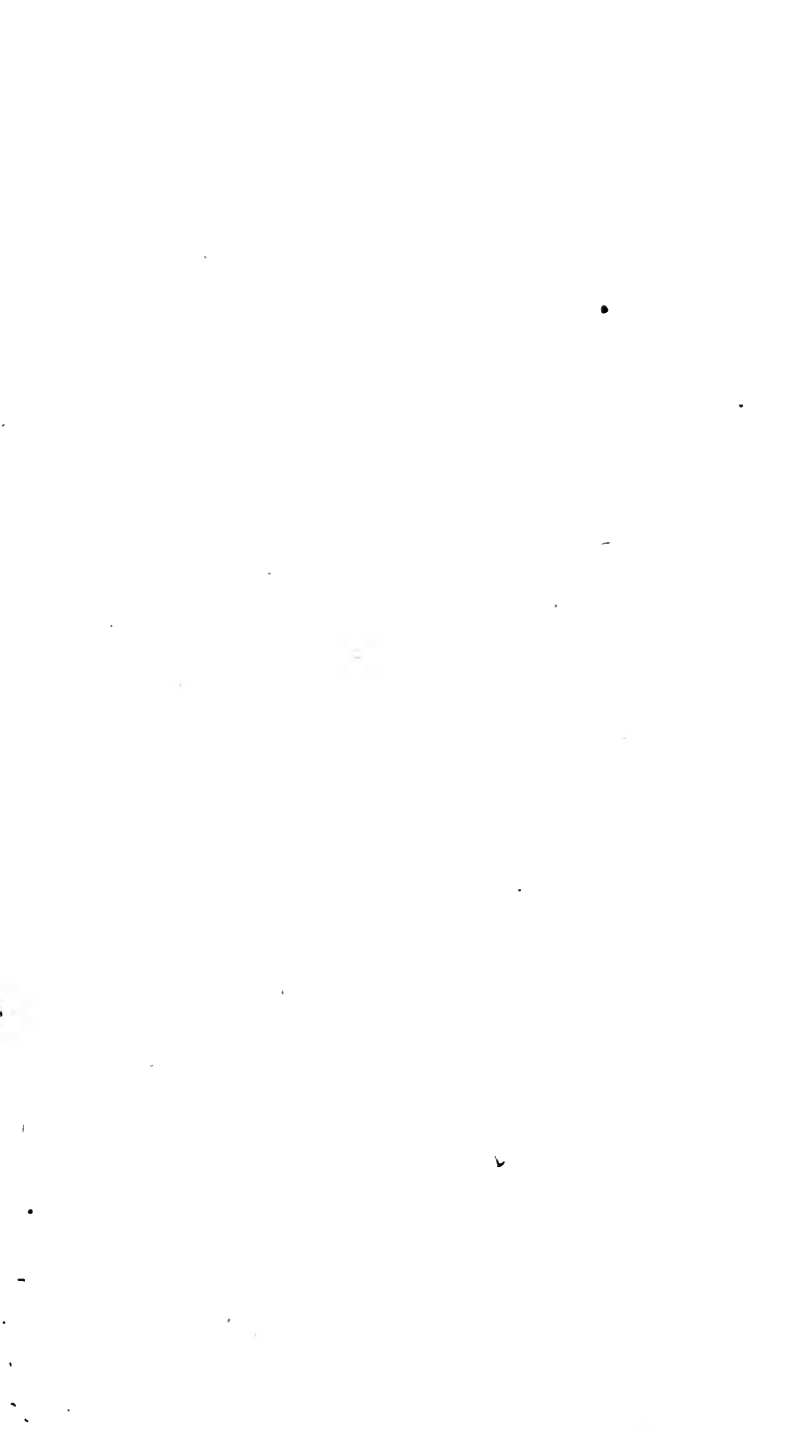


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DISSERTATIONS
ON THE
PROPHECIES,

WHICH HAVE
REMARKABLY BEEN FULFILLED,
AND AT THIS TIME

Are fulfilling in the World.

BY THOMAS NEWTON, D.D.

Late Lord Bishop of BRISTOL.

I N T W O V O L U M E S .

V O L . I .

N E W - Y O R K :

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M, DCC, XCIV.

TO HIS GRACE THE
LORD ARCHBISHOP
OF
CANTERBURY;
[DR. HERRING.]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

WITH Your wonted condescension and goodness, to accept this offering from my hands, as a testimony of my veneration for Your Grace, and of my gratitude for your favors to me. A work of this kind I could not indeed address to any one so properly as to Your Grace, on account of your eminent station, and much more on account of your amiable qualities, and still more as I have the happiness to live under your peculiar jurisdiction: and Your Grace is very kind in permitting me to inscribe it to Your Name, which kindness I will not abuse with the usual stile of dedications. Your Grace's virtues are so well known, and so universally esteemed, as to stand in need of no commendation, and much less of mine.

I would rather beg leave to apprise Your Grace, and the reader, of the design of these Dissertations: which is not to treat of the prophecies in general,

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nor even of those prophecies in particular, which were fulfilled in the person and actions of our Saviour; but only to such as relate more immediately to these later ages, and are in some measure receiving their accomplishment at this time. What first suggested the design, were some conversations formerly with a great General*, who had for many years the chief commands in the army, and was a man of good understanding and some reading, but unhappily had no great regard for revealed religion or the clergy. When the prophecies were urged as a proof of revelation, he constantly derided the notion, asserted that there was no such thing, and that the prophecies which were pretended were written after the events. It was immediately replied, that though such a thing might with less scruple and more confidence be affirmed of some prophecies fulfilled long ago, yet it could never be proved of any, the contrary might be proved almost to a demonstration: but it could not be so much as affirmed of several prophecies without manifest absurdity; for there were several prophecies in scripture, which were not fulfilled till these later ages, and were fulfilling even now, and consequently could not be framed after the events, but undeniably were written and published many ages before. He was startled at this, and said he must acknowledge, that if this point could be proved to satisfaction, there would be no arguing against such plain matter of fact; it would certainly convince him, and he believed would be the readiest way to convince every reasonable man of the truth of revelation.

* Marshal Wade.

D E D I C A T I O N.

It was this occasion, my Lord. that first gave rise to these *Dissertations*, which were originally drawn up in the form of some sermons. But since that time they have been new-modell'd, much alter'd and much enlarg'd, and confirm'd by proper authorities. And though some of them only are here published, yet each dissertation may be considered as a distinct treatise by itself. It is hoped indeed, that the whole, like an arch, will add strength and firmness to each part; but at the same time care hath been taken, that the parts should have strength in themselves, as well as a relation to the whole, and a connection with each other. The publication therefore of some parts cannot be improper; and the others shall go to the press, so soon as an indifferent share of health, constant preaching twice a-day, and other necessary duties and avocations will permit me to put the finishing hand to them.

Every reader must know, Your Grace and every scholar must know more especially, that such works are not to be precipitated. They require time and learned leisure, great reading and great exactness, being disquisitions of some of the most curious points of history, as well as explications of some of the most difficult passages of scripture. And I should not presume to offer any of them to Your Grace, or to submit them to the public censure, if they had not been first perus'd and correct'd by some of my friends, and particularly by three of the best scholars, and ablest critics of this age, Bishop Pearce, Dr. Warburton, and Dr. Fortin; who were also my friendly coadjutors in my edition of Milton;

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and as they excel in all good learning themselves, so they are very ready to promote and assist the well-meant endeavours of others.

When the other parts shall appear, they shall likewise beg Your Grace's patronage and protection. And in the mean time may Your Grace's health be re-established, and continue many years for the good of this church and nation! It is nothing to say that it is my earnest wish: It is the wish of all mankind: but of none more ardently than,

May it please your GRACE,

Your GRACE'S most dutiful,

and obliged,

and obedient Servant,

THOMAS NEWTON.

Oct. 5, 1754.

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DISSERTATIONS
ON THE
PROPHECIES,

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

INTRODUCTION.

ONE of the strongest evidences for the truth of revealed religion, is that series of prophecies which is preserved in the Old and New Testament; and a greater service, perhaps, could not be done to Christianity, than to lay together the several predictions of scripture, with their completions, to show how particularly things have been foretold, and how exactly fulfilled. A work of this kind was desired by the Lord Bacon, in his (*a*) *Advancement of Learning*: and he entitleth it *The History of Prophecy*; and therein would have “every prophecy of the scripture be sorted, with the event fulfilling the same, throughout the ages of the world, both for the better confirmation of faith,” as he saith, “and for the better illumination of the church, touching those parts of prophecies which are yet unfulfilled: allowing nevertheless that latitude which is agreeable and familiar unto divine prophecies, being of the nature of the author, with whom a thousand

(*a*) Book the 2d. in English.

“ years are but as one day, and therefore they are not fulfilled
 “ punctually at once, but have springing and germinant accom-
 “ plishment throughout many ages, though the heighth or ful-
 “ nefs of them may refer to some one age.”

Such a work would indeed be a wonderful confirmation of our faith, it being the prerogative of God alone, or of those who are commissioned by him, certainly to foretel future events; and the consequence is so plain and necessary, from the believing of prophecies to the believing of revelation, that an infidel hath no way of evading the conclusion but by denying the premises. But why should it be thought at all incredible for God, upon special occasions, to foretel future events? or how could a divine revelation (only supposing that there was a divine revelation) be better attested and confirmed than by prophecies? It is certain that God hath perfect and most exact knowledge of futurity, and foresees all things to come as well as comprehends every thing past or present. It is certain too, that as he knoweth them perfectly himself, so he may reveal them to others in what degrees and proportions he pleaseth; and that he actually hath revealed them in several instances, no man can deny, every man must acknowledge, who compares the several prophecies of scripture with the events fulfilling the same.

But so many ages have passed since the spirit of prophecy hath ceased in the world, that several persons are apt to imagine, that no such thing ever existed, and that what we call predictions are only histories written, after the events had happened, in a prophetic stile and manner: which is easily said indeed, but hath never been proved, nor is there one tolerable argument to prove it. On the contrary there are all the proofs and authorities, which can be had in cases of this nature, that the prophets prophesied in such and such ages, and the events happened afterwards in such and such ages: and you have as much reason to believe these, as you have to believe any ancient matters of fact whatever; and by the same rule that you deny these, you might as well deny the credibility of all ancient history.

But such is the temper and genius of infidels; *they understand neither what they say; nor whereof they affirm*; and so betray their own ignorance, rather than acknowledge the force of divine truth; and assert things without the least shadow or colour of proof, rather than admit the strongest proofs of divine

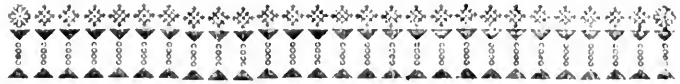
revelation. It betrays ignorance indeed, altogether unworthy of persons of liberal education, not to know when such and such authors flourished, and such and such remarkable events happened; and it must be something worse than ignorance to assert things without the least shadow or colour of proof, contrary to all the marks and characters by which we judge of the truth and genuineness of ancient authors, contrary to the whole tenor of history both sacred and profane, which in this respect give wonderful light and assistance to each other: and yet these are the men, who would be thought to see farther and to know more than other people, and will believe nothing without evident proof and demonstration.

The facts, say they, were prior to the predictions, and the prophecies were written after the histories. But what if we should be able to prove the truth of prophecy, and consequently the truth of revelation, not by an induction of particulars long ago foretold and long ago fulfilled, the predictions whereof you may therefore suppose to have been written after the histories, but by instances of things which have confessedly many ages ago been foretold, and have in these latter ages been fulfilled, or are fulfilling at this very time; so that you cannot possibly pretend the prophecies to have been written after the events, but must acknowledge the events many ages after to correspond exactly with the predictions many ages before? This province we will now enter upon, this task we will undertake, and will not only produce instances of things foretold with the greatest clearness in ages preceding, and fulfilled with the greatest exactness in ages following, if there is any truth in history, sacred or profane; but we will also (to cut up the objection entirely by the roots) insist chiefly upon such prophecies, as are known to have been written and published in books many ages ago, and yet are receiving their completion, in part at least, at this very day.

For this is one great excellency of the evidence drawn from prophecy for the truth of religion, that it is a *growing* evidence; and the more prophecies are fulfilled, the more testimonies there are and confirmations of the truth and certainty of divine revelation. And in this respect we have eminently the advantage over those, who lived even in the days of Moses and the prophets, of Christ and his apostles. They were happy indeed in hearing their discourses and seeing their miracles, and doubtless "many righteous men have desired to see those

“ things which they saw and have not seen them, and to hear “ those things which they heard and have not heard them:” Mat. xiii. 17. but yet I say we have this advantage over them, that several things, which were then only foretold, are now fulfilled; and what were to them only matters of faith, are become matters of fact and certainty to us, upon whom the latter ages of the world are come. God in his goodness hath afforded to every age sufficient evidence of the truth. Miracles may be said to have been the great proofs of revelation to the first ages who saw them performed, Prophecies may be said to be the great proofs of revelation to the last ages who see them fulfilled. All pretence too for denying the prophecies of scripture is by these means absolutely precluded; for how can it be pretended that the prophecies were written after the events, when it appears that the latest of these prophecies were written and published in books near one thousand seven hundred years ago, and the events have, many of them, been accomplished several ages after the predictions, or perhaps are accomplishing in the world at this present time? You are therefore reduced to this necessity, that you must either renounce your senses, and deny what you may read in your bibles, together with what you may see and observe in the world: or else must acknowledge the truth of prophecy, and in consequence of that the truth of divine revelation.

Many of the principal prophecies of scripture will by these means come under our consideration, and they may be best considered with a view to the series and order of time. The subject is curious as it is important, and will be very well worth *my* pains and *your* attention: and though it turn chiefly upon points of learning, yet I shall endeavor to render it as intelligible, and agreeable, and edifying as I can to all sorts of readers. It is hoped the work will prove the more generally acceptable, as it will not consist merely of abstract speculative divinity, but will be invivened with a proper intermixture of history, and will include several of the most material transactions from the beginning of the world to this day.



DISSERTATIONS

ON THE

PROPHECIES,

I.

NOAH'S PROPHECY.

THE first prophecy that occurs in scripture, is that part of the sentence pronounced upon the serpent, which is, as I may say, the first opening of Christianity, the first promise of our redemption. We read Genesis iii. 15. "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." If you understand this in the sense which is commonly put upon it by christian interpreters, you have a remarkable prophecy and remarkably fulfilled. Taken in any other sense, it is not worthy of Moses, nor indeed any other sensible writer.

The history of the Antediluvian times is very short and concise, and there are only a few prophecies relating to the deluge. As Noah was a preacher of righteousness to the old world, so he was a prophet to the new, and was enabled to predict the future condition of his posterity, which is a subject that, upon many accounts, requires a particular discussion.

It is an excellent character that is given of Noah, Gen. vi. 9. "Noah was a just man, and perfect in his generations, and Noah walked with God." But the best of men are not without

their infirmities; and Noah, Gen. ix. 20, &c. having “*Plant ed a vineyard, and drank of the wine,*” became inebriated, not knowing perhaps the nature and strength of the liquor, or being through age incapable of bearing it: and Moses is so faithful an historian, that he records the failings and imperfections of the most venerable patriarchs, as well as their merits and virtues. Noah, in this condition, lay *uncovered within his tent*: and Ham, the father of Canaan, saw the nakedness of his father; and instead of concealing his weakness, as a good-natured man, or at least a dutiful son would have done, he cruelly exposed it *to his two brethren without*. But Shem and Japheth, more compassionate to the infirmities of their aged father, *took a garment, and went backward* with such decency and respect, that they *saw not the nakedness of their father* at the same time that they *covered it*. When Noah awoke from his wine, he was informed of *what his younger son had done unto him*. The (a) word in the original signifies his little son: and some (b) commentators therefore, on account of what follows, have imagined that Canaan joined with his father Ham in this mockery and insult upon Noah; and the (c) Jewish rabbins have a tradition, that Canaan was the first who saw Noah in this posture, and then went and called his father Ham, and concurred with him in ridiculing and exposing the old man. But this is a very arbitrary method of interpretation; no mention was made before of Canaan and of what he had done, but only of *Ham the father of Canaan*; and of him therefore must the phrase of *little son, or youngest son*, be naturally and necessarily understood.

In consequence of this different behaviour of his three sons, Noah, as a patriarch, was enlightened, and as the father of a family who is to reward or punish his children was impowered,

(a) KATAN, parvus, minor, minimus.

(b) Hinc probabiliter colligitur eum fuisse paternæ iniquitatis socium. Piscator apud Polum.

(3) Vid. Origin. in Genesim. p. 33. vol. 2. Edict. Benedict. Operote queritur, cur Chami maledictionem in caput filii Chanaan contorserit, Respondet Theodoretus in Genes. quest. 57. ab Hebræo quodam se didicisse primum Chanaan avi sui verenda animadvertisse, et patri ostentasse, tanquam de senec ridentem. Et vero tale quid legitur in Beresith Rabba sect. 57. qui liber scriptus fuit diu ante Theodoretum. Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 4. Cap. 37. Col. 308.

to foretel the different fortunes of their families : for this prophecy relates not so much to themselves, as their posterity, the people and nations descended from them. He was not prompted by wine or resentment ; for neither the one nor the other could infuse the knowledge of futurity, or inspire him with the prescience of events, which happened hundreds, nay thousands of years afterwards. But God, willing to manifest his superintendance and government of the world, indued Noah with the spirit of prophecy, and enabled him, in some measure, to disclose the purposes of his providence towards the future race of mankind. At the same time it was some comfort and reward to Shem and Japheth, for their reverence and tenderness to their father, to hear of the *bleffing* and *inlargement* of their posterity ; and it was some mortification and punishment to Ham, for his mockery and cruelty to his father to hear of the *malediction* and *servitude* of some of his children, and that as he was a wicked son himself, so a wicked race should spring from him.

This then was Noah's prophecy : and it was delivered as (*a*) most of the ancient prophecies were delivered, in metre, for the help of the memory. Gen. ix. 25, 26, 27.

*Cursed be Canaan ;
A servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.
Blessed be Jehovah the God of Shem :
And Canaan shall be their servant.
God shall enlarge Japheth.
And shall dwell in the tents of Shem ;
And Canaan shall be their servant.*

Canaan was the fourth son of Ham, according to the order wherein they are mentioned in the ensuing chapter. And for what reason can you believe that Canaan was so particularly marked out for the curse for his father Ham's transgression ? But where would be the justice or equity to pass by Ham himself with the rest of his children, and punish only Canaan for what Ham had committed ? Such arbitrary proceedings are contrary to all our ideas of the divine perfections ;

(*a*) The reader may see this point proved at large in the very ingenious and learned Mr. Archdeacon Lowth's poetical Praelections (particularly praelect. 18, &c.) a work that merits the attention of all who study the Hebrew language, and of the clergy especially.

and we may say in this case what was said in another, Gen. xviii. 25. "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?" The curse was so far from being pronounced upon Canaan for his father Ham's transgression, that we do not read that it was pronounced for his own, nor was executed until several hundred years after his death. The truth is, the curse is to be understood not so properly of Canaan, as of his descendants to the latest generations. It is thinking meanly of the ancient prophecies of scripture, and having very imperfect, very unworthy conceptions of them, to limit their intention to particular persons. In this view the ancient prophets would be really what the Deists think them, little better than common fortune-tellers; and their prophecies would hardly be worth remembering or recording, especially in so concise and compendious a history as that of Moses. We must affix a larger meaning to them, and understand them not of single persons but of whole nations; and thereby a nobler scene of things, and a more extensive prospect will be opened to us of the divine dispensations. The *curse of servitude* pronounced upon Canaan, and so likewise the promise of *bleffing and inlargement* made to Shem and Japheth, are by no means to be confined to their own persons, but extend to their whole race; as afterwards the prophecies concerning Ishmael, and those concerning Esau and Jacob, and those relating to the twelve patriarchs, were not so properly verified in themselves as in their posterity, and thither we must look for their full and perfect completion. The curse therefore upon Canaan was properly a curse upon the Canaanites. God foreseeing the wickedness of this people, (which began in their father Ham, and greatly increased in this branch of the family) commissioned Noah to pronounce a curse upon them, and to devote them to the servitude and misery which their more common vices and iniquities would deserve. And this account was plainly written by Moses for the encouragement of the Israelites, to support and animate them in their expedition against a people who, by their sins, had forfeited the divine protection, and were destined to slavery from the days of Noah.

We see the purport and meaning of the prophecy, and now let us attend to the completion of it. *Cursed be Canaan*; and the Canaanites appear to have been an abominable wicked people. The sin and punishment of the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah, and the cities of the plain, are two well known

to be particularly specified: and for the other inhabitants of the land which was promised to Abraham and his seed, God bore with them "till their iniquity was full." Gen. xv. 16. They were not only addicted to idolatry, which was then the case of the greater part of the world, but were guilty of the worst sort of idolatry; "For every abomination to the Lord, which he hateth, have they done unto their gods, for even their sons and their daughters they have burnt in the fire to their gods." Deut. xii. 31. Their religion was bad, and their morality, if possible, was worse; for corrupt religion and corrupt morals usually generate each other, and go hand in hand together. Read the 18th and 20th chapters of Leviticus, and you will find that unlawful marriages and unlawful lusts, witchcraft, adultery, incest, sodomy, bestiality, and the like monstrous enormities, were frequent and common among them. And was not a *curse* in the nature of things, as well as in the just judgment of God, deservedly intailed upon such a people and nation as this? It was not *for their own righteousness* that the Lord brought the Israelites in to possess the land: "But for the wickedness of these nations did the Lord drive them out." Deut. ix. 4. And he would have driven out the Israelites in like manner for the very same abominations.—Levit. xviii. 25, &c. "Defile not yourselves in any of these things; for in all these the nations are defiled which I cast out before you. And the land is defiled; therefore I do visit the iniquity thereof upon it, and the land itself vomiteth out her inhabitants. Ye shall therefore keep my statutes and my judgments, and shall not commit any of these abominations. That the land spue not you out also when ye defile it, as it spued out the nations that were before you. For whosoever shall commit any of these abominations, even the souls that commit them, shall be cut off from among their people."

But the curse particularly implies servitude and subjection, *Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.* It is very well known that the word *brethren* in Hebrew, comprehends more distant relations. The descendents, therefore, of Canaan were to be subject to the descendents of both Shem and Japheth, and the natural consequence of vice, in communities as well as in single persons, is slavery. The same thing is repeated again and again in the two following verses, *and Canaan shall be a servant to them, or their servant.*

so that this is as it were the burden of the prophecy. Some (a) critics take the phrase *servant of servants* strictly and literally, and say that the prediction was exactly fulfilled, when the Canaanites became servants to the Israelites, who had been servants to the Egyptians. But this is refining too much; the phrase of (b) *servant of servants* is of the same turn and cast as *holy of holies, king of kings, song of songs*, and the like expressions in scripture; and imports that they should be the lowest and basest of servants.

We cannot be certain as to the time of the delivery of this prophecy; for the history of Moses is so concise, that it hath not gratified us in this particular. If the prophecy was delivered soon after the transactions, which immediately precede in the history, Noah's *beginning to be a husbandman, and planting a vineyard*, it was soon after the deluge, and then Canaan was prophesied of before he was born, as it was prophesied of Esau and Jacob, Gen. xxv. 23. "The elder shall serve the younger;" before the children *were born or had done either good or evil*, as St. Paul saith, Rom. ix. 11. If the prophecy was delivered a little before the transactions, which immediately follow in the history, it was a little before Noah's death, and he was enlightened in his last moments as Jacob was, to *foretell what should befall his posterity in the latter days*. Gen. xlix. 1. However this matter be determined, it was several centuries after the delivery of this prophecy, when the Israelites, who were descendents of Shem, under the command of Joshua, invaded the Canaanites, smote above thirty of their kings, took possession of their land, slew several of the inhabitants, made the Gibeonites and others servants and tributaries, and Solomon afterwards subdued the rest. 2 Chron. viii. 7, 8, 9. "As for all the people that were left of the Hittites, and the Amorites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites, which were not of Israel; but of their children who were left after

(a) Noa Chamum execratus prædixerat fore ut ejus posterii servi essent fervorum: atque id impletum in Chananæis, tum cum subire coacti sunt Israelitarum jugum qui Ægyptiis diu servierant. Bouchati Phaleg. Lib. 1. Cap. 1. Col. 3, 4.

(b) S. Pompeius, studiis rudis, libertorum suorum libertus, fervorumque servus; speciosis invidens ut pareret humillimis. Valerius Peterc. ii. 73. Hic vero valet postremus fervorum. Vid. Sallust. Fragm. Id. Vellecius ii. 83. Infra servos cliens.—From some M. S. notes of Mr. Wasse's in the hands of Dr. Jortin

“ them in the land, whom the children of Israel consumed not; “ them did Solomon make to pay tribute until this day. But of “ the children of Israel did Solomon make no servants for his “ work : but they were men of war, and chief of his captains, “ and captains of his chariots and horsemen.” The Greeks and Romans too, who were descendents of Japheth, not only subdued Syria and Palestine, but also pursued and conquered such of the Canaanites as were any where remaining, as for instance the Tyrians and Carthaginians, the former of whom were ruined by Alexander and the Grecians, and the latter by Scipio and the Romans. “ This fate,” says (a) Mr. Mede, “ was it that made Hannibal, a child of Canaan, cry out with the amazement of his soul “ *Agnosco fortunam Carthaginis, I acknowledge the fortune of Carthage.*” And ever since the miserable remainder of this people have been slaves to a foreign yoke, first to the Saracens, who descended from Shem, and afterwards to the Turks, who descended from Japheth ; and they groan under their dominion at this day.

Hitherto we have explained the prophecy according to the present copies of our bible : but if we were to correct the text, as we should any ancient classic author in a like case, the whole perhaps might be made easier and plainer. *Ham the father of Canaan*, is mentioned in the preceding part of the story ; and how then came the person of a sudden to be changed into *Canaan*? The (b) Arabic version in these three verses hath *the father of Canaan* instead of *Canaan*. Some (c) copies of the Septuagint likewise have *Ham* instead of *Canaan*, as if *Canaan* was a corruption of the text. Vatablus and others (d) by *Canaan* understand *the father of Canaan*, which was expressed twice before. And if we regard the metre, this line *Cursed be Canaan*, is much shorter than the rest (e), as if some-

C 2.

(a) Mede's works, B. 1. Disc. 50. p. 284. Livy Lib. 27. in fine.

(b) Maledictus pater Canaan, &c. Arad.

(c) Les Septante dans quelques exemplaires au lieu de Canaan, lisent Cham, comme si le texte qui porte Canaan etoit corrompu. Calmet on the text. So Ainsworth too.

(d) Quidam subaudium quod pau lo ante his expressum est, Maledictus Cham pater Chananeorum. Vatab. in locum.

(e) My suspicion hath since been confirmed by the reverend and learned Mr. Green, fellow of Clare-Hall in Cambridge ; who is admirably well skilled in the Hebrew language and Hebrew metre, and hath given abundant proofs of his knowledge and judgment in these matters in his new translation and commentary on the song of

thing was deficient. May we not suppose therefore (without taking such liberties as Father Houbigant hath with the Hebrew text) that the copyist by mistake wrote only *Canaan* instead of *Ham the father of Canaan*, and that the whole passage was originally thus? *And Ham the father of Canaan saw the nakedness of his father, and told his two brethren without—And Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him. And he said, Cursed be Ham the father of Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren. And he said, Blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and Ham the father of Canaan shall be servant to them. God shall enlarge Japheth; and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Ham the father of Canaan shall be servant to them.*

By this reading all the three sons of Noah are included in the prophecy, whereas otherwise Ham, who was the offender, is excluded, or is only punished in one of his children. Ham is characterised as *the father of Canaan* particularly, for the greater encouragement of the Israelites, who were going to

Deborah, the prayer of Habakuk, &c. He asserts, that according to Bishop Hare's metre, the words *ham abi* are necessary to fill up the verse. He proposes a farther emendation of the text, by the omission of one line, and the transposition of another, and would read the whole prophecy thus, according to the metre :

And Noah said,
 Cursed be Ham the father of Canaan ;
 A servant of servants shall he be to his brethren.
 And he said,
 Blessed be Jehovah the God of Shem ;
 For he shall dwell in the tents of Shem.
 God shall enlarge Japheth ;
 And Canaan shall be their servant.

If you will not allow this emendation to be right and certain, yet I think you will allow it to be probable and ingenious, to render the sense clearer and plainer, and to give to every part its just weight and proportion. Or the whole may, with only a transposition and without any omission, be represented thus :

And Noah said,
 Cursed be Ham the father of Canaan,
 A servant of servants shall he be to his brethren.
 And he said,
 Blessed be the Lord God of Shem,
 For he shall dwell in the tents of Shem ;
 And Ham the father of Canaan shall be their servant.
 God shall enlarge Japheth ;
 And Ham the father of Canaan shall be their servant.

invade the land of Canaan: and when it is said, *Cursed be Ham the father of Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren*; it is implied that his whole race was devoted to servitude, but particularly the Canaanites. Not that this was to take effect immediately, but was to be fulfilled in process of time, when they should forfeit their liberties by their wickedness. Ham at first subdued some of the posterity of Shem, as Canaan sometimes conquered Japheth; the Carthaginians, who were originally Canaanites, did particularly in Spain and Italy: but in time they were to be subdued, and to become servants to Shem and Japheth; and the change of their fortune from good to bad would render the curse still more visible. Egypt was *the land of Ham*, as it is often called in scripture; and for many years it was a great and flourishing kingdom: but it was subdued by the Persians, who descended from Shem, and afterwards by the Grecians, who descended from Japheth; and from that time to this it hath constantly been in subjection to some or other of the posterity of Shem or Japheth. The whole continent of (a) Africa was peopled principally by the children of Ham: and for how many ages have the better parts of that country lain under the dominion of the Romans, and then of the Saracens, and now of the Turks? in what wickedness, ignorance, barbarity, slavery, misery, live most of the inhabitants? and of the poor Negroes how many hundreds every year are sold and bought like beasts in the market, and are conveyed from one quarter of the world to do the work of beasts in another?

Nothing can be more complete than the execution of the sentence upon *Ham* as well as upon *Canaan*: and now let us consider the promises made to Shem and Japheth. “And he said,” ver. 26. “Blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant:” or rather, *and Canaan shall be servant to them or their servant*, that is to his brethren; for that, as we observed before, is the main part of the prophecy, and therefore is so frequently repeated. A learned (b) critic in the Hebrew language, who hath lately published some remarks on the printed Hebrew text, saith that, “If it should be thought preferable to refer the word *blessed* directly to *Shem*, as the word *cursed* is to *Canaan*;

(a) Cham licet maledictus, non tamen fuit exclusus a terrenis benedictionibus—Quippe in mundi divisione, ille præter Egyptum atque Africam, universam Syriæ magna pars obtigit. &c. Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 4. Cap. 1. Col. 203.

(b) See Kennicott's Dissertation, p. 561.

“ the words may be (and perhaps more pertinently) rendered—
 “ *Blessed of Jehovah, my God, be Shem!* See Gen. xxiv. 31.”
 Or if we chuse (as most perhaps will chuse) to follow our
 own as well as all the ancient versions, we may observe that
 the old patriarch does not say *Blessed be Shem*, as he said *Curfed
 be Canaan*; for men’s evil springeth of themselves, but their
 good from God: and therefore in a strain of devotion break-
 ing forth into thanksgiving to God as the author of all good to
 Shem. Neither doth he say the same to Japheth; for God cer-
 tainly may dispense his particular favours according to his good
 pleasure, and salvation was to be derived to mankind through
 Shem and his posterity. God prefers Shem to his elder brother
 Japheth, as Jacob was afterwards preferred to Esau, and
 David to his elder brothers, to show that the order of grace
 is not always the same as the order of nature. The Lord be-
 ing called *the God of Shem* particularly, it is plainly intimated
 that the Lord would be *his God* in a particular manner. And
 accordingly the church of God was among the posterity of Shem
 for several generations; and of *them*, Rom. ix. 5. “As con-
 cerning the flesh, Christ came.”

But still Japheth was not dismissed without a promise—
 ver. 27. “God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in
 “ the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be servant to them,”
 or *their servant. God shall enlarge Japheth.* Some render
 the word (it is so rendered in the margin of our bibles) God
 shall *persuade* or *allure* Japheth, so that he shall come over to
 the true religion, and *dwell in the tents of Shem.* But the (a)
 best critics in the language have remarked, besides other rea-
 sons, that they who translate the word by *persuade* or *allure*,
 did not consider, that when it is so taken, it is used in a bad
 sense, and governs an accusative case, and not a dative as in
 this place. *God shall enlarge Japheth, or unto Japheth* is the
 best rendering; and in the original there is a manifest allusion
 to Japheth’s name, such as is familiar to the Hebrew writers.
 As it was said of Noah, Gen. v. 29. “This same shall com-
 fort us,” the name of Noah being thought to signify *com-
 fort*: As it is said of Judah, Gen. xlix. 8. “Thou art he
 “ whom thy brethren shall praise,” and the name of *Judah*
 signifies *praise*: As it is said of Dan, ver. 16. “Dan shall
 “ judge his people,” and the name of *Dan* signifies *judging*:

(a) Bocharti Phaleg, Lib. 3. Cap. 1. Col. 149. Clericus in loc. &c.

As it is said of Gad, ver. 19. "A troop shall overcome him," and the name of *Gad* signifies a *troop* or company: So it is said here, *God shall enlarge Japheth*, and the name of *Japheth* signifies *enlargement*. Was Japheth then more *enlarged* than the rest? Yes he was both in territory and in children. The territories of Japheth's posterity were indeed very large, for (a) besides all Europe, great and extensive as it is, they possessed the lesser Asia, Media, part of Armenia, Iberia, Albania, and those vast regions towards the north, which anciently the Scythians inhabited, and now the Tartars inhabit; and it is not improbable that the new world was peopled by some of his northern descendents, passing thither by the straits of Anian. The *enlargement* of Japheth may also denote a numerous progeny as well as ample territory: and if you consult the genealogies of the three brothers comprised in the following chapter, you will find that Japheth had *seven* sons, whereas Ham had only *four*, and Shem only *five*: and the northern hive (as Sir William Temple denominates it) was always remarkable for its fecundity, and hath been continually pouring forth swarms, and sending out colonies into the more southern parts, both in Europe and in Asia, both in former and in later times.

The following clause, *and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem*, is capable of a double construction; for thereby may be meant either that *God* or that *Japheth shall dwell in the tents of Shem*; *in the tents of Shem*, saith he, speaking according to the simplicity of those times, when men dwelt in tents and not in houses. They who prefer the former construction, seem to have the authority of the original text on their side; for there is no other noun to govern the verbs in the period, but *God*; there is no pronoun in the Hebrew, answering to the *he* which is inserted in our English translation: and the whole sentence would run thus, *God will enlarge Japheth, and will dwell in*

(a) — iis omnino assentior, qui per hæc verba volunt Japhetho promitti fore ut in terræ divisione amplissimam illi portionem habitandam Deus assignet. Quod Deum abunde præstitisse statim agnosceat quisquis, præter Europam quanta quanta est, ad Japhethi portionem pertinere cogitabit, Asiam minorem et Mediam, et Armeniæ partem, et Iberiam, et Albaniam, et vastissimas illas regiones ad Boream, quas olim Scythæ hodie Tartari obtinent. Ut de novo orbe taceam, in quem per fretum Anianis migrasse Scythas veteri non est absumila. Becharti Phaleg. Lib. 3. Cap. 1. Col. 149.

the tents of Shem: and the Chaldee of (a) Onkelos also thus paraphrafet it, *and will make his glory to dwell in the tabernacles of Shem*. They who prefer the latter construction, feem to have done it, that they might refer this 27th verfe wholly to Japheth, as they might refer the 26th wholly to Shem: but the other appears to me the more natural and eafy construction. Taken in either fenfe, the prophecy hath been moft punctually fulfilled. In the former fenfe it was fulfilled literally, when the *Shechinah* or divine prefence refted on the ark, and dwelt in the tabernacle and temple of the Jews; and when *the Word who was with God and was God*, John i. 1. pitched his tent, *and dwelt among us*. Verfe 14. In the latter fenfe it was fulfilled firft, when the Greeks and Romans, who fprung originally from Japheth, subdued and poffeffed Judea, and other countries of Aſia belonging to Shem; and again fpiritually, when they were profelyted to the true religion, and they who were not Ifraelites by birth, became Ifraelites by faith, and lived, as we and many others of Japheth's pofterity do at this day, within the pale of the church of Chriſt.

What think you now? Is not this a moſt extraordinary prophecy; a prophecy that was delivered near four thouſand years ago, and yet hath been fulfilling through the ſeveral periods of time to this day! It is both wonderful and inſtructive. It is the hiſtory of the world in epitome. And hence we are enabled to correct a miſtake of one author, and expoſe the petulance of another.

1. The firſt is the learned and excellent Mr. Mede, an author always to be read with improvement, and to be corrected with reverence: but yet I conceive that he has carried matters too far in aſcribing more to this prophecy than really belongs to it. For diſcourſing of the diſperſions and habitations of the ſons of Noah, he (b) faith that, "there hath never yet been a ſon of Ham, who hath ſhaken a ſceptre over the head of Japheth; Shem hath subdued Japheth, and Japheth hath subdued Shem, but Ham never subdued either:" and this paſſage hath been cited by ſeveral (c) commentators, to illuſtrate this prophecy. But this worthy perſon ſurely did not recollect, that Nimrod, the firſt monarch in the world, was the ſon of Cuſh, who was the ſon of Ham. Gen. x. Miſraim

(a) Et habitare faciet gloriam ſuam in tabernaculis Sem.

(b) See Mede's Works, B. 1. Diſc. 49 & 50. p. 285. Edit. 1672.

(c) Patrick, &c.

was another son of Ham; he was the father of the Egyptians, and the Egyptians detained the Israelites in bondage several years. Shishak king of Egypt subdued Rehoboam king of Judah. 1 Kings xiv. Sesostris king of Egypt (the same probably as Shishak) conquered great part of Europe and of Asia, if there is any faith in ancient history. The Carthaginians too, who descended from the Canaanites, as we noted before, gained several victories over the Romans in Spain and Italy. It was a mistake therefore to say that Ham never subdued Shem or Japheth. It is enough if he hath generally, and for much the greatest part of time, been a servant to them, as he really hath been for two or three thousand years, and continues at present. This sufficiently verifies the prediction; and we should exceed the limits of truth, if we should extend it farther. We might almost as well say, as some have said, that the complexion of the blacks was in consequence of Noah's curse. But though Ham hath, in some instances, and upon some occasions, been superior, yet this is memorable enough, that of the four famous monarchies of the world, the Assyrian, Persian, Grecian, and Roman, the two former were of the descendents of Shem, as the two latter were of the sons of Japheth.

2. The other is the famous author of the letters on the study and use of history, who hath strangely abused his talents in abusing this prophecy. For the true meaning and exact completion of it rightly considered, what room is there for ridicule? and how absurd and impertinent, as well as gross and indecent, are his reflections? "The curse," says (*b*) he, "pronounced in " it contradicts all our notions of order and of justice. One " is tempted to think that the patriarch was still drunk; and " that no man in his senses could hold such language, or pass " such a sentence." But such will be the case, when men of more parts than judgment talk and write about things which they do not sufficiently understand; and especially in matters of religion, whereof they are by no means competent judges, having either never studied them at all, or studied them superficially and with prejudice. All that he hath written relating to these subjects betrays great weakness in a man of his capacity; weakness great as his malice; and we might have an easy victory over assertions without proofs, premises without

(a) Lord Bolingbroke's Works, Vol. II. Letter 3d, p. 314. edit. quarto.

conclusions, and conclusions without premises. But I love not controversy, and will only make two or three reflections, just to give a specimen of the boasted learning and abilities of this writer.

His lordship seemeth to take a particular pleasure in railing at pedants, at the same time that he is himself one of the most pedantic of writers, if it be pedantry to make a vain ostentation of learning, and to quote authors without either reading or understanding them, or even knowing so much as who and what they are. "The Codex Alexandrinus," (a) saith he, "we owe to George the monk." We are indebted indeed to George the monk, more usually called Syncellus, for what is intitled *Vetus Chronicon*, or an old chronicle. But the *Codex Alexandrinus* is quite another thing; it is, as all the learned know, the famous Greek MS of the Old and New Testament, brought originally from Alexandria, presented to Charles I. and now remaining in the king's library, of which it doth not appear that George the monk knew any thing, and it is evident that his lordship knew nothing. If he meant to say the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, that is still another thing, and the work of another author.

His lordship is of opinion, (b) that "Virgil in those famous verses *Excudent alii, &c.* might have justly ascribed "to his countrymen the praise of writing history better than "the Grecians." But which are the Roman histories that are to be preferred to the Grecian? Why, "the remains, "the precious remains," says his lordship, "of Salust, of "Livy, and of Tacitus." But it happened that (c) Virgil died before Livy had written his history, and before Tacitus was born. And is not this an excellent chronologer now to correct all ancient history and chronology, sacred and profane.

His Lordship is likewise pleased to say, (d) that "Don Quixote believed, but even Sancho doubted:" And it may be asserted on the other side, that Sir Isaac Newton believed the prophecies, though his lordship did not; the principal reason of which may be found perhaps in the different life and morals of the one and the other. Nay the wisest politicians and historians have been believers, as well as the greatest phi-

(a) Letter the 18. p. 262. Ibid. (b) Letter the 5th. p. 340. &c.
 (c) Virgil died A. U. C. 735. Livy, according to Dodwell, finished his history in 745. Tacitus was consul in 850. See Fabricius.

(d) Letter the 4th. p. 130.

lofophers. Raleigh and Clarendon believed; Bacon and Locke believed; and where then is the difcredit to revelation, if Lord Bolingbroke was an infidel? "A fcorner," as Solomon faith, Prov. xiv. 6. "feeketh wifdom and findeth it not."

But there cannot be a ftronger condemnation of his lordfhip's conduct, than his own words upon another occafion in his famous Difertation upon parties. "Some men there are, the peffis
 " of fociety I think them, who pretend a great regard to religion
 " in general, but who take every opportunity of declaiming
 " publicly againft that fyftem of religion, or at leaft againft
 " that church eftablifhment which is received in Britain. Juft
 " fo the men, of whom I have been fpeaking, affect a great re-
 " gard for liberty in general; but they diflike fo much the
 " fyftem of liberty eftablifhed in Britain, that they are inceffant
 " in their endeavours to puzzle the plaineft things in the world,
 " and to refine and diftinguifh away the life and ftrength of our
 " conftitution, in favour of the little, prefent, momentary turns,
 " which they are retained to ferve. What now would be the
 " confequence, if all thefe endeavours fhould fucceed? I am
 " perfuaded that the great philofophers, divines, lawyers, and
 " politicians, who exert them, have not yet prepared and a-
 " greed upon the plans of a new religion, and of new conftitu-
 " tions in church and ftate. We fhould find ourfelves there-
 " fore without any form of religion, or civil government. The
 " firft fet of the missionaries would take off all the reftRAINTS OF
 " religion from the governed; and the latter fet would remove, or
 " render ineffectual, all the limitations and controls which liber-
 " ty hath prefcribed to thofe that govern, and disjoint the whole
 " frame of our conftitution. Entire diffolution of manners,
 " confufion, anarchy, or perhaps abfolute monarchy, would fol-
 " low; for it is poffible, nay probable, that in fuch a ftate as
 " this, and amidft fuch a route of lawlefs favages, men would
 " chufe this government, abfurd as it is, rather than have no
 " government at all."

It is to be lamented that fuch a genius fhould be fo employed: but the mifapplication of thofe excellent talents with which God had intrufted him, was his reigning fault through every ftage, through every fcene of life. That which Lord (a) Digby faid of the great Lord Strafford, may, with more truth and juftice, be affirmed of him, that the malignity of his praftices was hugely aggravated by thofe rare abilities of his, whereof God had given him the ufe, but the devil the application.

(a) Rufhworth, Vol. IV. p. 225.

II.

The prophecies concerning ISHMAEL.

ABRAMAM was the patriarch of greatest renown next after the times of Noah. He was favoured with several revelations; and from him two very extraordinary nations descended the Ishmaelites and Israelites, concerning each of whom there are some remarkable prophecies. Ishmael, though the son of the bond-woman, and not properly the child of promise, was yet distinguished by some express predictions for the comfort and satisfaction of both his parents. In the 16th chapter of Genesis, when Hagar “fled from the face of her mistress, who had dealt hardly with her, the angel of the Lord found her in the wilderness, and said unto her, Return to thy mistress, and submit thyself under her hands. And the angel of the Lord said unto her, I will multiply thy seed exceedingly, that it shall not be numbered for multitude. And the angel of the Lord said unto her, Behold thou art with-child, and shalt bear a son, and shall call his name *Ishmael* (that is, God shall hear) because the Lord hath heard thy affliction. And he will be a wild man; his hand will be against every man, and every man’s hand against him; and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren;” ver. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. In the following chapter, when Isaac was promised to Abraham, God still reserved a blessing for Ishmael, “Behold I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, and will multiply him exceedingly: twelve princes shall he beget, and I will make him a great nation.” Ver. 20. Afterwards when Hagar and Ishmael were sent forth into the wilderness, God said unto Abraham, Gen. xxi. 13. “And all of the son of the bond-woman will I make a nation, because he is thy seed.” The same is repeated to Hagar, ver. 18. “I will make him a great nation.” And if we are curious to trace the course of events, we shall see how exactly these particulars have been fulfilled from the earliest down to the present times.

I will multiply thy seed exceedingly, that it shall not be num-

bered for multitude: and again, *Behold I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, and will multiply him exceedingly.* These passages evince, that the prophecy doth not so properly relate to Ishmael, as to his posterity, which is here foretold to be very numerous. Ishmael married an Egyptian woman, as his mother was likewise an Egyptian, Gen. xxi. 21. and in a few years his family was increased so, that in the 37th chapter of Genesis we read of Ishmaelites trading into Egypt. Afterwards his seed was multiplied exceedingly in the Hagarites, who probably were denominated from his mother Hagar, and in the Nabathæans, who had their name from his son Nabaioth; and in the Itureans who were so called from his son Jetur or Itur; and in the Arabs, especially the Scenites and the Saracens, who over-ran a great part of the world: and his descendents the Arabs, a very numerous people at this day.

Twelve princes shall he beget. This circumstance is very particular, but it was punctually fulfilled: and Moses hath given us the names of these twelve princes, Gen. xxv. 16. "These are the sons of Ishmael, and these are their names, by their towns and by their castles; twelve princes according to their nations:" by which we are to understand, not that they were so many distinct sovereign princes, but only heads of clans or tribes. Strabo frequently mentions the Arabian *phylarchs*, as he denominates them, or rulers of tribes: and Mélo, quoted by Eusebius from Alexander Polyhistor, a heathen historian, relates (a) that "Abraham of his Egyptian wife beget twelve sons (he should have said one son who beget twelve sons), who departing into Arabia divided the region between them, and were the first kings of the inhabitants; whence even to our days the Arabians have twelve kings of the same names as the first." And ever since the people have been governed by phylarchs, and have lived in tribes; and still continue to do so, as (b) Thevenot and other modern travellers testify.

(a) Ex Ægyptia liberos duodecim genuisse, qui in Arabiam profecti eam inter se dividerint locique hominibus principum imperarint ex quo factum sit, ut reges Arabum duodecim primis illis cognominibus ad nostra usque tempora numerentur. Euseb. Præpat. Evang. Lib. 9. Cap. 19. p. 241. Edit. Vigeri.

(b) See part 1. B. 2. C. 32. See likewise Harris's Voyages, Vol. II. Book 2. Chap. 9.

And I will make him a great nation. Thrice is repeated twice or thrice; and it was accomplished, as soon as in the regular course of nature it could be accomplished. His seed in process of time grew up into a great nation, and such they continued for several ages, and such they remain to this day. They might indeed emphatically be stiled *a great nation*, when the Saracens had made those extensive conquests, and erected one of the largest empires that ever were in the world.

And he will be a wild man. In the original it is a *wild afs-man*, and the learned (a) Bochart translates it *tam ferus quam onager*, as wild as a wild afs; so that that should be eminently true of him, which in the book of Job, xl. 12. is affirmed of mankind in general, *Man is born like a wild afs's colt*. But what is the nature of the creature, to which Ishmael is so particularly compared? It cannot be described better than it is in the same book of Job, xxxix. 5, &c. "Who hath sent out the wild afs free? or who hath loosed the bands of the wild afs? Whose house I have made the wilderness, and the barren land his dwellings. He scorneth the multitude of the city, neither regardeth he the crying of the driver. The range of the mountains is his pasture, and he searcheth after every green thing." Ishmael therefore and his posterity were to be wild, fierce, savage, ranging in the deserts, and not easily softened and tamed to society: and whoever hath read or known any thing of this people, knoweth this to be their true and genuine character. It is said of Ishmael, Gen. xxi. 20. that "he dwelt in the wilderness and became an archer:" and the same is no less true of his descendents than of himself. *He dwelt in the wilderness*; and his sons still inhabit the same wilderness, and many of them neither sow nor plant (b) according to the best accounts ancient and modern. *And he became an archer*: and such were the Itureans, whose (c) bows and arrows are famous in all authors; such were the mighty men of Keder in Isaiah's time, ff. xxi. 17, and such the Arabs have been from the beginning, and are at this time. It was late before they admitted the use of

(a) Hierozoic. Pars prior. Lib. 3. Cap. 16. Col. 878.

(b) Ammianus Marcellinus. Lid. 14. Cap. 4. p. 14. Edit. Valfie Paris, 1681. Harris, Vol. II. Book 2. Chap. 9.

(c) —Ityrazos taxi torquentur in arcus. Virgil. George II. 448.
 —Itureis curfos fuit inde sagittis. Lucan VII. 230.

fire arms among them (*a*) the greater part of them still are strangers to them, and still continued skilful archers.

His hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him. The one is the natural, and almost necessary consequence of the other. Ishmael lived by prey and rapine in the wilderness; and his posterity have all along infested Arabia and the neighbouring countries with their robberies and incursions. They live in a state of continual war with the rest of the world, and are both robbers by land and pirates by sea. As they have been such enemies to mankind, it is no wonder that mankind have been enemies to them again; that several attempts have been made to extirpate them; and even now as well as formerly, travellers are forced to go with arms and in caravans or large companies, and to march and to keep watch and guard like a little army, to defend themselves from the assaults of these freebooters, who run about in troops and rob and plunder all whom they can by any means subdue. These robberies they also (*b*) justify, "by alledging the hard
" usage of their father Ishmael, who being turned out of doors
" by Abraham, had the open plains and deserts given him by
" God for his patrimony, with permission to take whatever he
" could find there. And on this account they think they may,
" with a safe conscience, indemnify themselves, as well as they
" can, not only on the posterity of Isaac, but also on every body
" else; always supposing a sort of kindred between themselves
" and those they plunder. And in relating their adventures of
" this kind, they think it sufficient to change the expression, and
" instead of *I robbed a man of such or such thing*, to say, *I gained*
" *it.*"

- *And he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren: shall tabernacle,* for many of the Arabs dwell in tents, and are therefore called *Scenites*. It appears that they dwelt in tents in the wilderness so long ago as in Isaiah and Jeremiah's time; Is. xiii. 20. Jer. iii. 2. and they do the same at this day.— This is very extraordinary, that *his hand should be against every man, and every man's hand against him*, and yet that he should be able to *dwell in the presence of all his brethren*: but extraordinary as it was, this also hath been fulfilled, both in the person of Ishmael, and in his posterity. As for Ishmael

(*a*) Thevenot in Harris, Vol. II. Book 2. Chap. 9.

(*b*) Sale's Prelim. Discourse to the Koran, Sect. 1. p. 30, 31. where he also quotes *Voyage dans la P. A. S.*, p. 220, &c.

himself, the sacred historian afterwards relates, Gen. xxv. 17, 18. that "the years of the life of Ithmael were an hundred and thirty and seven years, and he died in the presence of "all his brethren." As for his posterity, they dwelt likewise in the presence of all their brethren, Abraham's sons by Ketura, the Moabites and Ammonites descendents of Lot, the Israelites descendents of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and the Edomites descendents of Abraham, Isaac, and Esau. And they still subsist a distinct people, and inhabit the country of their progenitors, notwithstanding the perpetual enmity between them and the rest of mankind. It may be said perhaps that the country was not worth conquering, and its barrenness was its preservation: but this is a mistake, for by all accounts, though the greater part of it be sandy and barren deserts, yet here and there are interspersed beautiful spots and fruitful valleys. One part of the country was anciently known and distinguished by the name of *Arabia the happy*. And now the proper Arabia is by the oriental writers generally divided into five provinces. Of these the chief is the province of Yaman, which as a (a) learned writer asserts upon good authorities, "has been famous from all antiquity for the happiness of its "climate, its fertility and riches. The delightfulness and "plenty of Yaman are owing to its mountains; for all that "part which lies along the Red Sea, is a dry barren desert, "in some places ten or twelve leagues over, but in return "bounded by those mountains, which being well watered, "enjoy an almost continual spring; and besides coffee, the "peculiar produce of this country, yield great plenty and variety of fruits, and in particular excellent corn, grapes, and "spices, the soil of the other provinces is much more barren than that of Yaman; the greater part of their territories being covered with dry sands, or rising into rocks interspersed here and there with some fruitful spots, which "receive their greatest advantages from their water and palm "trees." But if the country was ever so bad, one would think it should be for the interest of the neighbouring princes and states at any hazard to root out such a pestilent race of robbers: and actually it hath several times been attempted, but never accomplished. They have from first to last maintained their independency, and notwithstanding the most powerful

(a) Sale's Prelim. Disc, *ibid*, p. 2, 3.

efforts for their destruction, still dwell in the presence of all their brethren, and in the presence of all their enemies.

We find that in the time of Moses, they were grown up into "Twelve princes according to their nations;" Gen. xxv. 16. "And they dwelt (saith Moses, ver. 18.) from Havilah "unto Shur, that is before Egypt, as thou goest towards Assyria:" but yet we do not find that they were ever subject to either of their powerful neighbours the Egyptians or Assyrians. The conquests of Sesostris, the great king of Egypt, are much magnified by Diodorus Siculus; and probably he might subdue some of the western provinces of Arabia bordering upon Egypt, but he was obliged, as (*a*) Diodorus informs us, to draw a line from Heliopolis to Pelusium, to secure Egypt from the incursions of the Arabs. They were therefore not subjects, but enemies to the Egyptians; as they were likewise to the Assyrians, for they assisted (*b*) Belesis and Arabaces in overturning that empire, assisted them not as fellow rebels, but as an independent state, with their auxiliary forces.

The next great conquerors of the east were Cyrus and the Persians; but neither he nor any of his successors ever reduced the whole body of the Arabs to subjection. They might conquer some of the exterior, but never reached the interior parts of the country: and Herodotus, the historian who lived nearest to those times, saith expressly, that (*c*) the Arabs were never reduced by the Persians to the condition of subjects, but were considered by them as friends, and opened to them a passage into Egypt, which without the assistance and permission of the Arabs, would have been utterly impracticable; and in (*d*) another place he saith, that while Phœnicia, Palestine, Syria, and the neighbouring countries were taxed, the Arabian territories continued free from paying any tribute.

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D

(*a*) Diod. Sic. Lib. 1. p. 36. Edit. Stephan. p. 52. Edit. Rhodmani.

(*b*) Diod. Sic. Lib. 2. p. 79. Edit. Stephan. p. 111. Edit. Rhodmani.

(*c*) Arabes nunquam a Persis in servitutem redacti sunt, sed hospites extiterunt; quum Gambyssi aditum in Ægyptum permisissent: quibus invitis haudquaquam fuissent ingressi Persæ Ægyptum, Herod Lib. 3. Sect. 88. p. 198. Edit. Gale.

(*d*) Ibid. Sect. 91. p. 199. Præter Arabum partem (hæc enim erat immunis.)

They were then regarded as friends, but afterwards they assisted with their forces (*a*) Amyrtæus king of Egypt against Darius Nothus, and (*b*) Euagorus king of Cyprus against Artaxerxes Mnemon; so that they acted as friends or enemies to the Persians, just as they thought proper, and as it suited their humour or their interest.

Alexander the great then overturned the Persian empire and conquered Asia. The neighbouring princes sent their Ambassadors to make their submissions. The (*c*) Arabs alone disdained to acknowledge the conqueror, and scorned to send any embassy, or to take any notice of him. This slight provoked him to such a degree, that he meditated an expedition against them; and the great preparations which he made for it, shewed that he thought them a very formidable enemy: but death intervened, and put an end to all that his ambition or resentment had formed against them. Thus they happily escaped the fury of his arms, and were never subdued by any of his successors. Antigonus, one of the greatest of his successors, (*d*) made two attempts upon them, one by his General Athanæus, and the other by his own son Demetrius, but both without success; the former was defeated, and the latter was glad to make peace with them, and leave them at their liberty. Neither would they suffer the people employed by Antigonus, to gather the bitumen on the lake Asphaltites, whereby he hoped greatly to increase his revenue. The Arabs fiercely attacked the workmen and the guards, and forced them to desist from their undertaking. So true is the assertion of (*e*) Diodorus, that “neither the Assyrians formerly, nor the kings of the Medes and Persians, nor yet of the Macedonians, were able to subdue them; nay, though they led many and great forces against them, yet they could not accomplish their attempts.” We find them afterwards sometimes at peace, and sometimes at war with the neighbouring

(*a*) Diodorus Siculus. Lib. 13. p. 355. Edit. Stephani. Tom. 2. p. 172. Edit. Rhodomani. Prideaux Connect. Part 1. B. 6. Anno 410.

(*b*) Diodorus Siculus. Lib. 15. p. 459. Edit. Stephani. Tom. 2. p. 328. Edit. Rhodomani. Prideaux Connect. Part 1. B. 7. an. 386.

(*c*) Strabo. Lib. 16. p. 1076. and 1132. Edit. Amstel. 1707. Arrian Lib. 7. p. 300. Edit. Gronovii.

(*d*) Diodorus Siculus. Lib. 19. p. 722, &c. Edit. Stephani. Tom. 2. p. 736. Edit. Rhodomani.

(*e*) Nec Assyrii olim, nec Medi ac Persæ, imo nec Macedonum reges subigere illos potuerunt; qui lacet magnis in eos copiis moverint, nunquam tamen incepta ad finem perduxerunt. Diod. Sic. Lib. 2. p. 92. Edit. Steph. p. 131. Edit. Rhod.

states; sometimes joining the Syrians, and sometimes the Egyptians; sometimes assisting the Jews, and sometimes plundering them; and in all respects acting like a free people, who neither feared nor courted any foreign power whatever.

The Romans then invaded the east, and subdued the countries adjoining, but were never able to reduce Arabia into the form of a Roman province. It is too common with historians to say that such or such a country was conquered, when perhaps only a part of it was so. It is thus that (*a*) Plutarch asserts that the Arabs submitted to Lucullus; whereas the most that we can believe is, that he might subdue some particular tribes; but he was recalled, and the command of the Roman army in Asia was given to Pompey. Pompey, though he triumphed over the three parts of the world, could not yet conquer Arabia. He (*b*) carried his arms into the country, obtained some victories, and compelled Arctas to submit; but other affairs soon obliged him to retire, and by retiring he lost all the advantages which he had gained. His forces were no sooner withdrawn, than the Arabs made their incursions again into the Roman provinces. Ælius Gallus, in the reign of Augustus, (*c*) penetrated far into the country, but a strange distemper made terrible havoc in his army, and after two years spent in this unfortunate expedition, he was glad to escape with the small remainder of his forces. The emperor Trajan reduced some parts of Arabia, but he could never subdue it entirely; and when he besieged the city of the Hagarenes, as (*d*) Dion says, his soldiers were repelled by lightnings, thunderings, hail, whirlwinds and other prodigies, and were constantly so repelled, as often as they renewed their assaults. At the same time great swarms of flies infested his camp; so that he was forced at last to raise the siege, and retired with disgrace into his own dominions.

D 2

(*a*) Plutarch in Lucullo passim.

(*b*) Plutarch in Pompeio. p. 640, &c. Edit. Paris 1624.

(*c*) Strabo. Lib. 16. p. 1126. Edit. Amstel. 1707. Dion. Cassius. Lib. 53. p. 516. Edit. Leunclav. Hanov. 1606. Dion calls him by mistake Ælius Largus.

(*d*) Ibi cælum tonitruæ contremuit, irides visæ sunt, fulgura, procellæ grando, fulmini in Romanos cadebant, quoties in illos impetum facerent; quotiesque cœnarent, muscæ tam esculentis quam potulentis incidentes, cuncta nausea quadam implebant. Itaque Trajanus inde proficiscitur. Dionis Hist. Lib. 68. p. 785. Edit. Leunclav. Hanov. 1606.

About eighty years after the emperor Severus twice besieged the same city with a numerous army and train of military engines; but he had no better success than Trajan. God, (*a*) says the heathen historian, preserved the city by the backwardness of the emperor at one time, and by that of his forces at another. He made some assaults, but was baffled and defeated, and returned with precipitation, as great as his vexation, for his disappointment. And if such great emperors and able warriors as Trajan and Severus could not succeed in their attempts, it is no wonder that the following emperors could prevail nothing. The Arabs continued their incursions and depredations, in Syria and other Roman provinces, with equal licence and impunity.

