first earth, are past away. He who sat upon the throne as judge of the world (xx. 11.) declares (ver. 5.) Behold, I make all things new: He is the author of this second, as well as of the first creation, and he commands these things to be written for the edification and consolation of his church with a firm assurance of their truth and certainty. He pronounces this period (ver. 6, 7, 8.) to be the consummation of all things, when the promises of God, and the desires of his faithful servants shall all be fully accomplished, the righteous shall inherit all things, but the profligate and immoral shall have their portion in the lake of fire and brimstone: which is a farther demonstration, that these things cannot take effect till after the general judgment. Many, I know, both ancients and moderns, make the millennium synchronize with the new heaven and the new earth; and some latitude of interpretation may be well allowed in these mysterious points of futurity: but this order of things, and this interpretation of the words, appear to me most natural, and most agreeable to the context. Gog and Magog, the nations in the four corners of the earth, are deceived by Satan after the expiration of the millennium: but Gog and Magog are not inhabitants of the new heaven and the new earth. It is not our business to frame theories and invent hypotheses, but faithfully to follow the word of God as our surest guide, without regarding much the authority of men. Not but various authorities might be cited to vol. ii.
show that this is no novel opinion. As St. Barnabas (3) says, ‘When the Lord shall make all things new, then shall be the beginning of the eighth day, which is the beginning of another world,’ allowing six thousand years to the duration of this world, the seventh thousand to the millennium, and the eighth thousand to the beginning of a blessed eternity; and you may find many more testimonies alleged to this purpose in the notes of Cotelerius and other critics upon this passage of St. Barnabas. Lactantius (4) affirms, that ‘when the thousand years shall be completed, the world shall be renewed by God, and the heavens shall be folded up, and the earth shall be changed; and God shall transform men into the similitude of angels; and they shall be white as snow, and shall be always conversant in the sight of the Almighty, and shall sacrifice to their Lord, and serve him for ever.’ St. Austin also (5) declares, that ‘the judgment being finished, then this heaven and this earth shall cease to be, when the new heaven and the new earth shall begin to be. For by a mutation of things this world will pass away, not by an utter extinction. Whence also the apostle says (1 Cor. vii. 31.) that the fashion of this world passeth away.’ And indeed why should the new heaven and the new earth be destroyed, when there shall be no more sin, when there shall be no more curse, when there shall be no more death? The heaven and the earth of old (2 Pet. iii. 5.) for the wickedness of man perished by water: the heaven and the earth which are now, are reserved unto fire against the day of judgment, and parcelion of ungodly men; but why should not the new heaven and the new earth be preserved, wherein dwellleth righteousness?

9 And there came unto me one of the seven angels, which had the seven vials full of the seven last plagues, and talked with me, saying, Come hither I will shew thee the bride, the Lamb’s wife.

10 And he carried me away in the spirit to a great and high mountain, and showed me that great city, the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God,

11 Having the glory of God: and her light was like unto a stone most precious, even like a jasper-stone, clear as crystal;

12 And had a wall great and high, and had twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels, and names written thereon, which are the names of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel.

13 On the east, three gates; on the north, three gates; on the south, three gates; and on the west, three gates.

14 And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb.

15 And he that talked with me, had a golden reed to measure the city, and the gates thereof, and the wall thereof.

16 And the city lieth four square, and the length is as large as the breadth: and he measured the city with the reed, twelve thousand furlongs: the length, and the breadth, and the hight of it are equal.

17 And he measured the wall thereof, an hundred and forty and four cubits, according to the measure of a man, that is, of the angel.

18 And the building of the wall of it was of jasper; and the city was pure gold, like unto clear glass.
19 And the foundations of the wall of the city were garnished with all manner of precious stones. The first foundation was jasper; the second, sapphire; the third, a chalcedony; the fourth, an emerald;

20 The fifth, sardonyx; the sixth, sardius; the seventh, chrysolyth; the eighth, beryl; the ninth, a topaz; the tenth, a chrysoprasus; the eleventh, a jacinth; the twelfth, an amethyst.

21 And the twelve gates were twelve pearls: every several gate was one pearl: and the street of the city was pure gold, as it were transparent glass.

22 And I saw no temple therein: for the Lord God Almighty, and the Lamb, are the temple of it.

23 And the city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon to shine in it: for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof.

24 And the nations of them which are saved, shall walk in the light of it: and the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour into it.

25 And the gates of it shall not be shut at all by day: for there shall be no night there.

26 And they shall bring the glory and honour of the nations into it.

27 And there shall in no wise enter into it any that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh abomination, or maketh a lie: but they which are written in the Lamb’s book of life.

A more particular description is afterwards given of the new Jerusalem. One of the seven angels who had the seven vials, (ver. 9.) and most probably the same angel, who before had showed to St. John (xvii. 1, &c.) the mystic Babylon and her destruction, now showeth by way of contrast the new Jerusalem and her glory. For this purpose (ver. 10.) he carrieth him away in the spirit to a great and high mountain; in the same manner as Ezekiel (xl. 2.) was brought in the visions of God, and set upon a very high mountain, to see the frame of the city and temple: and this description of the new Jerusalem is an assemblage of the sublimest riches of imagery of Ezekiel and other ancient prophets. The glory of God, or the divine Shechinah, (ver. 11.) illuminates the city. It hath (ver. 12, 13, 14.) a wall great and high, to show its strength and security; and twelve gates with angels for guards, three on the east, three on the north, three on the south, and three on the west, to show that people of all climates and nations may have access to it. On the twelve gates are written the names of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel, as on the twelve foundations are inscribed the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb, to signify that the Jewish and the Christian church are now united, and (Eph. ii. 20.) built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone. The angel hath (ver. 15, 16, 17.) a measuring reed, as the angel had likewise in Ezekiel; (xl. 3.) and the measures of the city and of the walls are formed by the multiplication of twelve, the number of the apostles. The city lieth four-square, the length as large as the breadth, according to the pattern of Jerusalem in Ezekiel; (xlviii. 16.) and the length and breadth and height of the walls and buildings are every where of the same beauty, strength, and proportion. It is built and garnished with gold and all manner of precious stones, (ver. 18—21.) as the richest emblems of eastern wealth and magnificence; the stones resembling those on Aaron’s breast-plate, to denote that the Urim and Thummim, the light and perfection of God’s oracle are there. It hath one remarkable peculiarity (ver. 22.) that there is no temple therein; for the whole is the temple of God and of the Lamb. The glory of God and the Lamb (ver. 23.) shine in it with a lustre superior to the sun and moon. All they who are saved (ver. 24—27.) walk continually in the light of it; for the gates are never shut, and no night is there. It is the center of glory and honor; all the wicked are excluded, and only good
Christians are admitted, they who are written in the Lamb's book of life.

CHAP. XXII.

1 AND he shewed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God, and of the Lamb.

2 In the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river, was there the tree of life, which bare twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month: and the leaves of the trees were for the healing of the nations.

3 And there shall be no more curse: but the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it; and his servants shall serve him.

4 And they shall see his face; and his name shall be in their foreheads.

5 And there shall be no night there; and they need no candle, neither light of the sun; for the Lord God giveth them light: and they shall reign for ever and ever.

The five first verses of this chapter are a continuation of the description of the new Jerusalem. It is further described with the river of life and the tree of life, as if paradise was restored and improved. A river flowing through the midst of the streets, and trees growing on either side of the river, are wonderfully pleasing and agreeable objects, especially in the hot eastern countries. Of the fruits there is such plenty and abundance, that all may freely partake of them at all seasons; and the very leaves are for the healing of the nations; by all which is signified the blessedness of immortality without any infirmities. Then too there shall be no more curse, as there is in this present world ever since the fall of man: but the blessed inhabitants shall enjoy the so much talked of beatific vision, shall live in the light of God's countenance, and serve him, and reign for ever and ever.

6 And he said unto me, These things are faithful and true. And the Lord God of the holy prophets sent his angel to show unto his servants the things which must shortly be done.

7 Behold, I come quickly: blessed is he that keepeth the sayings of the prophecy of this book.

In the conclusion the angel (ver. 6, 7.) ratifies and confirms all these particulars by a repetition of the same solemn assurance which he had before given, (xix. 9, xx. 5.) that these sayings are faithful and true; and he was commissioned by the same God, who had inspired the ancient prophets, to show the things which must shortly be done, which would very soon begin in part to be fulfilled, and in process of time would all be completed. Behold, I come quickly, saith he; for we may observe that the angel speaketh sometimes in his own person, and sometimes in the person and character of Christ, whose ambassador and representative he was. Christ is said to come upon any notable and illustrious manifestation of his providence; and all these are but so many steps to prepare the way for his last coming to judgment. A blessing too is pronounced, as in the beginning, (i. 3.) upon those who keep the sayings of the prophecy of this book: and as good Vitringa (6) devoutly wisheth, May the Lord bestow this grace and favor on us, who have employed some time and pains in the study and explication of this book, that some part of this blessing also may descend to us!

8 And I John saw these things, and heard them. And when I had heard and seen, I fell down to worship before the feet of the angel, which showed me these things.

9 Then saith he unto me, See thou do it not: for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren the

prophets, and of them which keep the sayings of this book: worship God.

10 And he saith unto me, Seal not the sayings of the prophecy of this book: for the time is at hand.

11 He that is unjust, let him be unjust still: and he which is filthy, let him be filthy still: and he that is righteous, let him be righteous still: and he that is holy, let him be holy still.

12 And behold, I come quickly: and my reward is with me, to give every man according as his work shall be.

13 I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last.

14 Blessed are they that do his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates into the city.

15 For without are dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie.

16 I Jesus have sent mine angel to testify unto you these things in the churches. I am the root and the offspring of David, and the bright and morning star.

17 And the spirit and the bride say, Come. And let him that heareth say, Come. And let him that is athirst, come. And whosoever will, let him take the water of the life freely.

18 For I testify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book:

19 And if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and from the things which are written in this book.

20 He which testifieth these things saith, Surely I come quickly. Amen. Even so, Come, Lord Jesus.

21 The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen.

St. John (ver. 3, 9.) testifieth himself to be the person who saw and heard these things: and in his exulty falling into the same mistake that he had committed before, (xii. 10.) he is gently corrected in the same manner by the angel: Who ordereth him (ver. 10.) not to seal up this prophecy, as Daniel's was, (xii. 4, 9.) for the time is at hand, some of the particulars would soon be accomplished, as indeed all would in their due season and order: Which he farther inforceth (ver. 11—13.) with promises and threatenings, of rewards to the righteous, and of vengeance on the wicked. It was not thought sufficient to represent the angel speaking in the person of Christ, but Christ himself also is introduced (ver. 16.) speaking in his own person, and confirming the divine authority of this book, and attesting it to be properly his revelation. The spirit and the bride, (ver. 17.) that is, the spiritual bride, the true church of Christ, therefore receives it, and ardently wisheth and prayeth for its completion. The book being of this importance and authority, a solemn adjuration is added by Christ himself, that no man presume to add any thing to it, or take away any thing from it: (ver. 18, 19.) For I testify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book: If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book: And if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and from the things which are written in this book: Which ought to be seriously considered by all visionaries and enthusiasts on the one hand, who boast their own inventions as divine revelations; and by all sceptics and infidels on the other, who depreciate the value and authority of these predictions. He who testifieth these things, saith, Surely, I come quickly; (ver. 20.) he not only attesteth them to be true, but will also come speedily to accomplish them: to which St. John answers, and in him
the whole church, Amen. Even so. Come, Lord Jesus. He closeth all with the usual apostolical benediction (ver. 21.) wishing the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ to the churches of Asia in particular, and to all Christians in general. The conclusion is truly excellent, as well as all other parts of this book: and nothing could be contrived to leave these things with a stronger impression upon the mind of the readers. In the whole, from first to last, appears the majesty of the divine revealer, the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the author and finisher of every good work, and of this more especially.

This, as (Sir Isaac Newton (7)) hath hinted; and as Dr. Warburton hath fully proved in some discourses, which it is hoped will be printed at one time or other for the benefit of the public,) is that sure word of prophecy, wherein Christians, as St. Peter saith, do well to take heed and attend. St. Peter (2 Pet. i. 16, &c.) is asserting and establishing the truth of Christ's second coming in power and great glory. For we have not followed cunningly devised fables, when we made known unto you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, but were eye-witnesses of his majesty. One illustrious proof of his coming in power and glory was his appearing in glory and majesty at his transfiguration. (ver. 17, 18.) For he received from God the Father honour and glory, when there came such a voice to him from the excellent glory, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. And this voice which came from heaven we heard, when we were with him in the holy mount. His appearing once in power and great glory is a good argument, that he may appear again in like manner; and that he not only may, but will, we have the farther assurance of prophecy, (ver. 19.) We have also a more sure word of prophecy, wherein ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day

down, and the day-star arise in your hearts. St. Peter might mean the prophecies in general which treat of the second coming of Christ, but it appears that the Revelation was principally in his thoughts and intentions. Christ's second coming in power and glory is one principal topic of the Revelation. With this it begins, (i. 7.) Behold, he cometh with clouds: and every eye shall see him. With this it also concludes, (xxii. 20.) He that testifieth these things, saith, Surely, I come quickly. Nothing can better answer the character of the Revelation, especially in St. Peter's time when as yet scarce any part of it was fulfilled, than a light shining in a dark place, until the day down, and the day-star arise in your hearts. It openeth more and more like the dawning of the day; and the more it is fulfilled, the better it is understood. Afterwards St. Peter proceeds, in the second chapter, to describe, out of this sure word of prophecy, the false prophets and false teachers, who should infest the church; and in the third chapter, the certainty of Christ's coming to judgment, the confutation of the present heavens and earth, and the structure of the new heavens and earth; and all agreeably to the Revelation. Attention therefore to this book is recommended to us, upon the authority of St. Peter as well as of the writer St. John; and a double blessing, as we have seen in the book itself, is pronounced upon those who shall study and observe it; first in the beginning, (i. 3.) Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein; and here again in the end, (xxii. 7.) Blessed is he that keepeth the sayings of the prophecy of this book. Emboldened by which blessing, I would humbly pray with Nehemiah, (Nehem. xiii. 22.) Remember me, O my God, concerning this also, and spare me, according to the greatness of thy mercy.

(7) Sir Isaac Newton's Observ. upon the Ape. Cap. i. p. 246. The Bishop has since published a discourse upon this subject in the third volume of his sermons; but his second lecturer, (Dr. Halifax) contradicts him hereon, and maintains the Revelation to be written after the death of St. Peter in the reign of Domitian.
XXVI.

RECAPITULATION OF THE PROPHETIES RELATING TO POPERY.

UPON the whole it appears that the prophecies relating to Popery are the greatest, the most essential, and the most striking part of the Revelation. Whatever difficulty and perplexity there may be in other passages, yet here the application is obvious and easy. Popery being the great corruption of Christianity, there are indeed more prophecies relating to that than to almost any other distant event. It is a great object of Daniel’s, and the principal object of St. Paul’s, as well as of St. John’s prophecies; and these, considered and compared together, will mutually receive and reflect light from and upon each other. It will appear to be clearly foretold, that such a power as that of the pope should be exercised in the Christian church, and should authorize and establish such doctrines and practices, as are publicly taught and approved in the church of Rome. It is not only foretold that such a power should be exercised, but the place and persons likewise are pointed out, where and by whom it should be exercised. Besides the place and persons, the time also is signified when it should prevail, and how long it should prevail; and at last upon the expiration of this term it shall be destroyed for evermore. It is thought proper to represent the prophecies relating to popery in one view, that, like the rays of the sun collected in a glass, they may appear with the greater lustre, and have the stronger effect.

