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THE
SIGNS OF THE TIMES,

AS DENOTED BY THE

FULFILMENT OF HISTORICAL
PREDICTIONS,

TRACED DOWN

FROM THE BABYLONISH CAPTIVITY TO THE
PRESENT TIME.

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"At the end it shall speak and not lie."—HABAKKUK ii. 3.

"Ye can discern the face of the sky; but can ye not discern the signs of the times?"—MATTHEW xvi. 3.

SIXTH EDITION.

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PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION

A PREFACE, as has often been said, should be short. And, in presenting these pages to the public, the author knows not how they could be prefaced more briefly than in the answer which he gave to a friend who asked him to tell in three words, what is the object of the treatise, or what it is designed to show,—*viz.* WHERE WE ARE, or on what point of prophetic history we stand.

It is only necessary to add, in regard to the execution of so serious a task, that from the consequent manifold imperfections, he would be ashamed to acknowledge and unable to justify the haste with which, throughout the far greater part, the essay has been written, were it not, that, while the signs of the times are such that they may speedily pass into their significance, a word in season, however weak, may be worth the hearing, even as the timely sound of the tocsin or the trumpet may be more effective of safety to a host than the boom of the cannon a few moments later, when the enemy has surprised and surrounded a sleeping camp. The great danger is, lest it should give “an uncertain sound ;” and of that he has sought, as he would caution the reader, to beware.

The question is one of time, not of talent ; and of plain truth, not of ingenious invention, far less of presumptuous speculation. And if the time be come,

that the judgments of God are manifest, all that needs to be said, is—Come and see.

When first led to the investigation of the subject, it was the purpose of the writer to attempt only a brief outline. But finding this unsatisfactory, the treatise has gradually and unexpectedly not only swelled into a volume, but, after the printing was too far advanced to admit of an alteration of the paging, into two. The fulness of the matter which came successively to hand, left no other task than that of condensing it; and the most scrupulous reader need not fear to take up, what, perhaps, may most properly be called a book of historical abridgments and extracts. And still it is but a mere syllabus, designed to show how prophecy, at once, may be followed in its order, and history in its course.

If happily, through the Divine blessing, there be aught contained in these pages which may, in the least, be conducive to the interests of the great cause of truth, of righteousness, and of peace, the writer may be permitted to state, that, without any preconceived theory, or any elaborate investigation, on simply *reading*, at no distant period, the Book of Revelation, he wondered that he could have been previously ignorant of the significance of the seals and vials, which, however, it had never before entered into his thoughts to scan. The meaning seemed so manifest as to afford a practical illustration, that the *apocalypse* or *Revelation*, as the very term literally implies, denotes light and not darkness—and that its object, like its name, was finally to *make clear* and not to mystify. Hence, looking throughout to the same simplicity of truth, he was led to a more enlarged and combined view of history and of prophecy; and sadly has he failed in the execution of the task if he has not rendered it intelligible, as it might have been revealed to a child.

PREFACE

TO THE FIFTH EDITION.

IN the present edition the subdivision of the subject into books as well as chapters has been adopted, for the sake of greater perspicuity. The first book contains a very succinct notice of the visions of Daniel relative to the four successive great empires that were to arise, and that have arisen on the earth. The second refers exclusively to the eleventh chapter of Daniel. In the third, the first five seals are represented as unfolding, 1. Christianity in its early progress and final triumph ; 2. Mahometanism, a religion propagated by the sword ; 3. Popery triumphant during the dark ages ; 4. Infidelity the last of the hostile forms that arise against the Christian faith ; and, 5. The persecuted or repressed state of true believers during the long period of their sufferings and trials. The sixth seal is descriptive of the great day of the wrath of the Lord. The fourth book contains an attempted exposition of the eighth, ninth and tenth chapters of Revelation, from the connected and continuous history of the world for the space of 1700 years, or from the date of the Apocalypse to the commencement of the French Revolution. In the fifth book, the detached predictions, or separate visions, contained in Rev. xi. xii. xiii., are re-

spectively considered ; and in the last or sixth book, the first six vials are represented as resuming the general history of the world from the commencement of the French Revolution to the downfall of the Turkish empire, now apparently in progress.

In purposed elucidation of the subject, it may be farther stated, that the scriptural interpretation of a symbol may be said to render the prediction literal. And wherever one symbol of a series (such as that of the first seal, Rev. vi. 2.) is expounded in such a manner as not to admit of a doubtful interpretation, (Rev. xix. 11—16,) it may lead, after their fulfilment, to the legitimate interpretation of those that are conjoined with it. Some symbols, as under the trumpets, are express similitudes, and the events may therefore best show how apt was the likeness which the Spirit of Prophecy had designated. And when once the significancy of the trumpets can be ascertained, that of the vials must be greatly facilitated from the identity of the terms common to them both.

INTRODUCTION.

NEVER, perhaps, in the history of man, were the times more ominous, or pregnant with greater events than the present. The signs of them are in many respects set before the eyes of men, and need not to be told ; and they strike the senses so forcibly, and come so closely to the apprehension of all, that they may be said to be felt, as well as to be seen. The face of the sky never indicated more clearly an approaching tempest, than the signs of the times betoken an approaching convulsion,—not partial, but universal. It is not a single cloud, surcharged with electricity, on the rending of which a momentary flash might appear, and the thunderbolt shiver a pine, or scathe a few lowly shrubs, that is now rising into view ; but the whole atmosphere is lowering, a gathering storm is accumulating fearfully in every region, the lightning is already seen gleaming in the heavens, and passing in quick succession from one distant cloud to another, as if every tree in the forest would be enkindled, and the devastating tempest, before

purifying the atmosphere, spread ruin on every side. Such is now the aspect of the political horizon. The whole world is in agitation. All kings on earth, whose words were wont to be laws, are troubled. The calm repose of ages, in which thrones and altars were held sacred, has been broken in a moment. Ancient monarchies, which seemed long to defy dissolution and to mock at time, pass away like a dream. And the question is not now of the death of a king, or even of the ceasing of one dynasty and the commencement of another; but the whole fabric of government is insecure, the whole frame of society is shaken. Every kingdom, instead of each being knit together and dreaded by surrounding states, is divided against itself, as if dissolution were the sure destiny of them all. A citizen king, the choice of the people and not a military usurper, sits on the throne of the Capets. And as if the signal had gone throughout the world quick as lightning, nations, instead of advancing slowly to regeneration, start at once into life. And from the banks of the Don to the Tagus, from the shores of the Bosphorus to Lapland, and, wide Europe being too narrow a field for the spirit of change that now ranges simultaneously throughout the world, from the new states of South America to the hitherto unchangeable China, skirting Africa and traversing Asia, to the extremity of the globe on the frozen north, there are signs of change in every country under heaven; and none can tell of what kingdom it may not be told in the news of to-morrow, that a revolution has been begun and perfected in a week. Every kingdom seems but to wait for its day of revolt or revival. And the only wonder now would be, that any nation should continue much longer what for ages it has been; or that the signs of the times should not everywhere alike be a striking contrast to those of the past.

Man, whatever expectations he may form, knoweth not what a day may bring forth. And never was the truth of the short-sightedness of mortals more clearly exemplified than it is now, when changes, of which none could recently have formed the conception, pass as common things before the eyes of all. Human wisdom is not in any thing more speedily set at nought, than when it counts the chances, and attempts to define the issue, of international wars and intestine commotions. But though, in the evolution of ordinary events, the sagacity of men were equal to the task of marking their character before their time, there is no experience or analogy by which he could now be guided to a certain or even probable conclusion. For all history presents not any scale of reckoning for such times as these, when unparalleled events, which indicate an universal crisis, and betoken a war of opinions throughout the wide world, such as never existed to be chronicled before, are crowded together, and seem but the incidents of an hour.

It is not by a light issuing from the earth, nor by the meteor-gleam of high imaginations, that a page of future history can be read, or the dark recesses of futurity be disclosed. The Ruler among the nations, whose omniscient eye penetrates alike through space and through time, can alone show the things that are not as though they were. He hath the times and the seasons in his own power; and the signs of them can be known only from his word. From ancient times he hath declared, by his servants the prophets, the things that are now passing, and that are yet to come. And to the magnifying of the divine word, but in utter disparagement of human arrogance, it is to the most ancient of records, in the Old Testament, and to the more recent but still remote revelations of the New, that, with all submissiveness, and child-like docility, a pious application must be

made, and a patient investigation must be devoted, if by any means the ultimate consequences and final results of those existing events which agitate the world, may be ascertained with infinitely greater security and truth than belong to the daily fluctuating conjectures, which all the powers of reason, though vainly calling universal history to its aid, can deduce, as the final effect of those causes of which the partial operation is already seen.

These pages are addressed to professing Christians, and the inspiration of Scripture is here assumed as a certain and an acknowledged truth. If it were doubted for a moment by any reader, we might not only refer him to the positive proofs which literal prophecies, already fulfilled, abundantly supply; but we might challenge him even now, at this late period, to the production of any such token of an insight into futurity, or any systematic view of the yet future history of the world, at all comparable to that which, of old, was unfolded by the prophets who testified of Jesus, and by the apostles who first preached the doctrine of the cross.

It is by reading and understanding what is written in the word of God, and by comparing things spiritual with spiritual, that, as the best means, scriptural truths may be known. And, while seeking carefully to avoid the darkening of counsel by words without knowledge, and the profanely mingling of any vain imagination with the oracles of the living God, the object aimed at in the following essay is to note, so far as they can as yet be traced, from a variety of historical prophecies already fulfilled, the signs of these times.

That such is a legitimate object of inquiry, may be inferred, from an admonition and rebuke given by the Lord Jesus Christ, to those Jews who sought of him a sign, but who did not discern *the signs of the*

times. If they had believed in Moses, in whom they trusted, they would have believed in Christ, of whom he testified. And except it be first clearly shown that none of the words of any of the prophets, nor of Christ, nor of his apostles, have, nor can have, the least possible reference to what is now passing, or may speedily be brought to pass in the world,—which it would require a fearless hardihood unmatched by that of the boldest interpreter to maintain,—it cannot of itself be an evil or unwise thing to endeavour to do what Jesus convicted the Jews of hypocrisy and folly for not doing; and if there be in the word of God any tokens of this critical era, or any indications of that to which it shall lead, it may still be asked of all—ye can discern the face of the sky and of the earth, but can ye not discern the signs of the times? Surely, however often repeated by lips that ought never to be used to such mockery, the sneer of a blasphemer, who scoffed indiscriminately at all scripture, should never deter a believer from reverently inquiring from the written word, what is the mind of the Spirit; nor ought any man who is not ashamed of Jesus and of his words, to quail before the scoff of the scorner, or to suffer so base a motive as that, the most contemptible of all fear, to deter him from seeking to understand “the revelation of Jesus Christ,” to which these words are prefixed, “*Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep these things that are written therein, for the time is at hand; and to which, also, these are added, And he said unto me, these sayings are faithful and true: and the Lord God of the holy prophets sent his angel to shew unto his servants the things which must shortly be done. Behold, I come quickly: blessed is he that keepeth the sayings of the prophecy of this book.*” What is all that man can utter in comparison of words like these?

No one who takes the most cursory, or even careless

perusal of the Bible, can be ignorant that something is written there pertaining to the latter times. Not only does the Book of Daniel contain an explicit reference to that which should befall the Jews in *the latter times*, and repeated annunciations of the final and universal establishment of the kingdom of God; and not only does the Book of the Revelation also contain a systematic representation of "the things that shall be hereafter,"—but prophecy forms a large portion of the Sacred Scriptures, and, whatever part of them we peruse, we find it intermingled with the other dictates of inspiration. The Bible is full of prophecy. It contains the record of our race from the beginning to the end of time. The mystery of iniquity is there unfolded, as well as the mystery of godliness. And the inspired penmen wrote with the artless facility and freedom of those to whom it was given to reveal to all ages the workings of an overruling Providence among the nations of the earth, as well as to make known to men the will of God and the way of salvation. Shall the Lord bring evil upon any nation, and not declare it unto his servants the prophets? The earth is the Lord's; and his word vindicates his control over it. And as in the works of nature men may ever consider the operation of his hand, so from the Bible we may see his doings among the sons of men, and learn to know, that, though he permits the reign of sin for a season, he has marked its progress, limited its power, and decreed its final destruction. In the natural world "he hath placed the sand for the bound of the sea, by a perpetual decree, that it cannot pass; and though the waves thereof toss themselves, yet can they not prevail, though they roar, yet can they not pass over it." And were we to contend that the will of man is as free and unfixed as the waters of the ocean, and though the sea that cannot rest be too faithful an emblem of the history of man,

yet God hath set his word as the bound of all the tempestuous commotions of earthly kingdoms; and there is, too, a perpetual decree that they cannot pass. His word fulfils the purpose for which he sent it, as the sand is the bound of the sea. Till the event realize its truth, it cannot be traced so closely, or be defined so well, as the past fulfilment of prophecy, which already shows the termination of many a political convulsion as clearly as ever the line of a retiring wave, after the subsiding of the tempestuous ocean, was marked by the mire it left; yet the word of God, if once it can be rightly ascertained on what point of prophetic history we stand, may enable us from thence to look beyond the present appearances of things, or the events that are beginning to rise up to human view, and to see, by a light from the sanctuary, their ultimate issue, even as one who stands upon the shore, however the waves may toss themselves and roar, may fix the utmost limits of the highest billow, and show the spot which, when once its power shall be broken on the sand, it cannot pass over.

Warrantable and wise as we deem it to be to hear what the Lord hath spoken by the mouth of his prophets, yet the misinterpretations of prophecy, though it was given for a light, lead to delusion, even as the other Scriptures, which were all given for promoting the work of salvation, may be wrested by men to their destruction. If the sand of the sea-shore lie not compactly in its natural position, but be transformed into any other shape by the hand of man, it becomes the sport of the wind instead of the bound of the ocean, till it resume the form in which God had placed it. It is not for mortals either to *add to* or to *take from* the words of prophecy, or the book of the revelation of Jesus Christ. The blessing promised to those who read and hear, ought not carelessly to be forfeited. But too high a solicitude cannot be exercised

against seeking to be wise above what is written, or of placing any vain imagination in the stead of a prophetic declaration, or of thinking that we see a sign where God has shown none. And when the event only is revealed, it is not for men to dogmatize about the mode or the means of its accomplishment ; for God's ways are not as our ways, nor his thoughts as our thoughts, and his purposes may be wrought out in a manner that we wot not.

In submitting these pages to the Christian public, it is not the intention of the writer, for it would tend to frustrate his object, to enter into an elaborate discussion on any unfulfilled predictions, or to attempt either to support or to controvert any of the various opinions which have recently given rise to much discussion among the students of prophecy. The most simple exhibition of the truth, if such could be obtained, might be the best correction of any error, with whomsoever it might lie. Of some of the interpretations contained in the following pages, he would only be the more suspicious because they are new. They came unsought for, while tracing, point after point, the parallel between prophecy and history. And if they stood in need of any ingenuity to support them, for that very reason he would have accounted them untenable, and have rejected them as unsound. He would rather draw analogies, or show the exact coincidences throughout the whole, between predictions and facts, than trust in any part, to general reasonings,—the distrusting of which, on such a subject, was almost his only preparation for the task. And believing, whenever the time of fully unsealing the vision shall be come—if the time be not already come, as he is inclined to believe, in which the judgments of God are *manifest*,—that the prophecies which are hid under symbols for a season, shall, after their kind, be as clear illustrations of the predicted events, as the

literal prophecies expressly describe them, he can only solicit the reader, as a Christian duty, to put no faith in the interpretation, but freely to discredit and discard it in any instance, especially when new, if it be destitute of the simplicity and consistency of truth, and if, on comparing things spiritual with spiritual, and the things that were to be with the things that have been, it be not founded explicitly and exclusively on the authority of Scripture, and a full, regular, and entire accordance with historical facts. And he would crave the patient indulgence and perseverance of the reader, in traversing step by step the path of history, by the light of prophecy, from the sixth century before Christ, to the nineteenth of the Christian era.

The fate of the world is too serious a matter now to be looked on any longer as an amusing speculation. And it is not to pander to an idle curiosity, to foster a prurient fancy, or to raise any high imaginations higher than they are, that this treatise has been written. If it be opened for such a purpose, the reader cannot lay it too soon aside to lessen the disappointment. The Lord Jesus reproved those who sought after a sign from heaven; as well as charged them with hypocrisy and folly, for not discerning the signs that *were* to be seen. And if such indeed they be, the signs of the times, as seen by fulfilled predictions traced down to the present hour, are here set forth, that a timely warning may be taken, and that sight may never be lost of the great end for which *all* Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and for instruction in righteousness, viz. that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works. To be furnished unto all good works is to be prepared for all events; whether the earth be convulsed with changes, or whether it be removed out of its place. And were the signs of the times to be

looked at in this spirit of a holy faith, the labour of pointing at them would not be lost, if,—ere they pass away, and the tempest, which, though it be stayed for a season, together with all earthly appearances they indicate, burst fully and fearfully upon the world,—there be a single head, whether youthful or hoary, the less unprepared to meet it, by being found the more in the way of righteousness for having looked unto the judgments which have come upon the earth. Though all things at last shall be shaken, the things that cannot be shaken shall remain. He that doeth the will of God abideth for ever.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

THE prophecies of Daniel contain a long and marked outline of the history of the world. No subject is more familiar to every one who is the least versant in ancient history, than the successive dominion that was exercised over great part of the earth by Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome. Cyrus, Alexander the Great, and the Cæsars, are historical names universally known in boyhood. And no less familiar to every student of prophecy, so soon as they are even initiated in the subject, is the symbolical description of these very empires, as they are detailed in the Book of Daniel.

Under the double representation of a great image, consisting of different parts, and of a succession of wild beasts (the common scriptural emblem of kingdoms,) varying in nature and form, the great succes-

sive empires were symbolized, and these symbols were also explained, in such a manner as to leave no room for any variety of opinion among commentators, and to render superfluous any reiterated explanation. The prophet gives an *interpretation* of both ; so that the general significancy of the symbols, as denoting the *kingdoms*, or the four great successive empires, that in after-ages were to arise in the earth, is happily neither left to conjecture nor exposed to any cavil.

On the simple and careful perusal of the second and seventh chapters of the book of Daniel, it is also obvious, beyond doubt or denial on the part of any who admit the truth of the prophetic word, that the visions, representing the successive kingdoms, occupy the whole period in the history of the world from the days of Daniel to a time which is yet to come.

There is a God in heaven, said Daniel, that revealeth secrets, and maketh known to the king Nebuchadnezzar what shall be in the latter days.—Thou, O king, sawest, and behold a great image. This great image, whose brightness was excellent, stood before thee ; and the form thereof was terrible. This image's head was of fine gold, his breast and his arms of silver, his belly and his thighs of brass, his legs of iron, his feet part of iron and part of clay. Thou sawest till that a stone was cut out without hands, which smote the image upon his feet that were of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces. Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold, broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer thrashing-floors, and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them : and the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth. This is the dream, and we will tell the interpretation thereof before the king. Thou, O king, art a king of kings : for the God of heaven hath

given thee a kingdom, power, and strength, and glory. And wheresoever the children of men dwell, the beasts of the field and the fowls of the heaven, hath he given into thine hand, and hath made thee ruler over them all. Thou art this head of gold. And after thee shall arise another kingdom inferior to thee, and another third kingdom of brass, which shall bear rule over all the earth. And the fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron: forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces and subdueth all things; and as iron that breaketh all these things shall it break in pieces and bruise. And whereas thou sawest the feet and toes, part of potter's clay, and part of iron, the kingdom shall be divided, but there shall be in it of the strength of the iron, forasmuch as thou sawest the iron mixed with miry clay. And as the toes of the feet were part of iron and part of clay; so the kingdom shall be partly strong, and partly broken. And whereas thou sawest iron mixed with miry clay; they shall mingle themselves with the seed of men: but they shall not cleave one to another, even as iron is not mixed with clay. And in the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed: and the kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever. Forasmuch as thou sawest that the stone was cut out of the mountain without hands, and that it brake in pieces the iron, the brass, the clay, the silver, and the gold: the great God hath made known to the king what shall come to pass hereafter; and the dream is certain, and the interpretation thereof sure.

A brief commentary, in a mere opening view of prophetic history, may be the best; and in glancing even at the periodical literature of the day, it may here be opportunely derived from a work which is not

chargeable either with radicalism in politics or enthusiasm in religion.

“Power is measured by resistance. Upon such a scale, if it were applied with skill, the *relations* of greatness in Rome to the greatest of all that has gone before her, and has yet come after her, would first be adequately revealed. The youngest reader will know that the grandest forms in which the *collective* might of the human race has manifested itself, are the four monarchies. Four times have the distributive forces of nations gathered themselves, under the strong compression of the sword, into mighty aggregates,—denominated *Universal Empires*, or Monarchies. These are noticed in the Holy Scriptures; and it is upon *their* warrant that men have supposed no fifth monarchy or universal empire possible in an earthly sense; but that whenever such an empire arises it will have Christ for its head; in other words, that no fifth *monarchia* can take place until Christianity shall have swallowed up all other forms of religion, and shall have gathered the whole family of man into one fold, under one all-conquering Shepherd. Hence the fanatics of 1650, who proclaimed Jesus for their king, and who did sincerely anticipate his near advent in great power, and under some personal manifestation, were usually styled *Fifth Monarchists*.—This we mention, because a great error has been sometimes committed in exposing *their* error, that consisted—not in supposing that for a fifth time men were to be gathered under one sceptre, and that sceptre wielded by Jesus Christ—but in supposing that this great era had then arrived, or that with no deeper moral revolution men could be fitted for that yoke.”*

The golden head of the image was expressly de-

* Blackwood's Magazine, No. 200. October 1832, p. 543, 554.

clared to be the kingdom of Nebuchadnezzar, or that of Babylon. When the vision was revealed it existed in its prime. The God of heaven had given him a kingdom, power, and strength, and glory. And wheresoever the children of men dwelt, the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air, God had given into his hand, and had made him rule over them all. *He was the head of gold. After him another kingdom was to arise, inferior to his, namely the united kingdom of Persia and Media, represented by the breast and arms of silver. This kingdom was, in its order, to be succeeded by another third kingdom of brass, "the brass-clothed Greeks," which was to bear rule over all the earth, denoted, in the image, by the belly and the thighs of brass. Alexander, the subverter of the Persian empire, was an universal monarch, who ruled over the whole earth, till he mourned that he had no more kingdoms to subdue. The iron legs of the image represent the iron kingdom of Rome, which extended at once over the west and the east, and which was the fourth kingdom, strong as iron, forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces and subdueth all things; and as iron that breaketh all these, shall it break in pieces and bruise.—And his feet and toes, part of iron and part of clay, represent the kingdoms into which, subsequently still, the fourth kingdom, was itself to be divided—which were part of iron and part of clay, partly strong and partly broken, and remained unmixed or separated, not cleaving together, even as iron is not mixed with clay. Dan. ii. 31—43.*

The great image, whose brightness was excellent, stood before Nebuchadnezzar; and the form thereof was terrible. It represents only the order, extent, and glory, in a human view, of the kingdoms that were respectively and successively to arise upon the earth. The greatness of their power was designated; but no intimation was given of their duration. They

were to arise and prosper and fall, according to the prefigured description and order. But all their glory was finally to vanish, and all their power to cease. And bright and excellent and terrible as the image was, it represented only earthly kingdoms that would perish and decay. Not only was one to fall as another arose, but the *image itself was smitten upon the feet that were of iron and clay, and broken in pieces by a stone that was cut without hands.* Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver and the gold, broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer thrashing-floors; and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them: and the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth, Dan. ii. 35.—*In the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed: and the kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces and consume all the kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever,* Ibid. 44.—Such, in respect to power and permanency, shall be the kingdom of God, in comparison with all worldly empires, which, when opposed to it, and finally smitten by it, *shall be broken in pieces, and, dissipated like dust, shall pass away like a vision.*

The whole image from the *head of gold*, representing Babylon in its glory, to the *feet and toes*, designating the several kingdoms which form the dismembered portions of the Roman empire—is historically before us. The kingdom of God has already been set up in the days of these kingdoms; the stone, finally destined to smite the feet of the image, and that shall become a great mountain and fill the whole earth, has been cut without hands; the children of that kingdom have not, in a carnal sense, to fight; the conflict will not be between man and man for the subversion of an earthly kingdom by another; but the kingdom shall be that of the God of heaven,

and, by means best known to him, He shall set it up. The question is not now what empire shall next be established by man—but when and how the feet and toes, the last portion of the image of all earthly empires, shall be smitten. *That* is not resolved by the present vision ; but of the fact, in whatever manner interpreted, there cannot, according to the word of God, be a doubt. *Forasmuch as thou sawest that the stone was cut out of the mountain without hands, and that it brake in pieces the iron, the brass, the clay, the silver, and the gold : the great God hath made known to the king what shall come to pass hereafter : and the dream is certain, and the interpretation thereof sure.* Dan. ii. 45.

The great outline being thus given, the next vision—the vision of a prophet, and not the dream of a king—is more full and definite, and not only introduces a new power, of another order, but specifies its origin and its character, and defines the period of its reign.

Daniel saw the future rise and fall of earthly kingdoms after another form than that of the great image, which shadowed them forth to the view of Nebuchadnezzar. The former looked to their ravages ; the latter to their glory. The prophet discerned the spirit by which they would be guided, the king saw only their outward splendour. But the consistency and aptitude of the illustration are alike adhered to in both visions.

This is the *sum of the matters*, as seen, and written, and told by Daniel. *The four winds of heaven strove upon the great sea, and four great beasts came up from the sea, diverse one from another.* Dan. vii. 2, 3. *These great beasts, which are four, are four kings, or kingdoms, which shall arise out of the earth.* Dan. vii. 17. The four successive kingdoms are represented to the prophet in a new and another view. They arose from the great sea, on which the four

winds of heaven strove—from the midst of political commotions and convulsions, when the earth is agitated by the conflicting passions of men, like the sea by the four winds of heaven. The first was the Babylonian, like a lion with eagle's wings, at that time the greatest among the nations, as these are the noblest among the beasts and birds; but the wings were to be clipped, its tributary kingdoms were to be cut off from its body; it was to be taken from the earth, to cease from being a kingdom, or from maintaining its wonted sovereignty over the world, and no more to possess the heart of a lion, but “to be humbled and subdued, and made to know its human state.”* Dan. vii. 4.

The *second kingdom*, as in the former vision, was the Persian, which possessed the ferocity of *the bear*, by which it was characterised. The Babylonians conquered for the sake of aggrandizing Babylon, and, instead of slaying their vanquished enemies, led them captive in order to people it. The Persians fought for conquest; and, after its origin as a great empire, till it afterwards became enfeebled by luxury, they spared not the lives of vanquished enemies, and enslaved the people, and ravaged the countries they subdued. The *beast raised itself upon one side*. On the conquest of Babylon, Persia, formerly inferior to Media, attained the ascendancy; and these two countries, united into one, formed the Persian empire. Its conquests extended towards the west. *The beast had also three ribs in the mouth of it, between the teeth of it, and it devoured much flesh*, ver. 5. Lydia, Babylon, and Egypt were gnawed by Persia; they were subjected by it, as if held in its mouth; and they were despoiled, as if ground beneath its teeth.

The Persian empire gave place to the Grecian, or Macedonian, under Alexander the Great, who, with

* Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on Daniel, &c. p. 29.

astonishing rapidity, subjected many diversified nations to his sway, and whose kingdom after his death, formed four great monarchies. *It was thus like unto a leopard, which had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl; the beast had also four heads; and dominion was given to it.* The expedition with which Alexander the great subdued kingdoms, as if flying over them—the subsequent subdivision of his empire under his successors,—and the dominion which thus continued to be exercised, are too prominently and appropriately designated to require illustration. Ver. 6.

The Grecian empire was, like every other, subverted by the Roman; and an universal empire arose, such as the world had not witnessed before. The *fourth beast*, unto which no animal on earth is compared, *was dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth: it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it: and it was diverse from all the beasts that were before it; and it had ten horns.* Ver. 7. The Roman kingdom needs not to be named. Its character is known throughout the world, and cannot be forgotten in any age. It stands alone, in the history of the world, *diverse* in its forms of government, as well as the extent and permanency of its dominion, *from all the kingdoms that were before it.* Iron, as in the former vision, is still its emblem. *Its dreadful, terrible, and exceeding strength*, its conquests and tyranny, till it held the world in bondage, may be said to be literally described, so true is the figure and so complete its significancy.

The prophet neither asks nor gives any interpretation of the vision of the four beasts, for they were declared to be, in the same manner as he had already expounded the dream of Nebuchadnezzar, *the four kingdoms*, one after another, *which should arise upon*

the earth. But a new feature is introduced, a new figure is added, and that is interpreted by the prophet himself.

The fourth beast had ten horns. I considered the horns, says Daniel, and, behold, their came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots; and behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things. Ver. 8. Then I would know the truth of the fourth beast, which was diverse from all the others, exceeding dreadful, whose teeth were of iron, and his nails of brass, which devoured, brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with his feet; and of the ten horns which were in his head, and of the other which came up, and before whom three fell; even of that horn that had eyes, and a mouth that spake very great things, whose look was more stout than his fellows. I beheld, and the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them; until the Ancient of days came, and judgment was given to the saints of the Most High; and the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom. Thus, he said, The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall be diverse from all kingdoms, and shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down, and break it in pieces. And the ten horns out of this kingdom are ten kings, or kingdoms, that shall arise; and another shall rise after them; and he shall be diverse from the first, and he shall subdue three kings. And he shall speak great words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High, and think to change times and laws; and they shall be given into his hand until a time, and times, and the dividing of time. Dan. viii. 19—25.†*

* From the first, i. e. from the ten kingdoms, the original word being in the plural number.

† From the very summary view of these prophecies given in

Under the symbol of a little horn that had eyes and a mouth speaking great things, and a look more stout than his fellows, a new power, connected with the Roman, or fourth kingdom, is thus announced as

the text, the following extracts will be the more interesting to the reader, as greatly illustrative of the subject :—

“ Newton, (Sir Isaac) begins with the vision of the image composed of four different metals. This image he considers as representing a body of four great nations, which should reign in succession over the earth, viz. the people of Babylonia, the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans, while the stone cut out without hands is a new kingdom which should arise after the four, conquer all those nations, become very great, and endure till the end of time.

“ The vision of the four beasts is the prophecy of the four empires repeated, with several new additions. The lion with eagle's wings was the kingdom of Babylon and Media, which overthrew the Assyrian power. The beast like a bear was the Persian empire, and its three ribs were the kingdoms of Sardis (Lydia), Babylon, and Egypt. The third beast, like a leopard, was the Greek empire, and its four heads and four wings were the kingdoms of Cassander, Lysimachus, Ptolemy, and Seleucus. The fourth beast, with its great iron teeth, was the Roman empire; and its ten horns were the ten kingdoms into which it was broken, in the reign of Theodosius the Great. These kingdoms are 1st, the kingdoms of the Vandals and Alans, in Spain and Africa; 2d, of the Suevians, in Spain; 3d, of the Visigoths; 4th, of the Alans, in Gaul; 5th, of the Burgundians; 6th of the Franks; 7th, of the Britains; 8th, of the Huns; 9th, of the Lombards; 10th, of Ravenna. Some of these kingdoms at length fell, and new ones sprung up; but, whatever was their subsequent number, they still retain the name of the *ten kings*, from their first number.

“ The eleventh horn of Daniel's fourth beast is shewn in chapter vii. to be the church of Rome, in its triple character of a seer, a prophet, and a king: and its power to change times and laws is copiously illustrated in chapter viii.”—*Dr. Brewster's Life of Sir Isaac Newton*, pp. 227, 278.

“ The Roman empire, as the Romanists themselves allow (Calmet on Rev. xiii. 1; and he refers likewise to Berengaud, Bossuet, and Du Pin,) was, by means of the incursions of the northern nations, dismembered into ten kingdoms: and Machiavel, (Hist. Flor. lib. i.) little thinking what he was doing, (as Bishop Chandler observes,) hath given us their names; 1. The Ostrogoths in Mæsia; 2. the Visigoths in Pannonia; 3. the

springing up among the ten kingdoms which were to arise out of it, or into which it was to be subdivided, yet *diverse from the rest* of these kingdoms, subduing three of the *first* kingdoms before it—speaking great words against the Most High—wearing out the saints of the Most High—thinking to change times and laws, and exercising such authority for a long period, or for time, times, and the dividing of time or half a time. There is not *historically* any question, what power, connected with the Roman empire, and that emerged on its downfall into secular authority, yet *diverse from the rest*, has *spoken great things*, or assumed pretensions to which no Roman dictator ever laid claim,—has, *with a look more stout than his fellows*, controlled and anathematized kings, and put kingdoms under the ban, and has exalted himself above all, as will afterwards be fully shown—*has spoken great words against the Most High*, claiming infallibility as its own, and setting its commandments beside those of God, or rather substituting its own in their stead,—maintaining itself by persecution to such a degree and to such an excess of cruelty, that burning at the stake was openly and avowedly and literally an “act of faith,” (*auto da fe*), by which, and by inquisitions, racks, tortures, and dungeons, it sought and tried to wear out the saints of the Most High,—*thought to change times and laws* by instituting fasts, sacraments, and manifold ordinances and rites, which are unheard of in Scripture, and form no part or portion of that kingdom which God has set up; and which has prevailed for a long course of ages, and exercised a dominion *diverse from every*

Suevis and Alans in Gascoign and Spain; 4. the Vandals in Africa; 5. the Franks in France; 6. the Burgundians in Burgundy; 7. the Hiruli and Turingi in Italy; 8. the Saxons and Anglis in Britain; 9. the Huns in Hungary; 10. the Lombards, at first upon the Danube, afterwards in Italy.”—*Bishop Newton*.

other. The exarchate of Ravenna, the kingdom of the Lombards, and the state of Rome, were subjected to the secular dominion of the church of Rome, and mainly form to this hour "the states of the church," over which the pope, as a temporal prince, exercises sovereignty, and wears the *triple crown*, as if in obvious token that *three of the first kingdoms* were rooted up before him; whilst his *words* and *looks* were so great, that he assumed an unchallenged right of supreme spiritual authority, to himself or to his church, over all the *kingdoms* into which the Roman empire is divided. Such is the *first* announcement in Scripture of papal or Roman catholic domination. Its history will be more fully entered on in the sequel; but here it may be said that the more arrogant that are the pretensions of the church of Rome, the clearer is the proof against it; and the more that it boasts of the long continuance of its authority, the nearer is its domination to a close.

They shall be given into his hands for a time, times, and the dividing of time, or half a time. According to the common mode of the computation of prophetic time in Scripture, *each day* is reckoned for a year. On this principle, the seventy weeks of Daniel (chap. ix.) are, by universal agreement, computed. And this mode of computation was familiar among the Jews. Every seventh year was the Sabbatical year, on the conclusion of a week of years; and seven of these brought round the jubilee. A striking illustration of the adoption of this method of reckoning, in prophecy, is given in the command to Ezekiel (iv. 4—6,) when there was laid on him "the years of the iniquity of the house of Israel, according to the number of the days, EACH DAY FOR A YEAR." A time, times, and half a time, or three years and a half,—comprise the space of one thousand two hundred and sixty years. The two witnesses, in the

Revelation (xi. 3,) were, in like manner, to prophesy *a thousand, two hundred and threescore days, clothed in sackcloth.* And the woman (Rev. xii. 6—14) who had on her head a crown of twelve stars, and whose seed kept the commandments of God, and had the testimony of Jesus Christ, fled into the wilderness, where she had a place prepared of God, that they should feed her there *a thousand, two hundred and threescore days*; and, identifying the periods, it is said,—she was nourished in the wilderness for *a time, and times, and half a time.* See Table.

A time	360 days or years.
Times, or two times	720
Half a time	180
	<hr/>
	1260

The times and seasons the Father hath in his own power. But whatever be the period of the commencement of the spiritual dominion of the Church of Rome, we see the limits of the course that it was to run, before the judgment upon it should sit.

“*I beheld,*” says Daniel, “*till the thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of Days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool: his throne was like the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire. A fiery stream issued and came forth from before him: thousands thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him; the judgment was set and the books were opened. I beheld then, because 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. As concerning the rest of the beasts, they had their dominion taken away: yet their lives were prolonged for a season and time. I saw in the night-visions, and*

behold, one like the Son of Man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of Days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve him; his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed." Dan. vii. 9—14. This is the interpretation—"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 dominions shall serve and obey him."—Ver. 26, 27.

The second vision, comprising the same period, and descriptive, though more fully, of the same kingdoms as the first, terminates in the same glorious consummation. The papal power was to domineer for a long but limited period; but *his dominion was to be taken away, to be consumed, and to be destroyed to the end*—implying, as other prophecies more explicitly unfold, that, instead of being cut off in a moment, after being partially diminished or impaired, it was fated to meet a gradual but awful and sure destruction.

The rest of the beasts had their dominion taken away; yet their lives were prolonged for a season and time, ver. 12. The pachalic of Bagdad still subsists, but the lion, barely retaining a protracted existence, is no longer king of the beasts. The Persian monarchy retains its name, but has lost its power. The bear has not now one rib between its teeth, or one kingdom subject to its dominion; and after having in its youth, and vigour, and ferocity, devoured much flesh, it is now at last as if its life were not to

be much farther prolonged—tearing its own, and has lately been greatly distracted not only by external wars but by civil commotions.

The Grecian states, ages having passed since their *dominion was taken away*, have recently risen as it were, into life again. The leopard, bereaved alike of its wings and of its horns, instead of flying and ruling over kingdoms as of old, has with difficulty, and not without aid, raised itself again; and, although it has scarcely power to stand, shows that life is still left. The name of Greece has revived. The *season* seems to be past, and the *time* at hand. More minute and copious predictions are reserved to fill up the outline. The last shadow of the glory of earthly kingdoms—the life without the dominion—may be looked on before it too shall pass away, as the pattern or the symptom of the decline of all earthly power, and as the sign that the time may be approaching, when 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. Hitherto is the end of the matter.* And in contemplating that end, after an historical retrospect of all the vision but the end, it may be meet, before entering on the more full development of all these events from other prophecies, to use the words, and to cherish the feelings of the prophet, when the vision alone—the representation of what we have seen in great part, and may see realized and completed,—passed in his view,—*As for me, Daniel, my cogitations much troubled me, and my countenance changed in me; but I hid the matter in my heart.* Ver. 28.

CHAPTER II.

VISION OF THE RAM AND HE-GOAT.

THE visions of the great image, consisting of four parts, and of the four beasts, were expressly interpreted as representing the four great successive kingdoms, that would arise upon the earth, till the kingdom of God first arising in the midst of these kingdoms, would finally be established, and be set up on their ruins, to stand for ever. In the second vision the spiritual domination that was long exercised over the ten kingdoms which sprung up, as from the broken stock of a parent tree, from the dismemberment of the Roman empire, is specially defined, and no blank is left in the great *outline* of the history of the west. And another vision still more distinctly interpreted than the former, as referring chiefly to heathen lands where the Scriptures were in a great measure unknown during the latter times of the fulfilment of the vision—shadows out, by a perfect figure, reaching down also to the present time, the reign of Mahometanism in the east, thus completing the grand symbolical analysis of prophetic history.

And I saw in a vision, says Daniel, (and it came to pass, when I saw, that I was at Shushan in the palace, which is in the province of Elam;) and I saw in a vision, and I was by the river of Ulai. Then I lifted up mine eyes and saw, and, behold, there stood before the river a ram which had two horns: and the two horns were high; but one was higher than the other, and the higher came up last. I saw the ram pushing westward, and northward, and southward; so that no beasts might stand before him, neither was

there any that could deliver out of his hand; but he did according to his will and became great. And as I was considering, behold, an he-goat came from the west, on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground; and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes. And he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power. And I saw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns; and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him: and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand. Therefore, the he-goat waxed very great; and when he was strong, the great horn was broken; and for it came up four notable ones, towards the four winds of heaven. And out of one of them came forth a little horn, which waxed exceeding great, toward the south, and toward the east, and toward the pleasant land. 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. Yea, he magnified himself even to the prince of the host, and by him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down. And an host was given him against the daily sacrifice, by reason of transgression, and it cast down the truth to the ground, and it practised and prospered. Then I heard one saint speaking, and another saint said unto that certain saint which spake, how long shall be the vision concerning the daily sacrifice and the transgression of desolation, to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot? And he said unto me, unto two thousand and three hundred days: then shall the sanctuary be cleansed. And it came to pass, when I, even I Daniel, had seen the vision, and sought for the

meaning, then, behold, there stood before me as the appearance of a man. And I heard a man's voice between the banks of Ulai, which called and said, Gabriel, make this man to understand the vision. So he came near where I stood, and when he came, I was afraid, and fell upon my face: but he said unto me, understand, O son of man: for AT THE TIME OF THE END (shall be) THE VISION. Now, as he was speaking with me, I was in a deep sleep, and my face toward the ground: but he touched me and set me upright. And he said, behold I will make thee know what shall be in THE LAST END OF THE INDIGNATION; for at the time appointed the end shall be. The ram which thou sawest having two horns, are the kings of Media and Persia, and the rough goat is the king of Grecia; and the great horn that is between his eyes is the first king. Now, that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power. And in the latter time of their kingdom, when the transgressors are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance and understanding dark sentences shall stand up. And his power shall be mighty, but not by his own power: and he shall destroy wonderfully; and shall prosper, and practise, and shall destroy the mighty and the holy people. And through his policy also he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand, and he shall magnify himself in his heart, and by peace shall destroy many; he shall also stand up against the Prince of princes, but he shall be broken without hand. And the vision of the evening and the morning which was told is true: wherefore shut thou up the vision, FOR IT SHALL BE FOR MANY DAYS.—Dan. viii.

A ram with two horns, one higher than the other, was the emblem of the united kingdom of Media and Persia, as is still to be seen, on the ruins of Persepolis. The one horn was higher than the other, and

the higher came up last. Media was at first the greater, as it was also the more ancient kingdom ; but Persia, under Cyrus, assumed the sovereignty, and the name of Media soon merged in that of the Persian empire. His conquests extended *westward, and southward, and northward.* And after Babylon fell, no other kingdom could withstand the power of Persia ; and recent as was then its origin or its name among empires, the Assyrian and Egyptian monarchies, which vied with each other in antiquity and splendour, *could not stand before it*, and could neither retard its ascendancy nor maintain their own. But great as was its power, even more suddenly than it arose, it was suddenly to be overthrown : and the subverter of its dominion was to come from the west.

The preceding visions had represented the earthly glory and the tyrannical character of all the great successive kingdoms. But, in the present, the national symbol is adopted, in reference both to Persia and Macedon. Previous to the days of Daniel, and even from their origin as a nation, the Macedonians were designated in history as the *Ægeadæ*, or the goat's people, their first king, Ceraunus, the leader of a large band of migratory Greeks in quest of a settlement, having fixed the seat of his empire on a spot to which a flock of goats fled, as he passed, for shelter from a storm,—the oracle having previously commanded him to seek the goats as his guide to empire. But the symbols, however applicable and appropriate, may, in respect to the Median and Persian kingdom, united under Cyrus, and the Macedonian, or, as generally termed the *Grecian* empire, founded by Alexander the Great,—be here dropped from the explicitness of the interpretation. Ver. 20, 21.—*The ram which thou sawest having two horns, are the kings of Media and Persia. And the rough goat is the king of Grecia : and the great horn that is*

between his eyes is the first king. Prophecy here assumes the explicitness, and requires to be viewed with the minuteness of historical truth.

He came from the west over the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground. Ver. 5. Alexander, on ascending the throne of his father Philip, in the twentieth year of his age, reduced to obedience the Illyrians and Thracians, from the borders of Macedon to the banks of the Danube. Having subdued the Thebans, who disowned him as a leader, and burnt their city, and overawed all his enemies in Greece, he was appointed Generalissimo of the Grecians in their general confederacy against their common enemy, the Persians. Traversing Thrace, he passed the Hellespont, subdued Bithynia, Phrygia, Cilicia, and all the other countries of the Lesser Asia, Syria, Egypt, and Babylonia, Armenia, Media, Persia, India, Bactria, Parthia, and Hyrcania, all the provinces of the Persian empire, and extended his conquests even beyond its bounds. *He waxed very great.* Conquering kingdoms wherever he went, often passing over them with the speed of a courier, and bearing the tidings of his conquests, exclusive of partial excursions, he held on in a triumphant course and circuit of above twelve thousand miles, with a rapidity unparalleled by any single conqueror. He was the *first king of Grecia*, who, retaliating her wrongs on Persia, established an empire in the east, and lorded over Asia. His bright and rapid career is traced from its first rise to its sudden extinction.

He came to the ram that had two horns which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power, ver. 6. The soldiers of Greece, with Alexander at their head, and the troops of Persia, faced each other for the first time in Asia, on the banks of the Granicus. The hostile armies were drawn up on the opposite banks. Alexander

rejected with disdain the counsel he received, to desist from an immediate attack. He assailed them as they were *standing before the river*. Plunging into the stream, he encountered and overthrew them in the waters and on the bank: a moment's delay would have been destruction: but he rushed impetuously into the midst of the enemy, and slew, with his own hand, the first of their generals and the fiercest of their chiefs.

The king of Greece *came close*, (ver. 7,) unto the king of Persia. The modern theory of the art of war, that of breaking the line, was practically illustrated by Alexander, whose great principle of warfare was to march in column, and with his Macedonian phalanx to penetrate to the centre of the Persian host, where Darius was stationed, or, in other words, *to come close unto the king*. Twice, with extreme difficulty, Darius so narrowly escaped from his hands, that his chariot, lance, and spear, were taken, a first and a second time. And after routing all his armies, and subjugating his kingdom, so *closely* was he pursued by Alexander,—who, with only a few cavalry, traversed a desert by the nearest route in hopes of seizing him alive,—that when about to be overtaken at last, Darius, slain by the hands of his soldiers in their despair of saving him, had scarcely breathed his last, or, according to one historian, had not expired, when the conqueror of Asia was at his side.

There was no power in Persia to stand before him; he cast down their empire to the ground, and stamped upon it. He brake the kingdom of Media and Persia. Ver. 7, 20. He passed the Granicus, with less than half the number, in confronting defiance of a hundred thousand troops. He slew a greater number at the battle of Issus, as Greek and Roman historians relate: and in the battle of Arbela, the death-blow of the Persian empire, an army of a million *had not power to stand before him*, and with such fury did

he assail them, that nearly a third part of the mighty host lay dead upon the field.

The Bactrians, Scythians, Armenians, Syrians, and Parthians, and many savage mountaineers besides, were confederated with the Medes and Persians against the close band of intrepid Greeks, headed by Alexander, but *none could deliver them out of his hand.*

And when he was strong the great horn was broken. Ver. 8. No host on earth could encounter him. But the description of the momentary fall of the frangible authority of a mortal, was as easy a task in the hands of an inspired penman, as that of the rapid career of the desolator of kingdoms. Though no power could *stand before him, or deliver out of his hands*, while his commissioned work remained to be done, yet, according to the same word of the Ruler among the nations, who raiseth up and who casteth down, so soon as ever the measure of his greatness was full, and the name of Great was won by the sacrifice of many thousands, the conqueror of the world became a corpse. It was the resolution of him whose purposes had never been thwarted, and who was taking to himself the name of a god, to fix the seat of his universal empire at Babylon, and from thence to rule the world he had conquered. But it was not so written in the word of the living God. Alexander the Great would have healed Babylon; but it was not healed. And he who had triumphed over the face of the earth, to whose prowess no city could refuse to yield, who built Alexandria and divers other cities, could not stay the decline of one, against which the word of the Lord of Hosts has gone forth, nor rebuild a temple which was devoted to everlasting desolation; but after having achieved all the predicted wonders of his brief but most eventful history, on the immediate completion of his conquests and establishment of his unrivalled authority, and in the thirty-

fourth year of his age, in the very bloom of his manhood and the very fulness of his just ripened glory, he died, at Babylon, on his first attempt to do that which it was written in Scripture was not to be done. And it was *WHEN he was strong that the great horn was broken.*

For it came up four notable ones, toward the four winds of heaven. Ver. 8. Now, that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power. Ver. 22. The words of prophecy glide as smoothly over the lapse of ages as over the track of a single destroyer,—the founder of kingdoms. The Grecian sovereignty over the west of Europe, great part of Asia, and the most renowned and fertile region in Africa, did not end with the *first great king who set it up.* Out of the same nation, and under his chief captains, *four notable* kingdoms, though inferior in power, arose towards the four winds of heaven, viz. Macedon and Greece, under Cassander, in the west; Thrace, and the other northern regions, subject to Lysimachus; while the dynasty of the Ptolemies began in Egypt, and that of the Seleucidæ in Assyria. After their respective eras had ceased, the Assyrian, or eastern kingdom, partially escaped, more than the rest, from the Roman yoke. The vision was for many days. But the locality was fixed for the rise and prevalence of another power, more marvellous than that of Alexander, which was long to reign triumphant in the *latter times*, in the countries over which he ruled, of which the form and progress are traced in the sequel of the vision.

The vision was not only to be for *many days*, but the long period of its duration is noted, even *two thousand three hundred days or years*; for the words manifestly do not admit of any other interpretation, or any lesser measure of the time, than that which is

common to them with other prophetic periods in Scripture.

When Daniel had seen the vision, and *sought the meaning*, there stood before him as the appearance of a man. And he heard a man's voice between the banks of Ulai, which called and said, Gabriel, make this man to understand the vision. And the first words which the angel uttered were, Understand, O son of man, for AT THE TIME OF THE END shall be the vision. And he said, behold I will make thee know what shall be in *the last end of the indignation* ; for at the time appointed the end, (ver. 15—19 ;) and after the explicit but brief declaration, that the ram with the two horns represented the kings of Media and Persia, that the rough goat was the king of Grecia, that the great horn was the first king, and that the four horns which arose after the great horn was broken, were four kingdoms that should stand up out of the nation, he unfolded the great object of the vision, and describes at far greater length than all that was there revealed concerning the former, the great and marvellous power that was to arise *out of one of them*, and finally to occupy the place of these kingdoms. If then we seek to know the meaning, or to understand the vision, it is obvious that we have to look *to the time of the end, to the last end of the indignation, and to the latter time of their kingdom*. The date is even given, and he said unto me, *Unto two thousand three hundred days ; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed*. Ver. 14.

The first object in the vision, is the pushing of the ram, or of Persia, westward, and northward, and southward. The conquest of Persia by the first king of Grecia, who reigned over the east, is literally described. The subdivision of the empire of Alexander into four great kingdoms, is as evident from prophecy as from history ; and history itself, in the hands of any single writer, is overmatched by the minuteness

and explicitness of *the things noted in the scripture of truth*, in combining the events and unfolding their causes relative to two of these kings, in tracking their destiny down to the time of the subjugation of Macedonia by the Romans, which prepared the way for their subjugation of Judea. That subject, in immediate connexion with the history of Alexander the Great, pertains to the last prediction of Daniel. The previous vision referred to the Roman Empire. But the present not only respects a remote period, *the time of the end*, but the dominion that should arise in the latter times, as here described, was, without any allusion to the fourth great kingdom as to the second or third, to occupy the place of the Persian and Grecian kingdoms, or to spring up at last out of their dominion.

And out of one of them came forth a little horn, which waxed exceeding great towards the south, and towards the east, and towards the pleasant land.— Ver. 9. IN THE LATTER TIME OF THEIR KINGDOM, *when the transgressors are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences, shall stand up.—* Ver. 22. A power was to arise in the east, similar, in some respects, to the papal in the west, and designated, in like manner, by a little horn, which was to become exceeding great toward the south, and toward the east, and toward the pleasant land. And it was in the latter time of their kingdom, or at a remote period from its commencement, and out of one of them, (and therefore not the Roman apostacy which prevailed in the west,) and when the transgressors were come to the full (and appearing on that account in the character of a “woe,”) that Mahometanism arose in the east, marked with every feature of the prophetic little horn. So soon as the shadow of a doubt or difficulty rises on the subject, we may call up such witnesses as may stand beside heathens in giving testimony, that is not prejudiced in behalf of reve-

lation. "When Mahomet erected his holy standard," says Gibbon, "Yemen was a province of the PERSIAN empire."* Without a question, as without a rival, Mahometanism has been the *exceeding great and prospering and prevailing* power over the countries that formed the various kingdoms which succeeded to the Grecian empire under Alexander, the conqueror of Persia. Possessed at first of little temporal power, like the Bishop of Rome, yet from the same cause, or the assumption of spiritual authority, it soon became *exceeding great*. Originating and rapidly extending in Arabia, on the *south*, it soon spread over Assyria on the *east*, and Palestine, or the *pleasant land*. These countries, in the early history of its progress, speedily either owned the mission or were subjected to the dominion of the king of fierce countenance, who, without the pretext of national injuries to avenge, came avowedly as the heaven-appointed avenger of transgression, and propagated his religion by the sword. Unlike to every other armed hero of the field, he sought to overawe the minds of men by *dark sentences*, and pretended revelations, and united in his own person the assumed character of the prophet of God and the founder of an earthly kingdom. The alleged superhuman wisdom manifested in the composition of the Koran, which it was given unto him to enunciate and expound unto the world, was, together with the sword, the internal and external evidences of his faith. Consisting, in general, of a mystical unmeaning ribaldry, calculated to perplex the understanding, to darken counsel, to stifle inquiry, and to prostrate the minds of men into a blind and abject submission to his faith, the Koran is full of dark sentences, of which the wily impostor understood the device and the object. Well did he know that

* Vol. ix. p. 232, c. 50.

its pretended celestial origin was a fable. And the Koran may literally be said to have come forth, and to have first subsisted in *sentences*, as it will not be denied that these sentences are *dark*. “Gabriel successively *revealed the chapters and verses* to the Arabian prophet. Instead of a perpetual and perfect measure of the divine will, the *fragments of the Koran* were produced at the discretion of Mahomet; each revelation is *suited to the emergency of his policy or passion*; and all contradiction is removed by the saving maxim, that any text of Scripture is abrogated or modified by any subsequent passage. The word of God and of the apostle was diligently recorded by his disciples *on palm leaves and the shoulder-blades of mutton*; and the pages, *without order and connexion*, were cast into a domestic chest in the custody of one of his wives. *Two years after the death of Mahomet*, the sacred volume was *collected and published* by his friend and successor, Abubeker.”* During the life of Mahomet the Koran thus existed only in *sentences*. And these also were dark, forming an “endless incoherent rhapsody of fable, and precept, and declamation, *which seldom excite a sentiment or an idea*, which sometimes crawls in the dust, and is sometimes lost in the clouds.”† Though excessive artlessness be sometimes hid under the veil of mysticism, yet, compared with the light of the gospel, or the dictates of reason, the sentences of the Koran are dark and incoherent, like a sick man’s dreams, as if they really had been fancied in the moments of half-returning reason, on revival from epileptic fits, to which, perhaps falsely, it has been said that he was subject, and which, it has also been alleged, were the pretended seasons of his inspiration. Of light from heaven there is not a ray in the Koran. And the *crescent* is all darkness except where it dimly

* Gibbon's Hist. *ibid.* p. 268.† *Ibid.* p. 269.

emits the reflected light of scripture, like the moon that brightens but to wane, and borrows all its far fainter radiance from the sun. Yet the Koran is the book "on the merit of which Mahomet rested the belief of his mission,"* and by which half the world has been ruled for more than a thousand years.

His power was mighty, but not by his own power. He possessed not any hereditary dominion, or authority, or wealth. "In his early infancy, he was deprived of his father, his mother, and his grandfather: his uncles were strong and numerous; and in the division of the inheritance, the orphan's share was reduced to *five camels* and an Ethiopian maid-servant."† "As soon as he was of fit age, he was sent with his camels into Syria."‡ "In his twenty-fifth year, he *entered into the service* of Cadijah, a rich and noble widow of Mecca, who soon rewarded his fidelity with the gift of her hand and fortune. The marriage-contract stipulates a dowry of twelve ounces of gold and twenty camels, which was supplied by the liberality of his uncle. In the *fortieth* year of his age he assumed the title of a prophet, and proclaimed the religion of the Koran."§ "*Three years* were silently employed in the conversion of *fourteen* proselytes, the first fruits of his mission."|| A mighty power arose from nothing. He won an empire over the minds of men, such as mocked the ephemeral and evanescent kingdom of Alexander the Great. And without a single adherent at first, after he announced his mission, Mahomet soon gave the law to millions. The roving Arabs were attracted to his standard by the hope of plunder, and the license to slay the enemies of the faith. Mahometan-

* Gibbon's Hist. p. 269.

† Ibid. vol. ix. p. 225.

‡ Life of Mahomet, prefixed to De Ryer's Alcoran, p. 5.

§ Gibbon's Hist. vol. ix. pp. 255, 256, c. 50. || Ibid. p. 284.

ism, in its rise, progress, extent, and fall, occupies that prominence, and distinctiveness of character, in prophecy, which it has maintained in the world. It is the contrast between his original powerlessness and the might and influence which he attained, which is here marked ; and no contrast could be greater. In this, as in all other respects, he stands forth distinguished from all the kings that were before him. The camel-driver, a poor Arabian trader, and the servant of Cadijah, are forgotten in the name of Mahomet.

And he shall destroy wonderfully, and prosper, and practise, and shall destroy the mighty and the holy people.—Ver. 24. No historical fact is better known, over the wide world, than that Mahometanism, identified with the name and the faith, and maintaining the principles, of its founder, has *prospered and practised*. At first, and for a long period, it *destroyed wonderfully*. The blood of martyrs was the seed of the Christian church ; but the progress of the Mahometan faith was tracked by the blood of its enemies, and marked out by their destruction. Faticism went forth armed with carnal weapons of warfare. And Mahomet and his successors have to be ranked among the greatest conquerors. So wonderful was the *destruction* which they wrought, the *prosperity* which attended on their arms and their creed, and the success of the arts which they *practised*, that the sway of the Saracen caliphs extended from India to Spain. After the power of the caliphate of Bagdad was undermined by luxury, a new series of conquerors arose, in the race of Othman, to renew the terrors and extend the destruction which were wrought on Christendom, under the name and authority of the prophet of Mecca.

The *little horn* that became thus *exceeding great*, not only *destroyed wonderfully*, and *prospered*, but

practised also; and artifice effected what the sword alone could not accomplish. "In the field of battle," says Gibbon, in describing the propagation of Mahometanism, "the forfeit lives of the prisoners were redeemed by the profession of *Islam*; the females were bound to embrace the religion of their masters; and a race of sincere proselytes was gradually multiplied by the education of the infant captives. But the *millions* of African and Asiatic converts, who swelled the native band of the faithful Arabs, must have been *allured*, rather than constrained, to declare their belief in one God and the apostle of God. By the repetition of a sentence, and the loss of a foreskin, the subject or the slave, the captive or the criminal, arose in a moment the free and equal companion of the victorious Moslems. Every sin was expiated, every engagement was dissolved: the vow of celibacy was superseded; the active spirits who slept in the cloister, were wakened by the trumpet of the Saracens; and in the convulsion of the world, every member of a new society ascended to the level of his capacity and courage. The *minds of the multitude* were *tempted* by the *temporal* as well as *invisible blessings* of the Arabian prophet."* *Through his policy also shall he cause craft to prosper in his hand.*

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. He shall destroy the mighty and the holy people. When transgressors were come to the full, an impostor triumphed over the nominal professors of the Christian faith. The highest stations in church and state fell to the ground before him. Principalities and bishoprics, were cast down. The shaven heads were peculiarly

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. ix. 490, 491, chap. li.

marked out to be cloven. They who should have shone as lights in the world, and held, like the angels of the seven churches of Asia, the name and the place of stars, were cast down, and stamped upon ; and the mollahs of Mahomet supplanted the ministers of Jesus, who had become lords over God's heritage, and who taught their people to bow down to stocks. *The place of the sanctuary was cast down.* The cross was displaced, and the crescent was planted on the site of the temple of Jerusalem.

He shall magnify himself in his heart, and by peace shall he destroy many. He shall also stand up against the Prince of princes. Acknowledging the mission of Christ as a prophet, he announced himself as a greater. "The disciples of Abraham, of Moses, and of Jesus, were solemnly invited to accept the more perfect revelation of Mahomet ; but if they preferred the payment of a moderate tribute, they were entitled to the freedom of conscience and religious worship."* He magnified himself in his heart above all the sons of men, and above all the prophets of God. The summary of his creed, ever in the mouth of his blinded followers, is, "there is no God but one ; and Mahomet is the prophet of God." He blasphemously professed that he was the Paraclete or Comforter, whose coming Christ had foretold ; that no other revelation would be given ; and that he was the last and greatest of the prophets. He established his faith on the ruins of a corrupted Christianity, which man had planted and not God. *But he stood up against the Prince of princes,* and set himself to subvert the Christian religion, by the substitution of his own, as if the cause of Jesus was to perish with its corruptions, or as if the kingdom of God was to be subverted by a mortal.

* Gibbon, *ibid.*

By peace shall he destroy many. Accommodating his creed to the opinions, and, by the promises of a sensual paradise, to the passions of men, he called up from many a heart, an advocate for an unholy faith. The peace which he promised to the vanquished Christians, was one of the arts of proselytizing which he so insidiously and successfully practised, and whereby *many were destroyed*, by abjuring the truth and giving heed to delusion. But even as indicating destruction in a natural sense, *by peace* has Mahometanism *destroyed many*. The peaceful reign, undisturbed by any foreign aggression, of an Arab Sheikh or of a Turkish Pacha, is unmitigated despotism and gradual but sure desolation. And though recently and partially interrupted by war, the fairest portions of the earth, from Bagdad to Bosnia, have been destroyed under the blasting influence of the crescent, and are scantily peopled by, at the utmost, one-fourth part of the numerical population, with which their many kingdoms teemed in ancient times; while the debased condition of the remnant gives too ample proof how greatly, in every sense, the moral pestilence of Mahometanism, even *by peace*, can *destroy*. It has preserved the same character in every age. "The Turks," says Sir Paul Rycaut, than whom none had better means of judging, "have but one sole means to maintain their countries, which is the same by which they were gained, and that is, the cruelty of the *sword* in the most rigorous way of execution, by *killing*, consuming and laying desolate the countries, and transplanting unto parts where they are nearest under the command and age (eye) of a governor. Another *advantage*, and that not inconsiderable, that this manner of *dispeopling the country* brings to this empire, is the difficulty an enemy would find in their march, should they with a land-army attempt to penetrate far into the country :

for without great quantities of provisions, they could not possibly be sustained; from the country none can be expected; what little it affords, the inhabitants will conceal or carry away, and have all places as naked and barren of food as the sea itself. The Turks account it one good part of their policy, to lay a considerable part of their empire desolate.* Such are the maxims of Turkish policy; and none more effectively could be devised, for even *by peace destroying many*. So closely is this principle ingrained in Mahometan despotism, that the first great reformer in Turkey, though the constituted head of the Moslem world, by the introduction of a more enlightened system of government, threatens Mahometanism with subversion.

But he shall be broken without hand. Greatly as Mahomet magnified himself in his heart, and long as he has stood up against the Prince of princes, and although his religion divided the world with that of the Christian in name, there are signs in the heavens and in the earth, from the word of God, as well as in the history of man, that his reign is drawing to a close. That power which has for so many ages contended and vied with the kingdom that was set up without hands, is destined, at last, to be broken without hand. And while the light of the sun of righteousness is penetrating through the dark cloud of superstition, which till now has hung over the far greater part of continental Europe, and has cast a deep shade on our sister island, and begins also to shed its rays of divine light and of heavenly love over the habitations of cruelty and the dark places of the earth, from the one end of heaven unto the other, the waning crescent is sinking into darkness from which it never can

* Sir Paul Rycaut on the Maxims of Turkish Polity, vol. ii. p. 32. *Turkish History*.

emerge. And if the day of Mahomet be over, it is only the surer sign that that day of the Lord is at hand, when none shall stand up triumphantly any more against the Prince of princes. The fate of Turkey and of the Sultan (heretofore identified with that of Mahometanism,) though beset on every side with evil omens to his empire and to his race, cannot be yet read in the pages of history, though it has long been written, as hereafter we shall more fully see, in the pages of prophecy. But appearances strongly indicate that the world will not now be held in long suspense concerning the result of *what shall be in the last days of the indignation*, v. 19. The destiny of Mahometanism is fixed and glaring. The vicegerent of the prophet may also be said to have virtually abjured his faith. On the 11th February 1831, the sultan issued a decree, that "Greeks, Armenians, Armenian Catholics, and Jews, shall henceforth, in common with the Turks or Musselman, be equal before the law. No Musselman shall in future have any preference, or enjoy any superior rights, in consequence of his being a Musselman; for, according to the opinion of the sultan, all form but one family, but one body, whatever may be the private creed of each of his subjects; which is a matter that only concerns the conscience of man, who cannot be called to account for his religion to ANY BUT TO GOD. As to the government of the sultan, it will not, under any circumstances, consider what is the religion of the person who presents himself before it."

Still more recent signs appear that the *dark sentences*, dictated by Mahomet, and written on the "palm-leaves and the shoulder-blades of mutton," are not much longer to maintain their sway over the millions of the east; for among the new things in these critical times, it is not one of the least remarkable, but happily most ominous of final good, that a

press has been established at Constantinople, and that a newspaper has been published under the auspices of the sultan. And who that reads the scraps of monstrous absurdities that were first gathered into a book, from being scratched on leaves and bones, and remembers *their* efficacy, would stint to narrow limits the efficiency of *the press* over half the world?

This passing glance at Mahometanism may point the way to its more full prophetic development, and to the near view of its destined fall—when a beastly sensualist shall no longer hold the place of the holy Jesus—when no *crescent*, which rises but to wane, shall ever be seen again to cope in the heavens with the Sun of Righteousness.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

TAKING a joint retrospect of prophecy and history, in their first great outline, we have seen how the Babylonian, Persian, Grecian and Roman empires,—as they would appear in human estimation, or in the vision of a king, of a brightness that was excellent,—were prefigured by the great image which was seen by Nebuchadnezzar, and interpreted by Daniel.—Looking again to the forms which they assumed in the eye of the prophet, we see their tyrannical character and desolating career marked out in two separate visions, under the symbols of a succession of wild beasts. Both of these visions are accompanied by interpretations, which in a great measure reduce them to literal predictions. In the first, which traces these respective kingdoms to their origin, and shews their relation, order, and connection, the subdivision of the

last great monarchy into the ten kingdoms is distinctly specified; and the rising up among those of another of peculiar character, predominating influence, and long-continued domination—the annunciation of which seems to form the chief object of the vision,—sets before us in the word of God, as well as in the record of history, a form and substance that cannot be misunderstood, which he must be blind who cannot see, and ignorant who cannot name. In the second, if we turn from the west unto the east, we find the Persian and Grecian empires mentioned by name, and the vision that was to be at the time of the end, sums up the history of Mahometanism.—Were a model of past history to be drawn, from the days of Daniel to the present time, how could it now, if copied from the events, be devised in more appropriate or perfect symbols?

The reader will perceive how intimately all these visions are connected, and how, rising successively in precision, each new figure becomes more complete, and the interpretation more detailed. They thus prepare the way for the full and explicit prophetic narrative of “the things that are noted in the Scriptures of truth,” the last great prophecy of Daniel, which he wrote, not as communicated in a dream, nor seen in a vision, but as told by an angel.

Daniel, that he might talk with the angel and hear his voice, was strengthened by one like the similitude of the sons of men—even by Him, for no Christian can fail to know his name, in whom alone any of the sons of men can be spiritually strengthened, enlightened, and saved. But man, who is a worm, cannot behold the glory of God, or look, while a mortal, on the Lord of angels, before the brightness of whose glory *they* veil their faces. The countenance of Daniel was fairer than all the children that did eat the portion of the king's meat, and among

them all was found none like Daniel. He was familiar with earthly splendour, even at its brightest, in Babylon the Great, or at Shushan in the palace; and all the dignity that the greatest of kings could confer was his. He was the first, or chief of the three presidents of the hundred and twenty princes, which were set over the whole kingdom. Yet when he lifted up his eyes and saw a form of transcendent glory, compared to which that of earthly monarchs could only be fitly symbolized by a wild beast, his comeliness was turned into corruption, and he retained no strength. But the words of Daniel best can tell what he saw and what he heard; and the sublime introduction,—so worthy of such a revelation, and so appropriate to its celestial origin, to its momentous import even at the present hour, and to its object in unfolding what would befall the Jews in the latter times,—would only be mutilated by any alteration or abridgment. The sight, which it presents, of Daniel, the man greatly beloved, with his face toward the ground and, even after being partially strengthened, set upon his knees, and upon the palms of his hands, may well shew us how human imaginations have here to be prostrated, how the idle strife of words or any wrangling contention, befits not such a subject, and that it becomes not any man to vaunt of any interpretation of any word as his. The humble attitude, and the deep devotional feeling of the prophet, are the most becoming in the inquirer who looks to the fulfilment of the word. And whoever may here receive strength to stand, may well remember that Daniel stood trembling, and sympathize with his emotion. It is not, at least, for the pen of man to alter or misplace that which was spoken by the tongue of an angel at the command of Christ.

CHAP. X. "In the third year of Cyrus king of Persia, a thing was revealed unto Daniel, whose

name was Belteshazzar ; and the thing was true, but *the time appointed was long* : and he understood the thing, and had understanding of the vision. In those days, I Daniel was mourning three full weeks. I ate no pleasant bread, neither came flesh nor wine in my mouth, neither did I anoint myself at all till three whole weeks were fulfilled. And in the four and twentieth day of the first month, as I was by the side of the great river, which is Hiddekel, then I lifted up mine eyes, and looked, and behold a certain man clothed in linen, whose loins were girded with fine gold of Uphaz. His body also was like a beryl, and his face as the appearance of lightning, and his eyes as lamps of fire, and his arms and his feet like in colour to polished brass, and the voice of his words like the voice of a multitude. And I Daniel alone saw the vision ; for the men that were with me saw not the vision ; but a great quaking fell upon them, so that they fled to hide themselves. Therefore I was left alone, and saw this great vision, and there remained no strength in me, for my comeliness was turned into corruption, and I retained no strength. Yet heard I the voice of his words ; and, when I heard the voice of his words, then was I in a deep sleep on my face, and my face toward the ground. And, behold, a hand touched me, which set me upon my knees and upon the palms of my hands. And he said unto me, O Daniel, a man greatly beloved, understand the word that I speak unto thee, and stand upright, for unto thee am I now sent. And, when he had spoken this word unto me, I stood trembling. Then said he unto me, fear not, Daniel, for from the first day that thou didst set thine heart to understand, and to chasten thyself before thy God, thy words were heard, and I am come for thy words. But the prince of the kingdom of Persia withstood me one and twenty days ; but, lo, Michael, one of the chief princes, came

to help me, and I remained there with the kings of Persia. Now I am come to make thee understand *what shall befall thy people in the latter days ; for yet the vision is for many days.* And when he had spoken such words unto me, I set my face toward the ground, and I became dumb. And, behold, one like the similitude of the sons of men touched my lips : then I opened my mouth, and spake, and said unto him that stood before me, O my lord, by the vision my sorrows are turned upon me, and I have retained no strength. For how can the servant of this my lord talk with this my lord ? Then there came again, and touched me, one like the appearance of a man, and he strengthened me, and said, O man, greatly beloved, fear not : peace be unto thee ; be strong, yea, be strong. And when he had thus spoken unto me, I was strengthened, and said, Let my lord speak, for thou hast strengthened me. Then said he, knowest thou wherefore I am come unto thee ? And now will I return to fight with the king of Persia : and when I am gone forth the prince of Grecia shall come. But I will shew thee that which is noted in the Scripture of truth ; and there is none that holdeth with me in these things but Michael your prince."