Such was the state and condition of the Arabs to the time of their famous prophet Mohammed, who laid the foundations of a mighty empire: and then for several centuries they were better known among the European nations by the name of the *Sarraceni* or *Saracens*, the *Arraceni* (*b*) of Pliny, and the (*c*) *Hagarenes* of holy scripture. Their conquests were indeed amazingly rapid; they can be compared to nothing more properly than to a sudden flood or inundation. In a few years the Saracens overran more countries, and subdued more people than the Romans did in several centuries. They were then not only free and independent of the rest of the world, but were themselves masters of the most considerable parts of the earth. And so they continued for (*d*) about three centuries; and after their empire was dissolved, and they were reduced within the limits of their native country, they still maintained their liberty against the Tartars, Mamalucs, Turks, and all foreign enemies whatever. Whoever were the conquerors of Asia, they were still unconquered, still continued their incursions, and preyed upon all alike. The Turks have now for several centuries been lords of the adjacent countries; but they have been so little able to restrain the depredations of

(*a*) Itaque Deus urbem liberavit, qui per Severum revocavit milites, quum possent in ipsam ingredi; et Severum cupientem eandem postea capere, per milites prohibuit. Ibid. Lib. 75. p. 855.

(*b*) Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 6. Cap. 32. ubi vide notam Harduini.

(*c*) *Hagarenes*, the descendents of Ishmael. They are called also Ishmaelites and Saracens, &c. Calmet's Dict.

(*d*) The Saracens began their conquests A. D. 622, and to reign at Damascus A. D. 637. Their empire was broken and divided A. D. 936. See Dr. Blair's Chronol. Tables. Tab. 33 and 39. and Sir Isaac Newton on the Apocalypse. Chap. 3. p. 304, 305.

the Arabs, that they have been (*a*) obliged to pay them a sort of annual tribute for the safe passage and security of the Pilgrims, who usually go in great companies to Mecca; so that the Turks have rather been dependent upon them, than they upon the Turks. And they still continue the same practices, and preserve the same superiority, if we may believe the concurrent testimony of modern travellers of all nations.

Two of our own nation have lately travelled into those parts, and have written and published their travels, both men of literature, both reverend divines, and writers of credit and character, Dr. Shaw and Bishop Pococke; and in several instances they confirm the account that we have given of this people.—“With regard to the manners and customs of the Bedowens, faith (*b*) Dr. Shaw, it is to be observed that they retain a great many of those we read of in sacred as well as profane history; being, if we except their religion, the same people they were two or three thousand years ago; without ever embracing any of those novelties in dress or behaviour, which have had so many periods and revolutions in the Moorish and Turkish cities.” And after giving some account of their hospitality, he proceeds thus: “Yet the outward behaviour of the Arabs frequently gives the lie to his inward temper and inclination. For he is naturally thievish and treacherous; and it sometimes happens that those very persons are overtaken and pillaged in the morning, who were entertained the night before, with all the instances of friendship and hospitality. Neither are they to be accused for plundering strangers only, and attacking almost every person whom they find unarmed and defenceless, but for those many implacable and hereditary animosities which continually subsist among them, literally fulfilling to this day the prophecy, *that Ishmael should be a wild man; his hand should be against every man, and every man's hand against him.*”—Dr. Shaw himself (*c*) was robbed and plundered by a party of Arabs, in his journey from Ramah to Jerusalem, though he was escorted by four bands of Turkish soldiers: and yet the Turks at the same time paid a stipulated sum to the Arabs, in order to secure a safe passage for their caravans: and there cannot surely be a stronger proof, not only of the independency of the Arabs, but even of their superiority, not only of

(*a*) See Trevenot in Harris, Vol. II. Book 2. Chap. 9. and Demetrius Gantemir's Hist. of the Othman empire in Ahmed. ii. p. 393.

(*b*) Shaw's Travels, p. 300, &c. (*c*) Preface to his Travels, p. 8.

their enjoying their liberty, but even of their abusing it to licentiousness. Bishop Pococke was the last who travelled into those parts; and he hath informed us, that the present inhabitants of Arabia resemble the ancient in several respects; that (*a*) they live under tents, and stay in one place as long as they have water and shrubs and trees for their camels to feed on, for there is no tillage nor grass in all this country; that all their riches consist in camels, a few goats, and sometimes sheep, so that they live in great poverty, having nothing but a few dates and a little goats milk, and bring all their corn eight or ten days journey from Cairo; that they are in different nations or clans, each obeying the orders of its great chief, and every incampment those of its particular chief; and though seemingly divided, yet they are all united in a sort of league together; that they (*b*) love plunder, and the roving sort of life this disposition leads them to; have good horses, and manage them and their pikes with much address; those on foot use poles, with which they fence off the spear, with great art. So that authors, both sacred and profane, Jewish and Arabian, Greek and Roman, Christian and Mahomedan, ancient and modern, all agree in the same account: and if any are desirous of seeing the matter deduced more at large, they may be referred to a dissertation upon the independency of the Arabs by the learned authors of the Universal History.

An author, who hath lately published an account of Persia, having occasion to speak of the Arabians, (*c*) says, “their expertness in the use of the lance and sabre, renders them fierce and intrepid. Their skill in horsemanship, and their capacity of bearing the heat of their burning plains, give them also a superiority over their enemies. Hence every petty chief, in his own district, considers himself as a sovereign prince, and as such exacts customs from all passengers. Their conduct, in this respect, has often occasioned their being considered in no better light than robbers, &c. They generally marry within their own tribe, &c. When they plunder caravans travelling through their territories, they consider it as reprisals on the Turks and Persians, who often make inroads into their country, and carry away their corn and their flocks.”

(*a*) Pococke's Description of the East, Vol. I. Book 3, Chap. 2.

(*b*) Book 4. Chap. 4.

(*c*) Hanway's Travels, Vol. IV. Part 5: Chap. 29. P. 221, &c.

Who can fairly consider and lay all these particulars together, and not perceive the hand of God in this whole affair, from the beginning to the end? The sacred historian saith, that these prophecies concerning Ishmael were delivered partly by the angel of the Lord, and partly by God himself: and indeed who but God, or one raised and commissioned by him, could describe so particularly the genius and manners, not only of a single person before he was born, but of a whole people, from the first founder of the race to the present time? It was somewhat wonderful, and not to be foreseen by human sagacity or prudence, that a man's whole posterity should so nearly resemble him, and retain the same inclinations, the same habits, the same customs throughout all ages. The waters of the purest spring or fountain are soon changed and polluted in their course; and the farther still they flow, the more they are incorporated and lost in other waters. How have the modern Italians degenerated from the courage and virtues of the old Romans? How are the French and English polished and refined from the barbarism of the ancient Gauls and Britons? Men and manners change with times: but in all changes and revolutions, the Arabs have still continued the same with little or no alteration. And yet it cannot be said of them, as of some barbarous nations, that they have had no commerce or intercourse with the rest of mankind; for by their conquest, they overran a great part of the earth, and for some centuries were masters of most of the learning that was then in the world; but however they remained, and still remain, the same fierce savage intractable people, like their great ancestor in every thing, and different from most of the world besides — Ishmael was circumcised; and so are his posterity to this day: and as Ishmael was circumcised when he was thirteen years old, so were the Arabs at the same age, according to (a) Josephus. He was born of Hagar, who was a concubine; and they still indulge themselves in the use of mercenary wives and concubines. He lived in tents in the wilderness, shifting from place to place; and so do his descendents, particularly those therefore called (b) Scenites formerly, and those called Bedouens at this day. He was an archer in the wilderness; and

(a) Antiq. Lib. 1. Cap. 12. Sect. 2. p. 29. Edit. Hudson. Vide etiam Pocockii Specimen. Hist. Arab. p. 319.

(b) Scenite—viga—a tabernaculis cognominati. Plin. Lib. 6. Cap. 28. Sect. 52. Edit. Harduin. Pocockii Specimen, Hist. Arab. p. 87.

so are they. He was to be the father of twelve princes or heads of tribes; and they live in clans or tribes at this day. He was a wild man, his hand against every man, and every man's hand against him: and they live in the same state of war, their hand against every man, and every man's hand against them.

This, I say, is somewhat wonderful, that the same people should retain the same dispositions for so many ages; but it is still more wonderful, that with these dispositions, and this enmity to the whole world, they should still subsist, in spite of the world, an independent and free people. It cannot be pretended, that no probable attempts were ever made to conquer them; for the greatest conquerors in the world have almost all, in their turns, attempted it, and some of them have been very near effecting it. It cannot be pretended that the dryness or inaccessibility of their country hath been their preservation; for their country hath been often penetrated, though never entirely subdued. I know that (*a*) Diodorus Siculus accounts for their preservation from the dryness of their country, that they have wells digged in proper places, known only to themselves; and their enemies and invaders, through ignorance of these places, perish for want of water: but this account is far from being an adequate and just representation of the case; large armies have found the means of subsistence in their country; none of their powerful invaders ever desisted on this account; and therefore that they have not been conquered, we must impute to some other cause.—When, in all human probability, they were upon the brink of ruin, then (as we have before seen at large) they were signally and providentially delivered. Alexander was preparing an expedition against them, when an inflammatory fever cut him off in the flower of his age. Pompey was in the career of his conquests, when urgent affairs called him elsewhere. Ælius Gallus had penetrated far into the country, when a fatal disease destroyed great numbers of his men, and obliged him to return. Trajan besieged their capital city, but was defeated by thunder and lightning, whirlwinds and other prodigies, and that as often as he renewed his assaults. Severus besieged the same city twice, and was twice repelled from before it; and the

(*a*) Diodorus Siculus. Lib. 2. p. 92. Edit. Stephani. p. 131. Edit. Rhodomani. et Lib. 19. p. 722. Edit. Steph. p. 730. Edit. Rhod.

historian Dion, a man of rank and character, though an heathen, plainly ascribes the defeat of these two emperors to the interposition of a divine power. We who know the prophecies, may be more assured of the reality of a divine interposition: and indeed otherwise, how could a single nation stand out against the enmity of the whole world, for any length of time, and much more for near four thousand years together? The great empires round them have all in their turns fallen to ruin, while they have continued the same from the beginning, and are likely to continue the same to the end: and this in the natural course of human affairs, was so highly improbable, if not altogether impossible, that nothing but a divine prescience could have foreseen it, so nothing but a divine power could have accomplished it.

These are the only people besides the Jews, who have subsisted as a distinct people from the beginning; and in some respects they very much resemble each other. The Arabs, as well as the Jews, are descended from Abraham, and both boast of their descent from that father of the faithful. The Arabs, as well as the Jews, had originally twelve patriarchs or heads of tribes, who were their princes or governors. The Arabs, as well as the Jews, marry among themselves and in their own tribes. The Arabs, as well as the Jews, are singular in several of their customs, and are standing monuments to all ages, of the exactness of the divine predictions, and of the veracity of scripture-history. We may with more confidence believe the particulars related of Abraham and Ishmael, when we see them verified in their posterity at this day. This is having, as it were ocular demonstration for our faith. This is proving, by plain matter of fact, that *the Most High ruleth in the kingdoms of men*, and that his truth, as well as his *mercy, endureth for ever*.

III.

The Prophecies concerning JACOB and ESAU.

AS it pleased God to disclose unto Abraham the state and condition of his posterity by Ishmael, who was the son of the bond-woman; it might be with reason expected, that something should be predicted concerning his posterity also by Isaac, who was the son of the free-woman. He was properly the child of promise, and the prophecies relating to him and his family are much more numerous than those relating to Ishmael; but we will select and enlarge upon such only, as have reference to these laterages.

It was promised to Abraham before Ishmael or any son was born to him, Gen. xii. 3. "In thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed." But after the birth of Ishmael and Isaac, the promise was limited to Isaac, Gen. xxi. 12. "For in Isaac shall thy seed be called." And accordingly to Isaac was the promise repeated, Gen. xxiv. 4. "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." The Saviour of the world therefore was not to come of the family of Ishmael, but of the family of Isaac; which is an argument for the truth of the Christian religion in preference to the Mohammedan, drawn from an old prophecy and promise made two thousand years before Christ, and much more before Mohammed was born.

The land of Canaan was promised to Abraham and his seed four hundred years before they took possession of it, Gen. xv. It was promised again to Isaac, Gen. xxvi. 3. "Sojourn in this land, and I will be with thee, and will bless thee: for unto thee and unto thy seed I will give all these countries, and I will perform the oath which I sware unto Abraham thy father." Now it is very well known, that it was not until after the death of Moses, who wrote these things, that the Israelites got possession of the land under the command of Joshua. They remained in possession of it several ages in pursuance of these prophecies: and afterwards, when for their sins

and iniquities they were to be removed from it, their removal also was foretold, both the carrying away of the ten tribes, and the captivity of the two remaining tribes for seventy years, and likewise their final captivity and dispersion into all nations, until, in the fulness of time, they shall be restored again to the land of their inheritance.

It was foretold to Abraham that his posterity should be multiplied exceedingly above that of others. Gen. xii. 2. "I will make of thee a great nation;" and xxii. 17. "In blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven, and as the sand which is upon the sea-shore." The same promise was continued to Isaac, Gen. xxvi. 4. "I will make thy seed to multiply as the stars of heaven." And not to mention the vast increase of their other posterity, how soon did their descendents by Jacob grow up into a mighty nation? And how numerous were they formerly in the land of Canaan? How numerous were they in other parts of the world, according to the accounts of Philo and Josephus? And after the innumerable massacres and persecutions which they have undergone, how numerous are they still in their present dispersion among all nations? It is computed that there are as many Jews now, or more than ever there were, since they have been a nation. A learned (a) foreigner, who hath written a history of the Jews, as a supplement and continuation of the history of Josephus, says that "it is impossible to fix the number of persons this nation is at present composed of. But yet we have reason to believe, there are still near three millions of people, who profess this religion; and, as their phrase is, *are witnesses of the unity of God in all the nations of the world.*" And who could foretell such a wonderful increase and propagation of a branch only of one man's family, but the same divine power that could effect it?

But Isaac had two sons, whose families did not grow up and incorporate into one people, but were separated into two different nations: and therefore, as it had been necessary before to specify whether Ishmael or Isaac was to be heir of the promises, so there was a necessity for the same distinction now between Esau and Jacob. Accordingly, when their mother had conceived, "the children struggled together within her."

(a) See Beza's History of the Jews, Book 7. Chap. 35. Sect. 15.

Gen. xxv. 22. And it was revealed unto her by the Lord, ver. 23. "Two nations are in thy womb, and two manner of people shall be separated from thy bowels; and the one people shall be stronger than the other people, and the elder shall serve the younger." The same divine spirit influenced and directed their father to give his final benediction to the same purpose: for thus he blessed Jacob, Gen. xxvii. 28, 29. "God give thee of the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine. Let people serve thee, and nations bow down unto thee; be lord over thy brethren, and let thy mother's sons bow down unto thee; cursed be every one that curseth thee, and blessed be he that blest thee." And thus he blessed Esau, ver. 39, 40. "Behold, thy dwelling shall be the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above. And by thy sword shalt thou live, and shalt serve thy brother; and it shall come to pass when thou shalt have the dominion, that thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck." But for greater clearness and certainty, a more express revelation was afterwards made to Jacob; and the land of Canaan, a numerous progeny, and the blessing all nations, were promised to him in particular, Gen. xxviii. 13, 14. "I am the Lord God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Israel: the land whereon thou liest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed. And thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth; and thou shalt spread abroad to the west, and to the east, and to the north, and to the south; and in thee, and in thy seed, shall the families of the earth be blessed."

We have here a farther and more ample proof of what was asserted before, that these ancient prophecies were meant not so much of single persons, as of whole people and nations descended from them. For what is here predicted concerning Esau and Jacob, was not verified in themselves, but in their posterity. Jacob was so far from bearing rule over Esau, that he was forced to fly his country for fear of Esau. Gen. xxvii. He continued abroad for several years; and when he returned to his native country, he sent a supplicatory message to his brother Esau, Gen. xxxii. 5. "that he might find grace in his sight." When he heard of Esau's coming to meet him with four hundred men, he "was greatly afraid and distressed," ver. 7. and cried unto the Lord, ver. 11. "Deliver me, I pray thee, from the hand of my brother, from the hand of Esau." He

sent a magnificent present before him to appease his brother, calling Esau his *lord*, and himself Esau's *servant*, ver. 18. When he met him, he "bowed himself to the ground seven times, until he came near to his brother," Gen. xxx. 3. And after he had found a gracious reception, he acknowledged ver. 10. "I have seen thy face, as though I had seen the face of God, and thou wast pleased with me." Jacob then had no temporal superiority over Esau; and therefore we must look for the completion of the prophecy among their posterity. The prophecy itself refers us thither, and mentions plainly *two nations* and *two manner of people*; and comprehends these several particulars; that the families of Esau and Jacob should grow up into two different people and nations; that the family of the elder should be subject to that of the younger; that in situation and other temporal advantages they should be much alike; that the elder branch should delight more in war and violence, but yet should be subdued by the younger; that however there should be a time when the elder should have dominion, and shake off the yoke of the younger; but in all spiritual gifts and graces the younger should be greatly superior, and be the happy instrument of conveying the blessing to all nations.

I. The families of Esau and Jacob should grow up into two different people and nations, *Two nations are in thy womb, and two manner of people shall be separated from thy bowels*. The Edomites were the offspring of Esau, as the Israelites were of Jacob; and who but the author and giver of life could foresee, that two children in the womb would multiply into two nations? Jacob had twelve sons, and their descendents all united and incorporated into one nation; and what an over-ruling providence then was it, that two nations should arise from the two sons only of Isaac? But they were not only to grow up into two nations, but into two very different nations, and *two manner of people* were to be separated from her bowels. And have not the Edomites and Israelites been all along two very different people in their manners and customs, and religions, which made them to be perpetually at variance one with another? The children *struggled together* in the womb, which was an omen and token of their future disagreement: and when they were grown up to manhood, they manifested very different inclinations. Esau was a *cunning hunter*, and delighted in the sports of the field: Jacob

was more mild and gentle, *dwelling in tents*, and minding his sheep and his cattle, Gen. xxv. 27. Our English translation, agreeably to the (a) Séptuagint and the Vulgate, hath it that Jacob was a *plain man*; but he appears from his whole conduct and behaviour to have been rather an *artful* than a *plain* man. The (b) word in the original signifies *perfect*, which is a general term; but being put in opposition to the *rough* and *rustic* manners of Esau, it must particularly import that Jacob was more *humane* and *gentle*, as (c) Philo the Jew understands it, and as Le Clerc translates it. Esau slighted his birth-right, and those sacred privileges of which Jacob was desirous, and is therefore called, Heb. xii. 16. the *profane* Esau: but Jacob was a man of better faith and religion. The like diversity ran through their posterity. The religion of the Jews is very well known; but whatever the Edomites were at first, in process of time they became idolaters. Josephus (d) mentions an Idumean deity named Kozé: and Amaziah king of Judah, after he had overthrown the Edomites, 2 Chron. xxiv. 14. “brought their gods, and set them up to be his gods, and bowed down himself before them, and burned incense unto them;” which was monstrously absurd, as the prophet remonstrates, ver. 15. “Why hast thou sought after the gods of the people, which could not deliver their own people out of thine hand.” Upon these religious differences and other accounts, there was a continual grudge and enmity between the two nations. The king of Edom would not suffer the Israelites in their return out of Egypt, so much as to pass through his territories: Numb. xx. and the history of the Edomites afterwards is little more than the history of their wars with the Jews.

II. The family of the elder should be subject to that of the younger. *And the one people shall be stronger than the other people, and the elder shall serve the younger*, or as the words may be rendered, *the greater shall serve the lesser*. The family of Esau was the elder, and for some time the greater and more powerful of the two, there having been dukes and kings

(a) Sept. simplex. Vulg.

(b) Integer perfectus. Integer, Syr. Samar. Perfectus Onk. perfectus virtutibus. Arab.

(c) Vide Clericum in locum. Jacobus vero mitis, &c.

(d) Coze: quem Deum existimant Idumæi. Antiq. Lib. 15. Cap. 7. Sect. 9. p. 686. Edit. Hudson.

in Edom, "before there reigned any king over the children of Israel," Gen. xxxvi. 31. But David and his captains made an entire conquest of the Edomites, slew several thousands of them, 1 Kings xi. 16. and 1 Chron. xviii. 12. and compelled the rest to become his tributaries and servants, and planted garrisons among them to secure their obedience, 2 Sam. viii. 14. "And he put garrisons in Edom; throughout all Edom put he garrisons, and all they of Edom became David's servants." In this state of servitude they continued about (a) an hundred and fifty years, without a king of their own, being governed by viceroys or deputies appointed by the kings of Judah. In the reign of Jehoshaphat king of Judah it is said, that "there was then no king in Edom; a deputy was king," 1 Kings xxii. 47. But in the days of Jehoram his son, they revolted, and recovered their liberties, "and made a king over themselves." 2 Kings viii. 20. But afterwards Amaziah king of Judah "slew of Edom in the valley of salt, ten thousand, and took Selah by war, and called the name of it Jocktheel, unto this day," says the sacred historian. 2 Kings xiv. 7. "And other ten thousand left alive, did the children of Judah carry away captive, and brought them unto the top of the rock, whereon Selah was built, and cast them down from the top of the rock, that they were broken all in pieces." 2 Chron. xxv. 12. His son Azariah or Uzziah likewise took from them Elah, that commodious haven on the Red Sea, and fortified it anew, "and restored it to Judah." 2 Kings xiv. 22. 2 Chron. xxvi. 2. Judas Maccabæus attacked and defeated them several times, *killed no fewer than twenty thousand at one time, and more than twenty thousand at another,* and took their chief city Hebron, "and the towns thereof, and pulled down the fortrefs of it, and burnt the towers thereof round about." 1 Macc. v. 2 Macc. x. At last his nephew, (b) Hyrcanus, the son of Simon, took others of their cities, and reduced them to the necessity of embracing the Jewish religion, or of leaving their country, and seeking new habitations elsewhere, whereupon they submitted to be circumcised, and became pro-

(a) From about the year of the world 2960 before Christ. 1044, to the year of the world 3115 before Christ 889. Usher's Annals.

(b) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 13. Cap. 9. Sect. 1. p. 534. Edit. Hudson.

selytes to the Jewish religion, and ever after were incorporated into the Jewish church and nation.

III. In situation and other temporal advantages they should be much alike. For it was said of Jacob, *God give thee of the dew of heaven, and of the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine*: and much the same is said to Esau, *Behold, thy dwelling shall be of the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above*. In this manner the latter clause is translated in (a) Jerome's and the old versions; but some modern commentators, (b) Castalio, le Clerc, &c. render it otherwise, that his dwelling should be *far from the fatness of the earth, and from the dew of heaven*: and they say that Idumea, the country of the Edomites, was a dry, barren, and desert country. But it is not probable, that any good author should use the (c) very same words with the very same prepositions in one sense, and within a few lines after, in a quite contrary sense. Besides Esau solicited for a blessing; and the author of the epistle to the Hebrews saith, xi. 20. that "Isaac blessed Jacob and Esau;" whereas had he consigned Esau to such a barren and wretched country, it would have been a curse rather than a blessing. The spiritual blessing indeed, or the promise of the blessed seed could be given only to one; but temporal good things might be communicated and imparted to both. Mount Seir and the adjacent country was at first the possession of the Edomites; they afterwards extended themselves farther into Arabia; as they did afterwards into the southern parts of Judea. But wherever they were situated, we find in fact that the Edomites in temporal advantages were little inferior to the Israelites. Esau had *cattle, and beasts, and substance* in abundance, and he went to dwell in Seir of his own accord, and he would hardly have removed thither with so many cattle, had it been such a barren and desolate country as some would represent it, Gen. xxxiv. 6, 7, 8. The Edomites had dukes and kings reigning over them, while the Israelites were slaves in Egypt. In their return out of

(a) In pinguedine terræ, et in rore cæli desuper.

(b) A terræ pinguitudine aberit. Cast. A pinguedine quidem terræ remota erit fedes tua, neque rore cæli fecundabitur—Nec sane Idumæa fecunda aut pingui solo, aut tempestivis pluviis rigata fuit. Clericus in locum.

(c) Ver. 28. terræ pinguedinibus de et, cæli rore de. Ver. 39. desuper cæli rore de et, terræ pinguedinibus de.

Egypt when the Israelites desired leave to pass through the territories of Edom, it appears that the country abounded with fruitful fields and vineyards: "Let us pass, I pray thee, thro' thy country; we will not pass through the fields, or through the vineyards, neither will we drink of the water of the wells." Numb. xx. 17. And the prophecy of Malachi, i. 2. which is commonly alledged as a proof of the barrenness of the country, is rather an argument to the contrary: *And I hated Esau, and laid his mountains and his heritage waste, for the dragons of the wilderness*: for this implies that the country was fruitful before, and that its present unfruitfulness was rather an effect of war and devastation, than any natural defect and failure in the soil. If the country is barren and unfruitful now, so neither is Judea what it was formerly. The face of any country is much changed in a long course of years: and it is totally a different thing, when a country is regularly cultivated by inhabitants living under a settled government, than when tyranny prevails, and the land is left desolate. It is also frequently seen that God, as the Psalmist saith, cvii. 34. "turneth a fruitful land into barrenness for the wickedness of them that dwell therein."

IV. The elder branch should delight more in war and violence, but yet should be subdued by the younger. *And by thy sword shall thou live and shall serve thy brother*. Esau himself might be said to live much by the sword, for "he was a cunning hunter, a man of the field." Gen. xxv. 27. He and his children got possession of mount Seir by force and violence, by destroying and expelling from thence the Horites, the former inhabitants. Deut. ii. 22. We have no account, and therefore cannot pretend to say, by what means they spread themselves farther among the Arabians; but it (a) appears, that upon a sedition and separation, several of the Edomites came, and seized upon the south west parts of Judea during the Babylonish captivity, and settled there ever afterwards. Both before and after this they were almost continually at war with the Jews; upon every occasion they were ready to join with their enemies; and when Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem, they encouraged him utterly to destroy the city, saying, "Raze it, raze it, even to the foundation thereof."

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(a) Strabo, Lib. 16. P. 1103. Edit. Amstel. 1707. Prideaux Connect. Part 1. Book 1. Ann 740.

Pfal. cxxxvii. 7. Even long after they were subdued by the Jews, they still retained the same martial spirit, for (a) Josephus in his time giveth them the character of “a turbulent and disorderly nation, always erect to commotions and rejoicing in changes, at the least adulation of those who beseech them beginning war, and hastening to battles as it were to a feast.” Agreeably to this character, a little before the last siege of Jerusalem, they came at the entreaty of the zelots to assist them against the priests and people, and there, together with the zelots, committed unheard of cruelties, and barbarously murdered Ananus the high priest, from whose death Josephus dateth the destruction of the city.

V. However there was to be a time when the elder should have dominion, and shake off the yoke of the younger. *And it shall come to pass when thou shalt have dominion, that thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck.* The word which we translate *have dominion*, is capable of various interpretations. Some render it in the sense of *laying down or shaking off*, as the (b) Septuagint and the vulgar Latin, *And it shall come to pass that thou shalt shake off, and shalt loose his yoke from off thy neck.* Some again render it in the sense of *mourning or repenting*, as the (c) Syriac, *But if thou shalt repent, his yoke shall pass from off thy neck.* But the most common rendering and most approved is, *when thou shalt have dominion*; and it is not said or meant, that they should have dominion over the seed of Jacob, but simply have dominion, as they had when they appointed a king of their own. The (d) Jerusalem Targum thus paraphraseth the whole: “And it shall be when the sons of Jacob attend to the law, and observe the precepts, they shall impose the yoke of servitude upon thy neck; but

(a) Utpote gentem tumultuosam et ordinis impatientem, ad motus intentam semper et mutationibus gaudentem, ad modicam vero eorum qui supplicant adulationem arma moventem, et ad prælia, quasi ad festum properantem. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 4. Cap. 4. Sect. 1. P. 1177. Edit. Hudson. See too the following chapter.

(b) Sept. tempusque veniet cum excutias et solvas jugum ejus de cervicibus tuis. Vulg.

(c) At sit pœnitentiam egeris, præteribit jugum ejus a collo tuo. Syr.

(d) Et erit cum operam dabunt filii Jacob legi, at servabunt mandata, imponent jugum servitutis super collum tuum: quando autem averterint se filii Jacob, ut non studeant legi, nec servaverint mandata ecce tunc abrumpes jugum servitutis eorum a collo tuo. Targ. Hieros.

“ when they shall turn themselves away from studying the law, and neglect the precepts, behold then thou shalt shake off the yoke of servitude from thy neck.” David imposed the yoke, and at that time the Jewish people observed the law. But the yoke was very galling to the Edomites from the first: and toward the latter end of Solomon’s reign, Hadad the Edomite of the blood royal, who had been carried into Egypt in his childhood returned into his own country, and raised some disturbances, 1 Kings xi. but was not able to recover his throne, (a) his subjects being overawed by the garrisons which David had placed among them. But in the reign of Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat king of Judah, *the Edomites revolted from under the dominion of Judah, and made themselves a king.* Jehoram made some attempts to subdue them again, but could not prevail. “ So the Edomites revolted from under the hand of Judah unto this day,” saith the author of the books of Chronicles, 2 Chron. xxi. 1, 10. and hereby this part of the prophecy was fulfilled about nine hundred years after it was delivered.

VI. But in all spiritual gifts and graces the younger should be greatly superior, and be the happy instrument of conveying the blessing to all nations. *In thee and in thy seed shall the families of the earth be blessed:* and hitherto are to be referred in their full force those expressions, *Let people serve thee, and nations bow down to thee: Cursed be every one that curseth thee, and blessed be he that bleisseth thee.* The same promise was made to Abraham in the name of God, “ I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee,” Gen. xii. 3. and it is here repeated to Jacob, and is thus paraphrased in the Jerusalem Targum: “ He who curseth thee, shall be cursed, as Balaam the son of Beor; and he who bleisseth thee, shall be blessed, as Moses the prophet, the lawgiver of Israel.” It appears that Jacob was a man of more religion, and believed the divine promises more than Esau. The posterity of Jacob likewise preserved the true religion and the worship of one God, while the Edomites were sunk in idolatry. And of the seed of Jacob was born at last the Saviour of the world. This was

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(a) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 8. Cap. 7. Sect. 6. P. 361. Edit. Hudson.

(b) Quisque maledixerat tibi Jacob fili mi, erat maledictus, sicut Balaam filius Beor: quisquis autem benedixerit tibi, erit benedictus, sicut Moses propheta, legislator Israelitarum. Targ. Hieros.

the peculiar privilege and advantage of Jacob, to be the happy instrument of conveying these spiritual blessings to all nations. This was his greatest superiority over Esau; and in this sense St. Paul understands and applies the prophecy, "the elder shall serve the younger," Rom. ix. 12. The Christ, the Saviour of the world, was to be born of some one family: and Jacob's was preferred to Esau's out of the good pleasure of Almighty God, who is certainly the best judge of fitness and expedience, and hath an undoubted right to dispense his favours as he shall see proper; "for he saith to Moses," (as the apostle proceeds to argue, ver. 15.) "I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I will have compassion." And when the Gentiles were converted to christianity, the prophecy was fulfilled literally, *Let people serve thee, and nations bow down to thee*; and will more amply be fulfilled when *the fulness of the Gentiles shall come in, and all Israel shall be saved*.

We have traced the accomplishment of the prophecy from the beginning; and we find that the nation of the Edomites hath at several times been conquered by and made tributary to the Jews, but never the nation of the Jews to the Edomites, and the Jews have been the more considerable people, more known in the world, and more famous in history. We know indeed little more of the history of the Edomites, than as it is connected with that of the Jews: and where is the name or the nation now? They are swallowed up and lost, partly among the Nabathæan Arabs, and partly among the Jews; and the very name was (a) abolished and disused about the end of the first century after Christ. Thus were they rewarded for insulting and oppressing their brethren the Jews, and hereby other prophecies were fulfilled of Jeremiah, xlix. 7, &c. of Ezekiel, xxv. 12, &c. of Joel, iii. 19. Amos, i. 11, &c. and Obediah. And at this day we see the Jews subsisting as a distinct people, while Edom is no more. For agreeably to the words of Obediah, ver. 10. "For thy violence against thy brother Jacob, shall shame cover thee, and thou shalt be cut off for ever:" and again, ver. 18. "There shall not be any remaining of the house of Esau, for the Lord hath spoken it."

(a) See Prideaux Connect. Part 1. Book 5. Anno. 129.

IV.

JACOB'S prophecies concerning his Sons, particularly JUDAH.

IT is an opinion of great antiquity, that the nearer men approach to their dissolution, their souls grow more divine, and discern more of futurity. We find this opinion as early as (a) Homer, for he represents the dying Patroclus foretelling the fate of Hector, and the dying Hector denouncing no less certainly the death of Achilles. Socrates in his apology to the Athenians a little before his death (b) asserts the same opinion. "But now, saith he, I am desirous to prophecy to you who have condemned me, what will happen hereafter. For now I am arrived at that state in which men prophecy most when they are about to die." His scholar (c) Xenophon introduces the dying Cyrus declaring in like manner, "that the soul of man at the hour of death, appears most divine, and then foresees something of future events." Diodorus Siculus (d) alledgeth great authorities upon this subject; "Pythagoras the Samian, and some others of the ancient naturalists have demonstrated that the souls of men are immortal, and in consequence of this opinion, that they also foreknow future events, at the time that they are making their separation from the body in death." Sextus Empiricus (e) confirms it likewise

(a) Hom. Iliad. xvi. 852. et Iliad. xxii. 358.

(b) Jam vero, O vos, qui me condemnastis, cupio vobis earum rerum, que vobis sunt eventuræ, casus quasi oraculo predicere: in illum enim temporis statum jam perveni, in quo homines divinandi facultate maxime pollent, quando nimirum morituri sunt. Platonis Apolog. Socr. Op. Vol. I. P. 39. Edit. Serrani.

(c) Ac hominis animus tum scilicet maxime divinus perspicitur, et tum futuorum aliquid prospicit. Xenoph. Cyrop. Lib. 8. prop. finem. P. 140. Edit. Henr. Steph. 1581.

(d) Pythagoras Samius, et quidam physicorum veterum alii, immortales esse hominum animas confirmarunt: et quod hujus sententiæ consecrarium est, prænoscere futura, cum imminente vitæ exitu, junctam a corpore segregantur. In initio, Lib. 13. Tom. II. P. 586. Edit. Rhodmani.

(e) Adv. Mathem. P. 312.

by the authority of Aristotle; “the soul, saith Aristotle, foresees
 “and foretells future events, when it is going to be separated
 “from the body by death.” We might produce more testimonies to this purpose from Cicero, and Eustathius upon Homer, and from other authors, if there was occasion; but these are sufficient to show the great (*a*) antiquity of this opinion; and it is possible, that (*b*) old experience may in some cases attain to something like prophecy and divination. In some instances also God may have been pleased to comfort and enlighten departing souls with a prescience of future events. But what I conceive might principally give rise to this opinion, was the tradition of some of the patriarchs being divinely inspired in their last moments to foretell the state and condition of the people descended from them; as Jacob upon his death-bed summoned his sons together that he might inform them of what should befall them in *the latter days* or *the last days*; by which phrase some commentators understand the times of the Messiah, or the last great period of the world; and Mr. Whiston particularly (*c*) asserts, that it is generally, if not always, a characteristic of prophecies not to be fulfilled till the coming of the Messiah; and accordingly he supposes that these prophecies of Jacob more properly belong to the second coming of the Messiah, at the restoration of the twelve tribes hereafter. But the phrase of *the latter days* or *last days* in the Old Testament signifies any time that is yet to come, though sometimes it may relate to the times of the Messiah in particular, as it comprehends all future time in general: and hence it is used in pro-

(*a*) Shakespeare alludes to this nation in Henry IV. First Part.

—O! I could prophecy,
 But that the earthy and cold hand of death
 Lies on my tongue.

The same notion is also happily expressed in a most excellent Latin poem, “De Animi Immortalitate,” which is deserving of a place among the classic authors, in richness of poetry equals Lucretius, and in clearness and strength of argument exceeds him.

Namque ubi torpescunt artus jam morte propinqua,
 Acrior est æies tum mentis, et entheus ardor;
 Tempore non aliò facundia suavior, atque
 Fatidica jam tum voces morientis ab ore.

(*b*) Alluding to these lines of Milton;
 ‘Till old experience do attain
 To something like prophetic strain.

(*c*) Boyle’s Lectures, Vol. II. P. 311.

phesies that respect different times and periods. "I will advertise thee," saith Balaam to Balaak, Numb. xxiv. 14. "what this people shall do to thy people in the latter days:" but what the Israelites did to the Moabites, was done long before the times of the Messiah. "I know," saith Moses, Deut. xxi. 29. "that after my death you will utterly corrupt yourselves, and turn aside from the way which I have commanded you, and evil will befall you in the latter days:" where the *latter days* are much the same as the *time after the death of Moses*. "There is a God in Heaven," saith Daniel, ii. 28. "that revealeth secrets, and maketh known to the king Nebuchadnezzar, what shall be in the latter days:" but several particulars are there foretold of the four great monarchies of the earth, which were fulfilled before the coming of the Messiah. And in like manner these prophecies of Jacob were, many or most of them, accomplished under the Mosaic æconomy, several ages before the birth of our Saviour.

Jacob, as we have seen, received a double blessing, temporal and spiritual, the promise of the land of Canaan, and the promise of the seed in which all the nations of the earth should be blessed; which promises were first made to Abraham, and then repeated to Isaac, and then confirmed to Jacob; and Jacob a little before his death bequeaths the same to his children. The temporal blessing or inheritance of the land of Canaan might be shared and divided among all his sons, but the blessed seed could descend only from one: and Jacob accordingly assigns to each a portion in the promised land, but limits the descent of the blessed seed to the tribe of Judah, and at the same time sketches out the characters and fortunes of all the tribes.

He adopts the two sons of Joseph, Manasseh and Ephraim, for his own, but foretells that the younger should be the greater of the two: Gen. xlviii. 19, and hath not the prediction been fully justified by the event? the tribe of Ephraim grew to be so numerous and powerful, that it is sometimes put for all the ten tribes of Israel.—Of Reuben it is said, Gen. xlix. 4. "Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel:" and what is recorded great or excellent of the tribe of Reuben? In number, Numb. i. and power, they were inferior to several other tribes.—Of Simeon and Levi, it is said, ver. 7. "I will divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel:" and was not this eminently fulfilled in the tribe of Levi, who had

no portion or inheritance of their own, but were dispersed among the other tribes? Neither had the tribe of Simeon any inheritance properly of their own, but only a portion in the midst of the tribe of Judah; Josh. xix. 1—9, from whence several of them afterwards went in quest of new habitations, 1 Chron. iv. 39, &c. and so were divided from the rest of their brethren. A constant tradition too (*a*) hath prevailed among the Jews (which is also confirmed by the Jerusalem Targum) that the tribe of Simeon were so straitened in their situation and circumstances, that great numbers were necessitated to seek a subsistence among the other tribes; by teaching and instructing their children.—Of Zebulun it is said, ver. 13. “He shall dwell at the haven of the sea, and shall be for an haven of ships:” and accordingly the tribe of Zebulun extended from the sea of Galilee to the Mediterranean, Josh. xix. 10, &c. where they had commodious havens for shipping. And how could Jacob have foretold the situation of any tribe, which was determined four hundred years afterwards by casting of lots, unless he had been directed by that divine Spirit, who disposeth of all events?—Of Benjamin it is said, ver. 27. “He shall raven as a wolf:” and was that not a fierce and warlike tribe, as appears in several instances, and particularly in the Levite’s wife, Judg. xx. when they alone waged war against all the other tribes, and overcame them in two battles?

In this manner he characterises these and the other tribes, and foretells their temporal condition, and that of Judah as well as the rest: “Binding his sole unto the vine, and his ass’s colt unto the choice vine, he washed his garments in wine, and his cloaths in the blood of grapes. His eyes shall be red with wine, and his teeth white with milk:” ver. 11, 12. and not to mention the valley of Eschol and other fruitful places, the mountains about Jerusalem, by the accounts of the best travellers, were particularly fitted for the cultivation of the vine, and for the feeding of cattle.—“The blessing, says (*a*) Dr. Shaw, that was given to Judah, was not of the same kind with the blessing of Asher or of Issachar,

(*a*) Tradunt quoque Hebræi, scribas, prædottibus, prædagogos, et doctores puerorum fere omnes ex tribu Schimeon fuisse, qui, ut haberent unde viverent, sparsim et oppidatim pueros informare cogebantur. Cui sententiæ ad stipulatur et Thargum Hieros, &c. Fagias.

(*b*) Shaw’s Travels, p. 366, 367.

“ that his bread should be fat, or his land should be pleasant, but
 “ that his eyes should be red with wine, and his teeth should be
 “ white with milk.” He further observes that the mountains of
 “ the country abound with shrubs and a delicate short grass, both
 “ of which the cattle are more fond of than of such plants as are
 “ common to fallow grounds and meadows. Neither was this
 “ method of grazing peculiar to this country; inasmuch as it
 “ is still practised all over mount Libanus, the Catravan moun-
 “ tains and Barbary; in all which places the higher grounds
 “ are set apart for this use, and the plains and valleys for tillage.
 “ For besides the good management and œconomy, there is this
 “ farther advantage, that the milk of cattle fed in this manner,
 “ is far more rich and delicious, as their flesh is far more sweet
 “ and nourishing. It may be presumed likewise, that the vine
 “ was not neglected, in a soil and exposition so proper for it to
 “ thrive in.” He mentions particularly “ the many tokens
 “ which are to be met with, of the ancient vineyards about Je-
 “ rusalem and Hebron,” “ and the great quantities of grapes and
 “ raisins, which are from thence brought daily to the markets
 “ of Jerusalem, and sent yearly to Egypt.”

But Jacob bequeathed to Judah particularly the spiritual blessing, and delivers it in much the same form of words that it was delivered to him. Isaac had said to Jacob, Gen. xxvii. 29. “ Let people serve thee, and nations bow down to thee; be lord over thy brethren, and let thy mother’s sons bow down to thee;” and here Jacob saith to Judah, ver. 8. “ Thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise; thy hand shall be in the neck of thy enemies; thy father’s children shall bow down before thee.” And for greater certainty it is added, ver. 10. “ The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come, and unto him shall the gathering of the people be.” I will not trouble the reader or myself with a detail of the various interpretations which have been put upon this passage, but will only offer that which appears to me the plainest, easiest and best; I will first explain the words and meaning of the prophecy, and then shew the full and exact completion of it. They who are curious to know the various interpretations of the learned, may find an account of them in (a) Huertius and (b) Le Clerc: but

(a) Demonstratio Evangelica, Prop. 3. Cap. 4.

(b) Comment in locum.

no one hath treated the subject in a more masterly manner than the present (a) Lord Bishop of London; and we shall principally tread in his footsteps, as we cannot follow a better guide.

I. "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah." The word *shebet*, which we translate a *sceptre*, signifies a *rod* or *staff* of any kind; and particularly the rod or staff which (b) belonged to each tribe as an ensign of their authority; and thence it is transferred to signify a *tribe*, as being united under one rod or staff of government, or a ruler of a tribe; and in this sense it is used twice in this very chapter, ver. 16. "Dan shall judge his people as one of the tribes or rulers of Israel;" and again, ver. 28. "All these are twelve tribes or rulers of Israel." It hath the same signification in 2 Sam. vii. 7. "In all the places wherein I have walked with all the children of Israel, spake I a word with any of the tribes or rulers of Israel (in the parallel place of *Chronicles* & *Chron.* xvii. 6. it is judges of Israel) whom I commanded to feed my people Israel, saying, Why build ye not me an house of cedar?" The word doth indeed sometimes signify a *sceptre*, but that is apt to convey an idea of kingly authority, which was not the thing intended here: and the Seventy translate it a *ruler*, which answers better to a *lawgiver* in the following clause. It could not with any sort of propriety be said, that "the sceptre should not depart from Judah," when Judah had no sceptre, nor was to have any for many generations afterwards, but Judah had a rod or staff of a tribe, for he was then constituted a tribe as well as the rest of his brethren. The very same expression occurs in Zechariah, x. 11. "And the sceptre of Egypt shall depart away," which implies that Egypt had a sceptre, and that the sceptre should be taken away: but no grammar or language could justify the saying that *Judah's sceptre should depart* or be taken away, before Judah was in possession of any sceptre. Would it not therefore be better to substitute the word *staff* or *ruler* instead of *sceptre*, unless we restrain the

(a) See the 3d Dissertation in Bishop Sherlock's Discourses of the Use and Interest of Prophecy.

(b) Bishop Sherlock hath cited to this purpose Menochias de Repub. Heb. Lib. 1. Cap. 4. Traductum vero nomen est ad significandum tribum:—quod unaqueque tribus suam peculiarem virgam haberet, nomine suo inscriptam, quam tribuum principes—manu gestere consueverant—Cum Dominus Aaronem his verbis alloquitur, sed et fratres tuos de tribu Levi, et sceptrum patris tui sume tecum, intellige sceptram i, s. fam, et totam tribum quæ scepro significabatur, et regebatur.

meaning of a scepter to a rod or staff of a tribe, which is all that is here intended? *The staff or ruler shall not depart from Judah. The tribeship shall not depart from Judah.* Such authority as Judah had then, was to remain with his posterity; It is not said or meant, that he should not cease from being a king or having a kingdom, for he was then no king, and had no kingdom; but only that he should not cease from being a tribe or body politic, having rulers and governors of his own, until a certain period here foretold.

Nor a lawgiver from between his feet. The sense of the word *sceptre* will help us to fix and determine the meaning of the other word *mechekek*, which we translate a *lawgiver*. For if they are not synonymous, they are not very different. Such as the government is, such must be the lawgiver. The government was only of a single tribe, and the lawgiver could be of no more. Nor had the tribe of Judah at any time a legislative authority over all the other tribes, no, not even in the reigns of David and Solomon. When David appointed the officers for the service of the temple; 1 Chron. xxv. 1. Ezra viii. 20. and when Solomon was appointed king, and Zadock priest; 1 Chron. xxix. 22. these things were done with the consent and approbation of the princes and rulers of Israel. Indeed the whole nation had but one law, and one lawgiver in the strict sense of the word. The king himself was not properly a lawgiver; he was only to have a *copy of the law*, to read therein, and to turn not aside from the commandment, to the right hand or to the left. Deut. xvii. 18, &c. Moses was truly, as he is stiled, *the lawgiver*: Numb. xxi. 18. Deut. xxxiii. 21. and when the word it applied to any other person or persons, as Judah is twice called by the Psalmist, Psal. lx. 7. cviii. 8. *my lawgiver*, it is used in a lower signification. For it signifies not only a lawgiver, but a judge: not only one who maketh laws, but likewise one who exerciseth jurisdiction: and in the Greek it is translated a *leader* or *praesident*, in the (a) Chaldee a *scribe*, in the (b) Syriac an *expofitor*, and in our English bible it is elsewhere translated a *governor*, as in Judges, v. 14. "Out of Machir came down *governors*, and out of Zebulun they that handle the pen of the writer." The *lawgiver* therefore is to be taken in a restrained sense as well as the *scepter*: and perhaps it cannot be translated better than *judge*: *Nor a judge from between his feet.* Whether we understand it, that a *judge*

(a) Neque scriba a filiis filiorum ejus. Chald.

(b) Et expofitor de inter pedes ejus. Syr.

from between his feet shall not depart from Judah, or a judge shall not depart from between his feet, I conceive the meaning to be much the same, that there should not be wanting a judge of the race and posterity of Judah, according to the Hebrew phrase of children's coming *from between the feet*. They who expound it of *sitting at the feet of Judah*, seem not to have considered that this was a place of scholars, and not of judges and doctors of the law. As *Dan*, ver. 16. was to *judge his people as one of the tribes or rulers of Israel*; so *Judah*, and with this particular prerogative, that *the staff or ruler should not depart from Judah, nor a judge from between his feet*, until the time here foretold, which we are now to examine and ascertain.

Until *Shiloh* come, that is, until the coming of the Messiah, as almost all interpreters, both ancient and modern, agree. For howsoever they may explain the word, and whencesoever they may derive it, the Messiah is the person plainly intended.—The (a) Vulgar Latin translates it *Qui mittendus est, He who is to be sent*; and to favour this version that passage in St. John's Gospel, ix. 7. is usually cited, "Go wash in the pool of Siloam, which is by interpretation sent:" And who was ever sent with such power and authority from God as the Messiah, who frequently speaketh of himself in the gospel under the denomination of *him whom the Father had sent*?—The (b) Seventy translate it *the things reserved for him*, or according to other copies, *he for whom it is reserved*: And what was the great treasure reserved for Judah, or who was the person for whom all things were reserved, but the Messiah, whom we have declaring in the gospel, Matt. xi. 27. "All things are delivered unto me of my Father," and again, xxviii. 18. "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth?"—The Syriac translates it to the same purpose *is cujus illud est, he whose it is*, I suppose meaning the kingdom; and the Arabic *cujus ipse est, whose he is*, I suppose meaning Judah: And who was Judah, and whose was the kingdom so properly as the Messiah's, who is so many times predicted under the character of *the king of Israel*?—Janius and Tremellius with others (c) translate it

(a) As if St. Jerome had read Shiloach instead Shiloh, and hath derived it from Shalach mist, the mistake being easy of ch for h.

(b) Deriving it from the quod or quae and lo ei.

(c) As if it was derived from Shil profluvium sanguinis or Shilejah secundinah, that wherein the infant was wrapped, and thence by a metonymy the infant itself.

filius ejus, his son: And who could be this son of Judah by way of eminence, but the Messiah, *the seed in which all the nations of the earth shall be blessed?*—In the Samaritan text and version it is *pacificus, the peace-maker*; and (a) this perhaps is the best explication of the word: And to whom can this or any the like title be so justly applied as to the Messiah, who is emphatically stiled, *Is. ix. 6.* “the prince of peace,” and at whose birth was sung that heavenly anthem, *Luke ii, 14.* “Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men?”

These are the principal interpretations, and which ever of these you prefer, the person understood must be the Messiah.—But the learned Mr. Le Clerc would explain the text in such a manner as utterly to exclude the Messiah: and he was a very able commentator, the best perhaps upon the Penteteuch; but like other learned men, he was sometimes apt to indulge strange unaccountable fancies. Of this kind, I conceive, is his interpretation of this prophecy; for he (b) says that *Shiloh* signifies *finis ejus aut cessatio, his end or ceasing*, and that it may be referred to the *lawgiver*, or to the *sceptre*, or even to Judah himself. But if it be referred to the *lawgiver*, or to the *sceptre*, what is it but an unmeaning tautology. *There shall be a lawgiver as long as there shall be a lawgiver. There shall not be an end of the sceptre till the end of the sceptre come?* If it be referred to Judah, or the tribe of Judah, the thing is by no means true; for the tribe of Judah subsisted long after the they had lost the kingdom, and were deprived of all royal authority. Not many readers, I imagine, will concur with this learned commentator. The generality of interpreters, Jewish as well as Christian, have by *Shiloh* always understood the Messiah. The Targum of Onkelos is commonly (c) supposed to have been

(a) I look upon the word Shiloh to be derived from the verb *Shalah* tranquillis, *pacificus* fuit, in the same manner as *kitor fumus* is formed from *katar sulfamigavit*: and there are other words of that formation.

(b) He says that *Shiloh* is the same as *Shilo*, and *Shil* may be derived from *Shul*, and *Shul* is the same as *Shalak*, which in Chaldee signifies cessare, desinere—*finis aut cessatio verti poterit. Hoc posito, finis ejus poterit ad legislatorum aut ad sceptrum referri, aut etiam ad ipsum Judam.* Comment. in locum.

(c) See Prideaux. Connect. Part 2. B. 8. Anno 37.

made before our Saviour's time; and he (*a*) thus expresseth the sense of the passage, "There shall not be taken away one having the principality from the house of Judah, nor a scribe from his children's children, until Messias come whose is the kingdom." And with him agree the other Targums or Chaldee paraphrases, and the authors of the Talmud, and other ancient and modern Jews, whom the reader may see cited in Buxtorf upon the word. So that, I think, no doubt can remain, that by the *coming of Shiloh* is meant the *coming of the Messiah*.

And unto him shall the gathering of the people be, or obedience of the people, as it is otherwise translated. These words are capable of the different constructions; and each so probable, that it is not easy to say which was certainly intended by the author. For 1. they may relate to *Judah*, who is the main subject of the prophecy, and of the discourse preceding and following; and by the *people* we may understand the people of Israel: and then the meaning will be, that the other tribes should be gathered to the tribe of Judah; which sense is approved by Le Clerc and some late commentators. Or, 2. they may relate to *Shiloh*, who is the person mentioned immediately before; and by the *people* we may understand the Gentiles: and then the meaning will be, that the Gentiles should be gathered or become obedient to the Messiah; which sense is consonant to other texts of scripture, and is confirmed by the authority of most ancient interpreters; only (*b*) some of them render it, *and he shall be the expectation of the nation*. Or, 3. they may still relate to *Shiloh*, and yet not be considered as a distinct clause, but be joined in construction with the preceding words, *until Shiloh come*, the word *until* being common to both parts; and then the sentence will run thus, *until Shiloh come and to him the gathering or obedience of the people*, that is, until the Messiah come, and until the people or nations be gathered to his obedience; which sense is preferred by the most learned (*c*) Mr. Mede and some others. And each of these interpretations may very well be justified by the event.

(*a*) Non auferetur habens principatum a domo Judæ, neque scriba a filiis filiorum ejus, usque in ævum; donec veniat Messias, ejus est regnum.

(*b*) Et ipse erit expectatio gentium. Vulg. following the Sept. who probably derived the word from expectavit.

(*c*) See Mede's Discourse VIII. et Gothofr. Valandi Dessert.

II. Having thus explained the words and meaning of the prophecy, I now proceed to show the full and exact completion of it. The twelve sons of Jacob are here constituted twelve tribes or heads of tribes, ver. 28. "All these are the twelve tribes of Israel; and this is it that their father spake unto them, and blessed them; every one according to his blessing he blessed them." To Judah particularly it was promised, that *the sceptre, or rod of the tribe, should not depart from him, nor a judge or lawgiver from between his feet*; his tribe should continue a distinct tribe with rulers, and judges, and governors of its own, until the coming of the Messiah. The people of Israel, after this settlement of their government, were reckoned by their tribes, but never before. It appears that they were reckoned by their tribes, and according to their families, while they sojourned in Egypt; and the tribe of Judah made as considerable a figure as any of them. In number it was superior to the others: Numb. i. and xxvi. It had the first rank in the armies of Israel: Numb. ii. It marched first against the Canaanites: Judg. i. And upon all occasions manifested such courage as fully answered the character given of it, ver. 9. *Judah is a lion's whelp; from the prey, my son, thou art gone up: he stooped down, he couched as a lion, and as an old lion, who shall rouse him up?* If the first king of Israel was of the tribe of Benjamin, the second was of the tribe of Judah; and from that time to the Babylonish captivity, Judah had not only the sceptre of a tribe, but likewise the sceptre of a kingdom. When it was promised to Judah particularly, that the sceptre should not depart from him, it was implied that it should depart from the other tribes: and accordingly the tribe of Benjamin became a sort of appendage to the kingdom of Judah; and the other ten tribes were, after a time, carried away captive into Assyria, from whence they never returned. The Jews also were carried captive to Babylon, but returned after seventy years: and during their captivity they were far from being treated as slaves, as it appears from the prophet's advice to them; Jer. xxix. 5, &c. "Build ye houses, and dwell in them; and plant gardens, and eat the fruit of them, &c." And many of them were so well fixed and settled at Babylon, and lived there in such ease and afflu-

cui titulus. Prætor e medio civium Jud. ante Messia imperium universale non abcessurus. Sylloge Dissertat. Vol. I. Manu- Crit. Note in locum.

ence, that they refused to return to their native country. In their captivity they were still allowed to live as a distinct people; appointed feasts and fasts for themselves, and had rulers and governors of their own, as we may collect from several places in Ezra and Nehemiah. When Cyrus had issued his proclamation for the rebuilding of the temple, *then rose up the chief of the fathers*, saith Ezra; i. 5. so that they had chiefs and rulers among them. Cyrus ordered the vessels of the temple to be delivered to *the prince of Judah*; Ezra i. 8. so that they had then a prince of Judah. And these princes and rulers, who are often mentioned, managed their return and settlement afterwards. It is true, that after the Babylonish captivity, they were not so free a people as before, living under the dominion of the Persians, Greeks, and Romans; but still they lived as a distinct people, under their own laws. The authority of their rulers and elders subsisted under these foreign masters, as it had even while they were in Egypt. It subsisted under the Amonian princes, as it had under the government of the Judges, and Samuel, and Saul; for in the book of Maccabees there is frequent mention of *the rulers and elders and council of the Jews*, and of public acts and memorials in their name. It subsisted even in our Saviour's time, for in the gospels we read often of *the chief priests, and the scribes, and the elders of the people*. Their power indeed, in capital causes, especially such as related to the state, was abridged in the same measure; they might judge, but not execute without the consent of the Roman governor, as I think we must infer from this passage, John xviii. 31. "Then said Pilate unto them, Take ye him, and judge him according to your law: the Jews therefore said unto him, It is not lawful for us to put any man to death." The sceptre was then departed, and in about forty years afterwards it totally departed. Their city was taken, their temple was destroyed, and they themselves were either slain with the sword, or sold for slaves. And from that time to this they have never formed one body or society, but have been dispersed among all nations; their tribes and genealogies have been all confounded, and they have lived without a ruler, without a lawgiver, and without supreme authority and government in any part of the earth. And this a captivity not for seventy years, but for seventeen hundred. "Nor will they ever be able (as the learned (a) prelate expresses it) after all

(a) Bishop Sherlock's Dissertat. 3d. P. 351, Edit 5.

“ their pretences, to show any signs or marks of the *sceptre*
 “ among them, until they discover the unknown country *where*
 “ never mankind dwelt, and where the apocryphal Eldras has
 “ placed their brethren of the ten tribes.” 2 Esd. xiii. 41.

We have seen the exact completion of the former part of the prophecy, and now let us attend to that of the latter part, *And unto him shall the gathering of the people be.* If we understand this of Judah, that the other tribes should be gathered to that tribe, it was in some measure fulfilled by the people's going up so frequently as they did to Jerusalem, which was in the tribe of Judah, in order to obtain justice in difficult cases, and to worship God in his holy temple. “ Whither
 “ the tribes go up,” saith the Psalmist cxxii. 4, 5. “ the tribes
 “ of the Lord; unto the testimony of Israel, to give thanks
 “ unto the name of the Lord. For there are set thrones of
 “ judgment; the thrones of the house of David.” Upon the division of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, the tribe of Benjamin, and the priests and Levites, and several out of all the other tribes, 2 Chron. xi. 13, 16. went over to Judah, and were so blended and incorporated together, that they are more than once spoken of under the notion of “ one tribe :” 1 Kings xi. 13, 32, 36. and it is said expressly, 1 Kings xii. 20. “ there
 “ was none that followed the house of David, but the tribe of
 “ Judah only;” all the rest were swallowed up in that tribe, and considered as parts and members of it. In like manner, when the Israelites were carried away captive into Assyria, it is said, 2 Kings xvii. 18. “ there was none left but the tribe
 “ of Judah only;” and yet we know that the tribe of Benjamin, and many of the other tribes remained too, but they are reckoned as one and the same tribe with Judah. Nay at this very time there was a remnant of Israel, that escaped from the Assyrians, and went and adhered to Judah; for we find afterwards, that in the reign of Josiah there were some of *Manasseh and Ephraim and of the remnant of Israel*, who contributed money to the repairing of the temple, as well as *Judah and Benjamin* : 2 Chron. xxxiv. 9. and at the solemn celebration of the passover, some of *Israel were present* as well as *all Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem.* When the people returned from the Babylonish captivity, then again several of the tribes of Israel associated themselves, and returned with Judah and Benjamin; “ and in Jerusalem dwelt of
 “ the children of Judah, and of the children of Benjamin,

“and of the children of Ephraim and Manasseh.” 1 Chron. ix. 3. At so many different times, and upon such different occasions, the other tribes were gathered to this tribe, inso-much that Judah became the general name of the whole nation; and after the Babylonish captivity they were no longer called the *people of Israel*, but the *people of Judah* or *Jews*.

Again, if we understand this of Shiloh or the Messiah, that the people or Gentiles should be gathered to his obedience, it is no more than is foretold in many other prophecies of scripture; and it began to be fulfilled in Cornelius the centurian, whose conversion, Acts x. was as I may say the first fruits of the Gentiles, and the harvest afterwards was very plenteous. In a few years the gospel was disseminated, and *took root downward, and bore fruit upward* in the most considerable parts of the world then known: and in Constantine's time, when the empire became Christian, it might with some propriety be said, “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. We ourselves were of the Gentile, but are now *gathered* unto Christ.