1. I say, the Spirit of prophecy hath signified beforehand, that there should be such a power as that of the pope and church of Rome usurped in the Christian world; and these predictions are so plain and express, that, was not the contrary evident and undeniable, they might seem to be penned after the event, and to describe things past rather than to foretell things to come. For instance. Hath there now for many ages subsisted, and doth there still subsist a tyrannical, and idolatrous, and blasphemous power, in pretence Christian, but in reality Antichristian? It is the very same power that is portrayed in the little horn and the blasphemous king by Daniel, in the man of sin the son of perdition by St. Paul, and in the ten-horned beast and the two-horned beast or the false prophet by St. John.—Hath the church apostatized or departed greatly from the purity of Christian faith and worship? It is the very same thing that St. Paul hath foretold, (2 Thess. ii. 3.) The day of the Lord shall not come, except there come a falling away or the apostasy first: and he saith moreover in another place, (1 Tim. iv. 1.) that the spirit of prophecy (meaning Daniel) had in express words testified the same thing before: Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, or rather apostatize from the faith: and St. John foresaw the church so far degenerated as to become (Rev. xvii. 5.) the mother of harlots and whoredoms, and abominations of the earth.—Doth this apostasy consist chiefly in the worshipping of demons, angels and departed saints, and in honoring them with costly shrines and rich offerings, instead of the worship of the one true God through the one true mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus? Nothing can better agree with the prophecy of St. Paul, (1 Tim. iv. 1.) Some shall apostatize from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines concerning demons; and with the prophecy of Daniel, that the blasphemous king (xi. 38.) in his estate shall honour Mahanaim, Gods-protectors or saints-protectors, and a god whom his fathers knew not, shall he honor with gold, and silver, and with precious stones, and pleasant things.—Is the same church, that is guilty of this idolatry, notorious also for injoining celibacy to her clergy, and engaging her nuns to enter into vows of leading a single life? doth she make a vain distinction of meats, and command and institute certain times and days of fasting, wherein to taste flesh is judged a mortal sin? Nothing can more fully accomplish the prediction of Daniel,
(xi. 37.) that the blasphemous king, who shall worship
Mahuzzim, shall also not regard the desire of wises;
and the prediction of St. Paul, (1 Tim. iv. 3.) that those
who apostatize from the faith by worshipping of demons,
shall no less distinguish themselves by forbidding to
merry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which
[he hath created to be received with thanksgiving of
them who believe and know the truth.—Dost not the
pope make himself equal and even superior to God, in
afflicting divine titles, attributes, and honors; in assum-
ing a power of dispensing with the immutable laws
of nature and the gospel; in substituting for the com-
mandments of God the traditions of men; in treading
upon the altar of God at his inauguration, and making
the table of the Lord his footstool, and in that posture
receiving the adoration of his cardinals? It is foretold by
Daniel, (vii. 25.) that the little horn shall speak great
words against the most High, and thin to change
times and laws; and (xi. 36.) the king shall do accord-
ing to his will, and shall exalt himself, and magnify
himself above every God, and speak marvellous things
against the God of gods; and in like manner by St. Paul,
(2 Thess. ii. 3, 4.) The man of sin shall be revealed, the
son of perdition; 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, showing
himself that he is God.—Have the bishops of Rome ex-
tended their authority and jurisdiction over several coun-
tries and nations? have they usurped a supremacy over
all other bishops? have they partly by degrees, and
partly by slanders, obtained an entire ascendency over
Christian princes; sons to have them zealous members of
their communion, blindly devoted to their interests, and
ready upon all occasions to fight their battles? It is
nothing more than what was foretold by the prophets;
by Daniel when he said (vii. 20.) that the little horn had a
mouth speaking very great things, and a look more
stout than his fellows; and by St. John when he said
(xiii. 7.) that power was given unto the beast over all
kinds of, and tongues, and nations; and (xvii. 2.) the
kings of the earth have committed fornication, or
idolatry, with the whore of Babylon; and (xvii. 13.) have
one mind, and shall give their power and strength unto
the beast.—Hath the church of Rome enlarged the powers
of her clergy both regular and secular, and given them an
almost absolute authority over the purses and consciences
of men, enriched them with sumptuous buildings and noble
endowments, and appropriated the choicest of the lands
for church lands? This was plainly intimated by Daniel
speaking of the blasphemous king, as the passage should
be translated; (xi. 33.) Thus shall he do; to the defenders
of Mahuzzim, together with the strange God whom he
shall acknowledge, he shall multiply honor, and he shall
cause them to rule over many, and shall divide the land
for gain.—Is the church of Rome distinguished above all
churches for purple and scarlet color, by the richness and
splendor of her vestments, by the pomp and parade of her
ceremonies, insinuating and inveigling men with all arti-
fices of ornament and ostentation to join in her commu-
nion? This was particularly specified by St. John speak-
ing of the mystic whore of Babylon or the corrupted church,
(xvii. 4.) And the woman was arrayed in purple and
scarlet color, and decked with gold and precious stone
and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand, full of abso-
minations and filthiness of her fornication.—Have the
bishops and clergy of Rome in all ages been remarkable
for their policy? have they scrupled to promote their
religion by all manner of lies and pious frauds? have
they allowed of equivocation and mental reservation in
oaths and promises, and with the appearance of lambs in
meanness and sanctity, acted like ravening wolves, with
fury and violence? Daniel hath given the same character
of the little horn, (vii. 8.) Behold, in this horn were eyes
like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great
things; and St. Paul of the apostates in the latter times,
(1 Tim. iv. 2.) Speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their
conscience seared with a hot iron: and St. John of the
two horned beast, (xiii. 11.) And I beheld another beast
coming up out of the earth, and he had two horns like
a lamb, and he spake as a dragon.—Dost the church of
Rome boast of visions and revelations, and make a show of miracles in attestation of her doctrines? do her legends contain as many spurious and pretended wonders, as the scriptures do genuine and real? From St. Paul we learn (2 Thess. ii. 9, 10.) that the coming of the man of sin, is after the working of Satan, with all power and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness; and from St. John, (xiii. 13, 14.) that the false prophet doth great wonders in the sight of men, and deceiveth them that dwell on the earth by the means of those miracles which he hath power to do.—Both the church of Rome require an implicit obedience, condemn all who will not readily conform as heretics, and excommunicate and exclude them from the civil intercourses of life? So the false prophet in St. John (xiii. 16, 17.) causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads; and that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark of the beast.—Have the Roman pontiffs occasioned the shedding of as much or more Christian blood than the Roman emperors themselves? have they all along maintained their spiritual sovranity by secret plots and inquisitions, by open dragounings and massacres, and imprisoned, and tortured, and murdered the true worshippers of God, and the faithful servants of Jesus Christ? This particular, as well as all the rest, exactly answers the predictions of the prophets. For it is affirmed of the little horn in Daniel, (vii. 21, 25.) that he shall make war with the saints, and shall prevail against them; shall speak great words against the most High, and shall wear out the saints of the most High; and the woman in the Revelation, Babylon the great, the mother of harlots, (xvi. 6.) is represented as drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus, and (xviii. 24.) in her was found the blood of prophets, and of saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth.

Beside these plain and direct prophecies of the corruptions and innovations of the church of Rome, there are several secret glances at them, several oblique intendment and intimations of them.—Known unto God are all his works from the beginning of the world: (Acts xv. 13.) and when the holy Spirit dictated to the ancient prophets the prophecies concerning Babylon, Tyre, Egypt, and other tyrannical and corrupt governments, he dictated them in such a manner as plainly evinceth that he had a farther view to this last and most tyrannical and corrupt government of all. Babylon, Tyre, Egypt, and the rest, are made the types and emblems of Rome; and many of the particulars predicted concerning the former, are more truly and properly applicable to the latter; and several of them have been applied accordingly by St. John. Jeremiah said concerning ancient Babylon, (f. 7, 43.) Babylon hath been a golden cup in the Lord's hand, that made all the earth drunken; the nations have drunken of her wine, therefore the nations are mad: My people, go ye out of the midst of her, and deliver every man his soul from the fierce anger of the Lord: But how much more applicable are these expressions, as St. John hath applied them, to mystic Babylon or Rome? (xvii. 3, xviii. 3, 4.) She hath a golden cup in her hand, full of abominations; all nations have drunk of the poisonous wine of her fornication; Come out of her my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues. The prophets themselves might not understand this mystical, and saw perhaps no farther than the literal meaning; but they spoke as they were moved by the holy Ghost, (2 Pet. i. 21.) who comprehends all events, the most remote as well as the most immediate,—But the intimations of popery, which I particularly meant, are more frequent and more obvious in the New Testament. Why was our blessed Saviour so very cautious in giving honor to the Virgin Mary, that he seemed to regard her less than the least of his disciples? (Matt. xii. 48.) Who is my mother? (John ii. 4.) Woman, what have I to do with thee? (Luke xi. 27, 28.) Blessed is the womb that bare thee; Yea, rather blessed are they who bear the word of God, and keep it. Why did he rebuke St. Peter more severely than any other of the apostles, (Matt. xvi. 23.) Get thee behind me, Satan, thou art an offense unto me, for thou savorest...
Dissertations on

not the things that be of God, but those that be of men; and especially just after giving him that high encomium (ver. 13.) Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church? Nay we not reasonably presume that he spake and acted thus, as foreseeing that divine worship which would idolatriously be paid to the one, that supremacy which would be tyrannically arrogated to the other, and which that very encomium would imperiously be brought to countenance?—How came it to pass that our Saviour in instituting his holy supper (Matt. xvi. 26, 27.) said of the bread only, Take, eat, but of the cup more particularly, Drink ye all of it? May we not reasonably suppose that it was designed to prevent or obviate their sacrilege, who would have all indeed eat of the bread, but priests only drink of the cup? Why were the vices of the scribes and Pharisees left so particularly upon record, if not chiefly for the correction and reproof of their natural issue and descendents, the clergy of the church of Rome? Read the whole 23d Chapter of St. Matthew, and you will find that there is not a single woe denounced against the former, but as properly belongs, and is as strictly applicable to the latter. Binding heavy burdens, and grievous to be borne, and laying them on men's shoulders; doing all their works to be seen of men; shutting up the kingdom of heaven against men, neither going in themselves, neither suffering them who are entering to go in; devouring widows' houses, and for a pretence making long prayers; compassing sea and land to make one proselyte, and when he is made, making him twofold more the child of hell than themselves; making useless and frivolous distinctions of oaths; observing positive duties, and omitting the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith; making clean the outside, but within being full of extortion and excess; outwardly appearing righteous unto men, but within being full of hypocrisy and iniquity; building the tombs of the prophets, and garnishing the sepulchres of the righteous, honoring the dead saints, and at the same time persecuting the living; are as strong marks and characters of the one sect as they were of the other. Do not forbidding implicit faith and obedience to men,

(Matt. xxiii. 9.) Call no man your father upon the earth, for one is your Father which is in heaven; forbidding the worship of angels, (Col. ii. 18.) Let no man beguile you of your reward, in voluntary humility and worshipping of angels; forbidding all pretences to works of merit and supererogation, (Luke xvi. 10.) When ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants, we have done that which was our duty to do; forbidding the clergy to lord it over God's heritage, (1 Pet. iv. 2.) Neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock; forbidding the service of God in an unknown tongue, as St. Paul hath done at large in the 14th Chap. of his first Epist. to the Corinthians: Do not all these and such like prohibitions, I say, necessarily suppose and imply, that one time or other these particular errors and abuses would creep into the church? and in what church they are publicly taught and practised, no man can be insensible. Such texts of scripture are as much predictions that these things would be, as they are arguments that they should not be. For laws divine and human are not leveled against chimerical and mere imaginary vices, such as never are, never will be brought into practice; but are enacted by reason of those enormities, which men either have committed or are likely to commit, and which the lawgivers wisely foreseeing are therefore willing to prevent. Why doth St. Paul admonish the Romans particularly to beware of apostasy? (Rom. xi. 20, 22.) Be not high-minded, but fear;—otherwise though also shall be cut off. Surely this is a strange way of addressing the Romans, if the church of Rome was designed to be the infallible judge of controversies, the center of unity, and director of all religion.—View the picture that both St. Peter and St. Jude have drawn of false teachers, and consider whom it most resembles in all its features. (2 Pet. ii. 1, &c.) But there were false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them; And many shall follow their pernicious ways, by reason of whom the way
of truth shall be evil spoken of; and through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you, &c. (Jude 4, &c.) Ungodly men turning the grace of our God into lasciviousness, and denying the only Lord God and our Lord Jesus Christ: These filthy dreamers despise the flesh, despise dominion, and speak evil of dignities: These be they who separate themselves, sensual, having not the spirit, &c.—What St. Paul hath predicted concerning the corruption of the last days, is too much the character of all sects of Christians, but the application more properly belongs to the members of the church of Rome. (2 Tim. iii. 1, &c.) This know also, that in the last days perilous times shall come: For men shall be lovers of their own selves, covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unholy; Without natural affection, truce breakers, false accusers, incontinent, fierce, despisers of those that are good; Traitors, heady, high-minded, lovers of pleasures more than lovers of God; Having a form of godliness but denying the power thereof.—Such are the direct prophecies, and such the general intimations of popery; and we have the better right to make this application of the general intimations, as the direct prophecies are so plain and particular.

II. It is not only foretold, that such a power as that of the pope and church of Rome should be exercised in the Christian world; but to prevent any mistake in the application of these prophecies, the place and the persons likewise are pointed out, where and by whom it should be exercised. The prophet Daniel (Chap. vii.) hath described four beasts or four kingdoms: and out of the fourth beast or kingdom, be saith, shall arise ten horns or ten kings or kingdoms: and among them or after them shall come up another little horn: and he shall be divers from the rest; and he shall have eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things, and a look more stont than his fellows: and he shall subdue and pluck up by the roots three of the first horns or kings: and shall speak great words against the most High: and shall rear up the saints of the most High, and think to change times and laws. Daniel's first kingdom as the Babylonian, the second is the Persian, the third is the Macedonian or Grecian, and the fourth can be none other than the Roman; and the Roman empire, upon its dissolution, was divided into ten kings or kingdoms. It is in the western or Latin empire that these ten kings or kingdoms are to be sought and found: for this was properly the body of the fourth beast, the Greek or eastern empire belonged to the body of the third beast: and out of the western Roman empire, by the incursions of the northern nations, arose ten kings or kingdoms, of whom having mentioned the names before, we need not repeat them here. Now who is the little horn that was to spring up among these or after these; who as a politico-eclesiastical power differeth from the other ten powers; who hath eyes like the eyes of a man, that is (1) a seer, as Sir Isaac Newton says, εἰδοντας or bishop in the literal sense of the word; who hath a mouth speaking great things, bulls and anathemas, intercepts and excommunications; who hath a look more stont than his fellows, assuming a supremacy not only over other bishops, but even a superiority over kings and emperors themselves; who hath plucked up by the roots three of the first horns, the exarchate of Ravenna, the kingdom of the Lombards, and the state of Rome, and is distinguished by the triple crown; who speaketh great words against the most High, setting up himself above all laws divine as well as human; who worketh out the saints of the most High, by wars and massacres, inquisitions and persecutions; who changeth times and laws, instituting new religions, and teaching for doctrines the commandments of men; are questions which I think cannot admit of much dispute; there is only one person in the world who can fully answer all these characters.

The blasphemous king described in the 11th Chapter of Daniel, (ver. 36—39.) who shall do according to his will, and shall exalt himself and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper till the indignation be ac-

(1) Sir Isaac Newton's Observ. on Daniel, Chap. 7, p. 75.
completed, who shall not regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of wise, but in his estate shall honor Mahuza, and the defenders of Mahuza shall increase with glory, and shall cause them to rule over many, and shall divide the land for gain; is indeed a more general character, comprehending the tyrannical and corrupt power of the eastern church as well as of the western. But when we consider, how much and how far the Latin hath prevailed above the Greek church; how the supremacy, which was first claimed by the patriarch of Constantinople, hath been fully established in the bishop of Rome; how much more absolute the will of the Roman pontiff hath been than that of the Byzantine emperor; how the pope hath exalted himself and magnified himself as a god upon earth; how much more the Latins have degenerated from the religion of their fathers than the Greeks; how the desire of single life and the worship of the dead, which first began in the eastern parts, have been carried to the greatest height in the western empire; how much the jurisdiction and authority, the lands and revenues of the Roman clergy have exceeded those of the Greeks; how while the Greek church hath lain oppressed for several centuries, the Roman hath still prospered, and in all probability may prosper till God’s indignation against the Jews be accomplished; in short when we consider, how entirely this character agrees with that of the little horn, and how much better it agrees with the head of the Roman than with the head of the Greek church, the particular application of it to the bishop of Rome may well be justified, especially since St. Paul himself hath applied it in the same manner.

St. Paul hath drawn the man of sin, the son of perdition, (2 Thess. ii.) an exact copy and resemblance of the little horn and the blasphemous king in Daniel: and this man of sin must necessarily be a Christian, and not a Heathen or infidel power, because he is represented as God sitting in the temple of God. He is described too as the head of the apostasy or the falling away from the faith; and this apostasy is afterwards (1 Tim. iv. 1.) defined by St. Paul to consist in worshipping of demons, angels and deceased saints; and no man surely can have any reason to doubt, who is the head and leader of this apostasy, the patron and authorizer of this worship. The apostle hath communicated to the Thessalonians, what it was that hindered his appearing, (ver. 5, 6) Remember ye not that when I was yet with you, I told you these things? And now ye know what withholdeth that he might be revealed in his time. What this was the apostle hath no where expressly informed us; but if tradition may be depended upon in any case, it may certainly in this. For it is the constant and current tradition of the fathers, that what withholdeth is the Roman empire; and and therefore the primitive Christians in the public offices of the church prayed for its peace and welfare, as knowing that when the Roman empire should be broken into pieces, the empire of the man of sin would be raised on its ruins. They made no question, they were fully persuaded, that the successor to the Roman emperor in Rome would be the man of sin; and who hath succeeded to the Roman emperor in Rome, let the world judge and determine.