And now I will show thee the truth. Behold there shall stand up three kings in Persia ; and the fourth shall be far richer than they all ; and by his strength through his riches shall he stir up all against the realm of Grecia. Cambyses the son of Cyrus, Smerdis the Magian, and Darius the son of Hystaspes, successively occupied the throne of Persia, from the death of Cyrus to the reign of Xerxes. *He, being the fourth, was far richer than they all.* Such were the riches of his kingdom, over which he held unlimited dominion, that, according to a Roman historian, his wealth continued unexhausted, though rivers were dried up by his armies. Herodotus spe-

cifies the armour, and names the princes, or leaders, of the forces of more than forty nations, throughout the whole extent of the Persian dominions, who, in the space of four years of uninterrupted preparation, were stirred up against Greece, and were at last concentrated into an army of seventeen hundred thousand men. The assembled myriads, including the followers of the various camps, according to the same historian, exceeded five millions. And were the number to be reduced one-fourth or one-half, to bring it within the bounds of a rational credibility, enough would remain to illustrate the prophetic declaration, in a remarkable degree, that *all were stirred up against the realm of Grecia*, for that alone was the object of the mighty armament. The fleet from Asia consisted of twelve hundred ships—coasts and inland countries being ransacked alike to complete his levies. And, not confined to the coasts of Asia, he bribed the Carthaginians, along the coast of Africa, to take part in the general confederacy; and many hired vessels and mercenary troops were exchanged by Spain, Gaul, and Italy, for the gold and silver of Xerxes,—the purchase-money, as he accounted it, of all the states of Greece. But all that that expedition of unrivalled magnitude accomplished, was not worthy of a word in prophecy or in history. And the great effort of Xerxes, which has rendered his name familiar to every succeeding age, was that *by his strength through his riches he stirred up all against the realm of Grecia*. No more was predicted concerning him; and—although it is said, that he vainly lashed the Hellespont, and threatened to cast mount Athos into the sea, as if nothing should have dared to withstand him—no more was done.

Greece itself, the liberty of which, to human view, as the crisis was approaching, seemed destined to be buried for ever under the barbarism of Persia, by the

fourth reigning monarch after the death of Daniel, was yet eventually to retaliate the invasion with far greater efficacy, by a son of Mars, and not a slave of Mammon. And passing over the history of the intermediate kings, as unessential to the object of the prophecy, or the connexion of the events, but marking the change of dynasty and of empire, the words of the prediction describe the result of the wars between Persia and Greece, when at length Alexander the Great, not an effeminate prince, trusting to his riches, but a mighty king, bent on carrying victory with his own hand, avenged at once the accumulated wrongs of Greece, and, with fifty thousand Grecians, subdued millions of barbarians, headed by a despot.

And a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will. And when he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided towards the four winds of heaven; and not according to his posterity, nor according to the dominion which he ruled, for his kingdom must be plucked up even for others besides those.—Alexander was a *mighty king*, and is known by the title of Great, as if it were his surname. He ruled with *great dominion*, and claimed, as his own, an universal empire. *He did according to his will.* Of uncontrolled power, and of an impetuous temper, his will was a law, which it was death unto friend or foe, or prince or peasant, to resist. Yet he lived but to conquer, and not to reign. The imperious lord of others, the conqueror of the world, became the slave of his own passions, and less the master of himself than the humblest menial might have been. Intemperance held him captive, and he fell its early victim. *WHEN he stood up*, whenever his authority was without a challenger, and when, immediately after completing a wide range of conquest, he held the world without a rival, and had no enemy to seek out, none

else to conquer,—the silver cord of life was loosed, and the fate of every mortal suddenly befell the mighty king: and death, the enemy not to be subdued, met him on the threshold of his throne; and Alexander the Great, a youth in his prime, became cold and motionless clay. By his death his kingdom, so soon as it was established, or *stood up, was broken, and divided towards the four winds of heaven.* Though the eighteenth successor, in the royal line, to the throne of Macedon, and the sovereign of an empire to which that country was a speck, yet no son of his succeeded to his throne; and neither was his kingdom divided *to his posterity, nor did it continue according to the dominion which he ruled.*

Roxana, the wife of Alexander, gave birth to a posthumous heir of his empire; but ere her own child was born, timely guarding against the danger of a rival to him in the throne, she barbarously caused Statira, the daughter of Darius, whom also Alexander had married, to be put to death. Such atrocity was no security either of the kingdom or of life to her son. In the fourteenth year of his age, he, together with his mother Roxana, were secretly murdered by order of Cassander, even as she had compassed the death of Statira. The name of Hercules, the only remaining son of Alexander, by Parsine, did not save him from a similar fate, at the very time that he was proposed as of competent age to sit on the throne of his father. And the *posterity* of Alexander, without the kingdom being theirs, became extinct, by violent deaths. He was the greatest, but the last of his kingly race. His brother Arideus, the natural son of Philip, weak in intellect, and infirm of purpose, held, for six years, the nominal sovereignty of Macedon, and was slain by order of Olympias, (the mother of Alexander), who was not destitute of the blood-thirsty spirit of her son. His captains, the governors of the

chief provinces of the empire, held the virtual sovereignty from the time of Alexander's death. And after the extinction of his posterity, the *four notable kingdoms* of Syria, Egypt, Thrace, and Macedon, with various countries annexed to them, arose as distinct dominions under Seleucus, Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Cassander.—Thus was *his kingdom broken and divided, not to his posterity, but was plucked up for others besides those. It was divided to the four winds of heaven, the east, and south, the west, and north.*

The angel was to shew unto Daniel the things that should *befall his people in the latter days*; and omitting all direct reference to the history of the kingdoms of Thrace and of Macedon, which were less important of themselves, and bore no relation to the state or interests of the Jews, the prophecy embraces only the kingdoms of Egypt and Syria, denominated, from local relation to Judea, the *kings of the south and of the north*. In their frequent international wars, and in their respective fates, the interests of the Jews were involved; and Jerusalem was occasionally subject to the one and to the other. The kingdoms of Egypt and Syria greatly surpassed the other two, and continued as distinct kingdoms for a longer period, and “were at one time in a manner the only remaining kingdoms of the four.” Unlike to the rapidity with which the empire of the world, and even the hereditary dominion of Macedon, passed from the posterity of Alexander the Great, which, together with that of his father Philip, was so quickly extirpated, the families of Seleucus and Ptolemy, two of his princes, furnished a race of monarchs, who reigned over their respective dominions, till at last, like all the world besides, they bent beneath the iron yoke of Rome; and Syria and Egypt became provinces of the Roman empire. The eras of the Seleucidæ and of the Pto-

lemies (or Lagidæ) are well known in history, and highly useful in chronology. And from the time of the formation of their kingdoms, the line of prophetic history is traced down in regular narrative, till the Romans attained an ascendancy in the east, and established their authority within the boundaries of the kingdom that had been Alexander's, thus connecting these great empires, the Grecian—from which the kings of Syria and Egypt took their rise;—and the Roman,—by which their kingdoms were finally subverted.

CHAPTER II.

CAUSES, which are apparently the slightest, are sometimes productive of the most momentous events; and the fate of empires is often dependent on the private history of kings. And the circumstantiality with which the anticipated history of the successive kings of the south and of the north, or of Egypt and Syria, is narrated by the prophet, and every prominent event traced to its source, gives palpable illustration that, in the sight of the Eternal, there is no darkness in the most distant ages, and no secret in all the hearts of the children of men.

Ver. 5. *And the king of the south shall be strong, and one of his princes (i. e. of Alexander's princes); and he shall be strong above him, and have dominion, his dominion shall be a great dominion, or, as rendered by the Septuagint, and the king of the south shall be strong, and one of his princes shall be*

strong above him, &c. Ptolemy the first, or Ptolemy Lagus, the founder of his dynasty, was, on the original division of the kingdom of Alexander, *the king of the south*, or of Egypt. He was king of the south before the kingdom of Syria was established; and as he is first named in the prophecy, he was the first to reduce Judea and to take Jerusalem. Mild in his government over the Egyptians, they yielded him a willing obedience; and, levying many troops, instead of fearing his enemies, he became an object of their dread. Lybia, Cyrenaica, and part of Arabia bordering on Egypt, were included in his dominions. Having aided the Rhodians in the famous siege of Rhodes by Demetrius, who was hence forced to raise it, he acquired the name of Soter, or the Deliverer. He conquered Cyprus, took Tyre, ravaged Cilicia, and reduced to his obedience the whole coast of Phœnicia, and the greater part of Syria. *He was, thus, strong*, and he promised at first to unite under his sovereignty both Egypt and Syria.—But *one of the princes of Alexander was strong above him*. Seleucus, the first of the Seleucidæ, began his sovereign career by establishing his authority in the east. He is not designated, as all his successors are called and were, *the king of the north*, but *one of the princes*. On the subdivision of the great empire, the former title did not at first rightly pertain to him till his conquests were extended over Syria and that kingdom was his own; while Ptolemy was, from the first, as he is called, *the king of the south*. Strong as Ptolemy, *the king of the south*, was, Seleucus, *one of Alexander's princes, was strong above him*. Having subjected to his dominion Persia, Media, Babylon, Assyria, Bactria, and Hyrcania, he overthrew Antigonus, who had subdued the greater part of Syria and Asia Minor; he established himself on the throne of Syria; and extending his conquests still farther to the west

and north, he conquered and slew Lysimachus, who had conquered Demetrius, and added their joint dominions to his own. He is distinguished in history from all the princes of his race, by the title of Nicator or conqueror,—an honour which was earned by being, as Justin terms him, “the conqueror of the conquerors ;” and he was the last survivor, as well as the greatest, of the princes of Alexander. *He had dominion ; and his dominion was a great dominion*, extending, for a season, with the exception of Egypt, over all the conquests of Alexander. Many large and celebrated cities owed their origin to Seleucus ; among which may be specified Seleucia, called by his name, and Antioch, so called from the name of his father and of his son, which was afterwards the seat of the government of his successors, thenceforth distinguished successively in the prediction by the appellation of *the king of the north*.

During the reigns of Antiochus Soter, the son and immediate successor of Seleucus, and of Ptolemy Philadelphus,* the second of the Ptolemies, these rival kingdoms were stirred up to mutual warfare, and the coast of Syria was partially ravaged by the Egyptians. Antiochus Soter, after reigning nineteen years, was succeeded by his son Antiochus Theos, while Ptolemy Philadelphus continued to reign in Egypt. A war was carried on with great violence between them for a long period ; and the eastern part of the empire having revolted, and Parthia having cast off the Syrian yoke, the consequences threatened to be disastrous to the king of Syria, or of *the north*, whose kingdom, for the first time, was thus placed in jeo-

* The Hebrew Scriptures were translated into Greek, or the Septuagint version, by order of Ptolemy Philadelphus. And from this period, 273 years before the Christian era, the prophecies of the Old Testament might be read in the Greek as well as in the Hebrew tongue.

pardy. Years having thus elapsed, the mode by which the war between these kings was terminated, and which deeply and permanently affected the interests of both kingdoms, as well as the Jews, is thus recorded in the prediction :—

And in the end of years they shall join themselves together ; for the king's daughter of the south shall come to the king of the north, to make an agreement : but she shall not retain the power of the arm ; neither shall he stand, nor his arm (or seed) : but she shall be given up, and they that brought her, and he that begat her, (or rather as on the margin, he whom she brought forth,) and he that strengthened her in times.

Ver. 6. Human policy is too seldom based in righteousness ; and peace, when founded on inhumanity and injustice, often leads to renewed and more desolating wars. As a bond of future union between Syria and Egypt, a matrimonial alliance was concluded between the *daughter of the king of the south*, and the *king of the north*. For, as the price of peace, the Syrian monarch divorced his wife Laodice, and married Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy. Along with her father, and accompanied by a dowry so large as to confer on him the name of the *dowry-giver*, the *daughter of the king of the south* came to the *king of the north* ; and their union was celebrated with a splendour becoming such an *agreement* between kings : and the sons of Antiochus Theos, by Laodice, being formally disinherited by a solemn treaty, a lasting union between the kingdoms was devised, and gave the prospect of many years of peace, by the stipulated succession of the children of Berenice, the descendants alike of both the kings, to the throne of Syria.—*But she did not retain the power of the arm.* Policy giving way to a revived affection, Antiochus recalled his repudiated spouse, and the king of Egypt's daughter was

abandoned in her turn. Distrusting the volatile affection of her husband, and bent on securing the kingdom for her son Seleucus Callinicus, Laodice caused Antiochus to be poisoned; and after being besieged in a fortress to which she fled, Berenice also was taken and slain. Her Egyptian attendants, *they that brought her*, were likewise murdered; and her son was in like manner killed. Ptolemy Philadelphus, who bore towards her the tenderest affection and care, (as an instance of which he caused water from the Nile to be regularly transmitted for her use,) and *who had strengthened her in times*, was dead when her troubles and dangers began. Neither did Antiochus retain the kingdom, nor did his son by Berenice, according to the *agreement*, succeed to it; *she was given up together with those that brought her; he whom she had brought forth*, her son was slain, and her father, *who had strengthened her*, died.

The family compact, by which the peace and amity of Egypt and Syria were to be cemented, was thus broken and disannulled by the murder of the king of the north, and of the daughter of the king of the south, who had come to make an agreement with him; and a new cause of fiercer animosity brought the two kingdoms again into violent collision. Though her father was dead, her husband, her son, and her attendants slain, the death of Berenice was not unavenged. Ptolemy III. succeeded to his father Philadelphus, and was hastening, with all his forces, to the relief of his sister, when he received the tidings of her murder. His hope of saving her life was changed into a desire and determination of avenging her death. *Many cities*, whose inhabitants were shocked at the cruelty of Laodice, revolted from her son, Seleucus Callinicus, who, then without a rival, had succeeded to the throne; and *the king of Egypt entered them without a combat*. He united their

troops to his own, and headed a great army. Having slain Laodice, and subjected to his authority, or brought into his *alliance numerous cities of Syria and Galicia*, he passed the Euphrates and the Tigris, and made himself master of Babylon and Seleucia. Wherever he went, Callinicus could not withstand him; and all, throughout the realms of the king of the north, yielded before him, and nothing stayed his progress, till an insurrection in Egypt called him back to the protection, from internal enemies, of his own dominions. But he returned not from the land of Babylon without a *spoil*. He entered Egypt, on his return, with the abundant booty of 40,000 *talents of silver* (about six millions,) *many vessels of silver and gold*, and a prize still more highly valued by the idolatrous Egyptians, for which they conferred on him his title of Euergetes, or Benefactor, viz. *two thousand five hundred idols*, many of which Cambyzes, in a former age, had carried away from Egypt, and which were objects of worship alike to the Egyptians and to the Syrians. Seleucus Callinicus indeed escaped from his hands, but Ptolemy Euergetes survived him several years, and 'lived to see the death of the king of the north'—to secure whom in the kingdom, his sister Berenice and her son had been slain.—These facts, like others, need not be compared with it, for they are those of the prophecy.—*But out of a branch of her roots shall one (her brother) stand up in his estate (in the place and office of their father) which shall come with an army, and shall enter into the fortress of the king of the north, and shall deal against them, and shall prevail: and shall also carry captive into Egypt, their gods, with their princes, and with their precious vessels of silver and of gold: and he shall continue more years than the king of the north.* Ver. 7, 8.

But his sons shall be stirred up, and shall as-

semble a multitude of great forces : and one shall certainly come, and overflow, and pass through : then shall he return and be stirred up, even to his fortress. And the king of the south shall be moved with choler, and shall come forth and fight with him, even with the king of the north : and he shall set forth a great multitude : but the multitude shall be given into his hand, Ver. 9, 10. There is no end to the retaliation of wrongs ; and the king of Syria had next to be avenged on the king of Egypt. The animosity that subsisted between Ptolemy Euergetes and Seleucus Callinicus, died not with themselves ; but was transmitted, together with their kingdoms, of which such a passion was too dear a purchase, to their children. The sons of Callinicus were Seleucus and Antiochus. The former succeeded to the throne, or to the remnant of the kingdom of his father ; but though named Ceraunus, or the thunderer, he lived not to recover any part of his lost dominions, nor to enter into conflict with the king of Egypt. *But one did certainly come*—his brother Antiochus succeeded him, whose reign was long, and whose achievements were so splendid that he is known in history by the name of the *Great*. *He did overthrow and pass through.* He reduced his own rebellious subjects to submission, traversed Cælo-Syria ; stormed and took the city of Seleucia, in Syria ; obtained possession of Tyre and Ptolemais, which Euergetes had wrested from the dominion of his father ; and, advancing to the borders of Egypt, meditated an invasion of that kingdom both by sea and land. The country being at that season overflowed by the Nile, he accepted of a truce for four months, tendered by the Egyptians, and *returned* in order to secure his sway over the territories he had passed through. The allotted time elapsed in abortive negotiation. *And he was stirred up even to his fortress.* Again he advanced with his army towards Egypt—

and having recovered the dominions which his father had lost, he threatened to retaliate on the son of Ptolemy Euergetes, the evils which had been inflicted upon Syria.

The fourth of the Ptolemies, surnamed Philopater, was, till then, the most degenerate of his race. He had not the activity of Euergetes, nor the love of science which also distinguished Philadelphus, nor the humanity of Ptolemy Lagus. But, notwithstanding his general devotedness to luxury and effeminacy, he was yet *moved with choler* when his hereditary foe, at the head of an army, was on the border of Egypt: and roused at last, he assembled at Pelusium seventy thousand foot, five thousand horse, and above seventy elephants. With these he traversed the desert, and met his adversary at Raphia, not distant from Gaza. The forces of Antiochus were still more numerous; *but the multitude was given into the hand of the king of the south.* Antiochus at first overthrew the Egyptians whom he encountered; but, while rashly urging on his success, the great body of his army was broken, four thousand were taken prisoners, ten thousand slain, and the whole *multitude* eventually routed and dispersed; and Palestine again was in the possession of a Ptolemy. *And when he hath taken away the multitude, his heart shall be lifted up; and he shall cast down ten thousands: but he shall not be strengthened.* Ver. 12. Elated with his success, he received the submission of the cities of Syria, entered Jerusalem, and, in defiance of the resistance, and in despite of the wailings of the people, he could scarcely be restrained from forcing his way into the holy of holies. Returning to Egypt, he exercised great cruelties against the Jews, and, as variously stated, either forty or sixty thousand of them were slain. Instead of prosecuting the war which he had so successfully begun, he sunk into his wonted sensuality; his own

subjects revolted against him, and he was not strengthened, even though a multitude was given into his hand.

Ver. 13—15. *For the king of the north shall return, and shall set forth a multitude greater than the former, and shall certainly come after certain years, with a great army and with much riches. And in those times there shall many stand up against the king of the south; also the robbers (or revolters) of thy people shall exalt themselves to establish the vision; but they shall fall. So the king of the north shall come and cast up a mount, and take the most fenced cities: and the arms of the south shall not withstand, neither his chosen people, neither shall there be any strength to withstand.* Antiochus the Great, after the defeat of his army, entered into a treaty of peace with Ptolemy Philopater, desisted for a time from again encountering the Egyptians, and by reducing Media and Babylonia, and other countries, to entire submission, “he gathered together an incredible army,” to which were attached one hundred and fifty elephants. He had to wipe out the disgrace of his former defeat, and to reconquer part of his hereditary kingdom. For the attainment of such objects, the breach of a treaty, and preying on the innocent and helpless, stood not in the way of the revenge and ambition of the king. Ptolemy Philopater, his former victor, had fallen an early victim to intemperance, and had left his kingdom to his son, while yet but five years old. Seizing so tempting a time to destroy or dethrone the son of his rival, he drew together his forces from the farthest corners of his empire, and set forth a multitude greater than the former, and came after certain (or fourteen) years with a great army and much riches. In those times many stood up against the king of the south. By the promise of half the kingdom of Egypt for a prey, Antiochus gained over the king of Macedon to his alliance and aid in the intended conquest. Some

of the tributary provinces of Egypt revolted; insurrections arose in that country itself: and the Jews, who during two reigns had been subject to the Ptolemies, *revolted, and thus exalted themselves to establish the vision*, or contributed to its fulfilment, together with the Gentiles around them. But they *fell*. In the absence of Antiochus, who after having subjected Syria without a struggle, had withdrawn his army to Asia Minor, Palestine was open to the incursion of the Egyptians, and along with the neighbouring regions of Syria, became the chief theatre of the war. The Jews fell; but Antiochus soon *returned*. He defeated with a great slaughter, the Egyptian army under Scopas, near to the sources of the Jordan, and besieged the remnant of their forces in the fortified city of Sidon. Repeated and desperate efforts were made to raise the siege; and for that purpose “three of the best generals at the head of the choicest troops” were sent from Alexandria. But all their attempts were ineffectual: the armies of the Egyptians were subdued; Sidon was taken; and the whole of Syria was again in the possession of the descendant and successor of Seleucus. *He did according to his will; and none stood before him; he stood in the glorious land, in Judea, which by his hand was perfected, or did prosper under him.*

Ver. 17—19. *He shall also set his face to enter with the strength of his whole kingdom, and upright ones with him, or (as rendered in the Septuagint and Vulgate,) he shall make all things right, or make an agreement with him; and thus shall he do; and he shall give him the daughter of women, corrupting her: but she shall not stand on his side, neither be for him.*—Urged on by Hannibal, who had fled to him for protection from the Romans, and provoked at the aid they had given to the young king of Egypt, which had frustrated his great scheme of dismem-

Antiochus

bering that kingdom, Antigonus had resolved on a war with Rome; and, as if unmindful of the disastrous consequences of the former connubial alliance between his family and that of the king of Egypt, he gave his daughter Cleopatra in marriage to Ptolemy Epiphanes. By her, a woman of exquisite beauty, and hence called the *daughter of women*, he thought to maintain his influence over the young Egyptian king; and his policy being changed, and his hopes of higher conquests having been excited by Hannibal, after he had set his face to *enter with the strength of his whole kingdom* into Egypt, he turned his arms against the allies of the Romans. Vain was his trust in the affections of his daughter, for it soon became manifest how greatly she preferred the interests of her husband to those of her father; she did not *stand on his side*, for, together with her husband, she unnaturally congratulated the Roman senate on his defeat by the armies of Rome.

After this he shall turn his face unto the isles, and shall take many, ver. 18. With a fleet of three hundred vessels, enough, as he boasted, to fill the largest harbour in Greece, and a vast army, commanded by his sons, which formed the whole strength of his kingdom, he coasted westward to the isles of Europe, traversed Asia Minor, passed the Hellespont; and he who before had triumphed on the borders of India, and threatened Egypt with destruction, *and after that turned his face unto the isles*, ceased not in his progress, till hearing of the advance of the Romans, he seized the straits of Thermopylæ. The lesser isles of the Egean had no defence against so formidable an enemy; and the whole of the large and important island of Eubæa, now called Negropont, after a brief resistance, yielded, together with all its cities, to the arms of Antiochus.

Such at that period was the majesty of the Roman

name, that it was held as a reproach that any king, however great, should set a hostile foot within the dominion of their allies. Yet in open assembly, and in presence of the ambassadors of Rome, Antiochus had passionately and indignantly challenged their title, and disowned their right, to control his will, or intermeddle with the affairs of Asia. And the Romans could not but be jealous, if not fearful, of the rapid advance within the bounds of Greece, of so mighty an armament by sea and land, which they believed to be directed by the counsel of Hannibal, after that conqueror of Italy had become a refugee from Carthage, and was seeking again to wreak his vengeance upon Rome. To vindicate their honour, and, perhaps, to avert war from their shores, the Roman Senate, in answer to the petitions of republics and kings, declared war against Antiochus. Processions for the space of two days, invoked the aid of the gods on the arms of the Romans; and the forces of the commonwealth embarked at Brundisium to avenge the wrongs of Greece, and the insults against Rome. At the straits of Thermopylæ, Cato, having gained the mountain-pass, put to rout the troops of Antiochus. Twice was his fleet defeated by the Romans. And Greece was again rid of the invader. But the vengeance of the Romans was not satiated. Lucius Cornelius Scipio, the consul, passed from Europe to Asia, utterly discomfited the combined army of Antiochus, of whom fifty thousand were slain in a single but decisive battle; compelled the great king to submit to the most humiliating conditions of peace,—to evacuate all Asia, westward of Mount Taurus, to defray the whole expenses of the war, which he had provoked, to surrender twenty hostages, one of his sons* among the number; and even still more

* Who afterwards reigned under the name of Antiochus Euphanes.

ignominiously, (but happily frustrated by his timely flight,) to deliver up Hannibal into the hands of the Romans. Scipio, before conquering Antiochus, disdained to listen to any terms of peace, which were insufficient to vindicate the honour of Rome, even on the promise of the ransom of his son, a prisoner in the hands of the enemy. And, not less nobly, he dictated to the vanquished monarch the same terms of peace, without adding to their severity, as he had demanded before encountering a host twice as numerous as his own. Thus, under their consul, was the Roman power introduced into Asia; and thus were the words of the prophecy fulfilled, *But a prince for his own behalf shall cause the reproach offered by him to cease; without his own reproach he shall cause it to turn upon him.* Ver. 18.

Then shall he turn his face toward the fort of his own land: but he shall stumble and fall, and not be found. Ver. 19. The great king shorn of his riches, power, and splendour, returned to Antioch, the capital of his kingdom, and the strongest of his fortresses. Antiochus the Great, burdened by the tribute imposed on him by the Romans, or impelled by the want of money, if not by avarice, basely plundered by night the temple of Elymais; and was slain by the indignant inhabitants. Some doubt, however, is thrown on the exact manner of his death, by the narrative of one historian, who states, that having, while intoxicated, struck some of his reveling associates, he was slain by their hands. This doubt only renders the prediction the more striking and appropriate. *He stumbled and fell and was not to be found.*

Then shall stand up in his estate a raiser of taxes in the glory of the kingdom, (or more literally, as in the margin, one that causeth an exactor to pass over the glory of the kingdom:) but within few days

shall he be destroyed, neither in anger nor in battle, Ver. 20. Then, immediately after, and *in the estate*, stead, or office, of Antiochus the Great, Selucus Philopater, his son, succeeded to his throne. The length of his father's reign was more than three times that of his. He scarcely lived to liquidate the debt due to the Romans; and Seleucus Philopater had a better plea than despots can often urge for the severe and rigid taxation of their subjects. The strength of his kingdom had been broken, and the royal treasury exhausted in the war with the invincible Romans. To pay them the annual tribute of a thousand talents, and to recreate an army, made the son of Antiochus little more than a *raiser of taxes* all his life. No other feature distinguished his ignoble reign. He even sent Heliodorus, his treasurer, to rifle the temple of Jerusalem, thus *causing an exactor to go over the glory of his kingdom*. But having returned from the execution of that charge, the same agent of his rapine and sacrilege became, *in a few days*, or soon after, the "instrument of his death;" in the absence of his son Demetrius and of his brother Antiochus, Heliodorus, *not in anger*, but for the sole purpose of usurping his throne, *nor in battle*, but secretly and by snare, cut him off by poison.

And in his estate shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom: but he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries. Ver. 21. The history of kings, like that of other men, is scarcely, in general, a catalogue of virtues; but of all who ever disgraced a throne more than a crown could ennoble them, none is more worthy of the epithet of *vile* than Antiochus Epiphanes, the brother and successor of Seleucus Philopater. He transferred the lowest and meanest vices of the streets and purlieus of Rome to the throne of Syria; and the

monarch did not abandon the vices of the hostage. He degraded his rank, made a mockery of his prerogative, played the buffoon instead of acting like a sovereign, outraged all decency, and, though a king, was a *vile person*. The most despicable of the people were his choice and meet associates: and a contemporary historian designates him, on account of his actions, *Epimanes*, or the madman. He succeeded not to the throne by the right of inheritance, nor by the wishes of the people, nor yet by conquest. Demetrius, his nephew, the son of the former king, was the rightful heir. Heliodorus attempted to usurp the throne; some proposed to offer it to the king of Egypt, but none *gave the honour of the kingdom to Antiochus*. As the natural guardian of the young prince he affected to preserve the kingdom for him, gained over the adherents to royalty, by seemingly espousing their cause; he made a shew of clemency to win the Syrians; professed great obsequiousness to the Romans, and to the king of Pergamus; and at the sacrifice of truth, where there could be none of principle, he insidiously united all parties in his favour, and thus *came in peaceably, and obtained the kingdom by flatteries*.

Supported by the Romans and the chief potentates of the lesser Asia, whom he had gained over by artifice and fair pretences to espouse his cause, Antiochus Epiphanes *obtained the kingdom*, and all opposition, on the part either of Heliodorus or of the king of Egypt was overthrown before him; *and with the arms of a flood shall they be overthrown before him, and shall be broken; yea also the prince of the covenant*, ver. 22. Antiochus had no reverence for things sacred; nor did he regard the worship or the service of the holy One of Israel. One of his first public acts, on being seated on his throne, was to dispossess the high priest,

Onias, of his office, and to give it to another, his younger but unnatural brother, Jason, for a sum of money. It fared with the new high priest as he merited, for after he had stipulated, and paid for the office, it was soon bartered again, and given by the king to a higher bidder. *And after the league made with him he shall work deceitfully.* Ver. 23.

For (literally and) he shall come up, and shall be strong with a small people. Though accompanied at first only by a few followers from Rome, the authority of Antiochus was speedily confirmed; and, though destitute of all title to true glory, such was the increase of his power, that he was named Epiphanes, or the *illustrious*. He won the affections of the common people by his liberality, as he had gained over the powerful by flattery; and he was as prodigal in the diffusion of his wealth, as he was unscrupulous in regard to the mode of attaining it. In the liberal distribution of gifts he abounded above the kings that were before him—sometimes he would bestow unexpected gifts on those whom he met, and whom he had never seen—and at other times, in the public streets, he would scatter gold coin indiscriminately around him, and call aloud to all, ‘let him take to whom fortune shall give.’ Seeking thus to confirm the fidelity of the provinces, and meditating a future attack upon Egypt, he passed through the rich plain of Palestine, and fortified the strongholds on the Syrian frontier. *He shall enter peaceably even upon the fattest places of the province; and he shall do that which his fathers have not done, nor his fathers’ fathers; he shall scatter among them the prey, and spoil, and riches; yea, and he shall forecast his devices against the strongholds, even for a time.* Ver. 24.

And he shall stir up his power and his courage against the king of the south with a great army: and the king of the south shall be stirred up to battle with

a very great and mighty army ; but he shall not stand, for they shall forecast devices against him ; yea, they that feed of the portion of his meat shall destroy him, and his army shall overflow : and many shall fall down slain. Ver. 25, 26. The right of the possession of Cælo-Syria and Palestine, was a fertile source of disunion between the kings of Syria and Egypt. Into these provinces Antiochus Epiphanes had entered peaceably, and had fortified himself in the actual possession of them, by a timely preparation against any attempt on the part of the Egyptians to recover them. And having thus *forecast his devices for a time*, instead of waiting to be assaulted, he became the assailant ; and not only did he excel, in an indiscriminate liberality, the kings that were before him, but in obtaining for a time the entire mastery over the rival kingdom, *he did that which his fathers had not done, nor his fathers' fathers*, but which they had attempted in vain. All love of justice and all regard to natural affection being alike set aside by a mad ambition, he entered the kingdom of his sister's son, Ptolemy Philometer, defeated him in successive battles, took Pelusium, the key of Egypt, together with the celebrated city of Memphis, and with the exception of Alexandria, reduced to his dominion the greater part of that country. The young king, previously corrupted by governors and tutors, who pandered to his passions, that the real government might rest in their own hands, was dethroned by the remaining portion of his subjects, who nominated his brother, called Psychon, in his stead. The wily Antiochus then affected to espouse the cause of Philometer, and professed his desire to reinstate him in the kingdom. Between these kings, however nearly related, and however close their seeming intimacy, there could be no sincerity on the one hand, nor confidence on the other. If Epiphanes

had had the interests of Philometer at heart, the throne of the latter would not have been in jeopardy ; and had Philometer plainly told his feelings and his purposes, their seeming harmony would have been at an end in a moment. Their mutual communing, with whatever fair, but hollow, show of zeal and confidence, formed but a system of double deception. *And both these king's hearts shall be to do mischief, and they shall speak lies at one table ; but it shall not prosper : for yet the end shall be at the time appointed.* Ver. 27. The mutual deception became soon apparent. No sooner had Antiochus Epiphanes withdrawn from Egypt, than Ptolemy Philometer, having united with his brother against their common foe, was again proclaimed king of Alexandria, and the anger of their unnatural uncle only showed the falsehood of his professions. The hollow compact, or false promises, between the two kings was broken. The two brothers, together with their sister, looked eagerly to Rome for aid, and that foreign power was *thus called in* to defend the oppressed, and to vindicate their rights against a neighbour and a relative, which, *at the time appointed*, was not only to put an end to the treachery and usurpations of the vile Antiochus, but to render these mighty kingdoms of Syria and Egypt the provinces of an Italian republic.

Then shall he return into his land with great riches, and his heart shall be against the holy covenant ; and he shall do exploits, and return to his own land. Ver. 28. Instead, as he had promised, of preserving the kingdom for Ptolemy Philometer, he despoiled the cities of Egypt of their wealth and treasure, and, loaded with booty, returned into Syria. On a false report of his death, the Jews openly manifested the highest exultation ; and Onias was reinstated as high priest. Antiochus, vindictive as vile, entered Judea to suppress the revolt, besieged and took Jeru-

saalem, polluted the temple, and despoiled it of the golden vessels and of the treasures, profaned the Holy of Holies with his presence, replaced the high-priest who had bought of him the office, slew forty thousand of the Jews, and sold into slavery twice that number. Having by such acts manifested how *his heart was set against the holy covenant*, he returned to Antioch, to his own land.

At the time appointed he shall return, and come toward the south; but it shall not be as the former, or as the latter. For the ships of Chittim shall come against him; therefore he shall be grieved, and return, and have indignation against the holy covenant: so shall he do; he shall even return and have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant. Ver. 29, 30. At first he had come into Egypt with a small army, and had prevailed by craftiness. Next he had invaded it with a great army, and, having routed the Egyptians, had obtained possession of the greater part of the kingdom, and thought to retain the power over it by keeping Ptolemy as his vassal under the name of king. The union of the brothers having rendered his scheme abortive, on the expiration of two years, *or at the time appointed* when the Roman authority was more directly to interpose, he returned undisguisedly, at the head of a great army, to reconquer Egypt, which, without foreign aid, would easily have become his prey as before. *But it was not as the former or the latter.* On his last expedition into Egypt, neither fraud nor force could avail him. Ambassadors arrived by sea from Rome, with injunctions from the senate to forbid his entrance into Egypt, or, if he had entered it, to order his immediate departure. The Romans were not wont to parley with an enemy, either in conference or in combat. Popilius, one of the Roman ambassadors, had been a boon companion of the prince of

Syria, when in his youth, a hostage at Rome; and Antiochus, long used to dissemble, no sooner saw Popilius approaching, than he hastened to salute him as a friend. The stern Roman rejected the courtesies of the king, till his duty to the senate should first be discharged. And telling Antiochus to take counsel of his friends, with the rod in his hand he drew a circle around the spot on which Antiochus Epiphanes stood, ample enough for his counsellors to surround him, and imperiously commanded him not to stir a step beyond it, before deciding, by his answer to their demand, the question of peace or of war with the Roman people. Yielding to necessity, the baffled monarch retired from Egypt, as Polybius relates, *grieved and groaning*; but having been disappointed of one prey, he seized the more fiercely upon another, and wreaked his wrath and vengeance on the helpless Jews, as we learn from a Jewish historical record. "He fell suddenly upon Jerusalem, and smote it very sore, and destroyed much people of Israel. And when he had taken the spoils of the city, he set it on fire, and pulled down the houses and walls thereof on every side." He decreed that all, under the penalty of death, should conform to the idolatrous worship of the Greeks. And in *league* with Menelaus and other *apostate* Jews, he abrogated the worship of God in the temple of Jerusalem, and by the severest persecutions manifested his *indignation* against the people of Israel.

The history of the kings of Syria and Egypt is thus prophetically traced down to the time of the introduction of the Roman power, which, in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, exercised a high control over the destinies of the kingdoms of the east. The *end* was at the *time appointed*, and the prophetic history of the kings of the south and of the north then terminated. Macedon, the original and patri-

monial kingdom of Alexander the Great, from which the rest took their rise, became a province of the Roman empire during the very year in which the firm remonstrance of the Roman ambassador drove the mortified and indignant Antiochus from Egypt. The third great kingdom, the Macedonian or Grecian, was thus, in its order, subverted at that period. The previous prophecies of Daniel leave no room for doubt that it was to be supplanted by the Romans. They not only subdued Macedon, but *stretched their arms* into Asia. And, as in the commencement of the vision, the angel passed over, without noting, the successive kings of Persia from the days of Xerxes to those of Alexander, and took up the history of his kingdom, so soon as ever the connecting link between the history of Persia and Greece was formed by the first great collision of these empires, which ultimately terminated in the subversion of the one, and the establishment of the other ; so, in like manner, the same heavenly messenger, on the anticipated extirpation of the kingdom of Macedon, and the *extension* of the Roman influence and authority over Syria and Egypt, quits the history of the *kings of the north* and of the *south*, and marks the *standing up* of a new power, which had already been ushered upon the scene, as well as it had previously been described by the prophet, in other visions. The international alliances and conflicts between the kings of the north and of the south, chiefly as affecting the interests of the Jews, having been minutely detailed with more than historical fulness and precision,* the prophet records the more destructive domination that was subsequently to prevail over the east, and to become the instru-

* No one historian hath related so many circumstances, and in such exact order of time, as the prophet hath foretold them.—*Bishop Newton.*

ment, when the measure of their iniquities was full, and when *the appointed time was come*, to break the Jewish polity to pieces, to desecrate and destroy their temple, and to lay their land *desolate*.

CHAPTER III.

AND arms shall stand on his part, (or shall stand up after him,) and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength, and shall take away the daily sacrifice, and they shall place the abomination that maketh desolate. Ver. 31. The term, translated *arms*, denotes the arms of the human body, not armour, and is derived from a verb which signifies to *spread abroad*. The fourth kingdom was to subdue all the rest: Macedon had been subdued before it, and its wide extended influence was spread abroad, and reached from a distance, to Syria and Egypt. The identical word—*shall stand up*—which marked the rise of the Macedonian empire, and of successive potentates, is repeated for the last time, to denote the establishment of the Roman authority, *at the appointed time*, in the east. Rome, whether republican, imperial, or papal, was henceforth, without the intervention or succession of any new and universal monarchy, (for *none* else are said to *stand up* after this period till the final restoration of the Jews) to connect and to complete, in its aggrandizement, its acts, authority, government, decline and fall, the whole series of historical events, from the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, their great oppressor, to the final restoration of the Jews.

The angel was to declare unto the prophet what

should befall his people in the latter days, for the vision was for many days. And the blank in the scriptural record of the history of the Jews and of the world, from the era of the Babylonish captivity to the time of the Romans, having been filled up by a prophetic historical narration concerning the kingdoms which alternately held Judea in their possession, the angel then made known to Daniel the things which should befall the Jews, on the dissolution of their state by the Romans. It is known to all that *they polluted the sanctuary of strength, took away the daily sacrifice, and placed the abomination that maketh desolate.* Pompey entered the holy of holies; the idolatrous Roman ensigns were spread over Judea; the temple was rooted up, and not one stone was left upon another; and on its site a temple was afterwards erected to Jupiter Capitolinus. By the massacre of myriads of Jews, and the expulsion of all their race from the land of Judea, the *daily sacrifice*, which could be offered up only there, *was taken away*; Judaism was overthrown; and the *abomination of desolation*, concerning which Christ warned the Jews, AS SPOKEN OF BY DANIEL THE PROPHET, *was set up* and became a signal for the Christians to flee from Jerusalem; and the judgment of God, by the instrumentality of the Romans, fell upon that wicked, impenitent, and therefore devoted city; and when they would not hear the messenger of the Lord, the land, as the last word of the law and prophets told, was smitten with a curse.

And such as do wickedly against the covenant, shall he corrupt by flatteries; but the people that do know their God shall be strong and do exploits, and they that understand among the people shall instruct many; yet they shall fall by the sword, and by flame, by captivity and spoil many days. Ver. 32, 33. Conjoined with the subversion of Ju-

daism is the announcement of insidious and successful attempts to cause some to apostatize from the faith;—of the propagation of the knowledge of God by men strengthened for that purpose, and doing exploits to accomplish it,—of the great success of their teaching,—and of the severity, variety, and long continuance of their sufferings. The abolition of the old covenant was accompanied by the wider promulgation of the new. The Romans exercised their ingenuity and their power to suppress, in its origin, a holy religion; and tried to gain over both Jews and Christians to Pagan idolatry. It is recorded by heathens, admitted by unbelievers, and complained of by Christians, that, whether won by flattery or awed by threats, “some who said that they had been Christians denied it again; and worshipped the image of the Roman emperor and the images of the gods.”* It is universally known, that at that very period the purest faith on earth was first taught to man in the land of Judea; and that the only true spiritual light on earth emanated from that country at that time. It was the age of miracles and of light. The people that knew their God, or they that understood among the people, the converted Jews, both did exploits and instructed many. Pagans believed in all or in any gods but the only living and true God. And the propagation of religious knowledge, in a manner previously unknown to paganism, was followed by persecution for conscience sake; and when flattery failed, when incentives to vice did not prevail over Christian steadfastness and virtue, the worshippers of lords many and of gods many persecuted to the death those who *knew their God, and instructed many* in turning them from the darkness of paganism to the light of the gospel. The champions of the cross assailed

* Pliny's Letter to Trajan, ep. 97.

heathenism with no other weapon than the sword of the Spirit, and their sufferings and death promoted the triumph of their cause. They were opposed by all the weapons of an unholy warfare; every mode of punishment was put in action, and every engine of cruelty was set at work against them. In the persecution under Nero, about thirty years after the death of Christ, "they were put to death," according to the description of Tacitus, "with exquisite cruelty; and to their sufferings Nero added mockery and derision. Some were covered with the skins of wild beasts, and left to be devoured by dogs; others were nailed to the cross; numbers were *burnt alive*; and many covered with *inflammable matter (flame,)* were lighted up, when the day declined, to serve as *torches* during the night."* During repeated successive persecutions they were subjected to the greatest barbarities. The first three or four ages of the church were stained with the blood of martyrs, who suffered for the name of Jesus. The greatness of their number is acknowledged by all who have a competent acquaintance with ancient history, and who have examined that matter with any degree of impartiality. The learned and eloquent, the *doctors and ministers*, and chiefly the rich, *after the confiscation of whose fortunes* a rapacious magistracy were perpetually gaping, were the persons the most exposed to the dangers of the times.† Diocletian ordered all the bishops and ministers of the Christian church to be "*cast into prison*," and issuing edicts still more cruel, "it was ordered *that all sorts of torments* should be employed, and the most insupportable punishments invented, to force these venerable captives to renounce their profession, by sacrificing to the heathen

* Tacit. Ann. lib. xv. c. 44.

† Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. book i. c. 5, sect. 11.

gods ; for it was hoped, that if the *bishops and doctors* of the church could be brought to yield, their respective flocks would be easily induced to follow their example. *An immense number of persons*, illustriously distinguished by their piety and *learning*, became the victims of this cruel stratagem, throughout the whole Roman empire, Gaul excepted, which was under the mild and equitable dominion of Constantius Chlorus. Some were punished in such a manner as the rules of decency oblige us to pass in silence ; some were put to death, after having had their constancy *tried* by tedious and inexpressible torments ; and some *were sent to the mines* to draw out the remains of a miserable life in poverty and *bondage*. By a fourth edict, the magistrates were ordered and commissioned to force all Christians, without distinction of rank or sex, to sacrifice to the gods, and were authorized to employ *all sorts of torments*, in order to drive them to this *act of apostacy*. The diligence and zeal of the Roman magistrates, in the execution of this inhuman edict, had like to have proved fatal to the Christian cause.* Thus, by adopting the language of history, in the detail of facts, without reference to this prediction, we see how, after the pollution and destruction of the temple of Jerusalem, the abolition of the Jewish rites and worship, and the subversion of their state and *desolation* of their country by the Romans, the people *that knew their God, and understood among the people, and instructed many* in the knowledge of the only living and true God, and of his salvation by Jesus Christ, instead of being received and welcomed by the world, while proclaiming the glad tidings of redemption, and calling men to repentance, *fell by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil,* MANY DAYS.

* Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. book ii. c. i. sect. 3.

Now when they shall fall, they shall be holpen with a little help ; but many shall cleave to them with flatteries. Ver. 34. In the 304th year of the Christian era, the last and severest of the edicts of Diocletian was issued against the Christians ; and the execution of it “ had like to have proved fatal to the Christian cause.” “ The divine providence, however,” to use the words of Mosheim, “ was preparing more secure and happy days for the church. In the year 306, Constantius Chlorus dying in Britain, the army saluted, with the title of Augustus, his son Constantine, surnamed the Great, on account of his illustrious exploits, and forced him to accept the purple.” The elevation of Constantine to the throne, and his conversion to Christianity, gave outward peace to the church. In human view, the help seemed great. But as many had formerly become genuine converts, on witnessing the integrity of saints, conjoined with the intrepidity of martyrs, the religion of the court became then the lure to a formal and false profession of a holy faith ; the cause of *truth* received but a *little help* ; and *many did cleave to them with flatteries*. Eusebius, in his life of Constantine, relates that the emperor’s kindness was wont to be imposed on by the unspeakable dissimulation of those who craftily crept into the church, and *falsely assumed* the name of Christians. Julian, afterwards the apostate, was, while it served his purpose, one of those hypocritical pretenders to a faith they did not cherish. “ That he might allure the Christians to favour him, he publicly professed the faith, from which he had long ago privately revolted ; he even went to church, and joined with them in the most solemn offices of religion.”* His dissimulation carried him so far as to become an ecclesiastic in lower orders, or a reader in the church.

* Ammian. Marcell. lib. 21. c. 2, quoted by Bishop Newton.

Moreover, this is also called *a little help*,—observes Bishop Newton, (to whose excellent dissertations on the prophecies none should be a stranger,) “because the temporal peace and prosperity of the church lasted but a little while. The spirit of persecution presently revived; and no sooner were the Christians delivered from their heathen adversaries, than they began to quarrel among themselves, and to persecute one another.”

And some of them of understanding shall fall, to try them, and to purge, and to make them white, to the time of the end: because it is yet for a time appointed. Ver. 35. The things noted in the scripture of truth prior to the time of the rise and standing up of the Roman power, and the consequent subversion of the Jewish state, form a succession of political events, in which the fate of the Jews was immediately involved: and it would seem that, for this reason, the history of the kings of the north and of the south was specially introduced into the prophetic record. The interests of Judaism as a church then merged into those of Christianity. The prospective restoration of the Jews was still in view, and every thing that was *noted* exhibited a succession of events which were finally to be wound up in that consummation of the vision: but the history of the Jews, during the time that desolations were determined, was, everywhere alike, that of a people whom God had cast off, though not for ever; and who were without a king, and without a prince, and without an altar, and without a country. And as soon as the subversion of the Mosaic dispensation was effected, and *the abomination that maketh desolate* was placed and set up by the Romans, the things that immediately after are noted, pertain not any more to a succession of earthly monarchs, but to the people that knew their God. They were to instruct many, but they were to fall by the sword, by captivity, and by spoil, many

days. A new era denoted by persecution for righteousness' sake, was immediately to succeed the extirpation of the Jews from Judea. And the character and fate of the church of Christ, propagated by the preaching of righteousness, and nurtured by the blood of martyrs, became a new object in the vision. The Roman power, in whatever form, was to maintain its ascendancy; and no other is mentioned as succeeding to it, though some were to come against it, and finally supplant it in the east. In the same manner, or under the same form of government, in which it *stood up*, the persecution of the preachers of the gospel was to succeed to the abolition of ordinances of the law. Slaughter, burning, imprisonment, or banishment, and spoliation, were to be practised and persevered in, in order to bring to nought, and extirpate from the world, a doctrine according to godliness which then sprung up. *In the days of these kingdoms*, of which the Roman was the last, did the God of heaven set up a kingdom; and such was the reception given to it by the rulers and nations of the world! But after a long time of fiery trial, and still without any change in the form of the government of Rome, they who had been afflicted long *were holpen with a little help*; and hypocrisy and worldly-mindedness began to be associated with the profession of the gospel. *Many clave to them with flatteries*, when a smile from a throne, in lieu of the prospect of a cross, awaited the convert to the Christian faith. In special reference to the latter times, kings and judges are commanded to serve the Lord with fear, and to kiss the Son lest he be angry, and they perish from the way, when his wrath is kindled but a little; and the aid given to the church by Constantine, the first of Christian kings, is acknowledged as a *little help*. Yet *little*, in a *spiritual sense*, was the help which the conversion of

the emperor of Rome conferred on the cause of the cross. The truth was not greatly aided by nominal converts, or by worldly men. The spirit of the world was gradually infused into the church. The hierarchy gradually arose, and attained a domineering ascendancy. They who held the offices of those that before had instructed many, became lords over the consciences of men; and held God's heritage as their own. They who ought to have been known of all men as the disciples of Jesus, by their mutual love, vented their unholy zeal in fierce animosity and violence; and the reputed guardians of the gospel of peace, copying the example of blind idolaters, strove to maintain the interest of the church by the very means which had been tried in vain to effect the subversion of the gospel. Persecution for conscience sake revived in another form; that of papal ultimately succeeded to that of pagan. And churchmen inflicted against *men of understanding*, the injuries and cruelties which martyrs, in the earlier history of the church had suffered at the hands of heathens.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM the first great collision between Persia and Greece, the record of the prophet passed at once to the final result; and on the first influential exercise of the authority of Rome over the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt, and the subjugation of Macedon, the

things that are next noted are the achievements of the Romans in Palestine. But in that part of the vision under our immediate consideration, the first era of persecution after the preaching of the gospel, and the little help that was afterwards to ensue, are distinctly marked as followed by a *long period* of trial and affliction to the men of understanding, or to those who should adhere to the genuine truths of the gospel, as first preached unto the saints, and sealed with the blood of martyrs. They who, like those that had gone—and that, for the truth's sake, had suffered—before them, would take the word of God, and no counsel or decree of fallible mortals, for the rule of their faith, and who, like the primitive Christians, would in the exercise of their own judgment, but in perfect submission to divine authority, have their *understanding* exercised by reason of use to discern both good and evil, were to be oppressed and persecuted still, *to try them, and to purge, and to make them white, for a time appointed* and, subsequently in this and other prophecies, expressly defined. That such a time of trial and of persecution for conscience sake, succeeded to the earlier martyrdom of Christians, and was continued, from age to age, is a truth too prominent and glaring to be questioned or disguised. It is not the bloodless triumphs of the gospel of peace, of which we read in the *history of the church*—most unmeetly so called; rather does it seem to be a record taken from the archives of Pandemonium. The right of persecution,—of judging and condemning men of understanding for advocating doctrines drawn from Scripture, and for holding to that divine authority as a sufficient and the supreme rule of faith,—was openly maintained, unscrupulously acted on, and unsparingly exercised. The inquisition, at least, has been heard of throughout the world; and that name has enough of horror associated with it, to the natural

sense of man, to stamp that power as persecuting, which used such an engine, and claimed it as its own. The men of understanding, whose consciences would not be coerced by it, *fell* indeed, as men may put others to the torture and to the stake, but they were thereby *tried, and purged, and made white*; and, losing their lives for the sake of the gospel, their tribulation wrought the triumph of their faith.

In the vision of the four beasts, expressly designative of four successive kingdoms, the little horn, arising out of the fourth or Roman kingdom, is symbolical, as expounded by the prophet, of *a king diverse from the first*, (i.e. from the rest into which the Roman empire was divided;) and the nature of that peculiar kingdom, or mode of government, is thus described,—“And he shall speak great words against the Most High, and wear out the saints of the Most High, and think to change times and laws; and they shall be given into his hands until a time, times, and the dividing of time.” This persecuting power, by which the saints were to be worn out, or before whom the men of understanding, who knew their God, were to fall, is represented under the symbol of a horn, and the name of a KING.—The king of the north, and the king of the south, so frequently named in this very vision, do not, in either case, denote merely an individual monarch, but, under the same designation, a succession of kings. In both visions, the introduction and establishment of the Roman power is evidently marked, and in both the same great kingdom is represented as still existing under a new and distinct form, emanating from the original empire; and from the same correspondence of time, name, authority and character, there seems to be no reason to doubt, nor is there any need of a laboured and learned disquisition to show, that the “king” delineated in the succeeding verses, of whom mention is made in immediate con-

nexion with the long continued persecution and consequent purifying of the men of understanding, is the same with the king, or form of spiritual domination, characterised by Daniel as the persecutor of *the saints*, into whose hands they were to be given for a time, times, and half a time, or, the time of the end, or, according to the words of this prophecy, for a TIME APPOINTED,—a time, times, and an half, xii. 7.

And the king shall do according to his will; and he 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 accomplished: for that that is determined shall be done. “Under the name ‘king,’ says Mede, must be understood the *Roman state*, under what kind of government soever.” This may especially be inferred, as no other power is said to *stand up*, or any other empire to arise, but that which polluted the sanctuary of strength, took away the daily sacrifice, and placed the abomination that maketh desolate. To Rome, republican, imperial, or papal, or under some other form of government, the description has to be applied according as each and every part of it may warrant. Somewhat greater obscurity may, however, naturally be looked for in the delineation of a persecuting government in Christian times, than in that of a king,—or succession of kings,—of Egypt or of Syria, who made no profession of the belief of Scripture, and owned not the divine origin of the prophecies which they were instrumental in fulfilling. Now, however, that the whole character of the prefigured power can be seen, and the whole of the history of its long and high dominion can be told, down to its seemingly approaching close, the likeness may be recognised without any clearness of vision but that of fidelity and truth.

After the destruction of Jerusalem, and the desola-

tion of Judea by the Romans ; after the propagation of the Christian faith, or the *instruction of many by men of understanding who knew their God* ; after the long, numerous, and general persecution of the preachers of the gospel, and the believers in Jesus,—falling, as they did, by *the sword and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil many days, or years* ; after the conversion of Constantine, and their being thereby holpen with a little help ; and after a hypocritical profession of faith became prevalent in the church, when external enemies were no more to be dreaded,—what new form of government arose in the Roman empire, to take up, for an appointed time, the office of persecutor, and thus to *try some of them of understanding* for the term of ages ? What power became the most conspicuous and the most influential in Christendom, after the empire became Christian ? Or who, from that time to this, can sit for the portrait which the prophet has pourtrayed, and show the parallel in every feature ? The papacy, in its history, fills up the space ; and comes up completely to the character.—It exercises not the uncontrolled sway which once it did. Its harsher features may be seemingly softened, where its power is broken. The thunders of the Vatican are no longer heard, where they would not be a terror but a jest. Yet still popery, by the use it made of power while possessed of it, has left impressions in the history of the world, of its true character, which no sophistry can disguise, which time cannot efface, and which are closely fitted to the words of this prophecy, and of others besides.

“The prophet was speaking of the persecutions which would be permitted for the trial and probation of the church, after the empire was become Christian ; and now he proceeds to describe the principal author of these persecutions. There would spring up in the

church an antichristian power, that should act in the most absolute and arbitrary manner; exalt itself above all laws, human and divine; dispense with the most sacred and solemn obligations; and in many respects enjoin what God had forbidden, and forbid what God had commanded. This power was to continue in the church, and prosper till the indignation be accomplished; for *that* that is determined shall be done.* Daniel had previously prophesied that, after the subdivision of the Roman empire into ten kingdoms, *another king* was to arise who shall speak great words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High, and think to change times and laws; and they shall be given into his hand, until a time, and times, and the dividing of time. But the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and destroy it unto the end. The Apostle Paul, to allay the fears of the Thessalonians that the day of Christ was at hand, assures them that "that day shall not come except there come a falling away, 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 in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God." 2 Thess. John, in the Apocalypse, prophesies in like manner, of another beast, or form of tyrannical domination, which spake as a dragon, and exerciseth all the power of the first beast before him, who had a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies, to whom it was given to make war with the saints and to overcome them; and power was given him over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations, and who opened his mouth in blasphemies against God. Rev. xiii. 11, 12. John also, in

* Bishop Newton.

another vision, saw a woman sit upon a scarlet-coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns, the common symbols of Rome. She sat upon many waters. The waters are peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues. And the woman is that great city (Rome) which reigneth over the kings of the earth. Rev. xviii. 3, 15, 18.

These analogous predictions seem obviously to point to one object. The king that was to do *according to his will, was to exalt himself and magnify himself above every God to speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and to magnify himself above all.* As if looking to this prophecy, and drawing from this pattern, the apostle describes *that* man of sin who was to be revealed, as opposing and exalting himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, &c. The king “*was to prosper till the indignation be accomplished;*” and in answer to the question by Daniel (xii. 6,) *how long (shall it be to) the end of these wonders?* it is answered by the angel, for a time, times, and the dividing of time (1260 years.) Of *that* wicked one, who was to exalt himself, it is said, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and destroy with the brightness of his coming.

His power is first described.

It is no secret in history what succession of potentates, exercising an authority *diverse* from that of all the kings of Europe, sprung up after the Roman empire became Christian, and, assuming a right of domination such as no earthly sovereign ever claimed, and maintaining an ascendancy such as was never else exercised, *prospered* during a period scarcely ever equalled by any dynasty of monarchs. It may not be superfluous to trace briefly, from history, the rise, progress, and prosperity of this “*mystery of iniquity.*”

After the long-persecuted Christians were holpen

by the civil power, and many did cleave to them by flatteries, or on false pretences, the office of bishop became an object of earthly ambition, when they who before were the first to be despoiled and to suffer, became the first, as acts of piety, to be enriched and honoured. In the fourth century, “the bishop of Rome was the first in rank, and was distinguished by a sort of pre-eminence over all other prelates. Prejudices, arising from a great variety of causes, contributed to establish this superiority; but it was chiefly owing to certain circumstances of grandeur and opulence, by which mortals, for the most part, form their ideas of pre-eminence and dignity, and which they generally confounded with a just and legal authority. The bishop of Rome surpassed all his brethren in the magnificence and splendour of the church over which he presided; in the riches of his revenues and possessions; in the number and variety of his ministers; in his credit with the people; and in his sumptuous and splendid manner of living. These dazzling marks of human power, these ambiguous proofs of true greatness and felicity, had such a mighty influence upon the minds of the multitude, that the see of Rome became, in this century, a most seducing object of sacerdotal ambition.”* In reference to the government of the church at that period, the celebrated ecclesiastical historian and critic, Du Pin, Doctor of the Sorbonne, thus shews the connexion, as if he had been purposely marking the sequence in the prophecy, between the previous long-continued persecution of the church, and the rise of the Roman hierarchy,—“Before the fourth century, the church, which *had been continually tossed and troubled with*

* Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, Book II. p. ii. c. 2. § 5. Ammianus Marcellinus gives a striking description of the luxury in which the bishops of Rome lived, even in the fourth century. Hist. lib. xxvii. c. 3.

persecutions, could never settle one constant and uniform form of government, nor celebrate the mysteries with the pomp and splendour of ceremonies. But when once she was perfectly delivered from the yoke of tyranny, under which she had groaned before," (*they shall fall by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil many days,*) "and established by the authority of a Christian emperor," (*they shall be holpen with a little help,*) "she made rules and laws for the government of herself," (*began to do according to her will,*) "and joined to the purity of faith the magnificence of ceremonies. It was in the fourth century that the body of the churches was perfected, and that certain rules were established for *ecclesiastical decisions*. The distinction, distribution, and subordination of churches were settled for the most part according to the form of the civil government. The civil provinces formed the body of an ecclesiastical province. The bishop of the civil metropolis was looked upon as the first bishop of the province. Some rights and prerogatives were assigned to him, and unto him was committed the care of overseeing the whole province. In every province provincial councils were held twice a-year, which the metropolitan called together, and over which he presided. When the bishop died, all the bishops of the province were convened to ordain a successor in his stead. He was commonly chosen by the clergy and people of the vacant church; the metropolitan was to be present at his ordination, which could not be effected without the presence of two bishops of the province and the consent of the rest. As many civil provinces made one district, which was called a diocess; so many ecclesiastical provinces became one ecclesiastical diocess, of which the bishop of the principal city was the head. The bishop had the rights, prerogatives, privileges of honour and jurisdiction over the whole dio-

cess ; he enjoyed also the right of ordaining metropolitans, which before belonged to the bishops of the province. The *bishop of the Church of Rome* was in possession of the *primacy*, which he received from Jesus Christ as being successor to St. Peter, prince of the apostles. This primacy gave him *great rights and prerogatives in the whole church*, to maintain the faith, and cause the holy canons to be observed.*

A statement, now strange to Protestants, and held true by Papists, which occurs toward the close of the preceding extract, calls for, and may excuse, a slight digression.

The crosier of the apostle Peter was a staff ; his chair, a cross ; and his only crown, the glorious one of martyrdom. A right of succession to these is not the claim, nor is the possession of them the object, of worldly ambition. And the primacy of the Pope, as exercised for ages, is not such a power as was given to the Apostles by Jesus Christ, whose kingdom is not of this world ; nor did Peter,—who, in his own words, was an elder, and charged his beloved brethren, as such, not be to lords over God's heritage, but to be ensamples to the flock, (1 Peter v. 3,) exercise the authority which his nominal successors have assumed and practised in his name. When the disciples of Jesus, at a time they knew not what manner of spirit they were of, disputed among themselves which of them should be greatest, their Lord and Master checked their pride by placing a little child in the midst of them, as a pattern of humility befitting the imitation of apostles ; he shewed them in what manner, or in what spirit alone, either they, or any besides them, could enter into the kingdom of heaven ; he commanded them that it should *not be so* among them as among the princes of the Gentiles, who *exercised*

* Du Pin's Hist. of Ecclesiastical Writers, vol. ii. p. 288.

dominion and authority, Matt. xx. 25, 26. Never did Jesus rebuke any other disciple, not even the traitorous Judas, with half the severity with which he ordered Peter to get behind him, and called him by the name of Satan, or adversary, because he savoured not the things that be of God, but those that be of men. Instead of being bishop of Rome, the apostleship of the circumcision, or of the Jews, was committed unto Peter, as the gospel of the uncircumcision was committed unto Paul; and both held but the right hand of fellowship with the other apostles. The first epistle of Peter is addressed to the strangers, (as the Jews in these countries were,) scattered through Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia. In neither of his epistles is the name of Rome mentioned; nor does it appear from the epistle to the Romans, that the name of primate or prince was heard of, in the Christian church on earth, after its sole king had ascended into heaven. And instead of the apostle Peter having been the infallible head of the church, from whom a long train of successors were to draw their changeful yet sure infallibility, it is recorded of him again, in the epistles as well as in the gospels, as of no other apostle, that Paul withstood him to the face,—before them all,—*because he was to be blamed*, Gal. ii. 11, 14. It is not, then, in conformity with the precepts of Jesus, nor by authority derived from him, nor by any right of succession from the apostle Peter, that the primacy of the church was held in possession as a rightful heritage, by the Pope, any more than that political right of sovereignty was valid, which was defended and maintained for the first time in the eighth century, from the similarly pretended and forged decretals, and alleged donation of Constantine (to which farther allusion will be made)—“the two main pillars,” as Gibbon justly terms them, “of the spiritual and temporal mo-

narchy of the Popes." And, in returning to our subject, the actual progress of papal domination may be more clearly and faithfully traced.

By an edict of the emperors Gratian and Valentinian, in the end of the year 378 or the beginning of 379, the right of jurisdiction was conferred on the bishop of Rome over all the churches of Gaul and Italy. "The granting of this jurisdiction gave several bishops occasion to write to him for his resolutions upon doubtful cases, whereupon he answered by decretal epistles; and henceforth he gave laws to the western churches by such epistles."* He issued edicts; nominated vicars as his representatives; and "gave orders to the metropolitans of all the other provinces in the Western empire, as their universal governor.—The monarchical form of government was then set up in the churches of the Western empire under the bishop of Rome, by means of the imperial decree of Gratian, and the appeals and decretal epistles founded thereon."† The edict of Gratian and Valentinian was confirmed and renewed in more authoritative terms, by Theodosius and Valentinian III. in the year 445; the highest spiritual jurisdiction was recognised, or assigned, as pertaining to the Pope; it was enacted that no one should presumptuously dare to dispute the authority of that see; and it is declared that the peace of the church would be everywhere preserved, if the universe would acknowledge its ruler.‡

But the most remarkable document respecting the establishment, by civil authority, of the spiritual supremacy of the pope, is the epistle of the Emperor Justinian to the Roman pontiff, in which, almost

* Sir Isaac Newton's *Observations on the Prophecies*, p. 91.

† Ibid. pp. 107, 108.

‡ Ibid. p. 109, &c. where the edict, in the original, is quoted at length.

in the very words of the prophet, he gives all the churches into his hands. The institutes of Justinian form the foundation of the laws of southern and western Europe. And the high authority of the pope had the same origin, and would appear to have been established at the same period. The see of Constantinople alone then vied with that of Rome; and the authority of the emperor put an end to the rivalry.

The union of the divine and human nature of Christ,—the Word, who was in the beginning with God, and who was God, but who became flesh and dwelt among us,—has proved a source of unholy controversy among those who have sought to be wise above what is written, and to define what human reason cannot comprehend. Great is the mystery of godliness; God manifest in the flesh. Yet, although no man knoweth who the Son is but the Father, it is a mystery which vain man, who comprehends not his own nature, nor the union of his own soul and body, would endeavour by his feeble intellect to solve. Justinian was a zealot in theological controversy, if not also a tyrant. And instead of promoting religious instruction, and appealing to the word of God as the only and infallible rule of faith and practice, and thereby striving to overcome error with truth, at a time when the Virgin Mary was honoured as a goddess, Justinian, forgetful that he who doth the will of God shall know of the doctrine, appealed to the bishop of Rome as the sole and supreme judge of religious controversies. The bishops of Ephesus and Philippi, to both of which churches epistles had been written by the apostle of Jesus Christ, were the bearers of an epistle to the pope from the emperor, who solicited that he and all who adhered to the same creed, should be received into the communion of the church of Rome. The appeal, which not only recognises, but maintains and establishes, by imperial au-

thority, the supremacy of the pope in regard to ecclesiastical decisions, is inserted at length in the annals of Baronius.

The Epistle of Justinian to John, the Roman Pontiff, A.D. 533.

“ Rendering honour to the apostolic see, and to your holiness, (as *always* was and is our desire,) and, as it becomes us, honouring your Blessedness, as a father, we have laid without delay before the notice of your holiness, all things pertaining to the state of the church: *Since it has always been our earnest study to preserve the unity of your holy see, and the state of the holy churches of God, which has hitherto obtained, and will remain, without any interfering opposition. Therefore we hasten to SUBJECT and to unite to your holiness all the priests of the whole east. As to the matters which are at present agitated, although clear and undoubted, and, according to the doctrine of your apostolic see, held assuredly resolved and decided by all priests, we have yet deemed it necessary to lay them before your holiness. Nor do we suffer any thing which belongs to the state of the church, however manifest and undoubted, that is agitated, to pass without the knowledge of your holiness, who are the head of all the holy churches. For in all things (as had been said or resolved) we are prompt to increase the honour and authority of your see.*”*

* Epist. Justiniani ad Joannem Rom. Pont. A. D. 533.—Reddentes honorem apostolicæ sedi et vestrae sanctitati (quod semper nobis in voto et fuit et est) ut decet patrem honorantes vestram beatudinem, omnia quæ ad Ecclesiæ statum pertinent, festinavimus ad notitiam deferre vestrae sanctitatis: quoniam semper nobis fuit magnum studium, unitatem vestrae apostolicæ sedis, et statum sanctarum, Dei Ecclesiarum custodire, qui hactenus obtinet et incommoté permanet, nulla intercedente contrarietate. Ideoque omnes sacerdotes universi Orientalis tractus et

It was a less questionable act, on the part of Justinian, to give the churches, even that of Constantinople, into the hands of the pope, than the "donation of Constantine," which included half his empire. But while, in respect to the latter, all corroborative evidence is wanting, and all the history of the period refutes the fictitious allegation, there is evidence of the authenticity of the epistle of Justinian, which seems to place its reality beyond a reasonable doubt. It was not to the pope alone that the emperor declared his respect for the papal authority. And in his constitution to Epiphanius, bishop of Constantinople, of date 25th March 533, he acknowledges his epistle to the Roman pontiff, and maintains that he is the head of all the bishops, and that, "by the decision and right judgment of his venerable see, heretics are corrected." The pope's answer to the letter of the emperor is also on record, in which he commends his zeal for religion, approves his doctrine, denounces all who reject it as separate from the church, adopts the titles conferred on him by the emperor, and commends, above all his virtues, his reverence for the holy see, to which, as truly the head, he had subjected and united all the churches.*

subjicere et unire vestrae sanctitati properavimus. In praesenti ergo quae commota sunt, quamvis manifesta et indubita sint, et secundum apostolicae vestrae sedis doctrinam ab omnibus semper sacerdotibus firme custodita et praedicata: necessarium duximus ut ad notitiam vestrae sanctitatis perveniant. Nec enim patimur quicquam quod ad Ecclesiarum statum pertinet, quamvis manifestum et indubitatum sit quod movetur, ut non etiam vestrae innotescat, sanctitati, quae caput est omnium sanctarum Ecclesiarum. Per omnia enim (ut dictum est) properamus honorem et auctoritatem crescere vestrae sedis. *Baronii Annales Ecclesiastici*, tom. vii. p. 204. Ed. Antverpiae, 1758. (Quoted from copy in Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.)

* *Ib.* A. D. 553, 554. Du Pin's *Eccl. Hist.* vol. v. pp. 30, 31, under title John II. "Some have doubted of the truth of these two letters; but there is no reason to reject them, and they are both acknowledged by those who wrote them, and by those who spake of them," &c. *Ibid.*

The bishop of Constantinople acted in subserviency to the decision of the emperor, and expressed to the pope his desire to follow the apostolic authority of his holiness.

“ ‘The authenticity of the title,’ as Mr. Croly well observes, “receives unanswerable proof from the edicts of the ‘*Novellae*’ of the Justinian code. The preamble of the 9th states, ‘that as the elder Rome was the founder of the laws; so was it not to be questioned, that in her was the supremacy of the pontificate.’ The 131st, on the Ecclesiastical Titles and Privileges, chap. ii. states: ‘we therefore decree that the most holy pope of the elder Rome is the first of all the priesthood, and that the most blessed archbishop of Constantinople, the new Rome, shall hold the second rank, after the holy apostolic chair of the elder Rome.’ ”

The title of the pope to the supremacy of the church, was questioned by the bishop of Constantinople, after the death of Justinian; and was afterwards renewed by the tyrant and usurper Phocas, A. D. 606. But the edict of Justinian was never rescinded: no earthly code of laws was ever more extensive or permanent than his; it was published A. D. 529; it continued to be the base of European legislation till it began to be shaken by the revolution of France and the code of Napoleon: and from the year 529 to 533 would seem to be the period, as may subsequently be seen, during which the spiritual supremacy of the pope was first fully and authoritatively established.

In thus constituting or confirming an ecclesiastical supremacy, the emperors of Rome were preparing the way for a more lordly domination than they or their predecessors had ever exercised—and the purple was soon to be outshone by the scarlet. By committing authority over the church of Christ to the successive bishops of Rome, the Roman emperors lost the power of retarding the grossest corruption of the purest faith.