Lastly, if we join this in construction with the words preceding *until Shiloh come*, two events are specified as forerunners of the sceptre's departure from Judah, the coming of the Messiah, and the gathering of the Gentiles to him; and these together point out with great exactness the precise time of the sceptre's departure. Now it is certain that before the destruction of Jerusalem, and the dissolution of the Jewish commonwealth by the Romans, the Messiah was not only come, but great numbers likewise of the Gentiles were converted to him. The very same thing was predicted by our Saviour himself, Matt. xxiv. 14. “This gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world, for a witness unto all nations, and then shall the end come,” the destruction of Jerusalem, and the end of the Jewish constitution. The Jews were not to be cut off, until the Gentiles were grafted into the church. And in fact we find that the apostles and their companions preached the gospel in all the parts of the world then known. “Their sound,” as St. Paul applies the saying, Rom, x. 18. “went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world.” And *then the end came*, then an end was put to the Jewish policy in church and state. The government of the tribe of Judah had subsisted in some form or other from

the death of Jacob to the last destruction of Jerusalem; but then it was utterly broken and ruined; then the sceptre departed, and hath been departed ever since. And now even the distinction of tribes is in great measure lost among them; they are all called Jews, but the tribe of Judah is so far from bearing rule that they know not for certain, which is the tribe of Judah; and all the world is witness, that they exercise dominion no where, but every where live in subjection.

Before we conclude, it may not be improper to add a just observation of the learned prelate before cited. As the tribe of Benjamin annexed itself to the tribe of Judah as its head, so it ran the same fortune with it; they went together into captivity, they returned home together, and were both in being when Shiloh came. This also was foretold by Jacob, ver. 27. "Benjamin shall raven as a wolf; in the morning he shall devour the prey, and at night he shall divide the spoil." The *morning* and *night* here can be nothing else but the (a) morning and night of the Jewish state; for this state is the subject of all Jacob's prophecy, from one end to the other; and consequently it is here foretold of Benjamin, that he should continue to the very last times of the Jewish state. This interpretation is confirmed by Moses's prophecy, for the prophecy of Moses is in truth an exposition of Jacob's prophecy. "Benjamin," saith Moses, Deut. xxxiii. 12. "shall dwell in safety; the Lord shall cover him all the day long." What is this *all the day long*? The same certainly as the *morning and night*. Does not this import a promise of a longer continuance to Benjamin, than to the other tribes? and was it not most exactly fulfilled?

To conclude. This prophecy and the completion of it will furnish us with an invincible argument, not only that the Messiah is come, but also that Jesus Christ is the person. For the sceptre was not to depart from Judah, until the Messiah should come: but the sceptre hath long been departed, and consequently the Messiah hath been long come. The sceptre departed at the final destruction of Jerusalem, and hath been departed seventeen centuries; and consequently the Messiah came a little before that period: and if the Messiah came a

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(a) Thus some Jewish interpreters referred to by Bochart, understood the expression, *Mane, id est primis Israelitici regni temporibus—Sub vesperam, id est post captivitatis Babilonicæ tempora.* Hierozic. pars prior. Lib. 3. Cap. 10. Col. 823.

little before that period, prejudice itself cannot long make any doubt concerning the person. All considerate men must say, as Simon Peter said unto Jesus, John vi. 68, 69. "Lord to whom shall we go? thou hast the words of eternal life. And we believe and are sure that thou art the Christ, the son of the living God."

V.

BELAAM'S *prophecies.*

WONDERFUL as the gift of prophecy was, it was not always confined to the chosen seed, nor yet always imparted to the best of men. God might sometimes, to convince the world of his superintendance and government of the world, disclose the purposes of his providence to heathen nations. He revealed himself to Abimelech, Gen. xx. to Pharaoh, Gen. xli. and to Nebuchadnezzar, Dan. ii. and we have no reason to deny all the marvellous stories which are related of divination among the Heathens; the possibility and credibility of which is argued on both sides by Cicero in his two books of divination, his brother Quintus asserting it in the first book, and himself labouring to disprove it in the second; but I think all unprejudiced readers must agree, that the arguments for it are stronger and better than those urged against it. Neither was there any necessity that the prophets should always be good men. Unworthy persons may sometimes be possessed of spiritual gifts as well as of natural. Aaron and Miriam, who were inspired upon some occasions, yet upon others mutinied against Moses, and rebelled against God. Jonah for his disobedience to God was thrown into the sea. In the thirteenth chapter of the first book of Kings we read of two prophets, the one a liar and afterwards inspired, the other inspired and afterwards disobedient to the word of the Lord. Yea our Saviour himself hath assured us, Matt. vii. 22, 23. "that in the last day many will say unto him, Lord, Lord, "have we not prophesied in thy name? and in thy name "have cast out devils? and in thy name done many wonder- "ful works? and yet will he profess unto them, I never "knew you; depart from me, ye that work iniquity."

Balaam was a remarkable instance of both kinds, both of a prophet who was a heathen, and of a prophet who was an immoral man. He came from "Aram or Mesopotamia, out "of the maintains of the east:" Numb. xxiii. 7. Deut.

xxiii. 4. and the east was infamous for soothsayers and diviners. If. ii. 6. However he was a worshipper of the true God (as were also Melchizedeck, and Job, and others of the heathen nations) and this appears by his applying to God, Numb. xxii. 8. "I will bring you word again, as the Lord shall speak unto me;" and by his calling *the Lord his God*, ver. 18. *I cannot go beyond the word of the Lord my God to do less or more.* But his worship was mixed and debased with superstition, as appears by his building *seven altars*, and sacrificing on each altar, Numb. xxiii. 1, 2. and by his going *to seek for enchantments*, what ever they were. Numb. xxiv. 1. He appears too to have had some pious thoughts and resolutions, by declaring "I cannot go beyond the word of the Lord my God to do less or more;" and by so earnestly wishing "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his." xxiii. 10. But his heart was unsound, was mercenary, was corrupt; "he loved the wages of unrighteousness," 2 Peter ii. 15. and "ran greedily after rewards:" Jude 11. his inclinations were contrary to his duty; he was ordered to stay, but yet he wished to go; he was commanded to bless, but yet he longed to curse; and when he found that he was over-ruled and could do the people no hurt as a prophet, he still contrived to do it as a politician, and "taught Balak to cast a stumbling block before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed unto idols, and to commit fornication." Rev. ii. 14. So that he was indeed a strange mixture of a man; but so is every man more or less. There are inconsistencies and contradictions in every character, though not so great perhaps and notorious as in Balaam. If he is called a soothsayer in one part of scripture, Josh. xiii. 22. in another part he is called a prophet; 2 Peter ii. 16. and his name must have been in high credit and estimation, that the king of Moab and the elders of Midian should think it worth their while to send two honorable embassies to him at a considerable distance, to engage him to come and curse the people of Israel. It was a superstitious ceremony in use among the heathens to devote their enemies to destruction at the beginning of their wars, as if the gods would enter into their passions, and were as unjust and partial as themselves. The Romans had public officers to perform the ceremony, and (a) Macrobius hath preserved the form of these

(a) Saturnal. Lib. 3. Cap. 9.

execrations. Now Balaam being a prophet of great note and eminence, it was believed that he was more intimate than others with the heavenly powers, and consequently that his imprecations would be more effectual; for as Balak said unto him, Numb. xxii. 6: "I wot that he whom thou blestest is "blest, and he whom thou curstest is cursed."

But the strangest incident of all, is the part of Balaam's ass. This usually is made the grand objection to the truth of the story. The speaking ass from that time to this hath been the standing jest of every infidel brother. Philo the Jew, seemeth to have been ashamed of this part of the story: for in the first book of his life of Moses, wherein he hath given an account of Balaam, he hath purposely omitted this particular of the ass's speaking, I suppose not to give offence to the Gentiles; but he needed not to have been so cautious of offending them, for similar stories were current among them. The learned (a) Bochart hath collected several instances, the ass of Bacchus, the ram of Phrixus, the horse of Achilles, and the like, not only from the poets and mythologists, but also from the gravest historians, such as Livy and Plutarch, who frequently affirm that oxen have spoken. The proper use of citing such authorities is not to prove, that those instances and this of Balaam are upon an equal footing, and equally true; but only to prove that the Gentiles believed such things to be true, and to lie within the power of their gods, and consequently could not object to the truth of scripture history on this account. Maimonides and others have conceived that the matter was transacted in a vision; and it must be confessed that many things in the writings of the prophets are spoken of as real transactions, which were only visionary; and these visions made as strong impressions upon the minds of the prophets as realities. But it appears rather more probable from the whole tenor of the narration, that this was no visionary, but a real transaction. The words of St. Peter show, that it is to be understood as he himself understood it, literally, 2 Pet. ii. 14, 15, 16. "Cursed children; which have forsaken the right way, and are gone astray, following the way of Balaam the son of Bofor, who loved the wages of unrighteousness; but was rebuked for his iniquity; the dumb ass speaking with man's voice, forbade the madness of the prophet."

(a) Hierozoic. Pars prior. Lib. 2. Cap. 14.

The afs was enabled to utter fuch and fuch founds, probably, as parrots do, without understanding them: and fay what you will of the construction of the afs's mouth, of the formation of the tongue and jaws being unfit for fpeaking, yet an adequate caufe is affigned for this wonderful effect, for it is faid exprefsly, *that the Lord opened the mouth of the afs*; and no one who believes a God, can doubt of his having power to do this and much more. If the whole tranfaction was vifionary, no reafon can be given why it was faid particularly that *the Lord opened the mouth of the afs*. But it is thought ftrange that Balaam fhould exprefs no furprize upon this extraordinary occafion: but perhaps he had been accuftomed to prodigies with his enchantments; or perhaps believing the eastern doctrine of the tranfmigration of human fouls into the bodies of brutes, he might think that fuch a humanized brute not incapable of fpeaking: or perhaps he might not regard or attend to the wonder, through excefs of rage and *madnefs*, as the word is in St. Peter; or perhaps (which is the moft probable of all) he might be greatly difturbed and aftonifhed, as (a) Jofephus affirms he was, and yet Mofes in his fhort hiftory might omit this circumftance. The miracle was by no means needlefs or fuperfluous; it was very proper to convince Balaam that the mouth and tongue were under God's direction, and that the fame divine power which caufed the dumb afs to fpeak, contrary to its nature, could make him in like manner utter bleffings contrary to his inclination. And accordingly he was over-ruled to blefs the people, though he came prepared and difpofed to curfe them, which according to (b) Bochart, was the greater miracle of the two, for the afs was merely paffive, but Balaam refifted the good motions of God. We may be the more certain that he was influenced to fpeak contrary to his inclination, becaufe after he had done prophelying, though he had been ordered in anger to depart and "flee to his place;" Numb. xxiv. 10, 11. yet he had the mean-

(a) Antiq. Jud. Lib. 4. Cap. 6. Sect. 2. Dum vero ille voce humana afinæ attenitus turbatusque, &c. P. 150. Edit. Hudfon.

(b) Rabba in Numeros Sect. 20. Deum afferit os afinæ ideo aperuiffe, ut Balaamum doceret, os, et linguam penes fe effe, adeoque os ipfius Balaami, fi quæreret Israeli maledicere. Et vero id docuit eventus, cum Balaam iis ipfis invitus benedixit, quibus maledicturus tanto apparatu venerat, non minore oraculo, aut etiam majore, quam cum afina locuta eff. Afina enim erat mere, patiens, fed Balaam moventi Deo pro virili obifftebat, ut Saul, cum prophetam egit. Hierozoic. Pars prior. Lib, 2 Cap. 14.

ness to stay, and gave that wicked counsel whereby the people were enticed "to commit whoredom with the daughters of Moab, "and twenty and four thousand died in the plague." Numb. xxv.

This miracle then was a proper sign to Balaam, and had a proper effect; and we may the more easily believe it, when we find Balaam afterwards inspired with such knowledge of futurity. It was not more above the natural capacity of the ass to speak, than it was above the natural capacity of Balaam to foretell so many distant events. The prophecies render the miracle more credible; and we shall have less reason to doubt of the one, when we see the accomplishment of the others. His predictions are indeed wonderful, whether we consider the matter or the style; as if the same divine spirit that inspired his thoughts, had also raised his language. They are called *parables* in the sacred text: *he took up his parable, and said.* The same word is used after the same manner in the book of Job, xxvii. 1. xxix. 1. "Moreover Job continued his parable, and said." It is commonly translated *parable* or *proverb*. Le Clerc translates it *figuratam orationem*; and thereby is meant a weighty and solemn speech delivered in figurative and majestic language. Such, remarkably such, (a) are the prophecies or parables of Balaam.

(a) See to this purpose Mr. Lowth's poetical Praelections, particularly Praelect. 4. P. 41. Praelect. 18. P. 173. and his ingenious version of part of Balaam's prophecies into Latin verse, Praelect. 20. P. 206. The learned reader will not be displeas'd to see it here.

Tuis, Jacobe, quantus est castris decor!
 Tuisque signis, Israel!
 Ut rigua vallis fertilem pandens sinum;
 Horti ut scatentes rivulis;
 Sacris Edena colli ut in sylvis virent,
 Cedrique propter flumina.
 Illi uda multo rore stillant germina,
 Fætusque alunt juges aquae.
 Sancti usque fines promovebit imperi
 Rex usque victor hostium.
 Illum subactò duxit ab Nilo Deus,
 Novis superbam viribus,
 Qualis remotis liber in jugis oryx
 Fert celsa caelo cornua.
 Vorabit hostes; ossa franget; irritas
 Lacerebit hostas dentibus.
 Ut Leo, recumbit; ut leana, decubat;
 Quis audeat laceffere?
 Quæ quisque tibi precabitur, ferat bona!
 Mala quæ precabitur, luat.

You cannot peruse them without being struck with the beauty of them. You will perceive uncommon force and energy, if you read them only in our English translation. We shall select only such parts as are more immediately relative to the design of these discourses.

After he had offered his first sacrifice, Numb. xxiii. he went to seek the Lord, and at his return he declared among other things, "Lo, the people shall dwell alone, and shall not be reckoned among the nations," ver. 9. And how could Balaam, upon a distant view only of a people whom he had never seen or known before, have discovered the genius and manners not only of the people then living, but of their posterity to the latest generations? What renders it more extraordinary is the singularity of the character, that they should differ from all the people in the world, and should dwell by themselves among the nations, without mixing and incorporating with any. The time too when this was affirmed increases the wonder, it being before the people were well known in the world, before their religion and government were established, and even before they had obtained a settlement any where. But yet that the character was fully verified in the event, not only all history testifies, but we have even ocular demonstration at this day. The Jews in their religion and laws, their rites and ceremonies, their manners and customs, were so totally different from all other nations, that they had little intercourse or communion with them. An (a) eminent author hath shown, that there was a general intercommunity amongst the gods of paganism; but no such thing was allowed between the God of Israel and the gods of the nations. — There was to be no fellowship between God and Belial, though there might be between Belial and Dagon. And hence the Jews were branded for their inhumanity and unsociableness; and they as generally hated, as they were hated by the rest of mankind. Other nations, the conquerors and the conquered, have often associated and united as one body, under the same laws; but the Jews in their captivities have commonly been more bigotted to their own religion, and more tenacious of their own rites and customs, than at other times. And even now, while they are dispersed among all nations, they yet live

(a) See the divine legation of Moses. Book 2. Sect. 6. and Book 5. Sect. 2.

distinct and separate from all, trading only with others, but eating, marrying, and conversing chiefly among themselves. We see therefore how exactly and wonderfully Balaam characterised the whole race from the first to the last, when he said, *Lo, the people shall dwell alone, and shall not be reckoned among the nations.* In the conclusion too when he poured forth that passionate wish, *Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his,* ver. 10. he had in all probability some forebodings of his own coming to an untimely end, as he really did afterwards, being slain with the five kings of Midian, by the sword of Israel. Numb. xxxi. 8.

After the second sacrifice, he said, among other things, Num. xxii. 24. "Behold the people shall rise up as a great lion, and lift up himself as a young lion: he shall not lie down until he eat of the prey, and drink of the blood of the slain:" and again to the same purpose, after the third sacrifice, xxiv. 8, 9. "He shall eat up the nations his enemies, and shall break their bones, and pierce them through with his arrows: He couched, he lay down as a lion, and as a great lion; who shall stir him up? Blessed is he that blefseth thee, and cursed is he that curseth thee." Which passages are a manifest prophecy of the victories which the Israelites should gain over their enemies, and particularly the Canaanites, and of their secure possession and quiet enjoyment of the land afterwards, and particularly in the reigns of David and Solomon. It is remarkable too, that God hath here put into the mouth of Balaam much the same things which Jacob had before predicted of Judah, Gen. xlix. 9. "Judah is a lion's whelp; from the prey my son, thou art gone up: he stooped down, he couched as a lion, and as an old lion: who shall rouse him up?" And Isaac had predicted of Jacob, Gen. xxvii. 29. "Cursed be every one that curseth thee, and blessed be he that blefseth thee:" there is such analogy and harmony between the prophecies of scripture.

At the same time Balaam declared, ver. 7. "His king shall be higher than Agag, and his kingdom shall be exalted." Some copies have *Gog* instead of *Agag*, which reading is embraced by the (*b*) authors of the Universal History, who say that "as the Samaritan, Septuagint, Syriac, and Arabic read

(a) See Univerf. Hift. Book I. Fol. Edit. note Y.
Chap. 7. Sect. 2. Vol. I. P. 524.

“ *Gog* instead of *Agag*, and *Gog* doth generally signify the
 “ Sythians and northern nations, several interpreters have pre-
 “ ferred this latter reading to the first, and not without good
 “ grounds.” But it is a mistake to say, that the Syriac and Ara-
 bic read *Gog*: it is found only in the (a) Samaritan and the Sep-
 tuagint, and in Symmachus, according to Grotius: and (b) Sy-
 riac and Arabic have *Agag* as well as the Targum of Onkelos
 and the Vulgate, though this latter with a different sense and
 construction of the words. Neither have we any account that
Gog was a famous king at that time, and much less that the king
 of Israel was ever exalted above him; and indeed the Sythians
 and northern nations lay too remote to be the proper subject of a
 comparison. The reading of the Hebrew copies, *his king shall*
be higher than Agag, is, without doubt, the true reading: and we
 must either suppose that *Agag* was prophesied of by name parti-
 cularly, as Syrus and Josiah were several years before they were
 born: or we must say with (c) Moses Gerundenfis, a learned
 rabbi quoted by Munster, that *Agag* was the general name of the
 kings of Amalek, which appears very probable, it being the
 custom of those times and of those countries, to give one certain
 name to all their kings, as *Pharaoh* was the general name for
 the kings of Egypt, and *Abimelech* for the kings of the Philis-
 tines. Amalek too was a neighbouring country, and therefore
 is fitly introduced upon the present occasion: and it was likewise
 at that time a great and flourishing kingdom, for in ver. 20. it
 is stiled the “ first of nations;” and therefore for the king
 of Israel to be exalted above the king of Amalek was really a
 wonderful exaltation. But wonderful as it was, it was accom-
 plished by Saul, who “ smote the Amalekites from Havilah,
 “ until thou comest to Shur, that is over against Egypt: and
 “ he took *Agag* the king of Amalekites alive, and utterly def-

(a) Extolleturque præ *Gog* rex ejus. Samar.

(b) Extolletur præ *Agag* rege, et exaltabitur regnum. Syr.

Exaltabitur plusquam *Agag* rex ejus, et extolletur regnum ejus.
 Arab.

Koborabitur magis quam *Agag* rex ejus, et elevabitur regnum
 illius. Onk.

Toiletur propter *Agag* rex ejus, et auferetur regnum illius. Vulg.

(c) Et secundum Moysen Gerundensem, quilibet rex Amalekita-
 rum fuit vocatus *Agag*, transitque primi regis nomen in omnes pos-
 teros solum regni occupantes; sicut a Cæsare primo omnes Roma-
 norum reges Cæsares appellantur, Munsterus.

troysd all the people with the edge of the sword" 1 Sam. xv. 7, 8. The first king of Israel subdued Agag the king of the Amalekites, so that it might truly and properly be said, *his king shall be higher than Agag, and his kingdom shall be exalted*, as it was afterwards greatly by David and Solomon.

His latter prophecies Balaam utters in with a remarkable preface. "Balaam the son of Beor hath said, and the man whose eyes are open, hath said; He hath said, which heard the words of God, which saw the vision of the Almighty, falling into a trance, but having his eyes open." Ver. 3, 4, and 15, 16. Which hath occasioned much perplexity and confusion, but the words rightly rendered will admit of an easy interpretation. *Balaam the son of Beor hath said, and the man whose eyes are open hath said*: It should be *the man whose eye was shut*: for the word *shotam* is used only here and in Lamentations, iii. 8. and there it signifies *to shut*; and the word *satam*, which is very near of kin to it, I think, hath always that signification. St. Jerome translates it *cujus obturatus est oculus*: and in the margin of our bibles it is rendered *who had his eyes shut*, but with this addition, *but now open*. It plainly alludes to Balaam's not seeing the angel of the Lord, at the same time the ass saw him. *He hath said, which heard the words of God, which saw the vision of the Almighty*; for in this story we read several times, that *God came unto Balaam and said unto him*; and possibly he might allude to former revelations. *Falling into a trance, but having his eyes open*; in the original there is no mention of a *trance*; the passage should be rendered, *falling and his eyes were opened*, alluding to what happened in the way, to Balaam's falling with his falling ass, and then having his eyes opened: "And when the ass saw the angel of the Lord, she fell down under Balaam—Then the Lord opened the eyes of Balaam, and he saw the angel of the Lord standing in the way, and his sword drawn in his hand; and he bowed down his head, and fell flat on his face." xxii. 27, &c. A contrast is intended between having his eyes *shut*, and having his eyes *opened*; the one answers to the other. The design of this preface was to excite attention: and so Balaam proceeds to *advertise Balak what his people shall do to his people in the latter days*, by which phrase is meant the time to come, be it more or less remote.

He begins with what more immediately concerns the Moabites, the people to whom he is speaking, ver. 17, 18, 19.

“ I shall see him, but not now; I shall behold him, but not nigh; or rather, *I see him, but not now; I behold him, but not nigh;*” the future tense in Hebrew being often used for the present. He saw with the eyes of prophecy, and prophets are emphatically stiled *seers*. *There shall come a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel.* The *star* and the *sceptre* are probably metaphors borrowed from the ancient hieroglyphics, which much influenced the language of the east: and they evidently denote some eminent and illustrious king or ruler, whom he particularizes in the following words. *And shall smite the corners of Moab, or the princes of Moab,* according to other versions. This was executed by David, for “ he smote Moab, and measured them with a line, casting them down to the ground: even with two lines measured he, to put to death; and with one full line, to keep alive:” that is, he destroyed two thirds, and saved one third alive: “ and so the Moabites became David’s servants, and brought gifts.” 2 Sam. viii. 2.

And destroy all the children of Sheth. If by *Sheth* was meant the son of Adam, then *all the children of Sheth* are all mankind, the posterity of Cain and Adam’s other sons having all perished in the deluge, and the line only of Sheth having been preserved in Noah and his family: but it is very harsh to say that any king of Israel would *destroy* all mankind, and therefore the (a) Syriac and Chaldee soften it, that he shall *subdue* all the sons of Sheth, and *rule over* all the sons of men. The word occurs only in this place, and in Isaiah xxii. 5. where it is used in the sense of *breaking down* or *destroying*: and as particular places, Moab and Edom, are mentioned both before and after; so it is reasonable to conclude that not all mankind in general, but some particular persons were intended by the expression of *the sons of Sheth*. The (b) Jerusalem Targum translates it, *the sons of the east*, the Moabites lying east of Judea. Rabbi Nathan (c) says that *Sheth* is the name of a city in the border of Moab. Grosius (d) imagines *Sheth* to be the name of some famous king among the Moabites. Our Poole, who is a judi-

(a) Et subjugabit omnes filios Seth. Syr.

Et dominabitur omnium filiorum hominum. Chald.

(b) Hino Jerosolim. Paraphraſtes filios orientis vertit Moabita enim erant ad ortum Judææ. Le Clerc.

(c) R. Nathan dicit; Seth nomen ubi eſſe in termino Moab. Vie. Liram. Druſius.

(d) Nihil vero propius quam Seth nominatum fuiſſe regem aliquem exiſtimat inter Moabitas. Grot.

ous and useful commentator, says that *Sheth* “seems to be the
 “ name of some then eminent, though now unknown, place or
 “ prince in Moab, where there were many princes, as appears
 “ from Numb. xxiii. 6. Amos ii. 3. there being innumerable
 “ instances of such places or persons sometimes famous, but
 “ now utterly lost as to all monuments and remembrances of
 “ them.” Vitringa, in his commentary on Isaiah, (a) conceives that the Idumeans were intended, the word *Sheth* signifying a *foundation*, or *fortified place*, because they trusted greatly in their castles and fortifications. But the Idumeans are mentioned afterwards; and it is probable that as two hemistichs relate to them, two also relate to the Moabites; and the reason of the appellation assigned by Vitringa is as proper to the Moabites as to the Idumeans. It is common in the stile of the Hebrews, especially in the poetic parts of scripture, and we may observe it particularly in these prophecies of Balaam, that the same thing in effect is repeated in other words, and the latter member of each period is exegetical of the former, as in the passage before us; *I see him, but not now; I behold him, but not nigh*: and then again, *there shall come a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel*: and again afterwards, *And Edom shall be a possession, Seir also shall be a possession for his enemies*. There is great reason therefore to think, that the same manner of speaking was continued here, and consequently that *Sheth* must be the name of some eminent place or person among the Moabites; and shall smite the princes of Moab, and destroy all the sons of *Sheth*.

And Edom shall be a possession. This was also fulfilled by David; for “he put garrisons in Edom; throughout all Edom
 “ put he garrisons, and all they of Edom became David’s servants.” 2 Sam. viii. 14. David himself in two of his psalms hath mentioned together his conquest of Moab and Edom, as they are also joined together in this prophecy; “Moab is my
 “ wash-pot, over Edom will I cast out my shoe.” Psal. lx. 8. cviii. 9. *Seir also shall be a possession for his enemies*, that is for the Israelites. *Seir* is the name of the mountains of Edom,

(a) Non desisto ab hac sententia, vocem karkar in verbis Bileamii certo significare destructionem, everisionem, vastationem; etsi hæream in phrasi filiozem Seth, per quos secundum circumstantias loci intelligi puto Idumæos, voce appellative sumpta pro fundamento sive loco munido, quod illi maxime arcibus ac munimentis suis fiderent. Vitring. in Jesaim. Cap. 22. Ver. 5. P. 641. Vol. I.

so that even their mountains and fastnesses could not defend the Idumeans from David and his captains. *And Israel shall do valiantly*, as they did particularly under the command of David, several of whose victories are recorded in this same 8th chapter of the 2d book of Samuel, together with his conquest of Moab and Edom. *Out of Jacob shall come he that shall have dominion, and shall destroy him that remaineth of the city*; not only defeat them in the field, but destroy them even in their strongest cities, or perhaps some particular city was intended, as we may infer from Psal. lx. 9, cviii. 10. "Who will bring me into the strong city? who will lead me into Edom?" And we read particularly that Joab, David's general, "snoted every male in Edom: for six months did Joab remain there with all Israel, until he had cut off every male in Edom." 1 Kings xi. 15, 16.

We see how exactly this prophecy hath been fulfilled in the person and actions of David: but most Jewith as well as Christian writers apply it, primarily perhaps to David, but ultimately to the Messiah, as the person chiefly intended, in whom it was to receive its full and entire completion. Onkelos, who is the most ancient and valuable of the Chaldee paraphrasts, interprets it of the Messiah. "When a prince, (a) says he, shall arise of the house of Jacob, and Christ shall be anointed of the house of Israel, he shall both slay the princes of Moab, and rule over all the sons of men:" and with him agree the other Targums or paraphrases. Maimonides, who is one of the most learned and famous of the Jewish doctors, understands it partly of David, and partly of the Messiah: and with him agree other rabbies, whom you may find cited by the critics and commentators to this purpose. It appears to have been generally understood by the Jews, as a prophecy of the Messiah, because the false Christ, who appeared in the reign of the Roman emperor Adrian, (b) assumed the title of *Barchochebus*, or *the son of the star*, in allusion to this prophecy, and in order to have it believed that he was the star whom Balaam had seen afar off. The Christian fathers, I think, are unanimous in applying this prophecy to our Saviour, and to the star which appeared at his

(a) Cum confurget rex de domo Jacob, et ungetur, Christus de domo Israel; et occidet principes Moab, et dominabitur omnium filiorum hominum. Onk.

(b) See Barlaage's Hist. of the Jews. Book 6. Chap. 9. Sect. 12.

nativity. Origen in particular faith, that (*a*) in the law there are many typical and enigmatical references to the Messiah: but he produceth this as one of the plainest and clearest of prophecies: and both (*b*) Origen and Eusebius affirm, that it was in consequence of Balaam's prophecies, which were known and believed in the east, that the Magi, upon the appearance of a new star, came to Jerusalem to worship him who was born king of the Jews. The stream of modern divines and commentators runneth the same way, that is they apply the prophecy principally to our Saviour, and by *Arab* and *Edom* understand the enemies and persecutors of the church. And it must be acknowledged in favour of this opinion, that many prophecies of scripture have a double meaning, literal and mystical, respect two events, and receive a twofold completion. David too was in several things a type and figure of the Messiah. If by *destroying all the children of Sheth* be meant *ruling over all mankind*, this was never fulfilled in David. A star did really appear at our Saviour's nativity, and in Scripture he is stiled the "day-star," 2 Pet. i. 19. "the morning-star," Rev. ii. 28. "the bright and morning-star," xxii. 16. perhaps in allusion to this very prophecy. Dr. Warburton, who improves every subject that he handles, assigns a farther reason. Speaking of the two sorts of metaphor in the ancient use of it, the popular and common, and the hidden and mysterious; he (*c*) says that "the prophetic writings are full of this kind of metaphor. To instance only in the famous prediction of Balaam—*there shall come a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel*. This prophecy may possibly in some sense relate to David, but without doubt it belongs principally to Christ. Here the metaphor of a *sceptre* was common and popular to denote a ruler, like David; but the *star*, though like the other, it signified in the prophetic writings a temporal prince or ruler, yet had a secret and hidden meaning likewise. A star in the Egyptian hieroglyphics denoted (*d*) God: (and how much hiero-

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(*a*) Quamobrem quam plurima invenire licet scripta in lege tum typice, tum obscure, quæ referantur ad Christum. Apertiora vero alia, et manifestiora præter hæc, ego in præsentia non video.

(*b*) Orig. contr. Cels. Lib. 1. Sect. 60. P. 374, Vol. I. In Numeros Hom. 13. Sect. 7. P. 321. Vol. II. Edit. Benedic. Eusebii Demonstrat. Evangel. Lib. 9. Sect. 1. P. 417. Edit. Paris. 1628.

(*c*) See the Divine Legation, &c. Book 4. Sect. 4.

(*d*) Horapol Hierog. Lib. 2. Cap. 1.

“ glyptic writing influenced the eastern languages we shall see
 “ presently.) Thus God in the prophet Amos, reproving the
 “ Israelites for their idolatry on their first coming out of Egypt,
 “ says, “ Have ye offered unto me sacrifices and offerings in the
 “ wilderness forty years, O house of Israel? But ye have borne
 “ the tabernacle of your Moloch and Chiun your images, *the*
 “ *star of your God* which ye made to yourselves.” Amos v. 25,
 “ 26. *The star of your God* is here a noble figurative expres-
 “ sion to signify *the image of your God*; for a *star* being employ-
 “ ed in the hieroglyphics to signify *God*, it is used here with
 “ great elegance to signify the material image of a God; the
 “ words *the star of your God* being only a repetition (so usual
 “ in the Hebrew tongue) of the preceding—*Chiun your images*;
 “ and not (as some critics suppose) the same with *your god star*,
 “ *sidus Deum vestrum*. Hence we conclude that the metaphor
 “ here used by Balaam of a *star* was of that abstruse mysterious
 “ kind, and so to be understood; and consequently that it re-
 “ lated only to *Christ*, the eternal Son of God.” Thus far this
 excellent writer. But though for these reasons the Messiah
 might be remotely intended, yet we cannot allow that he was
 intended solely, because David might be called a *star* by Balaam,
 as well as other rulers or governors are by Daniel, viii. 10. and
 by St. John, Rev. i. 20. and we must insist upon it, that the
 primary intention, the literal meaning of the prophecy respects
 the person and actions of David; and for this reason particular-
 ly, because Balaam is here advertising Balak, *What this people*
should do to his people in the latter days; that is, what the Israel-
 ites should do to the Moabites hereafter.

From the Moabites he turned his eyes more to the south
 and west, and *looked* on their neighbours the Amalekites; and
took up his parable, and said, ver. 20. “ Amalek was the
 “ first of the nations, but his latter end shall be that he perish
 “ for ever.” *Amalek was the first of the nations*, the first and
 most powerful of the neighbouring nations, or the first that
 warred against Israel, as it is in the margin of our bibles.
 The latter interpretation is proposed by (a) Onkelos and other
 Jews, I suppose because they would not allow the Amalekites
 to be a more ancient nation than themselves: but most good
 critics prefer the former interpretation as more easy and natu-
 ral, and for a very good reason, because the Amalekites ap-

(a) Principium bellorum Israel fuit Amalech. Onk

pear to have been a very ancient nation. They are reckoned among the most ancient nations thereabouts, 1 Sam. xxvii. 8. " — the Geshurites, and the Gezrites, and the Amalekites; " for these nations were of old the inhabitants of the land as " thou goest to Shur, even unto the land of Egypt." They are mentioned as early as in the wars of Chedorlaomer, Gen. xiv. 7. so that they must have been a nation before the times of Abraham and Lot, and consequently much older than the Moabites or Edomites, or any of the nations descended from those patriarchs. And this is a demonstrative argument that the Amalekites did not descend from Amalek, the son of Eliphaz, and grandson of Esau, as many have supposed only for the similitude of names, Gen. xxxvi. 12. but sprung from some other stock, and probably as the Arabian writers affirm, from Amalek or Amlak the son of Ham, and grandson of Noah. *Amlak et Anlik, fils de Cham, fils de Noe*—C'est celuy que les Hebreux appellent Amalec pere des Amalecites: so saith Herbelot; but it is to be wished that this valuable and useful author had cited his authorities. According to the (a) Arabian historians too, they were a great and powerful nation, subdued Egypt and held it in subjection several years. They must certainly have been more powerful, or at least more courageous, than the neighbouring nations, because they ventured to attack the Israelites, of whom the other nations were afraid. But though they were the first, the most ancient and powerful of the neighbouring nations; yet *their latter end shall be that they perish for ever*. Here Balaam unwittingly confirms what God had before denounced by Moses, Exod. xvii. 14. " And " the Lord said unto Moses, Write this for a memorial in a " book, and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua, for I will (or " rather *that I will*) utterly put out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven." Balaam had before declared, that the king of Israel should prevail over the king of Amalek; but here the menace is carried farther, and Amalek is consigned to utter destruction. This sentence was in a great measure executed by Saul, who " smote the Amalekites, and utterly " destroyed all the people with the edge of the sword," 1 Sam. xv. 7, 8. When they had recovered a little, " David and his " men went up and invaded them; and David smote the land, " and left neither man nor woman alive, and took away the

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(a) See Univers. Hist. Book 1. Vol. I. Chap. 5. P. 281. Folio Edit.

“sheep and the oxen, and the asses, and the camels, and the apparel,” 1 Sam. xxvii. 8, 9. David made a farther slaughter and conquest of them at Zigiag, 1 Sam. xxx. and at last “the sons of Simeon, in the days of Hezekiah, king of Judah, smote the rest of the Amalekites that were escaped, and dwelt in their habitations,” 1 Chron. iv. 41, 42, 43. And where is the name or the nation of Amalek subsisting at this day? What history, what tradition concerning them is remaining any where? they are but just enough known and remembered to show that what God had threatened he hath punctually fulfilled: *I will utterly put out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven; and his latter end shall be that he perish for ever.*

Then “he looked on the Kenites: and took up his parable, and said, ver. 21, 22. Strong is thy dwelling place, and thou puttest thy nest in a rock. Nevertheless the Kenite shall be wasted, until Asshur shall carry thee away captive.” Commentators are perplexed, and much at a loss to say with any certainty, who *these Kenites* were. There are Kenites mentioned, Gen. xv. 19. among the Canaanitish nations, whose land was promised unto Abraham; and (a) Le Clerc imagines that *those Kenites* were the people here intended: But the Canaanitish nations are not the subject of Balaam’s prophecies; and the Canaanitish nations were to be rooted out, but *these Kenites* were to continue as long as the Israelites themselves, and to be carried captive with them by the Assyrians; and in the opinion of (b) Bochart, *those Kenites* as well as the Kenizzites became extinct in the interval of time which passed between Abraham and Moses, being not mentioned by Joshua in the division of the land, nor reckoned among the nations conquered by him. The most probable account of *these Kenites* I conceive to be this. Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, is called in one place *the priest of Midian*, Exod. iii. 1, and in another *the Kenite*, Judg. i. 16. We may infer therefore that the *Midianites* and the *Kenites* were the same, or at least that the *Kenites* were some of the tribes of Midian.

(a) Hic antiquiores illi Kenæi intelligendi. Le Clerc in locum.

(b) Horum ego nomen deletum fuisse putaverim in eo temporis intervallo, quod inter Abrahami et Mosis ævam intercessit. Id certe necesse est, in obscuro latuisse tempore Josuæ, qui nec in divisione terræ, nec in censu gentium a se devictarum illorum meminit uspiam. Phaleg. Lib. 4. Cap. 36. Col. 397.

The Midianites are said to be confederates with the Moabites in the beginning of the story, and the elders of Midian as well as the elders of Moab invited Balaam to come and curse Israel; and one would naturally expect some notice to be taken of them or their tribes in the course of these prophecies. Now of the Kenites, it appears, that part followed Israel, Judg. i. 16. but the greater part, we may presume, remained among the Midianites and Amalekites. We read in 1 Sam. xv. 6. that there were Kenites dwelling among the Amalekites, and so the Kenites are fitly mentioned here next after the Amalekites. Their situation is said to be strong and secure among the mountains; *Strong is thy dwelling place, and thou puttest thy nest in a rock*; wherein is an allusion to the name, the same word in Hebrew signifying a nest and a Kenite. *Nevertheless the Kenite shall be wasted, until Asshur carry thee away captive.* The Amalekites were to be utterly destroyed, but the Kenites were to be carried captive. And accordingly when Saul was sent by divine commission to destroy the Amalekites, he ordered the Kenites to depart from among them, 1 Sam. xv. 6. "And Saul said unto the Kenites, Go, depart, get you down from among the Amalekites, lest I destroy you with them: for ye shewed kindness to all the children of Israel when they came up out of Egypt:" for the kindness which some of them shewed to Israel, their posterity was saved. *So the Kenites departed from among the Amalekites.* This sheweth that they were *wasted*, and reduced to a low and weak condition; and as the kings of Assyria carried captive not only the Jews, but also the Syrians, 2 Kings xvi. 9. and several other nations; 2 Kings xix. 12, 13. it is most highly probable that the Kenites shared the same fate with their neighbours, and were carried away by the same torrent; and especially as we find some Kenites mentioned among the Jews after their return from captivity, 1 Chron. ii. 55.

The next verse, ver. xxiii. "And he took up his parable, and said, Alas! who shall live when God doeth this!" is by several commentators referred to what precedes, but it relates rather to what follows, *And he took up his parable, and said*: this preface is used when he enters upon some new subject. *Alas! who shall live when God doeth this!* this exclamation implies, that he is now prophesying of very distant and very calamitous times. *And ships*, or rather *for ships*, as the particle often signifies, and this instance among others is cited by

(a) Noldius. "For ships shall come from the coast of Chittim, and shall afflict Asshur, and shall afflict Eber, and he also shall perish for ever," ver. 24.

Chittim was one of the sons of Javan, who was one of the sons of Japheth, by whose posterity "the isles of the Gentiles, Gen. x. 5. were divided," and peopled, that is Europe, and the countries to which the Asiatics passed by sea, for such the Hebrews called *islands*. *Chittim* is used for the descendents of Chittim, or what country was meant by *the coasts of Chittim*, it is not so easy to determine. The critics and commentators are generally divided into two opinions, the one asserting that Macedonia, and the other that Italy was the country here intended; and each opinion is recommended and authorised by some of the first and greatest names in learning; as not to mention any others, (b) Grotius and Le Clerc contend for the former, (c) Bochart and Vitrिंगa are strenuous for the latter. But there is no reason why we may not adopt both opinions; and especially as it is very well known and agreed on all hands, that colonies came from Greece to Italy; and as (d) Josephus saith, that all islands and most maritime places are called *Chethim* by the Hebrews; and as manifest traces of the name are to be found in both countries, the ancient name of Macedonia having been (e) *Macettia*, and the Latins having before been called *Cetii*. What appears most probable is, that the sons of Chittim settled first in Asia Minor, where were a people called *Cetei*, and a river called *Cetium*, according to (f) Homer and Strabo. From Asia they might pass over into the island Cyprus, which (g) Josephus saith was possessed by *Chethim* and called *Chethima*; and where was also the city *Cittium*, famous for being the birth-place of Zeno, the founder of the sect of the Stoics, who were therefore

(a) Noldii, Part 37.

(b) Grotius in locum et Clericus in locum. et in Genes. x. 4.

(c) Bocharti Phæleg. Lib. 3. Cap. 5. et Vitrिंगa in Iesaiam, xxiii. 1

(d) Et ab ea (Chethima) insulæ omnes, et pleraque loca maritima ab Hebræis Chethim dicuntur. Antiq. Lib. 1. Cap. 6. P. 17. Edit. Hudfon. Vol. I.

(e) Vide Bochartum, ibid.

(f) Homer. Odyss. xi. 520. et Scholiast. ibid. Strabo. Geograph. Lib. 13. P. 915, 916. Vol. II. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

(g) Chethimus autem Chetimam insulam occupavit: ipsa vero nunc Cyprus vocatur. Josephus ibid.

called the *Cittian*. And from thence they might send forth colonies into Greece and Italy. This plainly appears, that wherever *the lands of Chittim* or *the isles of Chittim* are mentioned in scripture, there are evidently meant some countries or islands in the Mediterranean.

Isaiah prophesying of the destruction of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar, saith, xxiii. 1. "Howl ye ships of Tarshish," that is the ships trading from Tyre to Tartessus in Spain; "for Tyre is laid waste: from the land of Chittim it is revealed to them;" the news is brought first to the countries and islands in the Mediterranean, and from thence it is conveyed to Spain; and afterwards, ver. 12. "Arise, pass over to Chittim, there also shalt thou have no rest;" the inhabitants might fly from Tyre, and pass over to the countries and islands in the Mediterranean, and even there they should find no secure place of refuge; God's judgment should still pursue them. Jeremiah expostulating with the Jews concerning their causeless revolt, saith, ii. 10. "Pass over to the isles of Chittim, and see," that is the isles in the Mediterranean which lay westward of Judea; "and send unto Kedar," which was in Arabia, and lay eastward of Judea; "and consider diligently, and see if there be such a thing;" go search east and west, and see if you can find any such instance of apostasy as this of the Jews. Ezekiel describing the luxury of the Tyrians even in their shipping saith, xxvi. 6. according to the (a) true reading and interpretation of the words, "they made their benches of ivory inlaid on box, brought out of the isles of Chittim;" that is, out of the isles of the Mediterranean, and most probably from Corsica, which was famous above all places for box, as Bochart hath proved by the testimonies of Pliny, Theophrastus, and Diodorus. Daniel foretelling the exploits of Antiochus Epiphanes, saith, xi. 29, 30. that he should "come towards the south," that is invade Egypt, "but the ships of Chittim shall come against him, therefore he shall be grieved, and return:" the *ships of Chittim* can be none other than the ships of the Romans, whose (b) ambassadors coming from Italy to Greece, and from thence to Alexandria, obliged Antiochus, to his great grief and disappointment, to depart from

(a) Bochart *ibid.* et Hierozoic. Pars prior. Lib. 2. Cap. 24.

(b) Vide Livii, Lib. 45. Cap. 10, 11, 12. Polyb. Legat. P. 915, 916. Edit. Casaubon.

Egypt without accomplishing his designs. The author of the first book of Maccabees, speaking of *Alexander son of Philip the Macedonian*, saith, i. 1. that he “came out of the land of Chittim:” and afterwards, viii. 5. “Perseus, the last king of Macedon, he calleth “king of the Cittims.” By these instances it appears, that *the land of Chittim* was a general name for the countries and islands of the Mediterranean: and therefore when Balaam said that *ships should come from the coast of Chittim*, he might mean either Greece or Italy, or both, the particular names of those countries being at that time perhaps unknown in the east: and the passage may be the better understood of both, because it was equally true of both, and Greece and Italy were alike the scourges of Asia.

And shall afflict Asshur. *Asshur*, as we noted before, signifies properly the descendants of Asshur, the Assyrians: but (a) their name was of as large extent as their empire, and the Syrians and Assyrians are often confounded together, and mentioned as one and the same people. Now it is so well known as to require no particular proof, that the Grecians, under the command of Alexander the Great, subdued all those countries. The Romans afterwards extended their empire into the same regions; and as (b) Dion informs us, Assyria, properly so called, was conquered by the emperor Trajan.

And shall afflict Eber. Two interpretations are proposed of the word *Eber*, either the posterity of a man so called, or the people who dwelt on the other side of the river Euphrates. If by *Eber* we understand the posterity of Eber, as by *Asshur* the posterity of Asshur, which appears a very natural construction; then Balaam, who was commissioned to bless Israel at first, prophesied evil concerning them at last, though under another name: but men and manners usually degenerate in a long course of time; and as the virtues of the progenitors might intitle them to a blessing, so the vices of the descendants might render them obnoxious to a curse. However we may avoid this seeming inconsistency, if we follow the other interpretation, and by *Eber* understand the people who dwelt on the other side of the river Euphrates, which sense is given by (a) Onkelos, and is

(a) Tam late patuit hoc nomen quam late patuit imperium.— multi veterum Syros et Assyrios pro iisdem habent. Bochart. Phaleg. Lib. 2. Cap. 3. Col. 72.

(b) Dionis Hist. Rom. Lib. 68. P. 783. Edit. Leunclav. Hanov. 1606. (c) Et subjicient trans flumen Euphratem. Onk.

approved by several of the ancients, as well as by many of the most able commentators among the moderns; and is particularly enforced by a learned (a) professor of eminent skill in the oriental languages. The two members of the period would then better connect together, and the sense of the latter would be somewhat exegetical of the former; *and shall afflict Asshur and shall afflict Eber*, shall afflict the Assyrians and other neighbouring nations bordering upon the river Euphrates. And this interpretation I would readily embrace, if I could see any instance of a parallel expression. *Beyond the river*, meaning Euphrates, is indeed a phrase that sometimes occurs in scripture, and the concordance will supply us with instances: but where doth *beyond* alone ever bear that signification? I know Gen. x. 21. is usually cited for this purpose; but that text is as much controverted as this, and the question there is the same as here, whether *Eber* be the proper name of a man, or only a preposition signifying *beyond*, and *beyond* signifying the people beyond the river Euphrates; or in other words, whether the passage should be translated *the father of all the children of Eber*, or *the father of all the children of the people on the other side of the river Euphrates*. Isaiah's manner of speaking of the same people is "by them beyond the river, by the king of Assyria:" vii. 20. and one would expect the like here, *shall afflict Asshur, and shall afflict them beyond the river*. But which ever of these interpretations we prefer, the prophecy was alike fulfilled. If we understand it of the people bordering upon the Euphrates, they as well as the Assyrians were subdued both by the Grecians and Romans. If we understand it of the posterity of Eber, the Hebrews were afflicted, though not much by Alexander himself, yet by his successors the Selucide, and particularly by Antiochus Epiphanes, who spoiled Jerusalem, defiled the temple, and slew all those who adhered to the law of Moses. 1 Maccab. i. They were worse afflicted by the Romans, who not only subdued and oppressed them, and made their country a province of the empire, but at last took away their place and nation, and sold and dispersed them over the face of the earth.

And he also shall perish for ever, that is Chittim, who is the main subject of this part of the prophecy, and whose ships were to afflict Asshur and to afflict Eber: but this notwithstanding, *he also shall be even to perdition*, he also shall be destroyed as

(a) Hyde Hist. Relig. Vet. Pers. Cap. 2. P. 52—57.

well as Amalek, for in the original the words are the same concerning both. *He* in the singular number cannot well refer to both *Asbur* and *Eber*. *He* must naturally signify *Chittim* the principal agent: and if by *Chittim* be meant the Grecians, the Grecian empire was entirely subverted by the Roman; if the Romans, the Roman empire was in its turn broken into pieces by the incurſion of the northern nations. The name only of the Roman empire and Cæſarean majeſty is ſubſiſting at this day, and is transferred to another country and another people.

It appears then that Balaam was a prophet, divinely inſpired, or he could never have foretold ſo many diſtant events, ſome of which are fulfilling in the world at this time: and what a ſingular honour was it to the people of Iſrael, that a prophet called from another country, and at the ſame time a wicked man, ſhould be obliged to bear teſtimony to their righteouſneſs and holineſs? The commendations of an enemy, among enemies, are commendations indeed. And Moſes did juſtice to himſelf, as well as his nation, in recording theſe tranſactions. They are not only a material part of his hiſtory, but are likewiſe a ſtrong confirmation of the truth of his religion. Balaam's bearing witneſs to Moſes is ſomewhat like Judas's atteſting the innocence of Jeſus.

VI.

MOSES'S prophecy of a prophet like unto himself.

MOSES is a valuable writer, as upon many accounts, so particularly upon this, that he hath not only preserved and transmitted to posterity several ancient prophecies, but hath likewise shown himself a prophet, and inserted several predictions of his own. Among these none is more memorable, than that of another prophet to be raised like unto himself. He was now about to leave his people, and comforts them with the promise of another prophet. Deut. xviii. 15. "the Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken." The same is repeated at ver. 18. in the name of God, "I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee, and will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him." It is farther added at ver. 19. "And it shall come to pass that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him." Plain as this prophecy is, it hath strangely been perverted and misapplied: but I conceive nothing will be wanting to the right understanding both of the prophecy and the completion, if we can show first what prophet was here particularly intended, if we show secondly, that this prophet resembled Moses in more respects than any other person ever did, and if we show thirdly, that the people have been and still are severely punished for their infidelity and disobedience to this prophet.

I. We will endeavour to show what prophet was here particularly intended. Some have been of opinion, (a) that Joshua was the person; because he is said in Ecclesiasticus xlvi. 1. to have been *successor of Moses in prophecies*: and as the people were commanded to hearken unto this prophet, *unto him ye shall hearken*; so they said unto Joshua i. 17. "According as we

(a) See Munster, Drusus, Fagius, Calmet, &c.

“ hearkened unto Moses in all things, so will we hearken unto thee.” Some again have imagined, (*a*) that Jeremiah was the person; because he frequently applies (say they) the words of Moses; Abarbinel in his preface to his commentary upon Jeremiah, reckons up fourteen particulars wherein they resemble each other, and observes that Jeremiah prophesied forty years, as Moses also did. Others, and those many more in number, (*b*) understand this neither of Joshua, nor of Jeremiah, nor of any single person, but of a succession of prophets to be raised up like unto Moses; because (say they) the people being here forbidden to follow after *inchanters* and *diviners*, as other nations did, nothing would have secured them effectually from following after them, but having true prophets of their own, whom they might consult upon occasion; and the latter are opposed to the former. But still the prepounders and favorers of these different opinions, I think, agree generally in this, that though Joshua or Jeremiah, or a succession of prophets was primarily intended, yet the main end and ultimate scope of the prophecy was the Messiah: and indeed there appear some very good reasons for understanding it of him principally, if not of him solely, besides the preference of a literal to a typical interpretation.

There is a passage in the conclusion of this book of Deuteronomy, which plainly refers to this prophecy, and entirely refutes the notion of Joshua's being the prophet like unto Moses. *And Joshua the son of Nun was full of the spirit of wisdom; for Moses had laid his hands upon him: and the children of Israel hearkened unto him, and did as the Lord commanded Moses. And there arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face: In all the signs and the wonders which the Lord sent him to do, &c.* We cannot be certain at what time, or by what hand this addition was made to the sacred volume: but it must have been made after the death of Moses; and consequently Joshua was not a prophet like unto Moses in the opinion of the Jewish church, both of those who made and of those who received this addition as canonical scripture. *There arose not a prophet since in Israel;* the manner of expression plainly implies, that this addition must have been made at some considerable distance of time after the death of

(*a*) See Maister, Fagius, Patrick, Calmet, &c.

(*b*) See Fagius, Poole, Le Clerc. Calmet, &c.

Moses; and consequently the Jewish church had no conception of a perpetual succession of prophets to be raised up like unto Moses: and if this addition was made, as it is commonly believed to have been made, by Ezra after the Babylonish captivity, then it is evident, that neither Jeremiah nor any of the ancient prophets was esteemed like unto Moses. Consider what are the peculiar marks and characters, wherein it is said, that none other prophet had ever resembled Moses. *There arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face, in all the signs and the wonders which the Lord sent him to do.* And which of the prophets ever conversed so frequently and familiarly with God, *face to face?* which of them ever wrought so many and so great miracles? No body was ever equal or comparable to Moses in these respects, but Jesus the Messiah.

God's declaration too, upon occasion of Miriam's and Aaron's sedition, plainly evinces that there was to be no prophet in the Jewish church, and much less a succession of prophets like unto Moses. Miriam and Aaron grew jealous of Moses, and mutined against him, saying, "Hath the Lord indeed spoken only by Moses? hath he not also spoken by us?" Numb. xii. 2. The controversy was of such importance, that God himself interposed; and what was the determination of the case? "If there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make myself known unto him in a vision, and will speak unto him in a dream. My servant Moses is not so, who is faithful in all mine house. With him will I speak mouth to mouth, even apparently, and not in dark speeches; and the similitude of the Lord shall he behold: wherefore then were ye not afraid to speak against my servant Moses?" ver. 6, 7, 8. We see here that a great difference was made between Moses and other prophets, and also wherein that difference lay. God revealed himself unto other prophets in *dreams* and *visions*, but with Moses he conversed more openly, *mouth to mouth*, or, as it is said elsewhere, *face to face*: and Moses *saw the similitude of the Lord*. These were singular privileges and prerogatives, which eminently distinguished Moses from all the other prophets of the Jewish dispensation: and yet there was a prophet to be raised up like unto Moses: but who ever resembled Moses in these superior advantages, but Jesus the Messiah?

It is likewise no inconsiderable argument, that the letter of the text favors our interpretation. The word is in the singular

number, *The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet*; and why then should we understand it, of a succession of prophets? why should we depart from the literal construction without any apparent necessity for it? Other nations hearkened unto enchanters and diviners, but the Lord would not suffer them so to do; he had give them a better guide already, and would raise up unto them another prophet superior to all the enchanters and diviners in the world: unto him they should hearken.

Moreover it is implied, that this prophet should be a lawgiver. *A prophet like unto thee*; not simply a prophet, but a prophet like unto Moses, that is a second lawgiver as (a) Eusebius explains it. The reason too that is assigned for sending this prophet, will evince that he was to be vested with this character. The people had requested that the divine laws might not be delivered to them in so terrible and awful a manner, as they had been in Horeb. God approved their request, and promised therefore, that he would raise up unto them a prophet like unto Moses, a lawgiver who should speak unto them his commands in a familiar and gentle way. This prophet therefore was to be a lawgiver: but none of the Jewish prophets were lawgivers, in all the intermediate time between Moses and Christ.

If we farther appeal unto fact, we shall find that there never was any prophet, and much less a succession of prophets, whom the Jews esteemed like unto Moses. The highest degree of inspiration they term the (b) Mosaical, and enumerate several particulars, wherein that hath the pre-eminence and advantage above all others. There was indeed, in consequence of this prophecy, a general expectation of some extraordinary prophet to arise, which prevailed particularly about the time of our Sa-

(a) Eusebii Demonst. Evangel. Lib. 1. Cap. 3. P. 6. Lib. 9. Cap. 11. P. 443. Edit. Paris, 1628.

(b) See Smith's Discourse of Prophecy. Chap. 2. and 11, wherein it is shewn from Maimonides, that Moses's inspiration excelled all others in four particulars. 1. All other prophets prophesied in a dream or vision; but Moses waking and standing. 2. All other prophets prophesied by the help or ministry of an angel, but Moses prophesied without the ministry of an angel. 3. All other prophets were afraid, and troubled, and fainted, but Moses was not so, for the scripture saith that "God spake to him as a man speaketh to his friend." 4. None of the prophets did prophesy at what time they would, save Moses.

viour. The Jews then, as well as (*a*) since, understood and applied this prophecy to the Messiah, the only prophet whom they will ever allow to be as great or greater than Moses. When our Saviour had fed five thousand men, by a miracle like that of Moses, who fed the Israelites in the wilderness, then those men said "This is of a truth that prophet that should come into the world." John vi. 14. St. Peter and St. Stephen directly apply the prophecy to him: Acts iii. 22, 23. vii. 37. and they may very well be justified for so doing; for he fully answers all the marks and characters which are here given of the prophet like unto Moses. He had immediate communication with the deity, and God spake to him *face to face* as he did to Moses. He performed *signs and wonders* as great or greater than those of Moses. He was a *lawgiver* as well as Moses. *I will raise them up a prophet*, saith God; and the people glorified God saying, "That a great prophet is risen up among us." Luke vii. 16. *I will put my words in his mouth*, saith God, in Hebrew will *give* my words; and our Saviour saith, "I have given unto them the words which thou gavest me." John xvii. 8. *He shall speak unto them all that I shall command him*, saith God; and our Saviour saith, "I have not spoken of myself; but the Father which sent me, he gave me a commandment, what I should say, and what I should speak. And I know that his commandment is life everlasting: whatsoever I speak therefore, even as the Father said unto me, so I speak." John xii. 49. 50.

II. We shall be more and more confirmed in this opinion, when we consider the great and striking likeness between Moses and Jesus Christ, and that the latter resembled the former in more respects than any other person ever did. Notice hath been taken already of some instances, wherein they resemble each other, of God speaking to both *face to face*, of both performing *signs and wonders*, of both being *lawgivers*: and in these respects none of the ancient prophets were like unto Moses. None of them were lawgivers; they only interpreted and enforced the law of Moses. None of them performed so many and so great wonders. None of them had such clear communication with God; they all saw visions, and dreamed dreams. Moses and Jesus Christ are the only two, who perfectly resem-

(*a*) See authorities cited in Bishop Chandler's Defence of Christianity. Chap. 6. Sect. 2. P. 307. Edit. 3d.

ble each other in these respects. But a more exact and particular comparison may be drawn between them, and hath been drawn by two eminent hands, by one of the best and ablest of the ancient fathers, and by one of the most learned and ingenious of modern divines: and as we cannot pretend to add any thing to them, we must be content to copy from them.

Eusebius treating of the prophecies concerning Christ, (a) produceth first this of Moses; and then asketh, which of the prophets after Moses, Isaiah for instance, or Jeremiah, or Ezekiel, or Daniel, or any other of the twelve, was a lawgiver, and performed things like unto Moses? Moses first rescued the Jewish nation from Egyptian superstition and idolatry, and taught them the true theology; Jesus Christ in like manner was the first teacher of true religion and virtue to the Gentiles. Moses confirmed his religion by miracles; and so likewise did Christ. Moses delivered the Jewish nation from Egyptian servitude; and Jesus Christ all mankind from the power of evil demons. Moses promised a holy land, and therein a happy life to those who kept the law: and Jesus Christ a better country, that is a heavenly, to all righteous souls. Moses fasted forty days; and so likewise did Christ. Moses supplied the people with bread in the wilderness; and our Saviour fed five thousand at one time, and four thousand at another, with a few loaves. Moses went himself, and led the people through the midst of the sea; and Jesus Christ walked on the sea, and enabled Peter to walk likewise. Moses stretched out his hand over the sea, and the Lord caused the sea to go backward; and our Saviour rebuked the wind and the sea, and there was a great calm. Moses's face shone when he descended from the mount, and our Saviour's did shine as the sun in his transfiguration. Moses by his prayers cured Miriam of her leprosy; and Christ with greater power by a word healed several lepers. Moses performed wonders by the finger of God; and Jesus Christ by the finger of God did cast out devils. Moses changed Oshea's name to Joshua; and our Saviour did Simon's to Peter. Moses constituted seventy rulers over the people; and our Saviour appointed seventy disciples. Moses sent forth twelve men to spy out the land; and our Saviour twelve apostles to visit all nations. Moses gave several excellent moral precepts; and our Saviour carried them to the highest perfection.

(a) Eusebii Demonst. Evangel. Lib. 3. Cap. 2. P. 90—94. Edit. Paris, 1623.