St. John too hath copied after Daniel, and (Chap. xiii.) exhibits the Roman empire under the same emblem of a beast with ten horns. It is evident that he designed the same as Daniel’s fourth or last beast, because he represents him as a composition of the three former, with the body of a leopard, the feet of a bear, and the mouth of a lion. He describes him too with the qualities and properties of the little horn, speaking the same blasphemies, acting the same cruelties; and having plainly seen what power was intended by the one, we have the less reason to hesitate about the other. But to distinguish him yet more, the number of his name is defined to be six hundred and sixty six. It was an ancient practice to denote names by numbers; and this number must be resolvable into some Greek or Hebrew name, to which all the characters here given may agree. It is an early tradition derived from (2) Irenaeus, who lived not long

after St. John's time, and was a disciple of a disciple of this apostle, that the number 666 includes the Greek name Ἁρμινίας or the Latin empire. Or if you prefer a Hebrew name, as St. John hath sometimes made use of Hebrew names, it is no less remarkable that this number comprehends also the Hebrew name Ḥamith, or the Roman empire. For more clearness and succinctness, a woman is shown (Chap. xxii.) riding upon this same beast, and her name is Babylon the great, but Babylon was destroyed long before, and by Babylon all agree, was meant Rome. The seven heads of the beast are likewise explained to be seven mountains on which the woman sitteth, which all the world know to be the situation of Rome. The woman herself is also declared to be that great city which reigneth over the kings of the earth; and that can be none other than Rome. Indeed the papists themselves allow (for they cannot but allow) all this to be said of Rome, but then they argue and maintain it to be said of Heathen Rome. But that cannot be, because it agrees not with several circumstances of the prophecy, and particularly with the woman's sitting upon the beast with ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns, which must needs typify the Roman empire, after it was divided into ten kingdoms, but the Roman empire was not divided into ten kingdoms till some years after it became Christian. St. John with the eyes of prophecy saw this beast rise up out of the sea, and the angel in his exclamation saith that he shall ascend out of the bottomless pit; but Heathen Rome had risen and flourished many years before this time. This beast cannot represent Heathen Rome because he is successor to Heathen Rome, to the great red dragon in his power, and his seat, and great authority. This beast was to continue and prosper forty-two prophetic months, that is 1260 years; but Heathen Rome did not continue 400 years after this time. The woman is represented as the mother of idolatry, with her golden cup intoxicating the inhabitants of the earth; but Heathen Rome ruled more with a rod of iron, and was rather an importer of foreign gods and superstitions than an exporter to other nations. St. John wondered with great admiration, when he saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus; but therefore should he who had seen and suffered the persecutions under Nero, wonder so much that Heathen should persecute Christians; but that Christians should delight in shedding the blood of Christians, was indeed of all wonders the greatest. The woman rideth upon the beast under his seventh head or last form of government; but the sixth head, which was the imperial form of government, is said to be subsisting in St. John's time, and the sixth was not destroyed, and the seventh or last form did not take place, till after Rome was become Christian. The ten kings with one mind gave their power and strength unto the beast, and afterwards hate the whore and make her desolate, and burn her with fire; but never did any ten kings unanimously and voluntarily submit to Heathen Rome, and afterwards burn her with fire. Rome according to the prophecies is to be utterly burnt with fire, and to be made a desolation for ever and ever; but Rome hath never yet undergone this fate, and consequently Heathen Rome cannot be the subject of these prophecies. In short from these and all other characters and circumstances, some whereof can never agree with Heathen Rome, and all agree perfectly with Christian Rome, it may and must be concluded, that not Heathen but Christian, not imperial but papal Rome was intended by these visions.

III. Besides the place and the persons, the time also is signified of this tyrannical power, when it should prevail, and how long it should prevail. Daniel mentions these things as being at a very great distance, and indeed they were at a very great distance in his time. It is said (viii. 26. x. 24.) the vision is yet for many days; that it comprehends (viii. 29.) what shall be in the last end of the indignation; that it extends (xi. 33. 40. xii. 4, 9.) even to the time of the end; that when God (xii. 7.) shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished; all which and other passages to the same purpose considered, it appears as unaccountable as strange, that ever any man should imagin, as some
both ancients and moderns have imagined, that Daniel's prophecies reached not beyond the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. Daniel hath described four great empires, not contemporary, but successive one to another. The fourth and last is represented as the greatest of all, both in extent and in duration. It devoureth the whole earth, and treadeth it down, and breaketh it in pieces. After which it is divided into ten kingdoms, and the little horn growtheth not up till after this division. So that this tyrannical power was to arise in the latter days of the Roman empire, after it should be divided into ten kingdoms. From St. Paul too we may collect, that the great power of the Roman empire hindered the appearing of the man of sin; but when that power should be diminished and taken out of the way, then should the man of sin be revealed in his time. St. John also refers these events to the same era. Not only the general order and the whole series of his prophecies point to this time, but there are besides particular intimations of it. He describes the beast as successor to the great red dragon, in his power, and in seat, and great authority; but if the great red dragon be, as he is generally understood to be, the persecuting power of Heathen Rome, then the persecuting power of Heathen Rome must be removed, before the beast can take his place. The beast hath also ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns; so that ten complete kingdoms must arise out of the Roman empire before the appearance of the beast. Of his seven heads it is said, Five are fallen, that is in St. John's time five forms of government were past, one is and the other is not yet come, and the sixth which was then present being the imperial, it necessarily follows that the seventh or last must be some form of government which must arise after the imperial; and as St. John saw the one, we see the other.

It appears then that this Antichristian power was to arise in the latter times of the Roman empire, after an end should be put to the imperial power, and after the empire should be divided into ten kingdoms; and it is not only foretold when it should prevail, but moreover how long it should prevail. Here we cannot but observe, that the very same period of time is prefixed for its continuance both by Daniel and by St. John. Wonderful is the consent and harmony between these inspired writers, as in other circumstances of the prophecy, so particularly in this. In Daniel (vii. 25.) the little horn was to wear out the saints of the most High, and think to change times and laws; and it is said expressly, that they should be given into his hand, until a time, and times, and the dividing of time; or as the same thing is expressed in another place, (xii. 7) for a time, times, and a half. In the Revelation it is said of the beast, (xii. 5) to whom in like manner it was given to make war with the saints, and to overcome them, that power also was given unto him to continue forty and two months; and the holy city (xi. 2) the Gentiles should tread under foot forty and two months: and the two witnesses (ver. 3) should prophesy a thousand two hundred and threescore days clothed in sackcloth: and the woman, the true church of Christ who fled into the wilderness from persecution (xii. 6, 14) should be fed and nourished there a thousand two hundred and threescore days, or as is otherwise expressed in the same chapter, for a time, and times, and half a time. Now all these numbers you will find upon computation to be the same, and each of them to signify 1230 years. For a time is a year, and a time and times and the dividing of the time or half a time are three years and a half, and three years and a half are 42 months, and 42 months are 1260 days, and 1260 days in the prophetic style are 1260 years. From all these dates and characters it may fairly be concluded, that the time of the church's great affliction and of the reign of Antichrist will be a period of 1260 years.

To fix the time exactly when the 1260 years begin, and consequently when they will end, is a matter of some niceness and difficulty; and perhaps we must see their conclusion, before we can precisely ascertain their beginning. However it appears to be a very great mistake of some very learned men, in dating the commencement of this period too early. This is the capital error of Mr. Mede's scheme; what hath led him, and others who have followed his example, into subsequent errors; and what
the event hath plainly refuted. For if the reign of Antichrist had begun, as he reckons, about the year 556, its end would have fallen out about the year 1716. The truth is, those 1260 years are not to be reckoned from the beginning of these corruptions, from the rise of this tyranny, for the mystery of iniquity began to work even in the days of the apostles; but from their full growth and establishment in the world. Of the little horn, who was to wear out the saints of the most High, and to change times and laws, it is said that they should be given into his hand, which can imply no less than the most absolute power and authority over them, until a time, and times, and the dividing of time. In like manner the holy city, the true church of Christ, was to be trodden under foot, which is the lowest state of subjection: the two witnesses were not only to prophesy, but to prophesy in sackcloth, that is in mourning and affliction; the woman, the church, was to abide in the wilderness, that is in a forlorn and desolate condition; and power was given to the beast, not merely to continue as it is translated, but to practise and prosper, and to do according to his will; and all for this same period of 1260 years. These 1260 years therefore of the reign of Antichrist are not to be computed from his birth, or infancy, or youth; but from his coming to maturity, from his coming to the throne; and in my opinion their beginning cannot be fixed consistent with the truth of history either sooner or later than in the eighth century. Several memorable events happened in that century. In the (3) year 727 the pope and people of Rome revolted from the exarch of Ravenna, and shook off their allegiance to the Greek emperor. In the year 755 the pope obtained the exarchate of Ravenna for himself, and thence forwards acted as an absolute temporal prince. In the year 774 the pope by the assistance of Charles the great became possessed of the kingdom of the Lombards. In the year 787 the worship of images was fully established, and the supremacy of the pope acknowledged by the second council of Nice. From one or other of these transactions it is probable, that the beginning of the reign of Antichrist is to be dated. What appears to be most probable is, that it is to be dated from the year 727, when (as (4) Sigonio says) Rome and the Roman dukedom came from the Greeks to the Roman pontiff. Hereby he became in some measure a horn or temporal prince, though his power was not fully established till some years afterwards; and before he was a horn at all, he could not answer the character of the little horn. If then the beginning of the 1260 years of the reign of Antichrist is to be dated from the year 727, their end will fall near the year 2000 after Christ; and at the end of the 6000th year of the world, according to a very early tradition of Jews and Christians, and even of Heathens, great changes and revolutions are expected both in the natural and in the moral world; and there remaineth, according to the words of the apostle, (Heb. iv. 9) a sabbath or holy rest to the people of God.

IV. What Daniel hath described under the character of the little horn, and the blasphemous king; what St. Paul hath described under the character of the man of sin, the son of perdition; what St. John hath described under the character of the beast, and the false prophet; that same tyrannical, idolatrous, and blasphemous power, ecclesiastical writers usually denominate Antichrist; and having thus far traced his character and description, his rise, progress, and continuance, let us now proceed to consider his fall, when at the expiration of the prefixed period of 1260 years his kingdom shall be destroyed for evermore. The prophets are not more expressive of his elevation, than they are of his destruction. They not only predict his downfall in general terms, but also describe the manner and circumstances of it; and St. John's account being larger, and more circumstantial and particular, will be the best comment and explanation of the others. For my part I cannot pretend to prophesy, which is the common vanity of expositors of the Revelation; 1

(3) See Sigonio, Spanheim, Dapin, &c. &c.


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made a grant of the supremacy to the pope; and this might incline one to think that the 1260 years of the reign of Antichrist are to be dated from this time. But though they might rise together, yet they were not fully established together. The authority of Mohammed might be fully established in the seventh century, but that of the pope, was not so till the eighth century; and therefore, as the one was established somewhat sooner, so it may also be subverted somewhat sooner, than the other. The pope indeed was established supreme in spirituals in the seventh century, but he became not a temporal horn or beast till the eighth century.

When the Othman empire is overthrown, and the second woe is past, then according to St. John (xi. 11.) the third woe cometh quickly, which comprehends all the severe and terrible judgments of God upon the kingdom of the beast. In like manner when Daniel hath predicted the fall of the king of the north or of the Othman empire, he subjoins immediately (xii. 1.) that there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation, even to that same time; and at that time thy people shall be delivered, everyone that shall be found written in the book; agreeably to which St. John also saith (xx. 15.) that whoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire. The 1260 years of the reign of the beast, I suppose, end with the 1260 years of the witnesses prophesying in sackcloth; and now the destined time is come for the judgments of God to overtake him; for as he might exist before the 1260 years began, so he may exist likewise after they are finished, in order to be made an eminent example of divine justice. For the greater confirmation and illustration of this subject, and to make the stronger impression upon the minds of the readers, these judgments are displayed under a variety of figures and representations. First they are described in a more general manner (Rev. xiv.) as the harvest and reaping of the earth, and as the vintage and wine-press of the wrath of God. Then they are represented in a more particular manner (Rev. xv. xvi.) as the seven vials, or the seven last plagues, for in them is filled up the wrath of God; which are so

\[\text{(5) See Prideaux's Life of Mahomet.}\]
many signal judgments upon the kingdom of the beast, and so many steps and degrees of his ruin. Afterwards the fall of Rome is delineated (Rev xix. xviii.) as of another Babylon; and it is declared that she shall be destroyed by fire, and her destruction shall be a complete and total destruction, such as hath never yet been the fate of Rome. Some of the princes, who were once of her communion, shall hate her as much as they loved her and burn her with fire. It is farther intimated that she shall be swallowed up by a subterraneous fire, shall sink like a great millstone in the sea, and her smoke shall rise up for ever and ever: and the sea and the situation of Rome and the neighbouring countries greatly favor such a supposition. As St. John saith, (xi. 8.) she spiritually is called Sodom; and she shall resemble Sodom in her punishment as well as in her crimes. After the subversion of the capital city, (Rev. xix.) the beast and the false prophet, the powers civil and ecclesiastical, with those who still adhere to their party, shall make one effort more; but it shall prove as weak and vain, as it is impious; they shall both be taken, and cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone. The destruction of Antichrist therefore, of himself as well as of his seat, shall be in a terrible manner by fire. Daniel asserts the same thing. (vii. 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. So likewise saith St. Paul, (2 Thes. i. 7, 8.) The Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ; and more particularly (ii. 8.) The Lord shall consume the wicked one, the man of sin with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy him with the brightness of his coming.

About the time of the fall of the Ottoman empire and of the Christian Antichrist, the Jews shall turn to the Lord, and be restored to their own land. Immeasurable are the prophecies concerning the conversion and restoration of this people. Hear only what Hosea saith, who prophesied before the captivity of the ten tribes of Israel, (iii. 4, 5.) The children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without sacrifice, and without an altar, and without an ephod, and without teraphim or divine manifestations: Afterwards shall the children of Israel return and seek the Lord their God, and David their king, and shall fear the Lord and his goodness in the latter days. Hear also what Ezekiel saith, who prophesied during the captivity of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, (xxvii. 21, 25.) Thus saith the Lord God. Behold, I will take the children of Israel from among the heathen, whither they be gone, and will gather them on every side, and bring them into their own land: And they shall dwell in the land that I have given unto Jacob my servant, wherein your fathers have dwelt, and they shall dwell therein, even they and their children, and their children's children for ever, and my servant David shall be their prince for ever, (xxxix. 28, 29.) Then shall they know that I am the Lord their God, who caused them to be led into captivity among the heathen, but I have gathered them unto their own land, and have left none of them any more there: Neither will I hide my face any more from them; for I have poured out my spirit upon the house of Israel, saith the Lord God. Ye cannot but remember what St. Paul saith upon the same occasion, (Rom. xi. 25.) I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery, that blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come, and so all Israel shall be saved. Now these and the like predictions, we suppose, will take effect, and this great revolution be accomplished, about the time of the fall of the Ottoman empire, and of the Christian Antichrist. Ezekiel's Gog and Magog (xxxviii. xxxix.) we believe to be the Turks or Ottomans, and they shall come up against the children of Israel in the latter days to oppose their resettlement in their own land, and they shall fall in some extraordinary manner upon the mountains of Israel, they and the people that is with them: so the house of Israel shall know that I am the Lord their God, from that day and forward. Daniel 100 (xi. 45. xii. 1.)
predicts the fall of the king of the north upon the glorious holy mountain: And at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince who standeth for the children of Israel. The restoration of the Jews and the fall of Antichrist shall also happen about the same time; (If the sixth vial Rev. xvi. 12.) which is poured out upon the great river Euphrates, whose waters are dried up to prepare a passage for the kings of the east, is to be understood of Mr. Mede and others think, of the return of the Jews; then the return of the Jews is one of the seven last plagues of Antichrist. But this notion is expressed more clearly in Daniel, as it more immediately concerned his people. (xi. 35.) He shall prosper till the indignation, that is God's indignation against the Jews, be accomplished: and again afterwards (xii. 7.) When God shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished. In consequence and conformity to this doctrine a tradition hath prevailed (6) among the Jews, that the destruction of Rome and the redemption of Israel shall fall out about the same time.