“The popular election of the Latin bishops endeared them to the Romans; the public and private indigence was relieved by their ample revenue; and the weakness or neglect of the emperors compelled them to consult, both in peace and war, the temporal safety of the city. In the school of adversity the priest insensibly imbibed the virtues and the *ambition of a prince*; the *same character* was assumed, the *same policy* was adopted, by the Italian, the Greek, or the Syrian, who ascended the chair of St. Peter; and after the loss of her legions and provinces, the genius and fortune of the popes again restored the *supremacy of Rome*. It is agreed that, in the eighth century, their dominion was founded on rebellion, and that the rebellion was produced and justified by the heresy of the Iconoclasts,”* or breakers of images. True to the character of an apostate church, and giving palpable demonstration of a *falling away* from the simplicity and spirituality of the Christian faith, the papal power, in defending and maintaining the worship of images, triumphed over the imperial, which was exerted in vain for the suppression of idolatry. The edicts against image-worship, issued by the emperor Leo IV., were met by a sentence of excommunication, and an appeal to arms on the part of the “Father of the Church.” “The Byzantine writers,” in the words of Gibbon, “unanimously declare that, after a fruitless admonition, they (Popes Gregory II. and III.) pronounced the separation of the East and West, and deprived the sacrilegious tyrant of the revenue and sovereignty of Italy. Their excommunication is still more clearly expressed by the Greeks, who beheld the accomplishment of the *papal triumphs*. The modern champions of Rome are eager to accept the praise and the precedent; this great and

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. ix. c. 49, p. 131.

glorious example of the deposition of royal heretics is celebrated by the cardinals Baronius and Bellarmine.* The “two original epistles from Gregory II. to the emperor Leo, are still extant; and they exhibit the portrait, or at least the mask, of the founder of the *papal MONARCHY*. The limits of civil and ecclesiastical powers are defined by the pontiff. To the former he appropriates the body; to the latter the soul; the sword of justice is in the hands of the magistrates; the more formidable weapon of excommunication is intrusted to the clergy; and in the exercise of their divine commission, a zealous son will not spare his offending father; the successor of St. Peter may *lawfully chastise the kings of the earth.*”†

The *papal monarchy* was thus founded; the *supremacy of Rome* was thus restored; the imperial power bowed down before the *papal triumphs*; and the pope, *magnifying himself* above either a Gothic king or a Roman emperor, became “lord of the ascendant.” Out of the fourth monarchy, or Roman empire, *the king*, (a term used in other instances to denote a form of government, or succession of rulers) *diverse from the rest, did according to his will*, he exalted himself and magnified himself against every god. The pope not only exalted and magnified himself against earthly governors, or kings, (to whom the designation of gods is applied in Scripture, Ps. lxxxii. 6; John x. 34; 1 Cor. viii. 5.) and assumed the right of “lawfully chastising them,”

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. ix. c. 49, pp. 131, 132. The words of Baronius are, “*Sic dignum posteris reliquit exemplum ni in Ecclesia Christi regnare sinerentur hæretici principes, si, sæpe moniti, in errore persistere obstinato animo invenirentur.*” Baron. A. D. 730, § 20. “He thus left a worthy example to posterity, that, in the church of Christ, heretical princes should not be permitted to reign, if, after repeated admonitions, they should be found to persist obstinately in error.”

† Gibbon's Hist. ib. pp. 134, 135.

but, as the successor of St. Peter, he laid claim to far higher authority. All the dignities and prerogatives of the apostle, in utter forgetfulness of the true character of the followers of the meek and lowly Jesus, were held as the possession and patrimony of the pope of Rome. And, magnifying his office infinitely beyond any other, Gregory II., in writing to the emperor, maintained that "all the kingdoms of the West held the apostle Peter as a God upon earth."*

It was not merely in name, that the pope *exalted and magnified himself*. From the assumption of spiritual authority, he attained a temporal dominion. "His alms, his sermons, his correspondence with the kings and potentates of the West, his recent services, their gratitude, an oath, accustomed the Romans to consider him as the first magistrate or *prince* of the city. The Christian humility of the popes was not offended by the name of *Dominus*, or Lord; and the face and inscription are apparent on the most ancient coins. Their *temporal dominion* is now confirmed by the reverence of 1000 years."†

In the middle of the eighth century, the fate of kingdoms was influenced by the decision of the pope. "The mutual obligations of the popes and the Carlovingian family, (*i. e.* the family of Charlemagne, or Charles the Great,) form the important link of ancient and modern, of civil and ecclesiastical history. The most essential gifts of the popes to the Carlovingian race, were the dignities of king of France, and of patrician of Rome. Under the *sacerdotal monarchy of St. Peter*, the nations began to resume the practice of seeking, on the banks of the Tiber, their kings,

* "Ὅν αἱ πασαι βασιλείαι της δυσεως ὡς ΘΕΟΝ ἐπίγειον εχουσι. Greg. II. Epist. i. Bin. Tom. 5, p. 508.

† Gibbon's Hist. vol. ix. p. 144.



their *laws*, and the oracles of their fate.”* The ambassadors of France, in the name of their nobles, petitioned the Roman Pontiff to absolve them from their oath of fidelity to Childeric, the last descendant of Clovis, and to sanction the nomination of Pepin, the first of the Carlovingian princes. The rights of sovereignty yielded to the interests of the church. And as the temporal authority of the pope had begun by an act of rebellion in the defence of images, it was consolidated into an actual dominion, by Pepin and Charlemagne, because pope Zachary, the “worthy” successor of the first of the Gregories, disannulled throughout a nation, the sacred sanction of an oath, dethroned and degraded a monarch, and, in the *first* papal application of the royal unction, *anointed* an usurper in his stead.

“The gratitude of the Carlovingians was adequate to these obligations, and their names are consecrated as the saviours and benefactors of the Roman church. Her ancient patrimony of farms and houses was transformed by their bounty into the *temporal dominion of cities and provinces*; and the donation of the exarchate of Ravenna was the first fruits of the conquests of Pepin. The ample measure of the exarchate might comprise all the provinces of Italy which had obeyed the emperor and his vicegerent; but its strict and proper limits were included in the territories of Ravenna, Bologna, and Ferrara; its inseparable dependency was the Pentapolis, which stretched along the Adriatic from Rimini to Ancona, and advanced into the midland country as far as the ridges of the Appenine. The splendid donation was granted in supreme and absolute dominion, and the world beheld, for the first time, a Christian bishop invest-

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. ix. 150, 151.

ed with the *prerogatives of a temporal prince*,—the choice of magistrates, the exercise of justice, the imposition of taxes, and the wealth of the palace of Ravenna. In the dissolution of the Lombard kingdom, the inhabitants of the duchy of Spoleto sought a refuge from the storm, shaved their heads after the Roman fashion, declared themselves the servants and subjects of St. Peter, and completed, by this voluntary surrender, the present circle of the ecclesiastical state.*

“Fraud is the resource of weakness and cunning: and the strong, though ignorant, barbarian was often entangled in the net of sacerdotal policy. The Vatican and Lateral were an arsenal and manufacture, which, according to the occasion, have produced or concealed a various collection of false or genuine, of corrupt or suspicious acts, as they tended to promote the interests of the Roman church. Before the end of the eighth century, some apostolical scribe, perhaps the notorious Isidore, composed the decretals and donation of Constantine, the two magic pillars of the spiritual and temporal monarchy of the popes. This memorable donation was introduced to the world by an epistle of Adrian I., who exhorts Charlemagne to imitate the liberality, and revive the name of the great Constantine. According to the legend, the first of the Christian emperors was healed of the leprosy, and purified in the waters of baptism, by St. Silvester, the Roman bishop: and never was a physician more gloriously recompensed. His royal proselyte withdrew from his seat and patrimony of St. Peter, declared his resolution of founding a new capital in the East, and resigned to the popes the free and perpetual sovereignty of Rome, Italy, and the provinces of the west. This fiction was productive of

* Gibbon's Hist. pp. 156, 157.

the most beneficial effects. The Greek princes were convicted of the guilt of usurpation, and the revolt of Gregory was the claim of his lawful inheritance. The popes were delivered from their debt of gratitude, and the nominal gifts of the Carlovingians were no more than the just and irrevocable restitution of a scanty portion of the ecclesiastical state. The sovereignty of Rome no longer depended on the choice of a fickle people; and the successors of St. Peter and Constantine were invested with the purple and prerogatives of the Cæsars. So deep was the ignorance and credulity of the times, that the most absurd of fables was received with equal reverence in Greece and in France, and is still enrolled among the decrees of the canon law. The emperors and the Romans were incapable of discerning a forgery that subverted their rights and freedom; and the only opposition proceeded from a Sabine monastery, which in the beginning of the *twelfth century*, disputed the truth and validity of the donation of Constantine. In the revival of letters and liberty, this fictitious deed was transpierced by the pen of Laurentius Valla,—the pen of an eloquent critic, and a Roman patriot. His contemporaries of the fifteenth century were astonished at his sacrilegious boldness; yet such is the silent and irresistible progress of reason, that before the end of the next age, the fable was rejected by the contempt of historians and poets, and the tacit or modest censure of the advocates of the Romish church. The popes themselves have indulged a smile at the credulity of the vulgar; but a false and obsolete title still sanctifies their reign, and by the same fortune which has attended the decretals and the Sibylline oracles, the edifice has subsisted after the foundations have been undermined.*

* Gibbon's Hist. *ibid.* pp. 159, 160, 162.

It is here worthy of remark, that the censure, even of the advocates of the Romish church, against the fabulous edict, which deceived the world for ages, has been sometimes properly marked by an honest admission and just rebrobation of the forgery, rather than by a guilty silence or misplaced modesty. The pen of Du Pin has transpierced it as thoroughly as that of Laurentius Valla. According to his showing,—the pretended liberality, in that respect, of Constantine to the church, passed wholly unnoticed, and was consequently unknown, by ALL ancient historians who wrote the history of that period, as well as by all the popes themselves,—that the date of the act, pretending to be in the consulship of Constantine and Callinicus, bears forgery in its face, both as Constantine was not then converted to the Christian faith, and as the name of Constantinople, which it bears, had not at that period been exchanged for that of Byzantium,—that the style is barbarous, and very different from that of the genuine edicts of Constantine, and that the terms in which it is couched were never used, at that time, in any public acts,—that the donation itself, comprehending the one half of the Roman empire, was incredible as well as always unheard of, having, in point of fact, been never made; and, finally, that the edict contains an infinite number of falsehoods and absurdities,—some of which are specified by Du Pin.*

It accords well with the character of *the king who did according to his will*, that he could palm such a deception on mankind, and that so gross a delusion should have passed unchallenged for centuries throughout Europe. In kindred *deceivableness of unrighteousness*, the more that the temporal dominion of the pope was extended, *he did according to his*

* Du Pin, vol. iv. pp. 17, 18.

will, and magnified himself the more; and copying the example of Gregory, as the chastizer of royal heretics, and of Zachary, as the putter down and setter up of kings, the pope, in succeeding ages, and in the plenitude of his power, ruling in dark dominion over the abject spirits of men, assumed a prerogative, and exercised a power, such as no race of kings ever claimed, and *exalting himself* above all, maintained an unparalleled ascendancy, and *prospered* during a period which scarcely any dynasty on earth ever equalled.

The annals of Europe for more than a thousand years, attest the supremacy, though not always unchallenged, of the papal power, and the boundless authority, nay, the divine attributes of infallibility and judgment, to which the head of the church of Rome laid claim. The ten kingdoms into which the Roman empire was divided, gave their power and strength unto the beast; and kings became the vassals of a priest.

The pope, on the establishment of his authority, overawing kings as well as their subjects, with superstitious fears, and with more real terrors, *exalted himself and magnified himself above every god*, and did *speak marvellous things against the God of gods* to such a degree, that the mere repetition of his blasphemies would savour of impiety, were they not purposely adduced to substantiate the prophecy, and to show from his own lips the *marvellous things*, which, in *exalting himself*, the pope, as such, has SPOKEN *against the God of gods*.

As darkness deepened over Christendom, the papacy became the more *exalted* on its black and lofty throne. In the ninth century, pope Nicholas maintained that he was not liable to the judgment of any man.* Pope

* Du Pin, vol. vii. p. 95.

John VIII. claimed the obedience of princes as his due, and threatened them with excommunication.* In the eleventh century, Leo IX. sanctioned the opinion, that it is very unbecoming (*valde indignum*) that those should be subject to an earthly empire, whom the divine majesty had set over an heavenly.† He defended alike the spiritual authority and the temporal sovereignty of the popes. Gregory VII. “thundered out a terrible excommunication against the emperor Henry IV., in which he anathematized him and all his adherents; declared him to have forfeited the kingdoms of Germany and Italy, together with all regal dignity; forbade all Christians to obey him; bestowed the kingdom of Germany on Radulphus, elected by the princes of Germany; and finally, exhorted all of them to take up arms against Henry, and to divest him of his dominions.”‡ The records of that age supply abundant proof how he exalted and magnified himself, and what *marvellous things he spoke against the Most High*, leaving a still more worthy example than the second of the Gregories, which his successors failed not to imitate. In addressing the council of Rome, held in the year 1080, in reference to the excommunication and deposition of Henry, he said, “Go on, therefore, most holy princes of the apostles, and what *I SAID*, by interposing your authority, confirm, that all men may now at length understand, if ye can bind and lose in heaven, that on earth also ye can take away and give empires, kingdoms, and whatever mortals can have: For, if ye can *judge things belonging unto God*, what is to be deemed concerning these inferior and profane things? And, if it is your part to judge angels, who govern

* Epist. 42, 119, 315. Vide Ibid. pp. 181, 182, 188. Baron. Anno 873.

† Ep. i. c. 12.

‡ Du Pin, vol. ix. p. 45.

proud princes, what does it become you to do towards their servants? Let kings now, and all secular princes learn by this man's example, what *ye can do in heaven, and in what esteem ye are with God*; and let them henceforth fear to slight the commands of holy church, but put forth suddenly this judgment, that all men may understand that, not casually but by your means, the son of iniquity doth fall from his kingdom."* In the same style of blasphemous gasconade, which no language used on earth, except that of his successors, ever overmatched, the sentence of deposition runs thus: "For the dignity and defence of God's holy church, in the name of Almighty God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I depose from imperial and royal administration, King Henry, son of Henry, some time emperor, who too boldly and rashly hath laid hands on thy church; and I absolve all Christians subject to the empire, from that oath whereby they were wont to plight their faith to true kings; for it is right that he should be bereft of all honour, who is the cause of derogating from the majesty of the church."†

"The quarrels that broke out between the popes and the emperors, caused very great commotions and disorders in the western empire. During these commotions, the popes took occasion to establish their temporal sovereignty in Rome, and endeavoured to make themselves independent of the emperors. Gregory VII. extended his pretensions yet farther, and used his utmost efforts to persuade the world that he was rightful sovereign of the whole universe, as well in civil as in ecclesiastical affairs."‡

* Plat. in Greg. VII. Conc. Rom. 7, apud Bin. Tom. 7, p. 491.

† Plat. in Greg. VII. Rom. 3, p. 484. See Barrow on the Pope's Supremacy, vol. i. p. 542.

‡ Du Pin, vol. x. p. 126.

“ In the twelfth century, the popes established their sovereignty at Rome and their independence of the emperor, and even assumed to themselves the right of conferring the imperial crown. They extended their jurisdiction and authority over the churches farther than they had hitherto done, and met with much less opposition in their attempts than in former times. The most part of the councils were called either by them or by their legates, and they were the authors of the constitutions that were made therein, and to which the bishops scarce did any thing else than to give their consent. Appeals to the pope in all sorts of cases, and in favour of all sorts of persons, were become so frequent, that no affair was transacted, the determination of which was not immediately referred to the court of Rome.”*

Pope Innocent III., in the thirteenth century, maintained that the difference was as great between popes and kings, as between the sun and the moon. Acting on that creed, he disposed, in Asia and Europe, of crowns and sceptres with the most wanton ambition. In Asia, he gave a king to the Armenians. In Europe, he raised to royalty, and constituted as kings, the dukes of Bohemia, of Bulgaria, and Wallachia, and also of Arragon. He crowned, in 1209, the emperor Otho IV., but afterwards denounced him as a rebel against the holy see, anathematized and deposed him; and, in 1212, raised the more compliant Frederick II. to the imperial throne.—In England, too, *he did according to his will*. After the regular election by the convent and confirmation by the king of an archbishop of Canterbury, the authority of the pope was interposed; and he gave his mandate to the monks, with whom the election lay, to make choice of Langton, and consecrated him to the office. The convent was obsequious, but the king

* Du Pin, vol. ix. p. 117.

would not obey; and the kingdom was threatened with an interdict. In reluctant submission to an authority greater even in England than his own, the king, John, consented to undo his own act, and to confirm the election of the nominee of the pope; but, preserving some show of regard to the rights of royalty, he protested that he should not be held as thereby abandoning or infringing the prerogatives of the crown. Unconditional acquiescence could alone satisfy the pope; and any defence of his rights on the part of the king, was deemed a daring and unpardonable opposition to the papal *will*. An interdict was laid upon the kingdom. The churches were shut, the public worship of God was prohibited, because the pope was offended. The dead were not laid in consecrated ground, but were buried in the highways. And the nation lay for three years under the interdiction of religious privileges. When the interdict proved unavailing, other means were tried to bring the refractory king to submission; and the throne of England was shaken by the thunders of the Vatican. Sentence of excommunication was denounced against John. A bull was issued absolving all his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and all intercourse with him was forbidden, on pain of excommunication. The right of reigning was held as abrogated, when kings would not obey the vicegerent of him by whom they reigned; the throne of England was pronounced vacant, and all Christian princes were exhorted to dispossess the heretic of his kingdom. A legate of the pope arrived in England, and induced the king, as the only means of saving his dominions, to place them under the protection of the Roman see. "He did homage to Innocent, resigned his crown to the legate, and received it again as a gift from the see of Rome, to which he rendered his kingdoms tributary, and swore fealty as a vassal and feu-

datory." The legate retained possession, for five days, of the crown and of the sceptre; and, in the proud and domineering spirit of his master, trampled under his feet the money which, in token of vassalage, was submissively given him by the king. Innocent III. who thus *exalted himself* above the monarchs of the earth, overlooking more apposite predictions, applied to the Roman pontiff the word of the Lord by Jeremiah, i. 10, "See, I have set thee over the nations, and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build, and to plant."

Innocent IV. held the emperor Frederick II. as his vassal, and, in virtue of his occupying the place and authority of Jesus Christ, bereaved the monarch of all honour and dignity, absolved for ever all who were bound by oath to yield him obedience, and transmuting an act of sworn fidelity into an unpardonable crime, excommunicated all who would aid him as their monarch.* Pope Boniface VIII. reached the summit of papal arrogance towards the close of the thirteenth century, and declared himself to be—"King of kings, monarch of monarchs, and sole lord and governor both in spirituals and temporal." The pope *exalted and magnified himself* above all. And every code on earth is outrivalled by the canon law, in which this decree by Boniface is extant. "We declare, assert, define, and pronounce, that it is essentially necessary to salvation, for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff." He was to do in all things *according to his will*, and claimed to himself a double sword—the dominion of the church and jurisdiction over all temporal authority. "One sword," says Boniface, "must be subservient to another, and the temporal authority must

* Pope Innocent III. in *Decret. Greg.* lib. i. tit. 33, c. 6.

be subject to the spiritual ; wherefore if the earthly authority act amiss, it must be subjected to the spiritual." These aphorisms, in illustration, perhaps, of the meekness of his wisdom, and the infallibility of his interpretations, he proves by Scriptures, as Barrow remarks, " admirably expounded for that purpose." The time was, and long did it continue, when the authority of the pope, and of the church, was not an empty name, nor an idle jest, but the dread of monarchs, the death of martyrs, and the ban of kingdoms. The rise of the papacy was marked and promoted by all deceivableness of unrighteousness ; and the gradual assumption and extension of its power may thus be traced through many ages, till the bare recital of a few of the most prominent events becomes wearisome and painful. The mystery of iniquity was long at work ere the hierarchy of Rome was exalted to its height. But no sooner had it reached that high elevation, than the priest's lance was truly raised above both the royal diadem and the imperial crown. The head of that church which vindicates the tenet that the end justifies the means, was as unsparing in the exercise of power, as unscrupulous in regard to the mode of its attainment. The minds of men, throughout many nations, were spell-bound by a strong delusion to believe a lie. And in traversing the dark ages of papal domination, it is painful to behold how the human mind was prostrated by superstitious fears, and how the nominal successors of an apostle of the Lord Jesus Christ, the light of the world, ruled only to deepen the ignorance by which their own power was upheld.

In addition to the preceding extracts from the canons of councils, and the bulls of popes, it may be enough to show how the pope *did according to his will, and exalted and magnified himself* in a manner diverse from that of other kings and *above them all*, to state,

that the emperor Henry IV. stood for the space of three days at the gate of the fortress of Canusium, and, as a humble supplicant, ready to discharge the office of a menial, waited there, bare-headed and bare-footed, with nothing but a coarse cloth to cover him, before his lordly holiness, Hildebrand, Gregory VII. would grant him absolution. At the command of another pope, Henry II. of England walked bare-footed to do penance at the tomb of Becket. Pope Celestin dashed with his foot the crown of Henry VI. from his head; and, though on somewhat doubtful authority, it has been often said that pope Alexander III. trod upon the neck of the emperor Frederick I. These acts of marvellous haughtiness, which it would be neither manly nor meet for a king to exercise towards a beggar, would be only tantamount to the *marvellous words* which, in *magnifying himself above all*, many a pope did unquestionably utter. That which was spoken by the person and in the character of pope, may here be adduced in completion of the evidence that the *things* which *he spake against the Most High* were MARVELLOUS.

Though the bull of the pope was then, in Britain, the powerless thing that it ever should have been, these are the *words* in which papal infallibility thought fit to pronounce the deposition of Elizabeth, the queen of Protestant England. "He who reigns on high, to whom is given all power in heaven and in earth, has committed the one holy catholic and apostolic church, out of which there is no salvation, to one alone, on earth, namely to Peter the prince of the apostles, and to the Roman pontiff, the successor of Peter, to be governed in the plenitude of power. Him alone hath he constituted prince over all nations, and over all kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build and to plant," &c.*

At a later date, (1585), but with more authorita-

* Camden. Hist. A. D. 1570.

tive power, the bull of Pope Sixtus VI., against the *two sons of wrath*, Henry, king of Navarre, and the prince of Conde, *these marvellous words*, the common language on such occasions, are spoken against the God of gods, in which the pope himself, in denouncing judgment against others, is the witness that he is the very *man of sin who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God,—who doeth according to his will, and exalts himself, and magnifies himself above all.* “By the immense power of the eternal king, the authority given to the blessed Peter, and to his successors, excels all the powers of earthly kings and princes. It passes, on them all, judgments not to be cancelled (*inconcussa judicia.*) And if it find them resisting the ordinances of God, it takes more severe vengeance upon them, and, however powerful, casting them down from their thrones as the ministers of aspiring Lucifer, overthrows and prostrates them to the lowest parts of the earth.”

Speaking thus of themselves in the face of the world, the language of blasphemous adulation, used towards the pope by the sycophants of Rome, when his own words more than those of any king on earth betrayed the pride of Lucifer, need scarcely be wondered at, however melancholy and marvellous of itself. There is ample proof in the summary of such godless verbiage given by Bishop Newton; and there would be no pleasure, as there is no need, in extending it. “He exerciseth divine authority in the church, shewing himself that he is God, affecting divine titles and attributes, as holiness and infallibility, assuming divine powers and prerogatives in condemning and absolving men, in retaining and forgiving sins, in asserting his decrees to be of the same, or greater, authority than the word of God, and commanding them to be received under the penalty of the same or

greater damnation. Like another Salmoneus, he is proud to imitate the state and thunder of the Almighty ; and is styled and pleased to be styled, ‘ Our Lord God the Pope ;’ another God upon 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, 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 doth 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 extravagancies of private writers, but are the language even of public decretals, and acts of councils. So that the pope is evidently the God upon earth ; as 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, showing himself that he is God.*

The papacy indeed has fallen from its high estate ; and the *appointed time* during which it so greatly prospered, is, in human view, in a great measure past. After the judgment sitteth, it is to be consumed and to be destroyed until the end—words which imply a gradual, but sure and terrible destruction. “The pomp of ceremonies” has lost its charm,

* “ Dominus Deus noster papa alter Deus in terra. Rex regum, dominus dominorum. Idem est dominium Dei et papæ. Credere Dominum Deum nostrum papam non potuisse statuere prout statuit, hæreticum censeretur. Papæ potestas est major omni potestate creata, extenditque se ad celestia terrestria, et infernalìa. Papa facit quicquid libet, etiam illicita, et est plus quam Deus. (Translated in the text.) See these and the like instances quoted in Bishop Jewel’s Apology and Defence, in Downham’s Treatise de Antichristo, and Poole’s English Annotations. See likewise Barrow’s Treatise of the Pope’s Supremacy in the Introduction.”—*Bishop Newton.*

in many countries where they were revered. No king now stands uncovered and barefooted at his gate; and none do penance at the mandate of the pope. An *interdict*, such as he was wont to issue, would, in Britain, and now even in France, give license to laughter. We hear now but the faint echo of the thunder of the Vatican as it is dying away in distant lands, where before its loud peal was over our heads, and in the midst of the deepest darkness, the lightning's flash was around us. But even yet the pretence to divine honour is not abjured; there still is the name of blasphemy on the forehead of the papacy. And the pope, as his predecessors throughout the dark ages, may be yet *literally* said to *sit in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God*. The pope, on his election, as the custom still goes, is enthroned in the temple of St. Peter. There he sits, and shows himself that he is God. Even the cardinals, the princes of the church, prostrate themselves before him. *Adoration* is not only the act, but also the *word* that is still in use, to the regret of some Catholic writers in these more enlightened times. And the symbol is yet to be seen of what the pope once was in Christendom. Still, literally too, *he exalteth himself ABOVE ALL THAT IS CALLED GOD, or that is worshipped*. Wood or stone is not God; neither is a wafer. But *it is called God*. Speaking without a figure, *the host* is laid upon the altar in St. Peter's. It is said to be the very body of Christ. The elevation of the host, according to the Roman Catholic faith, is the offering up of very God. When it is borne throughout the streets, or brought into the view of men, all Catholics bow down and adore. Yet the altar on which the host itself is laid, is literally the footstool of the pope. *He exalts himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped*.

In a manner, and with a truth that can never be

said of any other, and according to the testimony of many ages, or throughout a long appointed time, it is true of the pope and of the papal power, as such, — *And the king shall do according to his will : and he shall exalt himself and magnify himself above every god, and he shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished : for that that is determined shall be done.*

Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women, nor regard any god : for he shall magnify himself above all : But in his estate shall he honour the god of forces : and a god whom his fathers knew not shall he honour with gold, and silver, and with precious stones, and pleasant things. 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. Ver. 37, 38, 39.

It was the practice of the early preachers of the gospel, and it is ever the duty of them all, to inculcate the worship of the only living and true God—and, according even to the first commandment, of him alone. The second commandment of the law is expressly directed against all manner of idolatry, against the making of ANY graven image, or ANY likeness of any thing that is in the heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth, or against *bowing down* to them or serving them ; for God is a jealous God, and will not suffer the glory that is due to him to be given to another. But the bishop of Rome did not thus regard the God of his fathers. The purity and the worship of the one only God, was not maintained by the bishops of the church as it had been by the priests under the law ; and Rome, under its pontiff, showed

none of that zeal against idolatry, which, even in its degenerate days, Jerusalem, under its high priests, repeatedly displayed. The temporal power of the popes was first called into action in defence of the worship of images ; and judgments were fulminated, not against those who worshipped, but against those who destroyed them.

Bent on aggrandizing the see of Rome, or *on magnifying himself above all—he did not regard any god*, whose worship would counteract that object ; and for that the domestic charities of life were also sacrificed. If marriage had been tolerated among the priesthood, then the clergy would have had a separate *temporal* interest from that of the church, and its worldly prosperity or aggrandizement would not have been their great or only aim. But uniting all interests into one, and concentrating all objects in the exaltation of the hierarchy, *he who regarded not the God of his fathers, regarded not either the desire of women*. In whatever sense the expression be understood, its clear and direct meaning seems evidently to be the discouragement, and even, in many cases, positive prohibition of matrimony, which is so remarkable a feature of the Romish church, which is engrained in its institutions, and has been so highly influential on its history and fate. The accordance is here as close between these words and the description, given by the apostle, of the apostacy of the latter times, as between the character of the king who did according to his will, and exalted himself, and magnified himself above every god, and spoke marvellous things against the God of gods—and that man of sin who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called god, or that is worshipped, &c. After the apostle had declared, (1 Tim. iii. 1.) *This is a true saying, if a man desire the office of a bishop, he desireth a good work ; a bishop must be blameless, the husband of*

one wife, &c. ;—he looks forward prophetically to the times of which the Spirit spoke expressly, when some would depart from the faith,—*forbidding to marry*. Not to regard the desire of women, *or of wives*, (as the original word is *very* frequently translated,) obviously appears to be an analogous expression, or one of similar significance. “By the *desire of women*, the desire of marriage seems to be meant ; and where on earth,” to quote the just and forcible expressions of an able commentator, “has any power or government permanently and avowedly stigmatized marriage as dishonourable, and almost idolized celibacy and virginity, except that of Rome, even from the conversion of the emperors to Christianity to this day ; and except those who have retained some measure of her anti-christianity ? The prohibition of marriage to priests, secular and regular, has always been attended with discouraging the marriage of women, and the encouragement of vows of virginity. Convents of nuns have regularly, and almost necessarily attended those of monks and friars ; and in both senses the apostle’s prediction, of a ‘power *forbidding to marry*,’ as well as Daniel’s of a power *not regarding the desire of women*, has been literally fulfilled.”* The neglect of the pure and genuine worship of God, and the discouragement of marriage, are appropriately combined with *magnifying himself above all*—for the promotion of which object they are represented as designed, and which in fact they did effect.

The king who did according to his will was not an atheist, or one who abjured the forms of religion ; for although he did not regard the God of his fathers, in his estate he *honoured the god of forces, and a god whom his fathers knew not*, and a *strange god*, whom he would *acknowledge and increase with glory*. He

was to be a worshipper of many gods or divinities, (a god of forces, or gods-protectors, being in the plural number,) but he was to cause them *to rule over many*, and to *divide the land for gain*. The gods whose worship he would promote or enforce, were to be made subservient to his aggrandizement or gain, for it was his character and aim to *exalt himself above all*.

The term "a god of forces," used in our version, scarcely conveys any definite meaning. The Septuagint, Vulgate, Geneva, and other versions, such as that of Arius Montanus, the most literal of all, retain the original word *Mahuzzim*. It is also marked on the margin of the English Bible, and there translated *gods-protectors*. Mahoz, in the singular number, signifies *strength, a fortress, a strong tower, or a rock*. The use of it in the plural number here denotes, that, instead of the pure worship of God, there would be a plurality of objects of adoration, *honoured* and trusted in as *divine protectors*. The psalmist, in addressing the Divine Being, repeatedly uses the very term, but limits it to the worship of God alone. The Lord is the strength (mahoz) of my life, Ps. xxvii. 1. The Lord is the saving strength (literally the mahoz of salvation) of his anointed, Ps. xxviii. 8. Bow down thine ear to me; deliver me speedily; be thou my strong rock—be thou to me for a rock of strength (a rock of mahoz)—for an house of defence to save me, Ps. xxi. 2. Pull me out of the net that they have laid privily for me, for thou art my protector (mahoz), ib. ver. 5. The salvation of the righteous is of the Lord; he is their strength (their mahoz) in the time of trouble, and the Lord shall help and deliver them, Ps. xxxvii. 39. In each of these instances, *Mahoz* is translated in the Septuagint and vulgate, or Greek* and Latin† translations, by a word which literally

* ὑπὲρασπιστής.

† Protector.

signifies a *defender* or *protector*. *Mahuzzim*, which is simply the plural of *Mahoz*, thus expressly signifies *defenders* or *protectors*. "And how think you now," asks Mede emphatically, after citing these passages,—“are not saints and angels worshipped as *Mahuzzims*? True Christians have but one *Mahoz*,—but apostate Christians have their many *Mahuzzims*.”*

“It is a thing not to be passed by,” says Mede, “without admiration, that the Fathers and others, even at the beginning of *saint-worship*, by I know not what fatal instinct, used to call saints and their relics, *towers, walls, bulwarks, fortresses*, i. e. *Mahuzzim* in the prime and original signification;”† of which he and Sir Isaac Newton adduce abundant proof.‡ By entering into their labours, a few instances may be selected.

Basil, bishop of Cæsarea, who flourished in the latter part of the fourth century, concludes his oration on the Martyr Mamas with a prayer that God would preserve the church thus *fortified* with the GREAT TOWERS of the martyrs. And in his oration on the forty martyrs he thus speaks, “These are they who, having taken possession of our country, like *certain towers*, afford us safety from our enemies.—O ye common keepers of mankind, the best companions of our cares, and coadjutors of our prayers, *most powerful ambassadors to God*,” &c.—“The body of St. Paul,” according to Chrysostome, (Hom. 32.) “*fortifies* the city of Rome more strongly than any *tower*, or than ten thousand ramparts—as likewise does the body of St. Peter.” Are not these, as Mede asks, strong

* Mede's Works, p. 670.

† The fourteenth chap. of Sir Isaac Newton's *Observations on Daniel*, which occupies 28 pages, is devoted to the illustration of this fact.

‡ Ibid. p. 673.

Mahuzzim?—Other cities and countries, besides Rome and Italy, were not destitute, in the estimation of Chrysostome, of similar divine protectors, in the dead bodies of martyred saints. In his homily (70) upon the Egyptian martyrs, he avers—the bodies of these saints FORTIFY our city more strongly than an *impregnable wall of adamant*, and as certain high ROCKS hanging on every side, not only repel the assaults of those enemies which are seen with the eye, but also overthrow and defeat the ambassadors of invisible fiends, and all the stratagems of the devil. Here too are *Muhuzzim*. “If you dread the swords and wars of Italy,” says Gregory, (lib. 7, ep. 23.) “you should attentively consider how great is the PROTECTION of blessed Peter, the prince of the apostles in this city; wherein, without a great number of people, without the aid of soldiers, we have been for so many years, in the midst of swords, safely preserved by God’s providence from all hurt.”

Incredible as it may seem, the bodies of saints were actually confided in, and, so to speak, used as fortresses, and held as influential as more substantial bulwarks. Even in the days of Constantine, and by his order, (on the authority of Gennadius) James, bishop of Nisibis, renowned for holiness, was buried within the walls of that city, a frontier town of the empire, for the protection or guardianship (*custodiam*) of the city (Gen. de vir. illus. cap. 6.)—The Antiochians petitioned Leo I. (A. D. 460) for the keeping of the body of holy Simeon, in these terms—“Because our city has no wall, therefore we brought hither this holy body, that it might be to us a WALL and a FORTRESS—(τείχος καὶ ὀχυρῶμα—which in Hebrew would be rendered MAHOZ). Hilary, who was himself soon after ranked among the saints, asserts that “neither the *guards* of saints, nor the *bulwarks* of angels, are wanting to those who are willing to stand.”

The historian here naturally adopts the language of the ecclesiastic ; and the testimony of Gibbon may, in this instance, be associated with that of churchmen, to show how a disbeliever and perverter of the truth may unite with them in illustrating the Scriptures, and in fixing a prophetic brand on a corrupt church, which marks a great *falling away* from the faith.

“ The primitive Christians were possessed with an unconquerable repugnance to the use and abuse of images.—The first introduction of a symbolic worship, was in veneration of the cross and of relics. The saints and martyrs, whose intercession was implored, were seated on the right hand of God ; but the gracious and often *supernatural favours*, which in the popular belief were showered round their tomb, conveyed an unquestionable sanction to the devout pilgrims who visited, and touched, and kissed these lifeless remains, the memorials of their merits and sufferings. But a memorial more interesting than the skull or the sandals of a departed worthy, is a faithful copy of his person and features delineated by the arts of painting or sculpture.—At first the experiment was made with caution and scruple ; and the venerable pictures were discreetly allowed to instruct the ignorant, to awaken the cold, and to gratify the prejudices of the heathen proselytes. By a slow though inevitable progression, the *honours* of the original were transferred to the copy : the devout Christian prayed before the image of a saint ; and the pagan rites of *genuflexion, luminaries, and incense* again stole into the *Catholic church*. The scruples of reason or piety were silenced by the strong evidence of visions and miracles ; and the pictures which speak, and move, and bleed, must be endowed with a *divine energy*, and may be considered as the proper objects of ador-

ation. The use, and even the *worship of images*, was firmly established before the end of the sixth century. —They were propagated in the camps and cities of the eastern empire; they were the objects of worship and the instruments of miracles; and in the hour of *danger* or tumult, their venerable presence could revive the hopes, rekindle the courage, or repress the fury, of the Roman legions. The cities of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt had been **FORTIFIED** with the images of Christ, his mother and his saints; and each city presumed on the hope or promise of *miraculous defence*.* —Images were not only esteemed as fortresses, or the saints as protectors, but, according to popish legends, the actual deliverance of cities was ascribed to them. “In the ecclesiastical page of Evagrius,” it is recorded concerning the image of Edessa, “that the palladium was exposed on the rampart; and that the water which had been sprinkled on the holy face, instead of quenching added new fuel to the flames of the besieged. Its first and most glorious exploit was the deliverance of the city from the arms of Chosroes Nushirvan.”†

The full and literal import of *Mahuzzim* is preserved in the common designation of “**TUTELARY SAINTS**,” whose ordinary appellatives are *protectors*, *guardians*, or *defenders*. They are invoked *as such*, whether in the lightness of unguarded conversation or in all the solemnity of a fervent prayer, whether in the gayest or the gloomiest mood, and alike by the rustic catholic at a fair, or a royal devotee at the altar. And while the origin of the custom can be traced far back in the history of Christendom, as ranking with the earliest of the corruptions which tarnished a pure

* Gibbon's Hist. chap. xlix. vol. ix. pp. 113, 114, 115, 116, 120, 121.

† Ibid. pp. 118, 119.

and holy faith, the invocation of saints, as protectors, defenders, and intercessors, is still the prevalent practice in every catholic church, and daily in every catholic family, where the injunctions contained in their *authorised prayer-book* are not broken. Roman
ibid

"In the Litany of the saints,"* which is the first of "the prayers recommended to be said in catholic families every evening," fifty-four saints are invoked by their names, at the head of which, and before the archangels, stands, "*Holy Mary, pray for us,*" &c. "A prayer to our guardian angel" includes these petitions, "I conjure thee, O amiable guide, to defend me against my enemies—to protect me, in particular, at the hour of death: enlighten, defend, and protect me," &c.† Under the titles "A prayer to the Blessed Virgin—The Litany of our Blessed Lady of Loretto—The thirty-days prayer to the B. V. Mary—The Rosary of the Blessed Virgin," &c. the following supplications and expressions occur—"O Blessed Virgin, Mother of God,—I come to offer thee my most humble homage, and to implore the aid of thy prayers and protection. Thy intercession is most powerful, and thy goodness for mankind on earth is equal to thy influence in heaven.‡—Most powerful Virgin—tower (*mahoz*) of David; tower of Ivory—refuge of sinners—help of Christians—queen of angels, &c.—queen of all saints, pray for us, we fly to thy patronage, deliver us from all dangers.¶—Assist and comfort me in all my infirmities and miseries of

* *Roman Catholic Prayer-book*, entitled *the Key of Heaven*, or a *Manual of Prayer*, 23d edition, printed by Richard Coyne, printer, bookseller, and publisher to the Royal College of St. Patrick, Maynooth; to which is prefixed the following approval—"I hereby approve this Prayer-book, entitled 'Key of Heaven, or Manual of Prayers,' printed and published by Richard Coyne, of Chapel Street, Dublin; and I recommend it to the use of the Faithful."—Pp. 47, 48.

Dublin, July 21, 1824.

"D. Murray, R. C. Ap."

† Ibid. p. 10.

‡ Ibid. p. 22.

¶ Ibid. pp. 31, 32.

what kind soever. Thou art the mother of mercies, and *only refuge* of the needy and orphan, of the desolate and the afflicted. Hear my prayer—for whither can I fly for more *secure shelter*, than under the wings of thy maternal *PROTECTION*? And as I am persuaded my divine Saviour doth *honour* thee as his beloved mother, to whom he can refuse nothing, so let me speedily experience the efficacy of thy *powerful intercession*,* &c. O most blessed Virgin, vouchsafe to negotiate for and with us the work of our salvation, by thy powerful intercession."†

But the Mahuzzims, or gods-protectors, guardian and tutelary saints, form a "multitude of acceptable intercessors; therefore," says the suppliant, according to the prescribed form of one of the prayers at night, "I beseech the blessed Mary, ever Virgin, the blessed Michael the archangel, the blessed John Baptist, the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and all the saints, to pray to the Lord our God for me."‡ Repeated prayers "to your guardian angel," "to the Virgin," "a prayer to St. Joseph," as well as their ceaseless invocations, are confutations, drawn from their prayer-book, of the assertion that Catholics do not pray to the saints.§ In a prayer to St. Joseph, he is thus implored,—“Be touched with the confidence we have in thee; and graciously accept these testimonies of our devotion.” The saints are all, without any qualification or exception, appealed to as guardians, and by their merits and prayers Catholics profess to be *defended*. Under the title of *the Canon of Mass*, as if an avowed confirmation of the prophecy were given in the most solemn of the rites, we read,—“Communicating with, and *HONOURING* in the first place, the memory of the ever-glorious Virgin Mary, mother of our Lord and God Jesus Christ; as also of the blessed apostles and martyrs, Peter and Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas,

* Roman Catholic Prayer-book, pp. 86, 87, 90.

† Ibid. p. 333. ‡ Ibid. p. 25. § Ibid. pp. 8, 19, 22, 33.

James, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon, and Thadeus, Linus, Cletus, Clement, Xystus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Lawrence, Chrysogonus, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian, and of all thy saints; *by whose merits and prayers*, grant that we may be always DEFENDED by the help of thy PROTECTION.*

In the Pope's encyclical letter to the Bishops and Clergy of Ireland, (1833) it is thus written,—“ Let us lift up our eyes and hands to the most Blessed Virgin Mary, who alone has destroyed all heresies, who fills us with the greatest confidence, or rather, who is the whole foundation of our hope. In the midst of the pressing necessities of the flock of the Lord, may she, by her intercession, procure a happy issue of all our efforts, actions, and designs. We, besides, beseech, most humbly, Peter, prince of the apostles, and his co-apostle, Paul, that you may all stand up like a rampart against the laying of any other foundation except that which is laid.”

Catholic manuals of devotion, Catholic testimony in ancient times, and the public and private prayers of Catholics in accordance with a prescribed form, and the words of the pope in the present day, can best tell, to whom they look as *towers* or *bulwarks*, in whom they *confide*, under whose *shelter* they seek *protection*, whom they invoke and name as tutelary or protecting saints, on whom and not on Christ alone, they call and rely as intercessors, whose *honour* is associated with that of Jehovah, or whom they worship in their *holds*, their monasteries, their temples, and their closets, together with, or *instead of*, the only living and true God, and whose images are there, to which, often virtually if not *always* literally blotting the second commandment from their canon, they *do* actually “ bow down.”

While all the saints were invoked as intercessors and protectors, it is obvious that divine honours were paid supereminently to one of them. Adopting the

* Roman Catholic Prayer-book, p. 35.

language of history, we learn that the “worship of the Virgin Mary, which before the tenth century had been carried to a very high degree of idolatry, then received new accessions of solemnity and superstition. Towards the conclusion of that century, a custom was introduced among the Latins of celebrating masses, and abstaining from flesh, in *honour* of the blessed Virgin, every Sabbath day. After this was instituted what the Latins call the *lesser office*, in honour of St. Mary, which was, in the following century, confirmed by Urban II. in the council of Clermont. There are also to be found in this age manifest indications of the institution of the *Rosary* and *Crown* of the Virgin, by which her *worshippers* were to reckon the number of *prayers* that they were to offer to this NEW DIVINITY. The *rosary* consists in fifteen repetitions of the Lord’s prayer, and a hundred and fifty salutations of the blessed Virgin; while the *crown*, according to the different opinions of the learned concerning the age of the blessed Virgin, consists in six or seven repetitions of the Lord’s prayer, and six or seven times ten salutations, or *Ave Marias*.”*

The Rosary of the blessed Virgin, according to the catholic prayer-book, consists of the joyful *mysteries* assigned for Mondays and Thursdays, throughout the year, the Sundays of Advent, and after Epiphany till Lent; the dolorous and sorrowful *mysteries*, for Tuesdays and Fridays through the year, and the Sundays in Lent; and the glorious *mysteries* for Wednesdays and Saturdays through the year, and Sundays after Easter until Advent. Each of these *mysteries* includes five *mysteries*; each of which again contains “the meditation” and “the prayer” to the Virgin. The worship of the Virgin is thus secured, by repeated acts of devotion, for every day throughout the year. The concluding mystery of mysteries runs thus,—“The meditation. Let us contemplate in

* Mosheim, Cent. x. c. iv. sect. 3.

this mystery, how the glorious Virgin Mary was, with great jubilee and exultation of the whole court of heaven, and particular glory of all the saints, crowned by her Son with the brightest diadem of glory.—The prayer. O glorious queen of all the heavenly citizens, we beseech thee, accept this Rosary which (as a crown of roses,) we offer at thy feet; and grant, most gracious lady, that by thy intercession, our souls may be inflamed with so ardent a desire of seeing thee *so gloriously crowned*, that it may never die in us, until it be changed into the happy fruition of thy blessed sight. Hail Holy Queen, Mother of Mercies," &c.*

There are, indeed, *mysteries of mysteries* in the Roman Catholic church, and such is her NAME; but even from hence it is apparent that there is no mystery in the fact, that, together with the honour of Mahuzims, or gods-protectors, was associated that of *a god whom their fathers knew not*—"a NEW DIVINITY."

Another object of adoration is the Host—the "deified bread," as it is termed. When the relic of a saint is held in veneration, that which *is called* the very body of Christ, and is held as the same substance, is adored. "Hence those rich and *splendid receptacles*, that were formed for the residence of God under the new shape, and the lamps and other *PRECIOUS ornaments* that were designed to beautify the habitation of the deity. And hence the custom that still prevails of carrying about the divine bread in solemn pomp through the public streets, when it is to be administered to sick or dying persons, with many other ceremonies of a like manner, which are dishonourable to religion and opprobrious to humanity."†

It is to this day the avowed doctrine of the church of Rome, that the consecrated bread, or wafer, is transubstantiated, or transformed, into the very body of

* Roman Catholic Prayer-book, pp. 136, 137.

† Mosheim, Cent. xiii. c. iv. sect. 2.

Christ; and that the sacrifice of the mass is the actual offering up, on the part of man, of the eternal Son to the eternal Father, and the “unspotted Host” is “offered” to the living and true God. When the Host is elevated, or is presented to view, or is carried by, papists bow down as devoutly as ever pagans knelt to the image of Jupiter. And yet the oblation is made, not only “in memory of the passion, resurrection, and ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ,” but also “in *honour* of the blessed Mary,” &c. and of all the saints, that it may be available to their *honour*, &c.*

The *Mahuzzims*—a god whom his father knew not—and a strange god—whom the king who magnified himself above all, was to honour, acknowledge, and increase with glory—are not merely the symbol, but form the identity of the worship of the church of Rome, such as it has been set forth before the world for ages.

Of the *honour* paid to the saints, and of the lavish prodigality,—to the exalting and enriching of the Roman Catholic Church,—in *gold, and silver, and precious stones, and pleasant things*, with which their worship was combined, their *protection* sought, and their shrines adorned—it were needless to write; for the history of the Romish church, wherever it has been established, is an illustration of the fact: and it were vain to attempt the task; for the details, or even the substance of thousands of volumes, cannot be compressed in a single page. St. Peter's, St. Paul's, Notre Dame, (our Lady), St. Sophia's, are some of the thousands of *strongholds*, called by the names and consecrated to the *honour* of saints. To have entered an abbey, a priory, or a monastery, a cathedral, a church, or even a chapel, in the palmy days of papal domination, was to be dazzled with splendour, and, while yet the mind was in darkness, to be cheat-

* Catholic Prayer-book, p. 131.

ed into the belief that human grandeur was divine glory, and that the true dignity of saints, like the honour that was paid them by man, consisted in the abundance of *precious things* with which their shrines and images were loaded.

That the belief in the miraculous power and mediatorial intercession of the saints, and the consequent trust that was reposed in their protection, was actually as well as naturally combined with rendering them HONOUR, is attested not only by the frequent repetition, as seen by the preceding extracts, of the very word in the breviary, but there is the clearest evidence that the pope had part and lot in the matter. In the formula of canonization, even on its first institution, the same term, as if drawn from the prophecy, is used by the pope in constituting a saint, as by the humblest catholic in the sacrifice of the mass. He indeed was to exalt himself above all; and never did any man magnify himself more, than did he, in assuming a prerogative, like that of infallibility, which belongs to Omnipotence alone. He who deprived kings of earthly honours, conferred on dead men the right to celestial glory; but the deposition of monarchs was a light matter to that acmé of pride, presumption, and blasphemy, the canonization of saints. We may here again refer to a Roman Catholic historian, quoting from the English translation, printed in 1693.

“ In this (the tenth) century we find the first example of the solemn canonization of a saint by the pope. This pope is John XV. who placed St. Ulric *in the rank of the saints*, in the year 995, at the request of Lintolphus, bishop of Augsburg. We shall here subjoin the act itself, which was drawn up on that occasion:—‘ John, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to all archbishops, bishops, and abbots of France and Germany, greeting, and the apostle’s be-

nediction. Having held an assembly in the palace of the Lateran, on the 1st day of January, John, the *most holy pope*, sitting, with the bishops, priests, deacons, and clergy standing, the most reverend Lincolphus, bishop of Augsburg, rising up, said, ‘Most holy bishop, if it may please you and the rest of the reverend bishops and priests here present, to give leave to read in your presence the book which I hold in my hand concerning the life and miracles of St. Ulric, who was some time bishop of Augsburg, to the end that you may afterwards ordain what you shall think fit.’ Then the life of that saint being read, they proceeded to the miracles which were performed by him, either in his lifetime or *after his death*, as the restoring of sight to the blind, the exorcising of devils out of possessed persons, the curing of others inflicted with the palsy, and several other miracles which were not committed to writing. These things being thus related, we HAVE RESOLVED AND ORDAINED that the memory of St. Ulric ought to be HONOURED with a pious affection, and a sincere devotion, by reason that we are obliged to HONOUR and show respect to the relics of martyrs and confessors, in order to adore Him whose martyrs and confessors they are; we *honour* the servants to the end that this honour may redound to the Lord. It is our pleasure, therefore, that the memory of Ulric be *consecrated* to the honour of the Lord, and that it may serve to celebrate his praises for ever. Then follows the *anathema* against those who shall act any thing contrary to this decree, with the seals of the pope, of five bishops, of nine cardinal priests, and of some deacons.”*

Such was the first formal act of canonization, the result of an authority previously acquired and acted

* Du Pin’s Eccles. Hist. vol. viii. p. 69.

on, though in a manner less direct. The *term* canonization was, however, only adopted for the first time, when Edward the Confessor, (A.D. 1161.) was exalted to a higher glory than that of an earthly crown, by a similar act and ordinance of Pope Alexander III.* Saints were constituted by regular statute. Their memory was to be *honoured* with sincere devotion. And a curse was denounced against those who, in any thing, would act contrary to the decree to which the pope, bishops, and cardinals had set their seals. New causes of persecution arose in the church, exactly analogous to the idolatry of heathens. And the saints of the Most High, who knew their God, were tried and afflicted the more, in proportion to the increase and prevalence of gross superstition.

From the time that the magnificence of ceremonies was substituted for the purity and simplicity of the Christian faith, men, instead of being themselves thoroughly furnished unto all good works, as temples to the Holy Ghost, as the true church of Christ, deemed it to be the highest act of piety to erect splendid edifices, and adorn them with a prodigality of ornaments; as if the eye of God, which is over all his works, and discerns the spirits of all flesh, were like unto the eye of man, which sees only the outward appearance. Religion became a thing to look at, or a form to pass through; and piety was reckoned at a price. Instead of imitating the virtues of saints and martyrs, men searched for their bones. And instead of copying the ornament of minds like theirs, they enclosed their relics, whether real or imaginary, in coffers of gold and of silver. Churches became the *holds* of the sacred depositories, and the consecrated stations for images. The presumed virtue of these rose with the riches of their adornments; and the fancied protection which they afforded to each votary

* Ibid. p. 69.

was a ceaseless call for the accumulation of new gifts in *honour* of the saint and for the good of the church. The ancient gods of the hills and of the valleys virtually reappeared on earth ; under new names, temples were dedicated to their honour ; and, sacrifices being abolished, the intercessory divinities were there propitiated by offerings. The saints, as if they never had been crucified unto the world, or as if the love of money held possession of their disembodied spirits, were *honoured with gold, and silver, and precious stones, and pleasant things*. And the service of the sanctuary gradually degenerated into a show. But when the pope, still magnifying himself above all, assumed the exalted and marvellous privilege of installing tutelary divinities into the rights of devotion ; and when the *honouring* of them was thus authoritatively sanctioned and enjoined under the penalty of execration ; that high office of the man of sin was not less lucrative than others. Each saint had his shrine. And every new comer into the court of canonization no sooner had his name enrolled in the calendar, than he went forth into the world the protector of all who would propitiate his favour with substantial honours, such as were wont to be paid to kindred saints. Rites and ceremonies multiplied with the objects of devotion. Special days were consecrated to the honour of the saints, and held as holidays in the church of Rome ; and their frequent return was a renewed call for new honours to their memory, and new offerings on their altar. When there was nothing to satisfy the soul, but where it was cheated, to the false peace of the heart and vain pleasing of the eye, the tameness of a customary service and of a familiar splendour, was relieved by some delusive novelty. Fasts and festivals succeeded in their turn. And so greatly were the saints *honoured*, and their glory increased in their strongholds,

that in the year 1300, Boniface VIII. published a *Jubilee*, granting plenary indulgence to all who would visit the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome, and decreed that it should be renewed every 100 years.*

"The welcome sound," says Gibbon, "was propagated through Christendom; and at first from the nearest provinces of Italy, and at length from the remote kingdoms of Hungary and Britain, the highways were thronged with a swarm of pilgrims, who sought to expiate their sins in a journey, however costly or laborious, which was exempt from the perils of military service. All exceptions of rank or sex, of age or infirmity, were forgotten in the common transport; and in the streets and churches many persons were trampled to death by the eagerness of devotion. The calculation of their numbers could not be easy nor accurate: and they have probably been magnified by a dexterous clergy, well apprised of the contagion of example; yet we are assured by a judicious historian, who assisted at the ceremony, that Rome was never replenished with less than two hundred thousand strangers; and another spectator has fixed at two millions the total concourse of the year. A trifling oblation from each individual would accumulate a royal treasure: *and two priests stood night and day with rakes in their hands, to collect, without counting, the HEAPS OF GOLD AND SILVER, that were poured on the altar of St. Paul.*"†

The successors of Boniface were not satisfied with adding a multitude of new rites and inventions, by way of ornament to this superstitious institution; but finding by experience that it added to the *lustre* and *augmented the revenues* of the Roman church, they rendered its return more frequent, and fixed its celebration to every five and twentieth year. There was no crime which the honouring of the saints with silver and gold could not justify. The absolution was plenary. And to such enormous iniquity did the practice lead, that, under the pretence of repairing and

* Du Pin, vol. xii. pp. 4, 30, 116.

† Gibbon's Hist. vol. xii. pp. 311, 312, chap. 69.

adorning St. Peter's, Tetzels, in the sixteenth century, preached and proclaimed the famous *indulgences* of Leo X. to be purchased at a graduated scale according to the degree of the sin to be remitted, whether past, present, or future.

It is difficult to forbear from an expression of indignation at the thought of a king of Syria having bartered for money the office of the high priest of Israel. But what marvellous words of blasphemy, without a name, were spoken against the Most High, in the sale of indulgences, or the sanction of sin, that a Christian temple might be adorned—the church, so to call it, of the Pope? “*St. Peter's pence*” was the plea. That stronghold had to be increased with glory, at whatever sacrifice of all moral principle, and at whatever hazard to the souls of men. However the doctrine may now be disavowed, it stands as the characteristic of the church of Rome, that the saints were *honoured with gold, and silver, and precious stones and pleasant things*: and the time was, when that object was held tantamount to the highest act of devotion, equivalent to the remission of sins, and the surest pledge of salvation.

When men renounced their judgment and the right of exercising it, they exerted their ingenuity in devising honours to their guardian intercessors; and even the enlightened nineteenth century is not without an example, that when the sceptre was laid down, the needle was taken up, and a king became an embroiderer in *honour* of a saint.

An instance of the manner in which saints were honoured may be adduced from the history of England. “The riches of the shrine of Thomas A'Becket, commonly called St. Thomas of Canterbury, were inconceivable: when broken down, the *gold* with which it was *adorned* filled *two* large chests, that *eight* strong men could scarcely carry out of the

church.—Six hundred and forty-five monasteries were at the same time suppressed in England.”

Popish churches were despoiled of their treasures during the French Revolution and the wars which succeeded it. But some visible illustrations yet remain of *the gold and silver, and precious stones and pleasant things*, with which the saints were *honoured*. The church-treasure in the cathedral of Toledo, a noble and imposing edifice, having been carried to Cadiz during the peninsular war, was restored and replaced on the downfall of Napoleon. “Its value is inestimable. Among the mass of *gold, silver, and precious stones*, with which my eyes,” says an eye-witness, “were dazzled, I was particularly struck with a large custodia for the exposition of the sacrament. It weighs seven thousand ounces of *silver and gold*, and is studded with *precious gems*. In the centre is a shrine of gold, weighing fifty pounds. Its chief value consists, however, in its elaborate workmanship, being constructed in very small pieces, which, when screwed together, form a gothic tower, covered with the most beautiful fretwork. The most remarkable object among the treasures is an ample robe of state for the image of the Virgin. It is of satin, but so richly embroidered with pearls, and studded with emeralds, amethysts, rubies, topazes, and diamonds,” (all *precious stones*,) “that the silk is entirely concealed. Clad in this robe, and holding an infant of solid gold, adorned with eight hundred jewels, the image of the Virgin is placed on certain occasions on a silver throne, weighing more than half a ton, and borne through the streets upon men’s shoulders.”*

Despoiled as most Roman catholic churches have been of their incalculable masses of gold, yet in Rome

* A year in Spain. Lond. 1831.

and Italy to this day, according to the testimony of one of the most recent travellers in that 'holy territory,' "the moment we enter the portals of these gorgeous temples we are dazzled with a blaze of diamonds, agates, chrysolytes, porphyries, *and every species of precious stone*, encircling and emblazoning the most exquisite productions of the painter and sculptor."^{*}

Never was any system of deception and extortion, concentrating in itself all "deceivableness of unrighteousness," so successfully practised, as that by which *gold, and silver, and precious stones, and pleasant things*, were drawn from the blinded votaries of Rome : and never did the imperial city lay such exactions on its conquered provinces as those which popery laid on Christendom for ages, without the appearance or consciousness of bondage. The revenues extorted by military authority, and drained out drop by drop, were trifling in comparison of the ever-teeming donations which freely flowed in honour of the saints. They were honoured as intercessors with God, and priests were the agents between them and the people. The merits of the saints were the storehouse of the church ; and, in dispensing these, the church became the treasure-house of the world.—Who would grudge a little gold, to touch or even to see the relic of a martyred saint ? And, if aught so precious could be purchased—as often and repeatedly it might, in an age of darkness and in a church of constant miracles—what would not be exchanged for so invaluable a treasure ? The hands of a priest, which dispensed such gifts, or under which the garments or bones of martyrs, first disclosed by vision, were miraculously multiplied, were not themselves to be left empty ; nor was the altar of a saint to be left bare,

* Dr. Johnson on the change of air, Lond. 1831.

and thus to be dishonoured. What soul, however parsimonious, could grudge a little gold to adorn the image that had defended a city—and that, surely, was ever competent to protect the humblest suppliant that should rightly honour it? What on earth so precious as not to be gladly given in pawn for the prayers of saints, or as the earnest of the protection and the fee-simple of the mediation of demi-gods? Who could go to do penance at a shrine, and depart acquitted, without leaving a token of respect and gratitude to the saints through whose prayers and merits he was forgiven? Or how could they be *honoured* but with the most valuable, *precious, and pleasant things*? If the virtues of the saints were to be rather purchased than practised, who would not pay? And when divine protection, absolution, and indulgences were commodities for which a price could be paid, and heaven itself be entered into for money, what more profitable traffic could there be? Nay, such, in the catholic creed, is the potency, or rather the omnipotency, of gold, and the universality of its influence over spiritual as well as over terrestrial things, that it has been rendered available for a purpose, compared to which the fable of old Charon was folly, and a credulity was cherished, to which the belief of it was wisdom; and men, as in such a faith they could not fail to do—paid for themselves, while living, and for their friends when departed, not for passing, but, on the farther side of the dark unknown, for repassing Lethe,—for masses to be said for the dead, in which all the holy saints are invoked, and prayers are offered up, “to hasten the day when they shall be delivered from the mansions of sorrow, to shorten the time of their expiation, and, through the prayers and good works performed in the church, to receive them into the eternal tabernacles.”*

* Catholic Prayer Book, pp. 390, 391.

In honour of the saints, in cure for the souls of the living, and in care for the souls of the dead, the church of Rome secured for itself an earthly possession. The king, who did according to his will, and held such an high and dark dominion, by *honouring* the saints, and *increasing their glory*, still *exalted himself above all*, and made the saints which he created, subservient to his purposes, and the instruments of his power.

And he shall cause them to rule over many, and shall divide the land for gain. He caused them to rule over many. Under popery, not only was trust universally reposed in the merits and intercessions of many *gods-protectors*, but there was not a country in Europe that had not specially its patron saint.—St. George for England, St. Andrew for Scotland, was the rallying cry, by which, in either country, Britain was ruled as authoritatively as subjects by a king. And what monarch's name in the sister isle ever had a charm and power over Irish catholics like that of "St. Patrick for Ireland?" France was the fair domain of St. Dennis, though the doctors of the Sorbonne sometimes mitigated his sway. St. James had full possession of Spain, and still holds there his dark dominion. St. Mark was the dominant saint in Venice, and even the republic yielded to his authority, and subsisted in his name. St. Januarius, whose power has outlasted that of many of his compeers, still holds, by right of miracle, his lingering reign over Naples. Each kingdom was the same, and had a saint above a monarch. Nothing but a shadow now remains of a power which, however terrible, was itself but a shade—though it long rested deeply on the minds of men. In some countries it was dissipated at the Reformation, by the light of the gospel; and infidelity has lately arisen to clear it away—but on dispelling the cloud, it

shows only the unfathomable gulf. Yet to this day, the liquefying of the blood of St. Januarius may show by what simple means the saints were *caused to rule over many*, and how, in their name, the pope and his priesthood had a power in their hands more imperative than a sceptre. No despotism on earth was ever like unto that which ruled over the abject mind.

The fancied protection was given to the people ; but to the saints, for behoof of the church which espoused or created them, pertained the *gain* no less than the *honour*. They were not only honoured with gold, and silver, and precious stones, and pleasant things, but the *land* was *divided for gain*. Church-plate, once a term of extensive significancy, and *church-lands*, are not unintelligible words, wherever popery prevailed ; and it is not an obscure or ambiguous interpretation which they give to the text. Even the tribe of Levi—itsself a twelfth in Israel, and entitled to its portion—had no inheritance *in the land*. The tenth part of the produce was theirs ; for their labour was not to be in the field, but in the sanctuary. They were set apart for a holy priesthood unto the Lord, and all that pertained to the worship of God, or to the rites and sacrifices enjoined by the law, it was their office to fulfil. But the inmates of a monastery, in whatever land, rested not satisfied with the portion which the Levites held in Judea. Unlike to them, the popish priesthood had an inheritance in *land*, and divided it for gain. The most pleasant portion was selected as their own, and, with a devotion of questionable disinterestedness, they fixed the residence of the saints, the abodes of images, the seats of bishops, or any of their strongholds, in the choicest spot of a fertile plain, in the sheltered glen, or in a rich meadow by a river's side.

To bishoprics, abbeys, priories, and monasteries, *lands* were abundantly attached.

The judgment of a bishop, and of a rector, may here be deferred to, and their testimony may not be held as either superfluous or misplaced. "That the principal teachers and propagators of the worship of Mahuzzim, the bishops, and priests, and monks, and religious orders, have been honoured, and revered, and almost adored, in former ages—that their authority and jurisdiction have extended over the purses and consciences of men—that they have been enriched with noble buildings and large endowments, and have had the choicest of the lands appropriated for church lands, are points of such notoriety that they require no proof, as they will admit of no denial."* "The secular possessions of the Pope are called St. Peter's patrimony, and *Peter's pence* was a tax levied from the several countries subject to the popedom. This, with a variety of emoluments from the incomes of the bishops and clergy, and the disposal of the richest preferments, commonly to foreigners, were the 'price' or valuable consideration for which he divided the land; and doubtless this dividing of the earth among the Mahuzzim was made a source of great gain, accruing from the several countries thus placed under the guardian care of these several saints."†

* Bishop Newton on the Prophecies. Disser. xvi.

† Scott's Commentary.

CHAPTER V.

AND at the time of the end shall the king of the south push at him : and the king of the north shall come against him like a whirlwind, with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships ; and he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow and pass over. He shall enter also into the glorious land, and many countries shall be overthrown : but these shall escape 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 Lybians and the Ethiopians shall be at his steps. Ver. 40 to 43.

The appointed time during which the papacy was to prosper, and the men of understanding were to be purified, and made white and tried, was itself the *last* great period comprehended in the vision. In the sequel of the prophecy it is asked—(c. xii. 6.)—“ How long shall it be to the end of these wonders ? ” or, more literally, how long to the end of these wonders ? “ It is not the end of a period, but of the wonders,” as Mr. Cunningham judiciously remarks, “ which is the

object of the inquiry." It is not the end of the time, but the time of the end. And the *duration* is specified—for a time, times, and a half, or for a period precisely coincident with the era of papal supremacy and persecution. In the previous vision of the Ram and the He-goat, the question is put in a similar manner—I heard one saint speaking, and another saint said unto that certain saint which spake—how long shall be the vision concerning the daily sacrifice, &c. ? and he said unto me—unto two thousand and three hundred days, or years. Such was to be the *duration* of the whole vision, the *last part* of which is the description of the king that was to arise in the *latter time of the kingdoms* into which the empire of Alexander the Great was to be divided—comprehending the rise and reign of Mahometanism. When Gabriel was commanded to make Daniel understand the vision—he said, Understand, O son of man, for at THE TIME OF THE END shall be the vision—or, literally, at the time of the end the vision—and he said, behold, I will make thee know what shall be in the last end of the indignation ; for at the time appointed the end shall be, or at the time appointed the end. The time of the end, or the appointed time, seems here expressly and definitely to denote the *duration* of the time from the rise to the subversion or extinction of Mahometanism.

During the appointed time, or till the indignation should be accomplished, popery was to prosper ; and at the appointed time when the transgressors came to the full, when idolatry was introduced and sanctioned, and when repeated imperial edicts had been issued from Constantinople constituting the pope universal bishop, or the head of the church, Mahometanism arose at the time of the end.

In the whole of this prophecy, the events are de-

clared without a figure. It was not a vision, or symbols, which the prophet saw; but the *THINGS written in the scripture of truth were shewn.*

Hitherto, during the currency of the appointed time in which some of them of understanding were to fall and to be tried, the high and blasphemous pretensions, the assumed and exercised supremacy, the long-continued prospering of the pope, and the idolatrous worship of the Romish church, of which he was the head, with some of its accompaniments and consequences, are described by the prophet, as if popery had reigned without any check or chastisement in any part of Christendom. But after he had been constituted universal bishop, while the supremacy over the whole nominal church of Christ was beginning to be consolidated, when idolatry prevailed, and *the transgressors had come to the full*, a rod in the hand of the Almighty, *by reason of transgression*, began to smite an apostate church. *At the time of the end*, as already described, Mahometanism arose; but the form it assumed, and the energies it displayed and exerted against Christendom, are here described in all the simplicity and truth of actual history.

The king of the south, and the king of the north, as denoting the successive sovereigns of Egypt and Syria, necessarily passed away when these kingdoms were broken, and engrossed, as all the prophecies imply and as history attests, in the Roman empire: and the same terms cannot denote the same powers, at a time when they no longer existed. But as their designation was derived from the local relation of their kingdoms to Judea, so also in the more recent *things* that are noted in the same scripture of truth, the same names must be held, in that respect, to retain the same general significancy. And not only is it so, in respect to the Saracenic and Turkish powers—that the one arose on the *south*, and the other on the

north of Judea—but the Saracens became actually masters of Egypt, the original kingdom of the king of the south, and were the first to dispossess the Romans of that country, and long retained possession of it; while Syria, or the kingdom of the north, was also a province of the Turkish empire. And both, though in a larger sense, have occupied the stations of the former and original kings. With the exception of them, there is none in all *past* history to whom the appellation of the kings of the south and of the north, in reference to Judea, can, with any propriety, be adapted; while the califs of the Saracens, and the emperors of the Turks, have a clear as well as exclusive right to the name, and have sustained the characters, as they occupy the place, of the kings of the north and of the south, during the period of the time of the end, even as during that appointed time the pope bore all the marks of the king, who did according to his will, and magnified himself above all.

Over some of the kingdoms into which the western empire was divided, the pope, as the head of the church, held, in a great measure, an unchallenged sway. But in Africa, Asia, as well as in part of Europe, the corruptions of Christianity yielded to the prevalence of an imposture; and a false prophet borrowed from Christ and from Moses the fundamental principle of all religion, the unity of God, and professed to establish the purity of his worship, freed from all idolatry. There would seem to be a chasm in the things noted in the scripture of truth, had the state of the east—of Judea, Egypt, and the many countries around, which occupied wholly the first large portion of the prediction—been left a blank for twelve hundred years, as if *they* had never been rescued from the Roman yoke, nor possessed any peculiar history of their own. But, if an interpretation which has been

adopted for two centuries be just, the later as well as earlier history of the east is included in the prediction. And though the fate of the Turkish empire, for the present, be apparently suspended, a comparison may be instituted in respect to the past.

The king of the south shall push at him. The Saracens from the south, united under a king, and rising at once into a mighty kingdom, *pushed at him.* By them the Roman power was first overthrown in the east. Before their eruption, idolatry prevailed; and a detail of the nature of their warfare, and extent of their conquests, instead of being communicated to any of the prophets of Israel, was reserved for an apostle of Christ to unfold, as will afterwards be seen, under the title of the *first woe*. It is here described in one word—so descriptive as to be enough to keep the line of prophetic history unbroken. The partial and predatory dominion of the Saracens was to pass away; and to be succeeded by a still more triumphant and overwhelming power, which was to maintain a permanent settlement over a large portion of the Roman empire, and to continue to the close of the appointed time.

Much is comprehended in the one word in which the Saracenic assaults on the territory, and even on the city of Rome, is summed up—and it might well admit of a copious illustration. Like every word spoken by the Lord, it was done. But reserving a more full description as most appropriately adapted to the more detailed prediction, we would here leave to Gibbon the unintentional task of illustrating the word. And it will hardly be a tax on the attention of the reader, to observe how the pages of the sceptic teem with responses to the prophet—how incidentally he shows that Christians *then* looked to the saints for *protection*—how they were *honoured*, and their altars

enriched *with gold, and silver, and precious things*—how such transgressions had come to the full, and idolatry was established in Rome, under the authority of the Pope, when the *king of the south pushed at him*—how the false and apostate form of papal worship is associated in the same page of history, as well as of prophecy, with the invasion of the Saracens,—and how, coming at the time, and executing their appointed work, they neither surpassed their commission, nor came short of their charge.

“The commodious harbour of Palermo was chosen for the seat of the naval and military power of the Saracens. Syracuse preserved, about fifty years, the faith which she had sworn to Christ and to Cæsar. In the last and fatal siege, her citizens displayed some remnant of the spirit which had formerly resisted the powers of Athens and Carthage. They stood above twenty days against the battering rams and *catapultæ*, the mines and tortoises of the besiegers; and the place might have been relieved, if the mariners of the imperial fleet had not been detained at Constantinople, in building a church to the Virgin Mary. The relics were still *precious*: the plate of the *cathedral* weighed *five thousand pounds of silver*, &c. The Arabian squadrons issued from the harbours of Palermo, Bisorta, and Tunis; an hundred and fifty towns of Calabria and Campania were attacked and pillaged; nor could the suburbs of Rome be defended by the name of Cæsars and apostles. Had the Mahometans been united, Italy must have fallen an *easy*, a glorious accession to the empire of the prophet. But the califs of Bagdad had lost their authority in the west; the Aglabites and Fatimites usurped the provinces of Africa; the emirs of Sicily aspired to independence; and the design of conquest and dominion was degraded to a repetition of *predatory inroads*.