Dr. Jortin (*a*) hath enlarged upon these hints of Eusebius, and made several improvements and additions to them. Moses in his infancy was wonderfully preserved from the destruction of all the male children; so was Christ. Moses fled from his country to escape the hands of the king; so did Christ when his parents carried him into Egypt: Afterwards "the Lord said to Moses in Midian, Go, return into Egypt, for all the men are dead which sought thy life;" Exod. iv. 19. so the angel of the Lord said to Joseph in almost the same words, "Arise and take the young child, and go into the land of Israel; for they are dead which sought the young child's life;" Matt. ii. 20. pointing him out as it were for that prophet who should arise like unto Moses. Moses refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, chusing rather to suffer affliction; Christ refused to be made king, chusing rather to suffer affliction. Moses, says St. Stephen, *was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians*, and Josephus (*Ant. Jud. ii. 9.*) says that he was a very forward and accomplished youth, and had wisdom and knowledge beyond his years; St. Luke observes of Christ, that *he increased* (betimes) *in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man*, and his discourses in the temple with the Doctors, when he was twelve years old, were a proof of it. Moses contended with the magicians, who were forced to acknowledge the divine power by which he was assisted; Christ ejected evil spirits, and received the same acknowledgments from them. Moses was not only a lawgiver, a prophet, and a worker of miracles, but a king and a priest: in all these offices the resemblance between Moses and Christ was singular. Moses brought darkness over the land; the sun withdrew his light at Christ's crucifixion: And as the darkness which was spread over Egypt was followed by the destruction of their first born, and of Pharaoh and his host; so the darkness at Christ's death was the forerunner of the destruction of the Jews. Moses foretold the calamities which would befall the nation for their disobedience; so did Christ. The spirit which was in Moses was conferred in some degree upon the seventy elders, and they prophesied: Christ conferred miraculous powers upon his seventy disciples. Moses was victorious over powerful kings and great nations; so was Christ by the effects of his religion, and by the fall of those who per-

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(*a*) Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, Vol. I. P. 203---227.

fecuted his church. Moses conquered Amalec by holding up both his hands; Christ overcame his and our enemies when his hands were fastened to the cross. Moses interceded for transgressors, and caused an atonement to be made for them, and stopped the wrath of God; so did Christ. Moses ratified a covenant between God and the people by sprinkling them with blood; Christ with his own blood. Moses desired to die for the people, and prayed that God would forgive them, or blot him out of his book; Christ did more, he died for sinners. Moses instituted the passover, when a lamb was sacrificed, none of whose bones were to be broken, and whose blood protected the people from destruction; Christ was that paschal lamb. Moses lifted up the serpent, that they who looked upon him might be healed of their mortal wounds; Christ was that serpent. All Moses's affection towards the people, all his cares and toils on their account, were repaid by them with ingratitude, murmuring, and rebellion; the same returns the Jews made Christ for all his benefits. Moses was ill used by his own family, his brother and sister rebelled against him; there was a time when Christ's own brethren believed not in him. Moses had a very wicked and perverse generation committed to his care and conduct, and to enable him to rule them, miraculous powers were given to him, and he used his utmost endeavour to make the people obedient to God, and to save them from ruin, but in vain; in the space of forty years they all fell in the wilderness except two: Christ also was given to a generation not less wicked and perverse, his instructions and his miracles were lost upon them, and in about the same space of time, after they had rejected him, they were destroyed. Moses was very meek above all men that were on the face of the earth; so was Christ. The people could not enter into the land of promise till Moses was dead; by the death of Christ the kingdom of heaven was open to believers. In the death of Moses and Christ there is also a resemblance of some circumstances: Moses died, in one sense, for the iniquities of the people; it was their rebellion which was the occasion of it, which drew down the displeasure of God upon them and upon him; Moses went up, in the sight of the people, to the top of mount Nebo, and there he died, when he was in perfect vigour, when *his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated*: Christ suffered for the sins of men, and was led up, in the presence of the people, to mount Calvary, where he

died in the flower of his age, and when he was in his full natural strength. Neither Moses nor Christ, as far as we may collect from the sacred history, were ever sick, or felt any bodily decay or infirmity, which would have rendered them unfit for the toils they underwent; their sufferings were of another kind. Moses was buried, and no man knew where his body lay; nor could the Jews find the body of Christ. Lastly, as Moses a little before death promised *another prophet*; so Christ *another comforter*.

The great similitude consists in their both being *lawgivers*, which no prophet ever was besides Moses and Christ. They may resemble each other in several other features, and a fruitful imagination may find out a likeness where there is none. But as the same excellent writer concludes, "Is this similitude and
"correspondence in so many things between Moses and Christ
"the effect of mere chance? Let us search all the records of
"universal history, and see if we can find a man who was so
"like to Moses as Christ was, and so like to Christ as Moses
"was. If we cannot find such a one, then have we found him
"of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets did write, Jesus
"of Nazareth, the son of God."

III. There is no want of many words to prove, for it is visible to all the world, that the people have been and still are severely punished for their infidelity and disobedience to this prophet. The prophecy is clear and express; *Unto him ye shall hearken: And it shall come to pass that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him*; that is, I will severely punish him for it, as the phrase signifies elsewhere. The antecedent is put for the consequent: Judges first inquired then punished: and the seventy translate it, *I will take vengeance of him*. This prophecy, as we have proved at large, evidently relates to Jesus Christ. God himself in a manner applies it to him: for when he was transfigured, Matt. xvii. 5. there came "a voice out of the cloud, which said, This is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased: hear ye him:" alluding plainly unto the words of Moses, *Unto him ye shall hearken*, and so pointing him out for the prophet like unto Moses. St. Peter, as we noted before, directly applies it to our Saviour, Acts iii. 22, 23. "For
"Moses truly said unto the fathers, A prophet shall the Lord
"your God raise up unto you, of your brethren, like unto
"me; him shall ye hear in all things whatsoever he shall say

“ unto you : and it shall come to pass, that every soul which
 “ will not hear that prophet, shall be destroyed from among
 “ the people ;” which is the sense rather than the words of
 the prophecy. And hath not this terrible denunciation been
 fully executed upon the Jews ? Was not the complete excision
 of that incredulous nation, soon after Jesus had finished his
 ministry among them, and his apostles had likewise preached
 in vain, the fulfilling of the threat upon them for not hearken-
 ing unto him ? We may be the more certain of this applica-
 tion, as our Saviour himself not only denounced the same des-
 truction, but also foretold the signs, the manner, and the cir-
 cumstances of it, with a particularity and exactness that will
 amaze us, as we shall see in a proper place : and those of the
 Jews who believed in his name, by remembering the caution
 and following the advice which he had given them, escaped
 from the general ruin of their country, like fire-brands plucked
 out of the fire. The main body of the nation either perished
 in their infidelity, or were carried captive into all nations : and
 have they not ever since persisting in the same infidelity, been
 obnoxious to the same punishment, and been a vagabond, dis-
 tressed, and miserable people in the earth ? The hand of God
 was scarce ever more visible in any of his dispensations. We
 must be blind not to see it : and seeing, we cannot but admire
 and adore it. What other probable account can they them-
 selves give of their long captivity, dispersion, and misery ?
 Their former captivity for the punishment of all their wicked-
 ness and idolatry, lasted only seventy years : but they have lived
 in their present dispersion, even though they have been no
 idolaters, now these seventeen hundred years, and yet without
 any immediate prospect of their restoration : and what enor-
 mous crime could have drawn down, and unrepented of still
 continues to draw down these heavy judgments upon them ?
 We say that they were cut off for their infidelity : and that
 when they shall return to the faith, they will be grafted in again.
 One would think it should be worth their while to try the expe-
 riment. Sure we are ; that they have long been monuments of
 God’s justice ; we believe, that upon their faith and repent-
 ance, they will become again objects of his mercy : and in the
 mean time, with St. Paul, Rom. x. 1. “ Our hearts desire and
 “ prayer to God for Israel is, that they may be saved.”

VII.

Prophecies of MOSES concerning the Jews.

IT is observable that the prophecies of Moses abound most in the latter part of his writings. As he drew nearer his end, it pleased God to open to him larger prospects of things. As he was about to take leave of his people, he was enabled to disclose unto them more particulars of their future state and condition. The design of this work will permit us to take notice of such only as have some reference to these later ages: and we will confine ourselves principally to the 28th chapter of Deuteronomy, the greater part whereof we may see accomplished in the world at this present time.

This great prophet and lawgiver is here proposing at large to the people, the blessings for obedience, and the curses for disobedience: and indeed he had foretold at several times and upon several occasions, that they should be happy or miserable in the world, as they were obedient or disobedient to the law that he had given them. And could there be any stronger evidence of the divine original of the Mosaical law? and hath not the interposition of providence been wonderfully remarkable in their good or bad fortune? and is not the truth of the prediction fully attested by the whole series of their history from their first settlement in Canaan, to this very day? but he is larger and more particular in recounting the curses than the blessings, as if he had a prescience of the people's disobedience, and foresaw that a larger portion and longer continuation of the evil would fall to their share, than of the good. I know that some critics make a division of these prophecies, and imagine that one part relates to the former captivity of the Jews, and to the calamities which they suffered under the Chaldæans; and that the other part relates to the latter captivity of the Jews, and to the calamities which they suffered under the Romans: but there is no need of any such distinction: there is no reason to think that any such was intended by the author; several prophecies of the one part as well as of the other have

been fulfilled at both periods, but they have all more amply been fulfilled during the latter period; and there cannot be a more lively picture than they exhibit, of the state of the Jews at present.

1. We will consider them with a view to the order of time rather than the order wherein they lie; and we may not improperly begin with this passage, ver. 49. "The Lord shall bring a nation against thee from far, from the end of the earth, as swift as the eagle flieth, a nation whose tongue thou shalt not understand:" and the Chaldæans might be said to come *from far*, in comparison with the Moabites, Philistines, and other neighbouring nations, which used to infest Judea. Much the same description is given of the Chaldæans by Jeremiah, v. 15. "Lo, I will bring a nation upon you from far, O house of Israel, saith the Lord: it is a mighty nation, it is an ancient nation, a nation whose language thou knowest not, neither understandest what they say." He compares them in like manner to eagles, Lam. iv. 19. "Our persecutors are swifter than the eagle's of the Heaven: they pursued us upon the mountains, they laid wait for us in the wilderness." But this description cannot be applied to any nation with such propriety as to the Romans. They were truly brought *from far, from the end of the earth*. Vespasian and Adrian, the two great conquerors and destroyers of the Jews, both came from commanding here in Britain. The Romans too for the rapidity of their conquests might very well be compared to eagles, and perhaps not without an allusion to the standard of the Roman armies, which was an eagle: and their language was more unknown to the Jews than the Chaldee.

2. The enemies of the Jews are farther characterised in the next verse, "A nation of fierce countenance, which shall not regard the person of the old, nor show favour to the young." Such were the Chaldæans; and the sacred historian saith expressly, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 17. that for the wickedness of the Jews God "brought upon them the king of the Chaldees, who slew their young men with the sword, in the house of their sanctuary, and had no compassion upon young man or maiden, old man, or him that stooped for age; he gave them all into his hand." Such also were the Romans: for when Vespasian

sian entered Gadara, (a) Josephus saith, that "he slew all, man by man, the Romans showing mercy to no age, out of hatred to the nation, and remembrance of their former injuries." The like slaughter was made at Gamala, (b) "For nobody escaped besides two women, and they escaped by concealing themselves from the rage of the Romans. For they did not so much as spare young children, but every one at that time snatching up many, cast them down from the citadel."

3. Their enemies were also to besiege and take their cities, ver. 52. "And she shall besiege thee in all thy gates, until thy high and fenced walls come down, wherein thou trustedst, throughout all thy land. So Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, came up against Samaria, and besieged it, and at the end of three years they took it," 2 Kings xviii. 9, 10. "So did Sennacherib king of Assyria, come up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them," ib. ver. 13. and Nebuchadnezzar and his captains took and spoiled Jerusalem, burnt the city and temple, "and brake down the walls of Jerusalem round about," ib. xxv. 10. So likewise the Romans, as we may read in Josephus's history of the Jewish wars, demolished several fortified places, before they besieged and destroyed Jerusalem. And the Jews may very well be said to have *trusted in their high and fenced walls*, for they seldom ventured a battle in the open field. They confided in the strength and situation of Jerusalem, as the Jebusites, the former inhabitants of the place, had done before them, 2 Sam. v. 6, 7, inasmuch that they are represented saying, Jer. xxi. 13. "Who shall come down against us? or who shall enter into our habitation?" Jerusalem was indeed a very strong place, and wonderfully fortified both by nature and art according to the description of (c) Tacitus as well as of Josephus: and yet

(a) Et deinde in eam ingressus, puberes omnes interfici jussit, Romanis nulli ætati misericordiam adhibentibus, tam ex odio in gentem, quam memoria iniquitatis illorum in Cestium, Bel. Jud. Lib. 3. C. 7. Sect. 1. P. 1128. Edit. Hudson.

(b) Nemo autem præter duas mulieres interitum effugit.—Evaserunt autem, quad itæ Romanorum in excidio sese subduxerint. Nec enim infantibus pepercerunt, multos vero singuli eo tempore raptos ex arce projiciebant. Bell. Jud. Lib. 4. C. 1. Sect. 10. P. 1165. Edit. Hudson.

(c) Taciti Hist. Lib. 5. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 5. Cap. 4. et 5.

(a) how many times was it taken? it was taken by Sishak king of Egypt, by Nebuchadnezzar, by Antiochus Epiphanes, by Pompey, by Sosius and Herod, before its final destruction by Titus.

4. In these sieges they were to suffer much, and especially from famine, “in the straitness wherewith their enemies should distress them,” ver. 53, &c. And accordingly when the king of Syria besieged Samaria, “there was a great famine in Samaria; and behold they besieged it, until an ass’s head was sold for four pieces of silver, and the fourth part of a cab of doves dung for five pieces of silver.” 2 Kings vi. 25. And when Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem, “the famine prevailed in the city, and there was no bread for the people of the land.” 2 Kings xxv. 3. And in the last siege of Jerusalem by the Romans, there was a most terrible famine in the city, and Josephus hath given so melancholy an account of it, that we cannot read it without shuddering. He saith particularly, (b) that “women snatched the food out of the very mouths of their husbands, and sons of their fathers and (what is most miserable) mothers of their infants;” and in (c) another place he saith, that “in every house, if there appeared any semblance of food, a battle ensued, and the dearest friends and relations fought with one another, snatching away the miserable provisions of life:” so literally were the words of Moses fulfilled, ver. 54, &c. the man’s “eye shall be evil towards his brother, and towards the wife of his bosom, and towards his children, because he hath nothing left him in the siege, and in the straitness wherewith thine enemies shall distress thee in all thy gates;” and in like manner the woman’s “eye shall be evil towards the husband of her bosom, and towards her son, and towards her daughter.”

(5) Nay, it was expressly foretold, that not only the men, but even the women should eat their own children. Moses had

(a) See Josephus de Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. ult. P. 1292. Edit. Hudson.

(b) Siquidem uxores viris, et filii paruntibus, et, quod omnium maxime miserabile erat, matres infantibus cibum ex ipso ore rapiebant. Bell. Jud. Lib. 5. Cap. 10. Sect. 3. P. 1245.

(c) Per singulas quippe demos, cicubi vel umbra apparuisset cibi bellam illico, gerebatur, et amicissimi quique inter se acriter dimicabant. cibi invicem misera vitæ subsidia eripientes. Lib. 5. Cap. 3. Sect. 3. P. 1274. Edit. Hudson.

foretold the same thing before, Levit. xxvi. 29. "Ye shall eat the flesh of your sons, and the flesh of your daughters shall ye eat." He repeats it here, ver. 53. "And thou shalt eat the fruit of thine own body, the flesh of thy sons and of thy daughters:" and more particularly ver. 56, &c. "The tender and delicate woman among you, who would not adventure to set the sole of her foot upon the ground, for delicateness and tenderness—she shall eat her children for want of all things, secretly in the siege and straitness wherewith thine enemies shall distress thee in thy gates." And it was fulfilled about six hundred years after the time of Moses among the Israelites, when Samaria was besieged by the king of Syria, and two women agreed together, the one to give up her son to be boiled and eaten to-day, and the other to deliver her son to be dressed and eaten to-morrow, and one of them was eaten accordingly, 2 Kings vi. 28, 29. It was fulfilled again about nine hundred years after the time of Moses among the Jews, in the siege of Jerusalem, before the Babylonish captivity; and Baruch thus expressed it, ii. 1, &c. "The Lord hath made good his word, which he pronounced against us, to bring upon us great plagues, such as never happened under the whole Heaven, as it came to pass in Jerusalem, according to the things that were written in the law of Moses, that a man should eat the flesh of his own son, and the flesh of his own daughter:" and Jeremiah thus laments it in his Lamentations, iv. 10. "The hands of the pitiful women have sodden their own children, they were their meat in the destruction of the daughter of my people." And again it was fulfilled above fifteen hundred years after the time of Moses in the last siege of Jerusalem by Titus, and we read in Josephus particularly of a noble woman's killing and eating her own sucking child. Moses saith, *The tender and delicate woman among you, who would not adventure to set the sole of her foot upon the ground, for delicateness and tenderness:* and there cannot be a more natural and lively description of a woman, who was, according to (a) Josephus, illustrious for her family and riches. Moses saith, *she shall eat them for want of all things:* and according to Josephus, she had been plundered of

(a) *Genere atque opibus illustris. Hujus alias quidem facultates jam tyranni diripuerant, &c. coctum deinde ipsa quidem dimidium ejus comedit, adopertum vero reliquum servabat.* Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 3. Sect. 4. Edit. Hudson.

all her substance and provisions by the tyrants and soldiers. Moses saith, that he should do it *secretly*: and according to Josephus, when she had boiled and eaten half, she covered up the rest, and kept it for another time. At so many different times and distant periods hath this prophecy been fulfilled; and one would have thought that such distress and horror had almost transcended imagination, and much less that any person could certainly have foreseen and foretold it.

6. Great numbers of them were to be destroyed, verse 62. "And ye shall be left few in number, whereas ye were as the stars of Heaven for multitude." Now not to mention any other of the calamities and slaughters which they have undergone, there was in the last siege of Jerusalem, by Titus, an infinite multitude, saith (a) Josephus, who perished by famine: and he computes, that during the whole siege, the number of those who were destroyed by that and by the war, amounted to eleven hundred thousand, the people being assembled from all parts to celebrate the passover: and the same author, hath given us an account of one million two hundred and forty thousand four hundred and ninety destroyed in Jerusalem and other parts of Judea, besides ninety-nine thousand two hundred made prisoners; as (b) Basnage has reckoned them up from that historian's account. Indeed there is not a nation upon earth, that hath been exposed to so many massacres and persecutions. Their history abounds with them. If God had not given them a promise of a numerous posterity, the whole race would many a time have been extirpated.

7. They were to be carried into Egypt, and sold for slaves at a very low price, ver. 68. "And the Lord shall bring thee into Egypt again, with ships: and there ye shall be sold unto your enemies for bondmen and bondwomen, and no man shall buy you." They had come out of Egypt triumphant, but now they should return thither as slaves. They had walked through the sea as dry land at their coming out, but now they should be carried thither in ships. They might be carried thither in the ships of the Tyrian or Sidonian merchants,

(a) Eorum autem qui per civitatem fame perierunt infinita quidem cecidit multitudo. Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 3. Sect. 3. P. 1274.

Totius autem obsidionis tempore undecies centena hominum millia perierunt. Ib. Cap. 9. Sect. 3. P. 1291. Edit. Hudson.

(b) Hist. of the Jews, B. 1. Ch. 8. Sect. 19. See too conclusion of Usher's Annals.

or by the Romans, who had a fleet in the Mediterranean: and this was a much safer way of conveying so many prisoners, than sending them by land. It appears from (a) Josephus that in the reigns of the two Ptolemies many of the Jews were slaves in Egypt. And when Jerusalem was taken by Titus, (b) of the captives who were above seventeen years he sent many bound to the works in Egypt; those under seventeen were sold: but so little care was taken of these captives, that eleven thousand of them perished for want. The markets were quite overstocked with them, so that Josephus says in another place, that they were sold with their wives and children at the lowest price, there being many to be sold and but few purchasers; so that hereby also was verified that of the Psalmist, xlv. 13. "Thou sellest thy people for nought, and takest no money for them." And we learn from (c) St. Jerome, that "after their last overthrow by Adrian, many thousands of them were sold, and those who could not be sold, were transported into Egypt, and perished by shipwreck or famine, or were massacred by the inhabitants."

8. They were to be rooted out of their own land, ver. 63. "And ye shall be plucked from off the land whither thou goest to possess it." They were indeed *plucked from off their own land*, when the ten tribes were carried into captivity by the king of Assyria, and other nations were planted in their stead; and when the two other tribes were carried away captive to Babylon; and when the Romans took away their place and nation; besides other captivities and transportations of the people. Afterwards when the emperor Adrian had subdued the rebellious Jews, he published an (d) edict, forbidding them, upon pain of death, to set foot in Jerusalem, or even to

(a) Joseph. Ant. Lib. 12. Cap. 1 et 2.

(b) Annis xvii. majores vinctos ad metalla exercenda in Ægyptum misit; Quicunque vero infra xvii. annum ætatis erant, sub corona venditi sunt. Iisdem autem diebus, dum a Frontone fercerentur, ex inedia perierunt xi. millia. Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 9. Sect. 2. P. 1291. Cap. 8. Sect. 2. P. 1288. Edit. Hudon.

(c) — post ultimam everisionem quam sustinuerunt ab Adriano, multa hominum millia venundata sunt; et quæ vendi non potuerint, translata in Ægyptum: et tam naufragio et fame quam gentium cæde truncata. Hieron. in Zachariam, Cap. 11. P. 1774. Vol. III. Edit. Benedikt.

(d) Justin. Martyr. Apol. 1. ma. P. 71. Edit. Thirlbii. Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 4. Cap. 6.

approach the country round about it. Tertulian and Jerome say (*a*) that they were prohibited from entering into Judea. From that time to this their country hath been in the possession of foreign lords and masters, few of the Jews dwelling in it, and those only of a low servile condition. Benjamin of Tudela in Spain, a celebrated Jew of the twelfth century, travelled into all parts to visit those of his own nation, and to learn an exact state of their affairs: and he (*b*) hath reported, that Jerusalem was almost entirely abandoned by the Jews. He found there not above two hundred persons, who were for the most part dyers of wool, and who every year purchased the privilege of the monopoly of that trade. They lived all together under David's tower, and made there a very little figure. If Jerusalem had so few Jews in it, the rest of the holy land was still more depopulate. He found two of them in one city, twenty in another, most whereof were dyers. In other places there were more persons; but in Upper Galilee, where the nation was in greatest repute after the ruin of Jerusalem, he found hardly any Jews at all. A very accurate and faithful (*c*) traveller of our own nation, who was himself also in the holy land, saith that "it is for the most part now inhabited by Moors and Arabians; those possessing the valleys, and these the mountains. Turks there be few: but many Greeks with other Christians of all sects and nations, such as impute to the place an adherent holiness. Here be also some Jews, yet inherit they no part of the land, but in their own country do live as aliens."

9. But they were not only to be plucked off from their own land, but also to be dispersed into all nations, ver. 25. "And thou shalt be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth;" and again, ver. 64. "And the Lord shall scatter thee among all people, from one end of the earth even unto the other." Nehemiah i. 8, 9. confesseth that these words were fulfilled in the Babylonish captivity; but they have more amply been fulfilled since the great dispersion of the Jews by the Romans. What people indeed have been scattered so far and

(*a*) Tertull. Apol. 21. P. 19. Edit. Rigaltii. Par. 1675. Hieron. in Isaiam. Cap. 6. P. 25. in Dan. Cap. 9. P. 1117. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict.

(*b*) See Benjamin. Itin. and Bagnage's Hist. of the Jews. B. 7. Chap. 7.

(*c*) Sandy's Travels, Book 3. P. 114. 7th Edit.

wide as they? And where is the nation which is a stranger to them, or to which they are strangers? They swarm in many parts of the east, and spread through most of the countries of Europe and Africa, and there are several families of them in the West-Indies. They circulate through all parts where trade and money circulate, and are, I may say, the brokers of the whole world.

10. But though they should be so dispersed, yet they should not be totally destroyed, but still subsist as a distinct people, as Moses had before foretold, Lev. xxvi. 44. "And yet for all that, when they be in the land of their enemies, I will not cast them away, neither will I abhor them, to destroy them utterly, and to break my covenant with them." The Jewish nation (*a*) like the bush of Moses, hath been always burning, but is never consumed. And what a marvellous thing is it, that after so many wars, battles and sieges; after so many fires, famines, and pestilences; after so many rebellions, massacres, and persecutions; after so many years of captivity, slavery, and misery, they are not *destroyed utterly*, and though scattered among all people, yet subsist as a distinct people by themselves? Where is any thing comparable to this to be found in all the histories, and in all the nations under the sun?

11. However, they should suffer much in their dispersion, and should not rest long in any place, ver. 65. "And among these nations shalt thou find no ease, neither shall the sole of thy foot have rest." They have been so far from finding rest, that they have been banished from city to city, from country to country. In many places they have been banished, and recalled, and banished again. We will only just mention their great banishments in modern times, and from countries very well known. In the latter end of the thirteenth century they (*b*) were banished from England by Edward I. and were not permitted to return and settle again till Cromwell's time. In the latter end of the fourteenth century they (*c*) were banished from France (for the seventh time, says Mezeray) by Charles VI. and ever since they have been only tolerated, they have not enjoyed entire liberty, except at Metz, where they

(*a*) Basnage's Hist. of the Jews. Book 6. Chap. 1. Sect. 1.

(*b*) See Kennet, Echard, and Basnage's Hist. of the Jews, Book 7. Chap. 19.

(*c*) On enjoignit aux Juifs pour la septiesme-fois, &c. See Mezeray Abrege Chronol. et Basnage, B. 7. C. 18.

have a synagogue. In the latter end of the fifteenth century (*a*) they were banished from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella; and according to Mariana, there were a hundred and seventy thousand families, or as some say, eight hundred thousand persons who left the kingdom: Most of them paid dearly to John II. for a refuge in Portugal, but within a few years were expelled from thence also by his successor Emanuel. And in our own time, within these few years, they were banished from Prague by the queen of Bohemia.

12. They should be *oppressed and spoiled evermore*; and their *houses* and *vineyards*, their *oxen* and *asses* should be taken from them, and they should “be only oppressed and crushed all way,” ver. 29, &c. And what frequent seizures have been made of their effects in almost all countries? How often have they been fined and fleeced by almost all governments? How often have they been forced to redeem their lives with what is almost as dear as their lives, their treasure? Instances are innumerable. We will only cite an (*b*) historian of our own, who says that Henry III. “always polled the Jews at every low ebb of his fortunes. One Abraham, who was found delinquent, was forced to pay seven hundred marks for his redemption. Aaron, another Jew, protested that the king had taken from him at times thirty thousand marks of silver, besides two hundred marks of gold, which he had presented to the queen. And in like manner he used many others of the Jews.” And when they were banished in the reign of Edward I. their estates were confiscated, and immense sums thereby accrued to the crown.

13. “Their sons and their daughters should be given unto another people,” ver. 32. And in several countries, in Spain and Portugal particularly, their children have been taken from them by order of the government, to be educated in the popish religion. The (*c*) fourth council of Toledo, ordered that all their children should be taken from them for fear they should partake of their errors, and that they should be shut up in monasteries, to be instructed in the Christian truths. And when they were banished from Portugal, “the king,” says (*d*)

(*a*) See Mariana's Hist. of Spain, B. 26. Chap. 1. et 6. and Bafnage, B. 7. C. 21.

(*b*) Daniel in Kennet, Vol. I. P. 179.

(*c*) See Bafnage, B. 7. C. 13. Sect. 14.

(*d*) Mariana, B. 26. C. 6.

Mariana, "ordered all their children under fourteen years of age, to be taken from them, and baptized: a practice not at all justifiable," adds the historian, "because none ought to be forced to become Christians, nor children to be taken from their parents."

14. "They should be mad for the sight of their eyes which they should see," ver. 34. And into what madness, fury and desperation have they been pushed by the cruel usage, extortions, and oppressions which they have undergone? We will alledge only two instances, one from ancient, and one from modern history. After the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, (a) some of the worst of the Jews took refuge in the castle of Masada, where being closely besieged by the Romans, they, at the persuasion of Eleazer their leader, first murdered their wives and children, then ten men were chosen by lot to slay the rest; this being done, one of the ten was chosen in like manner, to kill the other nine, which having executed, he set fire to the place, and then stabbed himself. There were nine hundred and sixty who perished in this miserable manner; and only two women and five boys escaped by hiding themselves in the aqueducts under ground. Such another instance we have in our English history. For (a) in the reign of Richard the first, when the people were in arms to make a general massacre of them, fifteen hundred of them seized on the city of York to defend themselves; but being besieged, they offered to capitulate, and to ransom their lives with money. The offer being refused, one of them cried in despair, that it was better to die courageously for the law, than to fall into the hands of the Christians. Every one immediately took his knife, and stabbed his wife and children. The men afterwards retired into the king's palace, which they set on fire, in which they consumed themselves, with the palace and furniture.

15. "They should serve other gods, wood and stone," ver. 36; and again, ver. 64. "they should serve other gods, which neither they nor their fathers had known, even wood and stone." And is it not too common for the Jews in Popish countries to comply with the idolatrous worship of the church of Rome, and to bow down to stocks and stones rather than their effects should be seized and confiscated? Here again

(a) Josephus de Bell. Jud. Lib. 7. Chap. 10. Sect. Edit. Hudson.

(b) Basnage, B. 7. Chap. 10. Sect. 20. who cites Matt. Paris. P. 111. et Polyd. Virgil. l. 14. P. 248.

we must cite the author, who hath most studied, and hath best written their modern history, and whom we have had occasion to quote several times in this discourse. “The Spanish and Portugal Inquisitions, (a) saith he, reduce them to the dilemma of being either hypocrites or burnt. The number of these dissemblers is very considerable; and it ought not to be concluded, that there are no Jews in Spain or Portugal; because they are not known: They are so much the more dangerous, for not only being very numerous, but confounded with the ecclesiastics, and entering into all ecclesiastical dignities.” In another (b) place he saith, “The most surprising thing is, that this religion spreads from generation to generation, and still subsists in the persons of dissemblers in a remote posterity. In vain the great Lords of Spain (c) make alliances, change their names, and take ancient scutch-ens; they are still known to be of Jewish race, and Jews themselves. The convents of monks and nuns are full of them. Most of the canons, inquisitors, and bishops proceed from this nation. This is enough to make the people and clergy of this country tremble, since such sort of churchmen can only profane the sacraments, and want intention in consecrating the host they adore. In the mean time Orobio, who relates the fact, knew these dissemblers. He was one of them himself, and bent the knee before the sacrament. Moreover he brings proofs of his assertion, in maintaining, that there are in the synagogue of Amsterdam, brothers and sisters and near relations to good families of Spain and Portugal: and even Franciscan monks, Dominicans, and Jesuits, who come to do penance, and make amends for the crime they have committed in dissembling.”

16. “They should become an astonishment, a proverb, and a by-word among all nations,” ver. 37. And do we not hear and see this prophecy fulfilled almost every day? Is not the avarice, usury, and hard-heartedness of a Jew grown proverbial? And are not their persons generally odious among all sorts of people? Mohammedans, Heathens, and Christians, however they may disagree in other points, yet generally agree in vilifying, abusing and persecuting the Jews. In most places

(a) Basnage. Book 7. Chap. 33. Sect. 14.

(b) Book 7. Chap. 21. Sect. 26.

(c) Limborch Collat. cum Jud. P. 102.

where they are tolerated, they are obliged to live in a separate quarter by themselves, (as they did here in the Old Jury) and to wear some badge of distinction. Their very countenances commonly distinguish them from the rest of mankind. They are, in all respects, treated as if they were of another species. And when a great master of nature would draw the portrait of a Jew, how detestable a character hath he represented in the person of his *Jew of Venice*.

17. Finally "their plagues should be wonderful, even great plagues, and of long continuance," ver. 59. And have not their plagues continued now these 1700 years? Their former captivities were very short in comparison: and (a) Ezekiel and Daniel prophesied in the land of the Chaldeans: but now they have no true prophet to foretell an end of their calamities, they have only false Messiahs to delude them and aggravate their misfortunes. In their former captivities they had the comfort of being conveyed to the same place; they dwelt together in the land of Goshen, they were carried together to Babylon: but now they are dispersed all over the face of the earth. What nation hath suffered so much, and yet endured so long? What nation hath subsisted as a distinct people in their own country so long as these have done in their dispersion into all countries? And what a standing miracle is this exhibited to the view and observation of the whole world?

Here are instances of prophecies, prophecies delivered above three thousand years ago, and yet, as we see, fulfilling in the world at this very time: and what stronger proofs can we desire of the divine legation of Moses? How these instances may affect others, I know not; but for myself I must acknowledge, they not only convince, but amaze and astonish me beyond expression. They are truly, as Moses foretold they would be, "a sign and a wonder for ever," ver. 45, 46. "Moreover all these curses shall come upon thee, and shall pursue thee and overtake thee, till thou be destroyed; because thou hearkenest not unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to keep his commandments, and his statutes which he commanded thee: and they shall be upon thee for a sign and for a wonder, and upon thy seed for ever."

VOL. I.

I

(a) See Basnage, Book 6. Chap. 1. Sect. 2.

VIII.

Prophecies of other Prophets concerning the Jews.

BESIDES the prophecies of Moses, there are others of other prophets, relative to the present state and condition of the Jews. Such are those particularly concerning the restoration of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin from captivity, and the dissolution of the ten tribes of Israel; and those concerning the preservation of the Jews, and the destruction of their enemies; and those concerning the desolation of Judea; and those concerning the infidelity and reprobation of the Jews; and those concerning the calling and obedience of the Gentiles. And it may be proper to say something upon each of these topics.

II. It was foretold, that the ten tribes of Israel should be carried captive by the kings of Assyria, and that the two remaining tribes of Judah and Benjamin should be carried captive by the king of Babylon: but with this difference, that the two tribes should be restored and return from their captivity, but the ten tribes should be dissolved and lost in theirs. Nay, not only the captivity and restoration of the two tribes were foretold, but the precise time of their captivity and restoration was also prefixed and determined by the prophet Jeremiah, xxv. 11. "This whole land shall be a desolation, and an astonishment; and these nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years:" and again, xxix. 10. "Thus saith the Lord, that after seventy years be accomplished at Babylon, I will visit you, and perform my good word towards you, in causing you to return to this place." This prophecy was first delivered, Jer. xxv. 1. "in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, the son of Josiah, king of Judah, that was the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon." And this (*a*) same year it began to be put in execution; for Nebuchadnezzar invaded Judea,

(*a*) See Usher, Prideaux, and the Commentators on 2 Kings xxiv. 2 Chron. xxxvi. and Dan. i.

besieged and took Jerusalem, made Jehoiakim his subject and tributary, transported the finest children of the royal family and of the nobility to Babylon to be bred up there for eunuchs and slaves in his palace, and also carried away the vessels of the house of the Lord, and put them into the temple of his god at Babylon. Seventy years from this time will bring us down to the first year of Cyrus, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22. Ezra i. 1. when he made his proclamation for the restoration of the Jews, and for the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem. This computation of the seventy years captivity appears to be the truest, and most agreeable to scripture. But if you fix the commencement of these seventy years at the time when Jerusalem was burnt and destroyed, their (*a*) conclusion will fall about the time when Darius issued his decree for rebuilding the temple, after the work had been stopt and suspended. Or if you fix their commencement at the time when Nebuzaradan carried away the last remainder of the people, and completed the desolation of the land, their (*b*) conclusion will fall about the time when the temple was finished and dedicated, and the first passover was solemnized in it. "So that," as Dean Prideaux says, "taking it " which way you will, and at what stage you please, the prophecy of Jeremiah will be fully and exactly accomplished " concerning this matter." It may be said to have been accomplished at three different times, and in three different manners, and therefore possibly all might have been intended, though the first without doubt was the principal object of the prophecy.

But the case was different with the ten tribes of Israel. It is very well known that Ephraim, being the chief of the ten tribes, is often put for all the ten tribes of Israel; and it was predicted by Isaiah, vii. 8. "Within threescore and five years " shall Ephraim be broken, that it be not a people." This prophecy was delivered in the first year of Ahaz, king of Judah; for in the latter end of his father Jotham's reign, 2 Kings xv. 37. Rezin king of Syria, and Pekah king of Israel began their expedition against Judah. They went up towards Jerusalem to war against it in the beginning of the reign of Ahaz; and it was to comfort him and the house of David in these difficulties and distresses, that the prophet Isaiah was commissioned to assure him, that the kings of Syria and Israel should remain

I 2

(*a*) Prideaux Connect. Part. 1. B. 3. Anno 518. Darius 4.

(*b*) Prideaux *ibid.* Anno 515. Darius 7.

only the heads of their respective cities, they should not prevail against Jerusalem, and within sixty and five years Israel should be so broken as to be no more a people. The learned (a) Vitringa is of opinion, that the text is corrupted, and that instead of *sixty* and five it was originally written *sixteen* and five. *Sixteen and five*, and as he confesseth, is an odd way of computation for *one and twenty*; but it designs perfectly the years of Ahaz and Hezekiah. For Ahaz reigned *sixteen* years, and Hezekiah *five* years alone, having reigned one year jointly with his father: and it was *in the sixth year of Hezekiah*, 2 Kings xviii. 10, 11. that *Shalmaneser took Samaria, and carried away Israel unto Assyria*. Then indeed the kingdom of Israel was broken: and the conjecture of Vitringa would appear much more probable, if it could be proved that it had ever been usual to write the numbers and dates of years partly in words at length, and partly in numeral letters. But without recourse to such an expedient the thing may be explicated otherwise. For from the first of Ahaz (b) compute sixty and five years in the reigns of Ahaz, Hezekiah, and Manasseh, the end of them will fall about the 22d year of Manasseh, when Efarhaddon, king of Assyria, made the last deportation of the Israelites, and planted other nations in their stead; and in the same expedition probably took Manasseh captive, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11. and carried him to Babylon. It is said expressly that it was Efarhaddon who planted the other nations in the cities of Samaria; but it is not said expressly in scripture, that he carried away the remainder of the people, but it may be inferred from several circumstances of the story. There were other deportations of the Israelites made by the kings of Assyria before this time. In the reign of Ahaz, Tiglath-pilezer took many of the Israelites, “even
 “ the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half tribe of Ma-
 “ nasseh, and all the land of Naphtali, and carried them cap-
 “ tive to Assyria, and brought them unto Halah, and Habor,
 “ and Hara, and to the river Gozan.” 1 Chron. v. 26. 2 Kings
 xv. 29. His son Shalmaneser, in the reign of Hezekiah, took Samaria, and carried away still greater numbers “unto Assy-
 “ ria, and put them in Halah and in Habor by the river of
 “ Gozan” (the same places whither their brethren had been carried before them) “and in the cities of the Medes.” 2 Kings xviii. 11. His son Sennacherib came up also against Hezekiah,

(a) Comment. in locum.

(b) See Usher, Prideaux, &c.

and all the fenced cities of Judah; but his army was miraculously defeated, and he himself was forced to return with shame and disgrace into his own country, where he was murdered by his two sons. 2 Kings xviii. 19. Another of his sons, Efarhaddon succeeded him in the throne, but it was some time before he could recover his kingdom from these disorders, and think of reducing Syria and Palestine again to his obedience: and then it was, and not till then, that he completed the ruin of the ten tribes, carried away the remains of the people, and to prevent the land from becoming desolate, "brought men " from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Hava, and from " Hamath, and from Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities " of Samaria, instead of the children of Israel." Ezra iv. 2, 10. 2 Kings xvii. 24. Ephraim was broken from being a kingdom before, but now he was broken from being a people. And from that time to this what account can be given of the people of Israel as distinct from the people of Judah? where have they subsisted all this while? and where is their situation, or what is their condition at present?

We see plainly that they were placed in Assyria and Media; and if they subsisted any where, one would imagine they might be found there in the greatest abundance. But authors have generally sought for them elsewhere: and the visionary writer of the second book of Esdras, xiii. 40, &c. hath asserted that they took a resolution of retiring from the Gentiles, and of going into a country which had never been inhabited; that the river Euphrates was miraculously divided for their passage, and they proceeded in their journey a year and an half before they arrived at this country, which was called Arfareth. But the worst of it is, as this country was unknown before, so it hath been equally unknown ever since. It is to be found no where but in this apocryphal book, which is so wild and fabulous in other respects, that it deserves no credit in this particular. Benjamin of Tudela, a Jew of the twelfth century, (a) hath likewise assigned them a large and spacious country, with five cities; but nobody knoweth to this day where it is situated. Eldad, another Jew of the thirteenth century, hath placed them in Ethiopia, and I know not where, and hath made the Saracens and twenty-five kingdoms tributary to them. Another

(a) For these particulars the reader may consult Bafnage's Hist. of the Jews. Book 6. Chap. 2 and 3.

Jewish writer, Peritful of Ferrara, who lived in the century before the last, have given them kingdoms in a country called Perricha, inclosed by unknown mountains, and bounded by Assyria, and likewise in the deserts of Arabia, and even in the East-Indies. Manasseh, a famous rabbi of the last century, and others, have asserted, that they passed into Tartary, and expelled the Scythians; and others again from Tartary have conveyed them into America. But all these differing accounts prove nothing but the great uncertainty that there is in this matter. The best of them are only conjectures without any solid foundation, but most of them are manifest forgeries of the Jews to aggrandize their nation.

The difficulty of finding out the habitations of the ten tribes, hath induced (*a*) others to maintain that they returned into their own country with the other two tribes after the Babylonish captivity. The decree indeed of Cyrus extended to "all the people of God," Ezra i. 3. and that of Artaxerxes to "all the people of *Israel*;" vii. 13. and no doubt many of the Israelites took advantage of these decrees, and returned with Zerubbabel and Ezra to their own cities: but still the main body of the ten tribes remained behind. Ezra, who should best know, saith that there "rose up the chief of the fathers of Judah and Benjamin;" i. 5. and he calleth the Samaritans "the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin;" iv. 1. these two tribes were the principals, the others were only accessaries. And if they did not return at this time, they cannot be supposed to have returned in a body at any time after this: for we read of no such adventure in history, we know neither the time nor occasion of their return, nor who were their generals or leaders in this expedition. Josephus, who saw his country for several years in as flourishing a condition as at any time since the captivity, affirms that (*b*) Ezra sent a copy of the decree of Artax-

(*a*) See Calmet's two Dissertations. 1st. Sur le pays ou les dix tribus d'Israel furent transportées, et sur celui ou elles sont aujourd'hui. Comment. Vol. III. 2d. Ou l'on examine si les dix tribus sont revenues de leur captivité, dans la terre d'Israel. Comment. Vol. VI.

(*b*) Exemplar vero ejus in Mediam ad omnes gentis suæ homines misit.—Multi vero ex iis cum re sua familiari Babylonem se contulerunt, ut qui Hierosolyma revertendi desiderio tenebantur. Omnis autem multitudo Israelitarum in ea regione mansit. Quapropter duæ tantum tribus per Asiam atque Europam sub Romano degunt imperio. Decem autem reliquæ tribus esque in hodiernum

erxes to of all the same nation throughout Media, where the ten tribes lived in captivity, and many of them came with their effects to Babylon, desiring to return to Jerusalem: but the main body of the Israelites abode in that region: and therefore it hath happened, saith he, that there are two tribe in Asia and Europe, living in subjection to the Romans; but the ten tribes are beyond the Euphrates to this time; and then addeth, with the vanity of a Jew speaking of his countrymen, that they were so many myriads, that they could not be numbered.

Others, finding no good authority for admitting that the ten tribes of Israel were restored in the same manner as the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, (a) have therefore asserted, that “the ten tribes of Israel, which had separated from the house of David, were brought to a full and utter destruction, and never after recovered themselves again. For those who were thus carried away (excepting only some few, who joining themselves to the Jews in the land of their captivity returned with them) soon going into the usages, and idolatry of the nations, among whom they were planted (to which they were too much addicted while in their own land) after a while became wholly absorbed, and swallowed up in them, and thence utterly losing their name, their language, and their memorial, were never after any more spoken of.” But if the whole race of Israel became thus extinct, and perished for ever, how can the numerous prophecies be fulfilled, which promise the future conversion and restoration of Israel as well as of Judah.

The truth I conceive to lie between these two opinions. Neither did they all return to Jerusalem, neither did all, who remained behind, comply with the idolatry of the Gentiles, among whom they lived. But whether they remained, or whether they returned, this prophecy of Isaiah was still fulfilled; the kingdom, the commonwealth, the state of Israel was utterly broken; they no longer subsisted as a distinct people from Judah, they no longer maintained a separate religion, they joined themselves to the Jews from whom they had been unhappily divided, they lost the name of Israel as a name of distinction, and were thenceforth all in common called Jews. It appears from the book of Esther, that there were great numbers of Jews in all

diem loca ultra Euphratem colunt, infinita hominum millia, nec numero comprehendenda. Antiqu. Lib. 11. Cap. 5. Sect. 2. P. 482. Edit. Hudson.

(a) Prideaux Connect. Part 1. Book 1. Anno 677. Manasseh 22.

the hundred twenty and seven provinces of the kingdom of A-hafuerus or Artaxerxes Longimanus, king of Persia, and they could not all be the remains of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, who had refused to return to Jerusalem with their brethren; they must many of them have been the descendents of the ten tribes whom the kings of Assyria had carried away captive; but yet they are all spoken of as one and the same people, and all without distinction are denominated Jews. We read in the Acts of the Apostles, ii. 9. that there came to Jerusalem to celebrate the feast of Pentecost "Parthians, and Medes, and "Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia:" these men came from the countries, wherein the ten tribes had been placed, and in all probability therefore were some of their posterity; but yet these as well as the rest are stiled, ver. 5. "Jews, "devout men out of every nation under Heaven." Those likewise of the ten tribes, who returned to Jerusalem, united with the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, and formed but one nation, one body of Jews; they might for some ages perhaps preserve their genealogies; but they are now incorporated together, and the distinction of tribes and families is in great measure lost among them, and they have all from the Babylonish captivity to this day been comprehended under the general name of Jews. In St. Paul's time there were several persons of all the ten tribes in being; for he speaketh of "the "twelve tribes hoping to attain to the promise of God;" Acts xxvi. 7. and St. James addresseth his epistle "to the twelve "tribes which are scattered abroad." James i. 1. And we make no question, that several persons of all the ten tribes are in being at present, though we cannot separate them from the rest; they are confounded with the other Jews; there is no difference, no distinction between them. The (a) Samaritans indeed (of whom there are still some remains at Sichem and the neighbouring towns) pretend to be the descendents of the children of Israel, but they are really derived from those nations, which Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, planted in the country, after he had carried thence the ten tribes into captivity. And for this reason the Jews call them by no other name than Cuthites, (the name of one of those nations) and exclaim against them as the worst of heretics, and if possible have greater hatred and abhorrence of them than of the Christians themselves.

(a) See Prideaux as before.

Thus we see how the ten tribes of Israel were in a manner lost in their captivity, while the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin were restored and preserved several ages afterwards. And what, can you believe, were the reasons of God's making this difference and distinction between them? The ten tribes had totally revolted from God to the worship of the golden calves in Dan and Bethel; and for this, and their other idolatry and wickedness, they were suffered to remain in the land of their captivity. The Jews were restored, not so much for their own sakes, as for the sake of the promises made unto the fathers, the promise to Judah that the Messiah should come of his tribe, the promise to David that the Messiah should be born of his family. It was therefore necessary for the tribe of Judah, and the families of that tribe, to be kept distinct until the coming of the Messiah. But now these ends are fully answered, the tribes of Judah and Benjamin are as much confounded as any of the rest: all distinctions of families and genealogies is lost among them: and the (a) Jews themselves acknowledge as much in saying, that when the Messiah shall come, it will be part of his office "to sort their families, restore the genealogies, and set aside strangers."

II. The preservation of the Jews through so many ages, and the total destruction of their enemies are wonderful events; and are made still more wonderful by being signified beforehand by the spirit of prophecy, as we find particularly in the prophet Jeremiah, xlvi. 28. "Fear not thou, O Jacob my servant, saith the Lord, for I am with thee, for I will make a full end of all the nations whither I have driven thee, but I will not make a full end of thee."

The preservation of the Jews is really one of the most signal and illustrious acts of divine providence. They are dispersed among all nations, and yet they are not confounded with any. The drops of rain which fall, nay the great rivers which flow into the ocean, are soon mingled and lost in that immense body of waters: and the same in all human probability would have been the fate of the Jews, they would have been mingled and lost in the common mass of mankind; but on the contrary they flow into all parts of the world, mix with all nations, and yet keep separate from all. They still live as

(a) See Bishop Chandler's Defence of Christianity. Chap. 1. Sect. 2. P. 38. 3d Edit.

a distinct people, and yet they no where live according to their own laws, no where elect their own magistrates, no where enjoy the full exercise of their religion. Their solemn feasts and sacrifices are limited to one certain place, and that hath been now for many ages in the hands of strangers and aliens, who will not suffer them to come thither. No people have continued unmixed so long as they have done, not only of those who have set forth colonies into foreign countries, but even of those who have abided in their own country. The northern nations have come in swarms into the more southern parts of Europe; but where are they now to be discerned and distinguished? The Gauls went forth in great bodies to seek their fortune in foreign parts; but what traces or footsteps of them are now remaining any where? In France who can separate the race of the ancient Gauls from the various other people, who from time to time have settled there? In Spain who can distinguish exactly between the first possessors the Spaniards, and the Goths, and the Moors, who conquered and kept possession of the country for some ages? In England who can pretend to say with certainty which families are derived from the ancient Britons, and which from the Romans, or Saxons, or Danes, or Normans? The most ancient and honourable pedigrees can be traced up only to a certain period, and beyond that there is nothing but conjecture and uncertainty, obscurity and ignorance: but the Jews can go up higher than any nation, they can even deduce their pedigree from the beginning of the world. They may not know from what particular tribe or family they are descended, but they know certainly that they all sprung from the stock of Abraham. And yet the contempt with which they have been treated, and the hardships which they have undergone in almost all countries, should one would think have made them desirous to forget or renounce their original; but they profess it; they glory in it: and after so many wars, massacres, and persecutions, they still subsist, they still are very numerous: and what but a supernatural power could have preserved them in such a manner as none other nation upon earth hath been preserved?

Nor is the providence of God less remarkable in the destruction of their enemies, than in their preservation. For from the beginning who have been the great enemies and oppressors of the Jewish nation, removed them from their own land, and compelled them into captivity and slavery? The

Egyptians afflicted them much, and detained them in bondage several years. The Assyrians carried away captive the ten tribes of Israel, and the Babylonians afterwards the two remaining tribes of Judah and Benjamin. The Syro-Macedonians, especially Antiochus Epiphanes, cruelly persecuted them: and the Romans utterly dissolved the Jewish State, and dispersed the people, so that they have never been able to recover their city and country again. But where are now these great and famous monarchies, which in their turns subdued and oppressed the people of God? Are they not vanished as a dream, and not only their power, but their very names lost in the earth? The Egyptians, Assyrians, and Babylonians were overthrown and entirely subjugated by the Persians: and the Persians (it is remarkable) were the restorers of the Jews, as well as the destroyers of their enemies. The Syro-Macedonians were swallowed up by the Romans: and the Roman empire, great and powerful as it was, was broken into pieces by the incursions of the northern nations; while the Jews are subsisting as a distinct people at this day. And what a wonder of providence is it, that the vanquished should so many ages survive the victors, and the former be spread all over the world, while the latter is no more?

Nay, not only nations have been punished for their cruelty to the Jews, but divine vengeance hath pursued even single persons, who hath been their persecutors and oppressors. The first born of Pharaoh was destroyed, and he himself with his host was drowned in the sea. Most of those who oppressed Israel in the days of the Judges, Eglon, Jabin, and Sisera, Oreb and Zeeb, and the rest, came to an untimely end. Nebuchadnezzar was stricken with madness, and the crown was soon transferred from his family to strangers. Antiochus Epiphanes (*a*) died in great agonies, with ulcers and vermin issuing from them, so that the filthiness of his smell was intolerable to all his attendants, and even to himself. Herod, who was a cruel tyrant to the Jews, (*b*) died in the same miserable manner, Flaccus, governor of Egypt, who barbarously plundered and oppressed the Jews of Alexandria, (*c*) was afterwards banished and slain. Caligula, who persecuted the Jews

(*a*) 2 Maccab. ix. 9. Polybii Fragm. P. 997. Edit. Casaubon.

(*b*) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 17. Cap. 6. Sect. 5. P. 768. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 1. Cap. 33. Sect. 5. P. 1040. Edit. Hudson.

(*c*) Philo in Flaccum.

for refusing to pay divine honours to his statues, (a) was murdered in the flower of his age after a short and wicked reign. But where are now, since they have absolutely rejected the gospel and been no longer the peculiar people of God, where are now such visible manifestations of a divine interposition in their favour? The Jews would do well to consider this point; for rightly considered, it may be an affectual means of opening their eyes, and of turning them to Christ our Saviour.

III. The desolation of Judea is another memorable instance of the truth of prophecy. It was foretold so long ago as by Moses, Lev. xxvi. 33. "I will scatter you among the Heathen, and will draw out a sword after you; and your land shall be desolate, and your cities waste." It was foretold again by Isaiah, the prophet speaking, as prophets often do, of things future as present, i. 7, 8, 9. "Your country is desolate, your cities are burnt with fire; your land strangers devour it in your presence, and it is desolate as overthrown by strangers. And the daughter of Zion is left as a cottage in a vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers, as a besieged city." This passage may relate immediately to the times of Ahaz and Hezekiah; but it must have a further reference to the devastations made by the Chaldeans, and especially by the Romans. In this sense it is understood by (b) Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Jerome, and most ancient interpreters: and the following words imply no less than a general destruction, and almost total excision of the people, such as they suffered under the Chaldeans, but more fully under the Romans: *Except the Lord of Hosts had left unto us a very small remnant, we should have been as Sodom, and we should have been like unto Gomorrah.* The same thing was again foretold by Jeremiah; for speaking afterwards of the conversion of the Gentiles, and of the restoration of the Jews in the latter days, he must be understood to speak here of the times preceding, xii. 10, 11. "Many pastors (princes or leaders) have destroyed my vineyard, they have trodden my

(a) Philo de Legatione ad Caimm. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 18. Cap. 9, Lib. 19. Cap. 1. Suetonii Calig. Cap. 59. Vixit annis xxx. imperavit triennio et x. mensibus, diebusque viii.

(b) Just. Mart. Apol. 1. ma. P. 75. Edit. Thirlbii. Dial. cum Tryphano, P. 160 et 243. Tertull. advers. Marcion. Lib. 8. Cap. 25. P. 411. Edit. Rigaltii Par. 1675. et alibi Hieron. in locum. Vol. II. P. 12. Edit. Benedicti.

“portion under foot, they have made my pleasant portion a desolate wilderness; they have made it desolate, and being desolate it mourneth unto me; the whole land is made desolate, because no man layeth it to heart.”

The same thing is expressed or implied in other places: and hath not the state of Judea now for many ages been exactly answerable to this description? That a country should be depopulated and desolated by the incursions and depredations of foreign armies is nothing wonderful; but that it should lie so many ages in this miserable condition, is more than man could foresee, and could be revealed only by God. A celebrated French writer (*a*) in his history of the Crusades, pretends to exhibit a true picture of Palestine, and he says that then “it was just what it is at present, the worst of all the inhabited countries of Asia. It is almost wholly covered with parched rocks, on which there is not one line of soil. If this small territory were cultivated, it might not improperly be compared to Swisserland.” But there is no need of citing authorities to prove that the land is forsaken of its inhabitants, is uncultivated, unfruitful, and desolate; for the enemies of our religion make this very thing an objection to the truth of our religion. They say that so barren and wretched a country could never have been *a land flowing with milk and honey*, nor have supplied and maintained such multitudes, as it is represented to have done in scripture. But they do not see or consider, that hereby the prophecies are fulfilled; so that it is rather an evidence for the truth of our religion, than any argument against it.

The country was formerly a good country, if we may believe the concurrent testimony of those who should best know it, the people who inhabited it. Aristæus and Josephus too (*b*) speak largely in commendation of its fruitfulness: and though something may be allowed to national prejudices, yet they would hardly have had the confidence to assert a thing which all the world could easily contradict and disprove. Nay there are even heathen authors who bear testimony to the fruitfulness of the land: though we presume that after the Babylonish captivity it never recovered to be again what it was before. Stra-

(*a*) Voltaire's Hist. not far from the beginning.

(*b*) Aristæus, P. 13, 14. Edit. Hody. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 8. Cap. 3. P. 1120. Edit. Hudson.

bo (*a*) describes indeed the country about Jerufalem as rocky and barren, but he commends other parts, particularly about Jordan and Jericho. Hecatæus (*b*) quoted by Josephus giveth it the character of one of the best and most fertile countries. Tacitus (*c*) saith that it raineth feldom, the soil is fruitful, fruits abound as with us, and besides them the balsam and palm trees. And notwithstanding the long desolation of the land, there are still visible such marks and tokens of fruitfulness, as may convince any man that it once deserved the character which is given of it in scripture. I would only refer the reader to two learned and ingenious travellers of our own nation, Mr. Maundrell and Dr. Shaw, and he will fully be satisfied of the truth of what is here asserted.

The (*d*) former says, that “all along this day’s travel (Mar. 25) from Kane Leban to Beer, and also as far as we could see around, the country discovered a quite different face from what it had before; presenting nothing to the view in most places, but naked rocks, mountains, and precipices: at sight of which pilgrims are apt to be much astonished and baulked in their expectations; finding that country in such an inhospitable condition, concerning whose pleasanefs and plenty they had before formed in their minds such high ideas from the description given of it in the word of God: insomuch that it almost startles their faith when they reflect how it could be possible for a land like this to supply food for so prodigious a number of inhabitants as are said to have been polled in the twelve tribes at one time; the sum given in by Joab, 2 Sam. xxiv. amounting to no less than thirteen hundred thousand fighting men, besides women and children. But is certain that any man, who is not a little biassed to infidelity before, may see, as he passes along, arguments enough to support his faith against such scruples. For it is obvious for any one to observe that these rocks and hills must have been anciently covered with earth and cultivated, and made to contribute to the maintenance of

(*a*) Strabo, Lib. 16. P. 761. Edit. Par. P. 1104. Edit. Amstel. P. 755. Edit. Par. P. 1095. Edit. Amstel. P. 763. Edit. Par. P. 1106. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

(*b*) Joseph. contra Apion, Lib. 1. Sect. 22.—*optimi et feracissimi soli.*—P. 1348. Edit. Hudson.

(*c*) Taciti Hist. Lib. 5. *rari imbres, uber solum exuberant fruges nostrum ad morem, præterque eas, balsamum et palmæ.*

(*d*) Maundrell, P. 64, &c. 5th Edit.

“ the inhabitants no less than if the country had been all plain
“ nay perhaps much more; forasmuch as such a mountainous
“ and uneven surface affords a larger space of ground for cul-
“ tivation than this country would amount to, if it were all
“ reduced to a perfect level. For the husbanding of these
“ mountains, their manner was to gather up the stones, and
“ place them in several lines along the sides of the hills, in
“ form of a wall. By such borders they supported the mold
“ from tumbling or being washed down; and formed many
“ beds of excellent soil, rising gradually one above another,
“ from the bottom to the top of the mountains. Of this form
“ of culture you see evident footsteps wherever you go in all
“ the mountains of Palestine. Thus the very rocks were
“ made fruitful. And perhaps there is no spot of ground in
“ this whole land, that was not formerly improved, to the
“ production of something or other, ministering to the sus-
“ tenance of human life. For than the plain countries nothing
“ can be more fruitful, whether for the production of corn or
“ cattle, and consequently of milk. The hills, though im-
“ proper for all cattle except goats, yet being disposed into
“ such beds as are before described, served very well to bear
“ corn, melons, gourds, cucumbers, and such like garden
“ stuff, which makes the principal food of these countries for
“ several months in the year. The most rocky parts of all,
“ which could not well be adjusted in that manner for the pro-
“ duction of corn, might yet serve for the plantation of vines
“ and olive trees, which delight to extract, the one its fatness,
“ the other its sprightly juice, chiefly out of such dry and
“ flinty places. And the great plain joining to the Dead Sea,
“ which by reason of its saltness might be thought unservice-
“ able both for cattle, corn, olives, and vines, had yet its proper
“ usefulness for the nourishment of bees, and for the fabric of
“ honey; of which Josephus gives us his testimony, *De Bell.*
“ *Jud. Lib. 5. Cap. 4.* And I have reason to believe it, be-
“ cause when I was there, I perceived in many places a smell of
“ honey and wax, as strong as if one had been in an apiary.
“ Why then might not this country very well maintain the
“ vast number of its inhabitants, being in every part so pro-
“ ductive of either milk, corn, wine, oil, or honey, which are
“ the principal food of these eastern nations? the constitution
“ of their bodies, and the nature of their climate, inclining them
“ to a more abstemious diet than we use in England, and other
“ colder regions.”