When these great events shall come to pass, of which we collect from the prophecies this to be the proper order; the protestant witnesses shall be greatly exalted, and the 1200 years of their prophesying in sackcloth and of the tyranny of the beast shall end together; the conversion and restoration of the Jews succeed; then follows the ruin of the Ottoman empire, and then the total destruction of Rome and of Antichrist. When these great events, I say, shall come to pass, then shall the kingdom of Christ commence, or the reign of the saints upon earth. So Daniel expressly informs us, that the kingdom of Christ and the saints will be raised upon the ruins of the kingdom of Antichrist; (viii. 26, 27.) But the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume, and to destroy it unto the end: 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 dominion shall serve and obey him. So likewise St. John saith, that upon the final destruction of the beast and the false prophet (Rev. xx.) Satan is bound for a thousand years: And I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them; and I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years: But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished. This is the first resurrection. It is, I conceive, to these great events, the fall of Antichrist, the re-establishment of the Jews, and the beginning of the glorious millennium, that the three different dates in Daniel of 1260 years, 1290 years, and 1335 years are to be referred; and as Daniel saith, (xii. 12.) Blessed is he that watcheth and cometh to the 1335 years; so St. John saith, (xx. 6.) Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection. Blessed and happy indeed will be this period: and it is very observable, that the martyrs and confessors of Jesus, in popish as well as in pagan times, will be raised to partake of this felicity. Then shall all those gracious promises in the Old Testament be fulfilled of the amplitude and extent, of the peace and prosperity, of the glory and happiness of the church in the latter days. Then in the full sense of the words (Rev. xi. 15.) shall the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever. According to (7) tradition these thousand years of the reign of Christ and the saints will be the seventh millenary of the world; for as God created the world in six days and rested on the seventh, so the world, it is argued, will continue six thousand years, and the seventh thousand will be the great sabbathism or holy rest to the people of God; one day (2 Pet. iii. 8.) being with the Lord as a thousand years.


ec 2
and a thousand years as one day. According to (8) tradition too these thousand years of the reign of Christ and the saints are the great day of judgment; in the morning or beginning whereof shall be the coming of Christ in flaming fire, and the particular judgment of Antichrist, and the first resurrection; and in the evening or conclusion whereof shall be the general resurrection of the dead, small and great, and they shall be judged every man according to their works.

Prudence as well as modesty requires, that we should forbear all curious enquiries into the nature and condition of this future kingdom; as how Satan should be bound for a thousand years, and afterwards loosed again; and how the raised saints shall cohabit with the living, and judge and govern the world; or how Christ shall manifest himself to them, and reign among them; or how the new Jerusalem, the city and church of the living God, shall descend from heaven to earth; or how Satan shall at last deceive the nations, and what nations they shall be. These are points which the holy Spirit hath not thought fit to explain; and folly may easily ask more questions about them, than wisdom can answer. Wisdom, in the mysterious things of God, and especially in the mysterious things of futurity, will still adhere to the words of scripture; and having seen the completion of so many particulars will rest contented with believing that these also shall be, without knowing how they shall be. It is of the nature of most prophecies not to be fully understood, till they are fully accomplished, and especially prophecies relating to a state so different from the present as the millennium. Perfectly to comprehend these and all other prophecies may constitute a part of the happiness of that period, for then they will all be fulfilled, and the mystery of God shall be finished. This however is very evident, that wickedness would soon overrun the world, if not restrained by an overruling providence; for no sooner is Satan loosed again, than the nations which are

in the four quarters of the earth come up against the holy city, the number of whom is as the sand of the sea: And therefore at the time appointed, after the general judgment, this world shall be destroyed, (2 Pet. iii. 10.) the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat, the earth also, and the works that are therein shall be burnt up. Thus (Rev. xxi. 1.) the first heaven and the first earth shall pass away, and a new heaven and a new earth shall succeed, (2 Pet. iii. 13.) wherein dwelleth righteousness; (Rev. xxi. 3, 4.) God himself shall be with men, and be their God; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor pain, for the former things are passed away. (1 Cor. xv. 24, &c.) Then cometh the end, when Christ shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority, and power. For he must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet; the last enemy that shall be destroyed is death. And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all.

Since then the corruptions of popery are so particularly foretold in scripture, and make so considerable a part of the ancient prophecies, we have the less reason to be surprised and offended at them. While the papists endeavor to corrupt and adulterate the doctrines of the prophets and apostles, they still accomplish their predictions; while they labor to destroy Christianity in one part, they unwittingly confirm and establish it in another. And since a time is certainly coming, wherein God will avenge himself on these idolaters, and require the blood of his servants at their hands, let us wait with the faith and the patience of saints, till it be accomplished. We have seen the prophecies remarkably fulfilled in their success, and we shall see them as remarkably fulfilled too in their destruction. The power of the pope is nothing near so great now as it was some years ago: It received its death-wound at the Reformation, of which it may languish for a time, but will never entirely recover, though its last struggles and efforts, like those of a dying

monster, may be terrible and dangerous. In the end, the gospel will prevail over all enemies and opposers: (Matt. xxii. 44.) Whosoever shall fall on this stone, shall be broken; but on whomsoever it shall fell, it will grind him to powder. We will conclude our discourse with the words of Ezra, so very applicable to us of the reformed religion; (ix. 13, 14.) After that is come upon us for our evil deeds, and for our great trespass, seeing that thou our God hast punished us less than our iniquities deserve, and hast given us such deliverance as this, a deliverance from the yoke and tyranny of the church of Rome; should we again break thy commandments, and join in affinity with the people of these abominations, wouldst thou not be angry with us till thou hast consumed us, so that there should be no remnant nor escaping?

CONCLUSION.

From these instances, which have been produced of prophecies and their completions, it is hoped, this conclusion may fairly be drawn in the words of St. Peter, (2 Pet. i. 20, 21.) that no prophecy of the scripture is of any private interpretation, or the suggestion of any man's own spirit or fancy; for the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. Other instances might have been alleged to the same purpose: but those prophecies which received their full accomplishment in ancient times, and even those which were accomplished in the person and actions of our blessed Saviour, are not here considered; such only as relate to these latter ages, and either in the whole or in part are now fulfilling in the world, are made the subjects of these dissertations. This is proving our religion in some measure by ecular demonstration, is not walking by faith only, but also by sight. For you can have no rea-

THE PROPHETIES. 425
Babylon made a desolation for ever, a possession for the
bittern, and pools of water; Tyre become like the top of
a rock, a place for fishers to spread their nets, and
Egypt a base kingdom, the basest of the kingdoms,
and still tributary and subject to strangers: these are
the four great empires of the world the fourth
which was greater and more powerful than all the
former, divided in the western part thereof into ten
kingdoms; and among them a power with a triple
divers from the first, with a mouth speaking very
great things, and with a look more stout than his fellow;
and with a look more stout than his fellow, speaking
great words against the most High, and changing
times and seasons.
You see a power cast down the truth to the ground,
and prosper and practise, and destroy the holy people,
and going the God of his fathers, nor the desire of
honor, but honoring Mahuzzim, Gods-protectors of
tsaints of the most High, and changing times and
seasons.
You see the Jews led away captive into all
nations, and Jerusalem trodden down of the Gentile
and particularly over the land of Egypt, the Libya,
their steps, and the Arabians still escaping out of their
hands. You see the Jews led away captive into all
nations, and Jerusalem trodden down of the Gentile
and particularly over the land of Egypt, the Libya,
their steps, and the Arabians still escaping out of their
hands.

Concerning Babylon it was particularly foretold,
that it should be shut up and besieged by the Medes,
Elenites, and Armenians; that the river should be
dried up; that the city should be taken in the time of a
feast, while her mighty men were drunken; Which
accordingly came to pass, when Belshazzar and all his
thousand princes, who were drunk with him at the feast,
were slain by Cyrus's soldiers. Also it was particularly
foretold, that God would make the country of Babylon
a possession for the bittern and pools of water; Which
was accordingly fulfilled by the overflowing and
drowning of it, on the breaking down of the great dam
in order to take the city. Could the correspondence of
these events with the predictions, be the result of
chance? But suppose these predictions were forged
after the event, can the following ones also have been

(1) Clarke's Works, Vol. 2. The Evidences of natural and revealed
religion, p. 720, &c.
"out of his hand, even Edom and Moab and the chief of the children of Ammon. He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries, and the land of Egypt shall not escape. But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt; and the Libyans and Ethiopians shall be at his steps.

When Daniel, in the (2) vision of Nebuchadnezzar's image, foretold four great successive monarchies; was this written after the event? or can the congruity of his description with the things themselves, reasonably be ascribed to mere chance?

When the same Daniel foretells a tyrannical power, which should wear out the saints of the most High, and they shall be given into his hand, until a time, and times, and the dividing of time; and again for (3) a time, times, and a half: (Which can no way be applied to the short persecution of Antiochus, because these prophecies are expressly declared to be for many days; concerning what shall befall thy people in the latter days; for yet the vision is for many days, concerning the time of the end; what shall be in the last end of the indignation; concerning those who shall fall by the sword and by flame, by captivity and by spoil, many days; to try them, even to the time of the end, because it is yet for a time appointed; concerning a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation; the time when God shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people; the time of the end, till which the words are closed up and sealed; to which the prophet is commanded to shut up his words and seal the book, for many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased; even the end, till which Daniel was to rest, and then stand in his lot at the end of the days.)

(2) The fame of which was so nearly spread; that Ezechiel, who was contemporary with Daniel, plainly alludes to it, when he says of the prince of Tyre, Chap. xxviii. 3. Thou art wiser than Daniel; there is no secret that they can hide from thee.

(3) "Three years and a half, or 1260 days, is, according to the analogy of all the forementioned numbers, 1260 years."
greater and more remote tyranny, which John himself prophesied of as in his time still future; then the wonder is still infinitely greater, that in those early times, when there was not the least footstep in the world of any such power as St. John distinctly describes, (but which now is very conspicuous, as I shall presently observe more particularly) it should ever enter into the heart of man to conceive so much as the possibility of such a power, sitting not upon the proufion of heathen persecutors, but expressly (2 Thess. ii, 4.) in the temple and upon the seat of God Himself.

But these prophecies, which either relate to particular places, or depend upon the computation of particular periods of time, are (as I said) of such a nature, as that they cannot be judged of, but by persons skilled in history. There are some others more general, running (tiro) the whole scripture, and obvious to the consideration of the whole world.

For instance: It was foretold by Moses, that when the Jews forsake the true God, they should be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth; should be scattered among the Heathen, among the nations, among all people from the one end of the earth even unto the other; should there be left five in number among the Heathen, and nine away in their iniquity in their enemies lands; and should become an astonishment, a proverb, and a by-word, among all nations; and that among these nations they should find no ease, neither should the sole of their foot have rest; but the Lord should give them a trembling heart, and failing of eyes, and sorrow of mind; and send a faintness into their hearts in the lands of their enemies; so that the sound of a shaken leaf should chase them. Had any thing like this, in Moses’s time, ever happened to any nation? Or was there in nature any probability, that any such thing should ever happen to any people, that, when they were conquered by their enemies, and led into captivity, they should neither continue in the place of their captivity, nor be swallowed up and lost among their conquerors, but be scattered among all
the nations of the world, and hated by all nations for
many ages, and yet continue a people? Or could any
description of the Jews, written at this day, possibly be
a more exact and lively picture of the state they have
now been in for many ages; than this prophetic de-
scription given by Moses, more than 3000 years ago?
The very same thing is in like manner continually
predicted through all the following prophets; that God
would scatter them among the Heathen; that he would
cause them to be removed into all the kingdoms of the
earth; that he would scatter them into all the winds
and disperse them through the countries of the He-
man; that he would sift them among all nations, like
as corn is sifted in a sieve; that in all the kingdoms
of the earth, whither they should be driven, they should
be a reproach and a proverb, a taunt and a curse; and
an astonishment and a hissing; and that they should
abide many days without a king, and without a prince;
and without a sacrifice, and without an ephod, and
without a teraphim. - And hence, concerning the predictions of Ezekiel 'tis remarkable,
particular, that they being spoken in the very time
the Babylonian captivity, 'tis therefore evident from the
time of his prophesying, as well as from the nature and
description of the thing itself, that he needs must be
understood of that latter captivity into all places, which
was to happen after the fulfilling the time of that age;
wherein God was first to bring them again (out of the
Babylonian captivity) into the land where they should
build a temple, but not like to that which afterwards
(after their final return) should be built for ever with
a glorious building. The foretold prophecies (these)
must of necessity be understood of that wide and long
dispersion, which in the New Testament also is ex-
presly mentioned by our Saviour and by St. Paul.
'Tis also farther, both largely and distinctly pre-
predicted, as well by Moses himself, as by all the follow-
ing prophets, that notwithstanding this unexampled
dispersion of God's people, yet for all that, when they
be in the land of their enemies, God will not destroy
them utterly; but when they shall call to mind among

all the nations, whither God has driven them, and
shall return unto the Lord, he will turn their capti-
vity, and gather them from all nations, from the out-
most parts of heaven, even in the latter days; That
though he makes a full end of all other nations, yet
he will not make a full end of them; but a remnant of
them shall be preserved, and return out of all coun-
tries whither God has driven them. That he will lift
the house of Israel among all nations, like as corn is
sifted in a sieve; yet shall not the least grain fall
upon the earth: That the Lord shall set his hand
again the second time, to recover the remnant of his
people, and shall set up an ensign for the nations, and
shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather to-
gether the dispersed of Judah, from the four corners
of the earth: For I will bring thy seed from the east,
say 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: Behold, I will lift up my
hand to the Gentiles and set up my standard to the
people, and they shall bring thy sons in their arms,
and thy daughters shall be carried upon their shoul-
ders: For a small moment have I forsaken thee, but
with great mercy will I gather thee: In a little wrath
I hid my face from thee, for a moment; but with
everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee. And
that these prophecies might not be applied to the re-
turn from the 70 years captivity in Babylon, (which
moreover was not a dispersion into all nations) they
are expressly referred to the latter days, not only by
Moses but by Hoses, who lived long after, (For the
children of Israel shall abide MANY DAYS without
a king, and without a prince; and without a sacri-
ifice; AFTERWARD they shall return, and seek the
Lord their God, and David their king, and shall
fear the Lord and his goodness in the LATTER
DAYS) and by Ezekiel who lived in the captivity it-
self; After MANY DAYS [speaking of those who
should oppose the return of the Israelites] thou shalt be
visited, in the LATTER YEARS thou shalt come
" desire of women, nor regard any God; for he shall
" magnify himself above all. And in his estate shall he
" honor (7) the God of forces, and (8) a God whom his
" fathers knew not, shall he honor. Thus shall he do in
" the most strong holds with a strange God, whom he
" shall acknowledge and increase with glory; and he
" shall cause them to rule over many, and shall divide
" the land for gain. Suppose now all this to be spoken by
" Daniel, of nothing more than the short persecution under
" Antiochus Epiphanes; which that it cannot be, I have
" shown above. But suppose it were, and that it was all
" forged after the event: yet this cannot be the case of St.
" Paul and St. John, who describe exactly a like power,
" and in like words; speaking of things to come in the
" latter days, of things still future in their time, and of
" which there were then no footsteps, no appearance in the
" world. The day of Christ, saith St. Paul, shall not come,
" except there come a falling away first, and that man
" of sin be revealed, the son of perdition; who opposeth
" and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or
" that is worshipped: so that he, as God, sitteth (9) in
" the temple of God, showing himself that he is God:
" whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all
" power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all de-
" ceivableness of unrighteousness. Again: The Spirit
" speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall
" depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits,
" and (1) doctrines of devils:—forbidding to marry,
" and commanding to abstain from meats, &c.—St. John
" in like manner prophesies of a wild beast, or tyranni-
" cal power, to whom was given great authority, and a

(7) "Gods protectors, as 'is in the margin of the Bible, or saints pro-
" tectors."

(8) "Changing times and laws, Ch. vii. 25; setting up new religions."

(9) "Is therefore a Christian (not an Infidel) power, that he here speaks
" of."

(1) "Doctrines concerning Demons, that is, ghosts or souls of (good or
" bad) men departed. Epiphanius, citing this text, alleges the following
" words, as part of the text itself: σαμαί, γιαζε, μηλέα, καινή λαμπάρων, &c
" καὶ τὰ τελεφερείαν. For they shall be, says the apostle, worshippers
" of the dead, even as the dead were ancients worshipped in Israel. And
" he applies the whole to the worshippers of the blessed virgin, Heces, 78.

Sect. 22."

VOL. II.
mouth speaking great things and blasphemies: and he opened his mouth in blasphemy against God: and it was given unto him to make war with the saints, and to overcome them: and power was given him over all kinds and tongues and nations: and all that dwell upon the earth shall worship him. And he that exerciseth this power before him—doeth great wondrous—doeth signs and miracles—doeth them that dwell upon the earth, by the means of those miracles which he had power to do. And he causeth that no man might buy or sell, except he that had the mark or the name of the beast:—And the kings of the earth have one mind, and shall give their power and strength unto the beast:—and present peoples and multitudes, and nations, and tongues.—For God hath put in their hearts, in the hearts of the kings, to fulfill his will, and to agree, and give their kingdom unto the beast, until the words of God shall be fulfilled. The name of the person, in whose hands the reins or principal direction of the exercise of this power is lodged, is: Babylon the great, the mother of harlots, and abominations of the earth: 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. And she is the only one with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of the Lamb: And by her (2) sorceries are all nations deceived: And in her is found the blood of prophets, and of saints, and of all that are slain upon the earth. And this person, to whom these titles and characters belong, is that great city (standing upon seven mountains), which reigneth over the kings of the earth.

"If in the days of St. Paul and John, there was any footstep of such a sort of power as this in the world: or, if their ever had been any such power in the world: or, if there was then any appearance of probability, that could make it enter into the heart of man to imagin, that there ever could be any such kind of power in the world, much less in the temple or church of God: and, if there be not now such a power actually and conspicuously exercised in the world: and if any picture of this power, drawn after the event, can now describe it more plainly and exactly as it was originally described in the words of the prophecy: then may it with some degree of plausibility be suggested, that the prophecies are nothing more than enthusiastic imaginations."