“In the sufferings of prostrate Italy, the name of Rome awakens a solemn and mournful recollection. A fleet of Saracens from the African coast presumed to enter the mouth of the Tyber, and to *approach the city*, which even yet in her fallen state was revered as the metropolis of the Christian world. The gates and ramparts were guarded by a trembling people; but the tombs and *temples* of St. Peter and St. Paul were left exposed in the suburbs of the Vatican and the Ostian Way. Their invisible sanctity had *protected* them against the Goths, the Vandals, and the Lombards;

but the Arabs disdained both the gospel and the legend; and their rapacious spirit was approved and animated by the precepts of the Koran. The Christian *idols* were stripped of their *costly offerings*; a *silver* altar was torn away from the shrine of St. Peter; and if the bodies or the buildings were left entire, their deliverance must be imputed to the *haste* rather than the scruples of the Saraceus. In their course along the Appian Way, they pillaged Fundi, and besieged Gayeta; but they had turned aside from the walls of Rome, and, by their division, *the capitol was saved* from the yoke of the prophet of Mecca.—The siege of Gayeta was raised, and part of the enemy, with *their sacrilegious plunder*, perished in the waves. But the storm which had been delayed, soon burst upon them with redoubled violence. A fleet of Arabs and Moors, after a short refreshment in the harbours of Sardinia, cast anchor before the mouth of the Tyber, sixteen miles from the city; and their discipline and numbers appeared to threaten, not a *transient inroad*, but a serious design of conquest and dominion. But the vigilance of Leo had formed an alliance with the vassals of the Greek empire, the free and maritime states of Gayeta, Naples, and Amalis; and in the hour of danger their gallies appeared in the port of Ostia, under the command of Cæsarius. —With his principal companions he was invited to the Lateran palace, and the dexterous pontiff affected to inquire their errand, and to accept with joy and surprise their providential succour. The city bands, in arms, attended their father to Ostia, where he arrived and blessed his generous deliverers. *They kissed his feet*, and received the communion with martial devotion, &c. The victory inclined to the side of the allies, when it was less gloriously decided in their favour by a sudden tempest, which confounded the skill and courage of the stoutest mariners. The sword and the gibbet reduced the dangerous number of captives; and the remainder was more usefully employed to restore the sacred edifices which they had attempted to subvert. The *pontiff*, at the head of the citizens and allies, paid his *grateful devotion* at the shrines of the apostles; and among the spoils of this naval victory, thirteen Arabian bows, of pure and massy *silver*, were *suspended round the altar of the fishermen of Galilee*. The reign of Leo IV. was employed in the defence and ornament of the Roman state. The churches were renewed and embellished; near four thousand pounds of *silver* were consecrated to repair the losses of St. Peter; and his sanctuary was decorated with a plate of *gold*, the weight of two hundred and sixteen pounds, embossed with the por-

traits of the pope and emperor, and encircled with a *string of pearls*.”*

The king of the south pushed at the pontiff, who honoured tutelar saints with gold and silver, and precious stones, and pleasant things.

The caliphs fixed their royal residence at Bagdad, conquered many provinces of the Roman empire, assaulted Rome, and for three hundred years were a woe to Christendom—which retained the name after the worship of God was corrupted, and the spirit of a holy faith was lost. The empire of the Saracens was undermined by luxury. Often did it push from without, against the territories of Rome. But at last it fell—and a new enemy (a second and more lasting woe) arose—and another king,—like the king of Egypt and the king of Syria, the papal monarch, and the king of the Saracens,—the first of a long race, who occupied his place, and exercised his power, and were identified by his name,—appeared upon the scene, who finally subverted the throne of the Cæsars, and for ever dispossessed the pope of half the church, over which he had assumed an universal sovereignty.

And the king of the north shall come against him like a whirlwind, with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships, and he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow and pass over. Ver. 40.

Fallen as it is, the rise of the Ottoman empire now sounds like the announcement of an ancient tale; and Europe has forgotten the dread with which it once was inspired. A brief recapitulation, in the words of history, of their rise and progress, will serve to show how analogous these are to the prophetic history of the king of the north.

The decline of the Saracens and the rise of the Turks, together with the distinct declaration of their

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. x. pp. 61—65, c. 52.

relative local position, is stated in a single sentence by Gibbon.

"When the Arabian conquerors had spread themselves over the east, and were mingled with the servile crowds of Persia, Syria, and Egypt, they insensibly lost the free-born and martial virtues of the desert. The courage of the south is the artificial fruit of discipline and prejudice; the active power of enthusiasm had decayed, and the mercenary forces of the caliphs were recruited in those climates of the north, of which valour is the hardy and spontaneous production. Of the Turks who dwelt beyond the *Oxus and Jaxartes*, the robust youths, either taken in war or purchased in trade, were educated in the exercises of the field, and the profession of the Mahometan faith."*

The woes of Christendom there met and merged into each other,—and the one appeared in its embryo form as the other declined and decayed,—the first, in its old age, fostering the second in its youth.

"The thrones of Asia were occupied by slaves and soldiers of Turkish extraction. A swarm of these *northern* shepherds overspread the kingdoms of Persia; their princes, of the race of Seljuk, erected a splendid and solid empire, from Samarcand to the confines of Greece and Egypt; and the Turks have maintained their dominion in Asia Minor, till the victorious crescent has been planted on the dome of *St. Sophia*."†

"In the decline of the caliphs, and the weakness of their lieutenants, the barrier of the Jaxartes was often violated. In each invasion, after the victory or retreat of their countrymen, some wandering tribe, embracing the Mahometan faith, obtained a free encampment in the spacious plains and pleasant climate of Transoxiana and Carizme. The Turkish slaves who aspired to the throne, encouraged their emigrations, which recruited their armies, awed these subjects and rivals, and protected the frontier against the wilder natives of Turkestan; and this policy was abused by Mahmud the Gaznevide, beyond the example of former times. He was admonished of his error by a chief of the race of Seljuk, who dwelt in the territory of Bochara. The sultan had inquired what supply of men he could furnish for military service

* Gibbon, vol. x. p. 72, c. 52, A. D. 832—870.

† Ibid. p. 334, c. 57.

'If you send,' replied Ishmael, 'one of these arrows into our camp, fifty thousand of your servants will *mount on horse-back.*' 'And if that number,' continued Mahmud, 'should not be sufficient?' 'Send this second arrow to the horde of Balik, and you will find fifty thousand more.' 'But,' said the Gaznevide, dissembling his anxiety, 'if I should stand in need of the whole force of your kindred tribes?' 'Despatch my bow,' was the last reply of Ishmael, 'and as it is circulated around, the summons will be obeyed by two hundred thousand *horse.*' The shepherds were converted into robbers; the bands of robbers were collected into an army of conquerors: as far as Ispahan and the Tigris, Persia was afflicted by their predatory inroads; and the Turkmans were not ashamed or afraid to measure their courage and numbers with the proudest sovereigns of Asia.—The memorable day (or battle) of Zendecan founded in Persia the dynasty of the shepherd kings. The victorious Turkmans *immediately* proceeded to the election of a KING.*

"The whole Turkish nation embraced with fervour and sincerity the religion of Mahomet."† "The Roman emperors were **SUDDENLY ASSAULTED** by an unknown race of barbarians, who united the Seythian valour with the fanaticism of new proselytes, and the art and riches of a powerful monarchy. *The myriads of Turkish horse* overspread a frontier of six hundred miles, from Taurus to Arzeroum; and the blood of one hundred and thirty thousand Christians was a grateful sacrifice to the Arabian prophet. Alp Arsan passed the Euphrates at the head of the *Turkish cavalry*, and entered Cæsaria, the metropolis of Cappadocia, to which he had been attracted by the fame and *wealth of the temple of St. Basil.* The solid structure resisted the destroyer; but he carried away the *doors of the shrine, encrusted with gold and pearls*, and profaned the relics of the *tutelar saint.*"‡ In one "fatal day the Asiatic provinces of Rome were irretrievably sacrificed"§ "The fairest part of Asia was subject to his laws: twelve hundred princes, or the sons of princes, stood before his throne; and two hundred thousand soldiers marched under his banners."||

"Since the decline of the empire, the peninsula of Asia Minor had been exposed to the *transient*, though destructive, inroads of the Persians and Saracens; but the fruits of a *lasting conquest* were reserved for the *Turkish sultan.* Constantinople was deprived of the obedience and revenue of the

* Gibbon, pp. 342, 343, 344.

† Ibid. p. 352.

§ Ibid. p. 358.

‡ Ibid. p. 347.

|| Ibid. p. 360.

provinces beyond the Bosphorus and Hellespont; and the regular progress of the Turks, who fortified the passes of the rivers and mountains, left not a hope of their retreat or expulsion. Since the *first* conquests of the caliphs, the *establishment* of the Turks in Anatolia, or Asia Minor, was the *most deplorable loss* which the church and empire had sustained. By the propagation of the Moslem faith, Soliman deserved the name of Gazi, a holy champion: and his new kingdom of the Romans, or of *Roum*, was added to the tables of oriental geography. It is described as extending from the Euphrates to Constantinople, from the black Sea to the confines of Syria.* - "After the loss of Asia, Antioch still maintained her primitive alliance to Christ and Cæsar. The ambitious sultan mounted on horseback, and in twelve nights (for he reposed in the day) performed a march of six hundred miles. Antioch was oppressed by the *speed* and secrecy of his enterprize; and the dependent cities, as far as Laodicea and the confines of Aleppo, obeyed the example of the metropolis. From Laodicea to the Thracian Bosphorus, or arm of St. George, the conquest and reign of Soliman extended thirty days' journey in length, and in breadth about ten or fifteen, between the rocks of Lycia and the Black Sea. The Turkish ignorance of navigation protected for a while the inglorious safety of the emperor; but no sooner had a fleet of *two hundred ships* been constructed by the hands of the captive Greeks, than Alexius trembled behind the walls of his capital. His plaintive epistles were dispersed over Europe, to excite the compassion of the Latins, and to paint the danger, the weakness, and the riches of the city of Constantinople."†

But it was another voice than that of the emperor that alone could rouse into action the slumbering energies of Europe; and it was another conquest than that of Asia Minor, and, with a solitary exception, all the Asiatic domain of the Roman empire besides, that could raise all the nations of Europe as one man, to stay the progress of the Turks; and, more than all others, to wrest again one country from their oppressive and polluting hands.

The king of the North came at first like a whirlwind

* Gibbon, pp. 371, 372.

† Ibid. pp. 374, 375.

—an unknown race of barbarians, headed by their king, *suddenly assaulted* the Roman Empire. A *lasting conquest* was achieved at once. The fate of the Asiatic provinces of Rome was irretrievably decided in a day. *He came with chariots and horsemen and many ships : he did enter into the countries and did overflow and pass over.* He swept over them like a torrent, a tempest, or a whirlwind. Infantry, which forms in general the strength of armies, were not suited to the rapidity of his movements, and of them he had none. The Janissaries, or *new soldiers*, were not, till a far later date, a portion of a Turkish army. Stretched at a distance, *directly along the NORTH of Palestine*—their line of march was a frontier of six hundred miles, covered with myriads of Turkish horse. The incongruous union between an army of cavalry and *many ships*, was realized in fact ; and the captives supplied in abundance the wants of the conqueror. *He entered countries only to overflow and pass through.* Antioch, with its province, yielded not at first ; but at the rapid approach of the king of the north, it fell unresistingly, as by the blast of a whirlwind. The Turkish monarch was without a rival and without a foe, from the shores of the Bosphorus and the mountains of Armenia to the border of Palestine. Till then he had entered only to pass through. But the glorious land—the theme of many prophecies, is not indiscriminately classed with other conquests ; nor was the entering of the *king of the north* into it, immediately followed by the same easy conquest and settled dominion, with which other countries submitted to his yoke.

Conjoined to the last quotation from Gibbon, descriptive of the first great conquests of the Turks in the Asiatic provinces of Rome, we read in the beginning of the next paragraph,—“ But the most interesting conquest of the Seljukian Turks, was THAT

OF JERUSALEM, which soon became the theatre of nations.* And in the order of the things noted in the scripture of truth, we also read in the next verse, *He shall enter into the glorious land, and many (countries) shall be overthrown.* Ver. 41.

Not a jot or tittle shall pass from the law till all shall be fulfilled. And not a word ought ever to be added to the book of prophecy, or to any part of the scriptures of truth. The full and literal translation of the original Hebrew is—*And he shall enter into the glorious land, and many shall be overthrown.* In the Septuagint and Vulgate the literal translation is adopted—and no word, designating countries, is introduced into these, any more than in the Hebrew text. And every reader has only to open his Bible to observe that the term *countries*, being printed in italics, has no corresponding word in the original.

The king of the north, according to the strict terms of the prophecy, was to enter into countries and to overflow and pass over, before entering into the glorious land, or Judea, (as under the same designation it is previously represented in this prophecy); and after entering into it, it is subsequently said, that he should stretch forth his hand upon countries. Previous and also posterior to his entrance into Judea, countries are expressly declared to be made subservient to his sway. But the event, distinct from this, more immediately consequent to the entering of the king of the north into Judea, is that *many shall be overthrown*—whether by him or others, or jointly by the invaders or defenders of Judea, is not said; nor is it specified whether the many to be overthrown were people, or nations, or countries. The sole question, then, which we must look to history to resolve, is, in what manner, and to what degree *many* were over-

* Gibbon's Hist. p. 375.

thrown, at that particular period immediately preceded by the *entrance* of the king of the Turks, or of Soliman, the actual invader, into the holy or *glorious land*; or what events, marked in a striking manner, as noted above all the other conquests of the king of the north, the *overthrow of many*.

The words of Gibbon, already quoted, as expressive, but not so precise as those of the prophecy, show that, in looking to the literal signification of the original words, and withdrawing, from the translated text, a word that is man's—there is then no enigma in the matter—and the fact stands forth as prominent in history as it is clearly told in the prediction. It is enough to see the text and commentary side by side.

He shall enter also into the glorious land, and many shall be overthrown;—thus expressed by Gibbon: “But the most interesting conquest of the Seljukian Turks was that of Jerusalem, which soon became the theatre of nations.”

The conquest of Jerusalem by the Turks was the signal for a conflict between Europe and Asia, of which it was the cause, as Judea was the theatre. And we may here cast a slight glance upon one of the most eventful periods in the history of man—though nothing more would be needful than to name the crusades, the very mention of which is necessarily associated in the mind of every reader, both with the occupation of Jerusalem by the Turks, and with the consequent *overthrow of many*.

When superstition maintained its dominion over the minds of men, a king might plead in vain for a falling empire: but they who revered the relic of a saint more than they honoured an earthly crown, could not suffer the tombs of martyrs to remain in the possession of infidels; and they who venerated to adoration the smallest fragment of the “true cross,” and whose fiercest passions such relics could not allay,

were roused to indignation and vengeance at the tidings that the holy sepulchre was trodden under the feet of the enemies of Christ. Each patron-saint would have frowned on his adopted country, had his native land, consecrated by the living presence of so many saints, the dust of which was sacred, and the very name of which was holy, been left without avengers, to cleanse it of the heathens. "A new spirit," says Gibbon, "had arisen of religious chivalry and papal domination: a nerve was touched of exquisite feeling, and the sensation vibrated to the heart of Europe."

An emperor became a suppliant in vain. But he who *did according to his will and who magnified himself above all*, issued his mandate, and Europe obeyed. Councils of previously unparalleled magnitude, at which pope Urban II. presided, were held at Placentia and Clermont. "His topics were obvious, his exhortation was vehement, his success inevitable. The orator was interrupted by the shouts of thousands, who with one voice, and in their rustic idiom, exclaimed aloud, 'God wills it, God wills it.'—'It is indeed the will of God,' replied the pope; 'and let this memorable word, the inspiration surely of the Holy Spirit, be for ever adopted as your *cry to battle*, to animate the devotion and courage of the champions of Christ. His cross is the symbol of your salvation; wear it, a red, a bloody cross, as an external mark on your breasts or shoulders, as a pledge of your sacred and irrevocable engagement.'"^{*}—The effect was electric. Europe was in arms. And multitudes from every region were soon on the march to Palestine—a red, bloody cross their badge.—But it was not thus with an "external mark," but bearing the cross in another sense, and with hearts touched with the blood of sprinkling—it was not thus, breathing

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. x. p. 10. c. 52.

vengeance and proclaiming war on earth, but preaching salvation, peace with Heaven and good will to men—it was not with a blood-red cross, but with the gospel of peace that the true champions of the cross first came forth from Palestine—or that Paul and his fellow-labourers first passed from Asia to Europe, when he saw in a vision a man of Macedonia, saying, come over and *help* us. In a different spirit from theirs did the *crusaders* go from Europe to Asia; and different was the end and object of their labours from that of the faithful followers of Jesus. The apostles, who had looked literally upon the cross and upon Christ crucified, and who received the last command of their risen Lord, “Go ye into all nations and preach the gospel unto every creature,”—began the spiritual warfare which shall never cease—till nation shall no more rise up against nation, and men shall learn war no more. A tent-maker of Tarsus was added to their number. Inspired indeed with the Holy Spirit, they went forth from Judea with other weapons than carnal; paganism fell before them; and men learned at their word to love one another, and even to love those who hated them. But when millions, headed by kings and princes, flocked to Judea, in crusades, without a semblance to theirs, all the power of Europe could not ultimately retain one spot in Asia: he who magnified himself above every god, to whose nod monarchs were obsequious, and whose foot they kissed, could not finally resist the king of the north who came against him and robbed him of half his spiritual dominion: and the history of the crusades, which no earthly efforts ever surpassed, is summed up by the prophet as one of the things noted in the Scripture of truth, *many were overthrown*. And instead of any true triumph to the cross resulting from the bloody crusades, the knights and kings of Christendom were for ever put to shame

by the nobler Saladin—an honest believer, though in a faith that is false.

It is not easy to define—as it is not defined—who or what were the *many* that were overthrown, after the entering of the Turks into Judea—whether people, armies, or even nations. The dead were numbered by myriads. Saracens, Turks, Egyptians, Fatimites, Mamelukes, and Catholics without number from almost every quarter in Europe, were successively, and often alternately, *overthrown*. And that one word, with *many* prefixed to it, is, for the space of two centuries, a continued history of the crusades,—the sequel of the first conquest of Jerusalem by the Turks. Judea was again bathed in blood, without being purged from iniquity. And all the combatants, on whatever side, fought in vain for the sepulchre of Jesus, as if they had been fighting for any other tomb cut out of a rock, while they were not dead unto sin, and never washed their blood-red cross into whiteness with the water of Siloam, which flows beside Gethsemane and Calvary. Their false contention for the cross was such that to be *overthrown* was still their doom; till *Mahometans* finally kept the conquest they had won, and Jerusalem was trodden down of the Gentiles; and heathens, without a challenge, possessed it again, and held the field as their own on which *many* were *overthrown*.

The Seljukian dynasty was early subdivided into four Sultanies,* and these were *bound* for a season. The progress of the Turkish conquests was stayed, after they first entered the glorious land, by the consequent concussion between Europe and Asia; and their own power did not remain unbroken. But the race of Othman arose to replace that of Seljuk; and their former career of conquest was renewed and ex-

* See below on Rev. ix. 14.

tended till their union of many countries into one kingdom was established and consolidated. But although the king of the north was to stretch forth his hand over the countries, as before he had come like a whirlwind, and had overflowed and passed over, yet even as the kings of Europe could not keep possession of Judea, a small portion, little, compared to his dominions, like Naboth's vineyard in the royal gardens of the king of Israel, was to be free from his dominion, and to escape out of the hand that should be stretched over the countries.

But (and) these shall escape out of his hand, even Edom and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon. This thing that is noted has to be tried with the same precision as the rest, although the very statement of it implies the greatest definiteness and precision.

There was a point, which, though surrounded by subjugated states, he did not touch, or stretch his hand over it, to grasp it as his own. And as a mark on the forehead of a man, it may serve to identify the Turk as the king of the north as much as all the countries which he conquered. Yet it is but one mark out of many.

But these shall escape out of his hand, even Edom and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon. These are names or regions that are not unknown to any man who reads the Bible or has studied the prophecies. And we need not here define their well-known situation and respective boundaries. And, turning from Gibbon to Volney, we find as express a definition of the territory in the history of the times when the Mameluke yielded to the Turkish power, as in the words of the prophet which foretold their escape. In the early history of the Mameluke domination over Egypt and Syria, these regions pertained to the Government of Gaza. But before that city

fell, as it did into the hands of the Turks, Karak had become the seat of a separate government under two chiefs and two judges, with an Arab prince who commanded all the tribes of the district.* The province of Gaza (as an Arabic manuscript, of which a translation is given by Volney, records) was then situated in a fertile plain. The district of Karak, also called Moab, was DETACHED from it, and stretched beyond Oula in Arabia Petrea, even to the river Zizale, which falls into the Jordan. It comprehended a space of twenty journeys of a camel, at the rate of six French leagues to each journey (about three hundred miles.) The country had then many villages: but there was a scarcity of water along the routes, and a great number of defiles among the rocks where one man could arrest a hundred cavaliers. Conjoined with this description, it is said of Karak, at a date posterior to the subjugation of Egypt by the Ottoman arms, that it was one of the few strong citadels known, which had never been taken by force.†

* Volney's Trav. vol. i. p. 269, French edition, Paris, 1806.

† Documentary evidence respecting the actual territorial definition of *Edom and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon*, is to be found in the National Library of Paris. The fact is stated, as above, in an Arabic manuscript, which was discovered in Egypt, and brought from thence, by Venture, the interpreter of Oriental languages, who accompanied Bonaparte to that country. It was composed by a lawyer, Chaik Merei, about the year 1620. Venture was the personal friend of Volney, to whom he communicated a translation of it, which he affixed to his Travels in Egypt, deeming the insertion of it a thing agreeable to literature and to friendship. Being omitted in the octavo edition of the English translation, it may, from still better motives, be agreeable to the reader to peruse, in the words of Volney, the statement of the fact that Edom, Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon, formed a detached and defined district,—the whole of both of the former and part of the latter being included.

La première (province de la Syrie) s'appelle province de Gaza, ville située en un plain fertile. Le district de Karak, dit aussi Moab, en se détache et s'étend depuis Oula, dans l'Arabie Pétrée, jusqu'au ruisseau Zizale, qui tombe dans le Jourdan: c'est un

The region thus described and defined includes the whole of Edom and of Moab, and a part—but the *chief* part, including the site of the ancient capital—of Ammon. The river Arnon, which subdivided Moab, flows into the Dead Sea; but the ancient Jabbok, which divided the district of Tabarias from that of Karak, and included the Harvan, which lies to the north of that river, without the intervention of any other, falls into the Jordan, between the lake Gennesareth and the Dead Sea, and intersects the ancient land of Ammon, leaving the site of Rabba and the town of Szalt inhabited to this day by independent Arabs, on the southern regions of Ammon, immediately contiguous to Moab. Every region around owned the Turks as masters; and, more than Alexander or the Cæsars could have done, the sultans of Constantinople claimed Mecca and Medina as their own. Yet their subjects could not freely pass from one part of their own dominions to another,—not even to their holy city, to which, as a religious rite, annual pilgrimages were made from all parts of their dominions. Wherever the land of Edom, and of Moab, and the chief of the children (or chief city) of Ammon lay along the road of the pilgrims, the lordly Porte was constrained to pay tribute to the Arab of the desert. The defiles of Petra became the haunt of robbers, instead of the emporium of commerce. A more notorious illustration of the fact of their escape could not be adduced, than that, instead of being enslaved, the wandering tenants of these regions are feared, and that, instead of paying a regu-

espace de vinet journées de chameau (a six lieux la journée.) La pays a beaucoup de villages : mais il y a disette d'eau sur les routes, et un grand quantité de defiles entre des rocs, où un seul homme peut arrêter cent cavaliers.—Karak est une des plus fortes citadelles connues ; on ne l'a jamais prise de force. Tome i. p 285. (Translated as above.)

lar tribute, a stipulation has been made with them, generation after generation, for a free passage through their country. Edom and Moab were disowned and unknown at Constantinople, as forming any part of the Grand Seignior's dominions, while all the rest of Syria was his own. And along the southern banks of the river which subdivides Ammon and falls into the Jordan, "the inhabitants," as recent travellers agree in confirming, "live in a state of complete independence of the Porte," while the northern portion of Ammon, the most remote from the ancient capital, was not distinguished from the other territories of the Pachalic of Damascus. *These shall escape 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. A race of monarchs,—each, as before, throughout all the prophecy, retaining the generic name of his order, and designated *the king of the north*,—arose to grace or tarnish the Turkish annals of destruction and conquest, according to the various judgments that may be formed of kings, as they regard either the glory of God or their own, as scarcely any other nation, but that of the Turks, could either boast of or blush for. Each king was a conqueror. To *stretch their hand* farther and farther over the countries was the aim and work of them all. The *caste* was long unbroken; and they followed successively the occupation of their fathers. Othman, Orchan, Amurath, Bajazet, Mahomet or Mahmoud, are names of fearful import and terrible recollections, at which Europe and Asia trembled. And these are the kings who, after the Turks under Togrul Beg and Alp Arsan, the descendants of Seljuk, had first come against the church and Roman empire in Asia like a whirlwind, and had overflowed and passed over countries,—and after the crusades had spent their fury, and the overthrow of many from that cause had

ceased,—conquering nation after nation, from the borders of the Oxus, Jaxartes and Euphrates to the banks of the Danube, and from Persia to Poland, finally fixed the seat of their empire in the chosen city of Constantine; held Babylon, Syria, Armenia, all the *countries* of Asia Minor, Romania, Wallachia, Moldavia, Macedon, Epirus, and Greece, as provinces of Turkey; *and stretched their hands over the countries* from the Caspian to the Mediterranean, and from the Persian Gulph to the Adriatic Sea. It is needless to trace or define the order of these conquests which are comprehended in one general expression, including them all; and the task besides would be superfluous, for the extent to which the Turkish empire reached may best be seen in a map of the world, over which the reader may stretch his hand,—as the king of the north stretched his over 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 Lybians and Ethiopians shall be at his steps, ver. 42, 43. In the tenth and eleven centuries, hordes of shepherds descended from Turkomania into the plains of Persia, and the sceptre of Irak passed from the Persian to the Turkish nation. The fate of Armenia was decided in a day; and that of all the Asiatic provinces in another. The king entered into the countries, and overflowed and passed over. But the whirlwind was stayed, and its fury was broken for a season, on the plains and mountains of Judea. The king of the north entered that country, but not to overflow it; for before the close of the same century in which the Turks first boasted of a conquest or of a king, the crusades began. The overthrow of many was the note of that time; and when that long-continued and peculiar era of slaughter passed, the Turks were again loosed on ravaged countries and on exhausted Europe. Headed by a race

of warriors, their kingdom in Asia was renewed ; Europe yielded up the richest and fairest of its countries, and Asia deeply resented and amply retaliated its wrongs. The throne of the Cæsars was subverted for ever, and the cross was supplanted by the crescent in the capital of the eastern empire, which derived the name which it still retains, from the first of Christian kings. Constantinople was taken in 1453 ; but it was only in the succeeding century that Egypt owned fealty to the Porte. The Egyptians, in Palestine, had over-mastered both Christians and Turks, and in the great medley of nations, and overthrow of many, a descendant of Seljuk had held the stirrup of Saladin ; but though triumphant once, the *last* to yield, and resisting long, the *land of Egypt*, unlike to Edom and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon, *did not escape*. Its day was delayed, but its fate was sure ; and the sentence was not executed till the order of its visitation was come, its work accomplished, and its time fulfilled.

In the preceding and subsequent pages of this volume, Gibbon's testimony, as the most accessible and unsuspicious, is in general referred to in preference to every other. From the debt to the gospel which he fatally contracted, we may without scruple demand large restitution, and hold him ready at a call to yield up the fruits of his labours. But the history of the decline and fall of the Roman empire was all told, when the Turkish Sultan, the king of the north, stretched his sceptre from the throne of the Cæsars, on the countries over which he had before stretched his victorious hand. Other evidence must therefore be here appealed to than Gibbon's ; but we now close his volumes only to open them again ; for, more than any other, he is the man, who, in exploring so fully, and smoothing so completely, many a rugged field of history, has opened up a plain and easy path through the mazes of the Revelation.

In the year 1517, Selim I. marched against Egypt, at the head of an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men.* After repeated battles, and the most determined resistance on the part of the Mamelukes, Selim became master of Egypt, but not until after the streets of Cairo, in the desperate fury of the defenders, had been a scene of slaughter for three days and nights, "when the arrows fell thick as rain," and "streams of blood ran down the streets."† "After this slaughter, Selim marched towards Alexandria, which opened its gates before even the Grand Seignior had caused them to be summoned. *All Egypt followed the example.* Nothing was seen throughout but a people who submitted to the conqueror. Thus ended the empire of the Mamelukes, respected in Africa and Asia for near three hundred years."‡ *The land of Egypt did not escape.* And, as in the beginning of the vision it fell into the hands of the Ptolemies, we find it, towards the close, in the possession of the Ottomans.

Under the government of the Mamelukes, as appears by the Arabic document, previously referred to, a system of taxation was regularly organized over Egypt and all its tributary provinces; and the revenue was of vast amount. But all the treasures of the Soldan of Egypt became the property of the Seignior. Not satisfied even with these, he extended the power which conquest gave him, over the wealth of individuals as well as of the State. "Above five hundred families of the noblest and richest of the Egyptians were commanded to remove from Cairo to Constantinople, and a great number of the women and children of the race of the Mamelukes were also transported thither in ships hired for that purpose. Into this fleet, *besides the king's treasures and riches*, he

* Mignot's Hist. of the Turkish Empire, vol. i. p. 267.

† Ibid. p. 278. Modern Universal History, vol. xii. p. 256.

‡ Mignot's Hist. vol. i. p. 280.

conveyed ALL the public and private ornaments of that most rich and famous city, with such a covetous and greedy desire of spoil, that the very marble stones, commended either for the excellency of the workmanship or beauty of the stone, were violently rent out of the main walls, to his great reproach and infamy.* *He had power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and over ALL the precious things of Egypt.*

“The kings of Africa bordering upon Cyrenaica, tributaries or confederates of the Egyptian Sultans, sent their ambassadors with presents to Selim. The remote nations towards *Ethiopia*, as they had in former times rather acknowledged the friendship than the command of the Egyptian Sultans, so now, induced with the fame of the victory, easily joined in like amity with the Turk. All the princes which were before tributaries or confederates to the late Sultans of Egypt, even to the confines of David, the most mighty king of *Ethiopia*, without delay entered into the like subjection or confederation with the Turks.”† The Grand Seignior did not himself enter into these countries, as he had entered into others, but, after the subjugation of Egypt, they sent their ambassadors with presents, acknowledging their submission, or assenting to his dominion as the new lord of Egypt, and rendered the same tribute, or entered into the same confederacy with him, as they had done before to a government which had been established for centuries. *The Lybians and Ethiopians*, it may be said literally, *were at his steps.*

Past history, as may thus be seen, presents a striking analogy, first noted by Brightman, and subsequently by Sir Isaac Newton and others, between the prophetic delineation of the last great power described in the scripture of truth as possessing Judea, previous to the final restoration of the Jews, and the actual

* Turkish History, by Sir Paul Rycaut, vol. i. p. 375.

† Ibid.

history of the Turkish empire, of which, till very recently, Judea long formed a part. But the fall and extinction of the same power is told as plainly as its rise and extent. And it still remains to be seen whether future events shall confirm the interpretation; or whether the whole prediction relative to the king of the north, may not receive a clearer and complete illustration from events of which Judea, Egypt, and other countries beside, shall yet be the theatres.

The visions of Daniel, lightened by their interpretation, symbolically represent the successive kingdoms that should arise, or forms of domination that should prevail upon the earth. But the things that are noted in the scripture of truth, are, without a figure, a prophetic narrative of facts. The eleventh chapter, in which they are recorded, bears, we apprehend, express reference to all the previous visions and prophecies of Daniel. Both were alike descriptive of the things that were to be; and there is a manifest analogy and coincidence between the visions that were seen and the things that were noted. The mode of annunciation is different; but the matter is substantially the same. In the first and second visions, the Persian empire, after having succeeded to the Babylonian, is represented as overthrown in its order, by the third kingdom, or the Grecian; while in the vision of the Ram and the He-goat, the empires of Persia and Greece are mentioned by name. In precise accordance with all these antecedent predictions, and shewing still more clearly the very *things*, that which is first peculiarly noted in the Scripture of truth, written after the fall of Babylon, is the *stirring up of all against the realm of Grecia by the fourth, after Cyrus, of the Persian kings*, without the notice of a single fact, and undistinguished beyond the mention of their numbers, respecting the three intermediate occupants of the throne of Persia. The invasion of Greece by Xerxes, which, according

to the common chronology, happened in the year 481 before the Christian era, stands forth as the most marked and conspicuous object that *first* rises to view among *the things noted in the Scripture of truth*. And the collision between these empires being thus noted, the manner is revealed in which Alexander the Great afterwards subverted the Persian empire. His history and that of his successors is detailed, till the Romans enforced their sway over Macedon, and extended their influence over Syria and Egypt. The fate of the Jews was involved in that of the successive conquerors of the East. But after *the fourth kingdom*, previously prefigured in two visions, maintained its ascendancy over the land of Judea, as of them it is written in this prophetic record of the things they were to do, *the sanctuary of strength was polluted, the daily sacrifice was taken away, and they placed the abomination that maketh desolate*. But the everlasting covenant was revealed, when the first was disannulled, and amidst the desolations of Zion the church of Christ was founded on a rock. Already had it been revealed and expounded to Daniel, that *in the days of these earthly kingdoms, the Most High would set up his kingdom*,—and it is here again still more plainly told that, at that appointed time, when fully come, and when the days that were determined on Jerusalem, were closing and ended, *the men of understanding who knew their God did exploits and instructed many*. Another revelation (chap. ix.) more specific in that respect than all the rest, had fore-shown the time of the appearing of *the Messiah the Prince*, and the bringing in of everlasting righteousness, *the destruction of the city and the sanctuary, and the consequent desolations even until the consummation*. Many were then *instructed*; the covenant was *confirmed with many*. And, even among worldly-minded men, as histories the best accredited attest,

the expectation was universal over the East of the coming of a great prince from Judea, destined to subdue the world, at the very period when the preaching of the gospel by *men of understanding* was coincident with the *subversion of Judaism*.

The things that are noted in the scripture of truth, after having thus kept in close analogy and exposition the precise time of the previous prediction recorded by the same prophet, do not diverge from it in the sequel, any more than in the outset and progress.

Without the rise of a new kingdom, the Roman power changed its form; and a new order of persecution began. In the close of the visions of the four beasts or kingdoms that arise on the earth, and of the Ram and the He-goat, or Persia and Greece,—one dominant power (the papal) is marked as prevailing over the kingdoms into which the Roman empire was subdivided, and another, (the Mahometan) as holding a corresponding sway over the regions of the east, where Alexander had passed victorious. Each of these—more than all besides—has its prominent place in prophecy and history; and instead of either of them being omitted in the things noted in the scripture of truth, any more than in the other prophecies of Daniel, both seem to occupy fully the last portion of the general and literal prediction, as each in its place and form had filled up the outline of a previous vision. Concerning the little horn (or king) that spake great things and words against the Most High, who had a look more stout than his fellows, who wore out the saints of the Most High, and changed times and laws, and into whose hands they were given for a time and times, and the dividing of time, the *things are noted* which he did, and correspond in time, place, character, and duration, with those of the king who did according to his will—the wicked one who exalteth himself above all, and

sat in the temple, and of whom the Spirit spake so expressly. And while *he* tried to wear out the saints of the Most High, and filled up the appointed time of persecution, so, when transgressions came to the full, a king of fierce countenance arose, a warlike impostor appeared, of whose power the east was the source and the chief seat, and the countries over which it prevailed were described, and some of them named, among the things that are noted in the scripture of truth.

Of the *dates*, which form a marked picture of the Book of Daniel, little has been here said, and the appropriation of them to their respective events is reserved till the history which they measure may perhaps be seen, in reference to some of them, to have run its course. The *times* and the seasons the Father hath in his own power. Secret things belong to God : those that are revealed belong to us and our children. If the time be come that *the judgments* of God are *manifest*, the *times* also in reference to the past may be known. But the patience of the reader must be farther taxed, and in the past history of our sinful race, a bloody record must be farther unfolded, and corroborative illustrations have first to be drawn from other prophecies, before we can speak of the times and of the seasons : and even then it must be left solely to the events themselves, viewed in direct conjunction with the predictions, to resolve whether any of the times or periods that were appointed and determined, have already been accomplished.

The invasion of Greece by Xerxes, first specially *noted*, and the spiritual supremacy conferred by the imperial authority of Justinian on the Pope, are events of which the importance may perhaps have fixed their respective dates in the reader's recollection.

The law was a schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ ; and the predictions contained in the Book of

Daniel prepare the way for entering on the solemn theme—not to be rashly mooted or irreverently touched—the Revelation of Jesus Christ.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I

THE opening scene of the Apocalypse is worthy, as words can be, of the “Revelation of Jesus Christ.” All power is given unto him in heaven and in earth. The reign of sin for a season must finally give way to the ultimate and universal establishment of the kingdom of God and of his Christ. Having finished the work on earth which his Father had given him to do, he ascended up on high, and he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men. He is not straitened as to the mode of communicating them. While he dwelt among men he had many things to say unto the apostles, which, at that time, before his death, resurrection, and ascension, they were not able to bear; and he gave them the promise of the Spirit of truth to guide them into all truth, and to show them things to come. And after Christ had reascended into heaven, and Jerusalem had been destroyed, and the foundation of his church had been laid, ere the last of the apostles had left the earth, the Lord himself appeared to the beloved disciple, (who tarried till he came,) and personally revealed—that the pen of an apostle might write—what should befall his church, and what should happen in the world, till the conflict between light and darkness should be over, when no revelation should be needed any more to show un-

to the universe that against his church all the gates of hell cannot prevail—and when his redeemed shall finally enter into the city which hath no need of the sun to shine in it; for the glory of God does lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof.

John, an exile in Patmos for the word of God and for the testimony of Jesus Christ, was in the Spirit on the Lord's day, and he heard behind him "a great voice, as of a trumpet, 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." Turning to see the voice that spake with him, he who before had leaned on the bosom of Christ, on beholding his glorious body, fell at his feet as dead. Touched by his hand, he revived. "And he laid his right hand upon me," saith the apostle, "saying unto me, Fear not; I am the first and the last: I am he that liveth and was dead; and behold I am alive for evermore, Amen; and have the keys of hell and of death. Write the things which thou hast seen, and the things which are, and the things which shall be hereafter.—Rev. i.

The second and third chapters of the Revelation contain the things that were written to the seven churches of Asia, or the things that were. The character of each of the churches is described, as they were all respectively known to him who looks not on the outward appearance, but whose eyes are as a flame of fire, before which all things are naked and open. A promise of life and of glory, to him that overcometh, was affixed to that which was written to every one of the churches. And a warning, truly prophetic, was given according to their need.

"After this," a revelation of a higher order, showing the things which must be hereafter, was communicated to the apostle, and is continued to the close of the book, which seals up the sacred canon.

Futurity is impenetrable by human wisdom: and the purposes of Jehovah are not to be fully scanned by man. The fate of kingdoms is as a sealed book which no mortal can open. It was partially unfolded to the prophets, who testified of Jesus; and we may now read the history of many a nation, as from the beginning it was written in the book of the Lord. But the Spirit was only given by measure unto them, and the law itself was a schoolmaster to bring men unto Christ. Of all that were born of woman there had not arisen a greater than John the Baptist, notwithstanding, said the Son of God, he that is least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he. And at the close of the apostolic age the gift of inspiration was consummated by a more glorious vision than any prophet of Israel ever witnessed; and the fate of the church and of the world, till the final consummation of all things, was disclosed to the last of the apostles by the immediate revelation of Jesus Christ, in a manner which beggars the imagination of Pindar and of Homer, and shows that the fabled transactions of heathen deities were but the human mimicry of things divine. But no man hath seen God at any time, or can, while a mortal, see him. And sensible images, such as can be looked on, are needful to convey to our feeble capacities some faint apprehension of the glory which we now cannot adequately conceive.

The incantations of pagan orgies, and the ambiguous responses of the Pythian oracle, originated in the frenzies of a troubled brain, or the fraudulent inventions of a deceitful heart, to make gain of the folly of mankind. Nor can credulity, whether it be rational or wild, trace them to a higher source than the agency of demons. But they are no more to be compared to the oracles of the living God, than the top of Olympus to the throne of the Eternal. The pro-

phets of Israel spake as the Spirit gave them utterance ; and true as their word hath proved is the fact, that they were inspired by the God of truth. Yet high as their office was, beyond any that had ever before been delegated to mortals, it was only to bear testimony to Jesus and to prepare the way of his gospel. Fully to show forth the final triumph of the cross, and to impart to men " the Revelation of Jesus Christ," was the more glorious privilege of the son of Zebedee ; and in a manner unparalleled in holy writ, after hearing the voice of Jesus, and recording what the Spirit said unto the churches, John thus continues the narration.

" After this I looked, and, behold, a door was opened 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 show thee things which must be hereafter. And immediately I was in the Spirit : and, behold, a throne was set in heaven, and one sat on the throne. 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. 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. And out of the throne proceeded lightnings, and thunderings, and voices : and there were seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, which are the seven Spirits of God. 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 living creatures full of eyes before and behind. And the first living creature was like a lion, and the second living creature like a calf, and the third living creature had a face as a man, and the fourth living creature was like a flying eagle. And the four living

creatures 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. And when those living creatures give glory, and honour, and thanks, to him that sat on the throne, who liveth for ever and ever, the four and twenty elders fall down before him that sat on the throne, and worship him that liveth for ever and ever, and cast their crowns before the throne, saying, 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,"—Rev. iv. "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. And I saw a strong angel proclaiming with a loud voice, Who is worthy to open the book, and to loose the seals thereof?"—Rev. v. 1, 2.

Not man nor angel can scrutinize the purposes of Jehovah. Infinite wisdom is not to be measured, any more than Almighty power can be withstood ; the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and goodness of God is not to be fathomed : and all futurity lies open to none but the Omniscient. The book was closed with seven seals ; and no man in heaven, nor in earth, neither under the earth, was found to open and to read the book, neither to look thereon. Angels and archangels who dwell in light, and not in darkness, though swift, as if *with six wings*, to execute the will of God, and to fulfil the office of his messengers, and though quicksighted in spiritual discernment, and gifted with bright vision, as if *full of eyes*, to see the works of the Lord, and the wonders he hath done, in a manner compared to which our sight is now as blindness, were yet unequal to the task : and no man in heaven was able to open, to read, to touch, or even to look upon the book, in

which was written the things that shall be hereafter, and which he who sat on the throne of heaven held in his own right hand. "And I wept much," says John, "because no man was found worthy to open and to read the book, neither to look thereon. 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."—Chap. v. 4, 5.

It pleased the Father that in Christ should all fulness dwell. All things were created by him and for him. All things that the Father hath are his. In him are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. All the angels of God worship him. To him the Father hath given power over all flesh. And he who is the author of nature, the light of the world, the Lord of angels, and the Redeemer of his people, prevailed to open the book, for he was worthy.—"And I beheld, and lo, in the midst of the throne and of the four living creatures, 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. And he came and took the book out of the right hand of him that sat upon the throne. And when he had taken the book, the four living beings 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. And they sung 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; and hast made us unto our God kings and priests: and we shall reign on the earth. And I beheld, and I heard the voice of many angels round about the throne, and the living creatures, and the elders: and

the number of them was ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands; 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. 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. And the four living creatures said, Amen. And the four and twenty elders fell down and worshipped him that liveth for ever and ever.—Rev. v. 6—14.

Such—involving a power not possessed by any created being, and a wisdom that passes the ken of angels, and enough, of itself, to call forth the loud hosannahs of the host of heaven—is the opening of that book, which *some*, called interpreters, have made the plaything of their fancy, which many, called Christians, have profaned into a licence for jesting, and which all sceptics have held as the butt of their scorn.—But the word of God standeth sure, like the sun in the heavens, untouched by the clouds that float in our atmosphere, and untainted by the putrid exhalations that rise from the earth.

The brightness of the sun is not extinguished or diminished, though it be hid from our view; but the revolution of the night brings round the day, and the light shines where before there was darkness. And however dark and inexplicable by the human understanding the Book of Revelation may have been, it is no less full of significancy, because we cannot comprehend its meaning, till the revolution of ages shall finally bring to pass all those things of which John saw the image and the end.

The retrospect of past history now shows us a long

series of momentous events, since the time of the heavenly vision. Many of the things that were to be, have already been. But as the sun is often obscured with clouds after it has arisen, the darkness comprehends not the light; and from causes inherent in the mind, like mist rising from the earth, our perceptions of God's holy word are often dim and indistinct. There is a veil, a cloud upon the heart. And the eye of the mind is as tender an organ, and its perception as easily disturbed, as that of the body. And difficult to be comprehended, and darkly to be seen, as are the ways of God, by man, who had lost the knowledge of him who dwelleth in the light, it is not to be wondered at, that men should miss the meaning of the Revelation of the things that were to be thereafter, till the very things should be accomplished, and the predicted time be come that the judgments of God should be *manifest*. Observation is the only guide; ingenuity would only deceive. All that the human lips can tell, is to repeat what the Lord hath spoken; and all that the hand of man can do, is to point to the things that have been done upon the earth. And if ever genuine humility be a virtue, or proud arrogancy a crime,—if ever there be an occasion and a time, as there can never fail to be, for abjuring all vain boasting and rendering unto God the glory, it is with a humble heart, and with a trembling and uplifted hand, that it behoves any erring mortal to enter on the grave, but not hopeless, task of interpreting any portion of that Book, which is the theme of angelic praise, and the Revelation of Jesus Christ.

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 living beings saying, Come and see. 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. And when he had opened the second seal, I heard the second living creature say, Come and see. 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. And when he had opened the third seal, I heard the third living creature say, Come and see. 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 beasts say, A measure of wheat for a penny, and three measures of barley for a penny; and see that thou hurt not the oil and the wine. And when he had opened the fourth seal, I heard the voice of the fourth living creature say, Come and see. 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. 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. 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? And white robes were given unto every one of them; and it was said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little season, until their fellow-servants also, and their brethren, that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled. And I beheld when he had opened the sixth seal, and lo, there was a great earthquake: 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 heaven depart-

ed as a scroll when it is rolled together ; and every mountain and island were moved out of their places. 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, 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 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 ? Chap. vi.

The first six seals thus comprise the period from the time that the Revelation was given, to the great day of the wrath of the Lord. Of that day Joel prophesied, and the Lord Jesus spoke, in terms precisely accordant with those of this prediction. *The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before the great and the terrible day of the Lord come.* Joel ii. 31. *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 : and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, &c.* Matt. xxiv. 29, 30.

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 living beings saying, Come and see. 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. Chap. vi. 1, 2.

The scene throughout is laid in heaven ; and the things seen were to pass upon the earth. On that night in which he was betrayed, and in his last discourse to his disciples, Jesus said, I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit, when he, the Spirit of Truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth ; for he shall not speak of himself ; but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall

he speak ; and he will shew *you things to come*. He shall glorify me ; for he shall receive of *mine*, and shall shew it unto you. All things that the Father hath are mine ; therefore, said I, he *shall take of mine*, and *shall shew it unto you*. Were any supposition warranted, it might not, from hence, be the most unreasonable to imagine, that, in shewing things to come, the fate and interests of his church, which he died to purchase, and lives to purify, would be the first object for Jesus to reveal, and for the apostle to record. In *shewing the things that were to be* thereafter, as well as those that were, the precedence might well pertain to the things that are Christ's ; and the first sign from heaven might well signify his church. But independent of any such presumption, the figure speaks for itself ; and many scriptures shew what it is, and what *alone* it represents.

On the opening of the first seal, the object seen was immediately in view, *and I saw, and behold a WHITE horse*. Whatever the symbol might represent, whiteness is the mark appropriated as its own, The term *white* occurs in seventeen other instances, in the book of Revelation, and with the exception of two, descriptive of angelic purity, it can only be applied in every one of them to Christ or to his church. Nor can this be a sole exception : for the same *figure*, under the same character or designation, is again introduced, towards the close of the revelation, in a manner that can be descriptive only of Christ and of his church. As the Lord Jesus himself was seen in the vision by the apostle,—his head and his hairs were *white* like wool, as *white* as snow ;* even as on the mount of transfiguration, John, Peter, and James, had before beheld him when his face did shine as the sun, and his raiment was *white* as the light, exceeding

* Rev. i. 14.

white as snow ; so as no fuller on earth can *white* them. It is a *white* cloud on which he comes ;* a *white* throne† that is his ; and, emblematically, it is also the same *white* horse on which he sits, after the victory is accomplished, on which he first went forth to conquer ‡

The calling of his people is to be *like* unto their Lord, to have the same mind in them that was also in him, and to be holy as he who hath called them is holy. It is faith which both purifies the heart, and overcomes the world. The sprinkling and the purifyings under the law, that touched but the skin, are not without their significance under the Gospel, as the power of making *white* reaches to the heart. The blood of Christ *cleanseth* from all sin. He loved the church,—which, looking down on earth, is still, in token of that love, the first object in his view,—and gave himself for it that he might sanctify and *cleanse* it 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. He gave himself for us that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works. Every Christian duty, thus inculcated on every Christian principle, was the sound doctrine which the primitive and purified Christians could bear to hear, while yet they grew exceedingly in the faith once delivered to the saints. And these were things which an apostle, writing by inspiration, commanded a preacher of the gospel to speak, and exhort, and rebuke with all authority. § But it is in the blood of the Lamb that his followers are made *white* ; ||—of him that they have to buy *white* rai-

* Rev. xiv. 14.

† xx. 11.

‡ xix. 11.

§ Titus ii. 15.

|| Rev. vii. 14.

ment, that they may be clothed ; *—and under him that the work has to be done, the warfare to be wrought, that *pureness* may be attained, and the victory be won. And, in like manner, in conformity to their calling and the changed aspects of their spirits even in his sight, they that are holy are holy still ; and while he thus marks them as his church on earth, under the same character, he will acknowledge and reward them as his own in heaven. To him that overcometh will I give a *white* stone, and in the stone a new name written. † 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. ‡ He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in *white* raiment. § Lo, a great multitude which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people and tongues, stood before the throne and before the Lamb, clothed with *white* robes and palms in their hands. || What are these which are arrayed in *white* robes ? and whence came they ? These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes and made them *white* in the blood of the Lamb. ¶ The marriage of the Lamb is come, and his bride hath made herself ready. And to her was granted that she should be arrayed in fine linen, clean and *white* : for the fine linen is the righteousness of the saints. ** The righteousness is of faith : it is the church, in earth or in heaven, that is *white*. And looking on all the past history of man, what body of men is to be seen, that, in the eyes of angels while they look upon our world, could be viewed from heaven itself as *white*, like unto those men of understanding, and others who have the

* Rev. iii. 18.

† Rev. ii. 17.

‡ Rev. iii. 4.

§ Ib. ver. 5.

|| Rev. vii. 9.

¶ Ibid. ver. 13, 14.

** Rev. xiii. 7, 8.

same spirit of faith as theirs, who, as the prophet Daniel marked the time and drew their character, knew their God and instructed many, at the time when Judaism was overthrown and Judea left desolate, and the church of Christ was established on the earth,—of whom the world was not worthy, who fell by the sword, and by flame, by captivity and by spoil many days, and of whom also, or of those who followed in their footsteps, maintained their character, and shared their faith and their fate, it is said—they shall fall, to try them and to purge them, and, in the one same word, to make them *WHITE*, even to the time of the end: because it is yet for a time appointed. Such, in its purity and truth, is the church that is Christ's. And blessed are they who *read and understand* and practically know the meaning of the leading symbol of the book of revelation; and who know that, as members of his church, a peculiar people unto him, they are called to be *white*,—made like unto the raiment of their righteous Lord, exceeding white as snow,—and themselves clothed with fine linen, *white* and clean, the righteousness of the saints,—which no fuller on earth could whiten.

But if such be its significancy, such an emblem could not by itself have been seen on earth by any heavenly spectator of a world like ours. It is as pertaining unto Christ and purchased by him, and as directed, reined, and ruled by his hand alone, that *white* is the word of an angel concerning any people upon earth.

And I saw, when the Lamb opened one of the seals—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. These surely are most fitting emblems of Christ and of his church: and as whiteness is its characteristic, every word also accords with what was written concerning

HIM by Moses and the prophets, in the psalms, gospels, epistles, and, as definitely as before, in the book of Revelation, where he is manifestly spoken of. At the time when, after his resurrection, Jesus opened the understanding of his disciples that they might understand the scripture, he said—all things must be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the psalms concerning me. And as he who sat on a white horse and had a bow, went forth as a conqueror, so it is written of him in the psalms, in the very words applied to him in the first chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews;—Ride prosperously, because of truth and meekness and righteousness, (the fine white linen of the saints;) and thy right hand shall teach thee terrible things. Thine arrows (from the bow) are sharp in the heart of the king's enemies; whereby *thy people* fall under thee. Thy *throne*, O God, is for ever and ever, the sceptre of thy kingdom is a right sceptre, Psalm xlv. 3. The serpent, indeed, bruised his heel, but,—as we learn from the first words of prophecy, that, so soon as it came to destroy, augured the destruction of sin,—he who for that end became the seed of the woman, shall bruise the serpent's head.—In the days of these kingdoms, says Daniel, shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed—whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him.—All power is given unto Christ in heaven and in earth. He will swallow up death in victory. He must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet.—When the first seal was opened, he was seen going forth to conquer. And when the seventh or last angel sounded, “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." (Rev. xi. 15.) In the sequel of the Revelation, (xiv. 14,) in another vision, it is said, And I looked and behold a white cloud, and upon the cloud sat one like unto the *Son of Man*, having on his head a golden crown. But a single passage from this book might suffice to put beyond a doubt the signification of the figure, and to show that Christ and the true Christian church are designed by it. The same person, under the *same symbol*, who was seen going forth conquering and to conquer, is seen again after the warfare is accomplished, triumphant over all that opposed him ; and he who at first had a *crown* given, is seen at last with many added *diadems* or coronets,—still united to his church, which he does not leave in his triumph, after he has led it on to victory.—“ 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. And to her was granted that she should be arrayed in fine linen, clean and white ; for the fine linen is the righteousness of the saints.—And I saw heaven opened, and behold a *white horse* : and he that sat upon him was called *faithful and true*, and in *righteousness* doth he *judge* and make war. *His eyes are as a flame of fire*, and on his head are many crowns ; and he had a name written that no man knew but he himself. And he was clothed in a *vesture dipped in blood*, and his name is called the *WORD OF GOD*. And the armies which were in heaven followed him upon white horses, clothed in fine linen, white and clean. 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. And he hath on his vesture and on his thigh a name written, *KING OF KINGS AND LORD OF LORDS*.” (Rev. xix. 7—16.) There is none among

the kings of the earth, there is none among the principalities and powers in heaven, to whom this name pertains or this character belongs, but that of the Lord Jesus Christ, who is exalted far above them all.

From these words of inspiration it is manifest that no wresting of Scripture, no straining of a text, no aid from fancy, nor violence to reason, are needful to expound the import of the figure, which, first of all, one of the bright intelligences of heaven called on the apostle to *come and see*. *I saw, and behold a white horse, and he that sat on him had a bow, and a crown was given him, and he went forth conquering and to conquer.*

He went forth conquering. When his gospel was first preached, Christ was believed on in the world. He came to make an end of sin, and to bring in everlasting righteousness. He took part of flesh and blood, that through death he might destroy him that had power over death, that is, the devil. Satan was beheld to fall before him like lightning from heaven. The kingdom of God was preached unto the world, power to become the sons of God was promised to them that believed, and received him. He who reigns by righteousness, sought for himself a kingdom from among the sinful children of men, and in a world enslaved by sin, *he went forth to conquer*. Never on earth was there a triumph of light over darkness, of righteousness over iniquity; nor did the power of Satan ever sustain such a shock, as at the time when the men of understanding who knew their God, instructed many, when the apostles of the Lord Jesus, and all the first preachers of the gospel, went forth to convert a world lying in wickedness, established Christian churches in every land, and not with carnal weapons of their warfare, but strong in the Lord and in the power of

his might, themselves fought as they taught others to fight the good fight of faith, and, as the servants of Jesus, conquering sin, which till then had held the world in unredeemed slavery and unchallenged dominion. Christ, by a preached gospel, went forth conquering. Thousands at a time were delivered from the power of darkness, and translated into the kingdom of God's dear Son. That kingdom shall abide for ever. And when first it was preached, a new era began not only in the history of man, but in the universe of God. The efficacy of his death, the power of his resurrection, the effusion of his Spirit, the preaching of his word, were not to be the work only of a day, but to affect the interests of innumerable multitudes throughout eternity.—The world itself was finally to be won, by the warfare which then had but its beginning. The little seed was sown, which was to become a tree to cover the whole earth, and on the branches of which all the birds of heaven shall lodge. Christ went forth not only conquering but *to conquer*, or more literally and emphatically, *that he may conquer**—till all enemies be put under his feet, and that at last it may be manifest that there is nothing that God hath not put under him. Against his church, founded on a rock by the preaching of the gospel, all the gates of hell—whatever they may send forth, or whatever form they may assume by any other religion or any perversion of the faith, or even in more than satanic hardihood by the want of all—never shall prevail. Christ shall be the conqueror over all that stand up against him; vain shall be the strife of every other faith with his; and when the victory shall at last and for ever be his own, righteousness, white even in the eye of heaven, shall reign on earth.

* *ἵνα νικῇ.*

The period of the conquest, as marked and even defined by other prophecies, was to be long, so long that, except in the eye of faith alone, the issue has appeared doubtful, and deluded enemies have sometimes thought that the victory was already theirs. But they who, in this region of darkness, have scoffed at the religion of Jesus, are themselves held in derision where there is no darkness at all. The work that is of God is not to be undone by man: nor is the word which is His to hold eternal conflict with theirs. The revelation of Jesus Christ tells of every false faith, and *reveals* their nature, their object, and their end. And when of them nothing shall remain but confirmations of his word, they who have the blessing truly to know that Christ has come forth conquering, will not need the sight of a symbol nor the word of an angel, to tell them that he went forth to *conquer*.

CHAPTER II.

SECOND SEAL.

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. Ver. 4. The same symbol must have the same significancy. If one horse represent the Christian Religion, *another* horse must in like manner, if there be perfect harmony in the vision, represent

another religion. And each religion must have its author or its head, as each horse had its rider. An express similarity in these respects is required, where the symbol is designated as *another*. Interpreting things spiritual with spiritual, and looking to the prophets as well as the law as a schoolmaster, we know already that when transgressions came to the full, a king of *fierce* countenance, whose power was mighty, but not by his own power, who *destroyed wonderfully*, and prospered and practised and destroyed the mighty and the holy people, magnified himself to the prince of the host, and *stood up against* the Prince of princes, or against him who is the King of kings. The question *here* is not one of *time*, (that is otherwise *defined*;) but of a new or *another* religion. The close accordance expressed the identity between the king of fierce countenance who stood up against the Prince of princes, and the rider on the war-horse, the author of *another* religion. Of his fierce countenance, and of his destroying wonderfully, the colour of blood is the badge. His mighty power is betokened by the *great sword*; and as it was not by his own power that he became mighty, the sword was *given* him. He understood *dark sentences*, and magnified himself even to the prince of the host; and his was *another religion* than the Christian. The *description* in either case is literal; and the symbol is the most expressive language. *Another* religion, of a different and opposite nature from the Christian, was thus to arise, and the founder of another faith to appear, who instead of proclaiming peace from heaven, *would take it from the earth*, whose *religion* would be propagated by *slaughter* and to whom a *great sword* was given.—Could Mahomet and Mahometanism be more strikingly portrayed? and may not the false prophet of Mecca be detected even without the aid of a prophet of Israel? Mahometanism is *another*

religion, having no affinity with the Christian, and it accounts all Christians unbelievers. It is not pure but bloody—not white but red. Its founder was not a deliverer but a destroyer. He was a warrior, and by war his faith prevailed. The proof of his mission was the multitude of the slain. The characteristic of his faith, the charm of his power, and the secret of his success—were “a great sword.” Mahometanism had no other support, and, when that fails, it has no stay. Christ went forth conquering and to conquer—but the destroyers of the earth are doomed to destruction. And as an emblem of the final triumph of the truth, and of the overthrow of every false faith, however successful for a time, and however bloody it may be, we need but to appeal to the authority of Gibbon, and to quote from the Koran, in illustration of the perfect truth of the figurative description of *another religion*, which succeeded the Christian in its origin, and which has maintained so prominent a part in *the things that were to be thereafter*.

“The imperfection of human rights was supplied and *armed* with the plenitude of divine power: the prophet of Medina assumed, in his new revelations, a *fiercer* and more *sanguinary* tone; the means of persuasion had been tried, the season of forbearance was elapsed, and he was now commanded to *propagate his religion by the sword*, to destroy the monuments of idolatry, and without regarding the sanctity of days or months, to *pursue the unbelieving nations of the earth*.”* “The fair option of friendship or submission, or *battle*, was proposed to the enemies of Mahomet. If they professed the creed of Islam, they were admitted to all the temporal and spiritual benefits of his primitive disciples, and *marched under the same banner to extend the religion which they had embraced*. In the first months of his reign, he practised the lessons of the *holy warfare*. The *martial* apostle FOUGHT IN PERSON in nine battles or sieges; and fifty

* Gibbon's Hist. c. 50, vol. ix. p. 294.

enterprises of war were achieved in *ten* years by himself or his lieutenants. From all sides the roving Arabs were allured to the standard of religion and plunder; the enjoyment of wealth and beauty was a feeble type of the joys of paradise prepared for the valiant martyrs of the faith. 'THE SWORD,' says Mahomet, 'is the key of heaven and of hell: a drop of blood shed in the cause of God, *a night spent in arms*, is of more avail than two months of fasting and prayer: whosoever *falls in battle*, his sins are forgiven; at the day of judgment his wounds shall be resplendent as vermillion, and odoriferous as musk; and the loss of his limbs shall be supplied by the wings of angels and cherubims.'*"

Without "*the sword*" Mahomet could effect nothing. Before he claimed the divine right of using it, or inculcated *fighting* for the faith, as the first of virtues he fled from Mecca, a helpless fugitive, and hid himself in a cave. From that *flight* his religion takes its date (A. D. 622)—and from that time the sword was the weapon of his warfare, by which his imposture was to stand or fall. "His doctrine *then* was that God had sent Moses and Jesus with miracles, and yet men would not be obedient to their word, and therefore he had now sent him, in the last place, without miracles, to force them by the *power of the sword* to do his will: and accordingly he forbade his disciples to enter into any farther disputes about his religion, but instead of that he commanded them to *fight for it*, and destroy all those who should contradict his law."†

"None of the former prophets carrying with them a power to force men to believe, miracles were necessary in their missions to force them thereunto. But Mahomet was a *prophet* sent principally to show forth the fortitude of God by the *power of the sword*; which being *of itself alone* sufficient to *compel all men into the faith*, without any other power accompanying it, for this reason (say they) Mahomet wrought

* Gibbon's Hist. c. 50, vol. ix. p. 295—297.

† De Ryer's Life of Mahomet, prefixed to the Alcoran, p. 13.

no miracles, because he had no need of them, the *power of THE SWORD*, *with which he was sent*, of itself alone sufficiently enabling him to accomplish his mission, for forcing men to believe therein. And from thence it became the *universal doctrine* of the Mahometans, that their religion is to be propagated by *THE SWORD*, and that all men were *bound to fight for it*; and for this reason it has been a custom among them, for their preachers, while they deliver their sermons, to have a *drawn sword* placed by them, to denote thereby, that the doctrine which they teach them was *with the sword* to be defended and propagated by them."*

The third chapter of the Koran, being the first that was written at Medina, shows how opposite, in charity as well as in purity, is the spirit of the faith of Mahomet from that of Jesus, who reprobated the thought of calling down fire from heaven upon his enemies.

"God sent the Old Testament and the Gospel, that were heretofore guides to the people; he hath sent the Alcoran, that distinguishes good from evil; they that believe not the law of God shall be severely chastised," &c.† "If you be slain for his law, or die in his favour, it shall be more advantageous to you than all the treasures of the world; and if you die or be slain *fighting for the faith*, you shall appear before his divine majesty to be rewarded."‡ "He will abundantly reward them that fight for the law."

Injunctions abound throughout the Koran, *to fight against unbelievers, to fight with all might for the law of God*. And the overthrow of unbelievers is vaunted of as *a true sign of the mission of the prophet*.§

It is not by the sword that the mind can be subdued; nor is it a true faith that needs such an auxiliary. A great sword was given to Mahomet, but though peace was thus to be taken from the earth, Islamism is destined to fall *without hand*. The world

* De Ryer's Life of Mahomet, pp. 13, 14. † Koran, p. 94.

‡ Ibid. p. 106.

§ Ibid. chap. viii. ix. xlviii. lxi. &c.

has seen, with wonder, the Sultan become a reformer; and religious toleration has been proclaimed throughout Turkey. Another use is now found for the great sword than the propagation of the faith.—Christ went forth conquering and to conquer; and the cause of truth was promoted, as their own faith was tried, by the death of its martyrs. But not even the slaughter of enemies, though they may be numbered by many millions, can finally uphold the faith that is false; nor, however long it may, by such means, have *prospered and prevailed*, shall the bloody Koran of Mahomet stand up for ever against the pure gospel of Jesus. It was by reason of transgression that an host was given to the *fierce* and warlike impostor, and that it was permitted him to cast down the truth to the ground. Mahometanism was the scourge of transgression, and other prophecies amply detail how it was to take peace from the earth. And, in illustration of these, more ample details remain to be given. But another word here marks another feature of its own fate,—*they shall kill ONE ANOTHER*. The Saracens and Turks, with whose history a more minute acquaintance has yet to be formed from the Book of Revelation, have been its great propagators and support. Of the former, when the Caliphate fell from its high estate, history records, that “*the African and Turkish guards drew their SWORDS AGAINST EACH OTHER*,”—and that “*the Sultans of Persia silenced the factions of Bagdad by their irresistible ARMS*.”* A similar fate, though protracted, seems to hang over Turkey; or rather, restrained from being a *woe* to Christendom, they can find but a similar exercise for their swords. *Killing one another* seems at least to have begun to be also

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. x. pp. 84, 86, chap. 52.

their history. Many pashas have recently revolted ; and they have only been reduced to submission by the slaughter of Turks by Turks. The page of history cannot here be appealed to. The Turkish empire has recently been a scene of revolt, and of mutual slaughter. Bagdad has lately been taken by storm, by the Sultan's troops ; and the unity of the empire, which Russians spared and sought to preserve, would already seem to be at an end, by the revolt of Egypt, the defeat of the Turkish armies by those of the rebellious Pasha, and the subjugation of Syria by his arms. In the single but desperate and decisive battle of Iconium, it has been computed that *thirty thousand* men were slain. *They kill one another.*

But the world has scarcely suffered more from the vain belief of a lie than from the wicked perversion of the truth, even till its nature was transformed from white into black.

CHAPTER III.

THIRD SEAL.

AND when he had opened the third seal, *I* heard the third living creature say, come and see. And *I* beheld, and lo, a black horse, and he that sat on him had a pair of balances (a yoke) 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 mea-

asures of barley for a penny, and see thou hurt not the oil and the wine.—Ver. 5, 6.

The repetition of the same symbol manifestly requires a corresponding similarity in the nature of the object represented. From any incongruity or discordance in this respect, whatever might be the interpretation, conviction of its truth would cease to be reasonable. If the first symbol, that of the white horse, denotes the Christian religion, of which Christ is the head, and if the second, which was red, denoted, as expressed, *another* religion, or the Mahometan, it follows, as a necessary consequence, that the third or the black horse must also and as expressively denote some form of religion, or have a direct reference to the prevalence of some form of faith, or of religious opinions, after it was perfected into a system, and had attained its predominancy in the world.

With this indisputable similarity, there is, in other respects than in the colour it assumes, a marked difference between the second and third symbolical representations. The latter is *not*, as the former *is*, said to be *another*. Nor is the third seen to come into the field of view, subsequently to the second, *in the same manner*, as the second appears *after* the first, as arising without any antecedent existence. Of the second it is said,—and there *went out* **ANOTHER** horse that was red. But of the third it is stated, in manifest variance from the former, (but in the same words as of the first) *I BEHELD, AND LO, a black horse*. It is not said to be another; it was not seen by the apostle as it *went out*, nor was its rise and origin marked; and it appeared immediately on the scene without the marked sequence which distinguished the succession of the second to the first. These peculiarities have specially to be regarded; for they shew a marked and manifest difference, or a positive contradistinction in the manner in which the second

and third seals are introduced, as seen and characterised in the prophecy.

The want of light is darkness; the reverse of white is black. The word of God giveth light;—where it shineth there is no darkness; where it is followed all is pure and white. They that follow Jesus do not walk in darkness, but have the light of life. It is through the word which he hath spoken that believers are clean. It is in the blood of the Lamb that they are made *white*, and of him that men are invited to buy white raiment that they may be clothed. The light of the body is the eye, said the Son of God; if, therefore, thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light. But if thine eye be evil, thy whole body shall be full of darkness. If, therefore, the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness. Contrasted thus with the purity of the gospel, the light of his word, and the consequent *whiteness* characteristic of the people over whom Jesus reigned by his word and Spirit, where, in past history, occupying a place in equal promineney with Mahometanism, and giving a character to an era and the name of *dark* to *ages*, is that form of religion to be found, which, after the faith of Mahomet was propagated in the world, appeared under its appropriate designation *black*, and was then also farther characterised by the *yoke* which it imposed upon the world?

Has not papacy here its first place in the book of the Revelation of *the things that were to be*? It was a system of spiritual blackness and bondage. The mystery of iniquity began to work even in the days of the apostles. But though idolatry and wickedness greatly prevailed, and transgressions had come to the full at that time, it was after the origin of Mahometanism that the corruptions of Christian doctrines, the exclusion of the Scriptures from the people,

systematic image-worship, trust in others than the one only Mediator, and the exaltation of the papacy to rule over the abject mind till the light that was in it was darkness, that the Roman catholic faith put on its gross darkness, and appeared as only *black*. Neither is the Roman catholic faith, like the Mahometan, professedly *another* than the Christian; nor did it go forth for the first time after the prevalence of Islamism; but the black horse, like the white in the days of the apostle, was seen immediately on the field of view, when Mahometanism had just been described. The ten kingdoms may have previously been given into the hands of the pope, but the doctrine of the church was not so corrupted then, nor was that heavy yoke to be seen which it afterwards imposed. After the authority of the Pope was established, confirmed, and generally exercised, the church *over which he ruled* was gradually more and more corrupted till it became *black* indeed. As a form of faith it became darker and darker, throughout the long period of the "dark ages," (which succeeded to the origin of Mahometanism, that was at once perfected into a system), while it reigned triumphant till the tenth century, which Roman catholic writers themselves characterise as "the age of darkness and ignorance."* *Blackness* is its fitting symbol, and marks its character as a religion. The Bible was long unknown in the vulgar tongue, and the word of God was only to be believed in, as interpreted by a succession of mortals, whose changeable decisions were marked with all the weakness and blindness of humanity. The light of the gospel was hid, and dark superstition took its place. The mind was muffled like the face of a nun. The commandments of men, or as avowed, "the commandments of the church,"

* Du Pin's Ecclesiastical Hist. vol. viii. p. 66.

were held of as high authority as the word of God. Its brightness was obscured; its whiteness was tarnished; the word that could have made men clean, was kept from them: and when it was hid by human art from the eyes of men, and when at the same time the exercise of private judgment was taken away, the mind was necessarily turned into blackness; and when popery reigned triumphant, an ignorance even of the first principles of natural religion, came over the minds of men, such as paganism itself could not have deepened. How, in this respect, do the writings of heathens put to shame many a popish legend. What one word but *black*, could designate the church, when documents were attested by a mark, because my lord the archbishop could not write, and when a bishop reading the Bible could say that he knew nothing of the book but that it was written against them; or, to adopt a more general illustration, when saints were invoked as intercessors, when penances were done for crimes, when indulgences were granted for money, and, as the cause of all, when the Bible was a sealed book.

The religion of Mahomet took peace from the earth; but popery for a long period extinguished the light of the Gospel, and imposed a yoke upon the world. According to its prevalence darkness reigned, and the soul was enslaved. All right of appealing to Scripture was withheld from the laity; and it formed the least part of the studies of the clergy. The opinion of the church, instead of the Scriptures of truth, became the rule of faith; and the least variation in doctrine from its standard for the time, was branded as heretical. Contrary to the example of the apostles, there arose lords over God's heritage. The popes claimed infallibility as their own. Every opinion was judged, every doctrine weighed, according to the balance held in the hand of him who ruled

over a dark and apostate church. In one scale lay the opinion of the church, the decision of councils, or the canon law; in the other, all private sentiments were laid; and if the latter either fell short or preponderated a single scruple, if the balance swayed a hair's breadth, or, in other words, if men did not believe as the church of Rome believed, they were denounced as guilty of error, and the dictates of conscience, or the authority of Scripture, were no more regarded than dust in the balance. So appropriate is the simile, that Gibbon speaks of "the nice balance of the Vatican."