The (a) other asserts, that “ the holy land, were it as well
 “ peopled and cultivated as in former time, would still be more
 “ fruitful than the very best part of the coast of Syria and
 “ Phœnice. For the soil itself is generally much richer, and
 “ all things considered, yields a more preferable crop. Thus
 “ the cotton that is gathered in the plains of Ramah, Esdrælon
 “ and Zebulun, is in greater esteem than what is cultivated
 “ near Sidon and Tripoly; neither is it possible for pulse, wheat,
 “ or any sort of grain, to be more excellent than what is com-
 “ monly sold at Jerusalem. The barrenness, or scarcity rather,
 “ which some authors may either ignorantly or maliciously com-
 “ plain of, does not proceed from the incapacity or natural un-
 “ fruitfulness of the country, but from the want of inhabitants,
 “ and the great aversion there is to labour and industry in those
 “ few who possess it. There are besides such perpetual dis-
 “ cords and depredations among the petty princes who share
 “ this fine country, that allowing it was better peopled, yet
 “ there would be small encouragement to sow, when it was un-
 “ certain who should gather in the harvest. Otherwise the *land*
 “ *is good land*, and still capable of affording its neighbours
 “ the like supplies of corn and oil, which it is known to have
 “ done in the time of Solomon. The parts particularly about
 “ Jerusalem, being described to be rocky and mountainous,
 “ have therefore been supposed to be barren and unfruitful.
 “ Yet granting this conclusion, which is far from being just,
 “ a kingdom is not to be denominated barren or unfruitful
 “ from one part of it only, but from the whole. Nay farther,
 “ the blessing that was given to Judah, was not of the same
 “ kind with the blessing of Asher or of Issachar, that “ his
 “ bread should be fat, or his land should be pleasant, but that
 “ his eyes should be red with wine, and his teeth should be
 “ white with milk,” Gen. xlix. 12. Moses also maketh milk
 “ and honey (the chief dainties and subsistence of the earlier
 “ ages, as they continue to be of the Bedoween Arabs) to be
 “ (b) *the glory of all lands*: all which productions are either
 “ actually enjoyed, or at least might be, by proper care and

(a) Shaw's Travels, P. 365, &c.

(b) As Bishop Pearce observes, is not this a mistake in Dr. Shaw? The words are not of Moses but of Ezekiel, xx. 6, 15. and he does not seem to call the milk and honey the glory of all lands; but the land, which did abound with milk and honey, he rather calls the glory of all lands.

“ application. The plenty of wine alone is wanting at present; yet from the goodness of that little, which is still made at Jerusalem and Hebron, we find that these barren rocks (as they are called) might yield a much greater quantity, if the abstemious Turk and Arab would permit a further increase and improvement to be made of the vine, &c.”

IV. Nothing can be a stronger or clearer proof of the divine inspiration of the prophets, than their foretelling not only the outward actions, but even the inward dispositions of men, many ages before these men were in being. The prophets were naturally prejudiced in favour of their own nation; but yet they foretell the infidelity and reprobation of the Jews, their disbelief of the Messiah, and thereupon their rejection by God. We will not multiply quotations to this purpose. It will be sufficient to produce one or two passages from the evangelical prophet Isaiah. The 53d chapter is a most famous prophecy of the Messiah; and it begins with upbraiding the Jews for their unbelief, “ Who hath believed our report? and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?” which St. John, xii. 38. and St. Paul, Rom. x. 16. have expressly applied to the unbelieving Jews of their time. The prophet assigns the reason too, why they would not receive the Messiah, namely, because of his low and afflicted condition: and it is very well known that they rejected him on this account, having all along expected him to come as a temporal prince and deliverer, in great power and glory.

The prophet had before been commissioned to declare unto the people the judgments of God for their infidelity and disobedience, vi. 9, &c. “ And he said, Go ye and tell this people, (*this people, not my people*) Hear ye indeed, but understand not; and see ye indeed, but perceive not. Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert and be healed.” In the stile of scripture the prophets are said *to do* what they declare *will be done*: and in like manner Jeremiah is said, i. 10. to be “ set 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;” because he was authorized to make known the purposes and decrees of God, and because these events would follow in consequence of his prophecies. *Make the heart of this people fat*, is therefore as much as to say, *De-*

nounce my judgment upon this people, that their hearts shall be fat, and their ears heavy, and their eyes shut; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert, and be healed. This prophecy might relate in some measure to the state of the Jews before the Babylonish captivity; but it did not receive its full completion till the days of our Saviour; and in this sense it is understood and applied by the writers of the New Testament, and by our Saviour himself. The prophet is then informed that this infidelity and obstinacy of his countrymen should be of long duration. *Then said I, Lord, how long? And he answered, Until the cities be wasted without inhabitant, and the houses without man, and the land be utterly desolate, and the Lord have removed men far away, and there be a great forsaking in the midst of the land.* Here is a remarkable gradation in the denouncing of these judgments. Not only Jerusalem and *the cities should be wasted without inhabitants*, but even the single *houses should be without man*: and not only the *houses of the cities should be without man*, but even the country *should be utterly desolate*; and not only the people should be removed out of the *land*, but *the Lord should remove them far away*; and they should not be removed for a short period, but there should be a *great, or rather a long forsaking in the midst of the land*. And hath not the world seen all these particulars exactly fulfilled? Have not the Jews laboured under a spiritual blindness and infatuation in *bearing but not understanding*, in *seeing but not perceiving* the Messiah, after the accomplishment of so many prophecies, after the performance of so many miracles? And in consequence of their refusing to *convert and be healed*, have not *their cities been wasted without inhabitant, and their houses without man*? Hath not their *land been utterly desolate*? Have they not been *removed far away* into the most distant parts of the earth? And hath not their removal or banishment been now of near 1700 years duration? And do they not still continue deaf and blind, obstinate and unbelieving? The Jews, at the time of the delivery of this prophecy, gloried in being the peculiar church and people of God: and would any Jew of himself have thought or have said, that his nation would in process of time, become an infidel and reprobate nation, infidel and reprobate for many ages, oppressed by men, and forsaken by God. It was above seven hundred and fifty years before Christ, that Isaiah predicted these things; and how could he have predicted them,

unless he had been illuminated by the divine vision; or how could they have succeeded accordingly, unless the spirit of prophecy had been the spirit of God?

V. Of the same nature are the prophecies concerning the calling and obedience of the Gentiles. How could such an event be foreseen hundreds of years before it happened? but the prophets are full of the glorious subject, and speak with delight and rapture of the universal kingdom of the Messiah: that “God would give unto him the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession,” Psa. ii. 8. that “all the ends of the world should remember and return unto the Lord, and all the kindreds of the nations should worship before him,” Psa. xxii. 27. that “in the last days the mountain of the house of the Lord should be established in the top of the mountains, and should be exalted above the hills, and all people should flow unto it,” Micah iv. 1. which passage is also to be found in Isaiah, ii. 2. that “from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same, my name shall be great among the Gentiles, and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering, for my name shall be great among the heathen, saith the Lord of hosts,” Mal. i. 11. But the prophet Isaiah is more copious upon this as well as other evangelical subjects: and his 49th and 60th chapters treat particularly of the glory of the church in the abundant access of the Gentiles. “It is a light thing that thou shouldst be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel: I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth,” xlix. 6. “Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee. The Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising. The abundance of the sea shall be converted unto thee, the forces of the Gentiles shall come unto thee, &c.” lx. 1, 3, 5, &c.

It is as absurd as it is vain for the Jews to apply these prophecies to the proselytes whom they have gained among the nations; for the number of their proselytes was very inconsiderable, and nothing to answer these pompous descriptions. Neither was their religion ever designed by its founder for an universal religion, their worship and sacrifices being confined to one certain place, whither all the males were obliged to repair thrice every year: so that it was plainly calculated for a

particular people, and could never become the religion of the whole world. There was indeed to be a religion which was designed for all nations, to be preached in all, and to be received in all: but what prospect or probability was there, that such a generous institution should proceed from such narrow minded people as the Jews, or that the Gentiles, who hated and despised them, should ever receive a religion from them? Was it not much more likely that they should be corrupted by the example of all the nations around them, and be induced to comply with the polytheism and idolatry of some of their powerful neighbours and conquerors, to which they were but too much inclined of themselves; was not this, I say, much more likely than that they should be the happy instruments of reforming the world, and converting some of all nations to the worship of the one only God in spirit and in truth?

But the prophet farther intimates that this great revolution, the greatest that ever was in the religious world, should be effected by a few incompetent persons, and effected too in a short compass of time. "A little one shall become a thousand, and a small one a strong nation: I the Lord will hasten it in his time," *Isa.* 22. Our Saviour's commission to his apostles was, *Go, teach all nations*: and who were the persons to whom this commission was given? these who were best qualified and able to carry it into execution? The rich, the wise, the mighty of this world? No, they were chiefly a few poor fishermen, of low parentage and education, of no learning or eloquence, of no policy or address, of no repute or authority, despised as Jews by the rest of mankind, and as the meanest and worst of Jews by the Jews themselves. And what improper persons were these to contend with the prejudices of all the world, the superstitions of the people, the interests of the priests, the vanity of philosophers, the pride of rulers, the malice of the Jews, the learning of Greece, and the power of Rome?

As this revolution was effected by a few incompetent persons, so was it effected too in a short compass of time. After our Saviour's ascension, "the number of the disciples together was about an hundred and twenty," *Acts* i. 15. but they soon increased and multiplied; the first sermon of St. Peter added unto them "about three thousand souls," *ii.* 41. and the second made up the number "about five thousand," *iv.* 4. Before the destruction of Jerusalem, in the space of about forty

years, the gospel was preached in almost every region of the world then known: and in the reign of Constantine, Christianity became the religion of the empire; and after having suffered a little under Julian, it entirely prevailed and triumphed over paganism and idolatry; and still prevails in the most civilized and improved parts of the earth. All this was more than man could foresee, and much more than man could execute: and we experience the good effects of these prophecies at this day. The speedy propagation of the gospel could not have been effected by persons so unequal to the task, if the same divine spirit who foretold it, had not likewise assisted them in it, according to the promise, *I the Lord will hasten it in his time.* We may be as certain as if we had seen it, that the truth really was, as the evangelist affirms, Mark xvi. 20. "They went forth" and preached every where, the Lord working with them, "and confirming the word with signs following."

But neither the prophecies concerning the Gentiles, nor those concerning the Jews, have yet received their full and entire completion. Our Saviour hath not yet had "the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession," Psal. ii. 8. "All the ends of the world have not yet turned unto the Lord," xxii. 27. "All people, nations, and languages," have not yet "served him," Dan. vii. 14. These things have hitherto been only partially, but they will even literally be fulfilled. Neither are the Jews yet made "an eternal excellency, a joy of many generations," Is. lx. 15. The time is not yet come, when "violence shall no more be heard in the land, wailing nor destruction within their borders," ver. 28. God's promises to them are not yet made good in their full extent. "Behold, I will take the children of Israel from among the heathen, whither they be gone, and will gather them on every side, and bring them into their own land. And they shall dwell in the land that I have given unto Jacob my servant, even they and their children, and their childrens children for ever, and my servant David shall be their prince for ever," Ezek. xxxvii. 21, 25. "Then shall they know that I am the Lord their God, who caused them to be led into captivity among the heathen: but I have gathered them unto their own land, and have left none of them any more there. Neither will I hide my face any more from them, for I have poured out my spirit upon the house of Israel, saith the Lord God," xxxix. 28, 29. However what hath

already been accomplished is a sufficient pledge and earnest of what is yet to come; and we have all imaginable reason to believe, since so many of these prophecies are fulfilled, that the remaining prophecies will be fulfilled also; that there will be yet a greater harvest of the nations, and the yet unconverted parts of the earth will be enlightened with the knowledge of the Lord; that the Jews will, in God's good time, be converted to Christianity, and upon their conversion be restored to their native city and country; and especially since the state of affairs is such, that they may return without much difficulty, having no dominion, no settled country, or fixed property to detain them much any where. We have seen the prophecy of Hosea, iii. 4, 5. fulfilled in part, and why should we not believe that it will be fulfilled in the whole? *The children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image, or altar, and without an ephod, or priest to wear an ephod, and without teraphim, or divine manifestations. Afterwards shall the children of Israel return, and seek the Lord their God, and David their king, and shall fear the Lord and his goodness in the latter days.*

We have now exhibited a summary view of the prophecies of the Old Testament more immediately relative to the present state and condition of the Jews: and what stronger and more convincing arguments can you require of the truth both of the Jewish and of the Christian religion? The Jews were once the peculiar people of God: and as St. Paul saith, Rom. xi. 1. "Hath God cast away his people? God forbid." We see that after so many ages they are still preserved by a miracle of providence a distinct people; and why is such a continual miracle exerted, but for the greater illustration of the divine truth, and the better accomplishment of the divine promises, as well those which are yet to be, as those which are already fulfilled? We see that the great empires which in their turns subdued and oppressed the people of God, are all come to ruin; because, though they executed the purposes of God, yet that was more than they understood; all that they intended was to satiate their own pride and ambition, their own cruelty and revenge. And if such hath been the fatal end of the enemies and oppressors of the Jews, let it serve as a warning to all those, who at any time or upon any occasion are for raising a clamour and persecution against them. They are blameable, no

doubt, for persisting in their infidelity after so many means of conviction; but this is no warrant or authority for us to proscribe, to abuse, injure, and oppress them, as Christians of more zeal than either knowledge or charity, have in all ages been apt to do. *Charity is greater than faith*: and it is worse in us to be cruel and uncharitable, than it is in them to be obstinate and unbelieving. Persecution is the spirit of popery, and in the worst of popish countries the Jews are the most cruelly used and persecuted: the spirit of protestantism is toleration and indulgence to weaker consciences. Compassion to this unhappy people is not to defeat the prophecies; for only wicked nations were to harass and oppress them, the good were to shew mercy to them; and we should chuse rather to be the dispensers of God's mercies than the executioners of his judgments. Read the eleventh chapter of the epistle to the Romans, and see what the great apostle to the Gentiles, who certainly understood the prophecies better than any of us can pretend to do, saith of the infidelity of the Jews. Some of the Gentiles of his time valued themselves upon their superior advantages, and he reproves them for it, that they who "were cut out of the olive tree which is wild by nature, and were grafted contrary to nature into a good olive tree," should presume to "boast against the natural branches:" ver. 18, 24. but what would he have said, how would he have flamed and lightened, if they had made religion an instrument of faction, and had been for stirring up a persecution against them? We should consider, that to them we owe the oracles of God, the scriptures of the New Testament as well as the Old; we should consider that *the glorious company of the apostles* as well as *the goodly fellowship of the prophets* were Jews; we should consider, that *of them as concerning the flesh Christ came*, the Saviour of the world: and surely something of kindness and gratitude is due for such infinite obligations. Though they are now broken off, yet they are not utterly cast away. "Because of unbelief," as St. Paul argues, ver. 20. "they were broken off, and thou standest by faith: Be not high minded, but fear." There will be a time, when they will be grafted in again, and again become the people of God; for as the apostle proceeds, ver. 25, 26. "I would not brethren that ye should be ignorant of this mystery (lest you should be wise in our own conceits) that blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in: and so all Israel shall be saved."

And which, think ye, is the most likely method to contribute to their conversion, which are the most natural means to reconcile them to us and our religion, prayer, argument, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness; or noise and invectives, injury and outrage, the malice of some, and the folly and madness of more? They cannot be worse than when they crucified the Son of God, and persecuted his apostles: but what saith our Saviour? Luke xxiii. 34. "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." What saith his apostle, St. Paul? Rom. x. 1. "Brethren, my heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel is, that they might be saved." In conformity to these blessed examples our church hath also taught us to pray for them: and how can prayer and persecution consist and agree together? They are only pretended friends to the church, but real enemies to religion, who encourage persecution of any kind. All true sons of the church, all true protestants, all true christians will, as the apostle adviseth, Eph. iv. 31. "put away all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamor, and evil speaking, with all malice;" and will join heart and voice in that excellent collect—*Have mercy upon all Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Heretics, and take from them all ignorance, hardness of heart and contempt of thy word; and so fetch them home, blessed Lord, to thy flock, that they may be saved among the remnant of the true Israelites, and be made one fold under one shepherd, Jesus Christ our Lord.*

IX.

The prophecies concerning NINEVEH.

AS the Jews were the peculiar people of God, the prophets were sent to them chiefly, and the main subjects of the prophecies are the various changes and revolutions in the Jewish church and state. But the spirit of prophecy is not limited there; other subjects are occasionally introduced; and for the greater manifestation of divine providence, the fate of other nations is also foretold: and especially of those nations which lay in the neighbourhood of Judea, and had intercourse and connections with the Jews; and whose good or ill fortune therefore was of some concern and consequence to the Jews themselves. But here it is greatly to be lamented, that of these eastern nations and of these early times we have very short and imperfect accounts; we have no regular histories, but only a few fragments of history, which have escaped the general shipwreck of time. If we possessed the Assyrian history, written by Abydenus, and the Chaldean by Berosus, and the Egyptian by Manetho; we might in all probability be better enabled to explain the precise meaning, and to demonstrate the exact completion of several ancient prophecies: but for want of such helps and assistances we must be glad of a little glimmering light, whenever we can see it. We see enough, however, though not to discover the beauty and exactness of each particular, yet to make us admire in general these wonders of providence, and to show that the condition of cities and kingdoms hath been such, as the prophets had long ago foretold. And we will begin with the instance of Nineveh.

Nineveh was the metropolis of the Assyrian empire, and the Assyrians were formidable enemies to the kingdoms both of Israel and Judah. In the days of Menahem, king of Israel, Pul the king of Assyria, invaded the land, and was bought off with a thousand talents of silver, 2 Kings x. 17. A few years afterwards “in the days of Pekah, king of Israel, came Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, and took several cities, and Gilead, and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali, and carried them captive

“to Assyria,” 2 Kings xv. 29. The same Tiglath-pileser was invited by Ahaz, king of Judah, to come and assist him against Rezin, king of Syria, and Pekah, king of Israel: “And Ahaz took the silver and gold that was found in the house of the Lord, and in the treasures of the king’s house, and sent it for a present to the king of Assyria,” 2 Kings xv. 8. The king of Assyria came accordingly to his assistance, and routed his enemies: but still, as another sacred writer saith, “distressed him, and strengthened him not, 2 Chron. xxviii. 20. A little after in the days of Hoshea, king of Israel, “Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria, came up throughout all the land,” and after a siege of three years “took Samaria, and carried Israel away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah, and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes,” 2 Kings xvii. 5, 6. It was “in the sixth year of Hezekiah,” king of Judah, that Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, carried Israel away captive: and “in the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah, did Sennacherib, king of Assyria, come up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them,” 2 Kings xviii. 10, 13. And the king of Assyria exacted of the king of Judah “three hundred talents of silver, and thirty talents of gold;” so that even good king Hezekiah was forced to “give him all the silver that was found in the house of the Lord, and in the treasures of the king’s house,” ver. 14, 15. Sennacherib notwithstanding sent his captains “with a great host against Jerusalem,” ver. 17. but his army was miraculously defeated, and he himself was afterwards slain at Nineveh, 2 Kings xix. 35, 36, 37. His son Esarhaddon completed the deportation of the Israelites, “and brought men from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Ava, and from Hamath, and from Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria instead of the children of Israel; and they possessed Samaria, and dwelt in the cities thereof,” 2 Kings xvii. 24. Ezra iv. 2. We see then that the Assyrians totally destroyed the kingdom of Israel, and greatly oppressed the kingdom of Judah: and no wonder therefore that they are made the subject of several prophecies.

The prophet Isaiah denounceth the judgments of God against Sennacherib in particular, and against the Assyrians in general. “O Assyrian, the rod of mine anger,” or rather, “Woe to the Assyrian, the rod of mine anger,” x. 5. God might employ them as the ministers of his wrath, and executioners of his vengeance; and so make the wickedness of some nations the means of correcting that of others: “I will find him against

“ an hypocritical nation; and against the people of my wrath
 “ will I give him a charge to take the spoil, and to take the
 “ prey, and to tread them down like the mire in the streets,”
 ver. 6. But it was far from any intent of theirs to execute the
 divine will, or to chastise the vices of mankind; they only
 meant to extend their conquests, and establish their own domi-
 nion upon the ruin of others: “ Howbeit he meaneth not so,
 “ neither doth his heart think so, but it is in his heart to de-
 “ stroy, and cut off nations not a few;” ver. 7. Wherefore
 when they shall have served the purposes of divine providence,
 they shall be severely punished for their pride and ambition,
 their tyranny and cruelty to their neighbours: “ Wherefore it
 “ shall come to pass, that when the Lord hath performed his
 “ whole work upon mount Zion, and on Jerusalem, I will pu-
 “ nish the fruit of the stout heart of the king of Assyria, and
 “ the glory of his high looks,” ver. 12. There was no pros-
 pect of such an event, while the Assyrians were in the midst of
 their successes and triumph: but still the word of the prophet
 prevailed; and it was not long after these calamities brought
 upon the Jews, of which we have given a short deduction,
 that the Assyrian empire, properly so called, was overthrown,
 and Nineveh destroyed.

Nineveh, or Ninus, as it was most usually called by the
 Greeks and Romans, was, as we said before, the capital city
 of the Assyrian empire; and the capital is frequently put for
 the whole empire, the prosperity or ruin of the one being in-
 volved in that of the other. This was a very ancient city, be-
 ing built by Asshur, or, as others say, by Nimrod; for those
 words of Moses, Gen. x. 11. which our translators, together
 with most of the ancient versions render thus, “ Out of that land
 “ went forth Asshur, and builded Nineveh;” others translate,
 as the (a) Chaldee paraphrast translates them, and as they are
 rendered in the margin of our bibles, *Out of that land he*, that
 is Nimrod, the person spoken of before, *went forth into Assyria,*
and builded Nineveh. It is well known that the word *Asshur*
 in Hebrew is the name of the country as well as the name of
 the man, and the preposition is often omitted, so that the words
 may very well be translated *he went forth into Assyria.* And
 Moses is here giving an account of the sons of Ham, and it
 may seem foreign to his subject to intermix the story of any of

(a) De terra illa egressus est in Assyriam. Onk.

the sons of Shem, as Ashur was. Moses afterwards recounts the sons of Shem, and Ashur among them; and it is presumed that he would hardly relate his actions, before he had mentioned his nativity, or even his name, contrary to the series of the genealogy, and to the order of the history. But this notwithstanding I incline to understand the text literally as it is translated, *Out of that land went forth Ashur*, being expelled thence by Nimrod, and builded *Nineveh* and other cities, in opposition to the cities which Nimrod had founded in the land of Shinar. And neither is it foreign to the subject, nor contrary to the order of the history, upon the mention of Nimrod's invading and seizing the territories of Ashur, to relate whither Ashur retreated, and where he fortified himself against him. But by whomsoever Nineveh was built, it might afterwards be greatly enlarged and improved by Ninus, and called after his name, whoever Ninus was, for that is altogether uncertain.

As it was a very ancient, so was it likewise a very great city. In *Jonah* it is called "that great city," i. 2. iii. 2. "an exceeding great city." iii. 3. In the original it is (*a*) a city great to God; in the same manner as Moses is called by St. Stephen, in the Acts of the Apostles, vii. 20. "fair to God," or "exceeding fair," as our translators rightly render it; and so "the mountains of God," Psal. xxxvi. 6. are exceeding high mountains, and "the cedars of God," Psal. lxxx. 10. are exceeding tall cedars. It was therefore *an exceeding great city*; and the scripture-account is confirmed by the testimony of heathen authors. Strabo (*b*) says, that Nineveh was much greater even than Babylon: and (*c*) Diodorus Siculus from Otesias affirms, that "his builder Ninus proposed to build a city of such magnitude, that it should not only be the greatest of the cities which were then in all the world, but that none of those who should be born after that time attempting the like should easily exceed it;" and a little after he subjoins, that "no body afterwards built such a city, either as to the greatness

(a) *Ubo magna civitas.* Sept.

(b) *U multo major erat Babylone.* Strabo. Lib. 16. P. 737. Edit. Paris. P. 1071. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

(c) *Tanta quoque molis urbem condere festinabat, ut non modicum tunc in orbe terrarum maxima existeret. sed etiam ut nullo post gentium tale quid aggressus ipsum facile superaret. A nullo enim postmodum urbe tanto ambitu spatio, tantaque magnificentia alicui extructa fuit.* Diod. Siculus. Lib. 2. P. 65. Edit. Steph. P. 91, 92. Edit. Rhod.

“ of the compass, or as to the magnificence of the walls.” It is added in *Jonah*, iii. 3. that it was (*a*) “ an exceeding great city of three days journey,” that is of three days journey in circuit, as *St. Jerome* and the best commentators expound it. *Strabo*, as it was observed before, hath said that *Nineveh* was much larger than *Babylon*; and a little afterwards he says, that (*b*) the circuit of *Babylon* was three hundred and eighty-five furlongs: but (*c*) *Diodorus Siculus* asserts that the whole circuit of *Nineveh* was four hundred and eighty furlongs; which (*d*) make somewhat more than sixty miles, and sixty miles were three days journey, twenty miles a day being the common computation of a foot-traveller. It is farther said in *Jonah* iv. 11. that in *Nineveh* “ there were more than fifty thousand persons who could not discern between their right hand, and their left hand, and also much cattle.” I think it is (*e*) generally calculated that the young children of any place are a fifth part of the inhabitants; and if we admit of that calculation, the whole number of inhabitants in *Nineveh* amounted to above six hundred thousand: which number will appear by no means incredible, if we consider the dimensions of the city as given by (*f*) *Diodorus Siculus*, that it was in length one hundred and fifty furlongs, in breadth ninety furlongs, and in circuit four hundred and eighty furlongs, that is twenty miles long, about twelve miles broad, and above sixty miles in compass. A city of such dimensions might easily contain such a number of inhabitants, and many more: and at the same time there

(*a*) *Civitas magna, et tanti ambitus; ut vix trium dierum posset itinere circumiri.* Hieron. Comment. in locum. P. 1486. Vol. III. Edit. Benedicæ.

(*b*) *Muri ambitu cccxcv stadiorum.* Strabo. *ibid.* P. 738. Edit. Paris. P. 1072. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

(*c*) *Ambitus totus stadiis cccxcv constat.* Lib. 2. P. 50. Edit. Steph. P. 92. Edit. Rhodeman.

(*d*) *Nihil circuitus stadiorum fuisse cccclxxx, id est milliarium sexaginta; que triduum iter facient, si singulorum dierum iter aestimes viginti milliaribus: quomodo defuerunt non Jurisconsulti solum, sed et Græcorum vetulissimi.* Herodotus Lib. 5. Cap. 53. *Centum et quinquaginta stadia unoquoque die peragrantibus.* *Cl* *stadia sunt viginti miliaria, &c.* Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 4. Cap. 20. Col. 252.

(*e*) Bochart. *ibid.* Col. 253. Lowth's Comment. and Calnet's.

(*f*) *Latus utrinque longius ad cl stadia excurrit; reliqua dumina, xc obtinent, &c.* Diod Sic. *ibid.*

might be, as there are in most of the great cities of the east, large vacant spaces for gardens or for pasture; so that there might be, as the sacred text asserts there was, *also much cattle*. But according to the (a) modern method of calculation, the number of the Ninevites is reduced much lower. For allowing that the number of infants was one hundred and thirty thousand, as the scripture saith that they were *more* than one hundred and twenty thousand; yet these making but three tenths of the inhabitants, the number of citizens will appear to have amounted to four hundred and twenty-three thousand. London and Paris stand not upon one quarter of the ground, and yet are supposed to contain more inhabitants; London even more than the former calculation, and Paris more than the latter; it being (b) computed that in London there are about seven hundred and twenty-five thousand nine hundred and forty-three persons, and about four hundred and thirty-seven thousand four hundred and seventy-eight in Paris.

The inhabitants of Nineveh, like those of other great cities, abounding in wealth and luxury, became very corrupt in their morals; whereupon it pleased God to commission the prophet Jonah to preach unto them the necessity of repentance, as the only means of averting their impending destruction: and such was the success of his preaching, that both the king and the people repented and turned from their evil ways, and thereby for a time delayed the execution of the divine judgments.—Who this king of Assyria was we cannot be certain, we can only make conjectures, his name not being mentioned in the book of Jonah. Archbishop Usher (c) supposeth him to have been Pul, the king of Assyria, who afterwards invade the kingdom of Israel in the days of Menahem, 2 King xv. 19. it being very agreeable to the methods of providence to make use of an heathen king who was penitent, to punish the impenitency of God's own people Israel. But it should seem more probable, that this prince was one of the kings of Assyria, before any of those who are mentioned in scripture. For Jonah is reckoned the most ancient of all the prophets usually so called, whose writings are preserved in the canon of scripture. We know that he prophesied of the restoration of the coasts of Is-

(a) Maitland's Hist. of London. Book 3. Chap. 2. P. 542.

(b) Maitland, P. 541, et 548.

(c) See Usher's Annals, A. M. 3233. P. 58. and Lowth's Comment.

rael taken by the king of Assyria, which was accomplished by Jeroboam the second, 2 Kings xiv. 25. and therefore Jonah must have lived before that time; and is with great reason supposed by Bishop Lloyd in his Chronological Tables to have prophesied at the latter end of Jehu's, or the beginning of the reign of Jehoahaz, when the kingdom of Israel was reduced very low, and greatly oppressed by Hazael, king of Syria, 2 Kings x. 32. If he prophesied at that time, there intervened Jehoahaz's reign of seventeen years, Joash's reign of sixteen years, Jeroboam's of forty and one years, Zachariah's of six months, Shallum's of one month, and Menahem was seated on the throne of Israel, before any mention is made of Pul, the king of Assyria: and therefore we may rationally conclude from the distance of time, which was above seventy years, that Jonah was not sent to Pul, the king of Assyria, but to one of his predecessors, though to whom particularly we are unable to discover, for the want before complained of, the want of Assyrian histories, which no doubt would have related so memorable a transaction.

But this repentance of the Ninevites, we may presume, was of no long continuance. For not many years after we find the prophet Nahum foretelling the total and entire destruction of the city; though there is no certainty of the time of Nahum's, any more than of Jonah's prophesying. Josephus (*a*) saith that he flourished in the time of Jotham, king of Judah, and that all the things which he foretold concerning Nineveh, came to pass one hundred and fifty years afterwards. St. Jerome (*b*) placeth him under Hezekiah, king of Judah, and saith that his name by interpretation is *a comforter*; for the ten tribes being carried away by the king of Assyria, this vision was to comfort them

(*a*) Erat autem quidem eo tempore vates, cui nomen Nahumus. Evenerunt autem omnia quæ de Nineveh prædicta sunt centum et quindecim post annos. Jos. Antiq. Lib. 9. Cap. 11. Sect. 3. P. 422. 423. Edit. Hadson.

(*b*) Naum, qui interpretatur consolator. Jam enim decem tribus ab Assyriis deductæ fuerant in captivitatem sub Ezechia rege Juda, sub quo etiam nunc in consolationem populi transmigrati, adversum Nineven visio cernitur. Nec erat parva consolatio, tam his qui jam Assyriis serviebant, quam reliquis qui sub Ezechia de tribu Juda et Benjamin ab iisdem hostibus obsidebantur; ut audirent Assyrios quoque a Chaldæis esse capiendos, sicut in consequentibus hujus libri demonstrabitur. Hieron. Prol. in Naum. P. 1558. Vol. III. Edit. Benedict.

in their captivity; nor was it a less consolation to the other two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, who remained in the land, and were besieged by the same enemies, to hear that these conquerors would in time be conquered themselves, their city be taken, and their empire overthrown. All that is said of him in scripture is "Nahum the Elkoshite," Nahum i. 1. which title in all probability was given him from the place of his nativity; and (a) St. Jérôme supposeth it to have been a village in Galilee, the ruins whereof were shewn to him, when he travelled in those parts. Now we learn from the sacred history, 2 Kings xiv. 29. that the people of "Galilee were taken by Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, and carried captive into Assyria." It is not improbable therefore, that at that time this prophet, who was a Galilean, might be instructed to foretell the fall of Nineveh: and that time coincides with the reign of Jotham, king of Judah, which is the time assigned for Nahum's prophesying by Josephus. But if Josephus was right in this particular, he was wrong in another; for more than one hundred and fifteen years intervened between the reign of Jotham, king of Judah, and the destruction of Nineveh, as it is usually computed by chronologers. There is one thing, which might greatly assist us in fixing the time of Nahum's prophesying; and that is the destruction of No-Amon or Diospolis, in Egypt, which he mentions, chap. iii. 8, &c. as a late transaction, if we could know certainly, when that destruction happened, or by whom it was effected. It is commonly attributed to Nebuchadnezzar; but that time is too late, and the destruction of No-Amon would fall out after the destruction of Nineveh instead of before it. Dr. Prideaux (b) with more reason believes, that it was effected by Sennacherib, before he marched against Jerusalem; and then Nahum's prophesying would coincide exactly with the reign of Hezekiah, which is the time assigned for it by St. Jerome.

But whenever it was that Nahum prophesied, he plainly and largely foretold the destruction of Nineveh; his whole prophecy relates to this single event; and the city was accordingly destroyed by the Medes and Babylonians. This point I think is generally agreed upon, that Nineveh was taken and destroyed by the Medes and Babylonians; these two rebelling and unit-

(a) *Elcosh usque hodie in Galilea vicinus, parvus quidem, et vix reliqua veterum aedificiorum indicans vestigia; sed tamen notus Judaeis; et mihi quoque a circumducente monstratus. Hieron. ibid. p. 1559.*

(b) *Prid. Connect. Part 1. Book 1. Anno 713. Hezek. 15.*

ing together, subverted the Assyrian empire: but authors differ much about the time when Nineveh was taken, and about the king of Assyria in whose reign it was taken, and even about the persons who had the command in this expedition. Herodotus (*a*) affirms, that it was taken by Cyaxares king of the Medes; St. Jerome after the Hebrew chronicle (*b*) asserts, that it was taken by Nabuchodonosor king of the Babylonians: but these accounts may be easily reconciled, for Cyaxares and Nabuchodonosor might take it with their joint forces, as they actually did according to that which is written in the book of Tobit, xiv. 15. if the Assuerus in Tobit be the same (as there is great reason to think him the same) with the Cyaxares of Herodotus: *But before Tobias died, he heard of the destruction of Nineveh, which was taken by Nabuchodonosor and Assuerus; and before his death he rejoiced over Nineveh.* Josephus (*c*) who saith in one place that the empire of the Assyrians was dissolved by the Medes, saith in another that the Medes and Babylonians dissolved the empire of the Assyrians. Herodotus himself (*d*) saith, that the Medes took Nineveh, and subdued the Assyrians, except the Babylonian portion; the reason of which was, the Babylonians were their allies and confederates. Ctesius, and after him (*e*) Diodorus Siculus ascribe the taking of Nineveh, and the subversion of the Assyrian empire, to Arbaces the Mede, assisted by Belshis the Babylonian. I know that (*f*) Eusebius, and after him several excellent chronologers, Usher, Prideaux,

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(*a*) Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 106. P. 45. Edit. Gale.

(*b*) Hieron. in Naum ii. 12. P. 1574. Vol. III. Edit. Benedict. Seder Olam Rabba foli Nabuchodonosoro rem attribuit, et tempus ponit. Anno primo Nabuchodonosor subegit Nineven, id est, non diu post mortem patris. Ebraicum hoc Chronicon secuti sunt S. Hiero. nymus, &c. Marshami Chron. Sæc xviii. P. 559.

(*c*) Assyriorum imperium, a Medis eversum iri contigit. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 2. Sect. 2. P. 435.—Medos et Babylonios, qui Assynorum everterant imperium. ibid. Cap. 5. Sect 1. P. 441. Edit. Hudson.

(*d*) Et Ninum expugnaverunt, Assyriosque, excepta Babylonica portione, subegerunt. Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 106. P. 45. Edit. Gale.

(*e*) Diod. Sic. Lib. 2. P. 78. Edit. Steph. P. 110. Edit. Rhod.

(*f*) Eusebius (more suo) utramque sententiam in Canonem retulit: ad mentem Ctesiae, Arbaces Medus, ait, Num. 1197. Assyriorum imperio destructo, regnum in Medos transtulit. Dein (post annos 213) ex auctoritate Herodoti. Num. 1410. Cyaxares Medes subvertit Ninum. Ita autem sunt. Marshami Chronicon. Sæc. xviii. P. 556.

and others, reckon this quite a different action, and fix it at quite a different time; but it is not likely that the same city should be twice destroyed, and the same empire twice overthrown, by the same people twice confederated together. Diodorus, who relates this catastrophe, doth not mention the other, but saith expressly, (*a*) that Arbaces distributed the citizens of Nineveh in the country villages, levelled the city with the ground, transferred many talents of gold and silver to Ecbatana the royal city of the Medes; and so, saith he, the empire of the Assyrians was subverted. If there is some difficulty in discovering the persons by whom Nineveh was taken, there is more in ascertaining the king of Assyria in whose reign it was taken, and more still in fixing the time when it was taken, scarce any two chronologers agreeing in the same date: but as these things are hardly possible to be known, so neither are they necessary to be known, with precision and exactness; and we may safely leave them among the uncertainties of ancient history and chronology.

It is sufficient for our purpose that Nineveh was taken and destroyed according to the predictions: and Nahum foretold not only the thing but also the manner of it. Herodotus promised to relate in his Assyrian history how Nineveh was taken; (*b*) the Medes took Nineveh, saith he, but how they took it I will show in another work. Again afterwards he mentions his design of writing the Assyrian history. Speaking of the kings of Babylon, he saith, (*c*) of these I shall make mention in the Assyrian history. But to our regret, this history was never finished, or is lost. More probably it was never finished, for otherwise some or other of the ancients would have mentioned it. If it had been extant with his other works, it would in all probability have been of great service in illustrating several passages in Nahum's prophecies. It is however something fortunate, that we can in some measure supply this loss out of Diodorus Siculus. Nahum prophecies, that the Assyrians should be taken while they were drunken, i. 10. "For

(*a*) Simili quoque lenitate erga cives usus, quamvis in pagos eos distraheret:—urbem autem solo æquavit. Tum argentum et aurum—(multa certe talenta erant) in Ecbatana Medorum regionem transtulit. Hoc ergo modo Assyriorem imperium—a Mediis eversum est. Diod. Sic. Lib. 2. P. 81. Edit. Steph. P. 115. Edit. Rhod.

(*b*) Et Ninum expugnaverunt: (ut autem ceperint, in aliis mox scriptis indicabo.) Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 106. P. 45. Edit. Gale.

(*c*) Quorum in exponendis rebus Assyriis mentionem faciam. Lib. 1. Cap. 184. P. 76. Edit. Gale. Vossius de Hiit. Græc. Lib. 1. Cap. 3. Fabricius Bib. Græc. Lib. 2. Cap. 20.

“ while they be falden together as thorns, and while they are
 “ drunken as drunkards, they shall be devoured as stubble full
 “ dry:” and (a) Diodorus relates, that “ it was while all the
 “ Assyrian army were feasting for their former victories, that
 “ those about Arbaces being informed by some deserters of
 “ the negligence and drunkennels in the camp of the enemies,
 “ assaulted them unexpectedly by night, and falling orderly
 “ on them disorderly, and prepared on them unprepared, be-
 “ came masters of the camp, and slew many of the soldiers,
 “ and drove the rest into the city.” Nahum foretels, ii. 6.
 that “ the gates of the rivers shall be opened, and the palace
 “ shall be dissolved:” and (b) Diodorus informs us “ that there
 “ was an old prophecy, that Nineveh should not be taken un-
 “ til the river became an enemy to the city; and in the third
 “ year of the siege, the river being swoln with continual rains
 “ overflowed part of the city, and broke down the wall for
 “ twenty furlongs; then the king thinking that the oracle was
 “ fulfilled, and the river become an enemy to the city, built
 “ a large funeral pile in the palace, and collecting together all
 “ his wealth and his concubines and eunuchs, burnt himself
 “ and the palace with them all; and the enemy entered the
 “ breach that the waters had made, and took the city.” What
 was predicted in the first chapter, ver. 8. was therefore literal-
 ly fulfilled, “ With an overrunning flood he will make an ut-

L 2

(a) Toto igitur exercitu convivii indulgente, Arbaces per transfugas de negligentia et ebrietate hostium edoctus, noctu ex improvise illos opprimit. Et quoniam compositi incompositos, parati imperatos in vadebant, facile et castra expugnant et vastam hostium stragem edunt, et reliquos in urbem compellunt. Diod. Sic. Lib. 2. P. 80. Edit. Steph. P. 112. Edit. Rhod.

(b) Atqui vaticinium a majoribus traditam habebat; a nullo capi Nium posse, nisi fluvius urbi prius hostis evaderet—Tertio demum anno accidit, ut Euphrates [Tigris] continuis imbrium gravissimorum tempestatibus excrefcens, urbes partem inundaret, et murum ad stadia xx dejiceret. Tum vero finem habere oraculum, annemque manifeste urbi hostem esse, rex judicans, spem salutis abjecit. Itac ne id hostium manus perveniret, rogam in regia ingentem extruxit; quo aurum et argentum omne, et quicquid erat regii vestimenti, congecit. Tum concubinis et eunuchis indomunculam, quam in medio pyræ extruxerat, conclusis, se regiamque cum illis omnibus incendio amsumpsit. Cujus interitum cum audissent, qui a rege defecerant, percollapsam muri partem ingressi, urbem ceperunt. Diod. Sic. Lib. 2. P. 80. Edit. Steph. P. 112. Edit. Rhod.

“ter end of the place thereof.” Nahum promises the enemy much spoil of gold and silver, ii. 9, “Take ye the spoil of silver, take the spoil of gold; for there is no end of the store, and glory out of all the pleasant furniture:” and we read in (a) Diodorus, that Arbaces carried many talents of gold and silver to Ecbatana the royal city of the Medes. According to Nahum, i. 8. iii. 15. the city was to be destroyed by fire and water; and we see in Diodorus, that by fire and water it was destroyed.

But Nahum is cited upon this occasion principally to show that he foretold the total and entire destruction of this city. “The Lord,” saith he in the first chapter, ver. 8, 9. “with an overrunning flood will make an utter end of the place thereof; he will make an utter end; affliction shall not rise up the second time.” Again in the second chapter, ver. 11, 13. “Where is the dwelling of the lions, and the feeding place of the young lions?” meaning Nineveh, whose princes ravaged like lions: “behold, I am against thee, saith the Lord of hosts, and I will cut off thy prey from the earth, and the voice of thy messengers shall no more be heard.” And again in the third and last chapter, ver. 17, 18, 19. “Thy crowned are as the locusts, and thy captains as the great grasshoppers, which camp in the hedges in the cold day; but when the sun ariseth they flee away, and their place is not known where they are, *or have been*; thy shepherds slumber, O king of Assyria; thy nobles shall dwell in the dust; thy people is scattered upon the mountains, and no man gathereth them: there is no healing of thy bruise; thy wound is grievous; all that hear the bruit of thee shall clap their hands over thee; for upon whom hath not thy wickedness passed continually?” The prophet Zephaniah likewise in the days of Josiah, king of Judah, foretold the same sad event, ii. 13, 14, 15. “The Lord will stretch out his hand against the north, and destroy Assyria, and will make Nineveh a desolation, and dry like a wilderness: and flocks shall lie down in the midst of her, all the beasts of the nations; both the cormorant and the bittern shall lodge in the upper lintels of it; their voice shall sing in the windows; desolation shall be in the thresholds; for he shall uncover the cedar work: this is the rejoicing city that dwelt carelessly, that said in her heart, I am, and there is

(a) Tum quicquid argenti aurique ex pyra restabat (multa certe talenta erant) in Ecbatana Medorum regiam transtulit. Diod. Sic. Lib. 2. P. 81. Edit. Steph. P. 115. Edit. Rhod.

“ none beside me ; how is she become a desolation, a place for
 “ beasts to lie down in ! every one that passeth by her, shall
 “ hiss and wag his head.” But what probability was there that
 the capital city of a great kingdom, a city which was sixty
 miles in compass, a city which contained so many thousand in-
 habitants, a city which had walls, according to (a) Diodorus
 Siculus, an hundred feet high, and so thick that three chariots
 could go abreast upon them, and fifteen hundred towers at pro-
 per distances in the walls, of two hundred feet in height :
 what probability was there, I say, that such a city should ever
 be totally destroyed ? and yet so totally was it destroyed, that
 the place is hardly known where it was situated.

We have seen that it was taken and destroyed by the Medes
 and Babylonians ; and what we may suppose helped to complete
 its ruin and devastation, was Nebuchadnezzar’s soon after-
 wards enlarging and beautifying of Babylon. From that time
 no mention is made of Nineveh by any of the sacred writers ;
 and the most ancient of the heathen authors, who have occasion
 to say any thing about it, speak of it as a city that was once
 great and flourishing, but now destroyed and desolate. Great
 as it was formerly, so little of it was remaining, that authors are
 not agreed even about its situation. I think we may conclude
 from the general suffrage of ancient historians and geographers,
 that it was situated upon the river Tigris ; but yet no less au-
 thors than (a) Ctesias and Diodorus Siculus represent it as situ-
 ated upon the river Euphrates. Nay, authors differ not only
 from one another, but also from themselves. For the learned
 (b) Bochart hath shown that Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus,
 and Ammianus Marcellinus, all three speak differently of it,
 sometimes as if it was situated upon the river Tigris, and some-
 times as if it was situated upon the river Euphrates. So that
 to reconcile these authors with themselves and with others, it
 is supposed by (d) Bochart that there were two Ninevehs, and

(a) Nam murus ad C pedum altitudinem exurgebat, et ad trium
 latitudinem curruum junctim agitandorum porrectus erat. Turres
 in eo MD ducentos pedes altae. Diod. Sic. Lib. 2. P. 65. Edit.
 Steph. P. 92. Edit. Rhod.

(b) Diod. Sic. ibid. et P. 80. Edit. Steph. P. 113. Edit. Rhod.

(c) Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 4. Cap. 20. Col. 248, 249.

(d) Non video hæc aliter posse conciliari, quam si dicatur du-
 plex fuisse Ninus ; una ad Euphratem in Comagena ; altera in
 Assyria trans Tigrim. &c. Bochart. ibid.

by (a) Sir Joseph Marsham that there were three; the Syrian upon the river Euphrates, the Assyrian upon the river Tigris, and a third built afterwards upon the Tigris by the Persians, who succeeded the Parthians in the empire of the east in the third century, and were subdued by the Saracens in the seventh century after Christ: but whether this later Nineveh was built in the same place as old Nineveh is a question that cannot be decided. Lucian, (b) who flourished in the second century after Christ, affirms that Nineveh was utterly perished, and there was no footstep of it remaining, nor could you tell where once it was situated: and the greater regard is to be paid to Lucian's testimony, as he was a native of Samosata, a city upon the river Euphrates, and coming from a neighbouring country he must in all likelihood have known whether there had been any remains of Nineveh or not. There is at this time a city called Mosul, situate upon the western side of the river Tygris, and on the opposite eastern shore are ruins of a great extent, which are said to be the ruins of Nineveh. Benjamin of Tudela, (c) who wrote his Itinerary in the year of Christ 1173, informs us, that there is only a bridge between Mosul and Nineveh; this latter is laid waste, yet hath it many streets and castles. But another, who wrote in 1300, asserts that Nineveh at present is totally laid waste, but by the ruins which are still to be seen there, we may firmly believe that it was one of the greatest cities in the world. The same thing is attested by later travellers, and particularly by (d) Thevenot, upon whose authority Prideaux relates, that "Mosul is situated on the west side of

(a) Est igitur (in veterim scriptis Ninus triplex, Syriaca, Assyriaca, et, Persica, &c. Marshami Chron. Sæc. xviii. P. 559.

(b) Ninus jam est everfa, ita ut ne reliquum quidem fit ejus vestigium, nec ubi olim sita fuerit, facile dixeris. Luciana vel Contemplantes, prope finem.

(c) Benjamin Tudelenfis (qui scripsit Itinerarium anno M^o 1173) Inter Almozal, ait (P. 62.) et Nineven pons tantum intercedit: Hæc devastata est: attamen multos pagos et arces habet. At vero Haiton Armenius (De Tartar. C. 11. P. 406.) (anno 1300) Ista civitas (Nineve) ad præsens est totaliter devastata. Marshami Chron. Sæc. xviii. P. 558. Sed per ea, quæ adhuc sunt apparentia in eadem, fermiter eredi potest quod fuerit una ex majoribus civitatibus hujus mundi. Idem apud Bochart. Phaleg. Lib. 4. Cap. 20. Col. 255.

(d) Thevenot's Travel's, Part 2. Book 1. Chap. 11. P. 50. Prideaux's Connect. Part 1. Book 1. Anno 612. Josiah 29.

“ the river Tigris, where was anciently only a suburb of the
 “ old Nineveh, for the city itself stood on the east side of the
 “ river, where are to be seen some of its ruins of great extent
 “ even to this day.” Tavernier likewise (a) affirms, that
 “ cross the Tigris, which hath a swift stream and whitish wa-
 “ ter, whereas Euphrates runs slow and is reddish, you come to
 “ the ancient city Nineveh, which is now an heap of rubbish
 “ only, for a league along the river, full of vaults and caverns.”
 Mr. (b) Salmon, who is an industrious collector and compiler
 from others, saith in his account of Assyria, “ In this country
 “ the famous city of Nineveh once stood, on the eastern bank
 “ of the river Tigris, opposite to the place where Mosul now
 “ stands—There is nothing now to be seen but heaps of rubbish
 “ almost a league along the river Tigris, over against Mosul,
 “ which people imagine to be the remains of this vast city.”
 But it is more than probable that these ruins are the remains of
 the Persian Nineveh, and not of the Assyrian. *Ipsæ periere
 ruinae*: Even the ruins of old Nineveh have been, as I may say,
 long ago ruined and destroyed: such an utter end hath been
 made of it, and such is the truth of the divine predictions!

This perhaps may strike us the more strongly by supposing
 only a parallel instance. Let us then suppose, that a person
 should come in the name of a prophet, preaching repentance
 to the people of this kingdom, or otherwise denouncing the
 destruction of the capital city within a few years; *with an over-
 running flood will God make an utter end of the place thereof, he
 will make an utter end; its place may be sought, but it shall ne-
 ver be found.* I presume we should look upon such a prophet
 as a madman, and show no farther attention to his message than
 to deride and despise it: and yet such an event would not be
 more strange and incredible than the destruction and devastation
 of Nineveh. For Nineveh was much the larger, and much
 the stronger, and older city of the two; and the Assyrian em-
 pire had subsisted and flourished more ages than any form of
 government in this country: so that you cannot object the in-
 stability of the eastern monarchies in this case. Let us then,
 since this event would not be more improbable and extraordi-

(a) Tavernier in Harris. Vol. II. Book 2. Chap. 4.

(b) Salmon's Modern Hist. Vol. I. Chap. 12. Present State of
 the Turkish Empire. Quarto.

nary than the other, suppose again, that things should succeed according to the prediction, the floods should arise, and the enemy should come, the city should be overflowed and broken down, be taken and pillaged, and destroyed so totally, that even the learned could not agree about the place where it was situated. What would be said or thought in such a case? Whoever of posterity should read and compare the prophecy and event together, must they not by such an illustrious instance be thoroughly convinced of the providence of God, and of the truth of his prophet, and be ready to acknowledge, *Verily this is the word that the Lord hath spoken, Verily there is a God who judgeth the earth!*

X.

The prophecies concerning BABYLON.

AFTER Nineveh was destroyed, Babylon became the queen of the east. They were both equally enemies to the people of God; the one subverted the kingdom of Israel, and the other the kingdom of Judah; the one carried away the ten tribes, and the other the two remaining tribes into captivity. No wonder therefore that there are several prophecies relating to each of these cities, and that the fate of Babylon is foretold as well as of Nineveh. As Jeremiah said, l. 17, 18. "Israel is a scattered sheep, the lions have driven him away; first the king of Assyria hath devoured him, and last this Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon hath broken his bones: therefore thus saith the Lord of hosts the God of Israel, Behold, I will punish the king of Babylon and his land, as I have punished the king of Assyria."

Babylon was a very great and a very ancient city as well as Nineveh. It is indeed generally reckoned less than Nineveh; for according to Strabo (who was cited in the last discourse) it was only three hundred and eighty-five furlongs in compass, or three hundred and sixty according to (a) Diodorus Siculus, or three hundred and sixty-eight according to Quintus Curtius: but (b) Herodotus, who was an older author than any of them, represents it of the same dimensions as Nineveh, that is four hundred and eighty furlongs or above sixty miles in compass; but the difference was, that Nineveh was constructed in the form of a parallelogram, and Babylon was an exact square, each side being one hundred and twenty furlongs in length. So that ac-

(a) CCCLX stadiorum muro urbem circumdedit. Diod. Sic. Lib. 2. P. 68. Edit. Steph. P. 95. Edit. Rhod. Totius operis ambitus ccclxviii stadia complectitur. Quint. Curt. Lib. 5. Cap. 1.

(b) Oppidum situm est in planitie ingenti, forma quadrata, magnitudine quoquo versus centenum vicenum stadiorum, in summa quadringentorum at octoginta, in circuitu quatuor laterum urbis. Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 178. P. 74. Edit. Gale.

ording to this account Babylon contained more ground in it than Nineveh did; for by multiplying the sides the one by the other, it will be found, that Nineveh contained within its walls only thirteen thousand five hundred furlongs, and that Babylon contained fourteen thousand four hundred. It was too as ancient, or more ancient than Nineveh; for in the words of Moses, speaking of Nimrod, Gen. x. 10. it was "the beginning of his kingdom," that is the first city, or the capital city in his dominions. Several heathen authors say that Semiramis, but most (as *(a)* Quintus Curtius asserts) that Belus built it: and Belus was very probably the same as Nimrod. But whoever was the first founder of this city, we may reasonably suppose that it received very great improvements afterwards, and Nebuchadnezzar particularly repaired and enlarged, and beautified it to such a degree, that he may in a manner be said to have built it; as he boasted himself, Dan. iv. 30. "Is not this great Babylon that I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?" Nor is this asserted only in scripture, but is likewise attested by heathen authors, Megasthenes, Ptolemy, and Abydenus, whose words are quoted by *(a)* Josephus and Eusebius. By one means or other Babylon became so great and famous a city as to give name to a very large empire; and it is called in scripture, Dan. iv. 30. "great Babylon; If. xiii. 19. "the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees excellency;" If. xiv. 4. "the golden city;" If. xlvii. 5. "the lady of kingdoms;" Jer. li. 13. "abundant in treasures;" Jer. li. 41. "the praise of the whole earth:" and its beauty, strength, and grandeur; its walls, temples, palaces, and hanging gardens; the banks of the river, and the artificial canals and lake made for the draining of that river in the seasons of its overflowings, are described with such pomp and magnificence by heathen authors, that it might deservedly be reputed one of the wonders of the world. The fullest and best account of these things in English is to be found in the second book of that very valuable and very useful work, Dr. Prideaux's Connection. Though Babylon was seated in a low watery plain, yet in scripture, Jer. li. 25. it is called a mountain," on account of the great height of its walls and

(a) Semiramis eam condiderat: vel, ut plerique credidere, Belus. Quint. Curt. *ibid.*

(b) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 11. Sect. 1. P. 459. Edit. Hud. Euseb. Præpar. Evan. Lib. 9. Cap. 41. P. 457. Edit. Vigeri.

towers, its palaces and temples: and (*a*) Berosus speaking of some of its buildings, saith that they appeared most like mountains. Its "gates of brass," and its "broad walls," are particularly mentioned in scripture, *Is.* xlv. 2. *Jer.* li. 58. and the city (*b*) had an hundred gates, twenty-five on each side, all made of solid brass: and its walls according to (*c*) Herodotus were three hundred and fifty feet in height, and eighty-seven in thickness, and six chariots could go abreast upon them, as (*d*) Diodorus affirms after Ctesias.

Such a city as this, one would imagine, was in no danger of being totally abandoned, and coming to nought. Such a city as this might surely with less vanity than any other, boast that she should continue for ever, if any thing human could continue for ever. So she vainly gloried, *Is.* xlvii. 7, 8. "I shall be a lady for ever; I am, and none else beside me; I shall not sit as a widow, neither shall I know the loss of children." But the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah, plainly and particularly foretold the destruction of this city. They lived during the declension of the kingdom of Judah; and as they predicted the captivity of the Jews, so they likewise foretold the downfall of their enemies: and they speak with such assurance of the event, that they describe a thing future as if it were already past. *Is.* xxi. 9. "Babylon is fallen, is fallen; and all the graven images of her gods he hath broken unto the ground." *Jer.* li. 8. "Babylon is suddenly fallen and destroyed: howl for her, take balm for her pain, if so be she may be healed." It is somewhat remarkable, that one of Isaiah's prophecies concerning Babylon is intitled, xxi. 1. "the burden of the desert of the sea," or rather "of the plain of the sea," for Babylon was seated in a plain, and surrounded by water. The propriety of the expression consists in this, not only that any large collection of waters in the oriental stile is called *a sea*, but also that the places about Babylon, as (*e*) Abydenus informs us out of Megasthenes, are said from the beginning to have been overwhelmed with waters, and to have been called *the sea*.

(*a*) Quibus speciem dedit montibus persimilem. Joseph. Antiq. ibid.

(*b*) Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 179. P. 74. Edit. Gale.

(*c*) Herod. ibid. Cap. 178. Prideaux ibid.

(*d*) Ut mænium latitudo sex juxta curribus vehendis sufficeret. Diod. Sic. Lib. 2. P. 68. Edit. Steph. P. 96. Edit. Rhod.

(*e*) Ferunt, inquit, loca hæc omnia jam inde ab initio aquis obrata fuisse, marisque nomine appellata. Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 9. Cap. 41. P. 457. Edit. Vigeri.

Cyrus, who was the conqueror of Babylon, and transferred the empire from the Babylonians to the Medes and Persians, was particularly foretold by name, *Is.* *xliv.* 28. *xlv.* 1. above an hundred years before he was born. He is honoured with the appellation of “the Lord’s anointed,” and the Lord is said to “have holden his right hand,” and to have “girded him:” *Is.* *xlv.* 1, 5. and he was raised up to be an instrument of providence for great purposes, and was certainly a person of very extraordinary endowments, though we should allow that Xenophon had a little exceeded the truth, and had drawn his portrait beyond the reality. It was promised that he should be a great conqueror, should “subdue nations before him,” *Is.* *xlv.* 1. “and “I will loose the loins of kings to open before him the two-
“leaved gates, and the gates shall not be shut:” and he subdued several kings, and took several cities, particularly Sardes and Babylon, and extended his (*a*) conquests over all Asia from the river Indus to the Ægean sea. It was promised that he should find great spoil and treasure among the conquered nations, *Is.* *xlv.* 3. “I will give thee the treasures of darkness, and hidden
“riches of secret places:” and the riches which Cyrus found in his conquests amounted to a prodigious value in (*b*) Pliny’s account; nor can we wonder at it, for those parts of Asia at that time abounded in wealth and luxury: Babylon had been heaping up treasures for many years; and the riches of Croesus, king of Lydia, whom Cyrus conquered and took prisoner, are in a manner become proverbial.

The time too of the reduction of Babylon was marked out by the prophet Jeremiah, *xxv.* 11, 12: “These nations” (that is the Jews and the neighbouring nations) “shall serve the king
“of Babylon seventy years; and it shall come to pass when
“seventy years are accomplished, that I will punish the king of
“Babylon, and that nation, saith the Lord.” This prophecy was delivered, as it appears from the first verse of the chapter, “in the fourth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah king of
“Judah, that was the first year of Nebuchadnezzar king of
“Babylon:” and from that time there were (*c*) seventy years to the taking of Babylon and the restoration of the Jews. Nebuchadnezzar had transplanted the Jews to Babylon, to people

(*a*) —*omnem Asiam ab India usque ad Ægeum mare.* Marshammi Chron. sæc. XVIII. P. 587.

(*b*) Plin. Lib. 33. Cap. 15. Edit. Harduin.

(*c*) See Prideaux and other Chronologers.

and strengthen the place, and their removal from thence must have weakened it very much; and after that it was distressed more and more, until at last it was brought to nought.

Several circumstances likewise of the siege and taking of Babylon were prefigured by the prophets. It was foretold, that God would stir up the Medes and Persians against it; "Go up O Elam," that is Persia, *Is.* xxi. 2. "besiege O Media;" and *Jer.* li. 11. "the Lord hath raised up the spirit of the kings of the Medes, for his devise is against Babylon to destroy it." And accordingly it was besieged by the united forces of the Medes and Persians under the command of Cyrus the Persian, the nephew and son-in-law of the king of the Medes. The Medes are chiefly spoken of, as they were at that time the superior people. The *Medes* is too a general name of both nations, and so it is used and applied by several Greek historians as well as by the sacred writers. *Elam* (*a*) was an old name for *Persia*, for the name *Persia* doth not appear to have been known in *Isaiah's* time; *Ezekiel* is the first who mentions it. And (*b*) *Bochart* asserts, that the *Persians* were first so named from their becoming *horsemen* in the time of *Cyrus*, the same word signifying both a Persian and a horseman. Or if by *Elam* we understand the province strictly so called, it is no less true that this also, though subject to *Babylon*, rose up against it, and upon the following occasion. *Abtradates* (*c*) was viceroy or governor of *Susa* or *Shushan*,

(*a*) *Elam est Persis, et cum Media sapius conjungitur.*—*Perfarum* nomen, ante captivitatem *Babylonicam*, obscurum fuit. *Ezechiel* primus, inter bellicosas gentes, illos recenset, (27 : 10 & 38 : 5.) quum nondum innotuerant res *Cyri*. A *Cyro* demum natione *Persa*, et victoriis inelyto, *Parfarum* gloria increbuit. *Marihami Chron. Sac.* XVIII. P. 564.