For these things you have the attestation of past, and the experience of present times: and you cannot well be deceived, if you will only believe your own eyes and observation. You actually see the completion of many of the prophecies in the state of men and things around you, and you have the prophecies themselves recorded in books, which books have been read in public assemblies these 1700 or 2000 years, have been dispersed into several countries, have been translated into several languages, and quoted and commented upon by different authors of different ages and nations, so that there is no room to suspect so much as a possibility of forgery or illusion.

The prophecies too, tho' written by different men in different ages, have yet a visible connexion and dependency, an entire harmony and agreement one with another. At the same time that there is such perfect harmony, there is also great variety: and the same things are foretold by different prophets in a different manner and with different circumstances: and the latter usually improve upon the former. They are all excellent in their different kinds: and you may observe the beauty and sublimity of the style and diction of the prophets even from these quotations which have been made from their writings. Indeed they are very well worthy of your serious perusal and meditation, not only considered as prophets, but considered even as authors, for their noble images and descriptions, their bold tropes and figures, their instructive precepts, their pathetical exhortations, and other excellencies, which would have been admired in any ancient writers whatever.
Obscurities there are indeed in the prophetic writings, for which many good reasons may be assigned, and this particularly, because the prophecies are the only species of writing, which is designed more for the instruction of future ages than of the times wherein they were written. If the prophecies had been delivered in plain terms, some persons might be for hastening their accomplishment, as others might attempt to defeat it; men's settings would not appear so free, nor God's providence so conspicuous in their completion. But though some parts are obscure enough to exercise the church, yet others are sufficiently clear to illuminate it: and the obscure parts, the more they are fulfilled, the better they are understood. In this respect as the world groweth older, it groweth wiser. Time, that detracts something from the evidence of other writers, is still adding something to the credit and authority of the prophets. Future ages will comprehend more than the present, as the present understands more than the past: and the perfect accomplishment will produce a perfect knowledge of all the prophecies.

In any explication of the prophecies you cannot but observe the subserviency of human learning to the study of divinity. One thing is particularly requisite, a competent knowledge of history sacred and profane, ancient and modern. Prophecy is, as I may say, history anticipated and contracted; history is prophecy accomplished and dilated: and the prophecies of scripture contain, as you see, the fate of the most considerable nations, and the substance of the most memorable transactions in the world from the earliest to the latest times. Daniel and St. John, with regard to these later times, are more copious and particular than the other prophets. They exhibit a series and succession of the most important events from the first of the four great empires to the consummation of all things. Their prophecies may really be said to be a summary of the history of the world, and the history of the world is the best comment upon their prophecies. I must confess it was my application to history, that first struck me, without thinking of it, with the amazing justness of the scripture prophecies. I observed the predictions all along to be verified in the course of events; and the more you know of ancient and modern times, and the farther you search into the truth of history, the more you will be satisfied of the truth of prophecy. They are only pretenders to learning and knowledge, who are patrons of infidelity. You have heard, in these discourses, of the two greatest men, whom this country, or perhaps the whole world hath produced, the Lord Bacon and Sir Isaac Newton, the one wishing for a history of the several prophecies of scripture compared with the events, the other writing Observations upon the prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John: and the testimony of two such (not to mention others) is enough to weigh down the authority of all the infidels who ever lived.

You see what standing monuments the Jews are every where of divine vengeance for their infidelity; and beware therefore of the like crime, lest the like punishment should follow; for (Rom. xi. 21.) if God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest he also spare not thee. Our infidelity would be worse even than that of the Jews, for they receive and own the prophecies, but do not see and acknowledge their completion in Jesus, whereas our modern infidels reject both the prophecy and the completion together. But what strange disingenuity must it be, when there is all the evidence that history can afford for the prophecy, and in many cases even ocular demonstration for the completion, to be still obstinate and unbelieving? May we not very properly bestow upon such persons that just reproach of our Saviour, (Luke xxiv. 25.) O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken? But I have good hope and confidence in God, that (Heb. x. 39.) we are not of them who draw back into perdition, but of them who believe to the saving of the soul.

Indeed if it was once or twice only that the thing had succeeded, and the event had fallen out agreeably to the prediction, we should not so much wonder, we should not lay such a stress upon it; it might be ascribed to a
lucky contingency, or owing to rational conjecture: but that so many things, so very unlikely ever to happen, should be so particularly foretold, and so many ages afterwards so punctually fulfilled, transcends without doubt all the skill and power of man, and must be resolved into the omniscience and omnipotence of God. Nothing certainly can be a stronger proof of a person's acting by divine commission, and speaking by divine inspiration: and it is assigned in scripture as the test and criterion between a true and false prophet: (Deut. xviii. 22.) When a prophet speaketh in the name of the Lord, if the thing follow not nor come to pass, that is the thing which the Lord hath not spoken, but the prophet hath spoken it presumptuously; and in another place (Jer. xxviii. 9.) The prophet who prophesieth of peace, when the word of the prophet shall come to pass, then shall the prophet be known that the Lord hath truly sent him. It is so much the peculiar prerogative of God; or of those who are commissioned by him, certainly to foretell future events, that it is made a challenge to all the false gods, (Isa. xxii. 21; 29.) Produce your cause, saith the Lord; bring forth your strong reasons, saith the king of Jacob: show the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are gods. Lying oracles have been in the world; but all the wit and malice of men and devils cannot produce any such prophecies as are recorded in scripture; and what stronger attestations can you require to the truth and divinity of the doctrine? No man can bring with him more authentic credentials of his coming from God: and the more you shall consider and understand them, the more you will be convinced, that (Rev. xix. 10.) the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy.

If to the prophecies you add the miracles, so salutary and beneficial, so publicly wrought and so credibly attested, above any other matters of fact whatever, by those who were eye-witnesses of them, and sealed the truth of their testimony with their blood; if to these external confirmations you add likewise the internal excellence of Christianity, the goodness of the doctrin itself, so moral, so perfect, so divine, and the purity and perfec-

tion of its motives and sanctions, above any other system of morality or religion in the world; if you seriously consider and compare all these things together, it is almost impossible not to feel conviction and to cry out, as Thomas did after handling our Saviour, (John xx. 28.) My Lord and my God! This is only one argument out of many, that there must be a divine revelation, if there is any truth in prophecy; and there must be truth in prophecy, as we have shown in several instances, and might show in several more, if there is any dependence upon the testimony of others or upon our own senses, upon what we read in books or upon what we see in the world.

Men are sometimes apt to think, that if they could but see a miracle wrought in favor of religion, they would readily resign all their scruples, believe without doubt and obey without reserve. The very thing that you desire, you have. You have the greatest and most striking of miracles in the series of scripture-prophecies accomplished, accomplished, as we see, in the present state of almost all nations, the Africans, the Egyptians, the Arabians, the Turks, the Jews, the Papists, the Protestants, Nineveh, Babylon, Tyre, the seven churches of Asia, Jerusalem, and Rome. And this is not a transient miracle, ceasing almost as soon as performed; but is permanent, and protracted thro' the course of many genera-

tions. It is not a miracle delivered only upon the report of others, but is subject to your own inspection and examination. It is not a miracle exhibited only before a certain number of witnesses, but is open to the observation and contemplation of all mankind; and after so many ages is still growing, still improving to future ages. What stronger miracle therefore can you require for your conviction? or what will avail, if this be found ineffectual? Alas, if you reject the evidence of prophecy, neither would you be persuaded tho' one should rise from the dead. What can be plainer? You see or may see with your own eyes the scripture prophecies accomplished; and if the scripture-prophecies are accomplished, the scripture must be the word of God; and if
the scripture is the word of God, the Christian religion must be true.

It is hoped therefore that the same address may be applied to you, which St. Paul made to king Agrippa, (Acts xxvi. 27, 28.) Believest thou the prophets? I know that thou believest; and God dispose your heart to answer again. Not only almost, but altogether thou persuadest me to be a Christian! For your encouragement remember, that (Matt. x. 41.) He who receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet, shall receive a prophet’s reward. Wherefore (1 Thess. v. 19, &c.) quench not the spirit; despise not prophesying; prove all things, hold fast that which is good. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you. Amen.

GENERAL INDEX.

The Numerals denote the Volume, and the Figures the Page.

A.

ABOMINATION of desolation standing in the holy place, the meaning of that expression, ii. 22. &c. why the Roman army is called the abomination, 39.

Abraham, the patriarch of the greatest renown, i. 22. favored with several revelations, 23. those concerning Ishmael, considered, 23.

24. the prophecies about Ishmael and his posterity, how fulfilled, 24. &c. those about the Israelites, how accomplished, 39, 40, &c.

Abstinence from meats, a note and character of the apostasy, ii. 157, 158.

Aelius, the Roman consul, routs Antiochus, and expels him out of Greece, i. 377.

Aelius Adrian, the Roman emperor, builds Aelia instead of Jerusalem, ii. 65, &c. destroys and disperses the Jews, 64, 196.

Agag, his king shall be higher than Agag, that part of Balaam’s prophecy explained, i. 77, 78.

Agathocles, dissolute and proud in the exercise of his power, i. 363.

the people of Alexandria rise against him, 370. cause him and his associates to be put to death, *ibid*.

Alaric and the Goths invade Italy and besiege Rome, ii. 215, 216.

Alexander the great, his designs against the Arabs prevented by his death, i. 29, 30. the rapidity of his conquests, 320. the three chief battles he had with the king of Persia, 321, 322. is met by the highpriest in his way to Jerusalem, 323. enters the temple, and the prophecies of Daniel are shown him, 324. characterized in that book, 355. his death, and the miserable end of his family, 329, 330. is succeeded by four of his captains, 330, 357.

Alexander Severus, a just and provident emperor, ii. 198.

Alexandria, after a long siege, taken by the Saracens, i. 234, 235. the famous library there, when founded and when destroyed, 235.

Alwine, in England, in the tenth century writes against transubstantiation, ii. 261, 362.

Amalekites, Balaam’s prophecy against them, how fulfilled, i. 85—87.
INDEX.

Anastase, his affirmation about Antichrist, ii. 124.

Angel, flying in the midst of heaven and preaching the everlasting gospel, ii. 321. what meant by saying, The hour of his judgment is come, 322.

Angels, seven, having the seven last plagues, ii. 331. pour out the vials of the wrath of God upon the earth, 334, &c.

Antichrist, what mistaken notions the fathers had in this matter, and how, i. 285, 286, how long he is to continue, 295, 296. he and the man of sin, one and the same person, ii. 121. the opinion of Justin Martyr, Origen, the reformers and others about him, 122-129.

how the true notion was suppressed and revived again with the reformation, 127, 128. how afterwards it became unattractive, and now grows into repute again, 128, 129. the blindness of the papists in this point, 129, 130. infamous for idolatry and detestable cruelty, 348. all his power shall be completely subdued, and Rome itself destroyed, 392, 393. described by Daniel and the prophets, 413. the prophets describe his downfall, manner and circumstances of it, ibid.

Antigonus, his attempts against the Arabs not successful, i. 30.

Antiochus Epiphanes, succeeded his brother Seleucus Philopator, i. 399. obtains the kingdom by flatteries, 381. the epithet of vile or despised given him by the prophet Daniel, 392. the frantic and extravagant, yet successful and victorious, ibid. prefers Jason to the high priesthood, 383. afterwards advances Macneas in his room, ibid. extravagant in various instances, 394. comes to Joppa and Seleucia, 395. his great success against Egypt, 397. pretends to take care of the interest of his nephew Philoneus, 398. determined to be revenged on the people of Jerusalem for rejoicing in the report of his death, 399. takes that city and acts with great cruelty, ibid. sends Apollonius afterwards to Jerusalem, who defiles the city, and sets up the heathen worship, 399. the various opinions about the prophecies of Daniel being accomplished in Antiochus, 396. assigns two cities for maintaining his favorite concubine Antiochie, 400. the awful manner of his death, 132.

Antiochus Magnus, succeeds his brother in the throne of Syria, i. 365. his army being defeated by Ptolemy, is forced to solicit a peace, 396. kills the rebel Achaeus and reduces the eastern parts, 386. acquires great riches, 369. rises up against young Ptolemy, 369. takes possession of Cilic Syrmia and Palestine, 371. defeats Scopus, Ptolemy’s general, 372. aspires after more conquest and dominion, 374. marries his daughter Cleopatra to Ptolemy, 375. engages in a war with the Romans, 376. is routed at the Straits of Thermopylae, 377. the latter end of his life very mean, ibid. attempting to plunder the temple of Jupiter Belus is slain, 378.

Apocalypse. See Revelation.

Apostasy of the latter times, St. Paul’s prophecy about this, ii. 130, 131. the nature of that apostasy, 132. it was general, 133. some particulars of this apostasy about demons and worshipping of the dead, 140, 141. was to prevail in the latter times, 142, 143. prophecied of by Daniel, 152. by what means to be propagated, 152.

INDEX.

153. the notes and characters of this apostasy, 132, 135, 137, 148, 149, 151, 152, 154, 396, &c.

Arabians, disdain to acknowledge Alexander the great, i. 29. his designs prevented against them by his death, ibid. beautiful spots and fruitful valleys in their country, 27. have always maintained their independence against the nations, 28, 29, 30, 32. against the Egyptians and Assyrians, 28. against the Persians, ibid. against Alexander and his successors, 29. against the Romans, 30, 31. their state under their prophet Mohammed and afterwards, and now under the Turks, 32-35. what is said of them by late travelers, 33-35. their retaining the same disposition and manners for so many ages, wonderful, 36. the prophecies concerning this people signify filled in their being preserved and not conquered, 36. the Arabs in some respects resemble the Jews, 36. never yet subdued by the Turks, 42. rob and plunder the Turks as well as other travelers, 42. compared to locusts, i. 224, 224. the kingdoms and dominions acquired by them, 227. the time assigned for their burning and tormenting men, 224, 225.

Arnold of Brescia, in the twelfth century, burn for preaching against the temporal power of the pope and clergy, ii. 208.

Ashur. And shall afflict Ashur, what meant by these words in Balaam’s prophecy, i. 92.

Asia, the seven epistles to the seven churches there, ii. 173-178. why these seven addressed particularly, 178. the excellent form and structure of these epistles, 179. in what sense prophetical, ibid. the present state of these once flourishing churches, 180-186. the churches lay in a circular form, 186. the method and order observed in addressing them, ibid. their present state a very strong proof of the truth of prophecy, 186, 187.

Assyrians terrible enemies both to Israel and Judah, i. 148, 149. Isaiah’s prophecy against them, 149. See Nineveh.

Attila, with his Huns lays waste Macedon and Greece, Gaul and Italy, ii. 217, 218. the scourge of God and terror of men, 215. Austria, his opinion about Antichrist, ii. 125.

B.

BABYLON, prophecies concerning it, i. 166-190. it, as well as Nineveh, an enemy to the people of God, 165. a great and ancient city, 166, 167. considerably improved by Nebuchadnezzar, 167. one of the wonders of the world, ibid. its destruction foretold by Isaiah and Jeremiah, 169. prophecies about Cyrus the conqueror of Babylon, fulfilled, 169-171. the time of its reduction foretold, 172. besieged by the Medes and Persians, ibid. Armennian and other nations united against it, ibid. the Babylonians hide themselves within their walls, 173. the river dried up, 173, 174. the city taken during a feast, 174, 175. the facts related by Herodotus and Xenophon, and therefore no room for scepticism, 175. the prophets foretold its total desolation, 174, 177. these pro-
INDEX.

Phœbus fulfilled by degrees, 177. its state under Cyrus, 177, 178.
under Darius, 178. under Xerxes, 179, 180. the accounts of it since that time by Diodorus, 181. by Strabo, 182. by Pliny, ibid.
by Pausanias, 183. by Maximus Tyrius and Lucian, ibid. by Jerome, ibid. accounts by later authors, 184. by Benjamin of Tudela, ibid.
by Tzetze, ibid. by Rauwolf, ibid. by Peter della Valle, 185. by Tavernier, 186. by Salmon, ibid. by Mr Hanway, 187. by these accounts it appears how punctually the prophecies were fulfilled, 187, 188.

Babylon, the fall and destruction of spiritual Babylon, ii. 526, 527. after her fall becomes a scene of desolation, 354, &e. the fall of Roman Babylon and her sudden destruction, 325, 350—354. the consequences of her fall, the lamentations of some and the rejoicings of others, 361, 362. her irrecoverable and utter desolation, 363. the church joins in praises to God for his truth and righteousness in judging this idolatrous city, 364, &c. a prophecy about Babylon particularly fulfilled, 425, 426.

Babylonian, the first of the four empires, compared to a lion, i. 264. with eagle's wings, 266, 269. with a man's heart, 269.

Bacon (Lord) wundereth for history of the prophecies compared with the events, i. 1. how he would have it written, i. 164.

Badby, convicted of heresy and burnt in Smithfield, ii. 280. refuses an offered pardon, and chooses to die with a good conscience, ibid.