It is not then from want of an apposite illustration, but in more direct conformity with the original, that we would prefer another reading than that of the English translation. The term, a pair of balances, or a balance, does not once occur again in the whole of the New Testament; but the original word (*Zugos*) occurs repeatedly, and is uniformly translated yoke. Take my yoke upon you, said the Lord Jesus Christ, speaking of his religion and of the duty he imposes, for my yoke (*zugos*) is easy, and my burden is light, (Matt. xi. 29, 30.) Speaking of the rite of circumcision, and the burdensome ceremonies of the Jewish law, Peter sharply rebuked those converted Jews who wished to impose such rites upon the Gentiles, (Acts xv. 10.) Why tempt ye God to put a *yoke* upon the neck of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear? Addressing the Galatians (chap. v. 1.) on the very same subject, Paul thus commands Christians, as being the children not of the bond-woman but of the free,—Stand fast, therefore, in the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free, and be not entangled *again* with the *yoke of bondage*. In reference to a state of temporal bondage, it is said, (1 Tim. vi. 1.) Let as many servants (or slaves) as are under *the yoke*, count their

own masters worthy of all honour. In all these instances, the word translated *yoke*, is the very same as the word in our text,—and he that sat on him had a *yoke* in his hand.

The Apostle Peter reproved his brethren of Israel for seeking to impose the yoke of Jewish ceremonies and ordinances on any Christian converts. The Apostle Paul declares that he was afraid of the Galatian church lest he had bestowed on them labour in vain, as they desired again to be in bondage to the weak and beggarly elements, and observed days, and months, and times, and years. The history of the papal church gives no illustration of such freedom, purity, and faith, as the apostles practised and enjoined. The pretended successors of Peter imposed on all a far heavier yoke than that which he would not suffer to be laid on any disciple. And the Romish religion greatly consists in the observance of days, and months, and times, and years. With the introduction of the pomp of ceremonies, a way was prepared for the slavish subjection of the church to a multitude of superstitious rites.

Unlike to the Mahometan religion, which owed its origin to its founder alone, and which was speedily completed by each succeeding chapter of the Koran, the Roman catholic faith grew by slow degrees, and did not attain to all its darkness, or impose its yoke in all its heaviness, till after the lapse of many ages.

It was long after the times and laws were first given into his hand, that the yoke which finally characterised catholicism, was seen in all its strength in the hand of the pope. As the darkness increased, the yoke gradually became heavier. In the seventh century

“Every Roman Pontiff,” true to his character, “added something new to the ancient rites and institutions. These superstitious inventions were, in the time of Charlemagne,

(A. D. 800) propagated from Rome among the other Latin churches, whose objection to the Roman ritual was necessary to satisfy the ambitious demands of the lordly pontiff.* "It would be endless to enter into an exact enumeration of the various rites and ceremonies which were introduced for the first time in the *ninth* century."† "In order to have some notion of the *load of ceremonies under which the Christian religion groaned* in this superstitious age, (the *tenth* century), we have only to cast an eye upon the acts of the various councils which were assembled in England, Germany, France, and Italy. The number of ceremonies increased in proportion to that of the saints, which multiplied from day to day; for every new saint had appropriated to his service a new festival, a new form of worship, a new round of religious rites," &c.‡

Popery was distinguished by the yoke which it imposed, as well as by the darkness which it generated. Their union was natural.

"The Grecian, Nestorian, and Jacobite *pontiffs*, that were any way remarkable for their credit or ambition, were desirous of transmitting their names to posterity by the invention of some new rite, or by some striking change introduced into the method of worship that had hitherto prevailed. This was, indeed, almost the only way left to distinguish themselves in an age, when all sense of the excellence of genuine religion and substantial piety being almost totally lost, the whole care and attention of an ostentatious clergy, and a superstitious multitude, were employed upon that round of external ceremonies and observances that were substituted in their place.§ In Italy, Spain, and Portugal, where the feeble glimmerings of Christianity that yet remain are overwhelmed and obscured by an enormous multitude of ridiculous ceremonies, and absurd, fantastic, and unaccountable rites; so that a person who arrives in any of these countries after having passed through other nations, even of the Romish communion, is immediately struck with the change, and thinks himself transported into the thickest darkness, into the most gloomy retreats of superstition."||

But, exclusive of these illustrations, the historian here incidentally adopts the language of prophecy,

* Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. cent. vii. p. 2, chap. 4.

† Ibid. cent. ix.

‡ Ibid. cent. x.

§ Ibid. cent. xii.

|| Ibid. cent. xvi. part 2, c. i.

and describes the protestants as having “withdrawn their necks from the *papal yoke*.”* And this term, as will incidentally be seen, is of frequent occurrence in modern ecclesiastical history.

The notoriety of the fact that the pope, as the head of the Romish church, *held a yoke in his hand*, might well render the proof of it superfluous. But it is meet that the period when it was fully imposed should be marked, as consequent to the rise of Mahometanism, and that the very word should be given as history records it. The inquisition, which at length fixed the yoke on the church of Rome, was an invention of the thirteenth century. And the slavish subjection of the mind to superstitious fears was the power which, in his reign of darkness, the pope exercised in exalting himself and supporting the interests of the church by a multiplicity of ceremonies and observances, such as no other form of faith has scarcely ever, if at all, imposed upon the world. Sixty-eight holidays may yet be counted in any almanack. Doing according to his will, promoting image-worship, persecuting the true worshippers of God, causing saints of his own creation to be honoured, and their altars to be enriched, dividing the land for gain, assuming, in virtue of his spiritual authority, a temporal power, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, enjoining penances without number, exercising an inquisitorial jurisdiction over the judgment and the consciences of men, and, by all deceivableness of unrighteousness, magnifying himself above all, the pope laid his yoke upon the clergy and the laity, upon kings and kingdoms; and, while light was turned into darkness, piety became a task, and degenerated into a formal and eternal round of unmeaning frivolities. The screw and rack in the

* Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. cent. xvii. § 11; p. 1, chap. i. § 5.

dungeon, the pile and the faggot on the heath or in the street, the secret confession and the open recantation, the numbering of beads to count devotion, the self-inflicted lashing to expiate sin, the solemn procession or the solitary pilgrimage, the frequent fasting and the purchased absolution, holy days instead of holy men, bodily labour identified with godliness, all betoken and bespeak the papal yoke. The church, as destitute of true light, was black; and he who ruled over it also held it in bondage. The authority of the pope, or of the church of which he was the head, was supreme over the subjugated mind.

No description is given of the symbol denoting the third form of religion, which was black, as of that which was white, and another which was red. Nothing is here told *literally* concerning it; nothing farther was seen but the horse and the rider, its colour and his yoke; but there was heard a voice in the midst of the four living creatures, and, unlike to the former, by a difference prominently marked, the symbolical description is continued.

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. A measure, or chænix, was equal to about a wine quart, and a penny or denarius, a silver coin, about sevenpence in value, —the usual price of a day's labour, when money was of more value, and grain cheaper than with us. Neither wheat nor barley, except they be exceedingly scarce, are ever wont to be measured and sold in quarts. And nothing can more clearly imply a time of scarcity and famine, than the measuring out of grain in so small quantities at so great a price. But as pertaining to religion, as forming part of a symbolical description, and not as seen on earth, but spoken by a voice from heaven, the words are not to be inter-

preted literally, but, it is presumed, must have a spiritual significancy. And, comparing things spiritual with spiritual, and looking to scripture alone for the interpretation of the symbol, the seeming obscurity may pass away with a word from that region of light. "Behold the days come, saith the Lord God," by the mouth of another prophet, "that I will send a *famine* in the land, not a *famine* of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of *hearing the words* of the Lord," Amos viii. 11.

Another characteristic of popery thus unambiguously appears. Christ was the bread of life, that came down from heaven, and when his word was withheld from men, it was such a famine, in a religious view, that it was prevalent upon the earth. There was a *famine of the hearing of the word of God*—and the seclusion of it from the people was a practised portion of the popish system. The Bible itself was a shut or sealed book; and the word of God was long heard only in another tongue. A famine of that word, on which alone the soul can be fed and live, accompanied the spiritual darkness, of which it was the cause, and the assumption and exercise of spiritual authority. That word, which is the granary of religious truth, was sealed up by the very hands that ought to have dispersed it, like seed and nourishment throughout the world. And instead of that food for the souls of men being plentifully supplied, that they might eat abundantly and live, it was doled out in the smallest portions; the Bible was a book prohibited to common use, the divine word was held unsafe without a human interpreter, short selections only were inserted in the missals; and the scarcity, and dearth, and famine of the word of God, was such as fully to explain the import of the figure, when rightly understood and interpreted, as descriptive of religion, in a spiritual sense,—a measure of wheat

for a penny, and three measures of barley for a penny.

But still, even in the view of Heaven, there was something precious on earth, and a charge was given respecting it. When David had prepared a place for the ark, and when they set it in the midst of the tent that he had pitched for it, in the psalm which he delivered into the hands of Asaph and his brethren, he thus calls on the house of Israel, "Be mindful always of the covenant of the Lord which he had commanded to a *thousand generations*, even the covenant which he made with Abraham, and his oath unto Isaac; and hath confirmed the same to Jacob for a law, and to Israel for an *everlasting* covenant, saying, unto thee will I give the land of Canaan, the lot of your inheritance; when ye were but few, even a few, and strangers in it. And when they went from nation to nation, from one kingdom to another people, he suffered no man to do them wrong; yea, he reproved kings for their sakes, *Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm*. Sing unto the Lord all the earth; shew forth from day to day his salvation. Declare his glory among the heathen; *his marvellous works among all nations*," &c. David in the Psalms, and all the prophets, testified of Christ. And the charge and reproof given even to kings, concerning his anointed and his prophets, coupled with the mention of the covenant with Abraham, which God had commanded for a thousand generations, of the *everlasting* covenant, seems at least to have a higher reference and significance than pertains to the merely temporal blessings of the house of Israel,—and may serve to interpret the meaning of the words, See thou hurt not the oil and the wine. *Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm*. Another apposite illustration, as it may seem, may be found in the prophecies of Zechariah, where an interpretation is asked and given of a symbol ap-

parently of similar significancy. "What be these two olive branches, which, through the two golden pipes, empty the golden oil out of themselves? And he answered and said, Knowest thou not what these be? And I said, No, my lord. Then said he, These are the two *anointed ones* that stand by the Lord of the whole earth." Zech. iv. 11—14. Of the two witnesses that shall prophesy a thousand two hundred and threescore days, clothed in sackcloth, it is said, 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 like manner be killed, Rev. xi. 5. The charge not to harm or to hurt, and the threatening of death to those who should kill them, correspond with that in the verse before us. The *appointed time* during which they who knew their God were to be tried, that they might be purified and made white, corresponds with the prophesying in sackcloth of the *anointed ones* and the witnesses of the Lord. Their persecutions, trials, and afflictions, could only tend to perfect their faith. As from the treading of the wine-press the wine is not hurt, but flows more freely, though the lees be wrung out, and comes more pure from the hands of the refiner; or as the oil, instead of being destroyed, exudes before the heat of the sun or of a fire, or yields to the strong compression of the substance which contains it, so persecution would but purify the people of the Lord, who keep the testimony of Jesus, whatever they may suffer. They are precious in the sight of the Lord, as are the oil and the wine among the children of men. And though he bear long with them, God will avenge his own elect. Their blood will finally be avenged on their enemies. And a charge or warning seems here, as elsewhere, to be given, Touch not mine anointed ones, and do my prophets,—my witnesses who prophesy,—no harm. See thou touch not the oil and the wine.

At the opening of each of the first four seals, one of the four living creatures, one by one successively, said unto John, Come and see. They were in the midst of the throne, and round about the throne ; and they rested not, day nor night, from giving glory unto God. Religion was their office and their charge, and each, in his order, manifested a new form of it on the earth. But after the third said unto John, Come and see, and when he had looked and seen the black horse and him that sat on it, with a yoke in his hand, the prophet saw no more, nor was aught farther shewn him by the spiritual being, but he *heard a voice in the midst of the four living creatures*. While popery reigned, the whole world was affected by its darkness ; it kept the word of God from the nations ; it strove to hinder every man from reading or hearing in his own tongue the wonderful works of God, and tried thus to reverse and abrogate the blessed efficacy of the first miraculous effusion of the Holy Spirit. It was connected, too, with every other form of religion, as *the voice came from the midst of the four spirits* that call on the prophet to see each in its own form. It was the corruption of Christianity ; not another religion ; but the apostacy from the faith : Mahometanism was long its scourge ; and it was the immediate precursor as it prepared the way of the other form that had yet to appear, and by which some of its *last plagues* would finally be inflicted.

CHAPTER IV.

FOURTH SEAL.

AND when he had opened the fourth seal, I heard the voice of the fourth living creature say, Come and

see. And I looked and behold a pale horse: and his name that sat upon him was death; and hell followed with him. And power was given unto him over a fourth part of the earth, to kill with sword and with hunger, and with death, and with the beasts of the earth.

Christianity arose *white* in its native purity; it went forth conquering, error fell before it, paganism was destroyed; and Christ has yet *to conquer*.—*Another* religion, *red* with blood, and propagated by *the sword*, afterwards arose, and now, after having long taken peace from the earth, its deluded votaries would seem to be entering on their last warfare, in *killing one another*. We may come and see; Mahometanism needs not be named. Darkness—as all know—long brooded over Christendom. And a religion, the same in name as the Christian, but no more like unto its heavenly purity, simplicity, and truth, than that which is black is like unto that which is white, prevailed for a long period, and was accompanied by a heavy yoke, till it has recently been superseded by different principles in the minds of men. And the spiritual state of man puts on a new aspect, and that is the paleness of death.

Jesus, in appealing to the children of men as beings endowed with reason, asked, why, even of your selves, judge ye not what is right? “The successors of Peter” asked no such question at the blinded votaries of Rome. The darkness of superstition could not finally withstand the light of reason; and men at length reclaimed the exercise of private judgment, the inalienable right of every rational creature. But the proneness of man to error was exemplified anew. From superstition the descent was easy to infidelity. And the blackness of darkness was changed into the lividness of death. And if Christianity, Mahometanism, and popery have heretofore been seen holding

their divided, however different, sway over the minds of men, not less marked than those, we may now come and see infidelity. John saw but the figure ; we are the witnesses of the fact. Infidelity occupies the last space, in the view of the hostile forms by which Christianity has been assaulted, among which it has its place and order, as no less descriptive of the spiritual state of man in the latter days. Like popery, it is NOT said to be *another* religion as Mahometanism is. But while it stands the last in its order, it is alike true to its character. And the world need not be ignorant of the significancy of the symbol. And the effect of the vision has been already felt, in revolutions and convulsions such as were scarcely ever witnessed before ; and the slaughter of millions, it is to be feared, is the beginning, not the end, of that work of *death* and destruction, which, even on earth, *infidelity* can do.

In modern times, unlike to any that went before them, all forms of religion have been abandoned and abjured. It was a new thing on the earth that a nation became infidel. The Sabbath was desecrated and displaced. Superstition was overthrown, but no altar was erected to the living God. Religion, the life of the soul, was extinct ; and nothing but a death-like form could designate its state. Men had no hope of heaven—no fear of hell—no faith in God—no thought of retribution ; but, like spiritual desperadoes, defying God to the uttermost, and making a mockery of the judgment to come, they engraved on the entrance to the catacombs, as if a chisel in the hand of man could uncreate or annihilate the spirits of all flesh, that “ death is an eternal sleep.” The paleness of death came over the spirits of men. The death of the soul was their only doctrine. And so absolutely lost was all feeling of religion, as characterising the times ; so perfectly could *death* alone

denote and designate the spiritual state of man, that frenzied mortals, the council of a great nation, which led the van of the infidel hosts, first decreed that there was not, and afterwards, to complete the blasphemy, that there was a God.

There was no more spiritual life, in a religious sense, in the souls of men, when faith in God was renounced, and when deceitful lusts reigned uncontrolled and rioted within them, than there is human life in the body, when it has passed into *its* state of corruption, and knows no life but what is to be found in a mass of worms. There is an existence after its own kind, but it is not the man that lives.—*His name was death*;—and *hell*, which he denied, or rather *hades*, death in a natural sense, or the separate state of the dead, *followed with him*. There is a natural union between infidelity and death. If the soul have no life, no separate being or after-existence, the life of man is of no more worth, and no more to be regarded, than that of any other brute-beast made to be taken and destroyed. And never was there a recklessness of life, nor a work of human and mutual slaughter, like unto that of the *reign of terror*, when *death* kept his court where infidelity had its throne.

It is not merely the general prevalence of infidel principles that marked the character of that awful time. The world was come to such a pass, that they were openly avowed and publicly established.

“It appeared to the philosophers of the school of Hebert, that, in totally destroying such vestiges of religion and public worship as were still retained by the people of France, there was room for a splendid triumph of liberal opinions.—*Gobet, Constitutional Bishop of Paris*, was brought forward (in the Convention) in full procession. He disowned, in solemn and explicit terms, *the existence of the Deity*, to whose worship he had been consecrated.—He laid on the table his Episcopal decorations, and received a fraternal

embrace from the President of the Convention. The world, for the first time, heard an assembly of men, born and educated in civilization, and assuming the right to govern one of the finest of the European nations, uplift their united voice to deny the most solemn truth which man's soul receives, and renounce, unanimously, the belief and worship of a Deity.

"Religion was formally abolished.—France continued to subsist, and to achieve victories, although apparently forsaken of God, and deprived of all the ordinary resources of human wisdom.—All this extraordinary energy was, in one word, the effect of TERROR.—DEATH*—a grave—are sounds which awaken the strongest terrors in those whom they menace! *There was never anywhere, save in France during this melancholy period, so awful a comment on the expression of Scripture!* All that a man hath will he give for his life. Force, immediate and irresistible force, was the only logic used by the government.—DEATH was the only appeal from the authority—the *guillotine the all-sufficing argument*, which settled every debate betwixt them and the governed.

"Was the exchequer low, the guillotine filled it with the effects of the wealthy. Did the paper medium of circulation fall in the market to fifty under the hundred, the *guillotine* was ready to punish those who refused to exchange it at par. Was bread wanting, corn was to be found by the same compendious means, &c. The guillotine was a key to storehouses, barns, and granaries.—Did the army want recruits, the guillotine was ready to exterminate all conscripts who should hesitate to march. Even on the generals of the Republican army, this decisive argument was possessed of the most exclusive authority. They were *beheaded* for want of success; but they were also *guillotined* when their successes were not improved to the full expectations of their masters. Nay, they were *guillotined*, when, being too successful, they were suspected of having acquired over the soldiers who had conquered under them an interest dangerous to those who had the command of *this all-sufficing reason of state*. Even mere mediocrity, and a limited but regular discharge of duty—neither so brilliant as to incur jealousy, nor so important as to draw down censure, was no protection. There was no rallying point against this universal, and very simple system—of main force."† "The

* Sir Walter Scott's *Life of Napoleon*, vol. ii. pp. 304, 305.

† *Ibid.* pp. 275—277.

Jacobin clubs themselves took upon them, in every village, the exercise of the powers of government.—‘DEATH or Fraternity’ was usually inscribed over their place of assembly.”*

“There was not a species of misery and horror left uncontrived and unexercised over the victims condemned by the cruelty of the ruling powers to those lamentable abodes—the numerous prisons of Paris. Every affliction that can befall human nature, and render *death* preferable to life, was here daily and hourly experienced; and the reality of that vulgar but significant expression, *a hell upon earth*, was here exhibited in the most horrible extent.”†

“There never was anywhere, save in France during this melancholy period, so awful a comment” on this *prediction* of Scripture,—descriptive of the last great system of opinions, itself the rejection of all religion, which was finally to rise up against the Christian faith.—*And I looked, and behold A PALE horse: and his name that sat on him was DEATH, and hell followed with him.*

The monsters who presided over France in the reign of terror, became the victims, in its most appalling form, of that death which followed hard in the wake of infidelity. It were blasphemy to name the death of Christ, even in contrast with a mortal end like theirs. But it may be permitted, in comprehending in a single view the religion of Jesus with all that have opposed it, to cast a glance from the death of the first of Christian martyrs, to that of those whom infidelity first exalted as rulers:—

Stephen, a man full of faith and of the Holy Ghost, and chosen out among men of honest report as an elder of the church of Christ, was taken by certain libertines and others, and brought before the Jewish council. When he was falsely accused, all that sat

* Sir Walter Scott's *Life of Napoleon*, vol. ii. p. 287.

† *Annual Register*, Lond. 1794.

in the council looking stedfastly on him, saw his face as it had been the face of an angel. When he had reasoned with them out of the Scriptures, they were cut to the heart, and they gnashed on him with their teeth. But he, being full of the Holy Ghost, looked up stedfastly into heaven, and saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God, and said, Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God. Then they cried out with a loud voice, and stopped their ears, and ran upon him with one accord, and cast him out of the city, and stoned him: And they stoned Stephen, calling upon God, and saying, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit. And he kneeled down and cried with a loud voice, Lord, lay not this sin to their charge. And when he had said this he fell asleep, Acts vi. ; vii. 54—60.

In changing the scene from Judea to France, and from the first to the close of the eighteenth century, the spiritual contrast is infinitely greater, and mocks the power of man to measure it.

“None of all the victims of the Reign of Terror felt its disabling influence so completely as he the despot (Robespierre) who had so long *directed its sway*.—The Hotel de Ville was surrounded by about fifteen hundred men, and cannon turned upon the doors. The deserted group of Terrorists within conducted themselves like scorpions, which, when surrounded by a circle of fire, are said to turn their stings on each other, and on themselves. Mutual and ferocious upbraiding took place among these miserable men.—‘Wretch, were these the means you promised to furnish?’ said Payan to Henriot, whom he found intoxicated and incapable of resolution or exertion; and seizing on him as he spoke, he precipitated the revolutionary general from a window. Henriot survived the fall only to drag himself into a drain, in which he was afterwards discovered and brought out to execution. The younger Robespierre threw himself from the window, but had not the good fortune to perish on the spot. It seemed as if even the melancholy fate of suicide, the last refuge of guilt and despair, was denied to

men who had so long refused every species of mercy to their fellow-creatures. Las Basas alone had calmness enough to despatch himself with a pistol shot. Saint Just, after imploring his comrades to kill him, attempted his own life with an irresolute hand, and failed. Couthon lay beneath the table, brandishing a knife, with which he repeatedly wounded his bosom, without daring to add force enough to reach his heart. *Their chief*, Robespierre, in an unsuccessful attempt to shoot himself, had only inflicted a horrible fracture on his under-jaw.

"In this state they were found, like wolves in their lair, foul with blood, mutilated, *despairing, and yet not able to die*. Robespierre lay on a table in an anti-room, his head supported by a deal box, and his hideous countenance half hidden by a bloody and dirty cloth bound round the shattered chin.

"The captives were carried in triumph to the Convention, who, without admitting them to the bar, ordered them as outlaws, for instant execution. As the fatal cars passed to the guillotine, those who filled them, but especially Robespierre, were overwhelmed with execrations from the friends and relatives of victims whom he had sent on the same melancholy road. The nature of his previous wound, from which the cloth had never been removed, till the executioner tore it off, added to the torture of the sufferer. The shattered jaw dropped and the wretch yelled aloud, to the horror of the spectators. A masque taken from that dreadful head was long exhibited in different nations of Europe, and appalled the spectators by its ugliness, and the mixture of *fiendish expression* with that of bodily agony."*

The character of Christianity and of infidelity, may be separately marked in the face of Stephen and in the face of Robespierre. He did not look up steadfastly into heaven; nor did they that looked on him see his face as it had been the face of an angel. It was not for him to say, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit; it was not his last act to kneel down and pray for his enemies; nor could it be said of a death like his, he fell asleep. But the ferocious upbraidings, the attempted suicide, the despairing, and yet not being

* Sir Walter Scott's *Life of Napoleon*, pp. 348—351.

able to die, the hideous countenance, the loud yelling, the fiendish expression, and that dreadful head, of which even the masque appalled the spectators, gave the lie, more than any words, to the inscription on the catacombs, and showed that the great martyr of infidelity did not face death in the faith, that they who had been a terror to the earth would find rest in hades, or that death would be to them an eternal sleep. The character of infidelity was written in the blood of many thousands, and depicted in the visage of the dying and despairing Robespierre, the first great chief, but not the last, who ruled over infidel France.—*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, with hunger, and with death, and with the beasts (or kingdoms) of the earth. In no other instance does the expression—the fourth part of the earth, occur. In ancient times, the Roman empire was held as comprising the world. In modern times, to which the prediction refers, the four quarters of the globe is a common expression, and a division of the earth universally known and recognised. Over one of these, or a fourth part of the earth, the republican and imperial armies of France had power. Death still followed with him who headed the irreligious hosts over wide Europe. They killed with the sword, with hunger, and with death, and with the beasts, or, as the word is interpreted in Scripture, kingdoms of the earth. The armies of Italy, of Holland, of the Confederation of the Rhine, of Spain, of Poland, and of Naples, were rather the slaves than the confederates or allies of the emperor of the French, who created kings, and made subjugated kingdoms his active agents in killing with the sword. But, though here realized to the letter,

the warlike achievements of infidel France, and of him who reined it like a steed, will afterward be found more fully and appropriately to pertain to the prophetic civil history of modern times.

The reign of infidelity is not yet passed ; and never perhaps was there any age in which religion exercised less *general* influence over the minds of men than the present, and that which has immediately preceded it. The chief end of man has departed from his view. Men mind earthly things with a zeal and fervour, and to a degree that might make angels as well as an apostle weep. The world receives the homage of millions. And *death*, it is to be feared, has not ceased to be the *spiritual* characteristic of the times. How numerous, or how few, are they who keep the first great commandment of the law, render unto God the glory that is due unto his name, acknowledge him in all their ways, and love the Lord their God with all their heart, and with all their soul, and with all their strength, and with all their mind ? Where is pure and undefiled religion—where the godliness becoming the Christian doctrine—where the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace—where the mutual love by which believers would be known of all men—and where are they who seek the things that are Christ's rather than their own ? The moral pestilence of infidelity, which bears death to the soul, has spread far and wide—but no sanatory cordon is sought to encircle men around, nor do they wash within and make them clean, by the faith in Jesus and the word of God, which would turn the livid hue into the look of life, and take from the death-plague of the soul all power of hurting. Take heed, brethren, said the apostle, in times and to persons when and to whom the warning was not more needed than now,—take heed lest there be *in any of you* an evil heart of unbelief, in departing from the living God. But exhort one another daily

whilst it is called to-day ; lest any of you be hardened through the deceitfulness of sin. This at least is not the place where such a scriptural exhortation should pass unnoticed ; and this at least is not the time when the application of the precept should be laid aside to a more convenient season. Natural religion, which so many ape after, is nothing but death to sinful men. It is to Christ that all who hear the gospel have to come that they may be saved. This is the condemnation, that light hath come into the world, and that men love darkness rather than the light, because their deeds are evil. But there is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit. The last look of Robespierre told something of the death that follows with infidelity. But whosoever followeth Jesus has the light of life, and shall never taste of death.

CHAPTER V.

FIFTH SEAL.

PRIMITIVE Christianity, *white* as the unsunned snow ; Mahometanism, *red* as the blood-stained murderer ; Popery, *black* as the darkest midnight ; and Infidelity, *pale* as death, were figuratively unsealed by the Son of God, in the beginning of the Revelation of the things that were to be thereafter. And they unfold the spiritual state of man from that time to the present hour. But his own faithful people, however few comparatively, were not forgotten by the Lord. And he who could thus decipher spiritual wickedness

in all its characters, and detect it in all its guises, and trace it in all its progress, was not unmindful of the faith and patience of his saints. The perfecting of them, as well as the punishment of iniquity, was perhaps the end for which evil was permitted, and the final triumph of Christianity, ultimately the more glorious, delayed. The next seal—still discriminately descriptive of spiritual things alone, but in which no other form of religion appears, and no succession, in point of time, is denoted—is evidently, in the first instance, retrospective; and no less clear than the rest, it marks the trials and sufferings of the servants of Jesus, during the long-continued operation of the mystery of iniquity. As at the opening of the third, distinguished from the second, the object was immediately in the apostle's view.

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: 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? And white robes were given unto every one of them; and it was said unto them that they should rest yet for a little season, until their fellow-servants also, and their brethren, that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled. Ver. 9—11.

Here, as illustrative of the past, in noting the fulfilment down to the present time, we need only remark, that, from the earliest to the latest period, the conflict through which Christians have to pass in fighting the good fight of faith, and being faithful unto the death, is set forth to view, as well as the sure triumph of the faith in which they lived, and for which the martyrs died. The early persecutions to which Christians were subjected, and by which paganism hoped to triumph over the gospel; the oft-

repeated conflicts and patient endurance of the Valdenses and Albigenses, by which throughout the darkest ages, they bore testimony to their faith ; the renewed martyrdoms which ushered in the Reformation, by which the papal power sought to maintain its dark dominion, seemed, for the time, as if the Christian faith was devoted to destruction, and not destined to conquer : but the fidelity with which they were borne, showed the efficacy of genuine faith, and forms a peculiar feature in the spiritual history of man, and is here noted in the vision, as it is otherwise repeatedly and more fully unfolded. Of the final triumph of Christianity, however long delayed, there cannot, from manifold predictions, be a doubt. But it may here be remarked, that it is after the last enemy of the church of Christ hath appeared in the pale and spectral form of infidelity, that it is said unto the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, that *they should rest yet for a little season, until their fellow-servants also, and their brethren, that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled*. Warning seems thus to be given, that persecution, even unto death, may yet await the faithful in Jesus. But the full import of this and the following seal, may remain to be made manifest as the signs of other times ; and they may best be viewed connectedly with other predictions. The retrospect of the spiritual state of the world brings us down to the border of events the most momentous.

And I beheld when he had opened the sixth seal, and, lo, there was a great earthquake : 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. 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, hid themselves in the dens and in the rocks of the mountains; and said to the mountains and the rocks, 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? —Verse 12, &c.

Terrible as have been the desolations which in past ages have come upon the earth, it were vain to seek a full parallel to such a scene in the past history of the world, since the days of the deluge. A corresponding phraseology may be sometimes found in the Old Testament prophets. But the judgments on the heathen nations are not yet fully accomplished. And all are involved in the great final catastrophe, of which the Spirit hath spoken by the mouth of many prophets, and which Jesus himself announced in terms corresponding to those of the sixth seal. “The great day of the wrath of the Lord,” holds a pre-eminence in judgment above all others, and is distinguished from them all.

The previous prophetic description of the opening of the sixth seal, viewed in connection with other delineations of the same great day of the wrath of the Lord, couched in similar or identical terms, might seem, to a mind not warped by theory, to disclose to the eye of faith a mightier event than the conversion of Constantine, or the subversion of paganism.—That is otherwise marked, as but a little help; and it served but to prepare the way for an idolatry as dark and debasing as that which preceded it. But the sixth seal is such as will leave no doubtful commentary to the world, if not also to other worlds than ours. For the opening of that seal, not yet dis-

closed, is the great day of the wrath of the Lamb ; and the question is yet unanswered, who shall abide the day of his coming ; who shall be able to stand ?

To complete the outline of the religious state of the world, as connected with Christianity, is, we apprehend, the purpose of the immediately succeeding vision, (chap. vii.) descriptive of the partial and simultaneous conversion of many of the Jews and Israelites, for which the universal war is on every side suspended or delayed, previous to the last great catastrophe, which shall decide the fate of the world, and the triumph of the church.

It seems remarkable that it should ever have been doubted that such an obvious interpretation, as now it seems—so clear, consistent, and comprehensive—shows the true import of the first six seals. Let the reader peruse these two chapters, and say whether they do not carry on the same subject from its commencement to its close. It is no less obvious, from the conclusion of the seventh chapter than of the sixth, that it also refers to a period yet to come.

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 heard the number of them which were sealed : and there were sealed an hundred and forty and four thousand of all the tribes of the children of Israel. Of the tribe of Juda were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Reuben were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Gad were sealed twelve thousand. Of

the tribe of Aser were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Nephtalim were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Manasses were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Simeon were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Levi were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Issachar were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Zabulon were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Joseph were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Benjamin were sealed twelve thousand. After this I beheld, and, lo, a great multitude which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands; and cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to our God, which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb. And all the angels stood round about the throne, and about the elders and the four living creatures, and fell before the throne on their faces and worshipped God, saying, Amen: Blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honour, and power, and might, be unto our God for ever and ever. Amen. And one of the elders answered, saying unto me, What are these which are arrayed in white robes? and whence came they? 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 the throne shall dwell among them. They shall hunger no more; neither thirst any more; neither shall the sun light on 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. (Chap. vii.)

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

THE first six seals thus seem to give a representation, in a general view of the Church of Christ, and of the various forms of false faith by which it was to be assailed, till the great day of the wrath of the Lamb. And the subsequent vision (chap. vii.) which is introduced previous to the opening of the seventh seal, terminates in the still farther prospect of the blessedness of the saints, when "the Lamb shall lead them unto living fountains of waters, and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes."

Under each of the first four seals a distinct form was disclosed to view—the fifth is evidently partly retrospective and partly prospective; and the sixth, it may well be apprehended, is yet to be fulfilled.—But each of these, while all follow in an uninterrupted detail, has also its own appropriate object or event of which it is designative. The opening of the seventh or last seal, varies in these respects from that of all the former. It neither follows in an unbroken narrative, nor does it, like the rest, designate a single specific object. But, without the specification of any precise event pertaining to it, it opens up a succession of new visions; for *on the opening of the*

seventh seal, the Spirit proceeds, after another manner, to unseal events of another order, and John saw the seven angels which stood before God, and to them were given seven trumpets.

The seventh seal is manifestly of a different character from all the former; and if we mistake not greatly, the order is, not that all the seals describe events, that, according to human canons of interpretation, must necessarily follow in the same order, but that the spiritual state of the world, (to use the plainest terms,) was described previous to the political; and that as the outline of the former is contained, as we have seen, in the first six seals, the seventh seal under the seven trumpets, begins to open up the latter to our view, and that each falls to be viewed connectedly in its own order.

The book was written within and without, or “on the back side,” sealed with seven seals. And hence it does not follow, that what is recorded under each successive seal, can only refer to events that follow in like manner in order of time. In regard to the same course of things, utter derangement would obviously ensue from a violation of that order; but not so when different subjects require to be introduced. The history of any kingdom might naturally be classified under different heads or subdivisions; first, ecclesiastical; next political; and their mutual relation being separately discussed, the whole history would be distinct and complete, and the effect would be a clearer elucidation, rather than derangement; and the opening of a new *seal* may naturally imply the unfolding of a new subject. In every regular history, such a method is at least partially adopted, whenever events require to be detailed which vary in their development, and lead to a combined result. In commencing a new chapter or book, the reader is

often led far back in point of time, from the period at which the former terminated.* Each subject is separately discussed; and the connection of events, rather than of time exclusively, is the real order, in which it may be said that the seal is opened, without which every history would be disjointed and broken. Such, complete in all its parts, and those parts then forming one harmonious whole, and a pattern for history, in point of completeness and order, nothing redundant recorded, and nothing essential omitted, and nothing either misrepresented or misplaced,—the abused and slandered Book of Revelation shall, we cannot doubt, be ultimately found to be. But, like every other book, it must first be *read and understood*, before all the fulness of the matter it contains can be told. And its symbols will no longer be a barrier to its intelligibility, when once it is unveiled by the events; any more than are the symbols of which every Chinese book is full, when once they are understood; or the language in which any book is written when once it is known.

At the time when the tidings that were to come thereafter were written in a book, the Christian religion, then recently promulgated, went forth conquering in the midst of persecution; and the power of the Roman empire, after the subversion of Jerusalem, extended over the world, and was unchallenged by a single foe. But in the book that was penned by one of the fishermen of Galilee, whom Jesus had chosen as his apostles, the fate of that empire was written, and every great political convulsion, as well as every deceptive form of religion, was marked, till

* Thus, for example, the forty-third chapter of Gibbon's History concludes with the close of the sixth century; and the next in tracing the history of the Roman laws, retrocedes to the days of Romulus.

the time should come, when all the history of Rome would be an ancient tale, and all its majesty an empty name, and the gospel of Christ be the law of the world.

Commentators, with considerable variance in the details, are of one mind, that the first four trumpets denote the successive events which caused the downfall of Rome, and that the fifth and sixth trumpets, or the first and second woes, characterise the Saracen and Turkish power. The charm of novelty, of itself suspicious, must here give place to the sanction of authority, which, in some measure supersedes the necessity of a lengthened discussion. And it shall be our object to mark the character and show the succession and connexion of events, down to the present era, as briefly as a due regard to distinctness and precision will permit. Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire is so copious and precise as to render an appeal to any less clear and more questionable commentary unnecessary and redundant. Facts alone, and not imaginations, are wanted. And they who will not look to a commentator, may here safely learn from the sceptic.

And when he had opened the seventh seal, there was silence in heaven for about the space of half an hour. And I saw the seven angels which stood before God; and to them were given seven trumpets. And another angel came and stood at the altar, having a golden censer; and there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of the saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne. And the smoke of the incense, which came with the prayers of the saints, ascended up before God out of the angel's hand. And the angel took the censer and filled it with fire of the altar, and cast it into (upon) the earth: and there were voices, and

thunderings, and lightnings, and an earthquake,—
And the seven angels which had the seven trumpets
PREPARED THEMSELVES TO SOUND.—Chapter viii.
 1—6.

The whole of this representation concurs in giving note of *preparation* for a new series of events. The seven angels that appear upon the scene are the seven spirits of God sent forth *into all the earth*, and none of them are the same as the four living creatures, who were in the midst of the throne and round about the throne, and who successively called upon the apostle to come and see, on the opening of each of the first four seals. And as they are different, it is not unreasonable to think that a different commission was assigned them,—and that as the seven angels were those that were sent forth *into all the earth*, it harmonizes with their office to unfold the political changes and commotions in the world, as it pertained to the four living beings that were around the throne to show forth the various changes in the minds, or the religious opinions of men.—And this seems to be more expressly signified, as the seven angels which had the seven trumpets did not prepare themselves to sound, till *another* angel took the censer and filled it with the *fire* of the altar and *cast it upon the earth*: and till *there were voices, and thunderings, and lightnings, and an earthquake*; and then the seven angels prepared themselves to sound.

There is no need that all the previous seals be included, as the bounds of their development, within the period which intervened from the date of the apocalypse to that of the downfall of Rome. For in looking into the pages of the historian, it may not be difficult to discern that the history of that period is concentrated, with a far clearer and more apposite significancy,

in the prophetic introduction to the seven trumpets. If, indeed, a new subject, that of the civil history of the world, be introduced by the opening of the seventh and last seal, it may be traced, like the former, from its commencement at the era of the Apocalypse, to its close at the period when all the kingdoms of the world shall become the kingdom of God and of his Christ.

The first date, as marked in the index and margin, which occurs in Gibbon's history, is the year A. D. 96, the very year, as marked also on the margin of the Bible, which is generally assigned as the date of the Apocalypse. And, from first to last, it may be seen that the historical commentary keeps close to the prophetic text.

Previous to the ninety-sixth year of the Christian era, a "torrent of public disorders had multiplied under the long tyranny of the Emperor Domitian." But the period immediately subsequent to that time was marked by the "happiness of the Romans," which, together with "its transitory nature," is described in two consecutive paragraphs by Gibbon.

"If a man were called to fix the period in the history of the world, during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous, he would, without hesitation, name that which elapsed from the death of Domitian, (A. D. 96) to the accession of Commodus. The vast extent of the Roman empire was governed by absolute power, under the guidance of virtue and wisdom. The armies were restrained by the firm but gentle hand of four successive emperors, whose characters and authority commanded involuntary respect. The forms of the civil administration were carefully preserved by Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines, who delighted in the image of liberty and were pleased with considering themselves accountable ministers of the laws. Such princes deserved the honour of restoring the republic, had the Romans of their days been capable of enjoying a rational freedom."^a

^a Gibbon's Hist. vol. i. pp. 126, 127, chap. 3.

The edicts of the empire against the church were also at the same period, suspended for a little season. For, as the ecclesiastical historian records, "in the beginning of the second century, there were no laws in force against the Christians, for the senate had annulled the cruel edicts of Nero, and Nerva had abrogated the sanguinary laws of his predecessor Domitian."*

Such is the history of the state of the world *immediately subsequent* to the date of the Apocalypse.

And when he had opened the seventh seal, there was silence in heaven for the space of half an hour. It was in heaven, that a door was opened, and the voice said, Come up *hither*, and I will show thee things which must be hereafter. And as on the opening of the seventh seal, under which judgments are evidently announced, there was *silence in heaven*, so looking to the things that have been on earth, there *immediately* followed a period so peculiarly marked by the peace and prosperity that universally prevailed, as to be selected from the whole history of the world, as that during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous. Contrasted with the *voices, and thunderings, and lightnings and the earthquake*, and the successive soundings of the *seven trumpets* that afterwards ensued, *the silence in heaven* was then great, manifest, and emphatic; and without hesitation it may be said, that, brief though its duration was, no other period in the history of the world before or since, could, by a more entire, though temporary suspension of judgments, be more appropriately represented by a symbol so expressive of peace.

Yet "the happiness of the human race" was only of "a transitory nature," as the term *about the space of half an hour* may imply. The peace of the empire

* Mosheim, cent. ii. chap. 11, § 1.

was partially disturbed by the insurrection and revolt of the confederate Jews. And on the accession of Commodus, there was no longer peace on earth, to be typified by silence in heaven, where the vision emblematical of events on earth was seen.

And I saw the seven angels that stood before God, and to them were given seven trumpets. The seven angels were seen after there was silence in heaven, and the trumpets were given them: but these were not sounded, nor did the angels prepare themselves to sound, till other objects were seen, or other events should intervene before the execution of their appointed task.

And another angel came and stood at the altar, having a golden censer; and there was given unto him much incense that he should offer it with prayers of all saints, upon the golden altar which was before the throne. And the smoke of the incense, which came with the prayers of the saints, ascended up before God out of the angel's hand. It was another angel who stood at the altar, different from any of those to whom the trumpets were given, and his office was to offer up much incense with the prayers of all saints. And as the time immediately subsequent to the writing of the Apocalypse was, as we have seen from unquestionable testimony, peculiarly distinguished in the history of the world, for the happiness and prosperity of the human race, so the first ages of the church, while pure and primitive Christianity prevailed, were not less distinguished, above all others, for the holy lives of the believers in Jesus, also unparalleled, on so grand a scale, in the history of our race. And if the peace and happiness of a transitory nature, which then extended over the Roman empire, were significantly symbolized by the silence in heaven, so also did the piety of Christians give as unwonted a token from the sons of men, of much in-

cense offered with the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne. Believers will not controvert this truth, of which our enemies are the witnesses.

“The primitive Christian demonstrated his faith by his virtues. Their serious and sequestered life, averse to the gay luxury of the age, inured them to chastity, temperance, economy, and all the sober and domestic virtues. As the greater number of them were of some trade or profession, it was incumbent on them, by the strictest integrity, and the fairest dealing, to remove the suspicions which the profane are apt to conceive against the appearances of sanctity. The contempt of the world exercised them in the habits of *humility, meekness, and patience.* The more they were persecuted, the more closely they adhered to each other. Their mutual charity and unsuspecting confidence *has been remarked by infidels,* and was too often abused by perfidious friends. It is a very honourable circumstance for the morals of the primitive Christians, that even their faults, or rather errors, were derived from an excess of virtue.”*

Much incense was offered up. Early in the second century, as Pliny in his epistles records, there were *many* Christians, of every age, of every rank, and of both sexes. Christianity had spread like a contagion not only in cities and towns, but also into country villages, and the (pagan) temples were almost forsaken.

Thus chastity, temperance, humility, meekness, patience, seriousness, and sanctity, the strictest integrity, the fairest dealing, and mutual charity, characterised the primitive Christians, who proved the reality of their faith by their virtues. Their patience and temperance were the wonder of their enemies; their fervent charity, in obedience to the new commandment that was given by their Lord, was a new thing on the earth; their piety was the purest that the world had ever witnessed, and the errors with which

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. ii. pp. 315, 318, 319, c. 15.

they were charged, were derived from an excess of virtue. Of what other people was ever such a record borne, either by their friends or by their enemies? The sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination to the Lord: but the prayer of the upright is his delight. The eyes of the Lord are over the righteous, and his ears are open unto their prayers. He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, saith Jesus, he it is that loveth me; and he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father. Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, saith the Lord to his disciples, he shall give it you. And Christians are required to offer by him the sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is, the fruit of their lips, giving thanks to his name. And the believer in Jesus, as well as the psalmist of Israel, may ask, Let my prayer be set forth before thee as incense. And the time is coming when, from the rising of the sun, unto the going down of the same, the name of the Lord shall be great among the Gentiles; and, in every place incense shall be offered unto his name, and a pure offering. And, in regard to the ages that are past, looking to these scriptural tests of true piety, and its acceptance with God, through the mediation of Jesus, what other time, from the date of the Apocalypse, if not also from the morning of the creation, to the present hour, can be found to vie with that in which pure and primitive Christianity so extensively prevailed, in much *incense being offered up with the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne, or in which the smoke of the incense, with the prayers of the saints, ascended up before God out of the angel's hand?*

The goodness of God, as exemplified in the happiness of the Romans, did not lead them to repentance. And the peaceableness and purity of the lives of the primitive Christians, rather stimulated than mitigated

the wrath of their enemies. A season of prevailing piety and virtue was not a time for the rulers of the darkness of this world to be at rest. And it was while much incense ascended up before God, and while, as otherwise prophesied concerning them, the men of understanding, who knew their God, instructed many, that they, who thus threatened paganism with subversion, fell by the sword, by flame, and by spoil, and by captivity many days. The conflict of the church of Christ with the Roman empire, may, perhaps, be afterwards found to pertain to another portion of the Revelation of Jesus Christ. But He who said of Israel, he that toucheth you toucheth the apple of mine eye, will not fail to avenge his own elect, who cry day and night unto him; nor, though he may permit their tribulation during many days, for the trial of their faith, will he leave always unavenged on any of their enemies the blood of his saints. The prophetic doom of Jerusalem, where Jesus and the first of his martyrs were slain, had been written in its ruins, before it was given to John to prophesy of the things that were to be thereafter. The next sounding to judgment, as all commentators are agreed, was against the empire of Rome, which persecuted the saints, whose prayers ascended as incense before God. Thus, in the punishment of the persecutors of the faithful, as well as of the apostates from a holy faith, a connexion, worthy of the prophetic record, may be found to subsist between the history of the church and that of the world, and from both of these, viewed in the light of the Revelation of Jesus Christ, as well as in that of the Old Testament prophets, it may ultimately be *manifest* that the same Lord is God over all, and that the Lord of Hosts is the God of glory.

And the angel, who stood at the altar and offered up the incense with the prayers of the saints, 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. And the seven angels which had the seven trumpets prepared themselves to sound. Ver. 5, 6.

After the period of the singular "prosperity and happiness of the human race" had passed away, or after the silence in heaven ceased to be a symbol of the things that were passing on the earth, military seditions accompanied by civil discords, wars, and battles, that successively ensued, seem to give a significant and substantive interpretation to *the voices, thunderings, and lightnings*, which succeeded to the silence in heaven, and preceded the *earthquake*, which may as aptly denote "the revolution" by which paganism was subverted. In exposition of the introduction to the seven trumpets, a few more illustrations may here be drawn from the introductory chapters of Gibbon's history of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, to which the reader may be referred, as a more ample commentary.

In reference to the judgments that were to come on the earth, it is *first* said—*And there were voices.*

"The licentious fury of the Prætorian bands was the *FIRST symptom and cause of the decline of the Roman empire.*—They had reluctantly submitted to Pertinax, they dreaded the strictness of the ancient discipline, which he was preparing to restore, and they regretted the licence of the former reign. Their disappointments served only to irritate the rage of the Prætorian guards. On the twenty-eighth of March, (A. D. 193,) eighty-six days only after the death of Commodus, a *general sedition* broke out in the camp, which the officers wanted either power or inclination to suppress.—Pertinax was dispatched with a multitude of wounds. His head separated from his body, and placed on a lance, was carried in triumph to the Prætorian camp, in the sight of a mournful and indignant people. The governor of the city was endeavouring to calm the *fury of the multitude*, when he was silenced by the *clamorous* return of the murderers,

bearing on a lance the head of Pertinax. The more prudent of the Prætorians ran out upon the ramparts, and with a loud voice proclaimed that the Roman world was to be disposed of to the best bidder, by public auction.* The empire was offered to sale,—it was purchased by Julian,—who was acknowledged by the senate. The people gave a free vent to their passions. The streets and public places of Rome *resounded with clamours and imprecations*. The enraged multitude affronted the person of Julian, rejected his liberality, and conscious of the importance of their own resentment, they called upon the legions of the frontiers to assert the violated majesty of the Roman empire.

“The public discontent was soon diffused from the centre to the frontiers of the empire. The armies of Britain, of Syria, and of Illyricum, lamented the death of Pertinax, in whose company, and under whose command, they had so often fought and conquered. They received with surprise, with indignation, and perhaps with envy, the extraordinary intelligence, that the Prætorians had disposed of the empire by public auction; and they sternly refused to ratify the ignominious bargain. Their *immediate and unanimous revolt* was fatal to Julian, but it was *fatal at the same time to the public peace*; and as the generals of the respective armies, Clodius Albinus, Rescenus Niger, and Septimius Severus, were still more anxious to succeed the murdered Pertinax.”†

The execution of Julian, and the disgrace of the Prætorian guards, were followed by *two civil wars*; and, on the triumph of Severus over both his rivals, forty-one senators were condemned to death, and the senate was oppressed by military despotism. During his reign, for the first time, the Roman world had three emperors. And the fixed and implacable antipathy that existed between his two sons, who shared with him the imperial throne, “divided the theatre, the circus, and the court, into two factions, actuated by the hopes and fears of their respective leaders.” Having repeatedly but vainly “attempted to shorten the remainder of his father’s days,” and having compassed

* Gibbon’s Hist. vol. i. pp. 168, 171, 172, chap. 5.

† Ibid. p. 175.

the murder of his brother Gæta, the infamous Caracalla, "the common enemy of mankind," traversed the several provinces of the empire, and "every province was by turn the scene of his rapine and cruelty," till he fell beneath the dagger of an assassin. Macrinus, a man of obscure extraction, was raised to the throne by the Prætorian guards. But on his attempting a reformation of the army, their "murmurs swelled with impunity into seditious clamours; and the partial mutinies betrayed a spirit of discontent and disaffection, that waited only for the slightest occasion to break out on every side into a general rebellion." Heliogabalus was declared emperor by the troops of Emesa, and called aloud on the armies to follow his standard. On the defeat and death of Macrinus, "the contending parties of the Roman armies united under the banners of the imagined son of Caracalla, and the east acknowledged with pleasure the first emperor of Asiatic extraction."* After a brief but an inglorious reign, Heliogabalus, striving to suppress a mutiny, "was massacred by the indignant Prætorians, his mutilated corpse dragged through the city and thrown into the Tiber, and his memory was branded with eternal infamy by the senate."† His successor, Alexander Severus, notwithstanding his wise and moderate administration, fell a sacrifice, like Pertinax, to his attempt to reform the army.

"Some trifling accident blew up the discontent of the Prætorian guards into a furious mutiny, and a civil war raged during three days in Rome. The historian Dion Cassius had commanded the Panonian legions with the spirit of ancient discipline. Their brethren of Rome embraced the common cause of military licence. The lenity of the emperor confirmed the insolence of the troops; the legions imitated the example of the guards, and defended their prerogative of licentiousness with the same furious obstinacy.

* Gibbon's *Hist.* vol. i. p. 231, c. 6.

† *Ibid.* p. 240.

The administration of Alexander was an unavailing struggle against the corruptions of his age. In Illyricum, in Mauritania, in Armenia, in Mesopotamia, in Germany *fresh mutinies perpetually broke out*; his officers were murdered, his authority was insulted, and his life at last sacrificed to the fierce discontents of the army.*

"The dissolute tyranny of Commodus, the civil wars occasioned by his death, and the new means of policy introduced by the house of Severus, had all contributed to increase the dangerous power of the army, and to obliterate the faint image of laws and liberty that was still impressed on the minds of the Romans. This internal change undermined the foundations of the empire.† The Roman empire, after the authority of the senate had sunk into contempt, was a vast scene of confusion. After the murder of Alexander Severus, and the elevation of Maximin, no emperor could think himself safe upon the throne, and every barbarian peasant of the frontier might aspire to that august, but dangerous station. The Roman empire was distracted with a long series of intestine calamities.‡

Of some of these, an index is prefixed to the seventh chapter of Gibbon's history:—*The elevation and tyranny of Maximin.—Rebellion in Africa and Italy, under the authority of the senate.—Civil wars and seditions.—Violent deaths of Maximin and his son,—of Maximus and Balbinus,—and of the three Gordians.*

Thus the peace and prosperity of the Roman empire was succeeded by a long period marked by tumults, clamorous seditions, and intestine commotions, till the empire was a vast scene of confusion. Wars and battles followed in rapid succession, and filled up the intervening space till the reign of Constantine.

In the year 238, Maximus and Balbinus were massacred; and in the year 242, Gordian "quitted the luxury of Rome, opened for the last time recorded in history the temple of Janus, and marched in person into the east, to carry on the Persian war."

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. i. pp. 249—251.

† Ibid. pp. 254, 255.

‡ Ibid. pp. 272, 273, 274.

In the first year of his reign, the emperor Decius "was summoned to the banks of the Danube, by the invasion of the Goths." But he could not save the great city of Philippopolis, in the sack of which "a hundred thousand persons are reported to have been massacred;" and the contest was closed with the defeat of his army, and the death of the emperor, (A. D. 251.) The latter half of the third century was consumed in wars with the Franks, the Alemanni, the Goths, and the Persians, and the wars of Africa and Egypt. The beginning of the fourth century, (A. D. 305—322) was "a period of civil wars and commotions;" and the battles of Turin, Verona, Cibalis, Mardia, Adrianople, and Chrysopolis immediately preceded "the re-union of the empire" under Constantine. "The successive steps of the elevation of Constantine contributed to the decline of the empire by the expense of blood and treasure, and by the perpetual increase as well of the taxes as of the military establishment. The foundation of Constantinople, and the establishment of the Christian religion, were the immediate and memorable consequences of this revolution."*

In reviewing, thus briefly, the history of the Roman empire, from the period of unparalleled happiness and prosperity, denoted in the contemporaneous commencement of the vision with the silence in heaven, to the revolution under Constantine, it may be left to the reader to determine whether these successive events do not give a significant interpretation to the vision, and realize its import as contrasted with the previous silence. *And there were voices, and thundrings, and lightnings, and an earthquake.*

And the seven angels, which had the seven trumpets, prepared themselves to sound. The retreat of the

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. ii. p. 264, c. 14.

Roman army before the Persians, their distress, and the death of the emperor Julian on the field of battle, the consequent surrender and evacuation of "the important city of Nisibis, the firmest bulwark of the provinces of the east," and the restoration of five provinces to the Persians,* (A. D. 363,) weakened the Roman empire in the east, and laid it open to the incursions of the barbarians. Under the reigns of Valentinian and Valens, Germany, Britain, Africa, the east, and the Danube, were "the five great theatres of war."† "The splendour and magnitude of the Gothic wars are celebrated by a contemporary historian; but the events scarcely deserve the attention of posterity, except as the PRELIMINARY STEPS of the *approaching decline and fall of the empire.*"‡

But the chief preliminary step of the decline and fall of the empire, or act of *preparation* for the sounding of the trumpets for its fall, was the passing of the Danube by the Goths, and their fixed settlement within the bounds of the empire.

"In the disastrous period of the fall of the Roman empire, which may justly be dated from the reign of Valens, the happiness and security of each individual were personally attacked, and the arts and labours of ages were rudely defaced by the barbarians of Scythia and Germany. The invasion of the Huns precipitated on the provinces of the West the Gothic nation—(A. D. 376)—which advanced in less than forty years, from the Danube to the Atlantic, and *opened a way*, by the success of their arms, to the inroads of so many hostile tribes, more savage than themselves.—The original principle of motion was concealed in the remote countries of the North, and the curious observation of the pastoral life of the Scythians, or Tartars, will illustrate the latent cause of these *destructive emigrations.*"§

"The imperial mandate was at length received for transporting over the Danube the whole body of the Gothic na-

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. iv. p. 199, 217.

† Ibid. 277.

‡ Ibid. p. 324, 325, c. 25.

§ Ibid. p. 340, 341, c. 26.

tion. A large fleet of vessels, of boats, and of canoes, was provided; many days and nights they passed with indefatigable toil; and the most strenuous diligence was exerted by the officers of Valens, that not a single barbarian of those *who were reserved to subvert the foundations of Rome*, should be left on the opposite shore. It was thought expedient that an accurate account should be taken of their numbers, but the persons who were employed soon desisted with amazement and dismay, from the prosecution of the endless and impracticable task; and the principal historian of the age most seriously affirms, that the prodigious armies of Darius and Xerxes, which had so long been considered as the fables of vain and credulous antiquity, were now justified in the eyes of mankind, by the evidence of fact and experience. A probable testimony has fixed the number of the Gothic warriors at two hundred thousand men; and if we may venture to add the just proportion of women, of children, and of slaves, the whole mass of people which composed this formidable emigration, must have amounted to near a million of persons, of both sexes, and of all ages.*

“The imprudence of Valens and his ministers had introduced into the heart of the empire a nation of enemies.—The most powerful auxiliaries of the Goths were drawn from the camp of those enemies who had expelled them from their native seats. The loose subordination and extensive possessions of the Huns and the Alani, delayed the conquests and distracted the councils of that victorious people. The rapid cavalry of Scythia added weight and energy to the steady and strenuous efforts of the Gothic infantry. The Sarmatians enjoyed and increased the general confusion. One of the most dangerous inconveniences of the introduction of the barbarians into the army or palace, was sensibly felt in their correspondence with their hostile countrymen, to whom they imprudently or maliciously revealed the weakness of the Roman empire.”†

“The tide of the Gothic inundation rolled from the walls of Hadrianople to the suburbs of Constantinople. The deliverance and peace of the Roman provinces was the work of prudence rather than of valour. An army of forty thousand Goths was maintained for the perpetual service of the empire of the east. Their native courage was improved by the use

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. iv. pp. 382, 383, chap. 26.

† Ibid. 349, 398, 400.

of arms and the knowledge of discipline, and while the republic was guarded or threatened by the doubtful sword of the barbarians, the last sparks of military flame were finally extinguished in the minds of the Romans.—But it was apparent to every discerning eye, that the Goths would long remain the enemies, and might soon become the conquerors of the Roman empire. And as the impatient Goths could only be restrained by the firm and temperate character of Theodosius, the public safety seemed to depend on the life and abilities of a single man.”*

On the opening of the seventh seal there was silence in heaven about the space of half an hour.—Much incense was offered up with the prayers of all saints. The fire of the altar was cast unto the earth, and there were voices, and thunderings, and lightnings, and an earthquake, and the angels then *prepared themselves to sound*, even as the gradual relaxation of the Roman power, and the rise of barbarous nations, and their settlement within the territories of Rome, *prepared* the way for the assault and the overthrow; but when that preparation should be complete, the sounding of the trumpets would be no longer delayed, nor would they give an uncertain sound. For then should the colossal empire of Rome fall rapidly to pieces at their voice.

“The western empire,” that of Rome itself, “was repeatedly attacked, and finally subverted by the arms of the barbarians.”† How, in what manner, and by what means, it was *repeatedly* attacked, and *finally* subverted, the first four trumpets show: and the *interpretation* of an historical prediction must be left to the historian,—and having glanced at the introduction to the prophecy and the history, we freely consign it over to the historian of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, whose province it is and whose sub-

* Gibbon, pp. 414, 430, 439, 440, 443.

† Gibbon.

ject it forms. For none could elucidate the texts more clearly, or expound them more fully, than the task has been accomplished by Gibbon. The chapters of the sceptical philosopher, that treat directly of the matter, need but a text to be prefixed and a few unholy words to be blotted out, to form a series of expository lectures on the eighth and ninth chapters of the Revelation of Jesus Christ. The historian, however involuntarily, here takes up the office of the theologian; and little, or nothing, is left for the professed interpreter to do, but to point to the pages of Gibbon.

X *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. Ver. 7.*

At the beginning of the 30th chapter of his history, Gibbon thus describes the first irruption of the Goths on the Roman empire:

“ If the subjects of Rome could be ignorant of their obligations to the great Theodosius, they were too soon convinced, how painfully the spirit and abilities of their deceased emperor had supported the frail and mouldering edifice of the republic. He died in the month of January, and before the end of the winter of the same year, (395,) the Gothic nation was in arms. The barbarian auxiliaries erected their independent standard; and boldly avowed hostile designs, which they had *long cherished* in their ferocious minds. Their countrymen, who had been condemned, by the conditions of the last treaty, to a life of tranquillity and labour, deserted their farms at the *first sound of the trumpet*, and eagerly assumed the weapons which they had reluctantly laid down. The barriers of the Danube were thrown open; the savage warriors of Scythia issued from their forests; and *the uncommon severity of the winter* allowed the poet to remark, that ‘they rolled their ponderous waggons over the broad and icy back of the indignant river.’ The unhappy nations of the provinces to the south of the Danube, submitted to the calamities, which, in the course of twenty

years, were almost grown familiar to their imagination; and the various troops of barbarians, who gloried in the Gothic name, were irregularly spread from the woody shores of Dalmatia, to the walls of Constantinople.—The Goths were directed by the bold and artful genius of Alaric.—In the midst of a divided court, and a discontented people, the emperor Arcadius was terrified by the aspect of the Gothic arms. Alaric disdained to trample any longer on the prostrate and ruined countries of Thrace and Dacia, and he resolved to seek a plentiful harvest of fame and riches in a province which had hitherto escaped the ravages of war.”*

“Alaric traversed, without resistance, the plains of Macedonia and Thessaly. The troops which had been posted to defend the straits of Thermopylæ, retired, as they were directed, without attempting to disturb the secure and rapid passage of Alaric; and the fertile fields of Phocis and Bœotia were instantly covered *with a deluge of barbarians*, who massacred the males of an age to bear arms, and drove away the beautiful females, with the spoil and cattle *of the flaming villages*. The travellers who visited Greece several years afterwards could easily discover the deep and *bloody* traces of the march of the Goths. The whole territory of Attica was *blasted* by his baneful presence; and, if we may use the comparison of a contemporary philosopher, Athens itself resembled the *bleeding* and empty skin of a slaughtered victim. Corinth, Argos, Sparta, yielded without resistance to the arms of the Goths: and the most fortunate of the inhabitants were saved, by death, from beholding the slavery of their families, *and the conflagration of their cities*.”†

When resisted and attacked by Stilicho, the general of the Romans, Alaric concluded a treaty with the eastern emperor, and

“an edict was published at Constantinople, which declared the promotion of Alaric to the rank of master-general of the eastern Illyricum; and the unhappy provincials were compelled to forge the instruments of their own destruction. The birth of Alaric, the glory of his past exploits, and the confidence in his future designs, insensibly united the body of the nation under his victorious standard; and, with the unanimous consent of the barbarian chieftains, the master-general of Illyricum was elevated, according to ancient cus-

* Gibbon's Hist. c. 30, vol. v. 176—178.

† Ibid. pp. 179—182.

tom, on a shield, and solemnly proclaimed king of the Visigoths. Armed with this double power, seated on the verge of the two empires, he alternately sold his deceitful promises to the courts of Arcadius and Honorius (of Constantinople and Rome,) till he declared and executed his resolution of *invading the dominions of the west* (of Rome.) The provinces of Europe which belonged to the eastern emperor were already exhausted; those of Asia were inaccessible; and the strength of Constantinople had resisted his attack. But he was tempted by the fame, the beauty, the wealth of Italy, which he had twice visited; and he secretly aspired to plant the Gothic standard on the walls of Rome, and to enrich his army with the accumulated spoils of three hundred triumphs.*

"The scarcity of facts, and the uncertainty of dates, oppose our attempts to describe the circumstances of the first invasion of Italy by the arms of Alaric. His march, perhaps, from Thessalonica through the warlike and hostile country of Pannonia, as far as the foot of the Julian Alps; his passage of those mountains, which were strongly guarded by troops and intrenchments; the siege of Aquileia, and the conquest of the provinces of Austria and Venetia, appear to have employed a considerable time. Unless his operations were extremely cautious and slow, the length of the interval would suggest a probable suspicion, that the Gothic king retreated towards the banks of the Danube, and reinforced his army with fresh swarms of barbarians, before he again attempted to penetrate into the heart of Italy. Since the public and important events escape the diligence of the historian, he may amuse himself with contemplating, for a moment, the influence of the arms of Alaric on the fortunes of two obscure individuals, a presbyter of Aquileia and an husbandman of Verona. The learned Rufinus, who was summoned by his enemies to appear before a Roman synod, wisely preferred the dangers of a besieged city; and the barbarians, who furiously shook the walls of Aquileia, might save him from the cruel sentence of another heretic, who, at the request of the same bishops, was severely whipped, and condemned to perpetual exile on a desert island. The old man, who had passed his simple and innocent life in the neighbourhood of Verona, was a stranger to the quarrels both of kings and of bishops; his pleasures, his desires, his knowledge, were confined within the little circle of his paternal

* Gibbon's Hist. c. 30, vol. v. pp. 188-190.

farm; and his staff supported his aged steps on the same ground where he had sported in his infancy. Yet even this humble and rustic felicity, which Claudian describes with so much truth and feeling, was still exposed to the undistinguishing rage of war. 'His TREES, his old *contemporary* TREES must blaze in the conflagration of the whole country; a detachment of Gothic cavalry might sweep away his cottage and his family; and the power of Alaric could destroy this happiness which he was not able either to taste or to bestow.' 'Fame,' says the poet, 'encircling with terror her gloomy wings, proclaimed the march of the barbarian army, and filled Italy with consternation.' The apprehension of each individual were increased in just proportion to the measure of his fortune; and the most timid, who had already embarked their valuable effects, meditated their escape into the island of Sicily or the African coast. The public distress was aggravated by the fears and reproaches of superstition. Every hour produced some horrid tale of strange and portentous accidents: the pagans deplored the neglect of omens, and the interruption of sacrifices; but the Christians still derived some comfort from the powerful intercession of the saints and martyrs.*

"The emperor Honorius was distinguished above his subjects by the pre-eminence of fear as well as of rank. The pride and luxury in which he was educated had not allowed him to suspect, that there existed on earth any power presumptuous enough to invade the repose of the successor of Augustus. The arts of flattery concealed the danger, till Alaric approached the palace of Milan. But when the *sound of war* had awakened the young emperor, instead of flying to arms with the spirit or even the rashness of his age, he eagerly listened to timid counsellors, who proposed to convey his sacred person, and his faithful attendants, to some secure and distant station in the provinces of Gaul. Stilicho alone had courage and authority to resist this disgraceful measure, which would have abandoned Rome and Italy to the barbarians; but as the troops of the palace had been lately detached to the Rhaetian frontier, and as the resource of new levies was slow and precarious, the general of the west could only promise, that, if the court of Milan would maintain their ground during his absence, he would soon return with an army equal to the encounter of the Gothic king."†

* Gibbon's Hist. c. 30, vol. v. pp. 190-193.

† Ibid. p. 194.

The cohorts of Germany were summoned to the field of battle.—Orders were issued “to the most remote troops of the west to advance by rapid marches to the defence of Honorius and of Italy. The fortresses of the Rhine were abandoned; and the safety of Gaul was protected only by the faith of the Germans, and the ancient terror of the Roman name. Even the legion, which had been stationed to guard the wall of Britain against the Caledonians of the north, was hastily recalled; and a numerous body of the cavalry of the Alani was persuaded to engage in the service of the emperor, who anxiously expected the return of the general. The prudence and vigour of Stilicho were conspicuous on this occasion, which revealed at the same time the *weakness of the falling empire. The legions of Rome, which had long since languished in the gradual decay of discipline and courage, were exterminated by the Gothic and civil wars*; and it was found impossible, without exhausting and exposing the provinces, to assemble an army for the defence of Italy.

“When Stilicho seemed to abandon his sovereign in the unguarded palace of Milan, he had probably calculated the term of his absence, the distance of the enemy, and the obstacles that might retard their march. He principally depended on the rivers of Italy, the Adige, the Mincio, the Oglio, and the Addua; which, in the winter or spring, by the fall of rains, or by the melting of the snows, are commonly swelled into broad and impetuous torrents. But the season happened to be *remarkably dry*; and the Goths could traverse, without impediment, the wide and stony beds, whose centre was faintly marked by the course of a shallow stream. The bridge and passage of the Addua were secured by a strong detachment of the Gothic army; and as Alaric approached the walls, or rather the suburbs of Milan, he enjoyed the proud satisfaction of seeing *the emperor of the Romans fly before him*. Honorius, accompanied by a feeble train of statesmen and eunuchs, hastily retreated towards the Alps, with a design of securing his person in the city of Arles, which had often been the royal residence of his predecessors. But Honorius had scarcely passed the Po, before he was overtaken by the speed of the Gothic cavalry; since the urgency of the danger compelled him to seek a temporary shelter within the fortification of Asta, a town of Liguria or Piedmont, situate on the banks of the Tanarus. The siege of an obscure place which contained so rich a prize, and seemed incapable of a long resistance, was in-

stantly formed, and indefatigably pressed by the king of the Goths."^{*}

But the imperial power of Rome, though apparently about to be extinguished, was not to be destroyed—the sun was not to be smitten, nor its light to cease to shine at the sounding of the *first* trumpet. And “in the *last*, and almost hopeless extremity, after the barbarians had already proposed the indignity of a capitulation, the imperial captive was suddenly relieved by the fame, the approach, and, at length, the presence of the hero, whom he had so long expected.”

The Goths were defeated : the storm was stayed,—but only to be renewed with double violence, and combined with other elements of destruction. The eastern empire had been devastated ; and, facilitated and extended by the extreme heat of the season, the *FIRE had consumed the villages* and the woods, till it called forth the plaintive lamentation of a secluded poet.—But the storm of hail and of fire had been as yet cast but partially on the earth, and had not extended over all the Roman world. And other clouds arising from a distance, began to gather round Italy, when the Gothic tempest seemed to die away. The first strife of the elements was but the precursor of the gathering storm.

Fearful of renewed invasions, Honorius fixed the seat of government at Ravenna, a strongly fortified city in the north of Italy, surrounded by a deep and impassable morass. Nor were his fears without foundation, nor his precautions without effect.

“While Italy rejoiced in her deliverance from the Goths, a *FURIOUS TEMPEST* was excited among the nations of Germany, who yielded to the irresistible impulse, that appears

* Gibbon's Hist. c. 30, vol. v. pp. 194—196.

to have been gradually communicated from the eastern extremity of the continent of Asia. The Chinese annals, as they have been interpreted by the learned industry of the present age, may be usefully applied to reveal the secret and remote causes of the fall of the Roman empire. The extensive territory to the north of the great wall was possessed after the flight of the Huns, by the victorious Sinepi, &c.*—The North must have been alarmed and agitated by the invasion of the Huns; and the nations who retreated before them, must have pressed with incumbent weight on the confines of Germany. The inhabitants of those regions, which the ancients have assigned to the Suevi, the Vandals, and the Burgundians, might embrace the resolution of abandoning, to the fugitives of Sarmatia, their woods and morasses; or at least of discharging their superfluous numbers on the provinces of the Roman empire. About four years after the victorious Toulan had assumed the title of Khan of the Geougen, another barbarian, the haughty Rhodogast, or Radagasias, *marched from the northern extremities of Germany almost to the gates of Rome*, and left the remains of his army *to achieve the destruction of the West*. The Vandals, the Suevi, and the Burgundians, formed the strength of this mighty host; but the Alani, who had found an hospitable reception in their new seats, added their active cavalry to the heavy infantry of the Germans; and the Gothic adventurers crowded so eagerly to the standard of Radagasias, that, by some historians, he has been styled the king of the Goths. Twelve thousand warriors, distinguished above the vulgar by their noble birth, or their valiant deeds, glittered in the van; and the whole multitude, which was not less than two hundred thousand fighting men, might be increased by the accession of women, of children, and of slaves, to the amount of four hundred thousand persons.†

Alaric was first defeated in the year 403; and in 406, Radagasias invaded Italy. The narrative of the historian thus continues:

“The correspondence of nations was in that age so imperfect and precarious, that the revolutions of the North might escape the knowledge of the court of Ravenna; till the DARK CLOUD, which was collected along the coast of the

* Gibbon's Hist. c. 31, vol. v. pp. 210—212.