(*b*) At *Persis* ipsis nomen fuit ab equitatu, qua maxime valebant, equitare a teneris edoceri.—Qua tamen disciplina primus illos imbuunt *Cyrus*.—Itaque ex tamrepentina mutatione factum, ut hæc regi *Paras*, et incolæ *Persæ* dicerentur, id est, equites. Arabice enim *Pharas* est equus, et *Pharis* equis (ut *Hebraice* *Paras*) Porro vox eadem *Pharis* etiam *Persam* significat. Inde est, quod neque *Moses*, nec libri *Regum*, nec *Esaias* aut *Jeremias*, *Parfarum* meminerunt, neque quisquam eorum, qui vixerunt ante *Cyrum*. At in *Daniele* et *Ezechiele* *Cyro* coævis, et in libris *Paralipomenon*, et *Esdraë*, et *Nehemiæ*, et *Esther*, &c. qui post *Cyrum* scripti sunt, *Perfarum* est frequens mentio. Antea verisimile est *Hebræa*, nomina *Chut* et *Elam* magnam *Persidis* partem inclusisse. *Bocharti Phaleg. Lib.* 4. *Cap.* 10. *Col.* 224.

(*c*) *Xenophon. Cyropæd. Lib.* 4, 5, 6, 7.

and Shufhan was the capital of the province of Elam. Dan. viii. 2. His wife Panthea, a lady of exquisite beauty, happened to be taken prisoner by the Persians. Cyrus treated her with such generosity, and preserved her with such strict honour safe and inviolate for her husband, as won the heart of the prince, so that he and his forces revolted to Cyrus, and fought in his army against the Babylonians.

It was foretold, that various nations should unite against Babylon: Is. xiii. 4. "The noise of a multitude in the mountains, like as of a great people; a tumultuous noise of the kingdoms of nations gathered together; the Lord of hosts mustereth the host of the battle:" and particularly it was foretold, that *the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Ashchenaz*, that is the (a) Armenians, Phrygians, and other nations should compose part of his army. Jer. li. 27. "Set ye up a standard in the land, blow the trumpet among the nations, prepare the nations against her, call together against her the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Ashchenaz." And accordingly Cyrus's army consisted of various nations; and among them were (b) these very people, whom he had conquered before, and now obliged to attend him in this expedition.

It was foretold, that the Babylonians should be terrified, and hide themselves within their walls: Jer. li. 30. "The mighty men of Babylon have forborn to fight, they have remained in their holds, their might hath failed, they became as women." And accordingly the Babylonians, after the loss of a battle or two, never recovered their courage to face the enemy in the field again; they retired within their walls, and the (c) first time that Cyrus came with his army before the place, he could not provoke them to venture forth and try the fortune of arms, even though he sent a challenge to the king to fight a duel with him; and the (d) last time that he came, he consulted with his officers about the best method of carrying on the siege, "since, saith he, they do not come forth and fight."

It was foretold, that the river should be dried up, before the city should be taken; which was very unlikely ever to happen,

(a) Vide Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 1. Cap. 3. Col. 16. et Col. 20. Lib. 3. Cap. 9. Col. 174.

(b) Xenoph. Cyropæd. Lib. 5. P. 77. Lib. 7. P. 111. Edit. Henr. Steph. 1581.

(c) Xenoph. Cyropæd. Lib. 5. P. 75. Edit. Henr. Steph. 1581.

(d) b. I Lib. 7. Qua ad pugnandum non exeunt. P. 112.

(a) the river being more than two furlongs broad, and deeper than two men standing one upon another, so that the city was thought to be stronger and better fortified by the river than by the walls; but yet the prophets predicted that the waters should be dried up: *Is.* xliv. 27. "That saith to the deep Be dry, and " I will dry up thy rivers:" *Jer.* l. 38. " A drought is upon " her waters, and they shall be dried up:" *Jer.* li. 36. " I will " dry up her sea, and make her springs dry." And accordingly (b) Cyrus turned the course of the river Euphrates which ran through the middle of Babylon, and by means of deep trenches, and the canals, and lake before mentioned, so drained the waters that the river became easily fordable for his soldiers to enter the city; and by these means Babylon was taken, which was otherwise impregnable, and was supplied with provisions for very many years saith (c) Herodotus, for more than twenty years saith Xenophon; or (d) as Herodotus saith, if the Babylonians had but knew what the Persians were doing, by shutting the gates which opened to the river, and by standing upon the walls which were built as banks, they might have taken and destroyed the Persians as in a net or cage.

It was foretold, that the city should be taken by surprise during the time of a feast: *Jer.* l. 24. " I have laid a snare for thee, " and thou art also taken, O Babylon, and thou wast not " aware, thou art found and also caught:" *li.* 39. " In " their heat I will make their feasts, and I will make them " drunken, that they may rejoice, and sleep a perpetual sleep, " and not wake, saith the Lord:" *li.* 57. " And I will make " drunk her princes, and her wife men, her captains, and her " rulers, and her mighty men, and they shall sleep a perpetual

(a) Xenoph. *Cyropæd.* Lib. 7. — [fluminis] latitudo est plus quam ad duo stadia: et profunditas tanta ut ne duo quidem viri alter super alterum stantes supra aquam emineant. Itaque urbs validior est flumine quam muris, *ibid.*

(b) Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 191. P. 79. Edit. Gale. Xenophon *Cyropæd.* Lib. 7. P. 113. Edit. Steph.

(c) Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 190. Comportaverant per multorum annorum comæntus. P. 79. Edit. Gale. Xenoph. *Cyropæd.* Lib. 7. — ut qui res necessarias haberent plus quam viginti annorum, P. 113. Edit. Steph.

(d) Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 191. Quos Babylonii, si factum Cyri prius aut audissent aut sensissent, ingredi non permisissent, sed pessimo exitio affecissent. Nam obseratis omnibus quæ ad flumen ferunt portulis, conscensisque septis, ipsi pro ripis stantes illos progressos veluti in cavea exceperunt. *ibid.*

“ sleep, and not wake, saith the king, whose name is the Lord of “ hosts.” And accordingly the (a) city was taken in the night of a great annual festival, while the inhabitants were dancing, drinking, and revelling; and as (b) Aristotle reports, it had been taken three days, before some part of the city perceived it; but (c) Herodotus’s account is more modest and probable, that the extreme parts of the city were in the hands of the enemy before they who dwelt in the middle of it knew any thing of their danger. These were extraordinary occurrences in the taking of this city: and how could any man foresee and foretel such singular events, such remarkable circumstances, without revelation and inspiration of God?

But these events you may possibly think too remote in time to be urged in the present argument: and yet the prophecies were delivered by Isaiah and Jeremiah, and the facts are related by no less historians than Herodotus and Xenophon; and Isaiah lived above two hundred and fifty years before Herodotus, and near three hundred and fifty before Xenophon, and Jeremiah lived above one hundred and fifty years before the one, and near two hundred and fifty before the other. Cyrus took Babylon according to Prideaux in the year five hundred and thirty-nine before Christ. Isaiah prophesied “ in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah,” Is. i. 1. which was at least one hundred and sixty years before the taking of Babylon, for Hezekiah died in the year six hundred and ninety-nine before Christ. Jeremiah sent his prophecies concerning Babylon to Babylon by the hands of Seraiah “ in the fourth year of the reign of Zedekiah,” Jer. li. 59. which was fifty-six years before the taking of Babylon, for the fourth year of Zedekiah coincides with the year five hundred and ninety-five before Christ. There is therefore no room for scepticism: but if you are still disposed to doubt and hesitate, what then think you of the present condition of the place? Could the prophets, unless they were prophets indeed, have foreseen and foretold what that would be so many ages afterwards? And yet they

(a) Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 191. P. 79. Edit. Gaie. Xenoph. Cyropæd. Lib. 7. P. 113. Edit. Steph.

(b) Arist. Polit. Lib. 3. Cap. 3. Qua tertium jam diem capta, partem quandam urbis non sensitse dicunt. P. 341. Vol. II. Edit. Du Val.

(c) Herod. *ibid.* Tantaque urbis erat magnitudo, ut (quem ad modum narrant accolæ) quum capti essent qui extremas urbis partes incolebant, ii qui mediam urbem incolerent id nescirent.

have expressly foretold that it should be reduced to desolation. Isaiah is very strong and poetical: xiii. 19, &c. "Babylon the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah: It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation; neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there, neither shall the shepherds make their fold there: But wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there, and fowls shall dance there: And the wild beasts of the island shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces: and her time is near to come, and her days shall not be prolonged." Again, xiv. 22, 23, "I will rise up against them saith the Lord of hosts, and cut off from Babylon the name, and remnant, and son and nephew, (*or rather son and grandson*) saith the Lord: I will also make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water; and I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the Lord of hosts." Jeremiah speaketh much in the same strain: l. 13, 23, 39, 40. "Because of the wrath of the Lord, it shall not be inhabited, but it shall be wholly desolate; every one that goeth by Babylon shall be astonished, and hiss at all her plagues: How is the hammer of the whole earth cut asunder and broken? How is Babylon become a desolation among the nations? Therefore the wild beasts of the desert, with the wild beasts of the islands shall dwell there, and the owls shall dwell therein; and it shall be no more inhabited for ever; neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation: As God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah, and the neighbour cities thereof, saith the Lord; so no man shall abide there, neither shall any son of man dwell therein." Again, li. 13, 26, 29, 37, 42, 43. "O thou that dwellest upon many waters, abundant in treasures; thine end is come, and the measure of thy covetousness: And they shall not take of thee a stone for a corner, nor a stone for foundations; but thou shalt be desolate for ever, saith the Lord: And the land shall tremble and sorrow, for every purpose of the Lord shall be performed against Babylon, to make the land of Babylon a desolation without an inhabitant: And Babylon shall become heaps, a dwelling place for dragons, an astonishment and an hissing without an inhabitant: The sea is come up upon Babylon; she is covered with the multitude of the waves thereof: Her cities are a desola-

“ tion, a dry land and a wilderness, a land wherein no man dwel-
 “ leth, neither doth any son of man pass thereby.” We shall
 “ see how these and other prophecies have by degrees been ac-
 “ complished, for in the nature of the things they could not be
 fulfilled at once. But as the prophets often speak of things fu-
 ture, as if they were already effected; so they speak often of
 things to be brought about in process of time, as if they were to
 succeed immediately; past, present, and to come being all alike
 known to an infinite mind, and the intermediate time not re-
 vealed perhaps to the minds of the prophets.

Isaiah addresseth Babylon by the name of a *virgin*, as having
 never before been taken by an enemy: *Is.* *xlvi.* *1.* “ Come
 “ down and sit in the dust, O virgin daughter of Babylon, sit
 “ on the ground:” and (*a*) Herodotus saith expressly, that this
 was the first time that Babylon was taken. After this it never
 more recovered its ancient splendor; from an imperial, it be-
 came a tributary city; from being governed by its own kings,
 and governing strangers, it came itself to be governed by stran-
 gers; and the seat of empire being transferred to Shushan, it
 decayed by degrees, until it was reduced at last to utter defola-
 tion. Berosus in Josephus (*b*) saith, that when Cyrus had ta-
 ken Babylon, he ordered the outer walls to be pulled down,
 because the city appeared to him very factious and difficult to
 be taken. And (*c*) Xenophon informs us, that Cyrus obliged
 the Babylonians to deliver up all their arms upon pain of death,
 distributed their best houses among his officers, imposed a tri-
 bute upon them, appointed a strong garrison, and compelled the
 Babylonians to defray the charge, being desirous to keep them
 poor as the best means of keeping them obedient.

But notwithstanding these precautions, (*c*) they rebelled a-
 gainst Darius, and in order to hold out to the last extremity,
 they took all their women, and each man chusing one of them,
 out of those of his own family, whom he liked best, they stran-

(*a*) Atque ita primo capta est Babylon. Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 191. P. 79. Edit. Gale.

(*b*) — Cyrus autem Babylone capta, constitutoque exteriora ejus munimenta diruere, quod civitatem videret ad res novas mobilem, urbem vero expugnatum difficilem.—Contra Apion. Lib. 1. Sect. 22. P. 1344. Edit. Hudson.

(*c*) Xenoph. Cyropæd. Lib. 7. P. 114 et 117. Edit. Steph.

(*d*) Herod. Lib. 3. Cap. 150. &c. P. 220. Edit. Gale.

gled the rest, that unnecessary mouths might not consume their provisions. "And hereby," saith (*a*) Dr. Prideaux, was "very signally fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah against them, in which he foretold, chap. xlvii. 9. "That two things should come to them in a moment, in one day, the loss of children and widowhood, and that these shall come upon them in their perfection, for the multitude of their forceries, and the great abundance of their enchantments." And in what greater perfection could these calamities come upon them, than when they themselves thus upon themselves became the executioners of them?" Or rather, this prophecy was then fulfilled a second time, having been fulfilled before, the very night that Babylon was taken, when the Persians slew the king himself and a great number of the Babylonians. They sustained the siege and all the efforts of Darius for twenty months, and at length the city was taken by stratagem. As soon as Darius had made himself master of the place, he ordered three thousand of the principal men to be crucified, and thereby fulfilled the prophecies of the cruelty, which the Medes and Persians should use towards the Babylonians, Is. xiii. 17, 18. Jer. l. 42. and likewise demolished the wall, and took away the gates, neither of which, saith (*b*) Herodotus, had Cyrus done before. But either Herodotus, or Berofus must have been mistaken; or we must suppose that Cyrus's orders were never carried into execution; or we must understand Herodotus to speak of the inner wall, as Berofus spoke of the outer: and yet it doth not seem very credible, when the walls were of that prodigious height and thickness, that there should be an inner and an outer wall too; and much less that there should be three inner and three outer walls, as (*c*) Berofus, affirms. Herodotus (*d*) computes the height of the wall to be two hundred cubits; but later authors reckon it much lower, (*e*)

M 2

(*a*) Prid. Connect. Part 1. Book 3. Anno 517. Darius 5.

(*b*) Murus circumcidit, et portas omnes amolitus est: quorum neutrum Cyrus fecerat prius eidem a se captæ. Herod. Lib. 3. Cap. 159. P. 223. Edit. Gale.

(*c*) Ternos quidem interiori urbi, ternesque pariter exteriori murorum ambitus circumdedit. Apud Joseph. contra Apion. Lib. 1. Sect. 19. P. 1343. Edit. Hudson.

(*d*) Cubitorum ducentorum celsitudine. Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 178. P. 74. Edit. Gale.

(*e*) Altitudo muti C cubitorum eminent spatium. Quint. Curt. Lib. 5. Cap. 1.

Quintus Curtius at one hundred, (*a*) Strabo, who is a more exact writer, at fifty cubits. Herodotus describes it as it was originally; and we may conclude therefore that Darius reduced it from two hundred to fifty cubits; and by thus taking down the wall and destroying the gates, he remarkably fulfilled the prophecy of Jeremiah, li. 58. "Thus saith the Lord of hosts, The broad walls of Babylon shall be utterly broken, and her high gates shall be burnt with fire."

Xerxes (*b*) after his return from his unfortunate expedition into Greece, partly out of religious zeal being a professed enemy to image worship, and partly to reimburse himself after his immense expences, seized the sacred treasures, and plundered or destroyed the temples and idols of Babylon, and thereby accomplishing the prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah: Is. xxi. 9. "Babylon is fallen, is fallen; and all the graven images of her gods he hath broken unto the ground:" Is. xlii. 1. "Bel boweth down, Nebo stoopeth, their idols were upon the beasts, and upon the cattle, &c." Jer. l. 2. "Babylon is taken, Bel is confounded, Merodach is broken in pieces, her idols are confounded, her images are broken in pieces:" Jer. li. 44, 47, 52. "And I will punish Bel in Babylon, and I will bring forth out of his mouth that which he hath swallowed up: Therefore behold the days come, that I will do judgment upon the graven images of Babylon; and again, Wherefore behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will do judgment upon her graven images." What God declares, *I will punish Bel in Babylon, and I will bring forth that which he hath swallowed*, was also literally fulfilled, when the vessels of the house of God, which Nebuchadnezzar had brought from Jerusalem, and placed in the temple of Bel, Dan. i. 2. were restored by order of Cyrus, Ezra i. 7. and carried to Jerusalem again.

Such was the state of Babylon under the Persians. When Alexander came thither, though (*c*) Quintus Curtius says that the whole circuit of the city was three hundred and sixty-eight furlongs, yet he affirms that only for the space of ninety fur-

(*a*) *Altitudine inter turres cubitorem.* L. Strabo. Lib. 16. P. 738. Edit. Paris, P. 1072. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

(*b*) Herod. Lib. 1. C. 183. P. 76. Edit. Gale. Arrian. de Exped. Alex. L. 7. C. 17. P. 296. Edit. Gronov. Usher's Ann. A. M. 3526. P. 129. Prideaux's Connect. Part 1. B. 4. Anno 479. Xerxes 7.

(*c*) Quintus Curtius, Lib. 5. Cap. 1. *Ac ne totam quidem urbem tectis occupaverunt; per XC stadia habitatur; nec omnia continua sunt.*

longs was inhabited. The river Euphrates having been turned out of its course by Cyrus, and never afterwards restored to its former channel, all that side of the country was flooded by it. Alexander indeed (*a*) purposed to have made Babylon the seat of his empire, and actually set men to work to rebuild the temple of Belus, and to repair the banks of the river, and to bring back the waters again into the old channel: and if his designs had taken effect, how could the prophecies have been fulfilled? and what providence therefore was it, that his designs did not take effect, and that the breaches were never repaired? He met with some difficulties in the work, and death soon after put an end to this and all his other projects; and none of his successors ever attempted it: and (*b*) Seleucia being built a few years afterwards in the neighbourhood, Babylon in a little time became *wholly desolate*. Seleucia not only robbed it of its inhabitants, but even of its name, being called also (*c*) Babylon by several authors. We learn farther from a fragment of Diodorus Siculus, which is produced by Valesius, and quoted from him by (*d*) Vitringa, that a king of Parthia, or one of his peers, surpassing all the famous tyrants in cruelty, omitted no sort of punishment, but sent many of the Babylonians, and for trifling causes, into slavery, and burnt the forum and some of the temples of Babylon, and demolished the best parts of the city. This happened about one hundred and thirty years before Christ: and now let us see what account is given of Babylon by authors after that time.

(*a*) Arrian de Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. Cap. 17. P. 296. et Cap. 21. P. 303. Edit. Gronov. Hecataeus apud Joseph. contra Apion. Lib. 1. Sect. 22. P. 1348. Edit. Hudson. Strabo. Lib. 16. P. 738. Edit. Paris. P. 1073. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

(*b*) Strabo ibid. Plinii Nat. Hist. L. 6. C. 30. Edit. Harduin.

(*c*) Plin. ibid. quæ tamen Babylonia cognominatur. See Prideaux. Connect. Part 1. B. 8. Anno 293. Ptolemy Soter, 12.

(*d*) Vitring. Comment. in Iesaiam. C. 13. P. 421. V. I. Evemerus, Parthorum rex (docuit Valesius clarissime quod eruditi viri lubenter admiserunt, legendum esse Himerum, Parthorum regis satrapam, ex circumstantiis temporis historię, et collatis locis Iustini ac Athenęi) patria Hyrcanus. cunctos tyrannos acerbitate vincens, nullum sævitę genus prætermisit. Plurimos enim Babylonios levibus de causis servituti addictos, cum omni familia in Mediam distrahendos misit. Forum quoque et nonnulla delubra Babylonis igni tradidit, ac pulcherrima quęque urbis loca evertit. Accidit casus stante regno Seleucitarum, annis admodum CXXX ante Æ. V. nati Domini.

Diodorus Siculus (*a*) describes the buildings as ruined or decayed in his time, and asserts that now only a small part of the city is inhabited, the greatest part within the walls is tilled. Strabo (*b*) who wrote not long after Diodorus, saith that part of the city the Persians demolished, and part time and the neglect of the Macedonians, and especially after Seleucus Nicator had built Seleucia on the Tigris in the neighbourhood of Babylon, and he and his successors removed their court thither: and now, saith he, Seleucia is greater than Babylon, and Babylon is much deserted, so that one may apply to this what the comic poet said of Megalopolis in Arcadia, *The great city is now become a great desert*. Pliny in like manner (*c*) affirms, that it was reduced to solitude, being exhausted by the neighbourhood of Seleucia, built for that purpose by Seleucus Nicator. As Strabo compared Babylon to Megalopolis, so (*d*) Pausanias who flourished about the middle of the second century after Christ, compares Megalopolis to Babylon, and says in his Arcadics, that of Babylon, the greatest city that the sun ever saw, there is nothing now remaining but the walls. Maximus Tyrius (*e*) mentions it as lying neglected and forsaken; and (*f*) Lucian intimates, that in a little time it would be sought for and not be found, like Nineveh. Constantine the great, in an oration preserved by Eusebius, saith that he himself was upon the spot, and an eye-witness of the desolate and miserable condition of the city. In Jerome's time (who lived in the fourth

(*a*) Regiæque et alias structuras partim tempus omnino abolevit, partim corruptit. Nam et ipsius Babylonis exigua quædam portio nunc habitatur, maximaque intra muros pars agrorum cultui est exposita. Diod. Sic. Lib. 2. P. 70. Edit. Steph. P. 98. Edit. Rhod.

(*b*) — Et urbis partem Persæ diruerunt, partem tempus consumpsit et Macedonum negligentia: præsertim postquam Seleucus Nicator Seleuciam ad Tigrim condidit stadiis tantum CCC a Babylone distitam. Nam et ille et posteri omnes huic urbi maximopere studuerunt, et regiam eo transfulerunt, et nunc Babylone hæc major est, ille magna ex parte deserta, ut intrepide de ea usurpari possit, quod de Megalopoli Arcadiæ magna urbe quidam dixit Comicus:

Est magna solitudo nunc Megalopolis.

Strabo, Lib. 16. P. 738. Edit. Paris. P. 1037. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

(*c*) Cetero ad solitudinem rediit exhausta vicinitate Seleuciæ, ob id conditiæ a Nictore. Plin. Nat. Hist. L. 6. C. 30. Edit. Hard.

(*d*) Babylon omnium, quas unquam sol aspexit, urbium maxima, jam nihil præter muros reliqui habet. Pausan. L. 8. C. 33.

(*e*) Max. Tyr. Dissert. 6. prope finem.

(*f*) Haud ita multo post desideranda et ipsa, quemadmodum nunc Ninus. Lucian, sive Contemplantes prope finem.

century after Christ) it was converted into a chase to keep wild beasts within the compass of its walls for the hunting of the later kings of Persia. We have learned, (*a*) saith he, from a certain Elamite brother, who coming out of those parts, now liveth as a monk at Jerusalem, that the royal huntings are in Babylon, and wild beasts of every kind are confined within the circuit of its walls. And a little afterwards he saith, (*b*) that excepting the brick walls, which after many years are repaired for the inclosing of wild beasts, all the space within is desolation. These walls might probably be demolished by the Saracens who subverted this empire of the Persians, or they might be ruined or destroyed by time: but of this we read nothing, neither have we any account of Babylon for several hundred years afterwards, there having been such a dearth of authors during those times of ignorance.

Of later authors, the first who mentions any thing concerning Babylon, is Benjamin of Tudela, a Jew who lived in the twelfth century. In his Itinerary, which was written almost seven hundred years ago, he asserts (*c*) that ancient Babylon is now laid waste, but some ruins are still to be seen of Nebuchadnezzar's palace, and men fear to enter there on account of the serpents and scorpions which are in the midst of it. Texeira, a Portuguese, in the description of his travels from India to Italy, affirms, (*d*) that of this great and famous city there is nothing but only a few vestiges remaining, nor in the whole region is any place less frequented.

A German traveller, whose name was Rauwolf, passed that way in the year of our Lord one thousand five hun-

(*a*) Didicimus a quodam fratre Elamita, qui de illis sinibus egrediens, nunc Hierosolymis vitam exigit monachorum, venationes regias esse in Babylone; et omnes generis bestias murorum ejus tamen ambitu coerceri. Hieron. Comment. in Isai. Cap. 13. P. 111. Vol. III. Edict. Benedict.

(*b*) — exceptis enim muris coctilibus qui propter bestias concludendas post annos plurimos instaurantur, omne in medio spatium solitudo est. Id. in Cap. 14. P. 115.

(*c*) Benjamin Itin. P. 76. — eoque homines ingredi verentur, propter serpentes et scorpiones, qui sunt in medio ejus. Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 4. Cap. 15. Col. 234. Vitringa in Iesaiam. Cap. 13. P. 421. Vol. I. Prid. Connect. Part 1. Book 8. Anno 293. Ptolemy Sotor 12. Calmet's Dict. in Babylon.

(*d*) Cap. 5. Hujus nihil nisi pauca supersunt vestigia: nec in tota regione locus ullus est minus frequens. Bochart ibid. et Prid: 1

dred and seventy-four, and (*a*) his account of the ruins of this famous city is as follows. “ The village of Elugo now lieth on the place where formerly old Babylon, the metropolis of Chaldæa, was situated. The harbour is a quarter of a league’s distance from it, where people go ashore in order to proceed by land to the celebrated city of Bagdat, which is a day and a half’s journey from thence eastward on the Tigris. This country is so dry and barren, that it cannot be tilled, and so bare that I could never have believed that this powerful city, once the most stately and renowned in all the world, and situated in the pleasant and fruitful country of Shinar, could have ever stood there, if I had not known it by its situation, and many antiquities of great beauty, which are still standing hereabout in great desolation. First, by the old bridge which was laid over the Euphrates, whereof there are some pieces and arches still remaining, built of burnt brick, and so strong that it is admirable.—Just before the village of Elugo is the hill whereon the castle stood, and the ruins of its fortifications are still visible, though demolished and uninhabited. Behind it, and pretty near to it, did stand the tower of Babylon.—It is still to be seen, and is half a league in diameter; but so ruinous, so low, and so full of venomous creatures, which lodge in holes made by them in the rubbish, that no one durst approach nearer to it than within half a league, except during two months in the winter, when these animals never stir out of their holes. There is one sort particularly, which the inhabitants, in the language of the country, which is Persian, call *Eglo*, the poison whereof is very searching: they are larger than our lizards.”

A noble Roman, Petrus Vallenfis, Della Valle) was at Bagdat in the year one thousand six hundred and sixteen, and went to see the ruins as they are thought of ancient Babylon; and he informs us (*b*) that “ in the middle of a vast and level plain, about a quarter of a league from the Euphrates, which in that place runs westward, appears a heap of ruined buildings, like a huge mountain, the materials of which are so confounded together, that one knows not what to make of it.—

(*a*) Calmet’s Dict. in Babylon, and Prideaux as before, and Ray’s edition of these travels in English, Part 2, Chap. 7.

(*b*) Vid. Viaggi di Pietro della Valle, Part 2. Epist. 17. Clarici Comment. in Esaiam, C. 13. V. 20. Vitring. Comment. ib. P. 421. Vol. I. Universal History, Book 1. Chap. 2. Sect. 4. Note N.

“ Its situation and form correspond with that pyramid which
 “ Strabo calls the tower of Belus ; and is in all likelihood the
 “ tower of Nimrod in Babylon, or Babel, as that place is still
 “ called.—There appear no marks of ruins, without the com-
 “ pafs of the huge mafs, to convince one fo great a city as
 “ Babylon had ever flood there : all one discovers within fifty
 “ or fixty paces of it, being only the remains here and there of
 “ fome foundations of buildings ; and the country round about
 “ it fo flat and level, that one can hardly believe it fould be
 “ chofen for the fituation of fo great and noble a city as Baby-
 “ lon, or that there were ever any remarkable buildings on it :
 “ but for my part I am aftonifhed there appears fo much as
 “ there does, confidering it is at leaft four thousand years fince
 “ that city was built, and that Diodorus Siculus tells us, it was
 “ reduced almoft to nothing in his time.”

Tavernier, who is a very celebrated traveller, relates, (*a*) that
 “ at the parting of the Tigris, which is but a little way from
 “ Bagdat, there is the foundation of a city, which may feem
 “ to have been a large league in compafs. There are fome of
 “ the walls yet ftanding, upon which fix coaches may go
 “ abreaft : they are made of burnt brick, ten foot fquare, and
 “ three thick. The chronicles of the country fay here flood
 “ the ancient Babylon.” Tavernier, no doubt, faw the fame
 ruins, as Benjamin the Jew, and Rauwolf, and Peter della
 Valle did ; but he thought them not to be the ruins of Nebu-
 chadnezzar’s palace or the tower of Babel. He adopts the opi-
 nion of the Arabs, and conceives them to be the remains of
 fome tower built by one of their princes for a beacon to afsem-
 ble his fubjects in time of war : and this in all probability was
 the truth of the matter.

Mr. (*b*) Salmon’s obfervation is juft and pertinent : “ What
 “ is as ftrange as any thing that is related of Babylon is, that
 “ we cannot learn either by ancient writers or modern travel-
 “ lers, where this famous city flood, only in general that it was
 “ fituated in the province of Chaldæa, upon the river Euphra-
 “ tes, confiderably above the place where it is united with the
 “ Tigris. Travellers have gueffed from the great ruins they
 “ have difcovered in feveral parts of this country, that in this

(*a*) Tavernier in Harris, Vol. II. Book 2. Chap. 5.

(*b*) Salmon’s Modern Hift. Vol. I. Prefent State of the Turk-
 ifh Empire, Chap. 11.

“ or that place Babylon once stood: but when we come to examine nicely the places they mention, we only learn that they are certainly in the wrong, and have mistaken the ruins of Seleucia, or some other great town.”

Mr. (a) Hanway, going to give an account of the siege of Bagdat by Nadir Shah, preface it in this manner. “ Before we enter upon any circumstance relating to the siege of Bagdat, it may afford some light to the subject, to give a short account of this famous city, in the neighbourhood of which formerly stood the metropolis of one of the most ancient and most potent monarchies in the world. The place is generally called Bagdat or Bagdad, though some writers preserve the ancient name of Babylon. The reason of thus confounding these two cities is, that the Tigris and Euphrates, forming one common stream before they disembogue into the Persian gulf, are not unfrequently mentioned as one and the same river. It is certain that the present Bagdat is situated on the Tigris, but the ancient Babylon, according to all historians, sacred and profane, was on the Euphrates. The ruins of the latter, which geographical writers place about fifteen leagues to the south of Bagdat, are now so much effaced, that there are hardly any vestiges of them to point out the situation. In the time of the emperor Theodosius, there was only a great park remaining, in which the kings of Persia bred wild beasts for the amusement of hunting.”

By these accounts we see, how punctually time hath fulfilled the predictions of the prophets concerning Babylon. When it was converted into a chase for wild beasts to feed and breed there, then were exactly accomplished the words of the prophets, that *the wild beasts of the desert, with the wild beasts of the islands, should dwell there, and cry in their desolate houses.* One part of the country was overflowed by the river's having been turned out of its course and never restored again to its former channel, and thence became boggy and marshy, so that it might literally be said to be a *possession for the bittern and pools of water.* Another part is described as dry and naked, and barren of every thing, so that thereby was also fulfilled another prophecy, which seemed in some measure to contradict the former, *Her cities are a desolation, a dry land and a wilderness, a land wherein no man dwelleth, neither doth any son of man pass thereby.* The place thereabout is represented as over-

(a) Hanway's Travels, Vol. IV. Part. 3. Chap. 10. P. 78.

run with serpents, scorpions, and all sorts of venomous and unclean creatures, so that *their houses are full of doleful creatures, and dragons cry in their pleasant palaces; and Babylon is become heaps, a dwelling place for dragons, an astonishment and an hissing, without an inhabitant!* For all these reasons *neither can the Arabian pitch his tent there, neither can the shepherds make their folds there.* And when we find that modern travellers cannot now certainly discover the spot of ground whereon this renowned city once was situated, we may very properly say, *How is Babylon become a desolation among the nations? Every purpose of the Lord hath he performed against Babylon, to make the land of Babylon a desolation without an inhabitant:* and the expression is no less true than sublime, that *the Lord of hosts hath swept it with the besom of destruction.*

How wonderful are such predictions, compared with the events! and what a convincing argument of the truth and divinity of the holy scriptures! Well might God alledge this as a memorable instance of his prescience, and challenge all the false gods, and their votaries, to produce the like. II. xlv. 21. xlvi. 10. "Who hath declared this from ancient time? who hath told it from that time? have not I the Lord? and there is no God else beside me, a just God and a Saviour, there is none beside me; Declaring the end from the beginning, and from ancient times the things that are not yet done, saying, My counsel shall stand, and I will do all my pleasure." And indeed where can you find a similar instance but in scripture, from the beginning of the world to this day?

At the same time it must afford all readers of an exalted taste and generous sentiments, all the friends and lovers of liberty, a very sensible pleasure to hear the prophets exulting over such tyrants and oppressors as the kings of Assyria. In the 14th chapter of Isaiah there is an Epinikion, or a triumphant ode upon the fall of Babylon. It represents the infernal mansions as moved, and the ghosts of deceased tyrants as rising to meet the king of Babylon, and congratulate his coming among them. It is really admirable for the severest strokes of irony, as well as for the sublimest strains of poetry. The Greek poet (a) Al-

(a) Hor. Od. II. XIII. 26.

Et te sonantem plenius aureo,

Alcæe, plectro, &c.

Quintil. Instit. Orat. Lib. 1. Cap. 1. Alcæus in parte operis aureo plectro merito donatur, qua tyrannos insectatur, &c.

cæus, who is celebrated for his hatred to tyrants, and whose odes were animated with the spirit of liberty no less than with the spirit of poetry, we may presume to say, never wrote any thing comparable to it. The late worthy professor of poetry at Oxford hath eminently distinguished it in (*a*) his lectures upon the sacred poesy of the Hebrews, and hath given it the character that it justly deserves, of one of the most spirited, most sublime, and most perfect compositions of the lyric kind, superior to any of the productions of Greece or Rome; and he hath not only illustrated it with an useful commentary, but hath also copied the beauties of the great original in an excellent Latin Alcaic ode, which if the learned reader hath not yet seen, he will be not a little pleased with the perusal of it. Another excellent hand, Mr. Mason, hath likewise imitated it in an English ode, with which I hope he will (*b*) one time or other oblige the public.

But not only in this particular, but in the general the scriptures, though often perverted to the purposes of tyranny, are yet in their own nature calculated to promote the civil as well as the religious liberties of mankind. True religion, and virtue, and liberty, are more nearly related, and more intimately connected with each other, than people commonly consider. It is very true, as St. Paul saith, 2 Cor. iii. 17. that “spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty:” or, as our Saviour himself expresseth it, John viii. 31, 32. “If ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed; And ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make ye free.”

(*a*) Lowth Prælec. XIII. P. 120, &c.—*viget per totem spiritus liber excelsus, vereque divinus; neque deest quidquam ad summum hujusce Odæ sublimitatem absoluta pulchritudine cumulanda: cui, ut plane dicam quod sentio, nihil habet Græca aut Romana poesis simile aut secundem.* Prælec. XXVIII. P. 277, &c.

(*b*) Mr. Mason hath since published this, with some other Odes, in 1756.

XI.

The prophecies concerning TYRE.

ANOTHER city that was an enemy to the Jews, and another memorable instance of the truth of prophecy, is Tyre, whose fall was predicted by the prophets, and particularly by Isaiah and Ezekiel. But it hath been questioned among learned men, which of the Tyres was the subject of these prophecies, whether Palætyrus or old Tyre that was seated on the continent, or new Tyre that was built in an island almost over against it. The truest and best answer I conceive to be, that the prophecies appertain to both, some expressions being applicable only to the former, and others only to the latter. In one place, Ezek. xxvii. 3. it is described as "situate at the entry of the sea;" in others, ver. 4. and 25. as "in the midst of the seas," or according to the original, in the heart of the "seas." Sometimes, Ezek. xxvi. 7, &c. it is represented as besieged "with horses and with chariots; a fort, a mount, and engines of war are set against it:" at other times, II. xxiii. 2, 4, 6. it is expressly called "an island," and "the sea, even the strength of the sea." Now it is said, Ezek. xxvii. 10. "By reason of the abundance of his horses, their dust shall cover thee, thy walls shall shake at the noise of the horsemen, and of the wheels, and of the chariots when he shall enter into thy gates, as men enter into a city wherein is made a breach." Then it is said, ver. 12. "They shall break down thy walls, and destroy thy pleasant houses, and they shall lay thy stones and thy timber, and thy dust in the midst of the water;" and again, Ezek. xxviii. 8. "They shall bring thee down to the pit, and thou shalt die the deaths of them that are slain in the midst of the seas." The insular Tyre therefore, as well as the Tyre upon the continent, is included in these prophecies; they are both comprehended under the same name, and both spoken of as one and the same city, part built on the continent, and part on an island adjoining. It is commonly said indeed, that when old Tyre was closely besieged, and was nearly falling into the hands of the Chaldeans, then the Tyrians fled from thence, and built new Tyre in the

island: but the learned (*a*) Vitringa hath proved at large from good authorities, that new Tyre was founded several ages before, and was the station for ships, and considered as part of old Tyre; and (*b*) Pliny speaking of the compass of the city, reckons both the old and the new together.

Whenever the prophets denounce the downfall and desolation of a city or kingdom, they usually describe, by way of a contrast, its present flourishing condition, to show in a stronger point of view how providence shifteth and changeth the scene, and ordereth and disposeth all events. The prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel observe the same method with regard to Tyre. Isaiah speaketh of it as a place of great antiquity, xxiii. 7. "Is this your joyous city, whose antiquity is of ancient days?" And it is mentioned as a strong place as early as in the days of Joshua, Josh. xix. 29. "the strong city Tyre," for there is no reason for supposing with (*c*) Sir John Marsham, that the name is used here by way of *prolepsis* or anticipation. Nay, there are even heathen authors, who speak of the insular Tyre, and yet extol the great antiquity of the place. The (*d*) Greek geographer Strabo saith, that after Sidon the greatest and most ancient city of the Phœnicians is Tyre, which is a rival to Sidon in greatness, and lustre, and antiquity. The (*e*) Roman historian Quintus Curtius saith, that it is a city remarkable to posterity both for the antiquity of its origin, and for its frequent change of fortune. Herodotus (*f*) who was himself at Tyre, and inquired into the antiquity of the temple of Hercules, was informed by the priests, that the temple was built at the same time as the city, and from the building of the city they counted two thousand and three hundred years. The ironical expression of the prophet, *Is this your joyous city whose antiquity is of an-*

(*a*) Vitring. Comment. in Iesaiam. Cap. 23. Vol. I. P. 667—671.

(*b*) Circuitus XIX mill. passuum est, intra Palætyro inclusa. Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 5. Cap. 17. Edit. Harduin.

(*c*) Marsham Chron. Sæc. 11. P. 290. Nomen id per prolepsin usurpatur, &c.

(*d*) Post Sidonem maxima et antiquissima Phœnicum est Tyrus, cum Sidonet et magnitudine et forma et antiquitate comparanda. Strabo Lib. 16. P. 756. Edit. Paris. P. 1007. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

(*e*) Urbes et vetustate vereginis ec crebra fortunæ varietate ad memoriam pestiferitatis insignis. Quint. Curt. Lib. 4. Cap. 4.

(*f*) Quippe dicentes ab urbe condita fuisse dei templum pariter extractum: esse autem a Tyre condita annorum duo millia ac trecentos. Herod. Lib. 2. Cap. 44. P. 107. Edit. Gale.

cient days? implies that the Tyrians were apt to boast of their antiquity: and by this account of Herodotus it appears that they did so, and much exceeded the truth: but there could have been no pretence of their boasting of thousands of years, if the city had not been built, as some contend, till after the destruction of the old city by the Chaldæans, that is not one hundred and thirty years before. Josephus (*a*) asserts, that from the building of Tyre to the building of Solomon's temple were two hundred and forty years: but he is, with reason (*b*) supposed to speak of the insular Tyre; for the other part of the city on the continent was much older, was a strong place, as we have seen, in the days of Joshua, and is mentioned in the fragments of (*c*) Sanchoniathon, the Phœnician historian, who is (*d*) reckoned to have lived about the time of Gideon, (*e*) or somewhat later.

But ancient as this city was, it was "the daughter of Sidon," as it is called by the prophet Isaiah, xxiii. 12. and ver. 2. "the merchants of Sidon, who pass over the sea, replenished it." *Sidon* was the eldest son of Canaan, Gen. x. 15. and the city of *Sidon* is mentioned by the patriarch Jacob, Gen. xlix. 13. and in the days of Joshua it is called "great Sidon," Josh. xi. 8. and in the days of the Judges the inhabitants of Laish are said, Judg. xviii. 7. to have "dwelt careless and secure after the manner of the Sidonians." We have seen already that Strabo affirms, that *after Sidon*, Tyre was the greatest and most ancient city of the Phœnicians; and he (*f*) asserts likewise, that the poets have celebrated Sidon more, and Homer hath not so much as mentioned Tyre, though he commends Sidon and the Sidonians in several places. It may be therefore with reason inferred, that Sidon was the more ancient: and (*g*) Justin, the epitomizer

(*a*) A Tyri autem coditu usque ad exstructionem templi elapsa sunt anni quadriginta et ducenti. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 8. Cap. 3. Lect. 1. P. 341. Edit. Hudson.

(*b*) Vide Vitring. *ibid.* P. 669.

(*c*) Apud. Euseb. Præpar. Evang. Lib. 1. Cap. 10. P. 35. Edit. Vigeri.

(*d*) Itaque commode regicitur in Gideonis tempora, &c. Bochart. Chanaan. Lib. 2. Chap. 17. Col. 776.

(*e*) Stillingfleet's *Origines Sacræ*. B. 1. Chap. 2.

(*f*) Poetæ quidem magis Sidonem celebrant, atqui adeo Homerus Tyri non meminit. Strabo *ibid.* P. 1097.

(*g*) Post multos deinde annos a rege Ascalionorum expugnati, navibus appulsi Tyron urbem—condidarunt. Justin. Lib. 18. Cap. 1. Sect. 5. P. 362. Edit. Grævii.

of Trogus, hath expressly informed us, that the Sidonians being besieged by the king of Ascalon, went in ships and built Tyre. But though Tyre was the daughter of Sidon, yet the daughter soon equalled, and in time excelled the mother, and became the most celebrated place in the world for its trade and navigation, the seat of commerce and the centre of riches, and is therefore called by Isaiah, xxiii. 3, 8. "a mart of nations, the crowning city, whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the honorable of the earth:" and Ezekiel, as it were commenting upon those words of Isaiah, *a mart of nations*, chap. xxvii. recounts the various nations, whose commodities were brought to Tyre, and were bought and sold by the Tyrians.

It was in this wealthy and flourishing condition, when the prophets foretold its destruction, Isaiah one hundred and twenty-five years at least before it was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar. An extensive and beneficial trade soon produces luxury and pride. So it fared with the Tyrians; and for these and their other vices, as well as for their insults and injuries done to the Jews, the prophets prophesied against them. Isaiah mentions their pride as the great occasion of their fall, xxiii. 9. "The Lord of hosts hath purposed it, to stain the pride of all glory, and to bring into contempt all the honorable of the earth," Ezekiel xxvii. 3, &c. describes at large their luxury even in their shipping. Cleopatra's sailing down the river Cydnos to meet her gallant, Anthony, was not with greater finery and magnificence; nor have (a) the historians and poets painted the one in more lively colours, than the prophet hath the other. He censures likewise the pride of the king of Tyre in arrogating to himself divine honors, xxviii. 2, &c. "Son of man, say unto the prince of Tyrus, Thus saith the Lord God, Because thine heart is lifted up, and thou hast said, I am a God, I sit in the seat of God, in the midst of the seas; yet thou art a man, and not God, though thou set thine heart as the heart of God:—With thy wisdom and with thine understanding thou hast gotten thee riches, and hast gotten gold and silver into thy treasures:" "By thy great wisdom and by thy traffick hast thou increased thy riches, and thine heart is lifted up because of thine riches; Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Because thou hast set thine heart as the heart of God; Behold therefore I will

(a) Plutarch. in Antonio. P. 913. Vol. I. Edit. Paris. Shakspear. Dryden.

“ bring strangers upon thee, the terrible of the nations; and
 “ they shall draw their swords against the beauty of thy wis-
 “ dom, and they shall defile thy brightness: They shall bring
 “ thee down to the pit, and though shalt die the deaths of them
 “ that are slain in the midst of the seas.” The prophets Joel
 and Amos had before denounced the divine judgments upon
 the Tyrians for their wickedness in general, and in particular
 for their cruelty to the children of Israel, and for buying and
 selling them like cattle in the markets. Thus saith the Lord
 by the prophet Joel, iii. 5, &c. “ Because ye have taken my
 “ silver and my gold, and have carried into your temples my
 “ goodly pleasant things: The children also of Judah, and the
 “ children of Jerusalem have ye sold unto the Grecians, that
 “ ye might remove them far from their border: Behold, I
 “ will raise them out of the place whither ye have sold them,
 “ and will return your recompence upon your own head.”
 Amos speaketh to the same purpose, i. 9. “ Thus saith the
 “ Lord, For three transgressions of Tyrus, and for four I will
 “ not turn away the punishment thereof; because they deliver-
 “ ed up the whole captivity to Edom, and remembered not
 “ the brotherly covenant,” that is, the league and alliance be-
 tween *Hiram* king of Tyre on one part, and David and Solo-
 mon on the other. The Psalmist reckons them among the
 most inveterate and implacable enemies of the Jewish name
 and nation, Psa. lxxxiii. 6, 7. “ The tabernacles of Edom, and
 “ the Ishmaelites of Moab, and the Hagarenes, Gebal, and
 “ Ammon, and Amelek, the Philistines, with the inhabitants
 “ of Tyre.” Ezekiel also begins his prophecy against them
 with a declaration, that it was occasioned by their insulting
 over the Jews upon the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar,
 xxvi. 2, 3. “ Son of man, Because that Tyrus hath said
 “ against Jerusalem, Aha, she is broken that was the gates of
 “ the people; she is turned unto me, I shall be replenished,
 “ now she is laid waste: Therefore, thus saith the Lord God,
 “ Behold, I am against thee, O Tyrus, and will cause many
 “ nations to come up against thee, as the sea causeth his waves
 “ to come up.”

These were the occasions of the prophecies against Tyre:
 and by carefully considering and comparing the prophecies to-
 gether, we shall find the following particulars included in them;
 that the city was to be taken and destroyed by the Chaldeans,
 who were at the time of the delivery of the prophecy an incon-

siderable people, and particularly by Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon; that the inhabitants should fly over the Mediterranean into the islands and countries adjoining, and even there should not find a quiet settlement; that the city should be restored after seventy years, and return to her gain and merchandize; that it should be taken and destroyed again; that the people should in time forsake their idolatry, and become converts to the true religion and worship of God; and finally that the city should be totally destroyed, and become a place only for fishers to spread their nets upon. We shall find these particulars to be not only distinctly foretold, but likewise exactly fulfilled.

I. The city was to be taken and destroyed by the Chaldæans, who were at the time of the delivery of the prophecy an inconsiderable people. This, we think, is sufficiently implied in these words of the prophet Isaiah, xxiii. 13. "Behold, the land of the Chaldæans; this people was not till the Assyrian founded it for them that dwell in the wilderness, they set up the towers thereof, they raised up the palaces thereof; and he brought it to ruin." *Behold*, an exclamation to show that he is going to utter something new and extraordinary; *the land of the Chaldæans*; that is Babylon, and the country about Babylon; *this people was not*, was of no note or eminence, *till the Assyrian founded it for them that dwell in the wilderness*, they dwelt there in tents, and led a wandering life in the wilderness, till the Assyrians built Babylon for their reception. Babel or Babylon was first built by the children of men after the flood. After the dispersion of mankind, Nimrod made it the capital of his kingdom. With Nimrod, it sunk again, till the Assyrians rebuilt it for the purposes herein mentioned; *they set up the towers thereof, they raised up the palaces thereof*; and Herodotus, Ctesias, and other ancient historians agree that the kings of Assyria fortified and beautified Babylon; *and he*, that is, *this people* mentioned before, the Chaldæans or Babylonians, *brought it to ruin*, that is, Tyre, which is the subject of the whole prophecy. The Assyrians were at that time the great monarchs of the east; the Chaldæans were their slaves and subjects; and therefore it is the more extraordinary, that the prophet should so many years beforehand foresee the successes and conquests of the Chaldæans.

Ezekiel lived nearer the time, and he declares expressly, that the city should be taken and destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar king

of Babylon; xxvi. 7—11. “ Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I will bring upon Tyrus, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, a king of kings from the north, with hortes, and with chariots, and with horsemen, and companies, and much people;—he shall slay thy people by the sword, and thy strong garrisons shall go down to the ground.” Salmanser, king of Assyria (*a*) had besieged Tyre, but without success; the Tyrians had, with a few ships, beaten his large fleet; but yet Nebuchadnezzar should prevail. Ezekiel not only foretold the siege, but mentions it afterwards as a past transaction, xxix. 18. “ Son of man, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon caused his army to serve a great service against Tyrus; every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled.”

Menander the Ephesian translated the Phœnician annals into Greek; and (*b*) Josephus asserts upon their authority, that Nebuchadnezzar besieged Tyre thirteen years when Ithobal was king there, and began the siege in the seventh year of Ithobal's reign, and that he subdued Syria, and all Phœnicia. The same (*c*) historian likewise observes, that Philostratus, in his Indian and Phœnician histories, affirms, that this king, Nebuchadnezzar, besieged Tyre thirteen years, Ithobal reigning at that time in Tyre. The siege continuing so long, the soldiers must needs endure many hardships, so that hereby we better understand the justness of Ezekiel's expression, that *Nebuchadnezzar caused his army to serve a great service against Tyrus; every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled*; such light doth profane history cast upon sacred. It farther appears from the Phœnician annals quoted by the same (*d*) historian, that the Tyrians received their kings afterwards from Babylon, which plainly evinces that some of the blood royal must have been carried captives thither. The Phœnician annals too, as Dr. (*e*) Prideaux hath clearly shown, agree exactly with Ezekiel's account of the time and year, wherein the city was taken.

N 2

(*a*) Annales Menandri apud Josephum, Antiq. Lib. 9. Cap. 14. Sect. 2. P. 428. Edit. Hudson.

(*b*) Joseph. contra Apion. Lib. 1. Sect. 20. et 21. Edit. Hudson.

(*c*) Philostratus tam in Indicis ejus quam Phœniciis historiis, quod hic rex tradecim annos Tyrum oppugnaverit, cum illo tempore Ithobalus in Tyro regnaret. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 11. Sect. 1. P. 460. Edit. Hudson.

(*d*) Joseph. contra Apion. Lib. 1. Sect. 21. P. 1344. Edit. Hudson.

(*e*) Prideaux Connect. Part 1. Book 2. Anno 573. Nebuchadnezzar 32.

Tyre therefore, according to the prophecies, was subdued and taken by Nebuchadnezzar and the Chaldæans: and after this we hear little more of that part of the city which stood upon the continent. It is some satisfaction that we are able to produce such authorities as we have produced, out of heathen historians for transactions of such remote antiquity.

II. The inhabitants should pass over the Mediterranean into the islands and countries adjoining, and even there should find no quiet settlement. This is plainly signified by Isaiah, xxiii. 6. "Pass ye over to Tarshish," that is, to Tartessus, in Spain: "howl ye inhabitants of the isle." And again, ver. 12. "Arise, pass over to Chittim," that is, the islands and countries bordering upon the Mediterranean: "there also shalt thou have no rest." What the prophet delivers by way of advice, is to be understood as a prediction. Ezekiel intimates the same thing, xxvi. 18. "The isles that are in the sea shall be troubled at thy departure." It is well known that the Phœnicians were the best navigators of antiquity, and sent forth colonies into several parts of the world. A great scholar of the last century hath written a whole (*a*) treatise of the colonies of the Phœnicians, a work (as indeed all his are) of immense learning and erudition. And of all the Phœnicians, the Tyrians were the most celebrated for their shipping and colonies. Tyre exceeded Sidon in this respect, as (*b*) Strabo testifies, and sent forth colonies into Africa and Spain, unto and beyond the pillars of Hercules: and (*c*) Quintus Curtius saith, that her colonies were diffused almost over the whole world. The Tyrians therefore having planted colonies at Tarshish and upon the coasts of Chittim, it was natural for them, when they were pressed with dangers and difficulties at home, to fly to their friends and countrymen abroad for refuge and protection. That they really did so, St. Jerome asserts upon the authority of Assyrian histories, which are now lost and perished. "We have read, (*d*) saith he, in the histories of the Assyrians, that

(*a*) Bocharti Chanaan.

(*b*) Colonizæ tamen in Africam et Hispaniam usque ad loca extra columnas deductæ, Tyrum plurimum celebraverunt. Strabo. Lib. 16. P. 1097.

(*c*) Colinzæ certe ejus pene orbe toto diffusæ sunt. Quint. Curt. Lib. 4. Cap. 4.

(*d*) Legimus in Historiis Assyriorum, obsessos Tyrios, postquam nullam spem evadenti videbant, conscensis navibus fugisse Carthaginem, seu ad alias Ionii Ægeique maris insulas. Hieron. in Is. 23. 6. P. 144. Vol. Edit. Benedict.

“ when the Tyrians were besieged, after they saw no hope of
 “ escaping, they went on board their ships, and fled to Carthage,
 “ or to some islands of the Ionian and Ægean seas.” And in
 another place he (a) saith, “ that when the Tyrians saw that the
 “ works for carrying on the siege were perfected, and the founda-
 “ tions of the walls were shaken by the battering of the
 “ rams, whatsoever precious things in gold, silver, clothes, and
 “ various kinds of furniture the nobility had, they put them on
 “ board their ships, and carried to the islands; so that the city
 “ being taken, Nebuchadnezzar found nothing worthy of his
 “ labour.” It must have been grievous to Nebuchadnezzar, af-
 ter so long and laborious a siege, to be disappointed of the spoil
 of so rich a city; and therefore Ezekiel was commissioned to
 promise him the conquest of Egypt for his reward; xxix. 18,
 19. “ Son of man, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon caused
 “ his army to serve a great service against Tyrus: every head
 “ was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled: yet had he
 “ no wages, nor his army, for Tyrus, for the service that he
 “ had served against it. Therefore thus saith the Lord God,
 “ Behold, I will give the land of Egypt unto Nebuchadnezzar
 “ king of Babylon, and he shall take her multitude, and take
 “ her spoil, and take her prey, and it shall be the wages for his
 “ army.”

But though the Tyrians should pass over to Tarshish and to
 Chittim, yet even there they should find no quiet settlement,
there also shalt thou have no rest. Megasthenes, (b) who lived
 about three hundred years before Christ, and was employed by
 Seleucus Nicator in an embassy to the king of India, wrote af-
 terwards a history of India, wherein he mentioned Nebuchadne-
 zezzar with great honor. This historian is quoted by several
 ancient authors, and he is cited particularly by (c) Strabo, Jo-

(a) Quod quum viderant Tyrii jam jamque perfectum, et per-
 cussione arietum marorum fundamenta quarterentur, quicquid pre-
 ciosum in auro, argento vestibusque, et varia supellectili nobilitas
 habuit, impositum navibus ad insulas asportavit; ita ut capta urbe,
 nihil dignum labore suo inveniret Nabuchodonosor. Idem in Ezek.
 Cap. 29. P. 909.

(b) Arrian. de Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. Cap. 6. P. 203. Ejusdem
 Hist. Ind. Cap. 5. P. 318. Edit. Gronov. Voss. de Hist. Græc.
 Lib. 1. Cap. 11. Prid. Connect. Part 1. B. 8. Anno 298. Ptolemy
 Soter. 7.

(c) Strabo. Lib. 15. P. 687. Edit. Paris. P. 1001. Edit. Amstel.
 1707. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 11. Sect. 1. P. 460. Contra
 Apion Lib. 1. Sect. 20. P. 1343. Edit. Hudson. Euseb. Præpar.
 Evang. Lib. 9. Cap. 41. P. 456. Edit. Vigeri.

sephus, and Abydenus in Eusebius, for saying that Nebuchadnezzar surpassed Hercules in bravery and great exploits, that he subdued great part of Africa and Spain, and proceeded as far as to the pillars of Hercules. After Nebuchadnezzar had subdued Tyre and Egypt, we may suppose that he carried his arms farther westward: and if he proceeded so far as Megasthenes reports, the Tyrians might well be said to *have no rest*, their conqueror pursuing them from one country to another. But besides this, and after this, the Carthaginians and other colonies of the Tyrians lived in a very unsettled state. Their history is made up of little but wars and tumults, even before their three fatal wars with the Romans, in every one of which their affairs grew worse and worse. Sicily and Spain, Europe and Africa, the land and their own element the sea, were theatres of their calamities and miseries; till at last not only the new, but old Carthage too was utterly destroyed. As the Carthaginians sprung from the Tyrians, and the Tyrians from the Sidonians, and Sidon was the first-born of Canaan, Gen. x. 15. so the curse upon Canaan seemeth to have pursued them to the most distant parts of the earth.

III. The city should be restored after seventy years, and return to her gain and her merchandise. This circumstance is expressly foretold by Isaiah, xxiii. 15, 16, 17. "And it shall come to pass in that day, that Tyre shall be forgotten seventy years, according to the days of one king," or kingdom, meaning the Babylonian, which was to continue seventy years: "After the end of seventy years shall Tyre sing as an harlot. Take an harp, go about the city, thou harlot that hast been forgotten, make sweet melody, sing many songs, that thou mayest be remembered. And it shall come to pass after the end of seventy years, that the Lord will visit Tyre, and she shall turn to her hire, and shall commit fornication with all the kingdoms of the world upon the face of the earth." Tyre is represented as a harlot, and from thence these figures are borrowed, the plain meaning of which is, that she should lie neglected of traders and merchants for seventy years, as long as the Babylonian empire lasted, and after that she should recover her liberties and her trade, and draw in several of all nations to deal with her, and particularly the kings of the earth, to buy her purples, which were worn chiefly by emperors and kings, and for which Tyre was famous above all places in the world.

Seventy years was the time prefixed for the duration of the Babylonian empire. So long the nations were to groan under that tyrannical yoke, though these nations were subdued sooner, some later than others. Jer. xxv. 11, 12. "These nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years: And it shall come to pass when seventy years are accomplished, that I will punish the king of Babylon, and that nation, saith the Lord, for their iniquity, and the land of the Chaldeans, and will make it perpetual desolations." And accordingly at the end of seventy years Cyrus and the Persians subverted the Babylonian empire, and restored the conquered nations to their liberties.

But we may compute these seventy years after another manner. Tyre was (*a*) taken by Nebuchadnezzar in the thirty-second year of his reign, and in the year five hundred and seventy-three before Christ. Seventy years from thence will bring us down to the year five hundred and three before Christ, and the nineteenth of Darius Hystaspis. At that time it appears from (*b*) history that the Ionians had rebelled against Darius, and the Phœnicians assisted him with their fleets: and consequently it is reasonable to conclude that they were now restored to their former privileges. In the succeeding reign we find (*c*) that they together with the Sidonians, furnished Xerxes with several ships for his expedition into Greece. And by the time of Alexander the Tyrians were grown to such power and greatness, that they stopped the progress of that rapid conqueror longer than any part of the Persian empire besides. But all this is to be understood of the insular Tyre; for as the old city flourished most before the time of Nebuchadnezzar, so the new city flourished most afterwards, and this is the Tyre that henceforth is so much celebrated in history.

IV. The city should be taken and destroyed again. For when it is said by the prophets, II. xxiii. 6. "Howl ye inhabitants of the isle;" Ezek. xxvii. 32. "What city is like 'Tyrus, like the destroyed in the midst of the sea?'" xxviii. 8. "They shall bring thee down to the pit, and thou shalt die the deaths of them that are slain in the midst of the seas:" these expressions can imply no less than the insular Tyre should be

(*a*) See Prideaux Connect. Part 1. Book 2, and Book 4.

(*b*) Herod. Lib. 5. Cap. 108, &c. P. 330. Edit. Gale.

(*c*) Herod. Lib. 7. Cap. 89, &c. P. 412. Edit. Gale. Diod. Sic. Lib. 11. P. 244. Edit. Steph. P. 3. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod.

destroyed, as well as that upon the continent; and as the one was accomplished by Nebuchadnezzar, so was the other by Alexander the great. But the same thing may be inferred more directly from the words of Zachariah, who prophesied in the reign of Darius, Zach. i. 1. vii. 1. probably Darius Hystaspis, many years after the former destruction of the city, and consequently he must be understood to speak of this latter. His words are these, ix. 3, 4. “And Tyrus did build herself a strong hold, and heaped up silver as the dust, and fine gold as the mire of the streets. Behold the Lord will cast her out, and he will smite her power in the sea, and she shall be devoured with fire.” It is very true *that Tyrus did build herself a strong hold*; for her situation was very strong in an island, and besides the sea to defend her she was (a) fortified with a wall of one hundred and fifty feet in highth, and of a proportionable thicknes. *She heaped up silver as the dust, and fine gold as the mire of the streets*, being the most celebrated place in the world for trade and riches, *the mart of nations* as she is called, conveying the commodities of the east to the west, and of the west to the east. But yet *Behold the Lord will cast her out, and he will smite her power in the sea, and she shall be devoured with fire*. Ezekiel had likewise foretold that the city should be consumed with fire, xxviii. 18. “I will bring forth a fire from the midst of thee, it shall devour thee, and I will bring thee to ashes upon the earth, in the sight of all them that behold thee.” And accordingly Alexander besieged, and took and (b) set the city on fire. The ruins of old Tyre contributed much to the taking of the new city: for (c) with the stones and timber and rubbish of the old city Alexander built a bank or causey from the continent to the island, thereby literally fulfilling the words of the prophet Ezekiel, xxvi. 12. “They shall lay thy stones, and thy timber, and thy dust in the midst of the water.” He was seven months in completing his work, but the time and labour were well employed, for by means thereof he was enabled to storm and take the city.