Balaam, the prophet, a heathen and an immoral man, i. 70. the story of Balaam's ass considered, 71, 72. the stile of his prophecies beautiful, 75. his prophecy of the singular character of the Jewish nation, 55. as fulfilled to this day, 75—77. his prophecy of their victories much the same as Isaac's and Jacob's, 76. 77. that of the king higher than Agag, how fulfilled, 77, 78. his preface to his latter prophecies explained, 79. his prophecy of a star and scepter to smite the prince of Moab, how fulfilled, 79, 80. who meant by the sons of Sheth, 80—82. some parts of this prophecy understood of the Messiah and David, 81. his prophecy against the Amalekites how fulfilled, 85—87. against the Kenites, who were, 87—59. his prophecies of the coast of Chittim, of Ashur and Eber, 89—91. what conclusions to be drawn from the prophecies of this wicked man, 91.

Baronius, his character of the tenth century, i. 260.

Bashan, a remarkable passage in his story about the Jews not dwelling at Jerusalem, ii. 74, 75.

Beast, with seven heads and ten horns described, ii. 500. denotes a tyrannical idolatrous empire, 301. marks whereby the beast was distinguished, 301—304. his words and actions wonderful, 305. his blasphemies, 306, 307. his making war with the saints, 307, 308. the mystery of the beast that carrieth the woman, 349, &c. the mystery of the beast with the seven heads and ten horns, 350—354. the beast with two horns, described, 309—311. his power and authority, 311. pretends to support it by great signs and wonders, ibid. what meant by the image of the beast, 313. what by his mark or character, 314. those without his mark not suffered to buy or sell, 315, &c. the number of the beast explained, 316, &c. the struggles of the true church with the beast 319. the ruin and destruction of them who worship the beast, 321. 325. denunciation of judgments against the followers of the beast, 390. the threefold state of the beast, 350. the explication of its seven heads and ten horns, 351—354. the power and strength given to the beast, 356, 357.

Benjamin, his tribe became an appendage to Judah, i. 67, 68. the prophecy of Jacob concerning them fulfilled, 55, 67.

Benjamin of Tudela, his Travels to Jerusalem, i. 114. his account of its desolate state, ibid.

Berengarius writes against transubstantiation, ii. 264. compels to burn his writings, ibid. his numerous followers, 265.

Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy Philadelphus, married to Antiochus Theos, i. 390. her father called the doury-giver, ibid. is murdered by order of Laodice, ibid.

Bernard, inveighs against the corruption of the clergy and tyranny of the popes, ii. 266, 267.

Bertram, inscribes his book to the Emperor, ii. 258, 259. his opinion against the doctrine of transubstantiation, 259.

Boleminians, their opinions in religion, ii. 281—284. fight for their religion, and are victorious at first, 283. are defeated and retire to the mountains and caves, ibid.

Bolingbroke, Lord, censured for his indecent reflections on Noah's prophecy, i. 19. his ignorance about the Codex Alexandrinus, 20. his blunder about the Roman historians, ibid. his sneer about believers, refuted, 21. condemned by himself, 21, 22. had great talents, but misapplied them, 22.

Book, vision of the angel with the little book, ii. 241, &c. the contents of it, 245, 246.

Boyle, Mr. the lecture founded by him, i. 201. the author appointed to preach that lecture, ibid. the subject agreeable to the design of the founder, 312. his merit and excellence, ibid.

Britain, Christianity planted in it before the destruction of Jerusalem, ii. 26.

Burden of Egypt, that phrase explained, i. 215, 216.

Burnet (Bp.) his account of Bishop Lloyd's studying the Revelation, ii. 163.

Burnet (Dr.) his strange notion of Gog and Magog, ii. 581.

C.

CALVIN reputed wise for writing no comment upon the Revelation, ii. 163.

Canaan, the prophetic curse upon him and his posterity considered, i. 7, &c. his curse properly a curse upon the Canaanites, 9. their wickedness very great, 9, 10. the curse includes the subjunctive of his descendents to those of Shem and Japhet, 10. the completion of it from Joshua's time to this day, 11, 12, 190. a different read-
ing proposed about this prophecy, 12, 13. his curse pursued his posterity to the utmost parts of the earth, 201.

Cardinal, by whom written, ii. 255, 322. prove the worship of images to be contrary to scripture, 312.

Century, faith, wicked and ignorant, ii. 250, 261. the principles and state of the church in that period, 250—251. the eleventh much of the same complexion with the tenth, 253. the sixteenth, the age of reformation, 284, 285.

Charlemain, contributes to the establishment of the power of the pope, i. 291, 292. opposes the worship of images, ii. 255, 266, 322.

Chittim, the prophecy of ships from that coast, i. 89. what to be understood by the land and ships of Chittim, 89—91, 391, 392.

Christ, some of his prophecies and of his apostles recorded, ii. 2. a summary of our Saviour's prophecies, 2, 3. none more remarkable than those about the destruction of Jerusalem, which were published several years before that event, 3—5. our Saviour's tenderness in weeping over Jerusalem, 5, 6. denounced persecution to be the lot of his disciples, 62, 23. his name the word of God, 308. confirms the authority of the book of Revelation, 395, 394. his second coming one principal topic of that book, 391, 392.

Christians, greatly persecuted, ii. 22, 23. apostasy and other evils follow, 25, 26. he who endures to the end shall be saved, 24.

Church persecuted by the great red dragon, ii. 290—291. represented as a mother bearing children to Christ, 291. in time brought back as were promoted to the empire, 298. her flight afterwards into the wilderness, ibid. barbarous nations excited to overwhelm her, but afterwards submit to the Christian church, 299. the state of the true church in opposition to that of the beast, 290, 291.

Chrysostome, his interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, i. 282—284. his description of Antichrist, ii. 125.

Clarke (Dr.) his account of some extraordinary prophecies, ii. 425, &c.

Claude, Bishop of Turin, sows the seeds of the reformation in his diocese in the ninth century, i. 259.

Clergy, second marriage at first forbidden them, i. 411. afterwards restrained from marrying at all, ibid.

Collins, his eleven objections against Daniel's prophecies considered and refuted, i. 302—310.

Constantine the Great, the Christian religion established by him, ii. 246, 247.

Constantinople, besieged in vain by the Saracens, ii. 225, 236. besieged by Mohammed, the second, 227. the city then taken, and an end put to the Grecian empire, 238, 239.

Constitutions of Clarendon, ii. 286.

Cretes, to be received with thanksgiving, i. 159. the ungrateful in this matter rebuked, ibid.

Cruises or expeditions of the western Christians to the holy land, ii. 40, 71. how many perished in these expeditions, 72.
INDEX.

Imperfectly, and contrary to other histories, 309, 310. the external and internal evidence for the genuineness of this book, 310.

Daubuz, one of the best interpreters of the Revelation, ii. 165. his hard fate in the world, 166.

David, some of Baham's prophecies fulfilled by him, i. 81—87.

Dead, those blessed who die in the Lord, ii. 326. what meant by being blessed from henceforth, ibid.

Demons, the apostacy to consist in worshipping of demons, ii. 135, 136 were supposed to be middle beings in the theology of the two Gospels, 137. two kinds of demons, 136, 139.

Diocletian, the tenth persecution begun by him, ii. 204. more sharp and bloody than any, ibid. from thence a memorable era to the Christians, 205.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, his account of the superiority of the Roman empire, i. 276, 277.

Dragon, the church persecuted by the great red dragon, ii. 290—294. the heathen Roman empire represented by it, 292. his jealousy of the church from the beginning, 293. the dragon depose persecutes the church, 294—297. attempts to restore the pagan and ruin the Christian religion, 295. takes another method of persecuting the church, 297.

E.

EBER, who meant by Eber, i. 92. and shall afflict Eber, the meaning of that prophecy, 92, 93.

Edomites, conquered by David, i. 44, 82. defeated by Judas Maccabeus, and obliged to embrace the Jewish religion, 45. the prophecies of their utter destruction fulfilled, 50, 51.

Egypt, prophecies concerning it, i. 213—241. famous for its antiquity, 213. no less celebrated for its wisdom, 214. the parent of superstition as well as the mistress of learning ibid. had such connections with the Jews that it is the subject of several prophecies, 214, 215. the phrase of the burden of Egypt explained, 215, 216. its conquest by Nebuchadnezzar foretold by Jeremiah and Ezekiel, 216, 217. how fulfilled, 217—219. its conquest by the Persians foretold by Isaiah, and how fulfilled, 219—223. and its conquest by Alexander, and the spreading of the true religion in the land, 223—225. how fulfilled, 225—229. the prophecy of Ezekiel that it should be a base tributary kingdom, 229. the truth of it shown from that time to this, 229—241. its state under the Babylonians, 230. under the Persians, 231—233. under the Macedonians, 233, 234. under the Romans, 234. under the Saracens with the burning of the Alexandrian library, 234—236. under the Maniples, 236—238. under the Turks, 238. reflections upon the character of the Egyptians, 240, 241. a prophecy of its being subdued by the Othman emperor, 425. a particular prophecy about it, fulfilled, ii. 426.

English kings, not willing to pay homage to the pope, ii. 263, 294.

INDEX.

Ephesus, that church admonished to repent, ii. 179. her candlestick now removed, and the seven churches ruined, ibid. the first epistle to the seven churches addressed to them, 180. its former magnificence, but present ruinous condition, 180, 181. the denunciation against it strikingly fulfilled, 181.

Ephraim, no more a people, i. 123, &c. ii. 423. now comprehended under the name of Judah, ibid.

Epiphanius, zealous against the worship of saints and images, ii. 142. an illustrative passage of his about the doctrine of demons, ibid.

Euphrates, what meant by drying up that river, and by the kings of the east, ii. 338, 339. a prophecy of the Euphratean horsemen, 232—240.

Eusebius, his comparison of Christ and Moses, i. 98. the same inflamed by a modern author, 101, &c.

Ezekiel, his prophecies concerning Tyre, i. 190, &c. concerning Egypt, 216, &c. Gog and Magog, 425. ii. 381.

F.

FLUENTIUS, bishop of Florence, in the twelfth century, preaches that Antichrist was come, ii. 266.

Fornication, in scripture often put for idolatry, ii. 346. what meant by drinking the wine of her fornication, ibid.

Franks or Latin Christians march to the holy land, and take Jerusalem, ii. 70—72.

G.

GALLIENUS, thirty usurpers in his reign, ii. 200. they come to miserable ends, 201. sword and famine in his reign, ibid.

Gallus and Volusian, pestilence and diseases in their reigns, ii. 201.

Gathering of the people, the different constructions of that prophecy, i. 62. the full completion of this prophecy, 63. this an invincible argument that Jesus is the Messiah, 66, 67, 68.

Gauls and other nations, their families not distinguished as those of the Jews, i. 130.

Geneseric, king of the Vandals in Africa, takes and plunders Rome, ii. 219.

Gentiles, promises of their calling and obedience, i. 141—147. this effected by inconsiderable persons and in a short time, 142, 143. what meant by their times being fulfilled, ii. 11, 12.

Gog and Magog, in Ezekiel, the same as the Turks, i. 431. the enemies of the Christian church, ii. 380, 381. who they shall be, not easily determined, ibid.

Goat. See Ram and He-goat.

Godfrey of Boulogne, chosen king of Jerusalem, ii. 71.

Gospel published before the destruction of Jerusalem, ii. 23. the propagation of it northward and southward, eastward and westward, 25. its sudden and amazing progress, 27. at what time the four vol. II.
INDEX.

gospels were written, 298—300. will finally prevail over all enemies and opposers, 421.

Greek church, its miserable condition among the Turks, ii. 239, 240. chastised by the Saracens, ruined by the Turks, 240. not quite so corrupt as the Latin church, 406.

Grecks and Romans, conquered the Cannanites. i. 12.

Gregory the great, what he said about Antichrist, ii. 126, 127.

Gregory VII. denominated Hell-brand, ii. 263. fords the marriage of the clergy, 265. their expostulations against this prohibition, ibid.

Groshead, or Greathed, Robert, bishop of Lincoln, for his free sentiments excommunicated by the pope, and appeals to the tribunal of Christ, ii. 275.

Grotius and Collins, their notion refuted, i. 278, 279, 281, 282.

Grotius censured, for his contractual explanation of the prophecies, i. 291. ii. 98. his explanation of the Man of Sin, refuted, 99.

II.

IANI, his bad behaviour towards his father, i. 6. the curse upon him and his posterity, 7, &c.

Hammond, his hypothesis of the Man of Sin, refuted, ii. 101—103.

Hanway, his account of the Arabian, i. 35.

Hecate, a ceremony among them to curse their enemies, i. 71. &c.

Heaven opened and our Saviour cometh riding upon a white horse. ii. 366. a new heaven and a new earth succeed the first, &c.

Herodotus relates that the Arabs were never reduced by the Persians, i. 28, 29. his account and others about the height of Babylon’s wall, 179.

Homer and other ancients, their opinion of the soul being prophetic near death, i. 51. 52. what gave rise to that opinion, 53.

Horns in prophetic language kingdoms, i. 277, 278. ii. 316, 317.

Horse, white, an account of that vision, ii. 192—194. vision of the red horse, 194—197. of a black horse, 197—199. of a pale horse, 199—203.

Hosen, his prophecy of the Jews return in the latter days, ii. 430, 431.

Hucullis his account of Tyre, i. 209, 210.

Huns, Goths, and other Barbarians, invade the empire after the death of Theodosius, ii. 215.

Huss, John, and Jerome of Prague, two faithful witnesses, ii. 246. suffer death with fortitude, 281. their sentence contrary to faith and engagement, ibid. the opinions of their followers, 282, 283.

I and

JACOB and Esau, the prophecies concerning them, not verified in themselves, but in their posterity, i. 40—42. the families of Esau and Jacob two different nations, 42—44. the family of the elder subject to that of the younger, 44. 45. in situation and other temporal advantages much alike, 45—47. the elder should delight in war, yet be subdued by the younger, 47, 48. but afterwards should shake off the dominion of the elder, 48, 49. the younger superior in spiritual gifts, 49, 50. the happy instrument of conveying the spiritual blessings to all nations, 50. the posterity of Esau utterly destroyed according to the prophecies, 51.

Jacob, his prophecies concerning his sons, particularly Judah, i. 56—68. foretold his sons what should befall them in the latter days, 54, 55. bequeaths the temporal inheritance to all his sons, 55. limits the descent of the blessed seed to Judah, 57. adopts the two sons of Joseph, Manasseh and Ephraim, ibid.

Jason, made high priest by Antiochus Epiphanes, i. 383. is deposed, and Menclaus is advanced in his room, ibid. marches to Jerusalem, and exercises great cruelties on the citizens, 390.

Jeremiah, his prophecies concerning the preservation of the Jews, and destruction of their enemies, i. 129, 130. concerning Babylon, 166, &c. concerning Egypt, 216, &c.

Jerome, vindicates the genuineness of Daniel’s prophecies against Porphry, i. 292. interprets the fourth kingdom of the Romans, 254, 255. his notion of the little horn, 284. what he says of Antichrist, ii. 124.