† Ibid. pp. 212—214.

Baltic, BURST IN THUNDER upon the banks of the Upper Danube, &c.*—Many cities of Italy were pillaged or destroyed; and the siege of Florence, by Radagasius, is one of the earliest events in the history of that celebrated republic, whose firmness checked or delayed the unskilful fury of the barbarians. The senate and people trembled at their approach within an hundred and eighty miles of Rome, and anxiously compared the danger which they had escaped with the new perils to which they were exposed. The savage Radagasius was a stranger to the manners, the religion, and even the language, of the civilized nations of the south. The fierceness of his temper was exasperated by cruel superstition; and it was universally believed, that he had bound himself by a solemn vow, to reduce the city into a heap of stones and ashes, and to sacrifice the most illustrious of the Roman senators on the altars of those gods who were appeased by human blood."†

The storm was not yet come to the full, and, ravaging a new part of the earth, it was turned from Italy to Gaul.

"The invasion of Gaul, which Alaric had designed, was executed by the remains of the great army of Radagasias. The victorious confederates, after having vanquished the Franks, pursued their march, and, on the last day of the year, in a season when the waters of the Rhine were most probably frozen, they entered without opposition the defenceless provinces of Gaul. This memorable passage of the Suevi, the Vandals, the Alani, and the Burgundians, who never afterwards retreated, may be considered as *the fall of the Roman empire in the countries beyond the Alps*; and the barriers which had so long separated the savage and the civilized nations of the earth, were from that fatal moment levelled with the ground.‡

"While the peace of Germany was secured by the attachment of the Franks, and the neutrality of the Alemanni, the subjects of Rome, unconscious of the approaching calamities, enjoyed the state of quiet and prosperity, which had seldom blessed the frontiers of Gaul. Their flocks and herds were permitted to graze in the pastures of the barbarians; their huntsmen penetrated, without fear or danger,

* Gibbon's Hist. p. 214.

† Ibid. pp. 216, 217.

‡ Ibid. pp. 222, 224.

into the darkest recesses of the Hercynian wood. The banks of the Rhine were crowned, like those of the Tiber, with elegant houses, and well cultivated farms; and if the poet descended the river, he might express his doubt on which side was situated the territory of the Romans. *This scene of peace and plenty* was suddenly changed into a desert; and the *prospect of the smoking ruins* could alone distinguish the *solitude of nature* from the *desolation of man*. The flourishing city of Mentz was surprised and destroyed; and *many thousand Christians were inhumanly massacred* in the church. Worms perished after a long and obstinate siege; Strasburgh, Spire, Rheims, Tournay, Arras, Amiens, experienced the cruel oppression of the German yoke; and the *consuming flames of war* spread from the banks of the Rhine over the greatest part of the seventeen provinces of Gaul. That rich and extensive country, as far as the ocean, the Alps, and the Pyrenees, was delivered to the barbarians, who drove before them, in a promiscuous crowd, the bishop, the senator, and the virgin, laden with the spoils of their houses and altars.*

While one barbarian host rose after another, and the storm was only diverted in its course from one part of the empire to another, the power of Rome was broken, in regions which neither Goths, nor Vandals, nor Germans reached. In the year 407, the British army revolted;—a name became the passport to empire, and Constantine, a private soldier, was seated on the throne. He invaded Gaul, and subjected to his authority the cities “which had escaped the yoke of the barbarians.” He reduced Spain: where Scots and Moors were united under his banner. “The rustic army of the Theodosian family was surrounded and destroyed in the Pyrenees.”

But the first great destroyer had again gathered strength, and the tempest, which was never intermitted, speedily burst forth anew with tenfold violence. For *after* the seat of empire was transferred to Ravenna, and the existence of the imperial throne was

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. v. pp. 224—226, c. 30.

no longer compromised, even by the fall of Rome, the city of the Cæsars was thrice besieged, and finally sacked by Alaric; and when Rome was evacuated, Italy was ravaged.

“While the ministers of Ravenna expected, in sullen silence, that the barbarians should evacuate the confines of Italy, Alaric, (in the year 408,) with bold and rapid marches, passed the Alps and the Po; hastily pillaged the cities of Aquileia, Altinum, Concordia, and Cremona, which yielded to his arms; increased his forces by the addition of thirty thousand auxiliaries; and without meeting a single enemy in the field, advanced as far as the edge of the morass which protected the impregnable residence of the emperor of the West. Instead of attempting the hopeless siege of Ravenna, the prudent leader of the Goths proceeded to Rimini, *stretched his ravages* along the sea-coast of the Adriatic, meditated the conquest of the ancient mistress of the world. An Italian hermit encountered the victorious monarch, and boldly denounced the indignation of heaven against the oppressors of the earth; but the saint himself was confounded by the solemn asseveration of Alaric, *that he felt a secret and preternatural impulse, which directed, and even compelled, his march to the gates of Rome.* He felt that his genius and fortune were equal to the most arduous enterprises,—and he pitched his camp under the walls of Rome. During a period of *six hundred and nineteen years*, the seat of empire had *never* been violated by the presence of a foreign enemy.*

“The writers the best disposed to exaggerate the clemency of the Goths, have freely confessed that (in the sack of Rome) a cruel slaughter was made of the Romans; and that the *streets were filled with dead bodies*, which remained without burial during the general consternation. The despair of the citizens was sometimes converted into fury; and whenever the barbarians were provoked by opposition, they extended the promiscuous massacre to the feeble, the innocent, and the helpless. The private revenge of forty thousand slaves was exercised without pity or remorse, and the ignominious lashes which they had formerly received, were washed away in the blood of the guilty or obnoxious families. The palaces of Rome were stripped of their splendid and costly furniture. The sideboards of massy plate, and the variegated wardrobes of silk and purple, were irregularly piled in the waggons that always followed the march of a

* Gibbon's Hist. pp. 253—255.

Gothic army. The most exquisite works of art were roughly handled, or wantonly destroyed; many a statue was melted for the sake of the precious materials; and many a vase, in the division of the spoil, was shivered into fragments by the stroke of a battle-axe. The acquisition of riches served only to stimulate the avarice of the rapacious barbarians, who proceeded, by threats, by blows, and by tortures, to force from their prisoners the confession of hidden treasure. Visible splendour and expense were alleged as the proof of a plentiful fortune; the appearance of poverty was imputed to a parsimonious disposition; and the obstinacy of some misers, who endured the most cruel torments before they would discover the secret object of their affections, was fatal to many unhappy wretches who expired under the lash, for refusing to reveal their imaginary treasures. The edifices of Rome, though the damage has been exaggerated, received some injury from the violence of the Goths. At their entrance through the Salarian gate, they *fired* the adjacent houses to guide their march, and to distract the attention of the citizens; the *flames*, which encountered no obstacle in the disorder of the night, *consumed many private and public buildings*; and the ruins of the palace of Sallust remained, in the age of Justinian, a stately monument of the *Gothic conflagration*.*

Large extracts clearly show how amply and well Gibbon has expounded his text, in the history of the first trumpet, the first storm that pervaded the Roman earth, and the first fall of Rome. To use his words in more direct comment, we read thus the sum of the matter. *The Gothic nation was in arms at the FIRST SOUND OF THE TRUMPET, and in the UNCOMMON SEVERITY OF THE WINTER they rolled their ponderous waggons over the broad and icy back of the river. The fertile fields of Phocis and Bæotia were covered with A DELUGE OF BARBARIANS: the males were MASSACRED; the females and cattle of the FLAMING VILLAGES were driven away. The deep and BLOODY traces of the march of the Goths could easily be discovered after several years. The whole territory of Attica was BLASTED*

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. v. pp. 314—318, c. 31.

by the baneful presence of Alaric. The most fortunate of the inhabitants of Corinth, Argos, Sparta, were saved by death from beholding the CONFLAGRATION OF THEIR CITIES.—In a season of such EXTREME HEAT that the beds of the rivers were dry, Alaric invaded the dominion of the West. A secluded “old man of Verona,” pathetically lamented the fate of his contemporary TREES which must BLAZE in the CONFLAGRATION OF THE WHOLE COUNTRY. And the emperor of the Romans fled before the king of the Goths.

A FURIOUS TEMPEST was excited among the nations of Germany; from the NORTHERN EXTREMITY of which the barbarians marched almost to the gates of Rome. They achieved the destruction of the west. The DARK CLOUD which was collected along the coasts of the Baltic, BURST IN THUNDER upon the banks of the Upper Danube. The PASTURES of Gaul, in which flocks and herds grazed, and the banks of the Rhine, which were covered with elegant houses and well cultivated farms, formed a scene of peace and plenty, which was suddenly changed into a DESERT, distinguished from THE SOLITUDE OF NATURE only by SMOKING RUINS. Many cities were cruelly oppressed or destroyed. Many thousands were inhumanly massacred. The CONSUMING FLAMES OF WAR spread over the greatest part of the seventeen provinces of Gaul. This memorable passage of the barbarians, who never afterwards retreated, may be considered as the fall of the ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE COUNTRIES BEYOND THE ALPS; and the barriers which had so long separated the savage and the civilized nations of the earth, were, from that fatal moment, levelled with the ground.

Alaric again stretched his ravages over Italy. During four years, the Goths ravaged and reigned over it without control. And, in the pillage and FIRE of

Rome, the streets of the city were filled with dead bodies; the flames consumed many public and private buildings; and the ruins of a palace remained, (after a century and a half,) a stately monument of the Gothic conflagration.

The first angel sounded, and their 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.

“By this trumpet,” Bishop Newton says, “I conceive, were principally intended the irruptions and depredations of the Goths 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 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 and wrote of these times,* 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 a storm of hail in his poem on this very war.† Jerome also

* βαρβαρικη μην γαρ το της φθορας πληθος ειργαζετο μαχαιρα.—ανχμιοφλογωδεις,πρηστηρεστε εστινοίςεμβαλλομενοι, ποικιλον τε το δεινον εποιουν και αφαρητον. και δη και χαλαξα μειζων η κατα χερμαδα πολλαχα γης κατεφεριτο. αχρι γαρ και οκτω των λεγομενων λιτρων ελκουσα βαρος αφθη κατασκηψασα. Nam et barbaricus ensis maximam hominum multitudinem delevit;—siccitates flammæ, et ignis turbines cælitus immissi, multiplicem atque intolerabilem intulerunt calamitatem. Sed et grando lapide manum implente major, multis in locis decidit. Deprehensa enim est alicubi, quæ octo librarum, ut vocant, pondus æquaret. Philostorgii. Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. cap. 7.

† Claudian. de Bello Getico. ver. 173.

Ex illo, quocunque vagos impegit Erinny's,

Grandinis aut morbi retu seu devia rerum.

Præcipites, per clausa, ruunt.

Where Mr. Daubuz would read *nimbi* instead of *morbi*.

saith of some of these barbarians, 'that they came on unexpectedly everywhere, 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.'"^a

In the sequel of this vision the symbols are repeatedly express similitudes of the events which they prefigure. Thus it is said, the second angel sounded, and *as it were* a great mountain burning with fire was cast into the sea. And, in like manner, when the third angel sounded, there fell a great star from heaven, burning *as it were* a lamp. And the incursions of the barbarians, which form the theme of the first trumpet, have thus actually been compared, as in the vision, to a *storm of hail*. Of fearful import as the symbols are, nothing is wanting to complete their significancy—and the only difficulty in the solution lies between the literal fact and the most expressive similitude. In the revelation of Jesus Christ there is at most no greater combination of the literal and figurative forms of expression or description than is otherwise to be found in his own words, recorded in Scripture, in such instances as these—let the *dead* bury their *dead*—labour not for the *meat* that perisheth, but for that which endureth unto eternal life. And, in tracing the parallel between the prophetic and historical descriptions of the downfall of the Roman Empire, the Revelation may here be found simply to form a metaphorical but most significant description, interspersed with literal facts.

The concluding sentence of the thirty-third chapter of Gibbon's history is, of itself, a clear and compre-

^a *Insuperati ubique aberant, et famam celeritate vincentes, non religioni, non dignitatibus, non ætati parcebant, non vagientis miserabuntur infantie. Cogebantur mori, qui nondum vivere cœperant. Hieron. Epist. 84, de morte Fabiolæ, Col. 661, Tom. 4. Par. 2. Edit. Benedict.*

hensive commentary ; for, in winding up his own description of the brief but most eventful period, he concentrates, as in a parallel reading, the sum of the history, and the substance of the prediction. But the words which precede it are not without their meaning. “ The public devotion of the age was impatient to *exalt* the saints and martyrs of the catholic church on the altars of Diana and Hercules. *The union of the Roman empire was dissolved ; its genius was humbled in the dust ; and armies of unknown barbarians, issuing from the frozen regions of the north, had established their victorious reign over the fairest provinces of Europe and Africa.*”

The last word—Africa—is the signal for the sounding of the second trumpet. The scene changes from the shores of the Baltic to the southern coast of the Mediterranean, or from the frozen regions of the north to the borders of burning Africa. The nature or character of the warfare was changed, according to the change of the prophetic similitude, and instead of a storm of hail being cast upon the earth, a burning mountain, as it were, was cast into the sea.

CHAPTER II.

SECOND TRUMPET.

AFTER six centuries of tranquillity, undisturbed in Italy by a foreign foe, and of dominion which held the whole world in subjection and awe, the union of the Roman empire was dissolved, on the sounding of

the first trumpet; and in the short space of fourteen years, the empire was overspread with hosts of enemies, the transalpine provinces fell, and Rome itself was in the possession of savage and merciless Goths. Alaric died A. D. 410, the very year of the sack of Rome. The voice of the first trumpet had been answered and fulfilled. And in the year 412, the Goths voluntarily retreated from Italy under the conduct of his successor Adolphus.

"A decent and respectable attention was paid to the capital; the citizens were encouraged to rebuild the edifices which had been destroyed or damaged by hostile *fire*; and extraordinary supplies of corn were imported from the coast of Africa. The crowds that so lately fled before the sword of the barbarians were soon recalled by the hopes of plenty and pleasure; and Albinus, prefect of Rome, informed the court, with some anxiety and surprise, that, in a single day, he had taken an account of the arrival of fourteen thousand strangers. In less than seven years, the vestiges of the Gothic invasion were almost obliterated; and the city appeared to resume its former splendour and tranquillity. The venerable matron replaced her crown of laurel, which had been ruffled by the storm of war; and was still amused in the last moment of her decay with the prophecies of revenge, of victory, and of eternal dominion.*"

But other prophecies were written, and remained to be fulfilled. And the first trumpet was to be succeeded by others.

Africa had hitherto been the granary of Rome, and, in days of peril, the retreat and refuge of the Romans.

"The apparent tranquillity," continues Gibbon, "was soon disturbed by the approach of an hostile armament from the country which afforded the daily subsistence of the Roman people. Herculian, count of Africa, who, under the most difficult and distressful circumstances, had supported, with active difficulty, the cause of Honorius, was tempted, in the year of his consulship, to assume the character of a rebel

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. v. pp. 333, 334, chap. 31.

and the title of an emperor. The ports of Africa were immediately filled with the naval forces at the head of which he prepared to invade Italy; and his fleet, when he cast anchor at the mouth of the Tiber, indeed surpassed the fleets of Xerxes and Alexander, if *all* the vessels, including the royal galley and the smallest boat, did actually amount to the incredible number of three thousand two hundred. Yet with such an armament, which might have subverted or restored the greatest empires of the earth, the African usurper made a very faint and feeble impression on the provinces of his rival."

The sea began to be agitated, as the earth had before been laid waste; a maritime and naval war succeeded, in the next place, to those fearful and universal commotions which first diminished the greatness and broke the power of the Roman empire.—The work of destruction was still to be effected by external violence. As the storm of hail and fire was *cast upon the earth*, so a burning mountain was to be *cast into the sea*—the direct and expressive symbol of a great maritime and naval war.

About ten months before the sack of Rome by the Goths,

"The gates of Spain—the passes of the Pyrenees—were treacherously betrayed to the public enemy. The consciousness of guilt, and the thirst of rapine, prompted the mercenary guards of the Pyrenees to desert their station; to invite the arms of the Suevi, the Vandals, and the Alarici; and to swell the torrent which was poured with irresistible violence from the frontiers of Gaul *to the SEA of Africa*."*

In the year 427, Boniface, the governor of Africa, having revolted against the emperor,

"Despatched a trusty friend to the court, or rather camp, of Gonderic, king of the Vandals, with a proposal of a strict alliance, and the offer of an advantageous and perpetual settlement. The vessels which the Vandals found in the harbour of Carthage might easily transport them to the isles of Majorca or Minorca, where the Spanish fugitives, as in a secure recess, had vainly concealed their families and their

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. v. pp. 351, 352.

fortunes. The experience of navigation, and perhaps the prospect, encouraged the Vandals to accept the invitation which they received from Count Boniface; and the death of Gonderic served only to forward and animate the *bold enterprise*. In the room of a prince, not conspicuous for any superior powers of the mind or the body, they acquired his bastard brother, the TERRIBLE GENSERIC; *a name* which, in the DESTRUCTION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, HAS DESERVED AN EQUAL RANK WITH THE NAMES OF ALARIC AND ATILA.*

The historian, having amply illustrated the first trumpet, thus furnishes, or rather holds forth in each hand, a key to the second and the third. After the storm of hail and fire had ceased, the burning mountain was soon seen to arise; and the terrible Genseric appeared, whose name deserves an *equal rank* with the names of Alaric and Attila, in the destruction of the Roman empire; or, in other words, who, as well as they, obeyed the trumpet that summoned each to the separate work of destruction, preparatory to the sounding of the fourth trumpet, or extinction of the western empire.

In the year 429, Genseric, with fifty thousand effective men, landed on the shores of Africa:

“The Vandals, who, in twenty years, had penetrated from the Elbe to Mount Atlas, were united under the command of their warlike king, and he reigned with equal authority over the Alarici, who had passed, within the term of human life, from the *cold of Scythia* to the *excessive heat of an African climate*.”

His band of barbarians formed but the nucleus of a growing power, which soon swelled into the magnitude, and assumed the *likeness*, of a *burning mountain*.

“His own dexterity, and the discontents of Africa, soon fortified the Vandal powers by the *accession of numerous and active allies*. The ports of Mauritania, which border on the great desert and the Atlantic Ocean, *were filled with a fierce and untractable race of men*, whose savage temper had

* Gibbon's Hist. pp. 351, 352.

been exasperated rather than reclaimed by their dread of the Roman arms. The Moors, regardless of any future consequences, embraced the alliance of the enemies of Rome; and *a crowd of naked savages rushed from the woods and vallies of MOUNT ATLAS to satiate their revenge on the polished tyrants who had injuriously expelled them from their native sovereignty of the land.*"*

"*The long and narrow tract of the African coast was filled with frequent monuments of Roman art and magnificence. On a sudden, the seven fruitful provinces, from Tangiers to Tripoli, were overwhelmed by an invasion of the Vandals. The Vandals, where they found resistance, seldom gave quarter; and the deaths of their valiant countrymen were expiated by the ruins of the cities under whose walls they had fallen. The calamities of war were aggravated by the licentiousness of the Moors, and the fanaticism of the Donatists. The maritime colony of Hippo, about two hundred miles westward of Carthage, had formerly acquired the distinguished epithet of Regius, from the residence of Numidian kings; and some remains of trade and populousness still adhere to the modern city which is known in Europe by the corrupted name of Bona. The city of Hippo was burnt by the Vandals. The loss of a second battle irretrievably decided the fate of Africa. And Carthage was at length (in the year 439) surprised by the Vandals, five hundred and eighty years after the destruction of the city and republic by the younger Scipio.*"†

"The Vandals and Alarici, who followed the successful standard of Genseric, had acquired a rich and fertile territory, which stretched *along the coast from Tangier to Tripoli*; but their narrow limits were pressed and confined on either side by the sandy desert and the *Mediterranean*. The discovery and conquest of the black nations that might dwell beneath the torrid zone, could not tempt the rational ambition of Genseric; but *he cast his eyes towards the sea*: he resolved to create a new naval power, and his bold enterprise was executed with steady and active perseverance. The woods of Mount Atlas afforded an inexhaustible nursery of timber; his new subjects were skilled in the art of navigation and ship-building; he animated his daring Vandals to embrace a mode of warfare which would render *every maritime country accessible to their arms; the Moors and Africans* were allured by the hope of plunder; and, after an

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. vi. pp. 14—16, chap. 33.

† Ibid. pp. 20, 22, 23, 28.

interval of six centuries, that fleet that issued from the port of Carthage again claimed *the empire of the Mediterranean*. the success of the Vandals, the conquest of Sicily, the sack of Palermo, and the frequent descents on the coast of Lucania, awakened and alarmed the mother of Valentinian, and the sister of Theodosius," &c.*

Unlike the storm of hail and fire, which consisted of various elements, the great mountain was a single or individual object, and was the symbol of Genseric alone, or of the destruction which he wrought along the whole coast of Africa, and on the fleets of Rome. The maritime colonies in Rome in Africa were for ever separated from the empire. The ports from which three thousand and two hundred vessels are said to have issued in a previous revolt against Rome, were *all* finally reduced to the sway of Genseric, A.D. 439; a great *part* of the commerce and naval power of Rome was thus extinguished; its revenues and maritime supplies, as chiefly derived from Africa, ceased; a *line of coast*, extending to ninety days' journey, formed no longer a part of the Roman empire; the *third part of the sea became blood, and the third part of the creatures which were in the sea and had life, died*: and, LASTLY, it is said, *the third part of the ships were destroyed*.

"The naval power of Rome was unequal to the task of saving even the imperial city from the ravages of the Vandals. Sailing from Africa, they disembarked at the port of Ostia, and Rome and its inhabitants were delivered to the licentiousness of Vandals and Moors, whose blind passions revenged the injuries of Carthage. The pillage lasted fourteen days and nights; and all that yet remained of public and private wealth, of sacred and profane treasure, was diligently transported to the *vessels of Genseric*. In the forty-five years that had elapsed since the Gothic invasion, the pomp and luxury of Rome were in some measure restored, and it was difficult either to escape, or to satisfy the avarice

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. vi. c. 36, pp. 145, 146.

of a conqueror, who possessed leisure to collect, *and ships to transport, the wealth of the capital.*"*

After Genseric had secured the empire of the Mediterranean, the emperors of Rome and of Constantinople strove in vain to dispossess him of his power. Majorian, unable to defend "the long-extended coast of Italy from the depredations of a *naval war*," made great and strenuous preparation for the invasion of Africa, and a fleet was constructed to transport his army.

"The woods of the Appenines were felled; the arsenals and manufactures of Ravenna and Misenum were restored; Italy and Gaul vied with each other in liberal contributions to the public service; and the imperial navy of three hundred long gallies, with an adequate proportion of transports and smaller vessels, was collected in the secure and capacious harbour of Carthagera in Spain. But Genseric was saved from impending and inevitable ruin by the treachery of some powerful subjects, envious or apprehensive of their master's success. Guided by their secret intelligence, he surprised the unguarded fleet in the bay of Carthagera; many of the *ships were sunk, or taken, or burnt, and the preparations of three years were destroyed in a single day.*"†

"The kingdom of Italy, a name to which the western empire was gradually reduced, was afflicted, under the reign of Ricimer, by the incessant depredations of the Vandal pirates. In the spring of each year they equipped a formidable navy in the port of Carthage; and Genseric himself, though in a very advanced age, still commanded in person the most important expeditions. His designs were concealed with impenetrable secrecy till the moment that he hoisted sail. When he was asked by his pilot, what course he should steer—'leave the determination to the winds,' replied the barbarian, with pious arrogance—'*they* will transport us to the guilty coast whose inhabitants have provoked the divine justice.' The Vandals repeatedly visited the coasts of Spain, Liguria, Tuscany, Campania, Leucania, Brutium, Apulia, Calabria, Venetia, Dalmatia, Epirus, Greece, and Sicily; they were tempted to subdue the island of Sardinia, so advantageously placed in the centre of the Mediterranean, and their arms spread desolation or terror from the columns of

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. vi. pp. 152, 153. † Ibid. pp. 180—182.

Hercules to the mouth of the Nile. In the treatment of his unhappy prisoners, he sometimes consulted his avarice, and sometimes his cruelty: he massacred five hundred noble citizens of Zante, or Zacynthus, whose mangled bodies he cast into the Ionian sea."^{*}

A *last* and desperate attempt to dispossess Genseric of the sovereignty of the sea, was made in the year 468, by the emperor of the east.

"The whole expense of the African campaign amounted to the sum of one hundred and thirty thousand pounds of gold, about five millions two hundred thousand pounds sterling. The fleet that sailed from Constantinople to Carthage, consisted of eleven hundred and thirteen ships, and the number of soldiers and mariners exceeded one hundred thousand men. The army of Heraclius, and the fleet of Marcellinus, either joined or seconded the imperial lieutenant. The wind became favourable to the designs of Genseric. He manned his largest ships of war with the bravest of the Moors and Vandals, and they towed after them many large barks filled with combustible materials. In the obscurity of the night these destructive vessels were impelled against the unguarded and unsuspecting fleet of the Romans, who were awakened by a sense of their instant danger. Their close and crowded order assisted the progress of the fire, which was communicated with rapid and irresistible violence; and in the noise of the wind, the crackling of the flames, the dissonant cries of the soldiers and marines, who could neither command nor obey, increased the horror of the nocturnal tumult. Whilst they laboured to extricate themselves from the *fire-ships* and to save at least a part of the navy, the gallies of Genseric assaulted them with temperate and disciplined valour; and many of the Romans who escaped the fury of the flames were destroyed or taken by the victorious Vandals. After the failure of this great expedition, Genseric *again* became the '*tyrant of the sea*', the coasts of Italy, Greece, and Asia were again exposed to his revenge and avarice. Tripoli and Sardinia returned to his obedience; he added Sicily to the number of his provinces; and before he died, in the fulness of years and of glory, he beheld the final extinction of the empire of the west."[†]

The fulness of the comment needs nothing to com-

^{*} Gibbon's Hist. pp. 187, 188. [†] Ibid. pp. 203, 205.

plete it, but a repetition of the text. *And the second angel sounded, and, AS IT WERE, a great mountain burning with fire was cast into the sea; and the third part of the sea became blood; and the third part of the creatures which were in the sea and had life, died; and the third part of the ships were destroyed.*

CHAPTER III.

THIRD TRUMPET.

AND the third angel sounded, and there fell a great star from heaven, burning as it were a lamp, and it fell upon the third part of the rivers, and upon the fountains of waters; and the name of the star is called wormwood: and many men died of the waters because they were made bitter.

A third angel sounded;—and a third name is associated with the downfall of the Roman empire. The sounding of the trumpets manifestly denotes the order of the commencement, not the period of the duration, of the wars, or events, which they represent. When the second angel sounded,—there was seen, *as it were*, a great mountain burning with fire. When the third angel sounded,—there *fell a great star from heaven, burning as it were a lamp*. The symbol in each instance, is expressly a similitude,—and the one is to the other in comparative and individual resemblance as a burning mountain to a falling star. Each of them was *great*. The former was cast into the sea, the latter was first seen as falling, and it fell upon *the fountains and rivers of waters*. There is a

discrimination in the similitude, in the description, and locality, which obviously implies a corresponding difference in the object represented.

On such plain and preliminary observations we may look to the intimation given in the third trumpet, and to the achievements of Attila, the *third* name mentioned by Gibbon, and associated *in equal rank* with those of Alaric and Genseric, in the decline and fall of the Roman empire.

Genseric landed in Africa in the year 429, and in the following year spread desolation along its coast, throughout the long extended territory of Rome, which was then finally separated from the empire. Attila invaded the eastern empire in the year 441. From that period ten years elapsed before he touched the western empire, and twenty-two years intervened, from 429 to 451, between the invasion of Africa by Genseric, and of Gaul by Attila. The burning mountain arose first, though it blazed longer than the falling star.

The connexion between the events predicted under the first and second trumpets, is marked by the passing of the Vandals from Europe to Asia, and the consequent combination with Moors and Mauritanians in the conquest of Africa, "the most important province of the west;" and in the overthrow of the naval power of Rome. The sequence and connexion between the events denoted by the second and third trumpets are, we apprehend, equally definite.

"The alliance of Attila, (A. D. 441,) maintained the Vandals in the possession of Africa. An enterprise had been concerted between the courts of Ravenna and Constantinople, for the *recovery* of that valuable province, and the ports of Sicily were already filled with the military and naval forces of Theodosius. But the subtle Genseric, who spread his negotiations round the world, prevented their designs, by exciting the king of the Huns (Attila) to invade the *eastern empire*; and a trifling incident soon became the motive, or

pretence of a *destructive war*.—The troops which had been sent against Genseric were hastily recalled from Sicily.”*

But if symbolized, or described, under the second and third trumpet, the respective nature of their power, or character of their warfare, must needs be described, as well as the order be marked, in which Genseric and Attila first assaulted the empire of Rome, and accelerated its ruin.

A great star is the symbol—of which the significance is to be sustained ; *burning as it were a lamp*, is the character of the warfare. The locality is neither the *earth*, in the full extent of the term as applicable to the Roman empire, and the wide scene over which the storm of hail and fire swept on the sounding of the first trumpet, nor yet the third part of the sea, as expressive of the second, by which the African coast was for ever separated from the empire, and the ships finally destroyed,—but as referring to a portion of the remains of the empire of Rome—the *fountains and rivers of waters*.

There fell a *great star* from heaven. The name of Attila is to this day a memorial of his greatness, of which a brief description may suffice.

“The crowd of vulgar kings, the leaders of so many martial tribes, who served under the standard of Attila, were ranged in the submissive order of guards and domestics, round the person of their master. They watched his nod ; they trembled at his frown ; and at the first signal of his will they executed, without murmur or hesitation, his stern and absolute commands. In time of peace, the dependent princes with their national troops, attended the royal camp in regular succession ; but when Attila collected his military forces, he was able to bring into the field an army of five, or, according to another account, of seven hundred thousand barbarians.”†

Burning as it were a lamp.—“The armies of the eastern

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. vi. pp. 49, 50, 52, chap. 34.

† Ibid. pp. 46, 47, c. 34.

empire were vanquished in three successive engagements; and the progress of Attila may be traced by the fields of battle. From the Hellespont to Thermopylæ, and the suburbs of Constantinople, he ravaged, without resistance and without mercy, the provinces of Thrace and Macedonia, Heraclea and Hadrianople might perhaps escape this dreadful irruption of the Huns; but the words, the most expressive of *total extirpation and erasure*, are applied to the calamities which they inflicted on seventy cities of the *eastern empire*.*

"Attila threatened to chastise the rash successor of Theodosius; but he hesitated whether he should first direct his invincible arms against the eastern or western empire. While mankind awaited his decision with awful suspense; and his ministers saluted the two emperors with the same haughty declaration, '*Attila, my lord, and thy lord, commands thee to provide a palace for his immediate reception.*' But as the barbarian despised, or affected to despise, the Romans of the east, whom he had so often vanquished, he soon declared his resolution of suspending the easy conquest, till he had achieved a more glorious and important enterprise. In the memorable invasions of Gaul and Italy, the Huns were naturally attracted by the wealth and fertility of these provinces."†

The trumpet sounded. "The kings and nations of Germany and Scythia, from the Volga perhaps to the Danube, obeyed the warlike summons of Attila. From the royal village in the plains of Hungary, his standard moved towards the west; and, after a march of seven or eight hundred miles, he reached the conflux of the Rhine and the Necker.‡ The hostile myriads were poured with resistless violence into the Belgic provinces. The consternation of Gaul was universal."—"From the Rhine and the Moselle, Attila advanced into the heart of Gaul; crossed the Seine at Auxerre; and, after a long and laborious march, fixed his camp under the walls of Orleans.—An alliance was formed between the Romans and Visigoths. The hostile armies approached.—'I myself,' said Attila, 'will throw the first javelin, and the wretch who refuses to imitate the example of his sovereign, is devoted to inevitable death.' The spirit of the barbarians was *rekindled* by the presence, the voice, and the example, of their intrepid leader; and Attila, yielding to their impatience, immediately formed his order of battle. At the head

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. vi. pp. 52, 53. c. 34.

† Ibid. p. 88, c. 35.

‡ Ibid. p. 106.

of his brave and faithful Huns, Attila occupied in person the centre of the line. The nations from the Volga to the Atlantic were assembled on the plain of Chalons. The number of the slain amounted to one hundred and sixty-two thousand, or, according to another account, three hundred thousand persons; and these incredible exaggerations suppose a real or effective loss, sufficient to justify the historian's remark, that whole generations may be swept away, by the madness of kings, in the space of a single hour.*

The course of the fiery meteor was changed, not stayed; and, touching Italy for the first time, the great star, after having burned as it were a lamp, fell upon the third part of the *rivers, and upon the fountains of waters.*

"Neither the spirit, nor the forces, nor the reputation of Attila, were impaired by the failure of the Gallic expedition. He passed the Alps, invaded Italy, and besieged Aquileia with an innumerable host of barbarians.—The succeeding generation could scarcely discover the ruins of Aquileia. After this dreadful chastisement, Attila pursued his march; and, as he passed, the cities of Altinum, Concordia, and Padua were reduced into heaps of stones and *ashes.* The inland towns, Vicenza, Verona, and Bergamo, were exposed to the rapacious cruelty of the Huns. Milan and Pavia submitted, without resistance, to the loss of their wealth; and applauded the *unusual clemency*, which preserved from the *flames* the public as well as private buildings, and spared the lives of the captive multitude. Attila spread his ravages over the rich plains of modern Lombardy; *which are divided by the Po, and bounded by the Alps and Appenine.* He took possession of the royal palace of Milan. It is a saying worthy of the ferocious pride of Attila, that the grass never grew on the spot where his horse had trod.†

"The western emperor, with the senate and people of Rome, embraced the most salutary resolution of deprecating, by a solemn and suppliant embassy, the wrath of Attila.—The Roman ambassadors were introduced to the tent of Attila, as he lay encamped at *the place where the slow winding Mincius (Mincio) is lost in the foaming waves of the lake Benacus,* and trampled with his Scythian cavalry the farms of Catullus and Virgil. The barbarian monarch

* Gibb. Hist. pp. 107, 108, 115, 117. † Ibid. pp. 122, 124.

listened with favourable, and even respectful attention; and the deliverance of Italy was purchased by the immense ransom, or dowry, of the princess Honoria.”*

Attila advanced not farther into Italy than the plains of Lombardy and the banks of the Po. He reduced the cities situated on that river and its tributary streams, to heaps of stones and ashes. But there his ravages ceased. The great star, which burned as it were a lamp, no sooner fell upon *the fountains and rivers of waters*, and turned cities into ashes, than it was extinguished. Unlike to the great mountain burning with fire, the great star that fell from heaven, after suddenly scorching a part of Italy, rapidly disappeared. During the same year in which Attila first invaded the Italian territories, and spread his ravages over the rich plains of modern Lombardy, which are divided by the Po, and bounded by the Alps and Appenines, without advancing beyond *the rivers and fountains of waters*, he concluded a treaty of peace with the Romans “at the conflux of the lake and river,” on the spot where the Mincius issues from the lake Benacus (L. di Garda.) One paragraph in the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman empire, describes “the invasion of Italy by Attila, A. D. 452.” Another is entitled, under the same date, “Attila gives peace to the Romans.”—The next paragraph describes “the death of Attila, A. D. 453,” and the very next records, without any interval, “the destruction of his empire.”†

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. Its greatness, its burning course, the place, the severity, and suddenness of its *fall*, leave nothing more to be here explained, while its falling from heaven seems ob-

* Gibbon's Hist. pp. 130, 131. † Ib. pp. 41, 42, c. 34.

viously to imply that it came from beyond the bounds of the Roman empire, on part of which it fell. Allusion will afterwards be made to the significance of the term *third* part, which so repeatedly occurs. The annexed maps exhibit the *rivers and fountains of waters*, which are so numerous over the whole region of northern Italy, as to form its most distinguishing and appropriate symbol. The eternal snows of the Alps supply perpetual fountains; while the opposite chain of the Appenines concentrates the rivers in a single region, which has been aptly denominated “a land of streams.”

But another verse is added, under the third trumpet, which, having thus seen the significance of the former, we cannot pass over with any vague and general exposition, without calling on history to discharge its task, in expounding the full meaning of the words which sum up the decline, and are the immediate prelude to the fourth trumpet, the death-knell of the western empire.

And the name of the star is called wormwood.—These words—which are more intimately connected with the preceding verse, as even the punctuation in our version denotes,—recall us for a moment to the character of Attila, to the misery of which he was the author or the instrument, and to the terror that was inspired by his *name*. Our appeal is still to Gibbon :

“Attila, the son of Mundzuk, deduced his noble, perhaps his regal, descent, from the ancient Huns, who had formerly contended with the monarchs of China. His features, according to the observation of a Gothic historian, bore the stamp of his national origin. Attila exhibits the general deformity of a modern Calmuck; a large head, a swarthy complexion, small deep-seated eyes, a flat nose, few hairs in the place of a beard, broad shoulders, and a short square body of nervous strength, though of a disproportioned form. The haughty step and demeanour of the king of the Huns, ex-

pressed the consciousness of his superiority over the rest of mankind; and he had a custom of fiercely rolling his eyes, as if he wished to enjoy the terror which he inspired.

“The religious arts of Attila were not less skilfully adapted to the character of his age and country. It was natural enough that the Scythians should adore with peculiar devotion the god of war; but as they were incapable of forming either an abstract idea, or a corporeal representation, they worshipped their tutelary deity under the symbol of an iron scimitar. One of the shepherds of the Huns who perceived that a heifer who was grazing had wounded herself in the foot, curiously followed the track of blood, till he discovered among the long grass the point of an ancient sword, which he dug out of the ground, and presented to Attila. That magnanimous, or rather that artful prince, accepted with pious gratitude this *celestial* favour, and, as the rightful possessor of the *sword of Mars*, asserted his divine and indefeasible claim to the dominion of the earth. If the rites of Scythia were practised on this solemn occasion, a lofty altar, or rather pile of faggots, three hundred yards in length and in breadth, was raised in a spacious plain; and the sword of Mars was placed erect on the summit of this rustic altar, which was annually consecrated by the blood of sheep, horses, and of the hundredth captive. Whether human sacrifices formed any part of the worship of Attila, or whether he *propitiated the god of war with the victims which he continually offered on the field of battle*, the favourite of Mars soon acquired a sacred character, which rendered his conquests more easy and more permanent; and the barbarian princes confessed, in the language of devotion and flattery, that they could not presume to gaze with a steady eye on the divine majesty of the king of the Huns. His brother Bleda, who reigned over a considerable part of the nation, was compelled to resign his sceptre and his life. Yet even this cruel act was attributed to a supernatural impulse; and the vigour with which Attila wielded the sword of Mars convinced the world, that it had been reserved alone for his invincible arm.”*

“Total extirpation and crasure,” are terms which best denote the *calamities* he inflicted.

“One of his lieutenants chastised and almost exterminated the Burgundians of the Rhine. The Thuringians served in

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. vi. pp. 43, 44.

the army of Attila; they traversed, both in their march and in their return, the territories of the Franks; and they massacred their hostages as well as their captives. Two hundred young maidens were tortured with exquisite and unrelenting rage; their bodies were torn asunder by wild horses, or their bodies were crushed under the weight of rolling waggons; and their unburied limbs were abandoned on public roads, as a prey to dogs and vultures.*

It was the boast of Attila, that the grass never grew on the spot which his horse had trod. "The scourge of God" was a name that he appropriated to himself, and inserted among his royal titles. He was "the scourge of his enemies, and the terror of the world." The western emperor, with the senate and people of Rome, humbly and fearfully deprecated *the wrath of Attila*. And the concluding paragraph of the chapters which record his history, is entitled,—*"Symptoms of the decay and ruin of the Roman government."* *The name of the star is called wormwood.*

And the third part of the waters became wormwood, and many men died of the waters, because they were made bitter. After a duration for nearly twelve centuries from the days of Romulus, scarcely the fourth part of one elapsed from the time of the invasion of Italy by Attila, till Rome was no longer the seat of an emperor or the head of an empire. Like a falling star, scorching wherever it fell, and then itself extinguished, Attila ravaged the rich plains of Lombardy, which are divided by the Po. But the sound of the trumpet ceased not with the fall of the great star. The name by which it was called was also given to the region where it fell. As it had been *wormwood*, the waters which it tainted also *became wormwood* to Rome; and from thence new calamities arose, which accelerated and caused the subversion of the empire.

* Gibbon's Hist. pp. 121, 122.

After the death of Attila, the emperors both of Rome and Constantinople vainly attempted to “*recover*” from Genseric the province of Africa, and the empire of the sea. He had invaded Africa, and gathered its swarthy sons around his standard, when the name of Attila was unknown in Europe, and the maritime territory over which he ruled was no longer the refuge but the terror of the Romans. The sea they could not touch; and on the north the waters were *made bitter* that encompassed them. Italy, so long the terror of the world, was a trouble to itself. From the foot of the Alps, the bulwarks which nature had set for its defence, and from the midst of the waters which fertilized its richest plains, the troubles arose that inflicted on Rome the bitterness of death, in the last dying struggles of the empire. Although Genseric, even in old age, and in the full execution of the remnant of his charge, *destroyed its ships*, and lived to see imperial Rome smitten, till extinct, by another hand than his;—although, *like* a great mountain burning with fire that was cast into the sea, he survived as well as preceded the sudden blasting of a part of Italy by Attila, who burned as it were a lamp, and fell like a star;—yet, *after* the last naval wars of the Vandals had ceased, the *embittered waters* were as *wormwood* to the empire of Rome, new enemies arose from the very region of Italy which Attila had ravaged, or where the great star fell; when none died any longer in the *sea*, *many men died of the waters*, *because they were made bitter*; and, from the first sound of the Gothic trumpet to the extinction of the western empire, the connexion is closely established to the last between each succeeding *trumpet*.

“The emperor Majorian, like the weakest of his predecessors, was reduced to the disgraceful expedient of substituting barbarian auxiliaries in the place of his unwarlike subjects; and his superior abilities could only be displayed in the vigour and dexterity with which he wielded a danger-

ous instrument, so apt to recoil on the hand that used it. Many thousands of the bravest subjects of Attila—the Gepidae, the Ostrogoths, the Rugians, the Burgundians, the Suevi, the Alani—assembled in the plains of *Liguria*, (PIEDMONT,) and their formidable strength was balanced by their mutual animosities.”*

“Majorian, after the destruction of his fleet by Genseric, returned to Italy, to prosecute his labours for the public happiness; and, as he was conscious of his own integrity, he might long remain ignorant of the dark conspiracy that threatened his throne and his life. The recent misfortune of Carthage sullied the glory which had dazzled the eyes of the multitude; almost every description of civil and military officers were exasperated against the reformer, since they all derived some advantages from the abuses which he endeavoured to suppress; and the patrician Ricimer impelled the inconstant passions of the barbarians against a prince whom he esteemed and hated. The virtues of Majorian could not protect him from the IMPETUOUS SEDITION WHICH BROKE OUT IN THE CAMP NEAR TORTONA, AT THE FOOT OF THE ALPS. He was compelled to abdicate the imperial purple. Ricimer reigned under the name of Severus.”†

“The peaceful and prosperous reign which Anthemius had promised to the west (A.D. 471) was soon clouded by misfortune and discord. Ricimer, apprehensive or impatient of a superior, retired from Rome, and fixed his *residence at Milan*,” (the palace of which had before been possessed by Attila.) “*Italy was gradually divided into two independent and hostile kingdoms*; and the nobles of *LIGURIA*, who trembled at the near approach of a civil war, fell prostrate at the feet of the patrician, and conjured him to spare their *unhappy country*. Ricimer suspended his ambitious designs till he had secretly prepared the engines with which he resolved to subvert the throne of Anthemius. The mask of peace and moderation was then thrown aside. The army of Ricimer was fortified by a numerous reinforcement of Burgundians and oriental Suevi; he disclaimed all allegiance to a Greek emperor, *marched from Milan to the gates of Rome*, and, fixing his camp on the banks of the Anio, impatiently expected the arrival of Olybrius, his imperial candidate.

“The patrician who had extended his posts from the Anio to the Milvan bridge, already possessed two quarters of

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. vi. p. 178, c. 36.

† Ibid. pp. 182, 183, c. 36.

Rome, the Vatican and the Janiculum, which are separated by the Tiber from the rest of the city; and it may be conjectured that an assembly of seceding senators, imitated, in their choice of Olybrius, the forms of a legal election. But the body of the senate and people firmly adhered to the cause of Anthemius; and the more effectual support of a Gothic army enabled him to prolong his reign, and the *public distress*, by a resistance of three months, which produced the concomitant evils of *famine and pestilence*. At length Ricimer made a furious assault on the bridge of Hadrian, or St. Angelo; and the narrow pass was defended with almost equal valour by the Goths, till the death of Gilimer their leader. The victorious troops, breaking down every barrier, rushed with irresistible violence into the heart of the city, and Rome (if we may use the language of a contemporary pope), was subverted by the civil fury of Anthemius and Ricimer. The unfortunate Anthemius was dragged from his concealment, and inhumanly massacred by the command of his son-in-law (Ricimer), who thus added a *third*, or perhaps a *fourth*, emperor to the *number of his victims*. The soldiers who united the rage of factious citizens with the savage manners of barbarians, were indulged, without control, in the licence of rapine and murder. In the same year *all* the principal actors in this great revolution were removed from the stage; and the whole reign of Olybrius, whose death does not betray any symptoms of violence, is included within the space of seven months.* The *stern* Ricimer, *who trampled on the ruins of Italy*, had exercised the power, without assuming the title, of a king; and the patient Romans were insensibly *prepared* to acknowledge the royalty of Odoacer and his barbaric successors.†

The third part of the waters became wormwood. Italy was divided against itself; and Milan contended with Rome. Thousands of the soldiers of Attila combined with the other confederates of Italy, at the foot of the Alps and on the banks of the Po; and from the territory watered by the multitude of its tributary streams, hordes of relentless enemies and oppressors issued against Rome, and prepared the way for its final subversion. From thence its last perils

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. vi. pp. 232, c. 36.

† Ibid.

arose ; and by the same ‘ confederates of Italy,’ the empire was overthrown.

And many men died of the waters because they were made bitter.

“ Since the age of Tiberius, the decay of agriculture had been felt in Italy ; and it was a just subject of complaint, that the life of the Roman people depended on the accidents of winds and waves. In the division and decline of the empire, the tributary harvests of Egypt and Africa were withdrawn ; the number of the inhabitants continually diminished with the means of subsistence ; and the country was exhausted by the irretrievable losses of war, famine, and pestilence. St. Ambrose has deplored the *ruin of a populous district*, which had been once adorned with the flourishing cities of Bologna, Modena, Regium, and Placentia :” (which were either situated on its banks, or yielded their waters to the Po.) “ Pope Gelasius was a subject of Odoacer, and he affirms, with strong exaggeration, that in *Æmilia, Tuscany, and the adjacent provinces, the human species was almost extirpated.*”*

However strong the exaggeration, the statement could never have been made, had it not been true, that *many men died of the waters because they were made bitter.*

How, in reference to the fall of the imperial power in Rome, and as affecting kings no less than their subjects, the fact that many men died, is associated with the announcement of the extinction of the western empire, a single historical sentence will show,—which may with equal propriety be regarded as either giving back the last note of echo to the third trumpet, or immediately reverberating the first sound of the fourth.

“ In the space of *twenty* years since the death of Valentinian,” (two years subsequent to the death of Attila,) “ *nine* emperors had successively disappeared ; and the son of Orestes, a youth recommended

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. vi. p. 235.

only by his beauty, would be the least entitled to the notice of posterity, if his reign, which was *marked by the extinction of the Roman empire in the west*, did not leave a *memorable era* in the history of mankind."

CHAPTER IV.

FOURTH TRUMPET.

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 voice of the first angel, and the blast of his trumpet, the whole Roman world was in agitation, and "the storms of war" passed over it all. "The union of the empire was dissolved;" a *third part* of it fell; and the "transalpine provinces were separated from the empire." Under the second trumpet the provinces of Africa, another, or the maritime part, was in like manner reft from Rome, and the Roman ships were destroyed in the sea, and even in their harbours. The empire of *Rome*, hemmed in on every side, was then limited to the kingdom of Italy.—Within its bounds, and along *the fountains and rivers of waters*, the third trumpet re-echoed from the Alps to the Appenines. The last barrier of the empire of Rome was broken. The plains of Lombardy were ravaged by a foreign foe: and from thence new enemies arose to bring to an end the strife of the world with the imperial city. As a sea-girt tower, which has dashed back the waves of a thousand years, when

shattered and shaken at last by great and quick-repeated storms, may be brought down and buried in the waters by the swelling surge which rises at its base ; so the mighty empire of Rome, which had been built up by human hands, when rapidly assailed by successive tempests, till the tottering fabric could no longer be upheld, fell into utter ruin, was broken in pieces, and disappeared from off the earth, before a crowd of barbarians congregated within its ancient territories, whom, in other days, it would have scornfully defied.

Though the union of the empire was dissolved, there was still an emperor in Rome. The majesty of the Roman name was not obliterated, though tarnished. And after the middle of the fifth century, the Cæsars had still a successor in their own city. But the palace of Milan could not again be the temporary abode of the Roman court, when it was the seat and centre of a hostile power. And the marshes of Ravenna ceased to be a security, after the waters were made bitter, and when hordes of Huns mingled with other savages in the northern regions of Italy. The time, too, had long passed for realizing the project, which the terror of the Goths had first suggested, of transferring the court of Rome to the shores of Africa, and transforming Carthage into another Constantinople.

When the last of the four trumpets sounded, and when the time was come for the extinction of the western empire and the fall of *Rome*, the storm of fire and hail needed not to be renewed, nor was aught like a burning mountain to be cast into the sea, nor did there, as it were, a great star fall from heaven upon the earth. Unlike to all the other trumpets, no symbol, or similitude, was given of any enemy appearing from beyond the bounds of the empire, or of any *new* or distinct power arising to desolate the

earth, and subvert the throne from which the world had been ruled. The remnant, or the refuse, of previous invasions, was enough to destroy the last remaining *parts* of Roman greatness in Italy, and to abolish the office and the name of emperor of Rome.

Long had that name been a terror to the nations, and identified with supreme authority in the world. Long had the emperor of Rome shone and ruled in the earth, like the sun in the firmament. His was a kingdom and dominion, great and terrible, and strong exceedingly, to which all others were subjected or subordinate. His supreme, or imperial authority had, in the *decline* of the empire, been greatly obscured, but till then, it had never been extinguished. It had been darkened and disfigured by a great storm; eclipsed, as it were, by a mountain that burned with fire; and outshone, as it were, by a falling star, like a fiery meteor. It had survived the assaults of Goths, and Vandals, and Huns. Though clouded and obscured, it had never been *smitten*;—and though its light reached but a little way, where previously it had shone over all, it had never been extinguished.

Neither, at last, was the whole sun smitten; but the third part. The throne of the Cæsars had for ages been the sun of the world; while other kings were designated as stars. But the imperial power had first been transferred to Constantinople, by Constantine; and it was afterwards divided between the east and the west. And the eastern empire was not yet doomed to destruction. Even the western empire was afterwards revived; and a more modern dynasty arose to claim and maintain the title of emperor of the Romans. But, for the first time, after sudden, and violent, and distinctly marked and connected convulsions, *the imperial power in Rome*, where for so

long a period it had reigned triumphant, was cut off for ever; and the *third part of the sun was smitten*.

With these brief, explanatory, and perhaps superfluous, remarks, we return to the pages of the historian, who, in the first instance, incidentally and unintentionally, reminds us of the connexion between the third trumpet and the fourth, or shows us again how the incursion of the Huns and the death of Attila, is linked to the downfall and subversion of the western empire.

"The two last ambassadors of the Huns, Orestes, a noble subject of the Pannonian province, and Edecon, a valiant chieftain of the tribe of Scyrri, returned at the same time from Constantinople to the royal camp. Their obscure names were afterwards illustrated by the extraordinary fortune and contrast of their sons; THE TWO SERVANTS OF ATTILA BECAME THE FATHERS OF THE LAST ROMAN EMPEROR OF THE WEST, AND OF THE FIRST BARBARIAN KING OF ITALY."*

"The nations who had asserted their independence after the death of Attila, were established, by the right of possession or conquest, in the boundless countries to the north of the Danube; and in the Roman provinces, between the river and the Alps. But the bravest of their youth enlisted in the army of *confederates*, who formed the defence and terror of Italy; and in this promiscuous multitude the names of the Heruli, the Scyrri, the Alani, the Turcilingi, and the Rugians, appear to have predominated. The example of these warriors was imitated by Orestes, the son of Tatullus, and the father of the *last Roman emperor of the West*. Orestes, who has been already mentioned in this history, and never deserted his country. His birth and fortune rendered him one of the most illustrious subjects of Pannonia. *When that province was ceded to the Huns*, he entered into the service of Attila, his lawful sovereign, obtained the office of his secretary, and was repeatedly sent to Constantinople, to represent the person, and signify the commands of the imperious monarch. The death of that conqueror restored him to his freedom, and Orestes might honourably refuse either to follow the sons of Attila into

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. vi. p. 68, chap. 34.

the Scythian desert, or to obey the Ostrogoths, who had usurped the dominion of Pannonia. He preferred the service of the Italian princes, the successors of Valentinian; and as he possessed the qualifications of courage, industry, and experience, he advanced with rapid steps in the military profession, till he was elevated by the favour of Nepos (the emperor) himself to the dignities of patrician and master-general of the troops. These troops had been long accustomed to reverence the character and authority of Orestes, who affected their manners, conversed with them in their own language, and was intimately connected with their national chieftains by long habits of familiarity and friendship. At his solicitations they arose in arms against the obscure Greek, who presumed to claim their obedience; and when Orestes, from some sacred motive, declined the purple, they consented, with the same facility, to acknowledge his son Augustulus, as the emperor of the west. By the abdication of Nepos, Orestes had now obtained the summit of his ambitious hopes; but he soon discovered, before the end of the first year, that the lessons of perjury and ingratitude which a rebel must inculcate, will be retorted against himself; and *the precarious sovereign of Italy was only permitted to choose whether he would be the slave or the victim of his barbarian mercenaries.* The dangerous alliance of these strangers had oppressed and insulted the *last remains of Roman freedom and dignity.* At each revolution, their joy and privileges were augmented; but their insolence still increased in a still more extravagant degree; they envied the fortune of their brethren in Gaul, Spain, and Africa, whose victorious arms had gained an independent and perpetual inheritance; and they insisted on their *peremptory demand*, that a **THIRD PART** of the *lands of Italy should be immediately divided amongst them.* Orestes, with a spirit which, in another situation, might be entitled to our esteem, chose rather to *encounter the rage of an armed multitude*, than to subscribe the ruin of an innocent people. He rejected the audacious demand; and his refusal was favourable to the ambition of Odoacer, a bold barbarian, who assured his fellow-soldiers that if they dared to associate under his command, they might soon *extort* the justice which had been denied to their dutiful petitions. From all the camps and garrisons of Italy, the confederates, actuated by the same resentments and the same hopes, impatiently flocked to the standard of this popular leader; and the unfortunate patrician, overwhelmed by the torrent, hastily retreated to the *strong city of Pavia*, the Episcopal seat

of the holy Epiphanites. *Pavia was immediately besieged, the fortifications were stormed, the town was pillaged; and the tumult could only be appeased by the execution of Orestes.* His brother Paul was slain in an action near Ravenna, and the helpless Augustulus, who could no longer command the respect, was reduced to implore the clemency, of Odoacer.

"EXTINCTION of the western empire, A. D. 476 or A. D. 479.—Royalty was familiar to the barbarians, and the submissive people of Italy was prepared to obey without a murmur the authority which he should condescend to exercise as the vicegerent of the emperor of the West. But Odoacer resolved to ABOLISH *that useless and expensive office*; and such is the weight of antique prejudice, that it required some boldness and penetration to discover the extreme facility of the enterprise. The unfortunate Augustulus was made the instrument of his own disgrace; and he signified his resignation to the SENATE; and that assembly, *in their last act of obedience to a Roman prince*, still affected the spirit of freedom and the forms of the constitution. An epistle was addressed *by their unanimous decree*, to the emperor Zeno, the son-in-law and successor of Leo, who had lately been restored, after a short rebellion, to the Byzantine throne. *They solemnly disclaim the necessity, or even the wish of continuing any longer the imperial succession in Italy*; since in their opinion the majesty of a sole monarch is sufficient to pervade and to protect; at the same time, both the east and the west. *In their own name and in the name of the people*, they consent that the seat of universal empire shall be transferred from Rome to Constantinople: and they basely renounce the right of choosing their master, *the only vestige which yet remained of the only authority which had given laws to the world.* The republic (they repeat that name without a blush,) might safely confide in the civil and military virtues of Odoacer; and they humbly request that the emperor would invest him with the title of patrician, and the administration of the *diocese of Italy*.—The deputies of the senate were received at Constantinople with some marks of displeasure and indignation; and when they were admitted to the audience of Zeno, he strongly reproached them with their treatment of the two emperors, Anthemius and Nepos, whom the East had successively granted to the prayers of Italy. 'The first,' continued he, 'you have murdered; the second you have expelled, but the second is still alive, and while he lives, is your lawful sovereign.' But the prudent Zeno soon deserted the hope-

less cause of his abdicated colleague. His vanity was gratified by the title of *sole emperor*, and by the statues erected to his honour in the several quarters of Rome; he entertained a friendly but ambiguous correspondence with the patrician Odoacer; and he gratefully accepted the *imperial ensign, the sacred ornaments of the throne and palace, which the barbarian was not unwilling to remove from the sight of the people.*"*

"Odoacer was the first barbarian who reigned in Italy, over a people who had once asserted their just superiority above the rest of mankind.† Notwithstanding the prudence and success of Odoacer, his kingdom exhibited the sad prospect of misery and desolation." "The plebeians of Rome who were fed by the hands of their master, perished or disappeared as soon as his liberality was suppressed; the decline of the arts reduced the industrious mechanic to idleness and want, and the *senators* who might support with patience the *ruin of their country*, bewailed their private loss of wealth and luxury. ONE THIRD of these *ample estates* to which the RUIN OF ITALY IS ORIGINALLY IMPUTED, was extorted for the use of the conquerors. Injuries were aggravated by insults; the sense of actual sufferings was *embittered* by the fear of more dreadful evils; and as *new lands* were allotted to *new swarms of barbarians*, each senator was apprehensive lest the arbitrary surveyors should approach his favourite villa or his most profitable farm. The least unfortunate were those who submitted without a murmur to the power which it was impossible to resist. Since they desired to live, they owed some gratitude to the tyrant who had spared their lives; and since he was absolute master of their fortunes, the *portion* which he left must be accepted as his pure and voluntary gift," &c. +

The power and the glory of *Rome*, as bearing rule over any nation, became extinct. The name alone remained to the queen of nations. Every token of *royalty* disappeared from the imperial city. She who had ruled over the nations sat in the dust, like a second Babylon, and there was no throne where the *Cæsars* had reigned. The last act of obedience to a *Roman prince*, which that once august assembly

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. vi. pp. 226—228, chap. 36.

† Ibid. p. 231.

‡ Ibid. p. 236.

performed, was the acceptance of the resignation of the last emperor of the West, and the abolition of the imperial succession in Italy. The sun of Rome was smitten. But though Rome itself, as an imperial city, ceased to exercise a sovereignty over any nation, yet the imperial ensigns, with the sacred ornaments of the throne and palace, were transferred to Constantinople, where Zeno reigned, under the title of *sole emperor*. The military acclamations of the confederates of Italy saluted Odoacer with the title of king.

“But he abstained, during his whole reign, from the use of the purple and diadem.* After an interval of seven years, Odoacer restored the consulship of the West. For himself, he modestly, or proudly, declined an honour which was still accepted by the emperors of the East; but the curule chair was successively filled by eleven of the most illustrious senators. The laws of the emperors were strictly enforced, and the civil administration of Italy was still exercised by the prætorian prefect, and his subordinate officers. Odoacer devolved on the Roman magistrates the odious and oppressive task of collecting the public revenue. He revered the monastic and episcopal characters; and the silence of the Catholics attests the toleration which they enjoyed.”†

A new conqueror of Italy, Theodoric, the Ostrogoth, speedily arose, who unscrupulously assumed the purple, and reigned by the right of conquest. “The royalty of Theodoric was proclaimed by the Goths (March 5th, A. D. 493,) with the tardy, reluctant, ambiguous consent of the emperor of the east.”‡ The imperial Roman power, of which either Rome or Constantinople had been jointly or singly the scat, whether in the west or the east, was no longer recognised in Italy, and *the third part of the sun was smitten* till it emitted no longer the faintest rays.

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. vi. p. 226, c. 36.

† Ibid. p. 233.

‡ Ibid. vol. vii. p. 16, chap. 39.

The power of the Cæsars was unknown in Italy ; and a Gothic king *reigned* over Rome.

But though the third part of the sun was smitten, and the Roman imperial power was at an end in the city of the Cæsars, yet the moon and the stars still shone, or glimmered, for a little longer in the western hemisphere, even in the midst of Gothic darkness. The consulship and the senate were not abolished by Theodoric. “A Gothic historian applauds the *consulship* of Theodoric as the height of all temporal power and greatness ;”* as the moon reigns by night, after the setting of the sun. And, instead of abolishing that office, Theodoric himself “congratulates those annual favourites of fortune, who, without the cares, enjoyed the splendour of the throne.”†

But, in their prophetic order, the consulship and the senate of Rome met their fate, though they fell not by the hands of Vandals or of Goths. The next revolution in Italy was its subjection to Belisarius, the general of Justinian, emperor of the East. He did not spare what barbarians had hallowed. “The Roman consulship EXTINGUISHED by Justinian, A. D. 541,” is the title of the last paragraph of the fortieth chapter of Gibbon’s History of the Decline and Fall of Rome. “The succession of *consuls* finally ceased in the thirteenth year of Justinian, whose despotic temper might be gratified by the silent EXTINCTION of a title which admonished the Romans of their ancient freedom.”‡ *The third part of the sun was smitten and the third part of the moon, and the third part of the stars.* In the political firmament of the ancient world, while under the reign of imperial Rome, the emperorship, the consulate, and the senate, shone like the sun, the moon, and the stars. The

* Gibbon’s Hist. vol. vii. p. 152, c. 40.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid. p. 153.

history of their decline and fall is brought down till the two former were "EXTINGUISHED," in reference to Rome and Italy, which so long had ranked as the first of cities and of countries; and finally, as the fourth trumpet closes, we see the "EXTINCTION of that illustrious assembly,"* the Roman senate. The city that had ruled the world, as if in mockery of human greatness, was conquered by the eunuch Narses, the successor of Belisarius. He defeated the Goths, (A. D. 552) achieved "the conquest of Rome," and the fate of the *senate* was sealed.

"As soon as Narses had paid his devotion to the author of victory, and the blessed Virgin, his peculiar *patroness*, he praised, rewarded, and dismissed the Lombards. Neither the fortifications of Hadrian's mole, nor of the port, could long delay the progress of the conqueror; and Justinian once more received the keys of Rome, which under his reign had been five times taken and recovered. But the deliverance of Rome was the LAST CALAMITY of the *Roman people*. The barbarian allies of Narses too frequently confounded the privileges of peace and war; the despair of the flying Goths found some consolation in sanguinary revenge; and *three hundred youths of the noblest families*, who had been sent as hostages beyond the Po, were *inhumanly slain* by the successor of Totila (king of the Goths.) The FATE OF THE SENATE suggests an awful lesson of the vicissitude of human affairs. Of the senators whom Totila had banished from their country, some were rescued by an officer of Belisarius, and transported from Campania to Sicily; while others were too guilty to confide in the clemency of Justinian, or too poor to provide horses for their escape to the sea-shore. Their brethren languished five years in a state of indigence and exile; the victory of Narses revived their hopes; but their premature return to the metropolis was prevented by the furious Goths; and *all the fortresses of Campania were stained with patrician blood*. After a period of thirteen centuries the institution of Romulus expired; and if the nobles of Rome still assumed the title of senators, few subsequent traces can be discovered of a public council, or constitutional order. Ascend six hundred years

* See the Index to Gibbon's Hist. under the name *Senate*.

and contemplate the kings of the earth soliciting an audience, as the slaves or freedmen of the Roman senate.”*

Ascend thus, and what would be witnessed but a spectacle of pride and false glory, conjoined perhaps with mean servility and baseness? The scene would only exhibit the nobles of Rome as the stern tyrants of the world. But from the point to which history has brought us down, ascend four hundred and sixty years, or above seventeen centuries from the present time, and look, not to the princely forum of the imperial city where suppliant kings solicited an audience, but to the bleak shores of a small isle of the *Ægean*, which profane history has scarce deigned to mention, and contemplate, not the lordly senators of Rome nor the kings of the earth awaiting their decision, but the venerable and beloved apostle of Jesus writing in a book the things that were to be thereafter—see how, at a time when Rome was the persecutor of Christians, the destroyer of Jerusalem, and the mistress of the world, he penned its destiny word after word, till, *part* being destroyed after *part*, not a rag of the purple, nor a remnant of its power, nor a ray of its glory should be left;—look how the imperial city, that shone like the sun over all the kingdoms of the world, had no power to withstand one word that was written by that exile’s hand, but was finally smitten into blackness as he wrote down its doom; and, if from such a sight some instruction may be drawn, might not men learn even from this small part of the testimony of Jesus, to open unto him who himself stands at the door and knocks, who, unlike to proud mortals, says unto none, seek ye my face in vain, who beseeches us by the ministry of his word to be reconciled unto God, and by whose word, when rightly

* Gibbon’s Hist. pp. 388, 389.

heard, men, though the slaves of sin before, become the freedmen of the Lord, the denizens of the kingdom of heaven, and of that city which hath foundations, whose maker and whose builder is God.

The *calamities* of imperial Rome, in its downfall, were told to the very *last* of them, till Rome was without an emperor, a consul, or a senate. “*Under the exarchs of Ravenna, Rome was degraded to the second rank.*”* The *third part* of the sun was smitten, and the third part of the moon, and the third part of the stars. The race of the Cæsars was not extinct with the emperors of the West. Rome before its fall possessed but a portion of the imperial power. Constantinople divided with it the empire of the world. And neither Goths nor Vandals lorded it over that still imperial city, the emperor of which, after the first transference of the seat of empire by Constantine, often held the emperor of Rome as his nominee and vicegerent. And the fate of Constantinople was reserved till other ages, and was announced by other trumpets. Of the sun, the moon, and the stars, as yet but the *third part* was smitten.

The concluding words of the fourth trumpet imply the future restoration of the Western empire. *The day shone not for a third part of it, and the night likewise.* In respect to civil authority, Rome became subject to Ravenna, and Italy was a conquered province of the Eastern empire. But, as more appropriately pertaining to other prophecies, the defence of the worship of images first brought the spiritual and temporal powers of the pope and of the emperor into violent collision; and, by conferring on the pope all authority over the churches, Justinian laid his helping hand to the promotion of the papal supremacy, which afterwards assumed the power of creating

* Gibbon's Hist. ib. p. 400.

monarchs. In the year of our Lord 800, the pope conferred on Charlemagne the title of emperor of the Romans. That title was again transferred from the king of France to the emperor of Germany. By the latter it was formally renounced, within the memory of the existing generation. In our own days the iron crown of Italy was on the head of another "emperor." And *the sun*, as in the sequel we will see, is afterwards spoken of in the Book of Revelation.

There was no longer an emperor in Rome to hinder or restrain the ascendancy of the pope.—He that previously *letted* (or hindered) *was taken out of the way*; and that wicked one, heading and promoting the apostacy, of which the Spirit spoke expressly, was revealed; and men began to be again enslaved to Rome, but in more than mortal bondage. The uncontrolled rise of the papacy is marked from this period. But the subject pertains to other prophecies. The downfall of imperial *Rome*, closing with the EXTINCTION of the empire, the consulate, and the senate, is, we apprehend, the sole and exclusive theme of the first four trumpets. The book in which they are written is that of *Revelation*: and the symbols are illustrations of the facts. Under the authority of Rome Jesus was crucified, and the earliest heralds of redemption were persecuted and slain for preaching his gospel to the nations of the earth. The conversion of an emperor was but *a little help*. And the hypocritical profession of the faith by *many*, was one of the first results of the conversion of Constantine. The world, when its power of persecution failed, smiled on religion; and religion was corrupted by the world. The pearl of great price was exchanged for tinsel; but the fine gold was tried. The faith of Rome was not *that* Christianity of the gospel which alone brings salvation. But salvation was preached; faith was professed; yet men were not led unto repentance, righteousness was

not practised, the trumpets sounded, and judgment came upon the chief of the nations. Rome was weighed in the balance, and found wanting. It was no longer the seat of the imperial power. But the city itself did not cease. It exists still ; but not for ever. The world has yet to see that Rome is *not* the eternal city. For in the same revelation in which the judgments of Heaven first fell upon it, as announced by the four trumpets that were sounded by four angels, its final doom is written in characters that cannot be mistaken, and by a definition that cannot be misunderstood. But, after the four trumpets, *two woes* had first to come, *seven thunders* to utter their voices, and *the seven last vials of the wrath of God* to be poured upon the earth.

Already we have seen how the trumpets that were sounded by angels were the judgments of God ; the wars and commotions were but the forms in which they came. Of these we have seen how our enemy is the witness : and we have farther to see how his testimony does not close but with the history which he wrote. Speaking of the great assault on the eastern empire by Chosroes, and his consequent discomfiture by Heraclius, (the next point to which we come,) “ it was the duty of the Byzantine historians,” says Gibbon, “ to have narrated the causes of his slumber and vigilance.” It was the duty of the historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, to throw the light of truth upon the words of prophecy, that the symbols, or similitudes, of the things that were to be, might now, after the fulfilment of *many* of them, be interpreted or compared with the things which have been ; and that the mist which had obscured its light for ages, might be seen to disappear from the book of Revelation. But the unconscious execution of the task by Gibbon, renders the elucidation the more satisfactory and illustrious ; and shows how, from the

darkness of infidelity itself, a light may break forth on the obscurest portions of the word of God, rendering clear and harmonious that which seemed inexplicable and discordant, and opening up a plain path in the seeming mazes of prophecy, even where that of history cannot be explored without labour. But to reveal in the true meaning of the words, the causes of events, and to see the part which they occupy and the purposes they fulfil, not merely in the history of man, but also under the providence of God; or, in other words, to unfold the mystery of which the whole history of man, of itself, is full,—is the prerogative of Him alone with whom wisdom dwelleth,—of Jesus, to whom all things are revealed and committed of the Father, and in whom all the treasures of wisdom and of knowledge are hid. That is the office of REVELATION; and the revelation is His. History is the commentary, and while living witnesses, bearing express testimony, would not be heard, an unbeliever, though dead, yet speaketh—not to show that secondary causes might account for the propagation of the gospel, but that what is written there concerning the history of the world, could only have been derived from the First great Cause,—that the storms of war are as subservient to his purposes as the strife of the elements is subject to his control,—that the irruptions of Goths, Vandals, and Huns, whether on the earth, or on the sea, or on a fixed determinate spot; the fall of the greatest empires, and the extinction of the imperial power of the city of Rome,—are illustrations of the revelation of Jesus Christ, and serve to bring us down to the nearer contemplation of the signs of the times—that from thence we may learn to see what, in controlling evil and overruling all earthly power, the Lord is still doing on the earth, in order that the kingdom, like the power, may finally be his own, when nothing of wars shall be left but the remembrance;

and when men, seeking after the virtue and glory which shall never be eclipsed, shall enter into the kingdom of which neither man nor angel—whether of light or darkness—shall ever tell the fall or the decline.

CHAPTER V.

THE FIFTH TRUMPET OR FIRST WOE.

THERE is scarcely so uniform an agreement among interpreters concerning any part of the apocalypse as respecting the application of the fifth and sixth trumpets, or the first and second woe, to the Saracens and Turks. It is so obvious that it can scarcely be misunderstood. Instead of a verse or two designating each, the whole of the ninth chapter of the Revelation, in equal portions, is occupied with a description of both.