As in the former siege the inhabitants according to the prophecies fled over the Mediterranean to the islands and countries

(a) Arrian. de Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Cap. 21. P. 96. Edit. Gronov. CL admodum pedes altuo, latitudine altitudini respondeat.

(b) Quint. Curt. Lib. 4. Cap. 4.—ignemque testis injici judet.

(c) Quint Curt. Lib. 4. Cap. 2: Diod. Sic Lib. 17. P. 583. Edit. Steph. P. 519. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod.

adjoining, so they did likewise in this latter siege; for (*a*) Diodorus Siculus and Quintus Curtius both testify that they sent their wives and children to Carthage; and upon the taking of the place, the (*b*) Sidonians secretly conveyed away fifteen thousand more in their ships. Happy were they who thus escaped, for of those who remained behind, the (*c*) conqueror slew eight thousand in the storming and taking of the city, he caused two thousand afterwards cruelly to be crucified, and thirty thousand he sold for slaves. They had before sold some of the captive Jews, and now it was returned upon them according to the prediction of Joel, iii. 6, 7, 8. "The children also of Judah, and the children of Jerusalem have ye sold; Behold I will return your recompense upon your own head, and will sell your sons and your daughters." This is the main of the prophecy, that as they had sold the captive Jews, so they should be sold themselves: and having seen this so punctually fulfilled, we may more easily believe that the other parts were so too, though at this distance of time, and in this scarcity of ancient historians, we are not able to prove all the particulars. When the city was taken before, the Tyrians received their kings afterwards from Babylon; and now (*d*) their king held his crown by Alexander's appointment. The cases are parallel in many respects: but the city recovered much sooner from the calamities of this siege than from the fatal consequences of the former. For in (*e*) nineteen years time it was able to withstand the fleets and armies of Antigonus, and sustained a siege of fifteen months before it was taken: a plain proof, as Dr. Prideaux observes, of "the great advantage of trade. For this city being the grand mart, where most of the trade both of the east and west did then center, by virtue hereof it was, that it so soon revived to its pristine vigour."

(*a*) Liberos et uxorus cum senio confectis Carthaginem transportare decernunt. Tandem deponenda quadam apud Carthaginienses liberorum et uxorum parte (hostem) antervertunt. Diod. Sic. Lib. 17. *ibid.* Conjuges liberoſque dehevendos Carthaginem tradiderunt. Quint. Curt. Lib. 4. Cap. 3.

(*b*) Quint. Curt. Lib. 4. Cap. 4.

(*c*) Arrian. Lib. 2. Cap. 24. P. 100. Edit. Gronov. Quintus Curtius *ibid.*

(*d*) Diod. Sic. Lib. 17. P. 587. Edit. Steph. P. 524. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. Tyrionum urei regem præfecit cui. Ballonymo nomen.

(*e*) Diod. Sic. Lib. 19. P. 704. Edit. Steph. P. 703. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. Prideaux Connect. Part 1. B. 8. Anno 313. Alexander Ægus 4.

V. It is usual with God to temper his judgments with mercy: and amidst these calamities it is also foretold, that there should come a time, when the Tyrians would forsake their idolatry, and become converts to the true religion and worship of God. The Psalmist is thought to have hinted as much, in saying, xlv. 12. "The daughter of Tyre shall be there with a gift," and again, lxxii. 10. "The kings of Tarshish and of the isles shall bring presents." Zechariah, when he foretels the calamities which the Tyrians and neighbouring nations should suffer from Alexander, ix. 1—7. at the same time predicts their conversion to the true God: "but he that remaineth, even he shall be for our God." But nothing can be plainer than Isaiah's declaration that they should consecrate the gains of their merchandise for the maintenance of those who minister to the Lord in holy things: xxiii. 18. "And her merchandise and her hire shall be holiness to the Lord: it shall not be treasured, nor laid up: for her merchandise shall be for them that dwell before the Lord, to eat sufficiently, and for durable clothing." Here particularly we must be much obliged to the learned (a) Vitringa, who hath fully shown the completion of this article; as indeed every one who would rightly understand the prophet Isaiah, must be greatly obliged to that excellent commentator, and will receive more light and assistance from him than from all besides him.

The Tyrians were much addicted to the worship of Hercules as he was called by the Greeks, or of Ball as he is denominated in scripture. But in process of time, by the means of some Jews and proselytes living and conversing among them, some of them also became proselytes to the Jewish religion; so that "a great multitude of people from the sea coast of Tyre and Sidon came to hear" our Saviour, Luke vi. 17, "and to be healed of their diseases;" and our Saviour, who was "sent only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel," yet came "into the coasts of Tyre and Sidon;" Matt. xv. 21. &c. Mark vii. 24, &c. and the first fruits of the gospel there was a Tyrian woman, *a woman of Canaan*, as she is called, a *Syro-Phœnician by nation*. When St. Paul, in his way to Jerusalem, came to Tyre, he found disciples there, who were inspired by the holy Ghost and prophesied, Acts xxi. 4. and with them he "tarried seven days." The Tyrians were such sincere converts to

(a) Vitring. Comment. in Iesaiam. Cap. 23. Vol. I. P. 704.

Christianity, that in the time of Diocletian's persecution they exhibited several glorious examples of confessors and martyrs, (a) Eusebius himself saw, and hath amply testified in his book of the martyrs of Palestine. Afterwards when the storm of persecution was blown over, the Tyrians under their bishop Paulinus built an oratory, or rather a temple, for the public worship of God, the most magnificent and sumptuous in all Palestine and Phœnicia, which temple (b) Eusebius hath described, and celebrated in a handsome panegyric, whereof he hath inserted a copy in his history, but modestly concealed the name of the author. Eusebius therefore commenting upon this passage of Isaiah, might very well (c) say, that "it is fulfilled in our time. For since a church of God hath been founded in Tyre as well as in other nations, many of its goods gotten by merchandise are consecrated to the Lord, being offered to his church;" as he afterwards explains himself, "for the use of the ministers of the altar or gospel, according to the institution of our Lord, that they who wait at the altar should live of the altar." In like manner (d) St. Jerome: "We may behold churches in Tyre built to Christ; we may see their riches that they are not laid up, nor treasured, but given to those that dwell before the Lord. For the Lord hath appointed, that they who preach the gospel should live of the gospel." And how liberally and munificently the bishops and clergy were at that time maintained, how plentifully they were furnished with every thing, *to eat sufficiently, and for durable clothing*, no man can want to be informed, who is ever so little conversant in ecclesiastical history. To these proofs we will only add, that as Tyre consecrated its merchandise and hire unto the Lord, so it had the (e) honour of being erected into

(a) Euseb. Eccles. Hist. L. 8. C. 7. De Martyr. Palest. C. 5. et 7.

(b) Euseb. Hist. L. 10. C. 4.

(c) Quod nostro tempore impletum videmus. Nam cum ecclesia Dei in urbe Tyro perinde ac in reliquis gentibus fundata sit, multæ ex ejus mercibus negatione parvis Domino consecrantur, ecclesiæ ejus oblata: videlicet ut mox exponit, in usum ministrorum altaris sive evangelii, secundum iussitutum Domini, ut ministri altaris ex eo vivant.

(d) Cernamus in Tyro exstructas Christi ecclesias, consideremus opes omnium, quod non reponantur, nec thesaurizentur, sed dentur his qui habitant coram Domino.—Sic enim et Dominus constituit, ut qui evangelium prædicant, vivant de evangelio. Hieron. in Is. C. 23. P. 146. Vol. III. Edit. Benedict.

(e) Sandys's Travels, B. 3. P. 168. E. 1670. Hoffman's. Lex. &c.

an archbifhopric, and the firft archbifhopric under the patriarchate of Jerufalem, having fourteen bifhops under its primacy: and in this ftate it continued feveral years.

VI. But after all the city fhould be totally deftroyed, and become a place only for fifhers to fpread their nets upon. When the prophets denounced the deftruction of a city or country, it was not intended that fuch denunciation fhould take effect immediately. The fentence of condemnation, as I may fay, was then paffed upon it, but the execution might be refpited for fome time. When it was threatened that Babylon fhould become a defolation without an inhabitant, there were yet many ages before it was reduced to that condition; it decayed by degrees, till at laft it came to nothing; and now the place is fo little known, that you may look for Babylon in the midft of Babylon. In like manner Tyre was not to be ruined and defolated all at once. Other things were to happen firft. It was to be reftored after feventy years; it was to be deftroyed and reftored again, in order to its being adopted into the church. Thefe events were to take place, before Ezekiel's prophecies could be fully accomplifhed: xxvi. 3, 4, 5. " Thus faith the Lord God, Behold, I am againft thee, O Tyrus, and will caufe many nations to come up againft thee, as the fea caufeth his waves to come up: And they fhall deftroy the walls of Tyrus, and break down her towers; I will alfo fceape her duft from her, and make her like the top of a rock: It fhall be a place for the fpreading of nets in the midft of the fea: for I have fpoken it, faith the Lord God." He repeats it to fhew the certainty of it, ver. 14. " I will make thee like the top of a rock; thou fhalt be a place to fpread nets upon; thou fhalt be built no more; for I the Lord have fpoken it, faith the Lord God:" and again, ver. 21. " I will make thee a terror, and thou fhalt be no more; though thou be fought for, yet fhalt thou never be found again, faith the Lord God."

Thefe prophecies, like moft others, were to receive their completion by degrees. Nebuchadnezzar, as we have feen, deftroyed the old city: and Alexander employed the ruins and rubbifh in making his caufey from the continent to the ifland, which henceforwards were joined together. " It is no wonder therefore," as bifhop (*a*) Pococke obferves, " that there

(*a*) Pococke's Defcrip. of the Eaft, Vol. II. Book 1. Chap. 20. P. 81, 82.

“ are no signs of the ancient city; and as it is a sandy shore, “ the face of every thing is altered, and the great aqueduct in “ many parts is almost buried in the sand.” So that as to this part of the city, the prophecy hath literally been fulfilled, *Thou shalt be built no more; though thou be sought for, yet shalt thou never be found again.* It may be questioned whether the new city ever after that arose to that height of power, wealth, and greatness, to which it was elevated in the times of Isaiah and Ezekiel. It received a great blow from Alexander, not only by his taking and burning the city, but much more by his building of Alexandria in Egypt, which in time deprived it of much of its trade, and thereby contributed more effectually to its ruin. It had the misfortune afterwards of changing its masters often, being sometimes in the hands of the Ptolemies kings of Egypt, and sometimes of the Seleucidæ kings of Syria, till at length it fell under the dominion of the Romans. It was taken by the (a) Saracens about the year of Christ six hundred and thirty-nine, in the reign of Omar their third emperor. It was retaken by the (b) Christians during the time of the holy war in the year one thousand one hundred and twenty-four, Baldwin, the second of that name, being then king of Jerusalem, and assisted by a fleet of Venetians. From the Christians it was (c) taken again in the year one thousand two hundred and eighty-nine by the Mamalucs of Egypt, under their Sultan Alphix, who sacked and rased this and Sidon and other strong towns, that they might not ever again afford any harbour or shelter to the Christians. From the Mamalucs it was (e) again taken in the year one thousand five hundred and sixteen by Selim, the ninth emperor of the Turks; and under their dominion it continues at present. But alas, how fallen, how changed from what it was formerly! For from being the center of trade, frequented by all the merchant ships of the east and west, it is now become a heap of ruins, visited only by the boats of a few poor fishermen. So that as to this part likewise of the city, the prophecy hath literally been fulfilled, *I will make thee like the top of a rock; thou shalt be a place to spread nets upon.*

(a) Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, Vol. I. P. 340.

(b) Abul Pharajii Hist. Dyn. 9 P. 250. Vers. Pocock. Savage's Abridgment of Knolles and Rycaut. Vol. I. P. 26.

(c) Savage's Abridgment, Vol. I. P. 95. Pocock. Descript. of the East, Vol. II. B. 1. Chap. 20. P. 85.

(d) Savage's Abridgment, Vol. I. P. 241.

The famous (*a*) Huetius knew one Hadrianus Parvillerius, a Jesuit, a very candid man and a master of Arabic, who resided ten years in Syria; and he remembers to have heard him sometimes say, that when he approached the ruins of Tyre, and beheld the rocks stretched forth to the sea, and the great stones scattered up and down upon the shore, made clean and smooth by the sun and waves and winds, and useful only for the drying of fishermen's nets, many of which happened at that time to be spread thereon, it brought to his memory this prophecy of Ezekiel concerning Tyre, xxvi. 5, 14. "I will make thee like the top of a rock; thou shalt be a place to spread nets upon: thou shalt be built no more: for I the Lord have spoken it, saith the Lord God."

Dr. (*b*). Shaw in his account of Tyre, thus expresseth himself, "I visited several creeks and inlets, in order to discover what provision there might have been formerly made for the security of their vessels. Yet notwithstanding that Tyre was the chief maritime power of this country, I could not observe the least token of either *cotthon* or harbour that could have been of any extraordinary capacity. The coasting ships indeed, still find a tolerable good shelter from the northern winds under the southern shore, but were obliged immediately to retire, when the winds change to the west or south: so that there must have been some better station than this for their security and reception. In the N. N. E. part likewise of the city, we see the traces of a safe and commodious basin, lying within the walls: but which at the same time is very small, scarce forty yards in diameter. Neither could it ever have enjoyed a large area, unless the buildings, which now circumscribe it, were encroachments upon its original dimensions. Yet even this port, small as it is at present, is notwithstanding so choaked up with sand and rub-

(*a*) Hadrianum Parvellerium, et societate Jesu, virum candidissimum et Arabice doctissimum, qui decem annos in Syria egit, meminisse me audire aliquando cum diceret, sibi olim ad collapsas Tyri ruinas accedenti, et rupes mari prætentas, ac disiectos passim in littore lapides procul spectanti, sole, fluctibus, et auris deterfos ac ievigatos, et siccandis solum piscatorum retibus, quæ tum forte plurima desuper expausa erant utiles, venisse in memoriam hujus prophetiæ Ezekielis de Tyro (XXVI. 5, 14.) Dabo te in limpidissimam petram: siccatio sagenarum eris, nec ædificaberis ultra ego locutus sum, ait Dominus Deus. Huetii Demonstrat. Evang. Prop. 6. ad finem. P. 358.

(*b*) Shaw's Travels, P. 330.

“bish, that the boats of those poor fishermen, who now and then visit this once renowned emporium, can with great difficulty only be admitted.”

But the fullest for our purpose is Mr. Maundrell, whom it is a pleasure to quote as well as to read, and whose journal of his journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, though a little book, is yet worth a folio, being so accurately and ingeniously written, that it might serve as a model for all writers of travels. “This city, (a) saith he, standing in the sea upon a peninsula, promises at a distance something very magnificent. But when you come to it, you find no similitude of that glory, for which it was so renowned in ancient times, and which the prophet Ezekiel describes, chap. 26, 27, 28. On the north side it has an old Turkish ungarrisoned castle; besides which you see nothing here, but a mere Babel of broken walls, pillars, vaults, &c. there being not so much as one entire house left: its present inhabitants are only a few poor wretches harbouring themselves in the vaults, and subsisting chiefly upon fishing, who seem to be preserved in this place by divine providence, as a visible argument, how God has fulfilled his word concerning Tyre, viz. that *it should be as the top of a rock, a place for fishers to dry their nets on.*”

Such hath been the fate of this city, once the most famous in the world for trade and commerce. But trade is a fluctuating thing: it passed from Tyre to Alexandria, from Alexandria to Venice, from Venice to Antwerp, from Antwerp to Amsterdam and London, the English rivalling the Dutch, as the French are now rivalling both. All nations almost are wisely applying themselves to trade; and it behoves those who are in possession of it, to take the greatest care that they do not lose it. It is a plant of tender growth, and requires sun, and soil, and fine seasons, to make it thrive and flourish. It will not grow like the palm tree, which with the more weight and pressure rises the more. Liberty is a friend to that, as that is a friend to liberty. But the greatest enemy to both is licentiousness, which tramples upon all law and lawful authority, encourages riots and tumults, promotes drunkenness and debauchery, sticks at nothing to supply its extravagance, practises every art of illicit gain, ruins credit, ruins trade, and will in the end ruin liberty itself. Nei-

(a) Maundrell, P. 48, 49, 5th Edit.

ther kingdoms nor commonwealths, neither public companies nor private persons, can long carry on a beneficial flourishing trade without virtue, and what virtue teacheth, sobriety, industry, frugality, modesty, honesty, punctuality, humanity, charity, the love of our country, and the fear of God. The prophets will inform us how the Tyrians lost it; and the like causes will always produce the like effects. II. xxiii. 8, 9. "Who hath taken counsel against Tyre, the crowning city, whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth? The Lord of hosts hath purposed it, to stain the pride of all glory, and to bring into contempt all the honourable of the earth." Ezek. xxvii. 3, 4. "Thus saith the Lord God, O Tyrus, thou hast said, I am of perfect beauty. Thy borders are in the midst of the seas, thy builders have perfected thy beauty, xxviii. 5, &c. "By thy great wisdom, and by thy traffick hast thou increased thy riches, and thy heart is lifted up because of thy riches. By the multitude of thy merchandise they have filled the midst of thee with violence, and thou hast sinned; therefore I will cast thee as profane out of the mountain of God. Thine heart was lifted up because of thy beauty, thou hast corrupted thy wisdom by reason of thy brightness. Thou hast defiled thy sanctuaries by the multitude of thine iniquities, by the iniquity of thy traffick: therefore will I bring forth a fire from the midst of thee, it shall devour thee, and I will bring thee to ashes upon the earth, in the sight of all them that behold thee. And they that know thee among the people, shall be astonished at thee: thou shalt be a terror, and never shalt thou be any more."

XII.

The prophecies concerning EGYPT.

EGYPT is one the first and most famous countries that we read of in history. In the Hebrew scriptures it is called *Mizraim* and *the land of Ham*, having been first inhabited after the deluge by Noah's youngest son *Ham* or *Hammam*, and by his son *Mizraim*. The name of *Egypt* is of more uncertain derivation. It appears that the river was so called in (a) Homer's time; and from thence, as Berychius imagines, the name might be derived to the country. Others more probably conceive that the meaning of the name (b) *Ægyptus* is *Cuphti*, *the land of Cuphti*, as it was formerly called by the Egyptians themselves and their neighbours the Arabians. All agree in this, that the kingdom of Egypt was very ancient; but some have carried this antiquity to an extravagant and fabulous height, their dynasties being utterly irreconcilable to reason and history both, and no ways to be solved or credited but by supposing that they extend beyond the deluge, and that they contain the catalogues of several contemporary, as well as of some successive kings and kingdoms. It is certain, that in the days of Joseph, if not before those in the days of Abraham, it was a great and flourishing kingdom. There are monuments of its greatness yet remaining to the surprise and astonishment of all posterity, of which as we know not the time of their erection, so in all probability we shall never know the time of their destruction.

This country was also celebrated for its wisdom, no less than for its antiquity. It was, as I may call it, the great academy of the earlier ages. Hither the wits and sages of Greece and

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(a) Hom. Odyf. XIV. 257, 258.

Quinto-die autem ad Egyptum pulchre-fluentem venimus,

Statui vero in Ægypto fluvio naves remis utrinque-agitatas.

Hesychius: Ægyptus, Nilus fluvius; a quo ipsa regio recentioribus appellata est Egyptus.

(b) Mede's Works, B. 1. Disc. 50. P. 281. Hoffmani Lexicon, &c.

“other countries repaired, and imbibed their learning at this fountain. It is mentioned to the commendation of Moses, Acts xii. 22. that he “was learned in all the wisdom of the “Egyptians: and the highest character given of Solomon’s wisdom, 1 Kings iv. 30. is that it “excelled the wisdom of all “the children of the east country, And all the wisdom of E-
 “gypt.” But with this wisdom, and this greatness, it was early corrupted; and was as much the parent of superstition, as it was the mistress of learning; and the one as well as the other were from thence propagated and diffused over other countries. It was indeed the grand corrupter of the world, the source of polytheism and idolatry to several of the eastern, and to most of the more western nations; and degenerated at last to such monstrous and beastly worship, that we can scarcely find a parallel in all history.

However, this was the country where the children of Israel were in a manner born and bred; and it must be said they were much perverted by their education, and retained a fondness for the idols of Egypt ever afterwards. Several of Moses’s laws and institutions were plainly calculated to wean them from, and to guard them against the manners and customs of the Egyptians. But still in their hearts and affections they were much inclined to return into Egypt. Even Solomon married his wife from thence. And upon all occasions they courted the friendship and alliance of Egypt, rather than of any of the neighbouring powers. Which prejudice of theirs was the more extraordinary, as the Egyptians generally treated them, very injuriously. They oppressed them with the most cruel servitude in Egypt. They gave them leave to depart, and then pursued them as fugitives. Shishak king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem, 1 Kings xiv. 25, 26. and plundered it. And in all their leagues and alliances, Egypt was to them as *a broken reed*, Isa. xxxvi. 6. “whereon if a man lean, it will “go into his hand, and pierce it.” Upon all these accounts we might reasonably expect that Egypt would be the subject of several prophecies, and we shall not be deceived in our expectation.

It is remarkable, that the prophecies uttered against any city or country, often carry the inscription of *the burden* of that city or country. The prophecies against Nineveh, Babylon, and Tyre, were inscribed, Nahum i. 1. “the burden of Nine-
 “veh.” Is. xiii. 1. “The burden of Babylon,” and Is. xxiii.

1. "the burden of Tyre:" and so here likewise, If. xix. 1. the prophecies against Egypt have the title of "the burden of Egypt." And by *burden* is commonly understood a threatening burdensome prophecy, big with ruin and destruction, which like a dead weight is hung upon a city or country, to sink it. But the word in the original is of more general import and signification. Sometimes it signifies a prophecy at large: as the prophecies of Habakuk and Malachi are entitled *the burden which Habakuk the prophet did see*, and *the burden of the word of the Lord to Israel by Malachi*: and it is rendered a *vision* or *prophecy* in the Septuagint and other ancient versions. Sometimes it signifies a prophecy of good as well as of evil: as it was said of the false prophets who prophesied peace when there was no peace, Lament. ii. 14. "Thy prophets have seen vain "burdens;" and Zechariah's prophecy of the restoration and triumphs of the Jews in the latter days is entitled, Zech. xii. 1. "the burden of the word of the Lord for Israel." Sometimes it is translated *a prophecy*, where there is no prophecy, but only some grave moral sayings or sentences, as Prov. xxx. 1. "The words of Agur the son of Jakeh, even the prophecy;" and again, Prov. xxxi. 1. "The words of king Lemuel, the "prophecy that his mother taught him." We may farther observe, that the word is used of the author of the prophecy, as well as of the subject of it; and there is *the burden of the Lord*, and *the burden of the word of the Lord*, as well as *the burden of Babylon*, and *the burden of Egypt*. We may be certain too, that this title was affixed to the prophecies by the prophets themselves, and not by the scribes who collected their writings afterwards, because it appears from Jeremiah xxiii. 33, &c. that the scoffers and infidels of his time made a jest and derision of it; and therefore they are forbidden to mention it any more as being a term of ambiguous signification: and instead of inquiring *what is the burden of the Lord*, they are commanded to say, *what hath the Lord answered? and what hath the Lord spoken?* The (a) word in the original is derived from a verb that signifies to take up, to lift up, to bring forth, and the like; and the proper meaning of it is any weighty important matter or sentence, which ought not to lie neglected, but is worthy of being carried in the memory, and de-

(a) Tullit, Attulit, Protulit, &c. Buxtorf.

erves to be lifted up and uttered with emphasis. Such, eminently such, are all these prophecies, and those relating to Egypt as well as the rest. For they comprise the principal revolutions of that kingdom from the times of the prophets to this day.

I. The first great revolution, that we shall mention, was the conquest of this kingdom by Nebuchadnezzar, which was particularly foretold by Jeremiah and Ezekiel. These two prophets have both employed several sections or chapters upon this occasion. Jeremiah was carried into Egypt, and there foretold, chap. xliii. the conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon; and some of his prophecies are entitled, xlvi. 13. "The word that the Lord spake to Jeremiah the prophet, how Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon should come and smite the land of Egypt." Ezekiel also declares, xxx. 10, 11. "Thus saith the Lord God, I will also make the multitude of Egypt to cease by the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon: He and his people with him, the terrible of the nations shall be brought to destroy the land: and they shall draw their swords against Egypt, and fill the land with the slain:" And the conquest of this kingdom was promised to Nebuchadnezzar as a reward for his services against Tyre, which after a long siege he took and destroyed, but was disappointed of the spoil, as was observed in the foregoing dissertation; Ezek. xxix. 18, 19. "Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon caused his army to serve a great service against Tyrus: every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled: yet had he no wages, nor his army, for Tyrus, for the service that he had served against it. Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I will give the land of Egypt unto Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and he shall take her multitude, and take her spoil, and take her prey, and it shall be the wages for his army."

Now for this early transaction we have the (a) testimonies of Megasthenes and Berofus, two heathen historians, who lived about three hundred years before Christ, one of whom affirms expressly, that Nebuchadnezzar conquered the greatest part of

(a) *Fum enim vestasse dicit magnam Libyæ partem. Megasthenes apud Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 11. Sect. 1. Edit. Hudson. Nebuchodonosorus vero, non multo post patris morte cognita, rebusque in Ægypto ordinatis, &c. Berofus ibid. Vid. etiam Eusebii. Præp. Evangel. Lib. 9. Cap. 40 et 41.*

Africa, and the other affirms it in effect, in saying that when Nebuchadnezzar heard of the death of his father, having settled his affairs in Egypt, and committed the captives whom he took in Egypt to the care of some of his friends to bring them after him, he halted directly to Babylon. If neither Herodotus nor Diodorus Siculus have recorded this transaction, what (*a*) Scaliger said of one of them may be very justly applied to both, that those Egyptian priests, who informed them of the Egyptian affairs, taught them only those things which made for the honour of their nation; other particulars of their idleness, servitude, and the tribute which they paid to the Chaldæans, they concealed. Josephus, we may presume, had good authorities, and was supported by earlier historians, when he (*b*) asserted, that Nebuchadnezzar having subdued Cælo-Syria, waged war against the Ammonites and Moabites; and having conquered them, he invaded Egypt, and slew the king who then reigned, and appointed another.

It is indeed most highly probable, that Apries was dethroned, and Amasis constituted king by Nebuchadnezzar; and I think we may infer as much from Herodotus himself. The name of the king of Egypt at that-time, according to Jeremiah, was *Pharaoh-Hophra*, and he can be no other than the *Apries* of Herodotus. Ezekiel represents him as an arrogant, impious prince, xxix. 3. as “the great dragon,” or crocodile, “that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said, My river is “my own, and I have made it for myself.” And agreeably hereto (*c*) Herodotus informs us, that Apries proudly and wickedly boasted of having established his kingdom so surely, that it was not in the power of any god to dispossess him of it. However, Jeremiah foretold, that he should be taken and slain by his enemies, xlv. 33. “Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will

(*a*) Quod perspicue indicatur Jeremiæ, id Herodotus ignoravit: qua sacerdotibus ille Ægyptii, qui ei sciscitanti de rebus Ægyptiacis respondebant, ea, quæ ad laudem gentis faciebant, tantum docuerunt; cætera quæ ad illorum ignaviam, servitutem et tributa, quæ Chaldæis pendebant, tacuerunt. Scalig. in Fragm. P. 11.

(*b*) —exercitum ipse eduxit in Cœlen-Syriam; eaque occupata et Ammanitis et Moabitis bellum intulit. Istis autem gentibus in Potestatem suam reductis, impetum fecit in Ægyptum, ut ipsam debellaret, ac regem quidem, qui tunc regnabat, occidit; alio vero constituto, &c. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 9. S. 7. P. 454. Edit. Hudson.

(*c*) Fertur Apries ea fuisse persuasione, ne deum quidem ullum posse sibi adimere regnum: adeo videbatur sibi illud stabilisse. Herod. Lib. 2. Sect. 169. P. 155. Edit. Gale.

“ give Pharaoh-Hophra king of Egypt into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that seek his life, as I gave Zedekiah king of Judah into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, his enemy, and that fought his life.” And accordingly (*a*) Apries was taken and strangled by Amasis, who was by Nebuchadnezzar constituted king in his room.

Ezekiel foretold, that the country should be desolated forty years, and the people carried captive into other countries: xxix. 12. “ I will make the land of Egypt desolate in the midst of the countries that are desolate, and her cities among the cities that are laid waste, shall be desolate forty years; and I will scatter the Egyptians among the nations, and will disperse them through the countries.” We cannot prove indeed from heathen authors, that this desolation of the country continued exactly forty years, though it is likely enough that this, as well as the other conquered countries, did not shake off the Babylonian yoke till the time of Cyrus, which was about forty years after the conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar: but we are assured by (*b*) Berofus, that Nebuchadnezzar took several captives in Egypt, and carried them to Babylon; and from (*c*) Megasthenes we learn, that he transplanted and settled others in Pontus. So true it is, that they were *scattered among the nations, and dispersed through the countries*, and might upon the dissolution of the Babylonian empire return to their native country.

II. Not long after this was another memorable revolution, and the country was invaded and subdued by Cambyfes and the Persians, which is the main subject of the nineteenth chapter of Isaiah. Some parts indeed of this prophecy have a nearer affinity with those of Jeremiah and Ezekiel concerning the conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar, and St. Jerome and others apply it to Nebuchadnezzar: but this prophecy, as well as several others, might admit of a double completion, and be fulfilled at both those periods. For this prophecy of Isaiah is a general representation of the calamities of the nation; it includes various particulars; it is applicable to Nebuchadnezzar and the Babylonians, as well as to Cambyfes and the Persians. They

(*a*) Herod. *ibid.* Diodorus Sic. Lib. 1. P. 43. Edit. Steph. P. 62. Edit. Rhod.

(*b*) Berofus apud Josephum; Lib. 10. Cap. 11. Sect. 1. P. 459. Edit. Hudson.

(*c*) —Colonias in dextram Ponti plagam deportasse. Megasthenes apud Eusebium, *ibid.* Cap. 41. P. 456. Edit. Vigeri.

might therefore be both intended and comprehended in it: but the latter I conceive, were principally intended, and for this reason; because the deliverance of the Egyptians by some great conqueror, and their conversion afterwards to the true religion, which are foretold in the latter part of this chapter, were events consequent to the dominion of the Persians, and not to that of the Babylonians.

The prophet begins with declaring that the conquest of Egypt should be swift and sudden, and that the idols of Egypt should be destroyed: ver. 1. "Behold the Lord rideth upon a swift cloud, and shall come into Egypt, and the idols of Egypt shall be moved at his presence, and the heart of Egypt shall melt in the midst of it." The same thing is foretold of Nebuchadnezzar by Jeremiah, xliii. 11, &c. "And when he cometh, he shall smite the land of Egypt—And I will kindle a fire in the houses of the gods of Egypt, and he shall burn them, and carry them away captives—He shall break also the images of Bethshemesh, that is in the land of Egypt; and the houses of the gods of the Egyptians shall he burn with fire:" and again by Ezekiel, xxx. 13. "Thus saith the Lord God, I will also destroy the idols, and I will cause their images to cease out of Noph," or *Memphis*. We are not furnished with ancient authors sufficient to prove these particulars, however probable, in the history of Nebuchadnezzar and the Babylonians; but we have ample proofs with relation to Cambyses and the Persians. The first attempt made by Cambyses was upon (*a*) Pelusium, a strong town at the entrance of Egypt, and the key of the kingdom; and he succeeded by the stratagem of placing before his army a great number of dogs, sheep, cats, and other animals, which being held sacred by the Egyptians, not one of them would cast a javelin, or shoot an arrow that way; and so the town was stormed and taken in a manner without resistance. He (*b*) treated the gods of Egypt with marvellous contempt, laughed at the people, and chastised the priests for worshipping such deities. He slew Apis, or the sacred ox which the Egyptians worshipped, with his own hand: and burnt and demolished their other idols and temples; and would likewise, if he had not been prevented, have destroyed

(*a*) Polyæni Stratagem. Lib. 7. Cap. 9. P. 620. Edit. Maafvicii.

(*b*) Herod. Lib. 3. Sect. 27. &c. P. 127. Sect. 37. &c. P. 176. Edit. Gale. Strabo, Lib. 17. P. 805. Edit. Paris. P. 1158. Edit. Amstel. 1707. Justin. Lib. 1. Cap. 9. P. 29. Edit. Grævii.

the famous temple of Jupiter Hammon. Ochus too, who was another king of Persia, and subdued the Egyptians again after they had revolted, (*a*) plundered their temples, and caused Apis to be slain and served up in a banquet to him and his friends.

The prophet foretels, that they should also be miserably distracted with civil wars: ver. 2. "And I will set the Egyptians against the Egyptians; and they shall fight every one against his brother, and every one against his neighbour, city against city, and kingdom against kingdom;" as the Seventy translate it, province against province, Egypt being divided into prefectures or provinces. Vitringa and others apply this to the time of the (*b*) reign of the twelve kings, the anarchy that proceeded, and the civil wars that ensued, wherein the genius and fortune of Psammitichus prevailed over the rest. But it may perhaps be more properly applied to what agrees better in point of time with other parts of the prophecy, (*c*) the civil wars between Apries and Amasis at the time of Nebuchadnezzar's invasion, and the (*d*) civil wars between Tachos, Nectanebus, and the Mendesian, a little before the country was finally subdued by Ochus.

It is no wonder, that in such distractions and distresses as these, the Egyptians being naturally a cowardly people, should be destitute of *counsel*, and that "the spirit of Egypt should fail in the midst thereof," as the prophet foretels, ver. 3. and that being also a very superstitious people, "they should seek to the idols, and to the charmers, and to them that have familiar spirits, and to the wizards." But their divination was all in vain; it was their fate to be subdued and oppressed by cruel lords and tyrants: ver. 4. "And the Egyptians will I give over into the hand of a cruel lord; and a fierce king shall rule over them, saith the Lord, the Lord of hosts." This is the most essential part of the prophecy; and this Grotius and others understand of Psammitichus: but it doth not appear from history, that

(*a*) Diod. Sic. Lib. 16. P. 537. Edit. Steph. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. Plutarch. de Isid. et Osir. P. 355. Edit. Paris. 1624.

(*b*) Herod. L. 2. S. 147—154. P. 146—150. Edit. Gale. Diod. Sic. Lib. 1. P. 41. &c. Edit. Steph. P. 59, &c. Tom. 1. Edit. Rhod.

(*c*) Herod. Lib. 2. Sect. 169. P. 155. Edit. Gale. Diod. Sic. Lib. 1. P. 43. Edit. Steph. P. 62. Tom. 1. Edit. Rhod.

(*d*) Plutarch in Agesilan. Diod. Sic. Lib. 15. P. 506. Edit. Steph. P. 399. &c. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod.

Pfammitchus was such a *ferce* and *cruel* tyrant; on the contrary he (*a*) re-established the government, and reigned long and prosperously for Egypt in many respects. It may with greater truth and propriety be understood of Nebuchadnezzar and the Babylonians, whose dominion was very grievous to the conquered nations: but with the greatest propriety and justice it may be applied to the Persians, and especially to Cambyfes and Ochus; one of whom put the yoke upon the neck of the Egyptians, and the other rivetted it there; and who are both branded in history for cruel tyrants and monsters of men. The Egyptians said that Cambyfes, after his killing of Apis, was stricken with madness; but his actions, saith (*b*) Dr. Prideaux after Herodotus, showed him to have been mad long before. He could hardly have performed those great exploits, if he had been a downright madman: and yet it is certain that he was very much like one; there was a mixture of barbarity and madness in all his behaviour. Ochus was the cruellest and worst of all the kings of Persia, and was so destructive and oppressive to Egypt in particular, that his favorite eunuch (*c*) Bagoas, who was an Egyptian, in revenge of his injured country, poisoned him. The favours shown to himself could not compensate for the wrongs done to his country. None other allegation is wanting to prove, that the Persian yoke was galling and intolerable to the Egyptians, than their frequent revolts and rebellions, which served still but to augment their misery, and enslave them more and more.

The prophet then proceeds to set forth in figurative language, ver. 5—10. the consequences of this subjection and slavery, the poverty and want, the mourning and lamentation, the confusion and misery, which should be intailed on them and their posterity: and afterwards he recounts, ver. 11—17. the immediate causes of these evils, the folly of the princes and rulers who valued themselves upon their wisdom, and the cowardice and effeminacy of the people in general. These things will plainly appear to any one by perusing the history of the nation,

(*a*) Herod. Lib. 2. Sect. 153—157. P. 150, 151. Edit. Gale. Diod. Sic. Lib. 1. P. 42. Edit. Steph. P. 60. Tom. 1. Edit. Rhod. Vide etiam Marsham Chron. Sæc. 17. P. 505.

(*b*) Prid. Connect. Part 1. B. 3. Anno 525. Cambyfes 5. Herod. Lib. 3. Sect. 30. P. 173. Edit. Gale. Ob hoc scelus (ut Ægyptii aiunt) continuo Cambyfes insanit; quum ne prius quidem compos mentis fuisset.

(*c*) Diod. Sic. Lib. 16. P. 564. Edit. Steph. P. 498. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. Æliani Var Hist. Lib. 6. Cap. 8.

but it would carry us beyond all bounds to prove them by an induction of particulars. In general it may be said, that Egypt would not have become a prey to so many foreign enemies, but through the excessive weakness of the Egyptians both in counsel and in action. They had not the courage even to defend themselves. They trusted chiefly to their Grecian and other mercenaries, who instead of defending, were often the first to betray them.

III. The next memorable revolution was effected by Alexander the great, who subverted the Persian empire in Egypt, as well as in all other places: and this event, I entirely agree with Vitringa, is pointed out to us in this same nineteenth chapter of Isaiah. It is also foretold, that about the same time several of the Egyptians should be converted to the true religion and the worship of the God of Israel. And as these events, which are the subjects of the latter part of the chapter, ver. 18—25. followed upon the subversion of the Persian empire, we may be satisfied, that our application of the former part of the chapter to the Persians in particular, was not a misapplication of the prophecy. *In that day*, that is after that day, after that time, as the phrase signifies, and should be translated in several passages of the prophets, *shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan*, profess the religion of the Hebrews; as in Zephaniah, iii. 9. “I will turn to the people a pure language,” signifies I will restore to the people a pure religion, “that they may all call upon the name of the Lord, to serve him with one consent. And swear to the Lord of hosts: one shall be called the city of destruction,” or of the sun, as it is in the margin of our bibles, meaning Heliopolis, a famous city of Egypt. *In that day shall there be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord*, such as Jacob erected, Gen. xxviii. 18. at Bethel. *And it shall be for a sign, and for a witness unto the Lord of hosts in the land of Egypt: for they shall cry unto the Lord because of the oppressors, and he shall send them a saviour and a great one, and he shall deliver them. And the Lord shall be known to Egypt, and the Egyptians shall know the Lord in that day, and shall do sacrifice and oblation, yea, they shall vow a vow unto the Lord, and perform it.* The prophet describes the worship of future times, according to the rites and ceremonies of his own time. *And the Lord shall smite Egypt, he shall smite and heal it, and they shall return even to the Lord,*

and he shall be intreated of them, and shall heal them. The prophet then proceeds to show, that Assyria or Syria and Egypt, which used to be at great enmity with each other, shall be united in the same worship by the intermediation of Israel, and they three shall be a blessing in the earth. *In that day shall there be a high way out of Egypt to Assyria, and the Assyrian shall come into Egypt, and the Egyptian into Assyria, and the Egyptians shall serve with the Assyrians. In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt, and with Assyria, even a blessing in the midst of the land: Whom the Lord of hosts shall bless, saying, blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance.*

Here it is clearly foretold, that a great prince, a saviour sent by God, from a foreign country, should deliver the Egyptians from their Persian oppressors, and heal their country, which was smitten of God and afflicted: and who could this be but Alexander, who is always distinguished by the name of Alexander the great, and whose first successor in Egypt was called the great Ptolemy, and Ptolemy Soter, or the saviour? Upon Alexander's first coming into Egypt, the (a) people all cheerfully submitted to him out of hatred to the Persians, so that he became master of the country without any opposition. For this reason he treated them with humanity and kindness, built a city there, which after his own name was called Alexandria, appointed one of their own country for their civil governor, and permitted them to be governed by their own laws and customs. By these changes and regulations, and by the prudent and gentle administration of some of the first Ptolemies, Egypt revived, trade and learning flourished, and for a while peace and plenty blessed the land.

But it is more largely foretold, that about the same time the true religion and the worship of the God of Israel should begin to spread and prevail in the land of Egypt; and what event was ever more unlikely to happen than the conversion of a people so sunk and lost in superstition and idolatry of the worst and grossest kind? It is certain that many of the Jews, after Nebuchadnezzar had taken Jerusalem, fled into Egypt, and carried along with them Jeremiah the prophet, Jer. xlv, &c. who there uttered most of his prophecies concerning the conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar. From thence some knowledge of

(a) Diod. Sic. Lib. 17. P. 558. Edit. Steph. P. 526. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. Arrian, Lib. 3. Cap. 1, &c. Quintus Curtius, Lib. 4. Cap. 7 et 8.

God, and some notices of the prophecies might easily be derived to the Egyptians. It is said that this alteration should be effected principally in *five cities*. If a certain number be not here put for an uncertain, I should conclude with (a) Le Clerc, that the *five cities* wherein the worship of the one true God was received, were *Heliopolis*, which is particularly named in the text, and the four others, which are mentioned in Jeremiah, xlv. 1, as the place of the residence of the Jews, *Migdol* or *Magdolum*, *Thachphanbes* or *Daphne*, *Noph* or *Memphis*, and the fourth in the country of *Pathros* or *Thebais*, not mentioned by name, perhaps *Amon-no* or *Diospolis*. There the Jews chiefly resided at that time: and though they were generally very wicked men, and disobedient to the word of the Lord, and upon that account the prophet Jeremiah denounced the heaviest judgments against them; yet some good men might be mingled among them, who might open his prophecies to the Egyptians, and they themselves, when they saw them fulfilled, might embrace the Jewish religion. But this is to be understood not of all the inhabitants of those places, but only of some; which is sufficient to justify the expression of *five cities speaking the language of Canaan, and swearing by the Lord of hosts*.

Alexander the great (b) transplanted many of the Jews into his new city of Alexandria, and allowed them privileges and immunities equal to those of the Macedonians themselves. Ptolemy Soter (c) carried more of them into Egypt, who there

(a) Si liceret conjicere de nominibus quinque [quatuor] aliarum urbium, dicerem eas esse, quæ memorantur Jeremiæ. Cap. xlv. 2. Migdol (Herodoto Magdolos) Thachphanches, eidem Daphne, Noph sive Memphis, et quarta in terra Pathros seu Pathiride, quæ nomine non appellatur, forte Amon-no sive Diospolis. In iis habitaverunt Judæi, qui Chaldæorum metu post captam Ierosolimam in Ægyptum migrarant, eoque invitum Jeremiam aunderant. Quibus, improbis quippe, licet extrema mala iis propheta minetur, poterunt tamen nonnulli pii admitti esse, qui vaticinia ejus Ægyptiis aperuerint, et ipsi, cum ea impleta vidissent, Judaicam religionem amplexi sint. Quod intelligi nolim de incolis omnibus eorum locorum: sed de nonnullis; quod satis est, ut dicentur quinque urbes lingua Chanahanitide loquenturæ, et per Jehovah juraturæ. Comment. in locum.

(b) Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 18. Sect. 7. P. 1098. Contra Apion. Lib. 2. Sect. 4. P. 1364. Edit. Hudson.

(c) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 1. P. 508. Hecataeus apud Joseph. Contra Apion. Lib. 1. Sect. 22. P. 1347. Edit. Hudson.

enjoyed such advantages, that not a few of the other Jews went thither of their own accord, the goodness of the country and the liberality of Ptolemy alluring them. Ptolemy Philadelphus (*a*) redeemed and released the captive Jews: and in his reign or his father's, the books of Moses were translated into Greek, and afterwards the other parts of the Old Testament. The third (*b*) Ptolemy, called Euergetes, having subdued all Syria, did not sacrifice to the gods of Egypt in acknowledgement of his victory; but coming to Jerusalem, made his oblations to God after the manner of the Jews: and the king's example no doubt, would influence many of his subjects. The sixth (*c*) Ptolemy, called Philometor, and his queen Cleopatra, committed the whole management of the kingdom to two Jews, Onias and Dositheus, who were their chief ministers and generals, and had the principal direction of all affairs both civil and military. This Onias obtained a licence from the king and queen to build a temple for the Jews in Egypt, like that at Jerusalem, alledging for this purpose this very prophecy of Isaiah, that there should *be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt*: and the king and queen, in their rescript, make honourable mention of the law and of the prophet Isaiah, and express a dread of sinning against God. The place chosen for the building of this temple, was in the prefecture of Heliopolis, or *the city of the sun*, which place is likewise mentioned in the prophecy. It was built after the model of the temple at Jerusalem, but not so sumptuous and magnificent. He himself was made high-priest; other priests and Levites were appointed for the administration; and divine service was daily performed there in the same manner as at Jerusalem, and continued as long; for Vespasian, having destroyed the temple at Jerusalem, ordered this also to be demolished.

By these means *the Lord* must in some degree *have been known to Egypt, and the Egyptians must have known the Lord*: and without doubt there must have been many proselytes among them. Among those who came up to the feast of Pentecost, Acts ii. 10. there are particularly mentioned "the dwellers in

(*a*) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 2. P. 508. Contra Apion. Sect. 4. P. 1363. Edit. Hudson. Hody de Vers. Græc. Lib. 2. Cap. 2.

(*b*) Joseph. Contra Apion. Lib. 2. Sect. 5. P. 1365. Edit. Hudson.

(*c*) Joseph. Contra Apion. *ibid.* Antiq. Lib. 13. Cap. 3. P. 562. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 1. Sect. 1. P. 958. Lib. 7. Cap. 10. Sect. 2. P. 1325. Edit. Hudson.

“Egypt, and in the parts of Lybia about Cyrene, Jews and profelytes.” Nay, from the instance of Candace’s eunuch, Acts vii. 27. we may infer that there were profelytes even beyond Egypt, in Ethiopia. Thus were the Jews settled and encouraged in Egypt, infomuch that (*a*) Philo represents their number as not less than a hundred myriads, or ten hundred thousand men. Nor were they less favoured or rewarded for their services by the kings of Syria. Seleucus Nicator (*b*) made them free of the cities which he built in Asia and the lower Syria, and of Antioch itself, the capital of his kingdom; and granted the same rights and privileges to them as to the Greeks and Macedonians. Antiochus the great (*c*) published several decrees in favour of the Jews, both of those who inhabited Jerusaleem, and of those who dwelt in Mesopotamia and Babylonia. Josephus (*d*) saith that the Jews gained many profelytes in Antioch. And thus by the means of the Jews and profelytes dwelling in Egypt and Syria, Israel, Egypt, and Syria were in some measure united in the same worship. But this was more fully accomplished, when these countries became Christian, and so were made members of the same body in Christ Jesus. And we piously hope and believe, that it will still receive its most perfect completion in the latter days, when Mohammedism shall be rooted out, and Christianity shall again flourish in these countries, when *the fulness of the Gentiles shall come in, and all Israel shall be saved.*

IV. But there is a remarkable prophecy of Ezekiel, which comprehends in little the fate of Egypt from the days of Nebuchadnezzar to the present. For therein it is foretold, that after the desolation of the land, and the captivity of the people by Nebuchadnezzar, xxix. 13, 15, it “should be a base kingdom: It shall be the basest of the kingdoms, neither shall it exalt itself any more above the nations; for I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule over the nations.” And again in the next chapter, ver. 12, 13. “I will sell the land into the hand of the wicked, and I will make the land waste, and all that is therein, by the hand of strangers: and there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt.” Such general prophecies, like general rules, are not to be understood so strictly

(*a*) In Flaccum. P. 971. Edit. Paris. 1640.

(*b*) Joseph Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 3. P. 512. Edit. Hudson.

(*c*) Joseph. *ibid.*

(*d*) De Bell. Jud. Lib. 7. Cap. 3. Sect. 3. P. 1299. Edit. Hudson.

and absolutely, as if they could not possibly admit of any kind of limitation or exception whatever. It is sufficient if they hold good for the most part, and are confirmed by the experience of many ages, though perhaps not without an exception of a few years. The prophets exhibit a general view of things, without entering into the particular exceptions. It was predicted, Gen. ix. 25. that "Canaan should be a servant of servants unto his brethren;" and generally his posterity were subjected to the descendants of his brethren: But yet they were not always so; upon some occasions they were superior; and Hannibal and the Carthaginians obtained several victories over the Romans, though they were totally subdued at last. In like manner it was not intended by this prophecy, that Egypt should ever afterwards, in every point of time, but only that it should for much the greater part of time, be a *base kingdom*, be tributary and subject to strangers. This is the purport and meaning of the prophecy; and the truth of it will best appear by a short deduction of the history of Egypt, from that time to this.

Amasis was left king by Nebuchadnezzar; and as he held his crown by the permission and allowance of the Babylonians, there is no room to doubt that he paid them tribute for it. Berosus, the Chaldean historian, (*a*) in a fragment preserved by Josephus, speaketh of Nebuchadnezzar's reducing Egypt to his obedience, and afterwards of his settling the affairs of the country, and carrying captives from thence to Babylon. By his constituting and settling the affairs of Egypt, nothing less could be meant than his appointing the governors, and the tribute that they should pay to him: and by carrying some Egyptians captive to Babylon, he plainly intended not only to weaken the country, but also to have them as hostages to secure the obedience of the rest, and the payment of their tribute. If Herodotus hath given no account of these transactions, the reason is evident, according to the observation cited before from Scaliger; the Egyptian priests would not inform him of things, which were for the discredit of their nation. However, we may, I think, confirm the truth of this assertion, even by Herodotus's own narration. The Persians succeeded in right of the Babylonians: and it appears (*b*) by Cyrus's sending for

(*a*) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 11. Sect. 1. P. 459, Edit. Hudson.

(*b*) Herod. Lib. 3. Sect. 1. P. 161. Edit. Gale.

the best physician in Egypt to Amasis, who was obliged to force one from his wife and children; and by Cambyfes's demanding the daughter of Amasis, not for a wife, but for a mistress; by these instances, I say, it appears that they considered him as their tributary and subject. And indeed no reason can be assigned for the strong resentment of the Persians against Amasis, and their horrid barbarity to his dead body, so probable and satisfactory, as his having revolted and rebelled against them. Herodotus himself (*a*) mentions the league and alliance which Amasis made with Croesus king of Lydia, against Cyrus.

Upon the ruins of the Babylonian empire, Cyrus erected the Persian. Xenophon hath written the life of this extraordinary man: and he affirms (*b*) both in the introduction and near the conclusion of his history, that Cyrus also conquered Egypt, and made it part of his empire; and there is not a more faithful, as well as a more elegant historian, than Xenophon. But whether Cyrus did or not, it is universally allowed that his (*c*) son Cambyfes did conquer Egypt, and deprived Psammenitus of his crown, to which he had newly succeeded upon the death of his father Amasis. Cambyfes purposed to have made Psammenitus administrator of the kingdom under him, as it was the custom of the Persians to do to the conquered princes: but Psammenitus forming schemes to recover the kingdom, and being convicted thereof, was forced to drink bull's blood, and thereby put an end to his life. The Egyptians groaned under the yoke near forty years. Then they revolted (*d*) toward the latter end of the reign of Darius the son of Hytaspes: But his son and successor Xerxes, in the second year of his reign, subdued them again, and reduced them to a worse condition and servitude than they had been in under Darius, and appointed his brother Achæmenes governor of Egypt. About four and twenty years after this, when (*e*) the Egyptians heard of the troubles in Persia, about the succession to the throne after the death of Xerxes, they revolted again at the instigation of Inarus, king of Lybia; and having drove away the Persian

(*a*) Herod. Lib. 1. Sect. 77. P. 32. Edit. Gale.

(*b*) Xenophon. Cyropæd. Lib. 1. P. 2. Lib. 8. P. 237. Edit. Henr. Steph. 1581.

(*c*) Herod. Lib. 3. Sect. 10—15. P. 164—167. Edit. Gale.

(*d*) Herod. Lib. 7. Sect. 1 et 7, P. 382 et 384. Edit. Gale.

(*e*) Thucydides Lib. 1. Sect. 104—110. P. 57—60. Edit. Hudson. Diodorus Siculus. Lib. 11. P. 279. Edit. Steph. P. 54, &c. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhodmani.

tribute collectors, they constituted Inarus their king. Six years were employed in reducing them to obedience, and all Egypt submitted again to the king Artaxerxes Longimanus, except Amyrtæus, who reigned in the fens, whether the Persians could not approach to take him: but Inarus, the author of these evils, was betrayed to the Persians, and was crucified. However, they (*a*) permitted his son Thannyra to succeed his father in the kingdom of Lybia; and Egypt continued in subjection all the remaining part of the long reign of Artaxerxes. In the (*b*) tenth year of Darius Nothus, they revolted again under the conduct of Amyrtæus, who sallied out of the fens, drove the Persians out of Egypt, made himself master of the country, and reigned there six years; but his son Pausiris, (*c*) as Herodotus informs us, succeeding him in his kingdom by the favor of the Persians, this argues that the Persians had again subdued Egypt, or at least that the king was not established without their consent and approbation. It is certain, that after this, Egypt gave much trouble to the Persians. Artaxerxes Mnémon (*d*) made several efforts to reconquer it, but all in vain. It was not totally and finally subdued till the (*e*) ninth year of the following reign of Ochus, about three hundred and fifty years before Christ; when Nectanebus the last king fled into Ethiopia, and Ochus became absolute master of the country, and having appointed one of his noble's, named Pherendates, to be his viceroy and governor of Egypt, he returned with great glory and immense treasures to Babylon. Egypt from that time hath never been able to recover its liberties. It hath always been subject to strangers. It hath never been governed by a king of its own. From this last revolt of the Egyptians, in the tenth year of Darius Nothus, to their total subjugation in the ninth year of Ochus, I think there are computed sixty-four years; and this is the only exception of any significance to the general truth of the prophecy. But what are sixty-four years, compared to two thousand three hundred and twenty-five? for so many

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(*a*) Herod. Lib. 3. Sect. 15. P. 167. Edit. Gale.

(*b*) Eusebius in Chronico. Usher's Annals, A. M. 3590. P. 146. Pridaux Connect. Part 1. Book 6. Anno 414.

(*c*) Herod. Lib. 3. Sect. 15. Ibid.

(*d*) Diod. Sic. Lib. 15. P. 478. Edit. Steph. P. 357. &c. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod.

(*e*) Diod. Sic. Lib. 16. P. 537. Edit. Steph. P. 448. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. Usher's Annals. A. M. 3654. P. 196. Prid. Connect. Part 1. B. 7. Anno 350.

years have passed from the conquest of Egypt by Nébuchad-
nezzar to this time. They are really as nothing, and not worth
mentioning in comparison. And during these sixty-four years
we see, that the Egyptians were not entirely independent of the
Persians. Pausiris succeeded his father Amyrtæus, in the king-
dom by their consent and favor; and during the rest of the
time the Egyptians lived in continual fear and dread of the
Persians, and were either at war with them, or with one another.
And perhaps this part of the prophecy was not intended to
take effect immediately: its completion might be designed to
commence from this period, when the Persians had totally sub-
dued Egypt, and then there should be *no more a prince of the
land of Egypt.*

After the Persians, Egypt came into the hands of the Mace-
donians. It submitted to Alexander the great, without striking
a stroke; made no attempts at that favorable juncture to recover
its liberties, but was content only to change its master. After
the death of Alexander, it fell to the share of Ptolemy, one of
his four famous captains, and was governed by his family for
several generations. The two or three first of the Ptolemies
were wise and potent princes, but most of the rest were prodi-
gies of luxury and wickedness. It is (a) Strabo's observation,
that all, after the third Ptolemy, governed very ill, being cor-
rupted by luxury; but they who governed worst of all, were
the fourth, and the seventh, and the last called Auletes. The
persons here intended by Strabo were (b) Ptolemy Philopator,
or the lover of his father, so called, as Justin conceives, by way
of antiphrasis, or with a contrary meaning, because he was a
parricide, and murdered both his father and his mother: and
(c) Ptolemy Physcon, or the big-bellied, who affected the title
of *Euergetes*, or *the benefactor*; but the Alexandrians more
justly named him *Kakergetes*, or *the malefactor*; and (d) Pto-
lemy Auletes, or *the piper*, so denominated, because he spent
much of his time in playing on the pipe, and used to contend

(a) Omnes post terrium Ptolemæim male regnum gesserunt, luxu
perditi: omnium vero passime quartus, et septimus, et ultimus, Au-
letes. Strab. Lib. 17. P. 796. Edit. Paris, P. 1146. Edit. Amstel.
1707.

(b) Justin. Lib. 29. Cap. 1. Sect. 5. P. 466. Edit. Grævii. Æ-
gyptum, patre ac matre interfectis, occupaverat Ptolemaus, cui ex
facinoris crimine, cognamentum Philopatori fuit.

(c) Athenæus, Lib. 12. P. 549. Edit. Casaubon.

(d) Strabo ibid.

for the prize in the public shows. This kingdom of the Macedonians (*a*) continued from the death of Alexander, two hundred and ninety-four years, and ended in the famous Cleopatra, of whom it is not easy to say, whether she excelled more in beauty, or wit, or wickedness.

After the Macedonians, Egypt fell under the dominion of the Romans. The Romans had either by virtue of treaties or by force of arms, obtained great authority there, and were in a manner arbiters of the kingdom before, but after the death of Cleopatra (*a*) Octavius Cæsar reduced it into the form of a Roman province, and appointed Cornelius Gallus, the friend of Virgil, to whom the tenth eclogue is inscribed, the first perfect or governor; and so it continued to be governed by a perfect or viceroy sent from Rome, or from Constantinople, when after the division of the Roman empire, it fell to the share of the eastern emperors. It was first made a province of the Roman empire in the year (*b*) thirty before Christ, and in this state it remained without much variation till the year six hundred and forty one after Christ, that is six hundred and seventy years in the whole, from the reign of Augustus Cæsar, to that of the emperor Heraclius.

Then it was that the (*c*) Saracens, in the reign of Omar, their third emperor, and under the command of Amrou, the son of Aas, invaded and conquered Egypt, took Misrah, (formerly Memphis, now Cairo) by storm, and also Alexandria, after they had besieged it fourteen months, and had lost twenty-three thousand men before it: and the rest of the kingdom soon followed the fortune of the capital cities, and submitted to the conqueror. There is one thing which was affected partly in the wars of the Romans, and partly by the Saracens, and which no lover of learning can pass over without lamentation; and that is, the destruction of the library at Alexandria. This famous library was founded by the first Ptolemies, and was so much enlarged and improved by their successors, that it

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(*a*) Clemens Alexan. Strom. Lib. 1. P. 143. Edit. Sylburgh. P. 396. Edit. Potter. Prideaux Connect. Part 2. B. 8. Anno 30. Herod. 8.

(*b*) Strabo. Lib. 17. P. 797. et 819. Edit. Paris. P. 1157 et 1175. Edit. Amstel. 1707. Dion. Cass. Lib. 51. P. 455. Edit. Leunclav.

(*c*) See Usher, Prideaux, &c. under that year.

(*d*) Elmacini Hist. Saracen. Lib. 1. P. 23, 24. Abul-Pharajii Hist. Dyn. 9. P. 112. Verf. Pocockii. Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens. Vol. 1. P. 344, &c.

(a) amounted to the number of seven hundred thousand volumes. It consisted (b) of two parts, one in that quarter of the city called Bruchion, containing four hundred thousand volumes, and the other with the Serapeum, containing three hundred thousand volumes.