Jerusalem, the high-priest meets Alexander going thither, i. 323. that account rejected by some, but sufficiently vindicated by others, 324, 325. the great objections to the credibility of this story answered, 326—329. our Saviour’s prophecies relating to its destruction, ii. 3—7. the magnificence of the temple, 6. 7. the prophecies exactly fulfilled by the utter destruction of the city and temple, 7—9, 14, 29. the phrases of the coming of Christ and the end of the world signify the destruction of Jerusalem, 11, 12. the signs of his coming, and of its destruction, 12. the persecutions before its destruction, 22, 23. the great distress and famine at the siege and after it, 32. &c. a horrid story of a woman devouring her own child, 32. the calamities and miseries without a parallel, 35. what to be understood by the days being shortened, 37—39. its destruction and the dissolution of the Jewish polity, 54. the great numbers that perished during the siege, 58—60. the number of the captives, 60—62. never since in the possession of the Jews, 62. first subject to the Romans, afterwards to others, ibid. the desolation of it complete, 62, 63. its condition under Adrian, 63, 64. the attempt of Julian to rebuild it miraculously defeated, 66, 67. state of Jerusalem under the succeeding emperors, 67, 68. taken and plundered by the Persians, 68. surrendered to the Saracens, 68, 69. passes from the Saracens to the Turks, then to the Franks, and afterwards to the Egyptians and others, 70, 71. at present in the hands of the Turks of the Othman race, 73, 74. the prophecies of what was to follow upon its destruction, 76—80. some passages relating to its destruction in the gospel explained, 76—80. particularly about the angels and even the Son not knowing the time, 80, 81. its destruction typical
INDEX.

of the end of the world, 82. the exact completion of these prophecies
a strong proof of revelation, 83, 84. See Jews.
Jerusalem, a description of the new Jerusalem, ii. 387, 388. a con-
tinuation of the description, 388. the particulars confirmed by the an-
gel, 389.
Jews and Arabs, resemble each other, i. 38. the Jews at present very
numerous, 40, 41. the xxiith of Deuteronomy a picture of their
present state, 106. a prophecy of their enemies coming from far,
how fulfilled, 107, 108. of the cruelty of their enemies, how
fulfilled, 109, 110. the sieges of their cities, 110. their distress and
famin in their sieges, Ibid. the women eating their own children,
110, 111. their great calamities, and slaughters, 112. their being
carried into Egypt, and sold for slaves at a low price, 112, 113. their
being plucked from off their own land, 113, 114. their being
dispersed into all nations, 115. their still subsisting as a distinct peo-
ple, Ibid. their finding no rest, 115, 116. their being oppressed and
spoiled, 116. their children taken from them, 117. their madness
and desperation, Ibid. their serving other gods, 118, 119. their be-
coming a proverb and by-word, 119. the long continuance of their
plagues, 120. the fulfilment of these ancient prophecies very affect-
ing and convincing, ibid. prophecies relative to their present state,
121. and about the restoration of the two tribes, and the dissolu-
tion of the ten, 121—129. the time of the restoration of the two
tribes foretold, 121. fulfilled at three periods, 122. the prophecy
about the ten tribes, how fulfilled, 123, 124. where they are at pre-
sent, 125. vain conjectures of the Jews thereupon, ibid. not all re-
turned with the two tribes, 126. nor swallowed up among the he-
athen nations, 127, 128. the reason of the distinction between the
two tribes and the ten tribes, 128. the prophecy of the Jews won-
derful preservation, and the destruction of their enemies, 129—132.
their preservation one of the most illustrious acts of divine Prov-
dence, 131. providence no less signal in the destruction of
their enemies, 131, 132. and that not only of nations, but of single
persons, 132. the desolation of Judea another instance of the truth
of divine prophecy, 139—138. foretold by the prophets, 133.
the present state of Judea answerable to the prophecies, 135—137.
o objection from hence of its being a land flowing with milk and
honey, 137, 138. the ancients, heathens as well as Jews, testify it
to have been a good land, 134, 135. an account of it by two mo-
dern travellers, 135—138. the prophecies of the infidelity and re-
probation of the Jews, how fulfilled, 138—140. the prophecies con-
cerning the Jews and Gentiles, have not had their entire comple-
tion, 141. what hath been accomplished, a sufficient pledge of what is to
come, 143. a dissuasive from the persecution of the Jews, and hu-
morality and charity recommended, 144—147. prophecies relating
to other nations in connection with the Jews, 147.

Jews, their calamities and miseries without a parallel, ii. 36. the cause
of their heavy judgments, 86—88. some correspondence between
their crime and their punishment, Ibid. on this occasion a serious
application made to Christians, 87, 88. are successful in taking

their city from the Romans, 83. are afterwards subdued with most
terrible slaughter, 84. are sold like horses, Ibid. a standing mon-
ument of the truth of Christ's predictions, 75. their great sin and
their punishment, 86, 87. many prophecies of their conversion and
restoration, 416, 417. See Jerusalem.
Impostors and false Christs, at the siege of Jerusalem, ii. 40—43. an
argument of a true Christ, 43. the difference between those de-
ceivers and Jesus Christ, 45. they were of debauched lives and vi-
cious principles, 46. those deluded by impostors a melancholy in-
stance of the weakness of mankind, 46.
Infidelity, its patron's only pretenders to learning, ii. 437, modern,
unanswerable, 437, 438.
Infidels, their objection that prophecies were written after the events,
groundless and absurd, i. 3. must either renounce their senses, or
admit the truth of revelation, 4.
Joachim, abbot of Calabria, in the twelfth century discourses of Anti-
christ, ii. 267.
Jonah preaches repentance to Nineveh, i. 153. the king and people
repent at his preaching, Ibid. the most ancient of all prophets, 134.
at what time he prophesied, Ibid.
Jortin (Dr.) his comparison of Moses and Christ, i. 101—103. his re-
mark upon the prophecies predicting the destruction of Jerusalem, ii.
20, 21.
Josephus, his account of the great slaughter at the siege of Jerusalem,
i. 109, 110. his relation of the signs and prodigies before its destruc-
tion, ii. 18—21. wonderfully preserved for the illustration of the
completion of the prophecies, 84. the great use and advantage of his
history in this respect, 86, 87.
Irenæus, his notion of Antichrist, i. 282, 283. ii. 122. his explication of
the number of the beast, 318.
Isaac, more promises concerning his posterity than of Ishmael, i. 39.
the promise of the blessed seed fulfilled in Isaac's family, 39, 40.
Isaiah, his prophecy against the Assyrians, i. 149. against Babylon,
169, &c. against Tyr, 190, &c. against Egypt, 213, &c.
Ishmael, his posterity very numerous, i. 23, 24. the promises about
him, how fulfilled, 24, &c.
Ishmaelites. See Arabsians.
Israelites, their possession of Canaan according to the promise, i. 39.
Judah, Jacob's prophecies in blessing this tribe, i. 56, 57. the scepter
shall not depart from Judah, that prophecy explained, 57—63. its
completion, 63—68. continued a tribe till the coming of the Mes-
siah and the destruction of Jerusalem, 63—65. became the general
name of the whole nation, 66. this prophecy an invincible argument
that Jesus is the Messiah, 68.
Julian, his hypocrisy, i. 301. his attempt to rebuild the temple miracu-
ulously defeated, ii. 66, 67.
Jurieu (Peter) his notion of the resurrection of the witnesses, ii. 252, 253.
Justin Martyr, his notion of the Man of Sin, ii. 122. his account of the
millennium, 375, 376.
INDEX.

K.

KENNICOT, his critical remark upon Noah's prophecy, i. 15.

Kingdom, the Babylonian, i. 246, 268. the Medo-Persian, 248, 270. the Macedonian or Grecian, 249, 271. the four kingdoms into which this was divided, 273. the Roman, 252, 273. the ten kingdoms into which this was divided, 277, &c.

L.

LACANTANIUS, no notion of Antichrist, ii. 193. of the millennium, 377, 378. and of the time succeeding, 384, 385.

Laodice, wife of Ptolemy Philadelpbus, put away, but afterwards recalled, i. 260. poisons her husband, and causes Berenice to be murdered, ibid. fixes her eldest son Seleucus Callinicus on the throne, ibid. her wickedness did not pass unpunished, 361-363.

Laodicea, the terrible doom of that church, ii. 186. now an inhabitant for wild beasts, ibid. its condition a warning to all impenitent and careless sinners, ibid. its former splendid condition, ibid.

Last times, what denoted thereby, ii. 150, 151.

Latineos, that word contains the number of the beast, ii. 318, &c. how it agrees with the church of Rome, 318, 319.

Latin church, not reclaimed by the ruin of the Greek church, ii. 240, 241.

Lawgiver from between his feet, that expression explained, i. 58, 59.

Le Clerc, an able commentator, but apt to indulge strange fancies, i. 61. his singular interpretation of Jacob's prophecy, rejected, ii. 103, 104.

Little book, the contents of it, ii. 242, &c. describes the calamities of the western church, and their period, 243. the contents to be published, ibid. what meant by the measuring of the temple, 245. some true witnesses against the corruptions of religion, 246, 247.

Little horn, among the four horns of the western Roman empire, i. 281, &c. among the four horns of the Grecian empire, 330, 381. whether to be understood of Antichus Epiphanes or of the Romans, 350-310. the reason of its appellation, 352, 343.

Lloyd, Bishop, his account of the ten kingdoms into which the Roman empire was divided, i. 279. a memorable thing of his about the Revelation, ii. 163. his notion of the resurrection of the witnesses, 253.

Locusts, the Arabians compared to them, ii. 224-226. their commission, and how fulfilled, 224. not real, but figurative locusts, 226. likened unto horses, ibid. a description of their heads, faces, and teeth, 227, 228. like unto scorpions, 229. their king called the destroyer, ibid. their hurting men five months, how to be understood, and how exactly fulfilled, 229-231.

INDEX.

Lollards, preach against the superstitions of the church of Rome, ii. 277. present a remonstrance to the parliament against the doctrines and practices of that church, 278.

Longinus reduces Rome to a poor dukedom, ii. 221.

Loretto, the great riches of the image, house and treasury, ii. 345.

Luther preaches against the pope's indulgences, ii. 285. that question answered, Where was your religion before Luther, ibid. protests against the corruptions of the church of Rome, 326.

M.

MACCABEES, their great success against the enemies of the Jews, i. 402.

Macedonian empire, why compared to a leopard, i. 272. why described with four wings and four heads, and dominion given to it, 273. why likened to a goat, 318, 319.

Machiavel, his account of the ten kingdoms into which the Roman empire was divided, i. 279. points out the little horn, 288. shows how the power of the church of Rome was raised upon the ruins of the empire, 116-118.

Mahumitzem, what it means, i. 411, 412, 417. the prophecy expounded, 418.

Mananus, Jerusalem long under their dominion, ii. 72. all their dominions annexed to the Othman empire, 73.

MAN of Sin, St. Paul's prophecy about him, ii. 89. the sense and meaning of the passage, ibid. what meant by the coming of Christ and the day of Christ, 90-93. who is the Man of Sin, 93, 94. what by sitting in the temple of God, 95, 96. what by him who letteth will let, 96, 118, 119, 125. the destruction of the Man of Sin foretold, 97, 98. the opinions of some learned men rejected, 98-106. other opinions about the Man of Sin, 109, 110. applicable to the great apostacy of the church of Rome, 110, 111. the pope the Man of Sin, 110-116. what the fathers say of the Man of Sin, 122-125. the evidences that the pope is the Man of Sin, 127. the opinion of the ancient fathers about this point, 122-125. this prophecy an antidote to popery, 128, 129.

Marriage, an account of its being forbid to the clergy, ii. 154-157. the worshipping of demons and prohibition of marriage went together, 159.

Maudrell, his account of the state of Palestine, i. 135-137. his account of Tyre, 211.

Maximian the emperor, a barbarian in all respects, ii. 200.

Mede, a most learned and excellent writer, i. 18. a mistake of that author's corrected, ibid. his account of the ten kingdoms into which the Roman empire was divided, 279. of the three kingdoms which the little horn subverted, 288, 289. his great pains in explaining the prophecies, and fixing the true idea of Antichrist, ii. 128. his excellent treatise of the apostacy of the latter times, 131. one of the best interpreters of the Revelation, 165. his hard fate
INDEX.

in the world, 128, 166. his conjectures concerning Gog and Magog, 381.

Messiah principally intended in Moses prophecy of a prophet like unto himself, i. 95—106. expected about the time of our Saviour, ii. 46, and foretold that he should work miracles, 47.

Mezeray, what that historian says of the Waldenses, ii. 273.

Millennium commences, and Satan bound and shut up a thousand years, ii. 369, 370. the prophecy not yet fulfilled, 371. this period thought to be the seventh millennium of the world, 371, 372. quotations in proof of this, 373, &c. the reasons of this doctrine growing into disrepute, 378, 379. curiosity into the nature of this future kingdom to be avoided, 420.

Miracles and prophecies, the great proofs of revelation, i. 4. how to judge of miracles, ii. 50, 51. what to think of the pagan and popish miracles, 51—54. those of the church of Rome, not real but pretended, 511, 512. their pretended miracles a proof of a false church and a distinguishing mark of Antichrist, 312. prophecies accomplished, the greatest of all miracles, 439, 440.

Mohammed, the time when his new religion was propagated, ii. 68. some contend that he was the Man of Sin, 109. that opinion refuted, 110—118. the star that opens the bottomless pit, 223, 224.

Monks, great promoters of celibacy and worshipping of the dead, ii. 157—159.

Moses, a faithful historian in recording the failings of the patriarchs, i. 6. his prophecy of a prophet like himself, 93—106. many prophecies that the Messiah was principally intended in that prophecy, 98, 99. the great likeness between Moses and Christ, 100—104. the comparison between them as drawn by one author and enlarged by another, 100—103. the punishment of the people for their disobedience to this prophet, 104—106. the prophecies of Moses concerning the Jews, 106, &c. his prophecy of their dispersion exactly fulfilled, ii. 429, 430.

N

NAHUM, the time of his prophesying uncertain, i. 154. foretold the utter destruction of Nineveh, 154—162. his prophecies of the manner of its destruction exactly fulfilled, 156—160. Nebuchadnezzar, his dream of the great empires, i. 241—266. the interpretation of it by Daniel with the occasion of it, 245. the emblems of that dream considered and explained, 215—266.

Newton, Sir Isaac, his account of the ten kingdoms into which the Roman empire was divided, i. 279. of the three kingdoms, which the little horn subverted, 289. penetrates into scripture as well as into nature, 392. his account of the little horn in the Grecian empire, 398, &c. his the best interpretation of Dan. xi. 47, &c. 398, &c. his observations about the interpreters of the Revelation, ii. 164, 165.

Nineveh, prophecies concerning this metropolis of the Assyrian empire, i. 147—166. an ancient and great city, 151. the scripture ac-

INDEX.

count of it confirmed by heathen authors, 151—153. abounding in wealth and luxury, became very corrupt, ibid. the king and people repented at the preaching of Jonah, ibid. their repentance of short continuance, 154. their destruction foretold by Nahum, 156, 157. this city taken and destroyed by the Medes and Babylonians, 159, 160. the prophecies of the manner of its destruction exactly fulfilled, 159—161. its great compass, walls, and towers, 162. authors not agreed about its situation, 163. the predictions about it fulfilled according to the accounts of ancients and moderns, 163—166. the ruins of this city may strongly affect us in this kingdom, 165, 166.

Noah, very few prophecies before his time, i. 5. his excellent character, ibid. was notwithstanding guilty of drunkenness, 6. the behaviour of his sons at that time, ibid. foretells the different conditions of their families, 7. his extraordinary prophecy wonderfully fulfilled to this day, 18.

O

ODOACER, king of the Heruli, puts an end to the very name of the western Roman empire, ii. 221.

Omar propagates Mohammed's religion, ii. 69. the many kingdoms he subdued, ibid. invest Jerusalem, and it surrenders, ibid.

Onias, removed by Antiochus Epiphanes from the high priesthood, i. 383.

Oldestone, Sir John, prosecuted for being the principal patron of the Lollards, ii. 280. examined before the archbishop of Canterbury, ibid. his strong declarations against transubstantiation and other doctrines, ibid. asserts the pope to be Antichrist, ibid. suffers death for the cause of religion, ibid.

Origen, what that learned writer relates about Antichrist, ii. 123.

Ostrogots, their kingdom in Italy, ii. 221.

Othman, or Turks, subdue Egypt, i. 298, 436. take Jerusalem, ii. 73, 74. their sultanes or kingsoms, 239, 234. their conquests, 234. the Jews to be restored about the time of the fall of this empire, 416. See Turks.

P

PARIS, the massacre of the protestants there, ii. 251, 252. the many thousands slain in a few days, 252.

Paris, Matthew, that historian freely censures the great wickedness of the pope and clergy, ii. 276.

Paschalis Radbertus in the ninth century, first advances the doctrine of transubstantiation, ii. 257. opposed by many learned men, ibid. &c.

Pergamus, its situation and present state, ii. 182. formerly the throne of Satan, and now in a wretched condition, ibid.

Pella, the Christians remove thither before the destruction of Jerusalem, ii. 31.
INDEX.

Persecution, the spirit of popery, i. 145. the Jews greatly persecuted in papish countries, ibid. dissuasives from it, ibid. the persecutions of the Christians before the destruction of Jerusalem, ii. 29—44.

Pope of Rome, why compared to a bear, i. 270. its great cruelty, 270, 271. why likened to a ram, 316, 317.

Philadelphia, its beautiful situation, ii. 184. next to Smyrna hath the greatest number of Christians among the former seven churches, 185.

Pococke (Dr.) his account of the Arabians, i. 54. of Tyre, 208.

Pope of Rome, the marks of the Man of Sin justify the application of to him, ii. 112, 113, 116. how his power was at first established, 116—118, 126. the Reformers of opinion that the pope was Antichrist, 127. forbids to speak of the coming of Antichrist, 127. the evidences of the pope being Antichrist, 129, 130. the apostasy established by the pope, 150. the pope the image and representation of a tyrant in the Christian world as the Roman emperors in the Heathen world, 314. papish excommunications like Heathen persecutions, 316.

Pope prevails in the tenth century, ii. 256. the opposition it met with, 256—260. the great corruption of Christianity, 399 many prophesies relating to the prevailing of popery, 396, 421. the predictions represented in one view, 397. its tyranny and idolatry foretold, ibid. the blasphemy of popery in the pope’s making himself equal to and even superior to God, 398. the power and riches of the popish clergy, 399. the pomp of their ceremonies and vestments, ibid. their policy, lies, and frauds, ibid. their pretended visions and miracles, 400. intimations of popery in the New Testament, ibid. &c. not only foretold, but the place and persons pointed out, 401. instances of this, 404—409. the time also signified, 409. when to arise, and how long to prevail, 409—413. the tyrannical power often called Antichrist, 413. the corruptions of popery being foretold, we are not to be surprised or offended, 421.

orphy and Collins deny the genuineness of Daniel’s prophesies, which are sufficiently vindicated, i. 241, 242. their notions refuted, 281, 282.