The Roman empire declined as it arose, by conquest; but the Saracens and the Turks were the instruments by which a false religion became the scourge of an apostate church; and hence, instead of the fifth and sixth *trumpets*, like the former, being marked by that name alone, they are called *woes*. It was because the laws were transgressed, the ordinances changed, and the everlasting covenant broken,—that the curse came upon the earth or the land.

We have passed the period in the political history of the world when the western empire was extinguished; and when the way was thereby opened for the exaltation of the papacy. The imperial power of the city of Rome was annihilated, and the office and the

name of emperor of the west was abolished for a season. The trumpets assume a new form, as they are directed to a new object, and the close coincidence, or rather express identity between the king of the south, or the king of the north, as described by Daniel, and the first and second woe, will be noted in the subsequent illustration of the latter. The spiritual supremacy of the pope, it may be remembered, was acknowledged and maintained, after the fall of Rome, by the emperor Justinian. And whether in the character of a trumpet or a woe, the previous steps of history raise us as on a platform, to behold in a political view the judgments that fell on apostate Christendom, and finally led to the subversion of the eastern empire. The subject still lies within the province of Gibbon; and his illustrations are so copious and apposite, as in general to supersede entirely the need of appealing to any other commentator than the very historian, who, more than all others, is free from any possible imputation of straining a single word in adaptation to any prophecy. To enter again into the labours of Gibbon, is to illustrate other texts. In drawing from history, he again becomes but the copyist of the prophet, who embodies in a few verses the substance of volumes, the events of centuries, and the fate of millions.

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. 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 darkened by reason of the smoke of the pit. 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. 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. 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. And in those days shall men seek death, and shall not find it; and shall desire to die, and death shall flee from them. 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. And they had hair as the hair of women, and their teeth were as the teeth of lions, 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; and they had tails like unto scorpions; and there were stings in their tails: and their power was to hurt men five months. And they had a king over them, which is the angel of the bottomless pit, whose name in the Hebrew tongue is Abbadon, but in the Greek tongue hath his name Apollyon. Chap. ix. 1—11.

Constantinople was besieged for the first time after the extinction of the western empire, by Chosroes, the king of Persia.

“Under the reign of Phocas, (A. D. 611) the fortifications of Merdin, Dara, Amida, and Edessa were successively besieged, reduced, and destroyed by the Persian monarch: he passed the Euphrates, occupied the Syrian cities, Hierapolis, Chalcis, and Berrhœa or Aleppo, and soon encompassed the walls of Antioch with his irresistible arms. The rapid tide of success discloses the decay of the empire, the incapacity of Phocas, and the dissatisfaction of his subjects; and Jerusalem was taken by assault. Egypt itself, the only province which had been exempt since the time of Dioclesian from foreign and domestic wars, was again subdued by the successors of Cyrus. Pelusium, the key of that impervious country, was surprised by the cavalry of the Persians: they passed with impunity the innumerable channels of the Delta,

and explored the long valley of the Nile, from the pyramids of Memphis to the confines of Ethiopia. In the first campaign, another army advanced from the Euphrates to the *Thracian Bosphorus*; Chalcedon surrendered after a long siege, and a *Persian camp was maintained for ten years in the province of Constantinople*.*

"From the long-disputed banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, the reign of the grandson of Nushirvan was suddenly extended to the Hellespont and the Nile, the ancient limits of the Persian monarchy. Conscious of their fear and hatred, the Persian conqueror governed his new subjects with an iron sceptre. And as he suspected the stability of his dominion, he exhausted their wealth by exorbitant tributes and licentious rapine, despoiled or demolished the temples of the east, and transported to his hereditary realms the gold, the silver, the precious marbles, the arts, and the artists of the Asiatic cities. In the *obscure picture of the calamities of the empire* it is not easy to discern the figure of Chosroes himself, to separate his actions from those of his lieutenants, or to ascertain his personal merit in the *general blaze of glory and magnificence*."†

A star fell from heaven unto the earth, and to him was given the key of the bottomless pit.

"While the Persian monarch contemplated the wonders of his art and power, he received an epistle from an *obscure citizen of Mecca*, inviting him to acknowledge *Mahomet as the apostle of God*. He rejected the invitation, and tore the epistle. 'It is thus,' exclaimed the Arabian prophet, 'that God will tear the kingdom, and reject the supplication of Chosroes.' Placed on the verge of these two empires of the east, *Mahomet observed with secret joy the progress of mutual destruction*; and in the midst of the Persian triumphs he ventured to foretell, that, before many years should elapse, victory should again return to the banners of the Romans."‡ "At the time when this prediction is said to have been delivered, no prophecy could be more distant from its accomplishment (!) since the first twelve years of Heraclius announced the *approaching dissolution of the empire*."§

It was not, like that designative of Attila, on a single spot that the star fell, but upon the *earth*.

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. viii. p. 252—5. † Ibid. pp. 226, 227.

‡ Ibid. pp. 228, 229.

§ Ibid.

"Chosroes subjugated the Roman possessions in Asia and Africa. And "the Roman empire," at that period, "was reduced to the walls of Constantinople, with the remnant of Greece, Italy, and Africa, and some maritime cities from Tyre to Trebisonde, of the Asiatic coast. The experience of six years at length persuaded the Persian monarch to renounce the conquest of Constantinople, and to specify the *annual tribute or the ransom of the ROMAN EMPIRE*: a thousand talents of gold, a thousand talents of silver, a thousand silk robes, a thousand horses, and a thousand virgins. Heraclius subscribed these ignominious terms. But the time and space which he obtained to collect those treasures, from the poverty of the east, was industriously employed in the preparations of a bold and desperate attack."*

The king of Persia despised the obscure Saracen, and derided the message of the pretended prophet of Mecca. Even the overthrow of the Roman empire would not have opened a door for Mahometanism, or for the progress of the Saracenic armed propagators of an imposture, though the monarch of the Persians and the chagan of the Avars (the successor of Attila) had divided between them the remains of the kingdom of the Cæsars. Chosroes himself fell. The Persian and Roman monarchies exhausted each other's strength. And before a sword was put into the hands of the false prophet, it was smitten from the hands of those who would have checked his career, and crushed his power.

"Since the days of Scipio and Hannibal, no bolder enterprise has been attempted than that which Heraclius achieved for the deliverance of the empire. He permitted the Persians to oppress for a while the provinces, and to insult with impunity the capital of the east; while the Roman emperor explored his perilous way through the Black Sea and the mountains of Armenia, penetrated into the heart of Persia, and recalled the armies of the great king to the defence of their bleeding country.† The revenge and ambition of Chosroes exhausted his kingdom. The whole city of Constantinople was invested,—and the inhabitants desried

* Gibbon's Hist. p. 232.

† Ibid. pp. 239, 240.

with terror the flaming signals of the European and Asiatic shores.* In the battle of Nineveh, which was fiercely fought from day-break to the eleventh hour, twenty-eight standards, besides those which might be broken or torn, were taken from the Persians; the greatest part of their army was cut in pieces, and the victors, concealing their own loss, passed the night on the field. The cities and palaces of Assyria were open for the first time to the Romans. By a just gradation of magnificent scenes they penetrated to the royal city of Desagaged, &c. The first evening Chosroes lodged in the cottage of a peasant, whose humble door could scarcely give admittance to the great king. On the third day he entered with joy the fortifications of Ctesiphon.† It was still in the power of Chosroes to obtain a reasonable peace; and he was repeatedly pressed by the messengers of Heraclius to spare the blood of his subjects, and to relieve a humane conqueror from the painful duty of carrying fire and sword through the fairest countries of Asia. But the pride of the Persian had not yet sunk to the level of his fortune; he derived a momentary confidence from the retreat of the Emperor; he wept with impotent rage over the ruins of his Assyrian palaces, and disregarded too long the rising murmurs of the nation, who complained that their lives and fortunes were sacrificed to the obstinacy of an old man. That unhappy old man was himself tortured with the sharpest pains of mind and body; in consciousness of his approaching end, he resolved to fix the tiara on the head of Merdeza, the most favoured of his sons. But *the will of Chosroes was no longer revered*, and Sirois, who gloried in the rank and merit of his mother Sira, had conspired with the malcontents to assert and anticipate the rights of primogeniture. Twenty-two satraps, they styled themselves patriots, were tempted by the wealth and honours of a new reign: to the soldiers the heir of Chosroes promised an increase of pay; to the Christians the free exercise of their religion; to the captives liberty and rewards; and to the nation instant peace and reduction of taxes. It was determined by the conspirators that Sirois, with the ensigns of royalty, should appear in the camp; and if the enterprise should fail, his escape was contrived to the imperial court. But the new monarch was saluted with unanimous acclamations; *the flight of Chosroes* (yet where could he have fled?) was nearly arrested. Eighteen sons were massacred before his

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. viii. pp. 245, 246.

† Ibid. pp. 252, 254.

face, and he was thrown into a dungeon, where he expired upon the fifth day. The Greeks and modern Persians minutely describe how Chosroes was insulted and famished, and tortured by the command of an inhuman son, who so far surpassed the example of his father: but at the time of his death, what tongue could relate the story of the parricide? what eye could penetrate into the *tower of darkness*? *The glory of the house of Sassan ended with the life of Chosroes*; his unnatural son enjoyed only eight months' fruit of his crimes; and in the space of four years the regal title was assumed by nine candidates, who disputed, with the sword or dagger, the fragments of an *exhausted monarchy*. Every province and every city of Persia was the scene of independence, of discord and of blood, and the state of anarchy continued about eight years longer, *till the factions were silenced and united under the common yoke of the ARABIAN CALIPHS.***

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. And he opened the bottomless pit. And there came out of the smoke locusts upon the earth, &c.

The Roman emperor was not strengthened by the conquests which he achieved; and a way was prepared at the same time, and by the same means, for the multitudes of Saracens from Arabia, like locusts from the same region, who, propagating in their course the dark and delusive Mahometan creed, speedily overspread both the Persian and Roman empires.

More complete illustration of this fact could not be desired than is supplied in the concluding words of the chapter, from which the preceding extracts are taken.

“Yet the deliverer of the east was indigent and feeble. Of the Persian spoils the most valuable portion had been expended in the war, distributed to the soldiers, or buried by an unlucky tempest in the waves of the Euxine. The loss of two hundred thousand soldiers who had fallen by the

* Gibbon's Hist. pp. 255—257.

sword was of less fatal importance than the decay of arts, agriculture and population, in this long and destructive war; and although a victorious army had been formed under the standard of Heraclius, the unnatural effort seems to have exhausted rather than exercised their strength. While the emperor triumphed at Constantinople or Jerusalem, an obscure town on the confines of Syria was pillaged by the Saracens, and they cut in pieces some troops who advanced to its relief; an ordinary and trifling occurrence, had it not been *the prelude of a mighty revolution*. These robbers were the *apostles of Mahomet*; THEIR FANATIC VALOUR HAD EMERGED FROM THE DESERT; and in the last eight years of his reign, Heraclius lost to the Arabs the same provinces which he had rescued from the Persians.*

When Christianity was promulgated, Rome was in its prime. A colossal paganism was moved from its base by the lever of truth: and a bloodless triumph was achieved by light against darkness. Taking up the cross, and preaching it also, the apostles of Jesus and the other missionaries of the gospel braved, without a frown, the hatred of all men for his sake: And, in reversal of the fabled battles in which armed gods became earthly warriors and came to the help of men, the very gods of the Romans were vanquished, in defiance of all the power of the Cæsars. But that power was greatly broken, and had very recently been weakened anew, at the time when thousands of armed fanatics issued from the desert to extend at once *their* empire and their faith. On the one hand, they entered into the already vanquished and dismembered kingdom of Persia, and, on the other, into the exhausted provinces of the Roman empire. The conquests and the fall of Chosroes alike opened a way for sword-propagated Mahometanism into the west and the east. "Each year during the month of Ramadan, Mahomet withdrew from the world; in the cave of Hera, three miles from Mecca, he con-

* Gibbon's Hist. ib. pp. 260, 261.

sulted the spirit of fraud and enthusiasm, whose abode is not in the heavens, but in the mind of the prophet."* In the reign of Phocas, A. D. 609, at the very time when, surrounded "by a blaze of glory and magnificence," like a star, Chosroes was invading the Roman empire, Mahomet, "an obscure citizen," was preaching at Mecca, and "observed with secret joy the progress of mutual destruction." "The distress of Heraclius" is dated from the year six hundred and ten to the year six hundred and twenty-two, during which time Mahomet was so feebly propagating his faith, that "three years were silently employed in the conversion of fourteen proselytes, the first fruits of his mission;" and "the first expedition of Heraclius against the Persians, (A. D. 622,)" is coeval with the commencement of the Hegira or Mahometan era. Constantinople was besieged by Chosroes; and a Persian army was defeated by the emperor Heraclius on Mount Taurus, and a Roman camp was established on the plains of Cappadocia,† in the midst of the territories of Persia, in the same year that Mahomet fled from Mecca. An Arab lance, as Gibbon has remarked, might then have "changed the fate of the world." Had it pierced the impostor, the first three chapters of the Koran, which alone were then written, might never have been heard of beyond the walls of Mecca; and the dark smoke which then began to arise, and which has deluded the minds of millions of millions, would have passed as a vapour, and have been extinguished in a moment. Thus it may be determined in human speculations, as if the fancy of man could change the past, and put back the world from its course. It was otherwise written in the word of God; and we must now read history as it is. "The

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. ix. pp. 259, 260, chap. 50.

† Ibid. vol. viii. p. 239, chap. 46.

spirit of fraud and enthusiasm, whose abode is not in the heavens," was let loose on earth. A way was opened for the progress of Mahometanism by the fall of Chosroes. He had contemptuously torn the letter of an obscure citizen of Mecca. But when from his "blaze of glory" he sunk into "the tower of darkness" which no eye could penetrate, the name of Chosroes was suddenly to pass into oblivion before that of Mahomet, and the crescent seemed but to wait its rising till the falling of the star. Chosroes, after his entire discomfiture and loss of empire, was murdered in the year six hundred and twenty-eight;* and the year six hundred and twenty-nine† is marked by "the conquest of Arabia," "and the first war of the Mahometans against the Roman empire."—*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. And he opened the bottomless pit. He fell unto the earth.* When the strength of the Roman empire was exhausted, and the great king of the east lay dead in his tower of darkness, the pillage of an obscure town on the borders of Syria was "the prelude of a mighty revolution." "*The robbers were the apostles of Mahomet, and their FANATIC valour EMERGED from the desert.*"

A more succinct, yet ample, commentary may be given in the words of another historian.

"While Chosroes of Persia was pursuing his dreams of recovering and enlarging the empire of Cyrus, and Heraclius was gallantly defending the empire of the Cæsars against him; while IDOLATRY and metaphysics were diffusing their baleful influence through the church of Christ, and the simplicity and purity of the gospel were nearly lost beneath the mythology which occupied the place of that of ancient Greece and

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. viii. p. 256, c. 46.

† Ibid. vol. ix. pp. 309—312, c. 50.

Rome, the seeds of a new empire and of a new religion were sown in the inaccessible deserts of Arabia.*

The first woe arose at its time, when transgressors had come to the full, when men had changed the ordinances and broken the everlasting covenant, when idolatry prevailed, or when tutelary saints were honoured—and when the “mutual destruction” of the Roman and Persian empires prepared the way of the fanatic robbers,—or opened the bottomless pit, from whence an imposture, which manifests its origin from the “father of liars,” spread over the greater part of the world.”

And there arose a smoke out of the pit, as the smoke of a great furnace, and the sun and the air were darkened by reason of the smoke of the pit. Like the noxious and even deadly vapour which the winds, particularly from the south-west, diffuse in Arabia, Mahometanism spread from hence its pestilential influence—and arose as suddenly, and spread as widely, as smoke arising out of the pit, the smoke of a great furnace. Such is a suitable symbol of the religion of Mahomet, of itself, or as compared with the pure light of the gospel of Jesus. It was not, like the latter, a light from heaven; but a smoke out of the bottomless pit. The apologist of Mahometanism, whose writings called forth an apology for Christianity, confesses that, with powers of eloquence, “Mahomet was an illiterate barbarian, whose youth had never been instructed in the arts of reading and writing.”† And he rightly characterises the Koran as an “endless incoherent rhapsody of fable, and precept, and declamation, which seldom excites a sentiment or an idea, which sometimes crawls in the dust, and is sometimes lost in the clouds.”‡ Such, as Gibbon

* Outlines of History, p. 168.

† Gibbon's Hist. vol. ix. p. 257, c. 50.

‡ Ibid. p. 269.

has almost said, is the *smoke* which obscured or darkened, but could not enlighten the world. His were *dark sentences*. And the propagation of his faith was the plea for the use of his sword, and the pretence for the extension of his kingdom. He maintained the character of a prophet and a king.

"Mahomet was alike instructed to preach and to fight; and the union of these opposite qualities, while it enhanced his merit, contributed to his success; the operation of force and persuasion, of enthusiasm and fear, continually acted on each other, till every barrier yielded to their irresistible power."* "The first caliphs ascended the pulpit to persuade and edify the congregation."†

"While the state was exhausted by the Persian war, and the church was distracted by the Nestorian and Monophysite sects, Mahomet, *with the sword in one hand, and the KORAN in the other*, erected his throne on the ruins of Christianity and of Rome. The genius of the Arabian prophet, the manners of his nation, and *the spirit of his religion*, involve the causes of the decline and fall of the eastern empire; and our eyes are curiously intent on one of the most memorable revolutions which have impressed a new and lasting character on the *nations of the globe*."‡

Mahomet, it may be said, has heretofore divided the world with Jesus. He rose up against the Prince of princes. A great sword was given him. His doctrine, generated by the spirit of fraud and enthusiasm, whose abode is not in the heavens, as even an unbeliever could tell, arose out of the bottomless pit, spread over the earth like the *smoke of a great furnace, and the sun and the air were darkened by reason of the smoke of the pit*. It spread from Arabia, over great part of Asia, Africa, and Europe. The Greeks of Egypt, whose numbers could scarcely equal a tenth of the nation, were overwhelmed by the *universal defection*.§ And even in the farthest extremity of continental Europe, the decline of the

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. ix. p. 350.

† Ibid. p. 236.

‡ Ibid. p. 434.

§ Ibid. vol. x. p. 19.

French monarchy invited the attacks of these insatiate fanatics. The smoke that arose from the cave of Hera was diffused from the Atlantic to the Indian ocean. But the prevalence of their faith is best seen in the extent of their conquests.

It was given to the last of the apostles of Jesus—men who, as prophesied concerning them, knew their God, and instructed many, and suffered much,—prophetically to see and to describe, in the opposite character which they assumed and maintained, the robbers from the desert, who were “the apostles of Mahomet.”

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. Ver. 3. A false religion was set up, which although the scourge of transgressions and idolatry, filled the world with darkness and delusion ; and swarms of Saracens, like locusts, overspread the earth, and speedily extended their ravages over the Roman empire, from east to west. The hail descended from the frozen shores of the Baltic ; the burning mountain fell upon the sea, from Africa : and the locusts (the fit symbol of the Arabs,) issued from Arabia, their native region. They came, as destroyers, propagating a new doctrine, and stirred up to rapine and violence by motives of interest and religion. “In the tumult of a camp, the exercises of religion were assiduously practised ; and the intervals of action were employed in prayer, meditation, and the *study of the Koran*. Such was the *spirit* of the man, or rather of the times, that Caled,—the foremost leader of the Saracens, who was called the *sword of God*,—professed his readiness to serve under the banner of the faith, though it were in the hands of a child or an enemy. Glory, riches, and dominion, were indeed promised to the victorious Musulman ; but he was carefully instructed, that if the

goods of this life were his only incitement, they likewise would be his only reward."* The hosts of the Saracens were armies of fanatics. They came out of the smoke, as locusts upon the earth. Their faith was associated with their arms; and their success corresponded with their zeal. Their symbol, and the whole description of their character and acts, are in entire accordance with that of the king of the *south*, (Dan. xi. 40,) and the vision and interpretation of the little horn of the he-goat,—or the kingdom that arose at the time of the end when the transgressors came to the full,—as first exemplified by the Saracens.

In introducing the history of Mahometanism, and interwoven with the personal history of Mahomet, Gibbon justly remarks, that "the Christians of the seventh century had insensibly relapsed into the semblance of paganism; their *public and private vows* were addressed to the *relics and images* that disgraced the *temples* of the east: the throne of the Almighty *was darkened by a cloud of martyrs, and saints, and angels, the objects of popular veneration*; and the Collyridian heretics, who flourished in the fruitful soil of Arabia, invested the *Virgin Mary with the name and honour of a goddess*."† Such was Christendom when the *first woe* arose. Like the storm of hail and fire, under the first trumpet, it came upon the *earth*. The rapidity and extent of the conquest of the Saracens is implied by other characteristics, and may be comprised in a single view.

"In the victorious days of the Roman republic, it had been the aim of the senate to confine their consuls and legions to a single war, and completely to suppress a first enemy before they provoked the hostilities of a second. These timid maxims of policy were disdained by the magna-

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. ix. p. 332, chap. 51. † Ibid. p. 261.

nimity or enthusiasm of the Arabian caliphs. With the same vigour and success they invaded the successors of Augustus and those of Artaxerxes; and the rival monarchies at the same time became the prey of an enemy whom they had been so long accustomed to despise. In the ten years of the administration of Omar, the Saracens reduced to his obedience thirty-six thousand cities or castles, destroyed four thousand churches or temples of the unbelievers, and edified fourteen hundred moschs, for the exercise of the religion of Mahomet. One hundred years after his flight from Mecca, the arms and the reign of his successors extended from India to the Atlantic Ocean.”*

“At the end of the first century of the Hegira, the caliphs were the most potent and absolute monarchs of the globe.—The regal and sacerdotal characters were united in the successors of Mahomet. Under the last of the Omniades, the Arabic empire extended two hundred days’ journey from east to west, from the confines of Tartary and India to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. And if we retrench the sleeve of the robe, as it is styled by their writers, the long and narrow province of Africa, the solid and compact dominion from Fargana to Aden, from Tarsus to Surat, will spread on every side to the measure of four or five months of the march of a caravan. The progress of the Mahometan religion diffused over this ample space a general resemblance of manners and opinions; the language and laws of the Koran were studied with equal devotion at Samarcand and Seville; the Moor and the Indian embraced as countrymen and brothers in the pilgrimage of Mecca; and the Arabian language was adopted as the popular idiom in all the provinces to the westward of the Tigris.”†

“When the Arabs first issued from the desert, they must have been *surprised* at the ease and rapidity of their own success. (He shall destroy *wonderfully*, &c.) But when they advanced in the career of victory to the banks of the Indus and the summit of the Pyrenees; when they had repeatedly tried the edge of their scimitars, (a great sword was given him,) and the energy of their *faith*, they might be equally astonished that any nation could resist their invincible arms, that any boundary should confine the dominion of the successor of the prophet. The confidence of soldiers and fanatics may indeed be excused, since the calm historian

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. ix. p. 361, c. 50.

† Ibid. ix. pp. 500—502, c. 51.

of the present hour, who strives to follow the *rapid* course of the Saracens, must study to explain by what means the church and state were saved from this impending, and as it should seem, from this inevitable danger,"* &c.

"In the decline of society and art, the deserted city could supply a slender booty to the Saracens; *their richest spoil was found in the churches and monasteries*, which they stripped of their ornaments, and delivered to the flames; and the *tutelary saints*, both Hilary of Potiers and Martin of Tours, forgot their miraculous powers in the defence of their own sepulchres. A victorious line of march had been prolonged above a thousand miles, from the rock of Gibraltar to the banks of the Loire,"† &c.

There came out of the smoke locusts upon the earth, &c. When the transgressors are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance, and understanding *dark sentences*, shall stand up. And his power shall be mighty, and he shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper and practise, &c. Dan. viii. 23, 24. And there went out another horse that was red (another religion, and of an opposite character to the Christian;) and power was given to him that sat thereon to take peace from the earth, and there was given unto him a great sword. Rev. vi. 4.

That the Saracens acted up to the character of a *wœ*, may receive, though scarcely requiring, a specific illustration. "Their service in the field was speedy and vigorous,—it was an easier task to excite than to disarm these roving barbarians; and in the familiar intercourse of war, they learned to see and to despise the splendid weakness both of Rome and of Persia. From Mecca to the Euphrates, the Arabian tribes were confounded by the Greeks and Latins, under the general name of SARACENS, a name which every Christian mouth has been taught to pronounce with terror and abhorrence."[‡]

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. x. pp. 1, 2, chap. 52.

† Ibid. p. 23. ‡ Ibid. vol. ix. pp. 382, 283, c. 51.

A still more specific illustration may be given of the power, like unto that of *scorpions*, which was given them. Not only was their attack *speedy and vigorous*, but “the nice sensibility of honour, which weighs the insult rather than the injury, sheds its *deadly venom* on the quarrels of the Arabs:—an indecent action, a contemptuous word, can be expiated only by the blood of the offender; and such is their patient *inveteracy*, that they expect whole months and years the opportunity of revenge.”*

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, ver. 4. On the sounding of the first angel, the third part of the trees was burnt up, and all green grass was burnt up, chap. viii. ver. 7. It was in the conflagration of the whole country that the aged Claudian saw and lamented the sure fate of his contemporary trees; and the pastures of Gaul, with the well-cultivated farms on the banks of the Rhine, were suddenly changed into a desert, distinguished only from the solitude of nature by the smoking ruins. The consuming flames of war spread over the greatest part of the seventeen provinces of Gaul. Such, in that respect, is the testimony of Gibbon; and no less clearly does he illustrate the directly opposite fact, which as remarkably distinguished the incursions of the Saracens. They were a permanent woe—and the smoke of the great furnace, from the bottomless pit, passed not away like the storm of hail and of fire. The sons of the desert sought to claim and to keep as their own the fairest portions, if not the whole, of Asia and of Europe. They tormented men even as

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. ix. p. 238, c. 50.

scorpions; they were a woe, the more dreadful that it was enduring; but, though issuing from the same region, they were, in striking contrast, unlike to locusts, who destroy every green thing on every spot on which they alight, and the first woe bore no resemblance, in that same respect, to the first trumpet. No sooner had Abubeker (A. D. 632) restored the unity of faith and government, than he despatched a circular letter to the Arabian tribes.

“ ‘ This is to acquaint you that I intend to send the true believers into Syria to take it out of the hand of the infidels, and I would have you know that the fighting for religion is an act of obedience to God.’ His messengers returned with the tidings of pious and martial ardour, which they had kindled in every province; the camp of Medina was successively filled with the intrepid bands of the Saracens, who panted for action, complained of the heat of the season and the scarcity of provisions, and accused, with impatient murmurs, the delays of the caliph. As soon as their numbers were complete, Abubeker ascended the hill, reviewed the men, the horses and the arms, and poured forth a fervent prayer for the success of their undertaking. His *instructions* to the chief of the Syrian army were inspired by the *warlike fanaticism*, which advances to seize, and affects to despise the objects of earthly ambition. ‘ Remember,’ said the successor of the prophet, ‘ that you are always in the presence of God, on the verge of death, in the assurance of judgment, and the hope of paradise: avoid injustice and oppression; consult with your brethren, and study to preserve the love and confidence of your troops. When you fight the battles of the Lord, acquit yourselves like men, without turning your backs; but let not your victory be stained with the blood of women or children. 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. When you make any covenant or article, stand to it, and be as good as your word. As you go on you will find some religious persons who live retired in monasteries; and propose to themselves to serve God that way; let them alone, and *neither kill them nor destroy their monasteries*; and you will find another sort of people that belong to the synagogue of Satan, who have shaven crowns; be *sure you cleave their*

*skulls, and give them no quarter till they either turn Mahometans or pay tribute.'"**

It is not said in prophecy or in history that the more humane injunctions were as scrupulously obeyed as the ferocious mandate. But it was so *commanded* them. And the preceding are the only instructions recorded by Gibbon, and given by Abubeker to the chiefs whose duty it was to issue the commands to all the Saracen hosts. The commands are alike discriminating with the prediction; as if the caliph himself had been acting in known as well as direct obedience to a higher mandate than that of mortal man—and in the very act of going forth to fight against the religion of Jesus, and to propagate Mahometanism in its stead, he repeated the words which it was foretold in the Revelation of Jesus Christ, that he would say. 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*. The only mark for the lance was the badge of the priest and of the monk. The order which superstition exalted, was made, by an opposite and wild fanaticism, the very butt of the woe.

In those times, as in every age, there were some who *had* the seal of God in their foreheads: and though they were subjected to trials and persecution because of their faith, yet the avengers of idolatry, the rod stretched forth against the guilty which cleft the skulls of those who were not sealed, did not reach the place where they were, nor touch a hair of their heads. After the conquest of Spain, when the Saracens, having passed the Pyrenees, “proceeded

* Gibbon's Hist. vol ix pp. 379—381, chap. 51.

without delay to the passage of the Rhone,"* which brought them near to the borders of Piedmont, and the valleys of the Waldenses, and when more than half the kingdom of France was in their hands, the first great check, in western Europe, was given to the hordes of Arabs, and, after a desultory combat of six days, they were defeated by Charles Martel on the seventh. And meeting their fated doom when they attempted to extend their commissioned charge,—“and having retired to their camp, after a bloody field—in the disorder and despair of the night, the various tribes of Yemen and Damascus, of Africa and Spain, were provoked to turn their arms against each other; the remains of their host was suddenly dissolved, and each emir consulted his safety by a hasty and speedy retreat.”†

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, ver. 5. Their constant incursions into the Roman territory, and frequent assaults on Constantinople itself, were an unceasing torment throughout the empire, which yet they were not able effectually to subdue, notwithstanding the long period, afterwards more directly alluded to, during which they continued, by unremitting attacks, grievously to afflict an idolatrous church, of which the pope was the head. As described by Daniel, they “pushed at him.” But they did not overflow and pass over and fix the seat of their empire in Europe, as another and succeeding power was destined to do. The *first* woe was not to be the last to Christendom. *Two* others were to follow; one to subvert the last *part* of the empire, or to *kill the*

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. x. p. 22, chap. 52.

† Ibid. p. 26.

third part of men, and the other to eradicate a superstitious and corrupted faith, and which was not to be extinguished but with the flames of Rome.—Neither of these things was accomplished by the Saracens. Their charge was to torment, and then to hurt, but not to kill, or utterly destroy. The marvel was that they did not. To repeat the words of Gibbon—“the calm historian of the present hour must study to explain by what means the church and state were *saved* from this *impending*, and, *as it should seem*, from this *inevitable danger*. In this inquiry I shall unfold the events that rescued our ancestors of Britain, and our neighbours of Gaul, from the civil and religious yoke of the Koran; that protected the majesty of Rome, and *delayed* the servitude of Constantinople; that invigorated the defence of the Christians, and scattered among their enemies the seeds of division and decay.”* Ninety pages of illustration follow, to which we refer the readers of Gibbon.

And in these days shall men seek death, but they shall not find it; and shall DESIRE to die, but death shall flee from them. Men were weary of life, when life was spared only for a renewal of woe, and when all that they accounted sacred was violated, and all that they held dear constantly endangered; and when the savage Saracens domineered over them, or left them only to a momentary repose, ever liable to be suddenly or violently interrupted, as if by the sting of a scorpion. They who *tormented* men were commanded *not* to kill them. And death might thus have been sought even where it was not found. Such an interpretation might not be deemed unsuitable to the woes which the Saracens inflicted. But it is the character of Gibbon, as well as of Vol-

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. x. p. 2, c. 52.

ney, by dealing with facts, to be far more explicit than less scrupulous commentators. It is said in general terms, *without* an express appropriation of the words to Franks or Saracens, *and in those days shall MEN seek death*, &c. But that men would seek death, and yet not find it; that they would *desire* to die, and that death should flee from them, accords not with the first dictate of instinct, or the first law of nature, and shows the operation of woes or of principles peculiar to those days. The field of battle was not only the glory but the hope of the fierce Arabian fanatics, whose natural fear of death was overcome by the lure of a sensual paradise. “‘Who-soever falls in battle,’ says Mahomet, ‘his sins are forgiven at the day of judgment: at the day of judgment his wounds shall be resplendent as vermillion, and odoriferous as musk, and the loss of his limbs shall be supplied by the wings of angels and cherubims.’” The intrepid souls of the Arabs were fired with enthusiasm: the picture of the invisible world was strongly painted on their imagination; *and the DEATH which they always despised became an object of hope and DESIRE*. The Koran inculcates, in the most absolute sense, the tenets of fate and predestination. Their influence in every age has exalted the courage of the Saracens and Turks. The first companions of Mahomet advanced to battle with a fearless confidence: there is no danger where there is no chance: they were ordained to perish in their beds; or they were safe and invulnerable amidst the darts of the enemy.”* Such principles on such spirits, inflaming the wild Arabs, armed the woe with tenfold violence. Men in those days *sought death*, in the faith that death could not thereby find them a moment sooner, and that the battle-field was the place by which par-

* Gibbon's Hist, vol. ix. p. 297. chap. 50.

adise was entered ; but *they found it not*, whose virtue lay in the slaughter of their enemies, and whose foes could not meet them in a dauntless spirit like their own. *They DESIRED* death, in whose fancy it was enhanced with all the pleasures that they loved ; but death fled from them for whom it had no terror, and against whom none could then stand on equal terms for a moment. Their spirits were on edge, like the swords of Damascus, and fearless of death, and estimating their virtue by the numbers of slaughtered enemies, *death fled from them*.

And the shapes of the locusts were like unto HORSES PREPARED UNTO BATTLE.

“ Arabia, in the opinion of the naturalist, is the genuine and original country of the *horse* ; the climate most propitious, not indeed to the size, but to the *spirit and swiftness* of that generous animal. The merit of the Barb, the Spanish and the English breed, is derived from a mixture of the Arabian blood ; the Bedouins preserve with superstitious care the honours and the memory of the purest race. These horses are educated in the tents, among the children of the Arabs, with a tender familiarity, which trains them in the habits of gentleness and attachment. They are accustomed only to walk and to gallop : their sensations are not blunted by the incessant use of the spur and the whip ; their powers are reserved for the *moments* of flight and pursuit ; but *no sooner* do they feel the touch of the hand or the stirrup, than they *DART AWAY with the swiftness of the wind*.”*

The Arabian horse takes the lead throughout the world ; and skill in horsemanship is the art and science of Arabia. And the barbed Arabs, swift as locusts and armed like scorpions, ready to *dart away* in a moment, were ever *prepared unto battle*.

And on their heads were, as it were, crowns like gold. When Mahomet entered Medina, (A. D. 622,) and was first received as its prince, “ a *turban* was unfurled before him, to supply the deficiency of a standard.”† The Turbans of the Saracens, like unto

* Gibbon, vol. xi. pp. 224, 225, c. 50.

† Ibid. p. 292.

a coronet, were their ornament and their boast. The rich booty abundantly supplied and frequently renewed them. To assume the turban, is proverbially to turn Mussulman. And the Arabs were anciently distinguished by the mitres which they wore.*

And their faces were as the faces of MEN. "The gravity and firmness of the mind of the Arab is conspicuous in his outward demeanour,—his only gesture is that of stroking his beard, the venerable symbol of *manhood*." "The honour of their beards is most easily wounded."†

And they had hair as the hair of women. Long hair is esteemed an ornament by women. The Arabs, unlike to other men, had their hair as the hair of women, or uncut,‡ as their practice is recorded by Pliny and others. But there was nothing effeminate in their character, for, as denoting their ferocity and strength to devour, *their teeth were as the teeth of lions.* *And they had breastplates as it were breastplates of iron,* ver. 9. The cuirass (or breastplate) was in use among the Arabs in the days of Mahomet. In the battle of Ohud (the second which Mahomet fought,) with the Koreish of Mecca, (A. D. 624,) "seven hundred of them were armed with cuirasses."§ And in his next victory over the Jews, "three hundred *cuirasses*, five hundred pikes, a thousand lances, composed the most *useful* portion of the spoil." After the defeat of the imperial army of seventy thousand men, on the plain of Aiznadin, (A. D. 633,) the spoil taken by the Saracens "was inestimable; many banners and crosses of gold and silver, precious stones, silver and gold chains, and *innumerable suits of the richest armour* and apparel. The seasonable supply of arms became the *instrument of new victories.*"||

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. ix. p. 238.

† Ibid.

‡ Nat. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 28. See Note by Bishop Newton.

§ Gibbon's Hist. vol. ix. p. 300.

|| Ibid. pp. 304, 391.

And the sound of their wings was as the sound of chariots of many horses running to battle, ver. 9. “The charge of the Arabs was not like that of the Greeks and Romans, the efforts of a firm and compact infantry; their military force was chiefly formed of *cavalry and archers*: and the engagement was often interrupted, and often renewed by single combats and flying skirmishes, &c. The periods of the battle of Cadesia were distinguished by their peculiar appellations. The first, from the well-timed appearance of six thousand of the Syrian brethren, was denominated the day of *succour*. The day of *concussion* might express the disorder of one, or perhaps of both the contending armies. The third, a nocturnal *tumult*, received the whimsical name of the night of *barking*, from the *discordant clamours, which were compared to the inarticulate sounds of the fiercest animals*. The morning of the succeeding day determined the fate of Persia.”* With a touch of the hand the Arab horses *dart away with the swiftness of the wind*. The sound of their wings was as the sound of chariots of many horses running to battle. Their conquests were marvellous both in rapidity and extent, and their attack was instantaneous. Nor was it less successful against the Romans than the Persians.—“A religion of peace was incapable of withstanding the *fanatic cry* of ‘Fight, fight! Paradise, paradise!’ that *re-echoed* in the ranks of the Saracens.”†

And they had tails like unto scorpions; and there were stings in their tails; and their power was to hurt men five months. “The authority of the companions of Mahomet expired with their lives; and the *chiefs or emirs* of the Arabian tribes *left behind* in the desert the spirit of equality and independence.

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. ix. pp. 366, 367.

† Ib. p. 384.

The regal and sacerdotal characters were united in the successors of Mahomet; and if the Koran was the rule of their actions, they were the supreme judges and interpreters of that divine book. They reigned by the right of conquest over the nations of the east, to whom the name of liberty was unknown, and who were accustomed to applaud in their *tyrants* the acts of *violence* and *severity* that were exercised at *their own expense*.*

It was out of the smoke that they came upon the earth. The pestilential vapour of a false religion accompanied them wherever they went; and the sting which they inflicted left its venom behind it. To propagate their religion was their pretence, if not their purpose; and after the establishment of their dominion, the regal and sacerdotal characters were united in the successors of Mahomet, and the emirs continued to be tyrants, after the caliphs had been conquerors. The Mahometans did not amalgamate with the Christian population, as other conquerors are wont to do, after the career of conquest has ceased, and the irritation or animosity of foes gives way before the interests of a common country. The *woe* altered its form, but it did not cease. It *continued to hurt*, where it had formerly tormented.

It is first said, (ver. 5,) in describing their rise and progress, to them it was given that they should not kill men, but that they should be tormented *five months*; and after describing the sting which they would *continue* to inflict, or that they had stings in their tails, it is *again* added, and *their* power was to hurt men *five months*. The *double* period of five months amounts, in the usual prophetic phraseology designative of time, to three hundred years†—"each

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. ix. p. 501, c. 51.

† Or two hundred and ninety-five years.

day for a year." The first period of an hundred and fifty years denotes the term of the progress of their conquests, and the consolidation and establishment of their empire from its commencement to its height; and the second marks the consequent duration of their reign, during which period the sting that was *left behind* continued to *hurt*.

The foundations of Bagdad were laid in the *hundred and forty-fifth* year of the Hegira. And Gibbon describes in pompous strains "the magnificence of the caliphs," after that city became the seat of their empire; and he incidentally shows the change in the character of the woe. "The luxury of the caliphs relaxed the nerves and *terminated the progress* of the Arabian empire. Temporal and spiritual conquest had been the sole occupation of Mahomet; and after supplying themselves with the necessities of life, the whole revenue was scrupulously devoted to that salutary work. The Abassides," (who first ascended the throne of the caliphs about the middle of the eighth century) "were impoverished by the multitude of their wants and their contempt of economy. Instead of pursuing the great object of ambition, their leisure, their affections, the powers of their mind were directed by pomp and pleasure; the rewards of valour were embezzled by women and eunuchs, and the royal camp was encumbered by the luxury of the palace. *A similar temper was diffused among the subjects of the caliph.* Their stern enthusiasm was *softened* by time and prosperity. And war was *no longer* the passion of the Saracens."* They did not longer torment men. The period of their warlike character was passed; but for an equal length of time they continued to hurt them. *Violence and severity* were exercised by the

* Gibbon, vol. x. pp. 40, 41, c. 52.

tyrants who ruled over the subjugated nations ; and Christendom was still humbled and affected by the Saracen invaders. This intermedial change of state in the Saracenic woe is no less remarkable than the commencement and termination of its full course ; both, in tormenting and hurting, are definitively marked.

In the year 632, the Saracens, for the first time, invaded Syria. The battle of Yermuck was fought A. D. 636. Thrice did the Arabs retreat in disorder. Four thousand and thirty of the Moslems were buried in the field of battle. The veterans of the Syrian war acknowledged that it was the hardest and most doubtful of the days which they had seen. But it was likewise the *most decisive*. After the battle of Yermuck, the Roman army no longer appeared in the field ; and the Saracens might securely choose among the fortified towns of Syria the first object of their attack. It was given them that they should torment men. Exactly three hundred years thereafter, as Gibbon has noted the respective dates, or in the year 936, he thus describes “ the fallen state of the caliphs of Bagdad.” “ Ralidi, the *twentieth* of the Abasides, and the *thirty-ninth* of the successors of Mahomet, was the LAST who deserved the title of the *Commander of the Faithful* ; the *last* (says Abulfeda) who spoke to the people or conversed with the learned ; the *last* who, in the expense of his household, represented the wealth and the magnificence of the ancient caliphs. After him the lords of the eastern world were reduced to the most abject misery, and exposed to the blows and insults of a servile condition. The revolt of the provinces circumscribed their dominions within the walls of Bagdad.”*—“ The African and the Turkish guards *drew their swords against*

* Gibbon, vol. x. p. 83, chap. 52.

each other, and the chief commanders, the emirs at Omra, imprisoned or deposed their sovereigns, and violated the sanctity of the mosch and harem. If the caliphs escaped to the camp or court of any neighbouring prince, their deliverance was a change of servitude, till they were prompted by despair to invite the Bowides, the sultans of Persia, who silenced the factions of Bagdad by their irresistible arms. In the presence of a trembling multitude, the caliph was dragged from his throne to a dungeon, by the command of a stranger, and the rude hands of his Dilimites. The respect of nations still waited on the successors of the apostle, the oracles of the law and conscience of the faithful; and the weakness or division of their tyrants sometimes restored the Abassides to the sovereignty of Bagdad. But their misfortunes had been embittered by the triumph of the Fatimites, the real or spurious progeny of Ali. Arising from the extremity of Africa, these successful rivals extinguished, in Egypt and Syria, both the spiritual and temporal authority of the Abassides; and the monarch of the Nile insulted the humble pontiff on the banks of the Tigris.* The wings were clipped from the locusts; the scorpions lost their sting. Mahometans, in the words of Gibbon, and in the language of Revelation, drew their swords *against each other*; and the first woe was past. The Saracens are thrice compared to scorpions. *Power was given them as the scorpions of the earth have power; their torment was as the torment of a scorpion when he striketh a man; and they had tails like unto scorpions in which there were stings.* They were like unto scorpions, by the power which they exercised, by the wounds they inflicted, by the venom they *left*, and, finally, still scorpion-like, by the death which they died.

* Gibbon, vol. x. pp. 84, 85.

*And they had a king over them, the angel of the bottomless pit, whose name in the Hebrew tongue is Abaddon, but in the Greek tongue hath his name Apollyon, or destroyer. Verse 11. The title of Commander of the Faithful, retained from first to last, bore, in the very name, the sound of destruction to both Jews and Christians, or both in the Hebrew and Greek tongues. Abaddon, the destroyer, in the Hebrew tongue, is not without its significance any more than Apollyon in the Greek tongue. Mahomet, because of their unbelief, pursued the Jews to the last moment of his life with implacable hatred.—“Seven hundred Jews were dragged in chains to the market-place of the city (Medina); they descended alive into the grave prepared for their execution and burial! and the apostle beheld with an inflexible eye the slaughter of his helpless enemies.”** The commander of the faithful, at the head of his armies, and with his sword in his hand, held Jews and Greeks alike as his natural enemies; and unbelievers, of whatever nation, could know him only as the “destroyer.” When power was given him to torment, “*he might choose the object of his attack;*” and no power on earth at that time withstood him. But when his woe-tracked course was run, when the three hundred years were expired, his career was stayed, the thirty-ninth successor of Mahomet was dragged from his throne to a dungeon, and the caliphate became a harmless thing.† *One woe is past; and behold there come two woes more hereafter.*

* Gibbon, vol. ix. pp. 303, 304.

† Ibid. vol. x. pp. 84, 86.

CHAPTER VI.

No distinction, in kind, is marked between the second woe and the first; and there is a like affinity between them in history as in prophecy. The Turks, like the Saracens, adopted the Moslem faith; and the Sultans succeeded to the caliphs as the vicegerents of the prophet.

“The rise and progress of the Ottomans (says Gibbon,) the present sovereigns of Constantinople, are connected with the most important scenes of modern history. I have long since asserted my claim to introduce the nations, the immediate or remote authors of the fall of the Roman empire; nor can I refuse myself to those events which, from their uncommon magnitude, will interest a philosophic mind in the *history of blood*.” So wrote the historian who would have been astounded to think that such words are an apposite introduction to the history of the sixth trumpet, or of the second woe.

And the sixth angel sounded, and I heard a voice from the four quarters of the golden altar which is before God, saying to the sixth angel which had the trumpet, Loose the four angels which are bound in the great river Euphrates. 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. And the number of the army of the horsemen were two hundred thousand thousand: and I heard the number of them. And thus I saw the horses in the vision, and them that sat on them, having breastplates 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 brimstone. 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. 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. And the rest of the men which were not killed by these plagues, yet repented 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: Neither repented they of their murders, nor of their sorceries, nor of their fornication, nor of their thefts. Verse 13—21.

The prophetic character or delineation of the Mahometan religion, and of the Turkish power, require not to be viewed as novel topics by the reader; and we need only briefly revert to predictions in which the history of both has been partially unfolded, and which prepare the way for the full elucidation of the *second woe*, that completes the description of Islamism, till its final doom is announced, in its order, and one of the last vials of the wrath of God is poured out, to the destruction of the destroyer.

It may not be taxing too highly the reader's recollection, to call to mind that the *interpretation* given by Daniel, in literal terms, of the vision of the little horn of the he-goat, is an exact representation of the rise, nature, and history of Mahometanism.* The vision was to be at *the time of the end*. And at *the time of the end, in the things*, not visions, noted in the *Scripture of truth*, the forms under which Mahometanism actually appeared, or the two great successive governments by which it prospered, practised, and prevailed, and with which it has ever been identified, are introduced and delineated; and the kingdom of the Saracens, and more circumstantially,

* See above, pp. 26, 35, &c. p. 159.

of the Turks, under the names of *the king of the south*, and *the king of the north*, are described with all the accuracy of actual history. Mahometanism is thus, in the *first* instance, described, so to speak, by itself, or without any express specification, of the Saracenic and Turkish powers. These, in regard to Mahometanism, had both one character and object, and needed only in that respect to be united into one view. But in regard to their history, in a political sense, as distinct empires, varying as to the period and place of their origin, and the mode or degree in which they respectively executed the same work, they did admit of and received a separate illustration.

After the same pattern and parallel, in which Daniel thus first portrayed Mahometanism in one vision, and afterwards, in another, the empires of the Saracens and of the Turks, John in the Apocalypse represents them anew. In the different forms of religion, Mahometanism appears, symbolically indeed, but undisguisedly, in its genuine character. A *white horse* having been previously represented and recognised as the symbol of the Christian religion, Mahometanism was set forth under a similar symbol, but of *another* appearance and nature. It was a *red horse* which symbolized the faith of the warrior-prophet, or on which he and the kings who subsequently represented him, did sit: and *to him was given a great sword*. It was his character and office *to take peace from the earth*. Such of itself was Mahometanism. But the hands in which *the sword* was to be successively put, were different. And while each, who was to hold it, was to be the defender, propagator, or chief of the Mahometan faith,—the former distinction is renewed and further developed; and the king of the south and the king of the north are represented under their appropriate characters of *the first and second woe*. Mahometanism arose at the time of the end

when the *transgressors had come to the full*. And at the time of the end, the Saracens, and afterwards the Turks, came against an apostate and idolatrous church, headed by the pope, who *magnified himself above all*. And in exact keeping with their character and commission, the appropriate designation as *woes* has its best illustrations, both from the previous announcement of the *things* that they were to do, and the historical retrospect of the things that they have done.

The more closely that this analogy is traced between the king of the south and the king of the north, and the first and second woe, the more clearly are they identified as representing the empires of the Saracens and of the Turks. Each of these separate representations occupy the last part of the respective predictions. The king of the south, or the caliph of the Saracens, assaulted an apostate church, when the transgressors came to the full. And the first woe on Christendom began, after the subversion of the western empire of Rome, and when all the trumpets that had been sounded against it had terminated in its overthrow. The emperor of Rome, as reigning in that city, was thus *taken away*, and that *wicked one who exalted and opposed himself above all*, was revealed. It was no longer, therefore, an earthly empire that must be broken down; but an idolatrous church, headed by the pope, that required to be punished. The corruption of Christianity, the recognition of the "head of the church" as another than the Lord Jesus Christ, the prevalence of idolatry, and the trust that was reposed in other strongholds than in the rock of salvation, and the consequent corruption of manners and prevalent transgressions, did not long call in vain, after being perfected into a system, and having come to the full, for a sign on earth of the wrath of heaven:—And the first woe arose. The

forms and instruments of that chastisement are the same, whether we look to the achievements of *the king of fierce countenance*, (or Mahometanism, as symbolized by the little horn of the he-goat,) and of the kings of the south and of the north, the active forms which Mahometanism assumed, or whether we behold it again as a religion armed with a *sword* and marked with blood, and look to the first and second woes.

The sole task, we apprehend, that remains to complete the likeness, and to identify Mahometanism, under both its symbols, and the king of the south and the king of the north with the first and second woe—the *things* that the former were to do, with the *woes* that the latter were to be—is to *come and see* how the whole figure is filled up, or the whole history completed, in the prophetic delineation of the second woe. And, in the first instance, it may here be necessary to trace the connexion between the Saracens and the Turks, not only as espousing the same cause, and accomplishing the same ends, but constituted also for the same work, and forming parts of the same system, as the sultan was installed into his office by the caliph.

Already have we seen how the Turks elected a king or sultan, on the defeat of the Gaznevites and the subjection of Persia, and how they afterwards came *like a whirlwind* on the Asiatic provinces of Rome; and we have now again to take up a page of their early history, in order to trace, in the words of Gibbon, the connexion between the Saracens and the Turks, or how the first and second woe were linked together, how the spirit of the one, before its final departure, was infused into the other—or the same sword was consigned over to a different hand, to execute or renew the same work of woe. The mantle of Elijah, as he was ascending into heaven, fell on

Elisha. And prophet after prophet, as they saw afar off the day of Jesus, testified of that Prince of Peace. But the mantle of the false prophet of Mecca was a martial cloak ; and with it a *sword was given*, and *peace was to be still taken from the earth*. No vision was to be seen of an inhabitant of earth arising into heaven ; but a blood-stained rider on a war-horse, though representing a form of religion, was seen, when his strength was exhausted with slaughter, and when he was just about to sink on the earth for ever, to resign his seat and charge to another ; and the same red horse was backed again ; and the *sword* that was destined to take peace from the earth, not rusting in its scabbard, was placed in a *second* hand in order to *slay*.

“ *The whole body of the Turkish nation embraced with fervour and sincerity the religion of Mahomet.* The NORTH-ERN swarms of barbarians who overspread both Europe and Asia, have been irreconcilably separated by the consequences of a similar conduct. The *first* of the Seljukian sultans was conspicuous by his zeal and faith : each day he repeated the five prayers which are enjoined to the true believers ; of each week, the two first days were consecrated by an extraordinary fast, and in every city a *mosch* was completed before *Togrul* presumed to lay the foundations of a palace.

“ With the belief of the Koran, the son of Seljuk imbibed a lively reverence for the *successor of the prophet*. But that sublime character was still disputed by the caliphs of Bagdad and Egypt, and each of the rivals was solicitous to prove his title in the judgment of the strong, though illiterate barbarians. Mahmud the Gaznevide had declared himself in favour of Abas ; and had treated with indignity the robe of honour which was presented by the Fatimite ambassador. Yet the ungrateful Hashimite had changed with the change of fortune ; he applauded the victory of Zendecan, and named the Seljukian Sultan his TEMPORAL VICEGERENT OVER THE MOSLEM WORLD. As *Togrul* executed and enlarged this important trust, he was called to the deliverance of the caliph Cayem, and obeyed the holy summons, which gave a new kingdom to his arms. In the palace of Bagdad, *the commander of the faithful* still slumbered, a venerable phantom. His servant or master, the prince of the Bowides, could no longer

protect him from the insolence of meaner tyrants; and the *Euphrates* and *Tigris* were oppressed by the revolt of the Turkish and Arabian Emirs. The presence of a conqueror was implored as a blessing; and the transient mischiefs of fire and sword were excused as the sharp but salutary remedies which alone could restore the health of the republic. *At the head of an irresistible force,* (the king who came like a whirlwind,) *“the Sultan of Persia marched from Hamadan; the proud were crushed, the prostrate were spared, the prince of the Bowides disappeared; the heads of the most obstinate rebels were laid at the feet of Togrul; and he inflicted a lesson of obedience on the people of Mosul and Bagdad. After the chastisement of the guilty, and the restoration of peace, the royal shepherd accepted the reward of his labours; and a solemn comedy represented the triumph of religious prejudice over barbarian power. THE TURKISH SULTAN embarked on the Tigris, landed at the gate of Rana, and made his public entry on horseback. At the palace gate, he respectfully dismounted, preceded by his emirs without arms. The caliph was seated behind his black veil; the black garment of the Abassides was cast over his shoulders, and he held in his hand THE STAFF OF THE APOSTLE OF GOD. The conqueror of the east kissed the ground, stood some time in a modest posture, and was led towards the throne by the vizier and an interpreter. After Togrul had seated himself on another throne, HIS COMMISSION WAS PUBLICLY READ, WHICH DECLARED HIM TEMPORAL LIEUTENANT OF THE VICAR OF THE PROPHET. He was successively invested with seven robes of honour, and presented with seven slaves, the natives of the seven climates of the Arabian empire. His mystic veil was perfumed with musk; two crowns were placed on his head; TWO SCIMITARS WERE GIRDED TO HIS SIDE, as the symbols of a double reign over the east and west. After THIS INAUGURATION, the sultan was prevented from prostrating himself a second time; but he twice kissed the hand of the commander of the faithful, and HIS TITLES WERE PROCLAIMED BY THE VOICE OF HERALDS AND THE APPLAUSE OF THE MOSLEMS. In a second visit to Bagdad, the Seljukian prince again rescued the caliph from his enemies; and devoutly, on foot, led the bridle of his mule from the prison to the palace. Their alliance was cemented by the marriage of Togrul's sister with the successor of the prophet. Without reluctance he had introduced a Turkish virgiu into his harem; but Cayem proudly refused his daughter to the Sultan, disdained to mingle the blood of the Hashimites with the blood of a Scythian shepherd; and protracted the negotiation many*

months, till the gradual diminution of his revenue had admonished him that he was STILL IN THE HANDS OF A MASTER. The royal nuptials were followed by the death of Togrul himself (A. D. 1063.) As he left no children, his nephew Alp Arsan succeeded to the title and prerogatives of Sultan; and *his name, after that of the caliph*, WAS PRONOUNCED IN THE PUBLIC PRAYERS OF THE MOSLEMS. Yet in this revolution the Abassides acquired a larger measure of liberty and power. ON THE THRONE OF ASIA, THE TURKISH MONARCHS were less jealous of the domestic administration of Bagdad; and the commanders of the faithful were relieved from the ignominious vexations to which they had been exposed by the presence and poverty of the Persian dynasty.*

The preceding interesting paragraph, which so explicitly shows the connexion between the Saracen and Turkish powers, has been given at length; and showing as clearly how *the vicegerent* of the commander of the faithful *over the Moslem world* executed his commissioned trust, the beginning of the immediately succeeding paragraph bears this title on the margin opposite to the *very next line*,—"THE TURKS INVADE THE ROMAN EMPIRE." Scarcely had the Sultan begun to prove his title to the charge, when he was INVESTED with the office of lieutenant of the vicar of the prophet. But of the vicar himself he was then the *master*. The caliph reposed, but the Sultan conquered. He was not slack in the execution of his charge. The conquest of Armenia and Georgia, (A. D. 1065,) the frontier of the Roman empire, was "*the news of a day*." In August 1071, in another fatal day, in which "Alp Arsan flew to the scene of action," "the Asiatic provinces of Rome were irretrievably sacrificed;" and the emperor of Constantinople was a prisoner in the hands of the Turkish monarch.†

"During the life of Alp Arsan, his eldest son (Malek Shah,) had been acknowledged as the future sultan of the

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. x. pp. 345—351, chap. 57.

† Ibid. pp. 352, 356.

Turks. On his father's death, the inheritance was disputed by an uncle, a cousin, and a brother: they drew their scimitars, and assembled their followers; and the triple victory of Malek Shah established his own reputation and the right of primogeniture. In every age, and more especially in Asia, the thirst of power has inspired the same passions, and occasioned the same disorders; but from the long series of civil wars, it would not be so easy to extract a sentiment more pure and magnanimous than is contained in the Turkish prince. On the eve of the battle he performed his devotions at Thons, before the tomb of the iman Riza. As the sultan rose from the ground, he asked the vizier Nizam, who had knelt beside him, what had been the object of his secret petition: 'That your arms may be crowned with victory,' was the prudent, and, most probably, the sincere answer of the minister. 'For my part,' replied the generous Malek, 'I implored the Lord of Hosts, that he would take from me my life and crown, if my brother be more worthy than myself to reign over the Moslems.' The favourable judgment of heaven was ratified by the caliph; and for the first time, the *sacred title of the commander of the faithful* was communicated to a barbarian. But this barbarian, by his personal merit, and the extent of his empire, was the *greatest prince of his age*. After the conquest of Persia and Syria, he marched at the head of *innumerable armies*, to achieve the conquest of Turkestan, which had been undertaken by his father. Beyond the Oxus he reduced to his obedience the cities of Bochara, Carisme, and Samarcand, and crushed each rebellious slave, or independent savage, who dared to resist. Malek passed the Sihon, or Jaxartes, the last boundary of Persian civilization; the hordes of Turkestan yielded to his supremacy; his name was inserted on the coins, and in the prayers of Cashgar, a Tartar kingdom on the extreme borders of China. From the Chinese frontier he stretched his immediate jurisdiction, or feudatory sway, to the west and south," (*he stretched his hand over the countries*) "as far as the mountains of Georgia, the neighbourhood of Constantinople, the holy city of Jerusalem, and the spicy groves of Arabia Felix. The shepherd king, both in peace and war, was in action and in the field."*

So sudden was the rise, and so vast the extent of the Turkish empire. But it was not destined to remain long undivided.

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. x. pp. 363—365.

"The greatness and unity of the Turkish empire expired in the person of Malek Shah. His vacant throne was disputed by his brother and his four sons; and after a series of civil wars, the treaty which reconciled the surviving candidates, confirmed a lasting separation in the PERSIAN dynasty, the ELDEST and principal branch of the house of Seljuk. The THREE YOUNGER DYNASTIES were those of KERMÁN, of SYRIA, and of ROUM; the first of these commanded an extensive, though obscure, dominion on the shores of the Indian ocean; the second expelled the Arabian princes of Aleppo and Damascus; and the third, our peculiar care, invaded the Roman provinces of Asia Minor. The generous policy of Malek contributed to their elevation: he allowed the princes of his blood, even those whom he had vanquished in the field, to seek new kingdoms worthy of their ambition; nor was he displeased that they should draw away the more ardent spirits, who might have disturbed the tranquillity of his reign. As the supreme head of his family and nation, the great sultan of Persia commanded the obedience and tribute of his royal brethren; the thrones of Kerman and Nice, of Aleppo and Damascus; the Atabeks, and emirs of Syria and Mesopotamia, erected their standards under the shadow of his sceptre; and the hordes of Turkmans overspread the plains of western Asia. After the death of Malek, the bands of union and subordination were relaxed, and finally dissolved; the indulgence of the house of Seljuk invested their slaves with the inheritance of kingdoms; and, in the oriental style, a crowd of princes arose from the dust of their feet."

Thus was the Turkish empire divided into the *four* sultanies of Persia, Kerman, Syria, and Roum. The *Euphrates* subdivided their immense dominions in nearly equal portions, and drew all its waters from their territories, which encompassed and enclosed the great river, with all its tributaries, on every side. But vast as was the kingdom of the Turks, its subdivision threatened it with immediate dissolution.

"A prince of the royal line, Catulmish, the son of Izrail, the son of Seljuk, had fallen in a battle against Alp Arsan, and the humane victor had dropt a tear over his grave. His five sons, strong in arms, ambitious of power, and eager for

revenge, unsheathed their scimitars against the son of Alp Arsan. The two armies expected the signal, when the caliph, forgetful of the majesty which secluded him from vulgar eyes, interposed his venerable mediation. 'Instead of shedding the blood of your brethren, your brethren both in descent and faith, unite your forces in an holy war against the Greeks, the enemies of God and his apostles.' They listened to his voice; the sultan embraced his rebellious kinsmen: and the eldest, the valiant Soliman, accepted the royal standard, which gave him the free conquest and hereditary command of the provinces of the Roman empire, and from Arzeroum to Constantinople, and the unknown regions of the West. Accompanied by his four brothers, he passed the Euphrates: the Turkish camp was soon seated in the neighbourhood of Hutaieh, in Phrygia; and his flying cavalry laid waste the country as far as the Hellespont and the Black Sea."^{*}

The Hellespont alone stayed the progress of the Turks. And *many ships* were in readiness to transport them to the shores of Europe. Antioch, the capital of Syria, yielded to their arms. Damascus was reduced by famine and the sword. Jerusalem became their prey; and three thousand of its citizens were massacred. And the whole power of Europe was speedily exerted to *bind*, in their own region, the four sultanies of the Euphrates.

The fate of Asia Minor was, for a time, again decided in a day. At Corylæum, in Phrygia, "besides a nameless and unaccountable multitude, three thousand *pagan* knights were slain in the battle and pursuit."[†] In the siege of Antioch "one hundred thousand Moslems are said to have fallen by the sword."[‡] And Antioch was taken by the crusaders.

"The victors themselves were speedily encompassed and besieged by the innumerable forces of Kerboga, prince of Mosul, who, with twenty-eight Turkish emirs, advanced to the deliverance of Antioch. Five-and-twenty days the Chris-

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. x. pp. 370, 371.

† Ibid. vol. ix. p. 62, c. 58.

‡ Ibid. p. 65.

tians spent on the verge of destruction; and the proud lieutenant of the caliph and the sultan, left them only the choice of servitude or death. In this extremity they collected the relics of their strength, sallied from the town, and in a single memorable day annihilated or dispersed the host of Turks and Arabians, which they might safely report to have consisted of six hundred thousand men.”*

“The prudence or fortune of the Franks had delayed their invasion till the decline of the Turkish empire. Under the manly government of the three first sultans, the kingdoms of Asia were united in peace and justice; and the innumerable armies which they led in person, were equal in courage, and superior to the barbarians of the west. But at the time of the crusade, the inheritance of Malek Shah was disputed by his sons; their private ambition was insensible of the public danger; and, in the vicissitudes of their fortune, the royal vassals were ignorant or regardless of the true object of their allegiance. The twenty-eight emirs who marched with the standard of Kerbogo, were his rivals or enemies; their hasty levies were drawn from the towns or tents of Mesopotamia and Syria; and the Turkish veterans were employed or consumed in the civil wars beyond the Tigris. The caliph of Egypt embraced this opportunity of weakness and discord, to recover his ancient possessions; and his sultan, Aphdal, besieged Jerusalem and Tyre, expelled the children of Orlok, and restored in Palestine the civil and ecclesiastical authority of the Fatimites. They heard with astonishment of the vast armies of Christians that had passed from Europe to Asia, and rejoiced in the sieges and battles *which broke the power of the Turks*, the adversaries of their sect and monarchy.”†

No sooner had the Turks entered the Holy Land, and taken possession of Jerusalem, than Europe was in motion and in arms; and nations marched to the field of the world's debate. Crusade followed after crusade. Europeans became the assailants; and instead of extending their territories, the Turks could not retain the conquests they had won. On the subdivision of their empire into *four* sultanies, their victorious career was not long unchallenged, but speedily retarded and restrained. The Lesser Asia and Syria

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. xi. p. 68.

† Ibid. pp. 77, 78.

again became fields of battle, but with foreign foes. From these countries, formerly overflowed by them, the Turks were repelled. The Crusaders from the west, and the Fatimites on the south, won back the countries which the Turks had conquered, and the original region of their conquests, on the banks and borders of the Euphrates, became the disputed seat of their dominion, and was partly reft from them by the Franks. And even when the crusades had spent their fury, and Europe had exhausted its strength, a new conqueror of Asia, Zinghis Khan, the emperor of the Moguls, repressed anew the power of the Turks; and, as if taking upon himself the task for which they were already prepared, threatened the Roman empire with destruction.

“The rise and progress of the Ottomans, the present sovereigns of Constantinople, are connected with the most important scenes in modern history; but they are founded on a previous knowledge of the great eruptions of the Moguls and Tartars; whose rapid progress may be compared with the primitive convulsions of nature, which have agitated and altered the surface of the globe.*—The Moguls subdued almost all Asia, and a large portion of Europe.†—They spread beyond the Tigris and Euphrates, pillaged Aleppo and Damascus, and threatened to join the Franks in the deliverance of Jerusalem. Egypt was lost, had she been defended only by her feeble offspring; but the Mamelukes had breathed in their infancy the keenness of a Scythian air; equal in valour, superior in discipline, they met the Moguls in many a well-fought field; and brought back the stream of hostility to the eastward of the Euphrates. But it overflowed, with resistless violence, the kingdoms of Armenia and Anatolia, of which the former was possessed by the Christians, the latter by the Turks. The sultans of Iconium opposed some resistance to the Mogul arms, till Azzadin sought a refuge among the Greeks at Constantinople, and his feeble successors, the last of the Seljukian dynasty, were finally extirpated by the Khans of Persia.‡—Fifteen hundred thousand Moguls and Tartars were inscribed on the military roll.§—The life and reign of the great dukes of Russia, the kings of Georgia and Arme-

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. xi. p. 401, chap. 64.

† Ibid. p. 413.

‡ Ibid. p. 419.

§ Ibid.

nia, the sultans of Iconium, and the emirs of Persia, were decided by the frown or smile of the Great Khan. In the shipwreck of nations, some surprise may be excited by the escape of the Roman empire, whose relics, at the time of the Mogul invasion, were dismembered by the Greeks and Latins. Less potent than Alexander, they were pressed like the Macedonian, both in Europe and Asia, by the shepherds of Scythia; and, had the Tartars undertaken the siege, Constantinople must have yielded to the fate of Pekin, Samarcand, and Bagdad.*

The Turks for a long period, were thus restrained and *bound*. Though they came like a whirlwind, so soon as their time of preparation began, yet their triumphs were checked, their power was broken; the first of their dynasties was dissolved,—they seemed to be fitted for slaughter rather than prepared to slay: but yet apostate Christendom was not without its woe. The frenzy of a combined superstition and fanaticism wrought its own punishment, although that punishment failed to cure the mental and moral malady. Europeans, indeed, passed through the countries of Lesser Asia and Syria, which the Turks had previously overflowed: but desperate was the strife, and dreadful the slaughter; and their pathway was sprinkled, if we may use this profane phraseology of the world, with the best blood of Christendom. Europe, for the space of two hundred years, from the close of the eleventh to that of the thirteenth century, sent forth its swarms of armed crusaders; and innumerable calamities followed in their train, no less disastrous eventually to the Catholics than to the Turks.

The Crusaders, from the farthest west, with incredible loss of treasure and of blood, forced back the Turks to the regions where their conquests began: and the Moguls, from the farthest east, took up the task of repressing them. But though the extremes of the then known world met to eradicate the Turkish power;—

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. xi. pp. 425—428.

though the lion-hearted Richard of England, and also the great Mogul, traversed at different periods the same plains for the execution of the same purpose; nay, though Mahometans disowned the representatives and successors of the commander of the faithful, and Saracens and Fatimites contended with the Turks; yet not all the multitudes and millions of the teeming west, led on by thousands and thousands of the boldest knights in Europe, and by priests, and princes, and kings; nor the "fifteen hundred thousand" who formed the muster-roll of warriors of Zinghis and Kolagu Khan, could do any more than *bind* the Turkish sultanies for a season, who, in despite of their power, when such restraining causes ceased, were again free to sweep like a whirlwind, and to work the woe of idolatrous Christendom, after the grass or the sand of Palestine covered the myriads which Europe had sent thither, and "the Mogul emperors were lost in the oblivion of the desert."*

Of the *LOOSING* of the four sultanies, Gibbon speaks as freely as of the first *investiture of the Turkish Sultan* in his high office over the Moslem world.

"Their hostility, (that of Halagou and his successors,) to the Moslems, inclined them to unite with the Greeks and Franks; and their generosity or contempt had offered the kingdom of Anatolia as the reward of an Armenian vassal. *The fragments of the Seljukian monarchy* were disputed by the emirs who had occupied the cities or the mountains; but they all confessed the supremacy of the Khans of Persia, and he often interposed his authority, and sometimes his arms, *to check their depredations, and to preserve the peace and balance of the Turkish frontier.* The death of Cazan, one of the greatest and most accomplished princes of the house of Zinghis, *REMOVED THIS SALUTARY CONTROL; and the decline of the Moguls gave FREE SCOPE to the rise and progress of the OTTOMAN EMPIRE.*"†

The dates as well as the facts are striking. It was not solely the decline of the Moguls that gave free

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. ix. p. 428, chap. 64. † Ibid. p. 431.

scope to the Ottomans. In the year 1291, Acre was stormed and taken by the Mamelukes, and the Crusaders lost their last inch of ground in Palestine. "A mournful and solitary silence prevailed along the coast which had so long resounded with the world's debate." The death of Cazan, which removed the salutary control that checked the depredations of the Turks, took place on the twenty-first of May, 1301, and from that time "the decline of the Moguls gave free scope to the rise and progress of the Ottoman empire." And it was on the twenty-seventh of July, in the year 1301,* (erroneously stated by Gibbon 1299,) "of the Christian era, that Othman first invaded the territory of Nicodmedia; and the singular accuracy of the date seems to disclose some foresight of the rapid and destructive growth of the monster."† The bands were broken, the crusaders and the Mogul Tartars alike disappeared; the Turks were loosed, the second woe was in action again; and the worshippers of idols and persecutors of saints needed not to seek an enemy in Asia or in Europe. And having seen how the four saltanies were formed and were BOUND; their being LOOSED is the fact to which we have now to turn; and of that also there is no lack of proof, when our ready and laborious purveyor of evidence is at hand. The hewer of wood and drawer of water may smile or scowl at the edifice he labours to rear, but it is his task to labour still, till the last log be brought, or the last needful drop be drawn. A little more may soon suffice, and we have done, though not unthankfully, with Gibbon.

* Baron Von Hammer, whose name carries with it the highest authority in oriental literature and researches, has lately corrected this singular error of Gibbon's; and refers to the very authority of Pachymer, appealed to by Gibbon, in proof that 1301 is the true date. He refers also to other authorities, such as Nach Hadchi Chalfa's Chronology. *Geschichte des Osmanischen reiches*, durch Von Hammer, vol. i. p. 68, et not. p. 577. -

† Gibbon's Hist. vol. xi. p. 433, c. 64.