Prophecy, a dissertation on Noah’s prophecy, i. 5—22. the prophesies concerning Ishmael, 22—58. concerning Jacob and Esau, 58—51. Jacob’s prophesies concerning his sons, particularly Judah, 51—68. Balaam’s prophecies, 69—94. Moses’s prophecy of a prophet like unto himself, 94—106. prophecies of Moses concerning the Jews, 106—120. prophecies of other prophets concerning the Jews, 121—147. the prophecies concerning Nineveh, 147—166. the prophecies concerning Babylon, 166—190. the prophecies concerning Tyre, 190—212. the prophecies concerning Egypt, 213—241. Nebuchadnezzar’s dream of the great empires, 241—266. Daniel’s vision of the same, 267—300. Daniel’s vision of the Ram and He-goat, 312—351. Daniel’s prophecy of the things noted in the scripture of truth, 351—395. the same subject continued, 396—439.

INDEX.

Prophecy, a dissertation on our Saviour’s prophecies relating to the destruction of Jerusalem, ii. 1—26. the same subject continued, 29—54. the same subject continued, 54—76. the same subject continued, 76—88. St. Paul’s prophecy of the Man of Sin, 89—130. St. Paul’s prophecy of the apostasy of the latter times, 130—160. on the prophecies of the Revelation, Part I. 161—237. Part II. 288—290.

Prophecies relating to popery recapitulated, 396—410.

Prophecies, one of the strongest proofs of Revelation, i. 1. the consequence from believing prophecies to believing revelation, 2. the prophecy of Noah not to be understood of particular persons, but of whole nations, 8. the gift of it not always confined to pious men, 69, 70. many prophecies have both a literal and mystical meaning, 70.

Prophecies, why the Jewish church instructed by prophets, and not the Christian, ii. 1. some prophecies of Christ concerning himself, and the destruction of Jerusalem, 2. a view of the prophecies now fulfilling in the world, 422—424. instances of prophecies fulfilled, attestations of divine revelation, 435.

Prophecies, the great difference between them and the pagan oracles, i. 436.

Propidence, confirmed by the completion of prophecies, i. 438, 439. the many absurdities of denying a providence, ibid.

Ptolemy, the first king of Egypt, a powerful king, i. 358.

Ptolemy Philadelphus, the second king of Egypt, i. 359. called the dowry giver, 360. his care of his daughter, 361.

Ptolemy Philometor, the great calamities of his reign, i. 357, 358. the Alexandrians revolt from him, and proclaim his brother king, 348.

Ptolemy Philopator, defeats Antiochus, i. 366, 367. murders his nearest relations, 367. consumes his days in feasting and lewdness, ibid. his vicious conduct and cruelty to the Jews, 368. dies of intertemperance and debauchery, ibid.

Pylthus, the richest subject in the world, i. 533. entertains Xerxes and offers to defy the charges of the war, ibid.

R.

Rabanus Maurus, in the ninth century, writes against transubstantiation, ii. 257.

Ram and He-goat, a dissertation on that vision, i. 318. why the Persian empire is represented by a ram, 316. the exploits of the ram, 317. a goat properly a type of the Grecian empire, 318. a goat the goat invades the ram with great success, 319, 320. the empire of the goat broken to pieces, 320. what arose after it, 330, 331.

Renken, Jacob’s prophecy concerning that tribe, how fulfilled, i. 54.

Redemption, the first promise of that great blessing, i. 5. that promise may be called the first prophecy and opening of Christianity, ibid.
INDEX.

Reformation, the first efforts towards it by emperors and bishops, ii. 392, 323. another by the Waldenses and Albigenses, 283—276. a third by Luther and his fellow reformers, 396.

Reinierius, the Dominican, his remarkable character of the Waldenses, ii. 271.

Revelation, the prophecies a strong proof of it, i. 1, 2. the evidence drawn from the prophecy, a growing evidence, 3, 4. the objections made to the book of Revelation by some learned men, ii. 162, 163. difficult to explain, yet not to be despised or neglected, 163, 164. the right method of interpreting it, 164. what helps requisite, 164. the three chief interpreters of this book, ibid. the scope and design of it given to St. John at Patmos in Nero's reign, 166—173. his first vision and description of Jesus Christ, 167—172. the dedication to the seven churches of Asia, 167. its solemn promise to show the great authority of the divine revealer, ibid. the place, the time, and manner of the first vision, 168—173. the seven epistles to the seven churches, 173—178. the vision of the throne set in heaven, 177, 178. of that of the book sealed with seven seals, 189—191. that the Son of God was only worthy to open the scales, 192—194. the visions of the six seals considered, 194—208. the seventh seal opened, 213. it comprehends more events than the former seals, 214. the seven trumpets, 214—287. vision of the great red dragon, 290—299. of the ten-horned beast, 300—309. of the two-horned beast, 309—319. the seven vials, 344—344. the fall of spiritual Babylon or Rome, 341—354. the millennium, 364—378. the general resurrection and judgment, and new heaven and earth, 382, &c.

Roman empire compared to a terrible beast without a name, i. 279—275. this beast had ten horns, 277. these ten horns or kingdoms where to be sought, 278, 279. the opinion of authors about them, 280, &c.

Rome, that church a surprising mystery of iniquity, ii. 161. its heresies and schisms of long continuance, ibid. the power of the Pope of Rome foretold in scripture, 162. when Rome was governed by the Exarch of Ravenna, 221, 222. resembles Egypt in her punishment as well as in her crimes, 335. her fall compared to Babylon, 341. her state and condition, 342. the character of the great whore of Babylon, more proper to modern than ancient Rome, 343. her sitting upon a scarlet-colored beast with seven heads and ten horns, 344. her ornament, 345. her inchanting cup, 346. her inscription upon her forehead, 346—348. her being drunk with the blood of the saints, 348, 349. what signifies by the seven heads and ten horns, 351—355. the prophecies relating to the church of Rome the most essential part of the Revelation, 396. its corruptions and innovations foretold, 397—400. her clergy like the Scribes and Pharisees in several instances, 402—404. their usurped power foretold, and the place and persons pointed out, 396, 404—409. the time of its power foretold, 409. its destruction will certainly come, 415—422.

INDEX.

S.

Saladin, proclaimed sultan in Egypt, ii. 71. besieges and takes Jerusalem, ibid. compels the Christians there to redeem their lives, ibid.

Saracens descended from Ishmael, i. 23, 32. as locusts overspread the earth, ii. 223. when they made their greatest conquests, 227. See Arabians.

Sardis, the capital of Lydia, ii. 184. at present in ruins, ibid. in a desolate state as to religion, ibid.

Sawreyola, his zealous preaching and writing against the vices of the Roman clergy, ii. 284. endures imprisonment, tortures and death with constancy, ibid.

Sawtree, a parish priest, first burnt for heresy in England, ii. 280.

Scopas, his great success in Cæcæ-Syria and Palestine, i. 371. is afterwards forced to surrender to Antiochus, 372.

Scotus Johannes, writes upon the Euchariath by the command of the emperor, ii. 258. his opinion against the doctrine of transubstantiation, 259. invited to England by king Alfred, and preferred, ibid.

Scriptures, the fulfilment of the prophecies a convincing argument of their divinity, i. 188. friendly to liberty, 189. and the love of our country, ibid.

Seals, the book sealed with seven seals, ii. 189. the Son of God only found worthy to open it, 190. the seven seals signify so many periods of prophecy, 191. the first memorable for conquest, 192. the second its commencement and continuance, 194—197. the third seal for what characterized, 197. the fourth seal for what distinguished, 199. the fifth seal remarkable for the tenth general persecution, 203—205. the sixth seal for great changes and revolutions, 205, 206. its continuance from Constantine to Theodosius, 211. the seventh seal distinguished by the sounding of seven trumpets, 213, 214. seals foretold the state of the Roman empire before it became Christian, 215.

Seleucide and Lagidae, not the fourth kingdom mentioned in Daniel, i. 251, 273, 278.

Seleucia renders Babylon desolate, i. 182. is called Babylon by several authors, 183.

Seleucus, the first king of Syria, a most potent king, i. 358, 359.

Seleucus Ceraunus, his short and inglorious reign, i. 364.

Seleucus Callinicus, his sons and their pompous appellations, i. 363.

Seleucus Philopator, succeeds his father Antiochus, i. 379. a raiser of taxes all his days, ibid. sends his treasurer to commit sacrifice in the temple of Jerusalem, ibid. is destroyed by him, 380.

Septimius Severus, a just and provident emperor, ii. 198, &c.

Shalmaneser, carried the ten tribes into captivity, i. 148.

Shaw (Dr.) his account of the Arabians, i. 53. of Palestine, 137, 138. of Tyre, 210, 211.

Shem and Japheth, their good behaviour on their father's drunkenness,
INDEX.

I. 6. the blessings promised upon them and their posterity, 15, 16. how fulfilled both in former and latter times, 16, 17. ii. 423. the promises of Japheth’s dwelling in the tents of Shem explained and fulfilled, i. 17, 18.

Sherlock (1sp.) his exposition of Jacob’s prophecy chiefly followed, i. 57, &c.

Shiloh, shown to be the Messiah in the various senses of the word, i. 60—62.

Sidon, an ancient city, celebrated by Homer and other poets, i. 199.

Simeon and Levi, Jacob’s prophecy about these two tribes, and how fulfilled, i. 54, &c.

Smyrna, the second epistle to the seven churches addressed to them, i. 181. its situation and commerce, ibid. its present state as to religion, 182.

Soul, that it grew prophetic near death, an opinion of great antiquity, i. 51, 52.

South and North, kings, of who to be understood by them, i. 358, 419, 420.

Star out of Jacob and a scepter out of Israel, that prophecy explained, i. 80—85.

Spirit, the gifts and graces of the Holy Spirit often described by springs of water, i. 314.

Spencer (Dr.) his remark about the church of Philadelphia, ii. 185.

States and nations, seldom ruined without preceding signs, ii. 28, 29. many awful signs from the sins of this nation, 28.

Sulpicius Severus, his exposition of Nebuchadnezzar’s dream, i. 263, 264.

T.

TACITUS, his account of the prodigies before the destruction of Jerusalem, ii. 50.

Tamerlane, his great conquests, ii. 73. visits Jerusalem, ibid.

Tertullian, his opinion of the Man of Sin, ii. 122. of the millennium, 377.

Theodore, too much promotes the worship of saints, ii. 146, 147.

Thomas, his character of the Waldenses, i. 272, 273. his account of their sufferings and dispersion, 274, 275.

Thyatira, a Christian church formerly there, this denied by some heretics, i. 183. its present condition an effect of the divine judgments for their sins, ibid.

Titus, surrounds Jerusalem with a wall, ii. 35. commands the city and temple to be destroyed, 62. his wonderful preservation at the siege, 81.

Toledo, that council ordered the children of the Jews to be taken from them, i. 117.

Trajan and Severus, their attempts against Arabia repelled in an extraordinary manner, i. 31, 32. the wars and slaughters in the reigns of Trajan and his successors, ii. 194, 195. the Jews subdued by him, 195.

INDEX.

Troy, that council’s good regulations, ii. 200. differs from the spirit and principles of the council of Trent, 261.

Trumpets, the seven periods distinguished by the sound of the seven trumpets, ii. 213. silence of half an hour previous to their sounding, ibid. foretold the condition of the Roman empire after it became Christian, 214. the design of the trumpets, ibid. the events at the sounding of the first trumpet, 215, 216. at the sounding of the second, 216—218. at the sounding of the third, 218—220. at the sounding of the fourth, 220, 221. the three following distinguished by the name of the woe trumpets, 222. the events at the sounding of the fifth, 222—232. at the sounding of the sixth trumpet, 222. an account of the seventh trumpet, 256, &c.

Turks a part of Daniel’s prophecy supposed to refer to the destruction of their empire, i. 420—425. their four kingdoms on the river Euphrates, ii. 233, 234. their numerous armies, especially their cavalry, 237. their delight in scarlet, blue and purple, 238. the use of great guns and gun-powder among them, 238, 239. their power to do harm by their tarts, 239. See Ottomans.

Tyre, prophecies concerning it, i. 190—212. its fall predicted by Isaiah and Ezekiel, 190. the prophecies relate to both old and now Tyre, 190, 191. a very ancient city, 192. the daughter of Sidon, but in time excelled the mother, 193. in a flourishing condition when the prophet foretold her destruction for her wickedness, 194. the particulars included in the prophecies about it, 194, 195. the city taken and destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar and the Chaldaeans, 195—198. the inhabitants to pass over the Mediterranean, but to find no rest, 198—201. the city to be restored after seventy years, 201, 202. taken and destroyed again, 202—205. the people to forsake idolatry and become converts to the true religion, 205—207. the city at last to be totally destroyed and become a place for fishers to spread their nets upon, 207, 208. these prophecies to be fulfilled by degrees, 208. a short account from the time of Nebuchadnezzar to the present time, 208, 209. the accounts given by three writers, 209—211. this account concluded with reflections upon trade, 211, 212.

V.

VIALS, seven, a preparatory vision to their being poured out, ii. 321—324. these seven plagues or vials belong to the last trumpet, and not yet fulfilled, 322, 323. seven angels appointed to pour out the seven vials, 323, 324. the commission to pour them out, 324. the first vial or plague, 325. the second and third, 325, 326. the fourth, 327. the fifth, 327, 328. the sixth, 328, 329. the seventh and last, 330, 340.

Vitringa, his opinion about a passage in Balaam’s prophecy, i. 81. a most excellent commentator upon Isaiah, 265. one of the best interpreters of the Revelation, ii. 165.

Voltaire, his account of the present state of Palestine, i. 134. an agreeable yet a superficial writer, i. 163.
INDEX.

W.
WALDENSIS and Albigenses, witnesses for the truth in the twelfth century, ii. 268. their rise and opinions, 268—270. testimonies concerning them, 270—273. are very much persecuted, and fly into other countries, 274. pronounce the church of Rome to be apocalyptic Babylon, 325.

Warburton, his exposition of the star out of Jacob, and scepter out of Israel, i. 38, 85. his account of the figurative language used in foretelling the destruction of Jerusalem, ii. 56, &c.

Weisstein, his explication of the Man of Sin refuted, ii. 106, 107. complemented his understanding to Cardinal Quirini, 108.

Wereo, his account of Smyrna, ii. 181. he esteem an English priest an evangelist, 182. his observation about the judgments on the seven churches of Asia, 186, 187.

Whitby, his scheme about the Man of Sin perplexed and confused, ii. 105. and refuted, 105, 106. professes not to understand the Revelation, 163.

White horse, our Saviour cometh forth riding on one, ii. 366. a token of victory over his enemies, 968.

White throne, the general resurrection and judgment represented by it, ii. 392.

Wickliff, preaches against the doctrins and lives of the clergy, ii. 278. his books read in the colleges at Oxford, ibid. after his death his doctrines condemned, books burnt, and body dug up and burnt, 279. his followers however not discouraged, ibid.

Witnesses, protest against the corruptions of religion, ii. 246. how said to be two witnesses, ibid. to prophecy in sackcloth during the grand corruption, ibid. the character of these witnesses, and of the power and effect of their preaching, 247, 248. their passion, death, resurrection, and ascension, 248—250. the prophecy about the witnesses applied by some to John Huss and Jerome of Prague, 250. and by others to the Protestants of the league of Smalcalad, 250. also to the massacre of the Protestants in France, 251, 252. others, to later events, to the Protestants in the valleys of Piedmont, 259, 253. an historical deduction shewing true witnesses against the church of Rome from the seventh century to the Reformation, 254, &c. witnesses in the eighth century, 255, 256. in the ninth, 256—259. in the tenth, 259—263. in the eleventh, 263—266. in the twelfth, 266—273. in the thirteenth, 273—276. in the fourteenth, 276—279. in the fifteenth, 279—284. in the sixteenth, 284, 285. hence an answer to the papish question, Where was your religion before Luther? 285.

Woman, clothed with the sun and the moon under her feet, ii. 290, 291. what this representation of the church denotes, 291.

Woman, full of names of blasphemy, sitting on a beast, having seven heads and ten horns, ii. 343. the name written on her forehead, ibid. the judgment of the great whore, 343. is arrayed in purple

and scarlet color, 344, 345. hath a golden cup in her hand full of abominations, 346. the inscription upon her forehead, ibid. infamous for idolatry and cruelty, 348. the mystery of the woman, 349—357. World, what mean by the phrase of the end of the world, ii. 11, 12. its reference to the destruction of Jerusalem, ibid.

X.

XERXES, the richest king of Persia, i. 253. his memorable expedition into Greece, 254. raises the greatest army that ever was brought into the field, ibid.

Z.

ZEBULUN, Jacob's prophecy concerning that tribe, and how fulfilled, i. 55.

Zophomiah, that prophet foretells the total destruction of Nineveh, i. 161, 162. the prophecy contrary to all probability, ibid.

FINIS.