X "The annals of the twenty-seven years of his (Othman's) reign would exhibit a repetition of the same inroads; and his hereditary troops were multiplied in each campaign by the accession of captives and volunteers."* "In the *establishment and restoration of the Turkish empire*, the first merit must doubtless be assigned to the personal qualities of the sultans, since, in human life, the most important scenes will depend upon the character of a single actor. By some shades of wisdom and virtue, they may be discriminated from each other; but except in a single instance, a period of nine reigns, and two hundred and sixty-five years, is occupied from the elevation of Othman to the death of Soliman, by a race of warlike and active princes, who impressed their subjects with obedience and their enemies with terror."†

"The emperor Andronicus the younger was vanquished and wounded by (Orchan) the son of Othman; he subdued the whole province or kingdom of Bythinia, as far as the shores of the Bosphorus and Hellespont. In the list of his compeers, the princes of Roum and Anatolia, his military forces were surpassed by the emirs of Ghermian and Carmania, each of whom could bring into the field an army of forty thousand men. *Their dominions were situated in the heart of the SELJUKIAN KINGDOM*; but the holy warriors, though of inferior note, who formed new principalities on the Greek empire, are more conspicuous in the light of history."‡ "The captivity or ruin of the seven churches of Asia was consummated; and the barbarous lords of Ionia and Lydia still trample on the monuments of classic and Christian antiquity."§

"The Turkish *scimitar*," (*a great sword was given him*), "was wielded with the same spirit by Amurath the First, the son of Orchan. By the pale and fainting light of the Byzantine annals, we can discern that he subdued, without resistance, the whole province of Romania or Thrace, from the Hellespont to Mount Hæmus and the verge of the capital; and that Adrianople was chosen for the royal seat of his government and religion in Europe. Constantinople, whose decline is almost coeval with her foundation, had often, in the lapse of a thousand years; been assaulted by the barbarians of the East and West, but *never till this fatal hour* had the Greeks been surrounded, both in Asia and Europe, by the arms of the same hostile monarchy. Yet the prudence or generosity of Amurath postponed for a while this easy conquest, and his pride was satisfied with the frequent and hum-

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. xi. p. 433, c. 64. † Ib. vol. xii. p. 57, c. 65.

‡ Ibid. vol. xi. p. 436, chap. 64. § Ibid. p. 437.

ble attendance of the emperor, John Palæologus, and his four sons, who followed at his summons the court and camp of the Ottoman prince. He marched against the Sclavonian nations between the Danube and the Adriatic, the Bulgarians, Servians, Bosnians, and Albanians; and those warlike tribes who had so often insulted the majesty of the empire, were repeatedly broken by his destructive inroads.*

“The character of Bajazet, the son and successor of Amurath, is strongly expressed in his surname of *Ilderim*, or the lightning; and he might glory in an epithet which was drawn from the fiery energy of his soul, and the rapidity of his destructive march. In the fourteen years of his reign, *he incessantly moved at the head of his armies, from Boursa to Adrianople, from the Danube to the Euphrates*; and though he strenuously laboured for the propagation of the law, he invaded, with impartial ambition, the Christian and Mahometan princes of Europe and Asia. From Angora and Amasia to Erzeroum, the northern regions of Anatolia were reduced to his obedience; he stripped of their hereditary possessions his brother emirs of Ghermian and Caramania, of Aidin and Sarukham; and after the conquest of Iconium, THE ANCIENT KINGDOM OF THE SELJUKIANS AGAIN REVIVED IN THE OTTOMAN DYNASTY. Nor were the conquests of Bajazet less rapid or important in Europe. No sooner had he imposed a regular form of servitude on the Servians and Bulgarians, than he passed the Danube to seek new enemies and new subjects in the heart of Moldavia. Whatever yet adhered to the Greek empire in Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessally, acknowledged a Turkish master; an obsequious bishop led him through the straits of Thermopylæ into Greece. The humble title of emir was no longer suitable to the Ottoman greatness, and Bajazet condescended to accept the patent of sultan from the caliphs who served in Egypt under the yoke of the Mamelukes, a last and frivolous homage, that was yielded by force of opinion by the Turkish conquerors to the house of Abas, and the successors of the Arabian prophet. The ambition of the sultan was inflamed by the obligation of deserving this *august title*, and he turned his arms against the kingdom of Hungary, the perpetual theatre of the Turkish victories and defeats. Sigismund, the Hungarian king, was the son and brother of the emperors of the West; his cause was that of Europe and THE CHURCH; and on the report of his danger, the bravest knights of France and Germany were eager to march under his standard and that of the cross. In the battle of Nicopolis, Bajazet defeated a confederate army of a

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. xi. p. 445.

hundred thousand Christians, who had proudly boasted, that if the sky should fall they could uphold it on their lances. The far greater part were slain or driven into the Danube, and Sigismund, escaping to Constantinople by the river and the Black Sea, returned, after a long circuit, to his exhausted kingdom. In the pride of victory, Bajazet threatened that he would besiege Buda, that he would subdue the adjacent countries of Germany and Italy, and that he would feed his horse with a bushel of oats on the altar of St. Peter's at Rome.*

The Seljukian kingdom was revived ; the four sultanies into which it was divided were *loosed*, and conqueror after conqueror appeared, to maintain with the savage myriads that accompanied them, the character of a *woe* on idolatrous Christendom, which in their proud boasting they contemptuously defied, and threatened with ignominious and entire extermination.

The *four angels*, thus numbered, identified with a special region, *bound* and *loosed* again, were also PREPARED for a measured and allotted time.

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. Ver. 15.

History would be altogether indefinite if dates were not given, and periods or eras marked. It therefore abounds with dates, wherever minute accuracy is attained or even attempted. And prophecy, which is a divine record of the things that were to be, has also its dates or the defined limits of its periods, as well as any record of the past, such as alone can be penned by the hand of man. All things are possible with God, and unto him all things are known. In the sight of the Eternal, futurity has no distance, and darkness no shade. He who has the times and the seasons in his own power can reveal them as he pleases ; his ways are not as our ways, nor his

* Gibbon's Hist. pp. 447—450.

thoughts as our thoughts ; and He with whom a thousand years are as one day, and one day as a thousand years, reckons not of events or of time that is to come, as men, when they seek to tell of what has been, who search for documents and pry into facts, and after all their labour, are often perplexed with discordant testimony, and can only give a learned guess at the truth. To compute and adjust the periods of history, and fix dates to events with certainty, is often the most difficult task of the historian. But futurity is not less open and manifest to an all-seeing eye, though human vision may be strained in vain, while it tries long to discern clearly the things that are past. The darkness rests only with us ; with Him who dwelleth in the light there is no darkness at all, and the dictates of inspiration are not to be made chargeable with the defects either of human wisdom, which is often foolishness, or of human testimony, which is often indistinct and incomplete. As the record of past events must be appealed to in order to illustrate the fulfilment of the corresponding prediction, history must first do its part before it can be shewn that Revelation is not perfect in hers. Whenever that is first done, there is no reason then why those who read the revelation of Jesus Christ should give heed any more to the common admonition, scarcely savouring even of a little faith, "not to meddle with dates." Till the past be precisely ascertained, and also till the great scheme which involves the history of the world, be laid open by the revolution of events, in its chief bearings, to our view, the periods of prophecy must rest for a season in kindred obscurity with those of history, and from the darkness that is in us, the subject may long be involved in doubt, of which time and truth can alone disencumber the mind. Scripture is a rule of faith, and not a signal for warfare, except against spiritual enemies ; and the very incompetency of man to solve such difficulties, for a season,

may, for aught we yet can see, and coherent as the whole of Revelation is, be a wise ordination of Him with whom wisdom dwelleth, lest men should have sought to be furnished by his word with works that are not good, and think that their helping hand should be needed at the time for the execution of his purposes, while at length the dates may be so *manifest* and the truth so plain, that he who runneth may read. Such, we apprehend, is the easy solution of the question before us, *now* that Mahometanism visibly verges to its close, and that the sum of its history may be seen in a single view. Of that history this specific period may be reckoned as the key-stone, and if once it be fixed, the passage may be easy over one of the prophetic arches of time.

It is worthy of the reader's observation, if it be not indeed obvious, that the four angels were PREPARED for an hour, and a day, and a month, and a year, for to slay the third part of men; and in looking to the word of God, and not to any human interpretation, it is evidently the *period* of PREPARATION which is here designated, rather than the time which intervened from the loosing of the Turks to the height of their conquests, or the commencement of their fall. It is not said either that they were loosed, or that they were to slay, during the appointed and limited time, or that they were loosed in order that they might slay, but it is expressly said, (and the significance of this or of any other term must not be overlooked,) that they were *prepared* for a specified time, and for the accomplishment of a specified object, *for an hour, &c.* for to slay the third part of men. The command also was given to "loose the four angels which *are prepared*," words which directly imply that the time of *preparation* had begun before the time of *loosing*.

The period and the purpose for which they were prepared are also to be specially marked. The usual mode of the computation of prophetic time must

not here be departed from ; and it never has been questioned that it requires to be reckoned by the simple scriptural rule, "each day for a year." The very annunciation of the terms by which the period is measured, implies the utmost minuteness, and clearly limits the period of several centuries to a prophetic *hour*, or within the space of *fifteen days*.

All commentators, though espousing different theories seem to be agreed that the *day* denotes a year, the *month* thirty years, and that an *hour*, the twenty-fourth part of a day, is equivalent to the twenty-fourth part of a year, or fifteen days.

But on the assumption that the prophetic periods of *a time, times, and half a time*—of *one thousand two hundred and threescore years*, and also that of *forty-two months*, all refer to the same event, and mark the same time, the period of three hundred and sixty years (three times and a half, being thus 1260 years) has been sometimes adopted, as also the measure of the prophetic *year*. The term *year*, however, occurs in this instance alone ; and is thereby, as if not without design, distinguished from all these prophetic periods. And it may afterwards appear, that the forty-two months have a different application, and form the measure of a different period than the *time, times, and a half* ; and consequently that the natural *year*, as specially and peculiarly designated, must here be adopted, without reference to any other prophetic period, measured solely either by *times* or *months*.

Previous to the days of the apostle the length of the *year* was estimated and fixed, in the time of Julius Cæsar, at $365\frac{1}{4}$ days—every fourth being leap year. The minute fraction by which this exceeded the true year occasioned an error, which was first rectified by the Council of Nice, A. D. 325 ; and afterwards in the sixteenth century, as is still denoted by the difference between old and new stile. "In order to avoid any future deviation of the civil from

the solar year, it was determined, that instead of every hundredth or centurial year being a leap year, every four hundredth year only should be a leap year.* A day is thus suppressed in every three centuries out of four. And according to this *exact* computation, counting "each day for a year," a *year* denotes 365 years and (being three days less than one-fourth part of a year) eighty-eight days.

	Years.	Days.
An hour	0	15
A day	1	0
A month	30	0
A year	365	88
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Period of preparation	396	103

The prophetic period of preparation may be thus estimated at three hundred and ninety-six years and one hundred and three days.

The purpose of such a long-continued preparation was to *slay the third part of men*. The same term, *the third part*, which occurs in *each* of the first four trumpets, is here again repeated. Before any of the seven angels prepared themselves to sound, an angel took a censer, and filled it with the fire of the altar, and cast it upon the earth. From the effect of the sounding of the first angel, the *third part* of trees was burnt up. On the sounding of the second, the *third part* of the sea became blood, and the *third part* of the creatures which were in the sea died, and the *third part* of the ships were destroyed. Under the third trumpet, the star fell upon the *third part* of the rivers, and upon the fountains of waters, and the *third part* of the waters became wormwood, &c. And when the fourth angel sounded, the *third part* of the sun was smitten, and the *third part* of the moon, and the *third part* of the stars, so that the *third part* of them was darkened, and the day shone not for a *third*

* Brewster's Encyclopædia, vol. vi. p. 406.

part of it, and the night likewise. In each of these instances, as we have previously seen, the Roman empire was *partially* destroyed ; and under the fourth trumpet the western empire was extinguished. Terrible, but partial, destructions, complete as to the *part* affected, and reaching unto Rome, gradually broke down the power of that city, till it ceased to reign, in the imperial form, over *any part* of the earth. The emperor of Rome, as reigning in that city, *was taken out of the way*. But the *sun* was not wholly *smitten*. The rays of royalty still shone on the towers of Constantinople ; and the eastern empire shared not the fate of the western. Rome fell, but Constantinople stood. And though part after part had been destroyed, the Roman empire was not yet at an end ; and other powers than that of Goths, Huns, Vandals, and Lombards, had to rise in latter ages for its destruction, till Constantinople should yield to the sway of other lords than that of the successors of the Cæsars, and another, and a last, part of the *ancient* Roman empire be utterly destroyed.

Though introduced under every previous trumpet, and though repeated five times in the sounding of the fourth, yet, long and minute as it is, more than all that preceded it, the term *third part*, does not once occur in the delineation of the first woe, or fifth trumpet, descriptive of the Saracens. Into their hands, notwithstanding that they *pushed at* both, neither Rome nor Constantinople ever fell. The Saracens were commissioned to *hurt* ; but they could not *kill*. Constantinople survived, and the Roman empire lived. There was life in a *part*, and that life they could not touch. Yet the term, of such ominous import to the *existence* of the imperial power, is explicitly introduced *anew* in the description of the second woe-trumpet, or of the Turkish monarchy. The eastern empire, long after the extinction of the western, survived the irruptions of the Saracens ; but,

after a long period of preparation, it was wholly overthrown, and utterly subverted by the Turks, as other barbarians had previously, but each of them *partially*, subverted the empire of the west. The last portion of imperial power, pertaining strictly to the old Roman empire, was utterly destroyed by the Turks. The *second* was the completion of the work which had vainly been attempted under the *first woe*. The Turks at last struck at the heart of the empire, and pierced it. They *killed*, where the Saracens could only *hurt*. Symbols had previously denoted the *partial* destruction of the Roman empire; but, under the second woe, *prepared* for that purpose, and *loosed* for that end, the *third part* of men were to be *killed*. The existence of the ancient Roman empire ceased; and the expression significative of its partial, and at last of its final fall, as it is *not* to be found *once* in the Revelation, *previous* to the description of the beginning of the downfall of Rome, so it is *only once* to be found *again* in any other vision of the Apocalypse (referring also to Rome,) after being twice introduced in the delineation of the second woe, or of the kingdom of the Turks, which finally supplanted the empire of the Romans.

Looking naturally, or in a historical view, to the origin, and taking from that period, a human prospective view of their *then* probable fate, we see how, instead of a preparation, bordering on four centuries, for taking Constantinople, and subverting the last remains of the Roman empire—that the short period of *twenty years* alone intervened from the first Turkish invasion of it, when they came like a whirlwind, until the emperor was a prisoner in their hands, and the ransom of a million, with an annual tribute of three hundred and sixty thousand pieces of gold, was dictated by the “royal shepherd” of the *north*, and ratified by the emperor, as the terms of liberty and of peace. But we see, again, how the Greeks of the

Lower Empire disowned the treaty and dishonoured their prince. And the time was not yet when the *existence* and independence of the empire was to be compromised by an actual submission to such humiliating terms. Before the close of the same century, we see Malek Shah, the monarch of Asia, whose will was the law, or else to whom tribute was paid, from the confines of China to the neighbourhood of Constantinople, as he long maintained an undisputed dominion; but the conquests of Turkestan finally occupied his arms, and, like his father, he left unavenged the breach of treaty by the Romans. Even on the subdivision of his mighty empire into four sultanies, we behold how "the valiant Soliman" pursued his conquests, from the Euphrates to the Bosphorus, till Alexius, the emperor, "trembled behind the walls of his capital," when he saw before them the two hundred ships with which the hordes of Asia could with all facility pass over in succession to the shores of Europe, and to the gates of Constantinople. That city seemed to be already in his grasp. But Antioch disowned the authority of Soliman, and the course of the whirlwind was turned towards Syria. He entered Judea; and the crusades began. All the Turkish sultanies were then *bound*, and the taking of Constantinople seemed a dream that was past, and an object that the sons of Seljuk could never realize. That which before seemed but the work of a day, was for two centuries an impossibility not to be thought of. But, after the expiry of that period, all the bands on the Turks were almost simultaneously broken, and the race of Othman arose, to retrace the steps of the Seljukian monarchs, but not to stop till they should reach the goal. Yet all human calculation of probabilities were set at nought again. The shores of the Bosphorus and Hellespont alone stayed the sons of Othman. In the year 1353 the Turks were established in Europe. Adrianople became the seat of

the government of Amurath I., and his dominion reached to the "verge of the capital." But still a century elapsed before the fall of Constantinople. To take that city passed the power of Bajazet, who held as his own all the *countries* from the Euphrates to the Danube, and who threatened, after no enemy opposed him in the field, to feed his horse on the altar of St. Peter's at Rome.

"The Roman world was now contracted to a corner of Thrace, between the Propontis and the Black Sea, about fifty miles in length and thirty in breadth; a space of ground not more extensive than the lesser principalities of Germany or Italy, if the remains of Constantinople had not still represented the wealth and populousness of a kingdom.* The epistle of Bajazet to the emperor was conceived in these words:—"by the divine clemency our invincible scimitar" (*great sword given to take peace from the earth*) "has reduced to our obedience almost all Asia, with many and large *countries* in Europe," (*they had entered many countries, and overflowed and passed over,*) "EXCEPTING ONLY THE CITY OF CONSTANTINOPLE; for beyond the walls thou hast nothing left. Resign that city; stipulate thy reward; or tremble for thyself and thy unhappy people."†

The knights of Christendom, whose *orders*, of famous memory, were instituted for the defence of the Holy Land, or for restraining the progress of the infidels, could no longer sustain a falling empire; their power had been broken on the plains of Nicopolis; and they could not aid the feeble Palæologus, when the ancient capital of the world was threatened by an army of Ottomans. But the Turks were checked again in a manner neither thought nor dreamt of by either Greek or Roman. For, in the concluding words of the sixty-fourth chapter, and of the eleventh volume of Gibbon's history, we read,—

"The sultan claimed the city as his own; and, on the refusal of the emperor John, Constantinople was more closely pressed by the calamities of war and famine. Against such

* Gibbon, vol. xi. p. 457, chap. 64.

† Ibid. 458.

an enemy, prayers and resistance were alike unavailing ; and the savage would have devoured his prey, if, IN THE FATAL MOMENT, he had not been overthrown by *another savage stronger than himself*. By the victory of Timour, or Tamerlane, the fall of Constantinople was delayed about fifty years.*

The story of the cage of Bajazet is an everlasting memorial of his captivity ; and the fall of Constantinople was indefinitely delayed, and the doubt must have arisen in the mind of every Turk, whether its siege would ever be renewed, AT THE VERY MOMENT when its fall was otherwise inevitable. The period of PREPARATION was not fully accomplished. The civil wars of the sons of Bajazet succeeded the sudden irruption of Tamerlane and his Tartars, who, though with all its fierceness, passed, as he came, like a meteor. In 1421 the Ottoman empire was reunited under Amurath II, who, in the following year, laid siege in vain to Constantinople, with "an army of two hundred thousand Turks."

"Their assaults were repelled by the sallies of the Greeks and their foreign mercenaries ; the old resources of defence were opposed to the new engines of attack ; and the enthusiasm of the dervish who was snatched to heaven in visionary converse with Mahomet, was answered by the credulity of the Christians, who *beheld the Virgin Mary*, in a violet garment, walking on the *rampart* and animating their courage. After a siege of two months, Amurath was recalled to Bursa by a domestic revolt, which had been kindled by Greek treachery, and was soon extinguished by the death of a guiltless brother. While he led his janizaries to new conquests in Europe and Asia, the Byzantine empire was indulged in a servile and precarious respite of thirty years.*"

The exploits of Hunnaides and Scanderberg delayed, to the last, the ruin of the Greek empire. But the time at length approached, and the period of *preparation* was drawing to a close.

* Gibbon, vol. xii. p. 57, c. 65.

The marked era of the solemn "inauguration" of the Turkish sultan by the vicar of Mahomet, to be vicegerent over the Moslem world, could scarcely have escaped the peculiar attention of the least observant reader. By that remarkable event the connexion was established, as to unity of object, between the Saracen and Turkish dominions, "or the first and second woe." And the king of the Turks from that day *entered on the execution of his office*. Whenever victory attended his arms he looked to Constantinople, as finally the seat of his empire; and whether he was a descendant of Seljuk or of Othman, he never lost sight of the great aim of his race, to plant the crescent above the cross in the city of Constantine.

The "inauguration" and investiture of the sultan by the caliph, when the *sword* was literally put in his hand, is,—indiscriminately with other events, antecedent as well as subsequent—recorded by Gibbon under the date of A. D. 1055, without the specification of any more precise date till the death of Togrul in 1063. Yet, however unsatisfactory so indefinite a narration may be, it imparts an *approximation* to the truth. For by the same authority, with all concurrent history, we learn, that on the 9th of February 1451, Mahomet II., the conqueror of Constantinople, ascended the throne on the death of his father, Amurath II. The sixty-eighth chapter of Gibbon's History begins thus:—

"The siege of Constantinople by the Turks attracts our attention to the person and character of the *great destroyer*. In the first summer of his reign, he visited with an army the Asiatic provinces; but after humbling the pride, Mahomet accepted the submission of the Caramanian, *that he might not be diverted by the smallest obstacle from the execution of his great design.*"

A subsequent paragraph is titled in the margin, *hostile intentions of Mahomet, 1451*;—as the deliverance of the caliph of Bagdad by the *first Turk-*

ish king, as in like manner related under the date 1055. In noting the intermediate period, a few figures may supply the place of many words.

A. D. 1055.

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A. D. 1451

But the historian here lags behind the prophet, in accuracy and *minute* specification of dates. The word of God, in respect to that which was future, is far more precise than that of the fallible narrator of events that are past. And the man who was wont to sneer at the visions of Daniel and the Apocalypse, but consumed the midnight oil in unconsciously expounding their meaning, must here be charged with a want of historical definiteness and precision, and with conjoining paragraphs, periods, and dates, by which means it is, an eloquent history being in fault, and not by any want of definiteness on the part of the prophet, that the prophetic period immediately in our view, has been so long involved in needless obscurity. It is only when he ceases to be minute, and when distinct facts are not pointedly noted by his pen, that the most elaborate and the most celebrated of modern historians ceases to bear admissible and incontrovertible testimony to the divine reality and irrefragable truth of the visions of the exile of Patmos, who bore the testimony of Jesus. Let events run their course, and history do its part, and there is no fear that the Revelation of Jesus Christ will ever be scoffed at, except by the most irrational, as well as the most irreverent, of men. It is not, at least, for those who idolize the historian, to mock the prophet who has overmatched him in accuracy.

But we have no quarrel with Gibbon. That which sufficed abundantly for general history, comes not up to the proof that is requisite here. He flags in testimony to the truth of prophecy only where he fails in

precision. And though, abandoning his usual habit, which some of his votaries may term *evil*, he drops for a moment the office of interpreter, yet he leads to the interpretation, and we need only to be guided by his hand to find it. Nor is it far to seek, nor difficult to be found. For on the *very page* which he has quoted, and to which he refers—Guignes' General History of the Huns, vol. iii. p. 197,*—not only is the exact year (1057) in which the sultan was installed in his high office, expressly stated, but the act of his investiture is described, without being mingled up in the same paragraph with those events to which it was consecutive; and, in a note, the very day of the week, of the month, and of the year, are all specified with a minuteness satisfactory to the most scrupulous and rigid inquirer, and therefore enough to form one of the limits of a period, recorded in the word of God, and one of the means of discerning its absolute truth. Any sober-minded interpreter of that word has no need to fear facts, but only to collect them; nor to flinch from dates, but only to investigate them:—the more narrowly the better, and the nearer to the truth, even till it be defined, and touched, and handled on every side.

The whole period of *preparation*, as the reader must remember, was three hundred and ninety-six years and one hundred and three days. Commencing in the year 1057, its expiry, within the period of a year, is a matter perfectly plain.

A. D. 1057
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A. D. 1453

The accurate and learned Guignes, as he is repeatedly termed by Gibbon, who freely translates from his pages, referring to the authority of Bondari and

* See Appendix, where the paragraph referred to is inserted at length.

d'Herbelot, states that the date of the entrance of Togrul Beg into Bagdad, and of his installation by the sultan, was the 25th of Dzoulcaada in the year of the Hegira 448.

The Hegira, or the *flight*, commenced on the night between the 15th and 16th of July, A. D. 622, or six hundred and twenty-one years, and one hundred and ninety-six days after the beginning of the Christian era. The Arabic, or Turkish, year is lunar, consisting of 354 days, in a cycle of 30 years, each cycle containing eleven intercalary or additional days. Dzoulcaada is the eleventh month of the Turkish year. And from the commencement of the Hegira to the 25th of that month, A. H. 448, (or the 3d of February 1057,) comprehends the period of four hundred and thirty-four years, and two hundred and three days; while the prophetic period of preparation subsequent to the 25th of Dzoulcaada, A. D. 448, fills up the last space from the commencement of the Christian era to the expiry of the time during which the Turks were *prepared* to kill the third part of men.

	Years.	Days.
From the beginning of the Christian era to the beginning of the Hegira	}	621 196
From ditto to the 35th of Dzoulcaada		434 203
Prophetic period of preparation		396 130
		<hr/>
		1452 137

The specification of the events and dates which close up the period during which the Turks were *prepared for to slay the third part of men*, and the elucidation of the subsequent predictions descriptive of the siege of Constantinople and the subversion of the eastern empire, may, as well as all their previous history, be left exclusively to Gibbon. Before closing his volumes, none serve the cause of truth in better stead than the last, to which we would now appeal.

"Mahomet II., though the proudest of men, could stoop from ambition to the basest arts of dissimulation and deceit. Peace was in his lips while war was in his heart; *he incessantly sighed for the possession of Constantinople*; and the Greeks, by their own indiscretion, afforded the first pretence of the fatal rupture. Their ambassadors pursued his camp to demand the payment, and even the increase of their annual stipend. Mahomet assured them that he would redress the grievances of the Greeks. No sooner had he repassed the Hellespont, than he issued a mandate to suppress their pension and to expel their officers from the banks of the Strymon: in this measure he betrayed a hostile mind; and the second order announced, and in some degree commenced, the siege of Constantinople. In the narrow pass of the Bosphorus, an Asiatic fortress had formerly been raised by his grandfather; in the opposite situation, on the European side, he resolved to erect a more formidable castle; and a thousand masons were commanded to assemble in the spring on a spot named Asomaton, about five miles from the Greek metropolis."*

The proposed erection of such a fortress on such a site appalled the inhabitants of the imperial city. But to the remonstrances of the ambassadors of the emperor, the haughty and indignant Turk, marking the change of time by a change of tone, as if he had cherished a presentiment of the work, which it lay unto his hands to do, replied,

"Return, and inform your king that the *present Ottoman* is far different from his predecessors; that *his* resolutions surpass *their* wishes; and that *he performs* more than *they* could resolve. Return in safety—but the next who delivers a similar message may expect to be flayed alive."†

"On the 26th March 1452, the appointed spot of Asomaton was covered with an active swarm of Turkish artificers, and the materials by sea and land were diligently transported from Europe and Asia. Each of the thousand masons was assisted by two workmen, &c. Mahomet himself pressed and directed the work with indefatigable ardour. The Greek emperor beheld with terror the irresistible progress of the work. Before the first of September the fortifications were completed. But the siege of Constantinople was *deferred till the ensuing spring*."‡

* Gibbon's Hist. chap. 68, vol. xii. pp. 187—189.

† Ibid. p. 190.

‡ Ibid. pp. 191, 192.

In the storming of Jerusalem, as Josephus relates, a Roman soldier, by a divine impulse, threw a blazing brand into the temple, which was devoted to destruction. Alaric, as recorded by Gibbon, solemnly asserted, that he felt a secret and preternatural impulse, which directed, and even compelled, his march to the gates of Rome. And a kindred sentiment, when the divine word was about to be accomplished in an instance scarcely less conspicuous, does not seem to have been altogether a stranger to the breast of Mahomet the Second, when his work too was to be done. The narration comes not from the pen of an enthusiast. Whatever passion may prevail, or whatever spirit may rule in the hearts of men, He who is higher than the highest can declare it.

“The Greeks and the Turks,” continues Gibbon, “passed an anxious and sleepless winter; the former were kept in awe by their fears, the latter by their hopes. In Mahomet, that sentiment was inflamed by the ardour of his youth and temper. His serious thoughts were irrevocably bent on the conquest of the city of Cæsar. At the dead of night, about the second watch, he started from his bed, and commanded the instant attendance of his prime visier. On receiving the royal mandate, he embraced, perhaps for the last time, his wife and children; filled a cup with pieces of gold, hastened to the palace, adored the sultan, and offered, according to the oriental custom, the slight tribute of his duty and gratitude. ‘It is not my wish,’ said Mahomet, ‘to resume my gifts, but rather to heap and multiply them on thy head. In my turn I ask a present far more valuable and important—Constantinople. See you this pillow? all the night, in my agitation, I have pulled it on one side and on the other; I have risen from my bed, again have I lain down; yet sleep has not visited these weary eyes. Beware of the gold and silver of the Romans; in arms we are superior; and, with the aid of God, and the prayers of the prophet, we shall speedily become masters of Constantinople.’ To sound the dispositions of his soldiers, he often wandered through the streets alone and in disguise; and it was fatal to discover the sultan when he wished to escape from the vulgar eye. His hours were spent in delineating the plan of the hostile city; in debating with his generals and engineers on what spot he should erect his batteries; on which side he should assault the walls;

where he should spring his mines ; to what place he should apply his scaling-ladders ; and the exercise of the day repeated and proved the lucubrations of the night."

"While Mahomet threatened the capital of the East, the Greek emperor implored with fervent prayers the assistance of earth and heaven. But the invisible powers were deaf to his supplications ; and Christendom beheld with indifference the fall of Constantinople.† In the beginning of the spring, the Turkish vanguard swept the towns and villages as far as the gates of Constantinople ; submission was spared and protected ; whatever presumed to resist was exterminated with fire and sword. On the approach of Mahomet himself, all was silent and prostrate : he first halted at the distance of five miles ; and from thence advancing in battle array, planted before the gate of St. Romanus the imperial standard ; and on the sixth of April (1453) formed the memorable siege of Constantinople."‡

Human schemes are often abortive, and frequently display all want of affinity to the word of Him who changeth not. Constantinople had often before stood secure, when seemingly on the verge of ruin. It had hitherto defied Goths, Persians, Avars, Saracens, and Turks. And after its last siege began, new doubts arose whether it would not once again be raised. A wooden turret of the largest size, from which incessant volleys were discharged, and by means of which chiefly the tower of St. Romanus was at length overturned, was reduced to ashes in a night, and before the dawn, the tower of St. Romanus was again strong and entire. The sultan

"Deplored the failure of his design, and uttered a profane exclamation, that the word of thirty-seven thousand prophets should not have compelled him to believe that such a work, in so short a time, could have been accomplished by the infidels."§

"The situation of the imperial city was strong against her enemies, and accessible to her friends ; and a rational and moderate armament of the maritime states might have saved the relics of the Roman name, and maintained a Christian

* Gibbon's Hist. pp. 195—197.

† P. 201.

† Ibid. p. 200.

§ Ibid. p. 214.

fortress in the heart of the Ottoman empire.—*Mahomet began to meditate a retreat*, and the siege would have been speedily raised, if the ambition and jealousy of the second visier had not opposed the perfidious advice of Calil Bashaw, who still maintained a secret correspondence with the Byzantine court. The reduction of the city appeared to be hopeless unless a double attack could be made from the harbour as well as from the land; but the harbour was inaccessible; an impenetrable chain was now defended by eight large ships, more than twenty of a smaller size, with several gallies and sloops; and instead of forcing this barrier, the Turks might apprehend a naval sally and a second encounter in the open sea. In this perplexity the genius of Mahomet conceived and executed a plan of a bold and marvellous cast, of transporting by land his lighter vessels and military stores from the Bosphorus into the higher part of the harbour. The distance is about ten miles; the ground is uneven, and was overspread with thickets; and as the road must be opened behind the suburb of Galata, their free passage or total destruction must depend upon the option of the Genoese. But these selfish merchants were ambitious of the favour of being the last devoured; and the deficiency of art was supplied by the strength of obedient myriads.—In the course of a single night, this Turkish fleet painfully climbed the hill, steered over the plain, and was launched from the declivity into the shallow waters of the harbour, far above the molestation of the deeper vessels of the Greeks. The real importance of this operation was magnified by the consternation and confidence which it inspired; but the notorious, unquestionable fact was displayed before the eyes, and is recorded by the pens of the two nations.”*

The days thus drew on in seeming chances and changes, even at that time incalculable by man, and still holding the character of “marvellous” in history, as the fatal hour was drawing nigh. But whenever the full period of *preparation*, measured by centuries and marked to a day, was just about to be accomplished, no obstacle intervened to retard or prevent the execution of the work of destruction. Europe could not, or did not, afford one crusade for the preservation of the last capital of the Roman Empire, though it had sent forth seven for the recovery of a

* Gibbon's Hist. pp. 218, 220.

tomb. The spirit of the knights of Europe sunk within them as if their proper clothing had been wool and not steel. The pope sent a legate to the emperor; but no army of Romans, in the hour of need, embarked anew from Brundisium to Byzantium. Nor did another Tamerlane arise, to stay, a second time, the fall of the imperial throne, as *he* before, "at the fatal moment," had checked a mightier conqueror, or more ferocious monster, than Mahomet II.

"After a siege of *forty days the fate of Constantinople* COULD NO LONGER BE AVERTED. The diminutive garrison was *exhausted by a double attack; the fortifications, which had stood for ages against hostile violence, were dismantled on all sides by the Ottoman cannon; many breaches were opened; and near the gate of St. Romanus, four towers had been levelled with the ground.*"*

There is a time and a tide, in the life of man, and in the history of nations, which mortals often cannot forecast for a moment, but which all lie naked and opened in the sight of the Eternal. So soon as the last day of the period of PREPARATION was come, the Turks had no fears, and the Greeks had no hopes. Though only a few days before Mahomet had begun to meditate a retreat, and the siege would have been speedily raised if the advice of the visier had prevailed, and though till then it could not have been told by man but that the Turkish army was itself devoted to destruction, even as the Bosphorus had been so lately tainted with their blood, yet *after the fortieth day of the siege* THE FATE OF CONSTANTINOPLE COULD NO LONGER BE AVERTED; and looking to this *fact*, no truth can be more plain than the seemingly impenetrable mystery which fools would scoff at; for on the first day *after* the fortieth day of the siege, the prophetic period of preparation expired.

The siege commenced on the 6th of April 1453.

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. xii. p. 221.

The fortieth day after which, was the 16th May, and not a single day intervened till the period of *preparation* was complete; for the ensuing day, the first on which the *fate* of Constantinople *could no longer be averted*, terminated the time for which the Turks were prepared for to slay the third part of men. And *within the space of one prophetic hour*, or in less than fifteen days, (the twenty-fourth part of a single year,) the last Roman emperor was slain, and a barbarian Turk was seated on the throne of the Cæsars, but not till after almost four hundred years had intervened from the time that the sword was put in the hands of the sultan, and nearly the same period had elapsed since a Turkish king had set his eyes and his heart on the towers of Constantinople.

The short space from the close of the time of preparation to the work of slaughter, was partly occupied in abortive negotiation, and superstition had its share in the brief delay of the taking of the city. All treaty was in vain, the Turks were *prepared to slay the third part of men*, or finally to subvert the last part of the ancient Roman empire.

“During the siege of Constantinople, the words of peace and capitulation had been sometimes pronounced; and several embassies had passed between the camp and the city. The Greek emperor was humbled by adversity; and would have yielded to any terms compatible with religion and royalty. The Turkish sultan was desirous of sparing the blood of his soldiers; still more desirous of securing for his own use the Byzantine treasures; and he accomplished a sacred duty in presenting to the *gabours*, the choice of circumcision, of tribute, or of death. The avarice of Mahomet might have been satisfied with an annual sum of one hundred thousand ducats; but his ambition grasped the capital of the East: To the prince he offered a rich equivalent, to the people a free toleration, or safe departure; but after some fruitless treaty, he declared his resolution of finding either a throne or a grave under the walls of Constantinople. A sense of honour, and the fear of universal reproach, forbade Palæologus to resign the city into the hands of the Ottomans,

and he determined to abide the last extremities of war. *Several days were employed by the sultan in the preparations for the assault ; and a respite was granted by his favourite science of astrology, which had fixed on the twenty-ninth of May as the fortunate and fatal hour.* On the evening of the twenty-seventh he issued his fatal orders ; assembled in his presence the military chiefs ; and dispersed his heralds through the camp to proclaim the duty and the motives of the perilous enterprise.*

"Mahomet," says Sir Paul Rycaut, "resolved to continue the siege ; and thereupon gave full authority to Zoganus (the third bashaw) to appoint a day for a great and general assault to be given, resolving at once to engage all his forces upon the winning of the city. Which charge Zoganus gladly took upon him, and, with his good liking, appointed the 29th day of May for the general assault, *being then the Tuesday next following.*"†

"In this great and general attack, the military judgment and astrological knowledge of Mahomet advised him to expect the morning, the memorable twenty-ninth of May, in the fourteen hundred and fifty-third year of the Christian era."‡ After a siege of fifty-three days, Constantinople, which had defied the power of Chosroes, the Chagan and the Caliphs, was irretrievably subdued by the arms of Mahomet the Second.§

The work was that day executed for which the four Turkish sultanies, that were bound in the Euphrates and again loosed, had been so long prepared. The eastern empire of the Romans ceased ; and an apostate church was punished. Constantinople was irretrievably subdued. "Her empire," says Gibbon, "was only subverted by the Latins ; her religion was trampled in the dust by the Moslem conquerors." The trumpet was also a woe.

And the number of the ARMY OF THE HORSEMEN were two hundred thousand thousand, (duo muriades muriadon,) most literally myriads of myriads ; and I heard the number of them, v. 16. The English

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. xii. pp. 222, 223. See Appendix.

† Sir P. Rycaut's Turkish Hist. vol. i. p. 234.

‡ Gibbon's Hist. vol. xii.

§ Ibid. p. 231.

word *myriad* may be said to be adopted, rather than derived from the Greek. And, as if Gibbon had borrowed the term from the Greek text, he thus announces the first irruption of the Turks into the Roman territories, in words which we here cannot but repeat—"The MYRIADS OF TURKISH HORSE overspread a frontier of six hundred miles from Tauris to Arzeroum, and the blood of one hundred and thirty thousand Christians was a grateful sacrifice to the Arabian prophet." Thus began the second woe, under the form of an army of *horsemen*, the number of which was rated by *myriads*. The king of the north came *with horsemen*—the army of horsemen is here numbered. And originally without *any* foot soldiers, the Turkish *army* not only consisted exclusively of *horsemen*, but of *myriads* of these. Other expressions used by Gibbon, some of which have already been incidentally introduced, have the same significancy. "The sultan, Togrul, marched at the head of an irresistible force—of innumerable armies." "*Two hundred thousand* soldiers marched under the banner of Alp Arsan." And, after the division of the Seljukian empire into *four* sultanies, "the hordes of Turkmans overspread the plain of western Asia." On the surrender of Nice to the crusaders (A. D. 1097) the Turkish emirs obeyed the call of loyalty and of religion; the Turkmen hordes encamped round the standard of the sultan Soliman, of the race of Seljuk, and "his whole force is loosely stated by the Christians at two hundred, or even three hundred and sixty thousand *horse*." When the Turks, after being *bound* were again loosed, "*all the troops* of Orchan consisted of loose squadrons of Turkman *cavalry*." "The whole mass of the Turkish powers" at the siege of Constantinople, "is magnified by Ducas, Chalcondyles, and Leonard of Chios, to the amount of three or four hundred thousand men; but Phranza was a less remote and more accurate

judge; and his precise definition of two hundred and fifty-eight thousand does not exceed the measure of experience and probability.*

And I saw the horses in the vision and them that sat on them, having breastplates of fire, and of jacinth, and brimstone, and the heads of the horses were as the heads of lions. The colour of fire is red, of hyacinth or jacinth blue, and of brimstone yellow, and this, as Mr. Daubuz observes, "has 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 Spahis particularly some have red and some have yellow standards, and others red or yellow mixed with other colours. In appearance, too, the heads of the horses were as the heads of lions, to denote their strength, courage, and fierceness."† Without rejecting so plausible an interpretation, the suggestion may not be unwarrantable, that a still closer and more direct exposition may be given of that which the prophet saw in the vision. In the prophetic description of the fall of Babylon, they who rode on horses are described as holding the bow and the lance; but it was with other arms than the arrow and the spear that the Turkish warriors encompassed Constantinople; and the breastplates of the horsemen, in reference to the more destructive implements of war, might then, for the first time, be said to be fire, and jacinth, and brimstone. The musket had recently supplied the place of the bow. *Fire* emanated from their breasts. *Brimstone*, the flame of which is *jacinth*, was an ingredient both of the *liquid fire* and of gunpowder. Congruity seems to require this more strictly literal interpretation, as conformable to the significancy of the same terms in the immediately subsequent verse, including the same general description. A new mode of warfare was at that

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. xii. p. 203.

† Bishop Newton.

time introduced, which has changed the nature of war itself, in regard to the form of its instruments of destruction ; and sounds and sights unheard of and unknown before, were the death-knell and the doom of the Roman empire. Invention outrivalled force ; and a new power was introduced, that of musketry as well as of artillery, in the art of war, before which the old Macedonian phalanx would not have remained unbroken, nor the Roman legions stood. That which John saw " in the vision," is read in the history of the times.

And out of their mouths issued fire and smoke and brimstone, and by these three were the third part of men killed, by the fire and by the smoke and by the brimstone which issued out of their mouths. Verse 18.

" Among the implements of destruction, he studied with peculiar care the recent and tremendous discovery of the Latins, and his artillery surpassed whatever had yet appeared in the world. A founder of cannon, a Dane or Hungarian, who had been almost starved in the Greek service, deserted to the Moslems, and was liberally entertained by the Turkish sultan. Mahomet was satisfied with the answer to his first question, which he eagerly pressed on the artist, ' Am I able to cast a cannon capable of throwing a ball or stone of sufficient size to batter the walls of Constantinople ? ' ' I am not ignorant of their strength, but were they more solid than those of Babylon, I could oppose an engine of superior power ; the position and management of that engine must be left to your engineers.' On this assurance a foundery was established at Adrianople ; the metal was prepared ; and at the end of three months Urban produced a piece of brass ordnance of stupendous and almost incredible magnitude. A measure of twelve palms is assigned to the bore, and the stone bullet weighed about six hundred pounds. A vacant place before the new palace was chosen for the *first experiment*, but to prevent the sudden and mischievous effects of astonishment and fear, a proclamation was issued that the cannon would be discharged the ensuing day. The explosion was felt or heard in a circuit of a hundred furlongs ; the ball, by the force of the gunpowder, was driven about a mile, and on the spot where it fell it buried itself a fathom deep in the ground. For the conveyance of this destructive engine, a frame or carriage of thirty waggons was linked to-

gether, and drawn along by a train of sixty oxen; two hundred men on both sides were stationed to poise or support the rolling weight; two hundred and fifty workmen marched before to smooth the way and repair the bridges, and near two months were employed in a laborious journey of an hundred and fifty miles. I dare not reject the positive and unanimous evidence of cotemporary writers. A Turkish cannon more enormous than that of Mahomet, still guards the entrance of the Dardanelles, and if the use be inconvenient, it has been found, on a late trial, that the effect is far from contemptible. A stone bullet of eleven hundred pounds weight was once discharged with three hundred and thirty pounds of powder; at the distance of six hundred yards it shattered into three rocky fragments, traversed the strait, and leaving the waters in a foam, again rose and bounded against the opposite hill."

"In the siege, the incessant volleys of lances and arrows were accompanied with the smoke, the sound and the fire of their *musketry* and *cannon*. Their *small arms* discharged at the same time either five or even ten balls of lead of the size of a walnut, and according to the closeness of the ranks and the force of the powder, several breast-plates and bodies were transpierced by the same shot. But the Turkish approaches were soon sunk in trenches, or covered with ruins. Each day added to the science of the Christians, but their inadequate stock of gunpowder was wasted in the operations of each day. Their ordnance was not powerful either in size or number, and if they possessed some heavy cannon, they feared to plant them on the walls lest the aged structure should be shaken and overthrown by the explosion. The same destructive secret had been revealed to the Moslems, by whom it was employed with the superior energy of zeal, riches, and despotism. The great cannon of Mahomet has been separately noticed; *an important and visible object in the history of the times*; but that enormous engine was flanked by two fellows almost of equal magnitude; *the long order of the Turkish artillery* was pointed against the walls; fourteen batteries thundered at once on the most accessible places, and of *one* of these it is ambiguously expressed that it was mounted with one hundred and thirty guns, or that it discharged one hundred and thirty bullets. Yet in the power and activity of the sultan we may discern *the infancy of the new science*; under a master who counted the moments, the *great cannon* could be loaded and fired no more than seven times in one day. The heated metal unfortunately burst;

several workmen were destroyed; and the skill of an artist was admired who bethought himself of preventing the danger and the accident by pouring oil after each explosion into the mouth of the cannon.”*

“Constantinople, when besieged by the Saracens in 688 and 718, twice owed its deliverance to the novelty, the terrors, and the real efficacy of the *Greek fire*. The important secret of compounding and directing this artificial fire was imparted by Callinicus, a native of Hieropolis in Syria, who deserted from the service of the caliph to that of the emperor. The skill of a chemist and engineer was equivalent to the succour of fleets and armies; and the discovery or improvement of the military art was fortunately reserved for the distressful period when the degenerated Romans of the East were incapable of contending with the warlike enthusiasm and useful vigour of the Saracens. The historian who presumes to analyze this extraordinary composition, should suspect his own ignorance, and that of his Byzantine guides, so prone to the marvellous, so careless, and in this instance so jealous of the truth. From their obscure, and perhaps fallacious hints, it would seem that the principal ingredient of the Greek fire was the naphtha or liquid bitumen, a light, tenacious and inflammable oil which springs from the earth, and catches fire as soon as it comes in contact with the air. The naphtha was mingled, I know not by what methods or in what proportions, with sulphur, (*brimstone*,) and with the pitch that is extracted from ever-green firs. From this mixture, which produced a *thick smoke* and a loud explosion, proceeded a fierce and obstinate flame, which not only rose in perpendicular ascent, but likewise burnt with equal vehemence in descent or lateral progress, and instead of being extinguished, it was nourished and quickened by the element of water. This powerful agent was justly denominated by the Greeks the *liquid* or the *maritime fire*.”†

The Saracens, as often repeated, were to hurt, or torment, but not to *kill*. The Roman empire survived all their attacks. The deliverance of Constantinople from their power was “chiefly ascribed” to a noble and terrible invention at that period; and a deserter from the caliph betrayed the secret, and thus communicated the means of safety. But after their course was wholly run, and the first woe had passed,

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. xii. pp. 210, 211.

† Ibid. vol. x. pp. 15—16, c. 52.

and also after the period of preparation was complete, and the prophetic history brought down to the time when the *third part* was named again, and that third part to be *killed*, which the Saracens never could effect, a Latin renegado, but be it remembered, an ill requited engineer, if not a starved mechanic, passed over to the Moslems, communicated again a novel and more important discovery, and superintended the formation of new engines of destruction, by which, when its long-suspended day was come, a breach was for the first time made in the walls of Constantinople, by which the Turkish avengers of idolatry and transgressions entered. But the Greek fire, by which, when itself a novelty, Constantinople had been twice preserved, was, after being known for eight centuries, to be turned at last with destructive effect against the idolatrous and devoted city.

“A circumstance that *distinguishes* the siege of Constantinople, is the reunion of the ancient and modern artillery. The cannon were intermingled with the mechanical engines for casting stones and darts; the bullet and the battering-ram were directed against the same walls; nor had the discovery of gunpowder (of which also brimstone is an ingredient) “superseded the use of the liquid and unextinguishable fire. A wooden turret of the largest size was advanced on rollers; this portable magazine of ammunition and fascines was protected by a threefold covering of bulls’ hides; *incessant volleys* were securely discharged from the loopholes; in the front, three doors were contrived for the alternate sally and retreat of the workmen. They ascended up a staircase to the upper platform, and as high as the level of that platform a scaling ladder could be raised up by pulleys to form a bridge, and grapple with the adverse rampart. By these various acts of annoyance, some as *new* as they were pernicious to the Greeks, the tower of St. Romanus was at length overturned,” &c.*

Having traced, from the Book of Revelation and from Gibbon’s History, the decline and fall of the Roman empire, from the first irruption of the Goths on Rome to the last assault of the Turks on Constan-

* Gibbon’s Hist. vol. xii. p. 213.

tinople,—the tragic scene,—the issue of a mad ambition and of a corrupted faith,—cannot be more appropriately closed, in reference to the Roman empire, than in the words of Gibbon,—with the prediction annexed.

“ In the confusion of darkness an assailant may sometimes succeed; but in this great and general attack, the military judgment and astrological knowledge of Mahomet advised him to expect the morning, the memorable twenty-ninth of May, in the fourteen hundred and fifty-third year of the Christian era. The preceding night had been strenuously employed; the troops, the cannon, and the fascines were advanced to the edge of the ditch, which in many parts presented a smooth and level passage to the breach; and his fourscore galleys almost touched with their prows and their scaling ladders, the less defensible walls of the harbour. Under pain of death silence was enjoined; each individual might suppress his voice and measure his footsteps; but the march and labour of thousands must inevitably produce a strange confusion of dissonant clamours, which reached the ears of the watchmen of the towers. At day-break, without the customary signal of the morning gun, the Turks assaulted the city by sea and land; and the similitude of a twined or twisted thread has been applied to the closeness and continuity of their line of attack. The foremost ranks consisted of the refuse of the host, a voluntary crowd, who fought without order or command; of the feebleness of age or childhood, of peasants and vagrants, and of all who had joined the camp in the blind hope of plunder and martyrdom. The common impulse drove them onwards to the wall; the most audacious to climb were instantly precipitated; and not a dart or a bullet of the Christians were idly wasted on the accumulated throng. But their strength and ammunition were exhausted in this laborious defence; the ditch was filled with the bodies of the slain; they supported the footsteps of their companions; and of this devoted vanguard the death was more serviceable than the life. Under their respective bashaws and sanjaks, the troops of Anatolia and Romania were successfully led to the charge: their progress was various and doubtful; but after a conflict of two hours, the Greek still maintained and improved their advantage; and the voice of the emperor was heard encouraging his soldiers to achieve, by a last effort, the deliverance of their country. In that fatal moment the Janisaries arose fresh, vigorous, and invincible. The sultan himself on horseback,

with an iron mace in his hand, was the spectator and judge of their valour; he was surrounded by ten thousand of his domestic troops, whom he reserved for these decisive occasions; and the tide of battle was directed and impelled by his voice and eye. His numerous ministers of justice were posted behind the line, to urge, to restrain, and to punish; and if danger was in front, shame and inevitable death were in the rear of the fugitives. The cries of fear and of pain were drowned in the martial music of drums, trumpets, and attaballs; and experience has proved that the mechanical operation of sounds, by quickening the circulation of the blood and spirits, will act on the human machine more forcibly than the eloquence of reason and honour. From the lines, the gallies, and the bridge, the Ottoman artillery thundered on all sides; and the camp, and the city, the Greeks and the Turks, were involved in a *cloud of smoke, which could only be dispelled by the final deliverance or destruction of the Roman empire.* The single combats of the heroes of history or fable amuse our fancy, and engage our affections; the skilful evolutions of war may inform the mind, and improve a necessary though pernicious science; but in the uniform and odious pictures of a general assault, all is *blood, and horror, and confusion*: nor shall I strive, at the distance of three centuries and a thousand miles, to delineate a scene of which there *could be no spectators*, and of which the actors themselves were incapable of forming any just or adequate idea.*

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.

Gibbon, in his sweet retirement at Lausanne, with a library open before him, and enjoying the “dignity” of literature the more because without its “case,” could calmly trace the decline of Rome from the blaze of vain glory that encircled the Cæsars, to the dark cloud that finally enveloped the last of the Constantines, and which was indeed dispelled by the destruction of the Roman empire. At the distance of three centuries he could delineate, from the writers of the time, the closing scene that shrouded the glory of ancient Rome,—the dark veil which at last cover-

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. xii. pp. 226—228.

ed all its greatness. He could minutely delineate the long process of preparation, whether it was seemingly retarded or advanced; he could describe the engines and the armies, and detail the whole scene to the moment of assault; he could show the composition of the liquid fire, and tell the measure of the cannon's mouth: but when all was in action, and the walls of Constantinople were the field of combat, where the Turks were to crown their victories, or the Greeks to save the empire,—when from the lines, the gallies, and the bridge, the Ottoman artillery thundered on all sides,—till the double walls were reduced to a heap of ruins,—when the incessant musketry, all around the city, from a line compacted like a twisted thread, sent forth showers of bullets, large as a walnut, and the long train of cannon, into which, at intermediate vollies, oil was poured, and of one of which the mouth was three feet wide,—when all these, to use the most familiar expression, opened their fire,—when *out of their mouths issued fire, and smoke, and brimstone*, nothing else could be seen, nothing else could be told; the task of the historian ceased, and the faithfulness of the picture, which it behoved him to draw, could only be known by the deepness of its shade. The dreadful hour had to pass away, and *literally*, the cloud of smoke had first to be dispelled, before the effect could be seen, or the historian resume the power of description. He could tell no more three centuries after the event, nor even the historians of the day, than the prophet told, more than thirteen centuries before it. And the exile in Patmos, for the word of God, and for the testimony of Jesus Christ, could, with three words, set the scene as vividly before us, as a philosophical historian of the eighteenth century, could depict it in a laboured and eloquent description, which Europe waited to read and to applaud.

But the words of a Mahometan as well as of a

sceptical historian, may be adduced, as he unconsciously describes the effects of the vision, in the very same terms with the prophet.

“At length the Moslems placed their cannon in an effectual position, and threw up their intrenchments. The gates and ramparts of Constantinople were pierced in a thousand places. The *flames* which issued from the mouths of these instruments of warfare, of brazen bodies, and *fiery jaws*, cast grief and dismay among the miscreants. The *smoke* which spread itself in the air, and ascended towards the heavens, rendered the brightness of day sombre as night: and the face of the world soon became as dark as the black fortune of the unhappy infidels.”*

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.

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. To slay the third part of men was the purpose for which they were *prepared*. To the meaning of the *third part*, as a term associated with the downfall of the ancient Roman Empire, we have already adverted. And how *that* was accomplished, in this instance, will best be demonstrated by a last word from Gibbon. His pages, like a clear and perfect echo, answer to the words of the Revelation of Jesus Christ, even to the last syllable, so long as we stand upon the ground which lies within the reach of their response.

How, as pertaining to the Roman Empire, or the imperial power, the dynasty of the Cæsars, as well as the life of the emperor, was the *third part of men SLAIN*? How was the *third part of men killed by the fire, the smoke, and the brimstone which issued out of their mouths*?

* Translated from the *Tadg al Tavarikh* (Diadem of Histories) of Saadeddin, the preceptor and historiographer of Murad III. and the prince of Ottoman historians, in David's Grammar of the Turkish Language. See Literary Gazette, No. 804, June 16th, 1832, p. 370.

"The double walls were reduced by the cannon to a heap of ruins. The walls and towers were covered with a swarm of Turks; and the Greeks now driven from the vantage ground were overwhelmed by increasing multitudes. Amidst these multitudes, the *emperor*, who accomplished all the duties of a general and a soldier, was long seen and finally lost. The *nobles*, who fought round his person, sustained *till their last breath*, the honourable names of Palæologus and Cantacuzone; his mournful exclamation was heard, 'Cannot there be found a Christian to cut off my head?' and his last fear was that of falling alive into the hands of the infidels. The prudent despair of Constantine cast away the purple; amidst the tumult he fell by an unknown hand, and his body was buried under a mountain of the SLAIN."*

"The profanation and plunder of the monasteries and churches (*strongholds*) excited the most tragic complaints. The dome of St. Sophia itself, the earthly heaven, the second firmament, the vehicle of the cherubim, the throne of the glory of God, was despoiled of the *oblations of ages*; and the gold and silver, the pearls and jewels, the vases and sacerdotal ornaments," (*gold and silver, and precious stones, and pleasant things, with which they honoured the tutelary saints in their strongholds*) "were most wickedly converted to the service of mankind. After the *divine images* had been stripped of all that could be valuable to a profane eye, the canvass, or the wood, was torn, or broken, or burnt, or trode under foot, or applied in the stables or the kitchen, to the vilest uses."† "From the first hour of the memorable twenty-ninth of May, disorder and rapine prevailed in Constantinople, till the eighth hour of the same day, when the Sultan himself passed in triumph through the gate of St. Romanus."‡

They trusted in the gods that could not save:— They gave to others the glory that is due unto the Lord. Instead of honouring the Lord with their substance, they laid their gold and their pearls on the shrines in honour of saints. From sin they could not be redeemed, while they looked not alone to the only Mediator. Idolatry drew all its vices in its train. The long-suffering patience of God would not strive with them any more. And in a figure it may

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. xii. pp. 230, 231.

† Ibid. pp. 237, 238.

‡ Ibid. 239.

be said, as without a figure it is true, that in punishment of idolatry, Mahomet the Second passed in triumph through the gate of St. Romanus.

The description of the second woe is concluded in these words : *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. And the rest of the men which were not killed with these plagues yet repented 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 ; neither repented they of their murders, nor of their sorceries, nor of their fornications, nor of their thefts.* Ver. 19, 20, 21.

The woe was not ended when the time of preparation was complete, and the third part of men were slain. The first woe did not begin till transgressors came to the full ; and the second woe did not cease when some were killed, and yet *the rest repented not*. The woe, as if with a mouth, vollied forth fire, and smoke, and brimstone ; but it vanished not with the *thick smoke* in which the Roman empire was extinguished. Other miseries succeeded, which formed part, as it were, of the same body, and had their origin in the same woe, of which they formed the succession. Likened unto serpents, their power was in their mouth and in their tails. After they had bitten, they stung. That venomous reptile was marked as their symbol even in their early history.

“ The Turkmans were not ashamed or afraid to measure their courage and numbers with the proudest sovereigns of Asia. Massoud the son and successor of Mahmud, had too long neglected the advice of his wisest omrahs. ‘ Your enemies,’ they repeatedly urged, ‘ were in their origin a swarm of ants ; they are now little snakes, and, unless they be instantly crushed, they will acquire the venom and magnitude of serpents.’ ”*

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. x. p. 343. c. 57.

The Turks long continued to maintain the power by which they overflowed the countries, and won Constantinople. After their settlement in that seat of government, the Lower Empire was divided into many provinces, at the *head* of which was a pasha with despotic *power*.* The eastern Roman empire was subdivided among Turkish despots, armed with supreme authority: *their tails were like unto serpents, and had HEADS, and with them they do hurt.*

The Turks were chiefly limited to the east, as the barbarians of northern Europe had overthrown the *original* empire of the west. In western Europe the imperial title had revived in the race of Charlemagne, and he and his successors had greatly exalted and aggrandized the Roman hierarchy. Italy, though threatened by Bajazet, yet escaped; and the emperor of Germany was not only ignorant that Vienna and Europe were saved by the instrumentality of the Poles. Though they saw the judgments on the half of Christendom, and that no trust was ever more fallacious, or delusion greater, than confidence in the protection of saints or images, yet *the rest of the men which were not killed with these plagues*, but before whose eyes they were set, and over whose heads they were hung, yet *repented not of the works of their hands that they should not worship demons, or the souls of men departed, and idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and of wood, which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk.* The worship of these was not forsaken. Christian temples were

* It may be remarked that the actual symbol of the *power* of the pashas, by which their dignities were conferred, and their authority defined and regulated, accords even with the letter of the prediction. A pasha of one tail, or a pasha of two tails, or a pasha of three tails, are their respective designations, according to the extent of their pachalics and the degree of their *power*. Whether single, double, or triple, a tail is the insignia which a Turkish pasha bears; and it forms to him the ducal, archducal, or princely coronet of other regions.

still full of idols. The intercession of many mediators was implored. Shrines were loaded with rich offerings; and the decking of a senseless block continued to be held the test of piety and the measure of devotion. Men with eyes, and ears, and limbs, bowed down as lowly and devoutly as ever to things that had none, except what the axe or the chisel had formed. And this insane prostration of intellect and debasement of soul was continued after the kindred images in Eastern Europe and in Asia were more wisely converted into some useful purpose, such as metals, wood, or stone could serve. Half a century expired from the taking of Constantinople to the beginning of the Reformation; and how lamentable is it still, notwithstanding the light of the nineteenth century, to witness how tardy is the repentance, in Catholic countries, for breaking the first and second commandments of the law—and with that tenacity, in marvellous deceitfulness of heart, the blinded devotee clings to his idol, and holds to the strong delusion of trusting to the merits of a saint, who can no more redeem him from any of his iniquities, than the deaf and dumb idol can hear and answer his prayers, or the inanimate image give protection to the man, who could burn or break it, like any other piece of wood or of stone.

Idolatry has ever its concomitant evils. The righteousness that is of faith cannot be dissevered from true godliness. The second great commandment of the law, our duty to man, though like unto the first, is preceded by it. That love which is the fulfilling of the law can only flow from the love of God; and faith in Christ is the only pure and sweet fountain, the well-spring of holiness, in the heart of the believer, unto life everlasting. But when the heart, out of which are the issues of life, is not purified by a holy faith, out of it proceed evil thoughts, and murders, and adulteries; and a form of religion becomes the cloak and not the cure of iniquity. To believe in works

of supererogation, or the merits of the saints, the only charter of tutelary demi-gods to the privilege of intercession and the rights of devotion, is to resist and grieve the Holy Spirit, in the very first of his operations on the spirits of men,—that of convincing them of *sin*: and mere modes of delusion are substituted for the only means of salvation. Idolatry is an evil thing, not only as withholding from the Lord his due, and installing others in his place, which surely is transgression enough so call down judgments, but it is also the seed of a poisonous plant, the cankered root of a corrupted tree, of which unrighteousness is the natural fruit. And as *the rest of the men* which were not killed by these plagues repented not of the works of their hands, that they should not worship demons, and idols of gold and silver, and brass and stone, and of wood, which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk; so *neither repented they of their murders, nor of their sorceries, nor of their fornication, nor of their thefts.* Tenderly as Du Pin touches the prevalent vices and multiform corruptions that reigned, throughout the fifteenth century, in the church of Rome, or among all the nations of western and northern Europe, yet he could not disguise them; and the confessions of a son of the church may suffice to show that the “mother” was unworthy of the name of “holy.”

“The necessity of the reformation of the church in its *head and members*, as to discipline and manners, was acknowledged by the councils of Constance and Basil. They vainly attempted to accomplish it; for it was always delayed and eluded. The general councils which were to meet for that purpose every tenth year, was a project never put in execution. There were scarcely any general councils; and those which did meet, thought of nothing but the *most gross disorders* of the inferior clergy: the declarations and remonstrances of private men about the abuses of that time were fruitless, and served only to preserve the memory of them to posterity.”*

* Du Pin's Hist. 15th cent. vol. xiii. chap. ix.

It is the remarkable testimony of the same Roman Catholic writer, as if he had been watching so as to note the continued corruption of the Romish church from that very time, that from the year 1450 to the end of the century,

"The popes were more occupied with the cares of *aggrandizing their temporal power*, and settling their families (!) than with ecclesiastical affairs. Yet many letters and bulls were written in their name, about the affairs which are commonly carried to the court of Rome, as the *canonization of saints*, the privileges of monasteries, the affairs of religious orders, of *dispensations*, processes about churches," &c.*

According to the same authority, and from the same page, it appears, that

Callistus III., who was elevated to the popedom, during the very time of the siege of Constantinople, instead of repenting of the works of the hands of his predecessors, "added to the corruptions of the church by establishing the *festival of the transfiguration*. His successor, Pius II., immediately on ascending the papal throne, issued a *bull*, retracting all that he had formerly written in favour of a council, and forbade any appeal from the pope to that tribunal."†

Sixtus IV., by two decrees, granted indulgences to those who should celebrate the feast of the conception, and say the office composed by Nogarol, a canon of Verona; and enjoined catholics not to treat with heretics, on pain of excommunication. He limited the term of the jubilee to five-and-twenty years. Alexander VI., the last pope of the fifteenth century, having become the head of the church by bribery and largesses to the cardinals of benefices and lands, "disgraced his dignity by his *ambition*, his *avarice*, his *cruelties*, and *debaucheries*, and died in the year 1503, by unconsciously taking the poison which he had prepared for the cardinals."‡ Indulgences were granted in vast numbers, and with great facility, by the popes, who, in the same century, began to convert them into a species of traffic.§

* Du Pin's Hist. c. 3, p. 56.

† Ibid. p. 88.

‡ Ibid. p. 56.

§ Ibid. chap. ix. p. 139.

From such evidence, drawn from such a source, we may, without suspicion or reserve, turn to other testimony, which, however, we still choose, as before, to give without mutilation, in the very words of the historian to whose province it pertains.

“The monastic societies, as we learn from a multitude of authentic records, and from the testimonies of the best writers, were at this time so many herds of lazy, illiterate, profligate and licentious epicureans, whose views of life were confined to opulence, idleness and pleasure. The rich monks, particularly those of the Benedictine and Augustine orders, perverted their revenues to the gratification of their lusts, and renouncing in their conduct all regard to the respective rules of discipline, drew upon themselves the popular odium by *their sensuality and licentiousness*.”*

“While the opulent monks exhibited to the world scandalous examples of luxury, ignorance, laziness and licentiousness, accompanied with a barbarous aversion to every thing that carried the remotest aspect of science, the mendicants, and more especially the Dominicans and the Franciscans, were chargeable with irregularities of another kind. Besides their arrogance, which was excessive, a quarrelsome and litigious spirit, an ambitious desire of encroaching *upon the rights and privileges of others*, an insatiable zeal for the propagation of superstition among them, drew upon them the displeasure and indignation of many,” &c.†

“The state of religion was become so corrupt among the Latins, that it was utterly destitute of any thing that could attract the esteem of the truly virtuous and judicious part of mankind. This is a fact, which even they whose prejudices render them unwilling to acknowledge it, will never presume to deny. The number of those who were studious to acquire a just notion of religious matters, to investigate the true sense of the sacred writings, and to model their lives and manners after the precepts and example of the divine Saviour, was extremely small, and such had some difficulty in escaping the jibbet, in an age when virtue and sense were looked upon as heretical.”‡

“This miserable state of things, this enormous perversion of religion and morality, *throughout almost all the western provinces*, were observed and deplored by many wise and good men who all endeavoured, though in different ways, to

* Mosheim, cent. 15, part ii. c. 2, § 19.

† Ibid. c. 15, part ii. sect. 20. ‡ Ibid. cent. 3. sect. 1.

stem the torrent of superstition, and to reform a corrupt church. The Waldenses, though persecuted and oppressed on all sides, and from every quarter, raised their voices even in their remote vallies and lurking places, where they were driven by the violence of their enemies, and called aloud for succour to the expiring cause of religion and virtue. Even in Italy, many, and among others the famous Savanavola, had the courage to declare, that Rome was become the image of Babylon; and this notion was adopted by multitudes of all ranks and conditions. But the greatest part of the clergy and monks, persuaded that their honours, influence, and riches would diminish in proportion to the increase of knowledge among the people, and would receive inexpressible detriment from the downfall of superstition, opposed, with all their might, every thing that had the remotest aspect of a reformation, and imposed silence upon these unfortunate censors by the formidable authority of fire and sword.”*

“The additions that were made to the Roman ritual, relating to the worship of the Virgin Mary, public and private prayers, the traffic of *indulgencies*, and other things of that nature, are of too little importance to deserve an exact and circumstantial enumeration. We need not such a particular detail to convince us, that, in this century, religion was reduced to a mere show, to a show composed of pompous absurdities and splendid trifles.”†

The rest of the men,—i.e. “throughout almost all the western provinces,”—*repented not of the works of their hands*; each new pontificate added to the superstitious rites of the church, and the greatest part of the clergy opposed reformation with all their might. *They repented not of their MURDERS*—heresy, or the pure worship of God, was repressed with “fire and sword;” and any virtuous man who dared to confess Christ before men, and to hold to the simplicity of the faith, could scarcely escape the gibbet: and the vallies of Piedmont continued to be stained with the blood of the Waldenses, the purest in Christendom. *They repented not of their SORCERIES*. The grossest fictions and the most extravagant inventions conti-

* Mosheim, cent. 3. sect. 3.

† Ibid. c. 4, sect. 2.

nued to be practised. The power of miracles was as needful as ever in the Catholic church, to vindicate its assumption, sustain its power, and supply the lack of virtue. And to palm on the world a belief in the efficacy of indulgencies, and in a thousand other superstitious fooleries—to warp the minds of men into such “strong delusion” and belief of lies—were such acts of sorcery as were never surpassed by all the artifice of mortals.—*They repented not of their FORNICATION.* “The licentiousness and sensuality” of the monks towards the close of the fifteenth century, were aggravated rather than abated; and if the papal chair could have admitted of a deeper stain, the “debaucheries” of Alexander VI. would have tinged it. *Neither repented they of their THEFTS.* “The rights and privileges of others were encroached on” by greedy mendicant monks. The sale of *indulgencies*; the purchased sentence of absolution; masses said for the dead, when paid for by the living; hundreds of monasteries held *in commendam*, given to those who were not regularly invested with office, and by whom no duty was done; and all manner of gifts and precious things extorted from the people in honour of the saints,—were all augmented rather than diminished during the fifteenth century, and grew still more and more numerous towards its close: and, in moral estimation, these are all mere modes of robbery and acts of theft, from which neither the first nor yet the second woe deterred the church of Rome. None of their corruptions were cured; none of their iniquities were abandoned. The men that were not killed, continued in their sins—and other judgments had yet to arise, before the world would learn righteousness.

“Constantinople,” says Gibbon, after having described its fall, “no longer appertains to the Roman historian; and it is *before the sepulchre of the mar-*

tyr that the new sultans are girded with the sword of empire.—The *remaining fragments* of the Greek kingdom in Europe and Asia I shall abandon to the Turkish arms; but the final extinction of the two last dynasties which have reigned in Constantinople should terminate the decline and fall of the Roman empire in the east.”

A false philosophy, often a mere idolizing of the works of nature, and sometimes, as if copying dark superstition, of the memories of the dead, might have wisdom to receive a warning and to bear a rebuke, from the palpable manifestation of the punishment of idolatry and vice. They who reject “the everlasting covenant” need not look unprofitably to the fate of those who broke it.

And before passing from the observation of the second woe and closing the volumes of Gibbon, it may not be superfluous to remark, how all his industry and genius were unconsciously devoted to the task of showing the form in which a portion of the revelation of Jesus Christ was developed. He who, by a strange speculation, which demonstrates nothing but the aberrations of a vigorous mind, strove to show how the gospel was propagated by secondary causes, when all the powers of the world and all the passions of men were arrayed against it, has himself proved, by the toil of twenty years, and thousands of accumulated facts, that such causes hold but a subordinate rank even in the revolutions of earthly kingdoms, and that there is a first Great Cause which controls them all, and overrules them with supreme dominion. To the purposes of the Most High, the labours of sceptics, as well as the ravages of heathens, may all be made alike subservient. And they who, following in the wake of Gibbon, would consign the work that was of God to the sole agency of secondary causes, and think that the gospel of his Son was the device

of human wisdom, and its propagation through the world the mere effect of human means, may look to the result of all their master's labours, which fix *him* for ever as a commentator on the apocalypse ; and witnessing the suicidal act, they may gird on that sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, before "the sepulchre of the martyr" to a vain philosophy, which, instead of a crown of glory, can at best requite its self-immolated victims with nothing but the poisonous breath of human praise, while it shuts them out from that kingdom, compared to which the throne of the Cæsars was a bauble, their sceptre a straw, and all the history of their empire like a dream when one awaketh. Empires and men may each have their day : but the word of God abideth for ever.

From the first founder of the Persian empire to the last of the Cæsars, we have seen the truth of that word traced down from point to point, and the character and order of all the successive eras marked, as a "local habitation," was given them in the Scriptures, before they had a name on earth. And now at last, bordering again on modern times, and looking on dominions that still exist, little else but one grand moral revolution remains to be seen ; and, in the direct line of prophetic history, nothing but the connecting link between it and another revolution requires to be traced, till the reader may look with the light of prophecy on scenes which perhaps excited, cheered, or startled him in his boyish days ; and the same divine light may lead us on till the gray-headed man may learn to look for other scenes that he yet may see.