It happened, that while Julius Cæsar was making war upon the inhabitants of Alexandria, (c) the library in Bruchion, together with other buildings, was burnt, and the (d) four hundred thousand volumes which was kept therein were all consumed. But this loss was in some measure repaired by the (e) Pergamean library, consisting of two hundred thousand volumes, which Anthony presented to Cleopatra, and by the addition of other books afterwards, so that (f) this latter library was reckoned as numerous and as famous as the other ever was: and it came to the same fatal end, this being also destroyed by fire. For (g) John the Grammarian, a famous philosopher of Alexandria, being in great favor with Amrou the Saracen general, asked of him the royal library. Amrou replied, that it was not in his power to give it him, without leave first obtained from the emperor of the faithful. Amrou therefore wrote to Omar and acquainted him with John's petition, to which the caliph returned this answer; that if what was contained in those books was agreeable to the book of God or the Koran, the Koran was sufficient without them; but if it was repugnant to the Koran, it was no ways useful; and therefore he commanded them to be destroyed. Amrou in obedience to the caliph's commands ordered them to be distributed among the baths of the city, and to be burnt in warming them, whereof there were no fewer at that time in Alexandria than four thousand: and yet there pas-

(a) Ammianus Marcellinus, Lib. 22. Cap. 16. P. 343. Edit. Valesii 1681. ubi vide etiam quæ Valesius adnotavit. A Gellius. Lib. 6. Cap. 17.

(b) Epiphanius de Mensuris et Ponderibus. Ob. Vol. II. P. 168. Edit. Petavi. Paris. 1622. Chrysoptom. Advers. Judæos. Orat. 1. P. 595. Op. Vol. I. Edit. Benedict.

(c) Plutarch in Julio Cæsare. Op. Vol. I. P. 731. Edit. Paris. 1624. Dion. Cassius, Lib. 42. P. 202. Edit. Launclav.

(d) Seneca de Tranquill. animi. Cap. 9. Op. Vol. I. P. 362. Edit. Varior. Orosii Hist. Lib. 6. Cap. 15. P. 421. Edit. Havercamp.

(e) Plutarch in Antonia. Op. Vol. I. P. 943. Edit. Paris. 1624.

(f) Tertull. Apol. Cap. 18. P. 18. Edit. Rigaltii. 1675.

(g) Abul-Pharajii Hist. Dyn. 9. P. 114. Versio Pocockii. Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens. Vol. I. P. 359. &c. Prideaux Connect. Part. 2. B. 1. Anno 284. Ptolemy Philadelph. 1.

fed six months before the books were all consumed; which sufficiently evinces how great their number was, and what an inestimable loss, not only Egypt, but all the learned world hath sustained. Egypt before this (*a*) was frequented by learned foreigners for the sake of this library, and produced several learned natives; but after this it became more and more *a base kingdom*, and sunk into greater ignorance and superstition. Mohammedism was now established there instead of Christianity, and the government of the caliphs and sultans continued till about the year of Christ one thousand two hundred and fifty.

About that time it was that the (*b*) Mamalucs usurped the royal authority. The (*c*) word in general signifies a slave bought with money, but is appropriated in particular to those Turkish and Circassian slaves, whom the sultans of Egypt bought very young, and trained up in military exercises, and so made them their choicest officers and soldiers, and by them controlled their subjects, and subdued their enemies. These slaves perceiving how necessary and useful they were, grew at length insolent and audacious, slew their sovereigns, and usurped the government to themselves. It is commonly said, that none but the sons of Christians were taken into this order; and there are other popular mistakes about them, which are current among European author's, and which (*d*) Sir William Temple, among others, hath adopted and expressed, as he doth every thing, in a lively and elegant manner. “The sons of the deceased sultans enjoyed the estates and riches left by their fathers, but by the constitutions of the government, no son of a sultan was ever either to succeed, or even to be elected sultan: So that in this, contrary to all others ever known in the world, to be born of a prince, was a certain and unalterable exclusion from the kingdom; and none was ever to be cho-

(*a*) Vide Amm. Marcellin. Lib. 22. Cap. 16. P. 344, &c. Edit. Valeſii. Paris. 1681.

(*b*) Abul-Pharajii. Hist. Dyn. 9. P. 325, &c. et Pocockii Supplementum, P. 8, &c.

(*c*) Pocockii Supplem. P. 7. Mamluc autem (et cum de pluribus dicitur Mamalic) servum emptitium denotat, seu qui pretio numerato in domini possessionem cedit. Herbelot Bibliothéque Orientale, P. 545. Mamlouk. Ce mot dont le pluriel est Mamelik, signifie en Arabe un esclave en general, mais en particulier, il a été appliqué a ces esclaves Turcs et Circassiens, &c.

(*d*) Sir W. Temple's works. Vol. I. Miscellanea, Part 2. Essay on Heroic Virtue, Sect. 5. P. 224.

“son sultan, that had not been actually sold for a slave, brought from Circassia, and trained up a private soldier in the Mamaluc bands.” But (*a*) they who are better versed in oriental authors, assures us that these are vulgar errors: and it appears from the (*b*) Arabian historians, that among the Mamalucs, the son often succeeded the father in the kingdom. Their government is thus characterised by an (*c*) Arabic author quoted by Dr. Pococke: “If you consider the whole time that they possessed the kingdom, especially that which was nearer the end, you will find it filled with wars, battles, injuries and rapines.” Their government (*d*) began with sultan Ibeg, in the six hundred and forty-eighth year of the Hegira, and the year of Christ one thousand two hundred and fifty; and continued through a (*e*) series of twenty-four Turkish, and twenty-three Circassian Mamaluc sultans: two hundred and seventy-five Arabic, and two hundred and sixty-seven Julian years; and (*f*) ended with Tumanbai, in the nine hundred and twenty-third year of the Hegira, and in the year of Christ one thousand five hundred and seventeen.

For at that time (*g*) Selim the ninth emperor of the Turks, conquered the Mamalucs, hanged their last sultan Tumanbai before one of the gates of Cairo, put an end to their government; caused five hundred of the chiefest Egyptian families to be transported to Constantinople, as likewise a great number of Mamalucs wives and children, besides the sultan’s treasure, and other immense riches; and annexed Egypt to the Othman empire, whereof it hath continued a province from that day to

(*a*) Pocockii Supplem. P. 31. Ex his quæ dicta sunt facile patet, in errore esse eos qui Mamlucos Christianorum tantum modo filios fuisse autumant; nec non in illiis errasse, quæ de successionis apud eos jure, eorum que disciplina tradunt. Herbelot Bib. Orient. P. 545. Il paroît par ce que l’on vient de voir, que les Mamelucs n’étoient pas fils de Chrétiens (si ce n’est peut être quelqu’un d’entr’eux) comme plusieurs de nos historiens l’ont avancé.

(*b*) Pocockii Supplem. P. 8, 10, 11, 13, 18, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25.

(*c*) Al. Jannabius, in Pocockii Supplem. P. 31. Si totum quo regnum occuparunt tempus respicias, præsertim quod fini opius, reperies illud bellis, pugnis, injuriis et rapinis refertum.

(*d*) Pocock, P. 8. Herbelot, P. 479.

(*e*) Pocock, P. 8—30. Herbelot, P. 545.

(*f*) Pocock, P. 30. Herbelot, P. 1031.

(*g*) Pocockii Supplem. P. 30 et 49. Herbelot, Bibli. Orient. P. 545 et 802 et 1031. Savage’s Abridgment of Knolles and Rycaut’s Turkish Hist. Vol. I. P. 241.

this. It is governed, as prince Cantemir informs us, by a Turkish *basha*, (a) with twenty-four *begs* or princes under him, who are advanced from servitude to the administration of public affairs; a superstitious notion possessing the Egyptians, that it is decreed by fate, that captives shall reign, and the natives be subject to them. But it cannot well be called a superstitious notion, being a notion in all probability at first derived from some tradition of these prophecies, that *Egypt should be a base kingdom, that there should be no more a prince of the land of Egypt, and that Ham, in his posterity, should be a servant of servants unto his brethren.*

By this deduction it appears, that the truth of Ezekiel's prediction is fully attested by the whole series of the history of Egypt from that time to the present. And who could pretend to say upon human conjecture, that so great a kingdom, so rich and fertile a country, should ever afterwards become tributary and subject to strangers? It is now a great deal above two thousand years since this prophecy was first delivered; and what likelihood or appearance was there, that the Egyptians should for so many ages bow under a foreign yoke, and never in all that time be able to recover their liberties, and have a prince of their own to reign over them? But as is the prophecy, so is the event. For not long afterwards Egypt was conquered by the Babylonians, and after the Babylonians (b) by the Persians; and after the Persians it became subject to the Macedonians, and after the Macedonians to the Romans, and after the Romans to the Saracens, and then to the Mamalucs; and is now a province of the Othman empire.

Thus we see how Nineveh, Babylon, Tyre, and Egypt, the great adversaries and oppressors of the Jews, have been visited by divine vengeance for their enmity and cruelty to the people of God. Not that we must think God so partial as to punish these nations only for the sake of the Jews; they were guilty of other flagrant sins, for which the prophets denounced the divine judgments upon them. Egypt in particular was so severely threatened by the prophet Ezekiel, chap. xxix, xxx, xxxi. xxxii. for her idolatry, her pride, and her wickedness. And the Egyptians have generally been more wretched, as they have

(a) Prince Centemir's Hist. of the Othman Empire, Part 1. B. 3. P. 156, in the Notes.

(b) See Prid. Connect. Part 1. B. 1. Anno 589. Zedekiah 10.

generally been more wicked than other nations. Ancient authors describe them every where as superstitious and luxurious, as an (a) unwarlike and unserviceable people, as (b) a faithless and fallacious nation, always meaning one thing and pretending another, as (c) lovers of wine and strong drink, as cruel (d) in their anger, as (e) thieves, and tolerating all kinds of theft, as (f) patient of tortures, and though put to the rack, yet chusing rather to die than to confess the truth. Modern authors paint them still in blacker colours. The famous (g) Thevenot is very strong and severe; “The people of Egypt, generally speaking, are all swarthy, exceeding wicked, great rogues, cowardly, lazy, hypocrites, buggerers, robbers, treacherous, so very greedy of money, that they will kill a man for a *maidin*, or three halfpence.” Bishop (h) Pococke’s character of them is not much more favourable, tho’ not so opprobrious: “The natives of Egypt are now a slothful people, and delight in sitting still, hearing tales, and indeed seem always to have been more fit for the quiet life, than for any active scenes.—They are also malicious and envious to a great degree, which keeps them from uniting and setting up for themselves: and though they are very ignorant, yet they have a natural cunning and artifice, as well as falsehood, and this makes them always suspicious of travellers.—The love of money is so rooted in them, that nothing is to be done without bribery.—They think the greatest villainies are expiated, when once they wash their hands and feet.—Their

(a) Strabo, Lib. 17. P. 819. Edit. Paris. P. 1175. Edit. Amstel. 1707. Juvenal Sat. xv. 126. *imbelle et inutile vulgus.*

(b) Lucan v. 58. *non fidæ gentis.* Hirtius de Belle. Alexan. C. 16. *fallacem gentem, temperque alia cogitantem, alia simulantem.*

(c) Athenæus ex Dione Lib. 1. P. 34. Edit. Casaubon. *Vinosos ac bibaces.*

(d) Polyb. Lib. 15. P. 719. Edit. Casaubon. *Est enim hoc Egyptiis Hominiibus innatum, ut dum fervent ira mirum in modum sint crudeles.*

(e) A. Gallius, Lib. 11. Cap. 18. *Ex Aristone. furta omnia fuisse licita et impunita.* Diod. Sic. Lib. 1. P. 50. Edit. Steph. P. 79. Edit. Rhod.

(f) Ælian. Var. Hist. Lib. 7. Cap. 18. *Ægyptios aiunt patientissime ferre tormenta; et citius mori hominem Ægyptum in questionibus, tortum examinatumque, quam veritatem prodere.* Ammianus Marcell. Lib. 22. Cap. 16. P. 347. Edit. Valesii. 1681.

(g) Thevenot in Harris’s Collect. Vol. II. Chap. 8. P. 429.

(h) Pococke’s description of the East, Vol. I. Book 4. Chap. 4. P. 177, &c.

“ words pass for nothing, either in relations, promises, or professions of friendship, &c.” Such men are evidently born not to command, but to serve and obey. They are altogether unworthy of liberty. Slavery is the fittest for them, as they are fittest for slavery. It is an excellent political aphorism of the wisest of kings, and all history will bear witness to the truth of it, that, Prov. xiv. 34. “ Righteousness exalteth a nation, but “ sin is a reproach” and ruin “ to any people.”

XIII.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S *Dream of the great Empires.*

WE have seen how it pleased God to reveal unto the prophets the future condition of several of the neighbouring countries; but there are other prophecies which extend to more remote nations, those nations especially and their transactions, wherein the church of God was particularly interested and concerned. It pleased God too to make these revelations, at a time when his people seemed in other respects abandoned and forsaken, and did not so much deserve, as stand in need of light and comfort. Isaiah and Jeremiah prophesied in the declension of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah. Ezekiel and Daniel prophesied during the time of the Babylonish captivity. And the prophecies of Daniel are so clear and exact, that in former as well as in later times, it hath confidently been asserted, that they must have been written after the events, which they are pretended to foretel.

The famous Porphyry, who flourished at the latter end of the third century after Christ, was, I think, the first who denied their genuineness and authority. He wrote (*a*) fifteen books against the Christian religion, the twelfth of which was to depreciate the prophecies of Daniel: and therein he affirmed, that they were not composed by Daniel, whose name they bore, but by some body who lived in Judea about the time of Antiochus Epiphanes; because all to that time contained true history, but all beyond that were manifestly false. This work of Porphyry, together with the answers of Eusebius, Apollinarius, and Methodius, is wholly lost, excepting a few fragments and quotations, which are preserved in Jerome, and others of fathers. But, as (*b*) Jerome rightly observes, this method

(*a*) Cave. Hist. Lit. Vol. I. P. 156. Hieron. Præf. in Danielelem. Vol. III. P. 1072. Edit. Benedict.

(*b*) Cujus impugnatio testimonium veritatis est. Tanta enim dictorum fides fuit, ut propheta incredulis hominibus non videatur futura dixisse, sed narrasse præterita. Hieron. *ibid.*

of opposing the prophecies is the strongest testimony of their truth. For they were fulfilled with such exactness, that to infidels the prophet seemed not to have foretold things future, but to have related things past.

The celebrated author of *The Scheme of Litteral Prophecy considered*, hath followed the steps of Porphyry. He hath collected every thing, that in the course of his reading, he thought could be turned to the disparagement of the book of Daniel. He hath framed all that he had collected into eleven objections against it; and upon the whole, concludes with much positiveness and assurance, that it must be written in the days of the Maccabees. But his (a) two learned opponents, both of the same name, have solidly and clearly refuted his eleven objections, and shown them all to be mere cavils or direct falsities, groundless assertions, wrong quotations, or plain contradictions.

And indeed it may be proved, it hath been proved to a demonstration, as much as any thing of this nature can be proved to demonstration, by all the characters and testimonies both internal and external, that the prophecies of Daniel were written at the time that the scripture says they were written, and he prospered on account of these prophecies. Dan. vi. 28. "in the reign of Darius the Mede, and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian:" that is between five and six hundred years before Christ. It is very capricious and unreasonable in unbelievers to object, as Collins doth, to the prophecies of Daniel, sometimes that they are too plain, and sometimes that they are too obscure. But it will entirely overthrow the notion of their being written in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes or of the Maccabees, and will establish the credit of Daniel as a prophet beyond all contradiction, if it can be proved that there are several prophecies of his which have been fulfilled since the days of Antiochus Epiphanes and the Maccabees, as well as before; nay, that there are prophecies of his which are fulfilling in the world at this very time.

Daniel's first prophecy, and the ground-work, as I may say, of all the rest, was his interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's

(a) See Bishop Chandler's Vindication of his Defence of Christianity, and Mr. Samuel Chandler's Vindication of the Antiquity and Authority of Daniel's Prophecies, in Answer to the Scheme of Litteral Prophecy considered.

dream. This monarch, *in the second year of his reign*, Dan. ii. 1. according to the Babylonian account, or the fourth, according to the Jewish; that is, in the second year of his reigning alone, or the fourth from his first reigning jointly with his father, having subdued all his enemies, and firmly established his throne, was thinking "upon his bed," ver. 20. "what would come to pass hereafter," what should be the future success of his family and kingdom, and whether any, or what families and kingdoms might arise after his own: and as our waking thoughts usually give some tincture to our dreams, he dreamed of something to the same purpose, which astonished him, but which he could not rightly understand. The dream affected him strongly at the time; but awaking in confusion, he had but an imperfect remembrance of it, he could not recollect all the particulars. He called therefore, ver. 2. for "the magicians and astrologers:" and as absurdly as imperiously demanded of them, ver. 5. upon pain of death and destruction, "to make known to him both the dream and the interpretation thereof." They answered very reasonably, that no king had ever required such a thing, that it transcended all the powers and faculties of man; God alone, or only beings like God, could disclose it: ver. 10, 11. "There is not a man upon earth that can show the king's matter; therefore there is no king, lord, nor ruler, that asked such things at any magician, astrologer, or Chaldean: And it is a rare thing that the king requireth, and there is none other that can show it before the king, except the God, whose dwelling is not with flesh." But the pride of absolute power cannot hear any reason, or bear any control; and the king, greatly incensed, presently ordered all the magicians and wise-men of Babylon to be destroyed: ver. 12. "For this cause the king was angry, and very furious, and commanded to destroy all the wise-men of Babylon."

Daniel and his fellows would have been involved in the same fate as the rest; but by their joint and earnest prayers to the God of Heaven, "the secret was revealed unto Daniel in a night-vision:" ver. 19. "and Daniel blessed the God of Heaven." Daniel thus instructed was desirous to save the lives of the wise-men of Babylon, who were unjustly condemned, as well as his own: and he "went unto Arioch, the captain of the king's guard, whom the king had ordered to destroy the wise-men of Babylon: he went," ver. 24. "and

“ said thus unto him, Destroy not the wise-men of Babylon; bring me in before the king, and I will shew unto the king the interpretation.” The captain of the guard immediately introduced him to the king, and said, ver. 25. “ I have a man of the captives of Judah, that will make known unto the king the interpretation.” *I have found a man* said he, though Daniel had voluntarily offered himself; where Jerome remarks the manner of courtiers, *qui quum bona nunciant, sui videri volunt*, who when they relate good things, are willing to have them thought their own, and to have the merit ascribed to themselves. But Daniel was far from assuming any merit to himself, and said very modestly, that “ this secret” ver. 27. “ which the wise-men, astrologers, magicians, and soothsayers could not shew unto the king, was not revealed unto him” ver. 30. “ for any wisdom that he had more than others: but there is a God in Heaven” ver. 28. “ that revealeth secrets and maketh known to the king Nebuchadnezzar, what shall be in the latter days; or “ what shall come to pass hereafter,” as it is expressed, ver. 29, and 45. twice afterwards. The impious king, as (a) Jerome justly observes, had a prophetic dream, that the Saint interpreting it, God might be glorified, and the captives and those who served God in captivity might receive great consolation. We read the same thing of Pharaoh, not that Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar deserved to see such things, but that Joseph and Daniel by interpreting them might be preferred to all others. And as St. Jerome farther observes, that Nebuchadnezzar might admire the grace of divine inspiration, Daniel not only told him what he saw in his dream, but also what he thought within himself before his dream, ver. 29. “ As for thee, O king, thy thoughts came into thy mind, upon thy bed, what should come to pass hereafter: and he that revealeth secrets, maketh known unto thee what shall come to pass.”

Nebuchadnezzar’s dream was of a great image. “ This great

(a) Hieron. Comment. in ver. 1. Vidit rex impius somnium futurorum, ut interpretante Sancto quod viderat, Deus glorificaretur; et captivorum Deoque in captivitate servientium sit grande solatium. Hoc idem in Pharaone legimus, non quod Pharaon et Nabuchodonosor videre meruerint; sed quod Joseph et Daniel digni extiterint, qui interpretatione eorum omnibus præferrentur. Et postea in ver. 29.—et ut Nabuchodonosor divinæ inspirationis miretur gratiam, non solum quid in somnio viderit, sed ante somnium quid tacitus cogitarit exponit. Vol. III. P. 1077, et 1087. Edit. Benedict.

“image,” ver. 31. “whose brightness was excellent, stood before him, and the form thereof was terrible.” It appears from ancient coins and medals, that cities and people were often represented by figures of men and women. A great terrible human figure was therefore not an improper emblem of human power and dominion; and the various metals of which it was composed, not unfitly typify the various kingdoms which should arise. It consisted of four different metals, gold and silver and brass and iron mixed with clay; and these four metals, according to Daniel’s own interpretation, mean so many kingdoms; and the order of their succession is clearly denoted by the order of the parts, the (*a*) head and higher parts signifying the earlier times, and the lower the parts, the later the times. From hence, (*b*) as Calvin conceives, the poets drew their fables of the four ages of the world, the golden, the silver, the brazen, and the iron age; by which declension in this place it is signified, that the world always degenerates, and manners grow worse and worse. But Hesiod, who lived about two hundred years before Daniel, mentioned the four ages of the world; so that this vision was formed agreeably to the common received notion, and the common received notion was not first propagated from hence. Whether this notion of the world’s degenerating and growing worse and worse be true or not, these different kingdoms will naturally constitute the different heads of our discourse. And we shall follow the best commentators from Josephus down to Sir Isaac Newton, but we shall regard no commentator so much as the truth of history, the evidence of reason, and the analogy of scripture.

I. “This image’s head was of fine gold,” ver. 32. which Daniel interprets, ver. 38. “Thou art this head of gold,” thou, and thy family, and thy representatives. The *Babylonian* therefore was the first of these kingdoms; and it was fitly represented by *the head of fine gold*, on account of its great riches: and Babylon for the same reason was called by Isaiah, xiv. 4. “the golden city.” The *Affyrian* is usually said to be the first of the four great empires; and the name may be allowed to pass,

(*a*) Pars statuae quo superior, eo priora, quo inferior, eo feriora tempora significat. Grot. in loc.

(*b*) Ex hoc Danielis loco hauserint poetæ fabulas suas de quatuor sæculis, aureo, argenteo, æneo, ferreo; qua declinatione h. l. significatur, mundam semper decidere, et mores prolabi in deterius. Calvin apud Poli Synopsis.

if it be not taken too strictly. For the Assyrian empire properly so called was dissolved before this time; the Babylonian was erected in its stead; but the Babylonians are sometimes called Assyrians in the best classic authors, Herodotus, Xenophon, Strabo, and others, as well as in the holy scriptures. Daniel addresseth Nebuchadnezzar, as if he was a very powerful king, and his empire very large and extensive; ver. 37. "Thou, O king, art a king of kings." He perhaps might think, like some of his predecessors, that his conquests were owing to his own fortitude and prudence; Is. x. 13. "By the strength of my hand I have done it, and by my wisdom, for I am prudent; and I have removed the bounds of the people, and have robbed their treasures, and I have put down the inhabitants like a valiant man." But the prophet assures him that his success must be primarily imputed to the God of heaven; ver. 37, & 38. "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."

All the ancient eastern historians almost are lost: but there are some fragments even of heathen historians yet preserved, which speak of this mighty conqueror and his extended empire, Berofus in Josephus (*a*) saith, that he held in subjection Egypt, Syria, Phœnicia, Arabia, and by his exploits surpassed all the Chaldæans and Babylonians who reigned before him. Josephus (*b*) subjoins, that in the archives of the Phœnicians there are written things consonant to those which are said by Berofus concerning this king of the Babylonians, that he subdued Syria, and all Phœnicia: With these likewise agrees Philostratus in his history, and Megasthenes in the fourth book of his Indian history, throughout which he attempts to show, that the fore-

(*a*) Dicit insuper quod Babylonius tenuit Ægyptum, Syriam, Phœniciam, Arabiam; quodque priores Chaldæorum, et Babyloniorum reges universos rebus a se præclare gestis superarit. Apud Joseph. Contra, Apion, Lib. 1. Sect. 19. P. 1342. Edit. Hudson.

(*b*)—In archivis Phœnicum scripta reperiuntur, quæ cum iis conveniunt a Beroso narratis de rege Babyloniorum, Syriam scilicet et universam Phœniciam illum subegisse. His sane adstipulatur Philostratus in historiis,—et Megasthenes in quarto volumine rerum Indicarum, ubi ostendere contendit prædictum Babyloniorum regem et fortitudine, Herculem et magnitudine præstitisse, dicit enim eum Lybiæ bonam partem et Iberiam subjugasse. Joseph. Idid. Sect. 20. P. 1343.

mentioned king of the Babylonians exceeded Hercules in fortitude and greatness of exploits; for he affirms that he subdued the greatest part of Lybia and Spain. Strabo likewise from the same Megasthenes (*a*) asserts, that this king among the Chaldæans was more celebrated than Hercules, and that he proceeded as far as to the pillars of Hercules, and led his army out of Spain into Thrace and Pontus. But his empire, though of great extent, was yet of no long duration; for it (*b*) ended in his grandson Belsazzar, not seventy years after the delivery of this prophecy, nor above twenty-three years after the death of Nebuchadnezzar; which may be the reason of Daniel's speaking of him as the only king, *thou art this head of gold*, and *after thee shall arise*, &c. the rest being to be considered as nothing; nor do we read of any thing good or great that was performed by them.

II. "His breast and his arms of silver," ver. 32. which Daniel interprets, ver. 39. "And after thee shall arise another "kingdom inferior to thee." It is very well known, that the kingdom which arose after the Babylonian, was the Medo-Perfian. The two hands and the shoulders, saith (*c*) Josephus, signify that the empire of the Babylonians should be dissolved by two kings. The two kings were the kings of the Medes and Perfians, whose powers were united under Cyrus, who was son of one of the kings, and son-in-law of the other, and who besieged and took Babylon, put an end to that empire, and on its ruins erected the Medo-Perfian, or the Perfian as it is more usually called, the Perfians having soon gained the ascendancy over the Medes. This empire is said to be *inferior* as being *less* than the former, *minus te* as the Vulgar Latin translate it, because neither Cyrus nor any of his successors ever carried their arms into Africa or Spain so far as Nebuchadnezzar is reported to have done; or rather *inferior* as being *worse* than the former, *deterius te* as Castalio translates it, for (*d*) Dr. Prideaux asserts,

(*a*) —Navocodroforum autem qui magis a Chaldæis probatur quam Hercules, usque ad Columnas pervenisse,—et exercitum ex Hispania in Teraciam Pontumque duxisse. Strabo, Lib. 15. P. 687. Edit. Paris. P. 1007. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

(*b*) See Usher's Annals, A. M. 3466. P. 100. Prideaux. Connect. Part 1. B. 2. Anno 539. Belsazzar 17.

(*c*) Duæ vero manus et humeri indicant imperium vestrum a duobus regibus eversum iri. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 10. Sect. 4. P. 457. Edit. Hudson.

(*d*) Prideaux Connect. Part 1. B. 2. Anno 539. Neriglissar 1.

and I believe he may assert very truly, that the kings of Persia were "the worst race of men that ever governed an empire." This empire from its first establishment by Cyrus to the death of the last king Darius Codomannus lasted not much above 200 years. Thus far all critics and commentators are agreed, that the two first kingdoms represented in Nebuchadnezzar's dream were the Babylonian and the Persian. As to the rest there hath been some controversy, but with little reason or foundation for it, only that some persons are troubled with the spirit of contradiction, and will dispute about the plainest points.

III. "His belly and his thighs of brass," ver. 32. which Daniel interprets ver. 39. "And another third kingdom of brass which shall bear rule over all the earth." It is universally known, that Alexander the great subverted the Persian empire. The kingdom therefore which succeeded to the Persian, was the Macedonian; and this kingdom was fitly represented by *brass*; for the Greeks were famous for their brazen armour, their usual epithet being *the brazen-coated Greeks*. Daniel's interpretation in (a) Josephus is, that another coming from the west, completely armed in brass, shall destroy the empire of the Medes and Persians. This third kingdom is also said to *bear rule over all the earth* by a figure usual in almost all authors. Alexander himself (b) commanded, that he should be called *the king of all the world*; not that he really conquered, or near conquered the whole world, but he had considerable dominions in Europe, Asia, and Africa, that is in all the three parts of the world then known; and (c) Diodorus Siculus and other historians give an account of ambassadors coming from almost all the world to congratulate him upon his success, or to submit to his empire: and then especially, as (d) Arrian remarks, did Alexander himself appear to himself and to those about him to be *master both of all the earth and sea*.

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(a) Illorum autem imperium alius quidam ab occidente veniens destruet. ære totus obductus. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 10. Sect. 4. P. 457. Edit. Hudson.

(b) Accepto deinde imperio, regem se terrarum omnium ac mundi appellari iussit. Justin. Lib. 12. Cap. 16. Sect. 9. Edit. Grævii.

(c) Quo tempore e cunctis fere orbis terrarum partibus legati ad Alexandrum venerunt, &c. Diod. Sic. Lib. 17. P. 622. Edit. Steph. P. 579. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod.

(d) Ac tum primum Alexandrum sibi ipsi et qui cum eo erant universæ terræ ac maris dominum visum esse. Arrian de Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. Cap. 15. P. 294. Edit. Gronov.

That this third kingdom therefore was the Macedonian every one allows, and must allow: but then it is controverted, whether this kingdom ended in the person of Alexander, or was continued in his successors. St. Jerome saith (*a*) expressly, that the third kingdom signifies Alexander, and the kingdom of the Macedonians, and of the successors of Alexander. Which is rightly named brazen, saith he: for among all metals brass is more vocal, and tinkles louder, and its sound is diffused far and wide, that it portended not only the fame and power of the kingdom, but also the eloquence of the Greek language. Another commentator observes, (*b*) that this kingdom is compared to the belly, to denote the drunkenness of Alexander, and the profuse luxury of his successors, especially of the Ptolemies. It was a strange wild conceit in Grotius and others, to think that the kingdom of Alexander and of his successors made two different kingdoms. Grotius was indeed a very great man, and for the most part a very able and useful commentator: but the greatest and ablest men have their weaknesses, and none hath betrayed more weakness, or committed more errors in chronology and history than he hath done, in explaining the prophecies. His notions here are as mean and contracted, as they are generous and enlarged in other instances.

The Seleucidæ who reigned in Syria, and the Lagidæ who reigned in Egypt, might be designed particularly by *two thighs of brass*. Of all Alexander's successors they might be pointed out alone, because they alone had much connection with the Jewish church and nation. But their kingdom was no more a different kingdom from that of Alexander, than the parts differ from the whole. It was the same government still continued. They who governed were still Macedonians. The metal was the same, and the nation was the same: nor is the same nation ever represented by different metals, but the different metals always signify different nations. All ancient authors too speak of the kingdom of Alexander and of his successors as one and the same

(*a*) Et regnum tertium aliud æneum, quod imperabit universæ terræ. Alexandrum significat, et regnum Macedonum, successorumque Alexandri. Quod recte æneum dicitur: Inter omnia enim metalla æs vocalius est, et tinnit clarius, et sonitus ejus longe lateque diffunditur, ut non solum famam et potentiam regni, sed et eloquentiam Græci sermonis ostenderet. Hieron. Vol. III. P. 1081. Edit. Benedict.

(*b*) Comfertur hoc ventri, ad notandum Alexandri crapulam, et successorum ejus præcipue Ptolemæorum effusam luxuriam. Tirinus apud Poli Synopsi.

kingdom. The thing is implied in the very name by which they are usually called, *the successors of Alexander*. Alexander being dead, (a) saith Josephus, the empire was divided among his successors; he doth not say that so many new empires were erected. After the death of Alexander, saith (b) Justin, the kingdoms of the east were divided among his successors: and he still denominates them Macedonians, and their empire the Macedonian; and reckons Alexander the same to the Macedonians, as Cyrus was to the Persians, and Romulus to the Romans. Grotius himself (c) acknowledgeth, that even now the Hebrews call those kingdoms by one name *the kingdom of the Grecians*. There is one insuperable objection against the kingdoms of the Lagidæ and of the Seleucidæ being a different kingdom from that that of Alexander, because if they are not considered as parts of Alexander's dominion, they cannot be counted one kingdom, they constitute properly two separate and distinct kingdoms.

IV. "His legs of iron, his feet part of iron, and part of clay," ver. 33. which is thus interpreted by Daniel ver. 40, 41, 42, 43. "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, 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." Here are farther proofs that the kingdoms of the Seleucidæ and of

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(a) Alexandro autem vita defuncto, imperium inter successores divisum est. Joseph. Antiq. L. 11. C. 8. S. 7. P. 505. Edit. Hudson.

(b) Post mortem Alexandri magni, dum inter successores ejus orientis regna dividerentur, &c. Justin. L. 41. C. 4. S. 1. Speaking of the Parthians. Postremo Macedonibus triumphato oriente servierunt, C. 1. S. 5. Hi postea diductis Macedonibus in bellum civile, &c. C. 4. S. 2. Administratio gentis post defectionem Macedonici imperii sub regibus fuit. C. 2. S. 1. Sic Arsaces quæsito simul constitutoque regno, non minus memorabilis Parthis, quam Peris Cyrus, Macedonibus Alexander, Romanis Romulus, natura senectute decedit. C. 5. S. 5. Edit. Gravii.

(c) Etiam nunc. Hebræi ista imperia uno nomine appellant regnum Graecorum. Grot. in Dan. VII. 7.

the Lagidæ cannot possibly be the fourth kingdom, because the marks and characters here given of the fourth kingdom by no means agree with either of those kingdoms. This fourth kingdom is described as stronger than the preceding. As iron breaketh and bruisseth all other metals, so this breaketh and subdueth all the former kingdoms: but the kingdoms of the Lagidæ and of the Seleucidæ were so far from being stronger, that they were much weaker, and less than any of the former kingdoms. This kingdom too is represented as divided into ten toes: but when or where were the kingdoms of the Lagidæ and of the Seleucidæ divided into so many parts? Besides, the metal here is different, and consequently the nation should be different from the preceding. The four different metals must signify four different nations: and as the gold signified the Babylonians, and the silver the Persians, and the brass the Macedonians; so the iron cannot signify the Macedonians again, but must necessarily denote some other nation: and we will venture to say that there is not a nation upon earth, to which this description is applicable, but the Romans.

The Romans succeeded next to the Macedonians, and therefore in course were next to be mentioned. The Roman empire was stronger and larger than any of the preceding. The Romans break in pieces, and subdued all the former kingdoms. As Josephus said, that the two arms of silver denoted the kings of the Medes and Persians; so we may say in like manner, that the two legs of iron signified the two Roman consuls. The iron was *mixed with miry clay*, and the Romans were defiled with a mixture of barbarous nations. The Roman empire was at length divided into ten lesser kingdoms, answering to the ten toes of the image, as we shall see hereafter. These kingdoms retained much of the old Roman strength, and manifested it upon several occasions, so that *the kingdom was partly strong and partly broken*. They mingled themselves with the *seed of men*; they made marriages and alliances one with another, as they continue to do at this day: but no hearty union ensued; reasons of state are stronger than the ties of blood, and interest generally avails more than affinity. Some expound it of the secular and ecclesiastical powers, sometimes agreeing, sometimes clashing and interfering with each other, to the weakening of both, and endangering their breaking to pieces. Or if by *the seed of men* we are to understand the same as by *the daughters of men*, Gen. vi. 2. those of a false and different

religion, it may allude to the intermarriages, which several of the European nations, and particularly the French, Spanish and Portuguese, have made with the Indians, Africans, and Americans. Thus some of the ten kingdoms who call themselves *sons of God*, and the *only sons of God* by adoption, have mixed with *the seed of men*, with strangers to him; and yet no solid union ensues. Which observation was suggested to me by an unknown Correspondent, Mr. Hercules You ge, an ingenious Clergyman of Carrick in Ireland. The Roman empire therefore is represented in a double state, first with the strength of iron, conquering all before it, *his legs of iron*; and then weakened and divided by the mixture of barbarous nations, *his feet part of iron, and part of clay*. It subdued Syria, and made the kingdom of the Seleucidæ a Roman province in the (a) year sixty-five before Christ; it subdued Egypt, and made the kingdom of the Lagidæ a Roman province in the year thirty before Christ: and in the fourth century after Christ, it began to be torn in pieces by the incursions of the barbarous nations.

St. Jerome lived to see the incursions of the barbarous nations: and his (b) comment is, that “the fourth kingdom, which plainly belongs to the Romans, is the iron that breaketh and subdueth all things; but his feet and his toes are part of iron, and part of clay, which is most manifestly proved at this time: For as in the beginning nothing was stronger and harder than the Roman empire, so in the end of things nothing is weaker; since both in civil wars, and against divers nations, we want the assistance of other barbarous nations.” He hath given the same interpretation in other parts of his works; and it seemeth that he had been blamed for it, as a reflection upon the government; and therefore he maketh this apology for himself. “If (c) saith he in explaining the statue

(a) See Uther, Prideaux, and other chronologers.

(b) Regnum autem quartum, quod perspicue pertinet ad Romanos, ferrum est quod cominuit et domat omnia: sed pedes ejus et digiti ex parte ferrei, et ex parte sunt fœdiles, quod hoc tempore manifestissime comprobatur. Sicut enim in principio nihil Romano imperio fortius et durius fuit; ita in fine rerum nihil imbecillius: quando et in bellis civilibus, et adversum diversas nationes, aliarum gentium barbararum indigemus auxilia. Vol. III. P. 1082. Edit. Benedict.

(c) Quod si in expositione statuæ pedumque ejus, et digitorum discrepantia, ferrum et testam super Romano regno interpretatus

“ and the difference of his feet and toes, I have interpreted
 “ the iron and clay of the Roman kingdom, which the scripture
 “ foretels should first be strong, and then weak, let them not
 “ impute it to me but to the prophet: For we must not so
 “ flatter princes, as to neglect the verity of the holy scriptures,
 “ nor is a general disputation an injury to a single person.”

All ancient writers both Jewish and Christian, agree with Jerome in explaining the fourth kingdom to be the Roman. Porphyry, who was a heathen, and an enemy to Christ, was the first who broached the other opinion; which, though it hath been maintained since by some of the moderns, is yet not only destitute of authority, but is even contrary to the authority of both scripture and history. It is a just observation of (a) Mr. Mede, who was as able and consummate a judge as any in these matters; “ The Roman empire to be the fourth kingdom of
 “ Daniel, was believed by the church of Israel both before and
 “ in our Saviour’s time; received by the disciples of the apostles,
 “ and the whole Christian church for the first three hundred
 “ years, without any known contradiction. And I confess,
 “ having so good ground in scripture, it is with me *tantum non*
 “ *articulus fidei, little less than an article of faith.*”

V. Besides this image, Nebuchadnezzar saw, ver. 34, 35. 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 threshing 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:” Which is thus interpreted and explained by Daniel, ver. 44, 45. “ And in the days of those 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 with-

sum, quod primum forte, dein imbecillum scriptura protendit, non mihi imputent, sed prophetæ. Neque enim sic adulandum est principibus, ut sanctarum scripturarum veritas negligatur, nec generalis disputatio unius personæ injuria sit. Præf. in Isaia Cap. xxxvi. Vol. III. P. 283. Eit. Benedict.

(a) Mede’s Works, B. 4. Epist. 6. P. 736.

“ out hands, and that it brake in pieces the iron, the brass, the clay, the silver, and the gold.” They who maintain that the fourth kingdom was the kingdoms of the Seleucidæ and of the Lagidæ, do, many of them, maintain likewise that this fifth kingdom was the Roman. But how can these characters agree with the Roman empire? How was the Roman empire *cut out of the mountain without hands*, or formed without human force and human policy? How was the Roman empire *of God’s erection* more than any of the former kingdoms? How can the Roman empire which is *left to other people*, be said *not to be left to other people*, and how can that which is *broken in pieces*, be said to *stand for ever*?

This description can with propriety only be understood, as the ancients understood it, of the kingdom of Christ. *And in the days of these kings*, that is, in the days of some of them. As “in the days when the judges ruled,” Ruth i. 1. signifies *in the day when some of the judges ruled*; so *in the days of these kings*, signifies *in the days of some of these kingdoms*. And it must be during the days of the last of them, because they are reckoned *four* in succession, and consequently this must be the fifth kingdom. Accordingly the kingdom of Christ was set up during the days of the last of these kingdoms, that is the Romans. The *stone* was totally a different thing from the *image*, and the kingdom of Christ is totally different from the kingdoms of this world. *The stone was cut out of the mountain without hands*, as our heavenly body is said, 2 Cor. v. 1. to be “a building of God, an house not made with hands,” that is spiritual, as the phrase is used in other places. Mark xiv. 58. compared with John ii. 21. See also Coloss. ii. 11. This the (a) fathers generally apply to Christ himself, who was miraculously born of a virgin, without the concurrence of a man: but it should rather be understood of the kingdom of Christ, which was formed out of the Roman empire, not by number of hands, or strength of armies, but without human means, and the virtue of second causes. This kingdom was *set up by the God of heaven*; and from hence the phrase of *the kingdom of heaven* came to signify the kingdom of the Messiah; and so it was used and understood by the Jews, and so it is applied by our Saviour in the New Testament. Other Kingdoms were raised by human ambition and worldly

(a) Justin. Martyr. cum Tryphone Dial. P. 301. Edit. Thirlbii. Irenæ. Lib. 3. advers. Hæreses. Cap. 28. P. 258. Edit. Græc. Hieron. Comment. in locum. Vol. III. P. 1081. Edit. Benedict, &c. &c

power: but this was the work not of man, but of God: this was truly, as it is called, *the kingdom of heaven*; and John xviii. 36. "a kingdom not of this world;" its laws, its powers, were all divine. This kingdom was *never to be destroyed*, as the Babylonian, the Persian, and the Macedonian, empires have been, and in great measure also the Roman. This kingdom was to *break in pieces and consume all the kingdoms*, to spread and enlarge itself, so that it should comprehend within itself all the former kingdoms. This kingdom was to *fill the whole earth*, to become universal, and to *stand for ever*.

As the fourth kingdom or the Roman empire was represented in a twofold state, first strong and flourishing *with legs of iron*, and then weakened and divided *with feet and toes part of iron and part of clay*; so this fifth kingdom or the kingdom of Christ is described likewise in two states, which (a) Mr. Mede rightly distinguisheth by the names of *regnum lapideis* the kingdom of the stone, and *regnum montis* the kingdom of the mountain; the first when *the stone was cut out of the mountain without hands*, the second when it became itself *a mountain and filled the whole earth*. *The stone was cut out of the mountain without hands*, the kingdom of Christ was first set up, while the Roman empire was in its full strength with *legs of iron*. The Roman empire was afterwards divided into ten lesser kingdoms, the remains of which are subsisting at present. The image is still standing upon his feet and toes of iron and clay; the kingdom of Christ is yet *a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence*: but the stone will one day smite the image upon the feet and toes, and destroy it utterly, and will itself *become a great mountain, and fill the whole earth*: or in other words Rev. xi. 15. "the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever." We have therefore seen the kingdom of the *stone*, but we have not yet seen the kingdom of the *mountain*. Some parts of this prophecy still remain to be fulfilled: but the exact completion of the other parts will not suffer us to doubt of the accomplishment of the rest also in due season.

As we may presume to say that this is the only true and genuine interpretation of this passage, so likewise is it the most consonant to the sense of all ancient writers, both Jews and Christians; and its antiquity will be a farther recommendation and confirmation of its truth. Jonathan Bel Uzziel, who

(a) Mede's Words. Book 4. Epist. 8. P. 743.

made the Chaldee Targum or paraphrase upon the prophets, (*a*) lived a little before our Saviour. He made no Chaldee version of Daniel, the greater part of this book being originally written in Chaldee, or his version is lost; but however he applies the prophecies of Daniel in his interpretation of other prophets. Thus in his paraphrase upon Habakuk he speaketh of the four great kingdoms of the earth, (*b*) that they should in their turns be destroyed, and be succeeded by the kingdom of the Messiah. "For the kingdom of Babylon shall not continue, nor exercise dominion over Israel; the kings of Media shall be slain, and the strong men of Greece shall not prosper; the Romans shall be blotted out, nor collect tribute from Jerusalem. Therefore because of the sign and redemption which thou shalt accomplish for thy Christ and for the remnant of thy people, they who remain shall praise thee, &c."

The sense of Josephus we will give in the words of Bishop (*c*) Chandler, together with his reflections upon it; "Josephus's exposition of this text is so full to the point, that it ought not to be omitted. Josephus was born while Jesus Christ lived, and was, as he (*d*) says, skilful in the knowledge of the sacred books of the prophets, being himself a priest, and the son of a priest, and exercised this way. Hear then his sense of that part of the dream we have been upon. Daniel foretold, (*e*) that the second kingdom should be ta-

(*a*) Waltoni Prolegom. xii. 10. Wolfii Biblioth. Hebr. Lib. 6. Cap. 2. Sect. 2. Prideaux Connect. Part 2. B. 8. Anno 27. Herod. 1.

(*b*) Habak. iii. 17, 18. Etenim regnum Babel non-permanebit, nec exercebit dominium in Israel; trucidabuntur regis Mediæ, et fortes Græciæ non prosperabuntur; delebuntur Romani, nec colligent tributum de Jerusalem. Iteque propter signum et redemptionem quæ facies Christo tuo et reliquis populi tui, qui remanebunt confitebantur dicendo. &c.

(*c*) Defence of Christianity. Chap. 2. Sect. 2. P. 104, &c. 3d Edit.

(*d*) Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 3. Cap. 7. Sect. 3. P. 1143 Edit. Hudson.

(*f*) Illorum autem imperium alius quidam ab occidente veniens destruet, ære totus obductus; arque hujus vires alia vis debeliabit ferro similis, easque in universum imperio premet propter ferri naturam, quod ea sit auro et argento et ære validior. Quin et Danielus regi ostendit omnia de saxo: sed mihi est narrare non libuit, cui id negotii datum est, ut præterita non futura litteris consignarem. Si quis autem veritatis avidus nolit ab iis paulo curiosius inquirendis desistere, ut qui de incertis, an futura sint scire deciderat, det operam ut Danieli librum perlegat, quem in sacrorum librorum codice inveniet. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 10. Sect. 4. P. 457. Edit. Hudson.

“ ken out of the way, by one that should come from the west
 “ cloathed with brazen arms: and also that the strength of this
 “ (empire) another should put an end to, that should be like to
 “ iron, which from the nature of the mineral is superior to
 “ gold, silver, and brass. Daniel added his interpretation of
 “ the stone; but I don’t think fit to relate that; my business
 “ being only to give a history of *past and newly done things*,
 “ not to write of *future things*. Yet if there be any one that
 “ is eager after truth, and will not give over inquiring, in
 “ order to learn these obscure events that are to come, let
 “ him carefully read the book itself, which he will find among
 “ our sacred (or canonical) books. Upon this passage observe,
 “ that the fourth empire is the Roman, in his judgment; be-
 “ cause the third kingdom, which he begins in Alexander, was
 “ destroyed, not by the Greek generals, but by the Romans.
 “ Again, the fourth empire he reckons to be past, i. e. to be
 “ set up in the room of the Greek, and therefore he gives an
 “ historical explication of that, amongst the past events. But
 “ the kingdom of the *stone* being future, he refuses to touch
 “ on that. But he had a better reason than he gave, he fear-
 “ ed to offend, the power in being, whose protection he need-
 “ ed, and which, he foresaw, must be offended, if he should
 “ publish the hope of his captive nation, one day to subdue
 “ their conquerors. We see, however, in his excuse for stop-
 “ ping short, his sense of the prophecy that is yet unfulfilled,
 “ viz. that the kingdom of the God of heaven should break
 “ in pieces the Roman; and which he must consequently sup-
 “ pose will continue, till it gives place to the everlasting king-
 “ dom of the Messiah. And in this belief Christ confirmed
 “ the Jews, at the time he warned them of their own excision.
 “ *The kingdom of God*, saith he, Matt. xxii. 43, 44. or all
 “ the advantages of the Messiah’s coming, *shall be taken from*
 “ *you and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof.*
 “ *For whosoever shall fall against this stone*, as one of your
 “ prophets predicted, Is. viii. 14, 15. *shall be broken: but I*
 “ *add from another prophet*, Dan. ii. 34, 35. something more
 “ grievous for those that shall break you, *on whomsoever it*
 “ *shall fall it will grind him to powder.* The kingdom of the
 “ *stone* shall bruise the Jews that stumbled at Christ’s first com-
 “ ing; but the kingdom of the *mountain*, when manifested, shall
 “ beat the feet of the monarchical statue to dust, and leave no re-
 “ mains of the fourth monarchy in its last and degenerate state.”

The same notion was prevalent among the ancient Christians, as well as among the Jews. St. Jerome and all the fathers, who have occasion to comment upon this passage, give the same interpretation: but we love not to multiply quotations; it will be sufficient to produce the testimonies of that eloquent preacher St. Chrysostom, and of that elegant historian Sulpicius Severus. St. Chrysostom is too copious to be quoted at large; we must content ourselves with some extracts out of him.

“ For what reason, (a) saith he, doth he call Nebuchadnezzar’s kingdom of gold, and that of the Persians of silver, and that of the Macedonians of brass, and that of the Romans of iron and clay? See the materials rightly disposed; for gold represents riches, &c; so likewise was that kingdom—and it occupies the head, because it appeared the first. But that of the Persians was not so wealthy, as neither was that of the Macedonians: but that of the Romans was both more useful and stronger, and later in time, wherefore it occupies the place of the feet. But some parts of this kingdom are weak, and others are stronger,—*And in the days of those 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 forever.* Bring hither

(a) Quare autem regnum Nabuchodonosoris vocat aureum, persarum autem argenteum, Macedonum æreum, Romanorum ferreum atque testaceum? Vide dispositas convenientur materis. Nam aurum divitias quidem representat—Sic et regnum Babylonium—Caput autem occupat; quia regnum illud fuit primum. Persarum vero imperium non adeo opulentum fuit: sicut nec Macedonum: at Romanorum utilius ac fortius; tempore quidem posterius, quare et pedum locum obtinet. Porro sunt hujus regni quædam infirma, et quædam robustiora. Et in diebus regum illorum suscitabit Deus cæli regnum, quod in sæcula non corrumpetur: et regnum ejus populo alteri non relinquetur: comminet et ventilabit universa regna: et ipsum exsurgat in sæcula. Adducito mihi huc Judæos. Quid de hac prophetia dicturi sunt? Neque enim profecto de humano regno hæc fas est dicere; scilicet regnum infinitum fore—In diebus regum illorum; Romanorum videlicet, Quod si dicant: quomodo aurum conterere potuit, nempe regnum Babyloniorum, quod jam olim et at destructum? Quomodo etiam argentum, nimirum regnum Persarum? Et quomodo æs, scilicet regnum Macedonium? Hæc enim quondam fuerant, et finem acceperant.—Quomodo jam extincta regna destruat? Quia nimirum destruit alia regna, in quibus hæc continentur, S. Jo. Chrysost. in Daniele. P. 214 et 216. Tom. 6. Edit. Benedict.

“ to me the Jews. What will they say concerning this prophecy? For it is by no means right to say of any human kingdom, that it shall be everlasting or without end.—*In the days of these kings*, to wit the Romans. But if they say how can he break in pieces the gold, the kingdom of the Babylonians destroyed long ago? how the silver, the kingdom of the Persians? how the brass, the kingdom of the Macedonians? for these are past long ago, and are come to an end—how can he destroy kingdoms which are already destroyed? But to destroy others in which these are included, amounts to the same thing.”

Sulpicius Severus having given an account of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, and of all the particulars relating to it, subjoins (a) an exposition of it, agreeable to Daniel's interpretation. “ The image is an emblem of the world. The golden head is the empire of the Chaldæans: for as much as that was the first and most wealthy. The breast and arms of silver signify the second kingdom: For Cyrus, the Chaldæans and Medes being overcome, transferred the empire to the Persians. In the brazen belly the third kingdom is declared to be portended; and that we see fulfilled: Forasmuch as the empire taken from the Persians Alexander vindicated to Macedonia. The iron legs are the fourth kingdom: and that is the Roman, the strongest of all the kingdoms before it. But the feet part of iron and part of clay, prefigure the Roman empire to be so divided as

(a) Igitur secundum prophetæ interpretationem imago viva, figuram mundi gerit, Caput aureum, Chaldæorum imperium est: siquidem id primum, et opulentissimum fuisse accepimus. Pectus et brachia argentea secundum regnum annunciant. Cyrus enim, victis Chaldæis atque Medis, imperium ad Persas contulit. In ventre æreo, tertium regnum portendi pronunciat: idque impletum videmus. Siquidem Alexander ereptum Persis imperium Macedonia vindicavit. Crura ferrea, imperium quartum. idque Romanum intelligitur, omnium ante regnorum validissimum. Pedes vero partim ferrei, partim fictiles, dividendum esse Romanum regnum, ita ut nunquam inter se coeat, præfigurant: quod æque impietum est.—Siquidem Romanum solum ab exteris gentibus aut rebellibus occupatum;—exercitibusque nostris, urbibus atque provinciis permixtas barbaras nationes—videmus.—In lapide vero sine manibus abscisso, qui aurum, argentum, æs, et ferrum testamque comminuit, Christi, figuram esse. Is enim mundum istum, in quo sunt regna terrarum, in nihilum rediget, regnumque aliud incorruptum confirmabit. De quo uno adhuc quorundam fides in ambiguo est, non credendum de futuris, cum de præteritis convineantur. Sulpicii Sac. Hist. Lib. 2. P. 66, 67. Edit. Elzevir, 1656.

“ that it should never unite again : which is equally fulfilled—
 “ Forasmuch as the Roman territory is occupied by foreign na-
 “ tions or rebels :—and we see (saith he, and he lived at the
 “ beginning of the (a) fifth century) barbarous nations mixed
 “ with our armies, cities, and provinces—But in the stone
 “ cut out without hands, which brake in pieces the gold, the
 “ silver, the brass, the iron, and the clay, we have a figure of
 “ Christ. For he shall reduce this world, in which are the
 “ kingdoms of the earth, to nothing, and shall establish ano-
 “ ther everlasting kingdom. Of which alone the faith of
 “ some is still dubious, and they will not credit future things,
 “ when they are convinced of the past.”

Nay Grotius himself, the great patron of the other opinion, that the fifth kingdom is the Roman empire, commenting upon those words, ver. 45. “ it brake in pieces the iron, the brass, the clay, the silver, and the gold,” cannot but acknowledge that (b) the sublimer sense is, that Christ will put an end to all earthly empires, according to 1 Corinth. xv. 24. that “ he shall put down all rule, and all authority and power.”

Thus it pleased God to reveal unto Daniel, and by Daniel unto Nebuchadnezzar, the greatest and most signal events of this world. As Daniel said unto Nebuchadnezzar, ver. 45. “ The great God hath made known to the king what shall come to pass hereafter ; and the dream is certain, and the interpretation thereof is sure.” The king hearing his dream related with such exactness, might be better assured of the truth of the interpretation, and of the great events which should follow. And from hence we are enabled in some measure to account for Nebuchadnezzar’s prophesying a little before he died. Abydenus wrote the history of the Assyrians. It is not well known in what age he lived, and his history is lost : but there is a fragment of it preserved by Eusebius, wherein it is asserted by the authority of Megasthenes, that Nebuchadnezzar was divinely inspired and prophesied in (c)

(a) Cave Hist. Litt. Vol. I. P. 374.

(b) Sensus sublimior, Christum finem impositurum omnibus imperiis terrestribus, 1 Cor. xv. 24. Grot in locum.

(c) Ego Nabuchodrosorus, O Babylonii, imminentem vobis calamitatem prænuncio, quam Parcis uti averruncent, nec Belus generis nostri auctor, nec regina Beltis persuadere unquam poterunt. Persicus veniet malus, qui dæmonum yelutotum usus auxilio, domum cervicibus vestris jugum imponet. Atque hujus cladis auctor

this manner: "I Nebuchadnezzar foretold unto you, O Babylonians, an imminent calamity, which neither Belus my progenitor, nor queen Beltis can persuade the fates to avert: "A Persian mule shall come assisted by your demons, and impose servitude upon you; whose coadjutor shall be a Mede, the boast of the Assyrians." And soon after he died. Herodotus, who was a much older historian than Megasthenes, relates that a Delphic oracle was given to Cræsus king of Lydia, that (*a*) when a mule should rule over the Medes, then he should not be ashamed to fly away. Which oracle was afterwards thus interpreted by the Pythian priestesses; Cyrus (*b*) was this mule; for he was born of parents of different nations, the mother the better, and the father the meaner; for she was a Mede, and the daughter of the king of the Medes, but he was a Persian, and subject to the Medes. If any credit is to be given to these stories, if any such prophecy was uttered by Nebuchadnezzar a little before his death, if any such oracle was received and believed of Cyrus and the Persians subduing Asia, the notion, the tradition may very well be supposed to have been derived originally from this prophecy of Daniel, which being so solemnly delivered to a great king, and published in Chaldee, might come to be generally known in the east; and the event soon afterwards evinced the truth of it.

It was from this prophecy too, that the distinction first arose of the four great empires of the world, which hath been followed by most historians and chronologers in their distribution of times. These four empires, as they are the subject of this prophecy, are likewise the subject of the most celebrated pens both in former and in later ages. The histories of these empires are the best writ, and the most read of any; they are the study of the learned, and the amusement of the polite; they are of use both in schools, and in senates; we learn them when we are young, and we forget them not when we are old;

etiam Medus quidam erit, quo ante Assyrii magnopere gloriabantur. Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 9. Cap. 41. P. 456. Edit. Vigeri.

(*b*) Regis apud Medos mulo jam sede potito,
Lyde fugam, &c.

Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 55. P. 21. Edit. Gale.

(*c*) Nam mulus hic, Cyrus erat: quippe qui duobus diversarum gentium parentibus ortus sit, generosiore matre quam patre. Nam illa quidem, Medea erat, Aityagis Medorum regis filia: hic autem, Persa, et Medis subjectus. Herod. ibid. Cap. 91. P. 39.

from hence examples, instructions, laws and politics are derived for all ages; and very little in comparison is known of other times, or of other nations. Not but there have been empires as great or greater than some of these, as those of the Tartars for instance, and of the Saracens, and of the Turks; and you may think perhaps, that they are as well deserving of a place in this succession of kingdoms, and were equally worthy to be made the objects of prophecy, being as eminent for the wisdom of their constitutions, the extent of their dominions, and the length of their duration. But these four empires had a particular relation to the church and people of God, who were subject to each of them in their turns. They were therefore particularly predicted; and we have in them, without the intermixture of others, a line of prophecy (as I may say) extending from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar to the full and complete establishment of the kingdom of the Messiah. He who is arbiter of kingdoms, and governor of the universe, can reveal as much of their future revolutions as he pleaseth: and he hath revealed enough to manifest his providence, and to confirm the truth of religion. What Daniel said upon the first discovery of these things, well may we say after the completion of so many particulars: ver. 20, 21, 22. “Blessed be the name of God
“ for ever and ever; for wisdom and might are his. And he
“ changeth the times and the seasons: he removeth kings, and
“ setteth up kings: he giveth wisdom unto the wise, and know-
“ ledge to them that know understanding. He revealeth the
“ deep and secret things: he knoweth what is in the darkness,
“ and the light dwelleth with him.”

XIV.

DANIEL'S *vision of the same.*

WHAT was revealed unto Nebuchadnezzar in the second year of his reign concerning the four great empires of the world, was again revealed unto Daniel, chap. vii. with some enlargements and additions in the first year of Belshazzar, that is about eight and forty years afterwards. But there is this difference, that what was exhibited to Nebuchadnezzar in form of a great image, was represented to Daniel in the shape of great wild beasts. The reason of which is ingeniously assigned by Grotius, and after him by (a) Mr. Lowth, "that this image appeared with a glorious lustre in the imagination of Nebuchadnezzar, whose mind was wholly taken up with admiration of worldly pomp and splendor; whereas the same monarchies were represented to Daniel under the shape of fierce and wild beasts, as being the great supporters of idolatry and tyranny in the world."

Daniel dreamed, and the angel interpreted. "These great beasts, which are four," says the angel ver. 17. "are four kings," or kingdoms, as it is translated in the vulgar Latin, and the Greek, and Arabic versions, and as the angel himself explains it, ver. 23. "The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth." They arise out of a stormy and tempestuous sea, that is out of the wars and commotions of the world: and they are called *great* in comparison of other lesser states and kingdoms, as they are denominated *beasts* for their tyrannical and cruel oppressions and depredations. These beasts are indeed monstrous productions; a lion with eagle's wings, a bear with three ribs in the mouth of it, a leopard with four wings and four heaps, and a beast with ten horns: but such emblems and hieroglyphics were usual among the eastern nations; a winged lion and such like fictitious animals may

(a) Lowth's Comment. on Chap. ii. 31. Grotius *ibid.*

still be seen in the (*a*) ruins of Persepolis; horns are attributed to beasts, which naturally have none; and these figures were, as I may say, the arms and symbols of such and such nations, and are no stranger than several which are still used in modern heraldry. We will consider them in order, and take notice only of such interpretations as carry in them something probable and plausible, to the end that we may establish what is more certain. To recite all the various opinions of commentators would be but heaping up a monument of the absurdities of former ages. We may collect something from one, and something from another, and yet in all respects perfectly agree with none.

I. The first kingdom is represented by a beast, ver. 4. that was “like a lion, and had eagle’s wings: and I beheld till the wings thereof were pluckt, and it was lifted up from the earth, and made stand upon the feet as a man, and a man’s heart was given to it.” This is the kingdom of the Babylonians: and the king of Babylon is in like manner compared to a lion by Jeremiah, iv. 7. “The lion is come up from his thicket, and the destroyer of the Gentiles is on his way;” and he is said to fly as an eagle, xlviii. 40. “Behold, he shall fly as an eagle, and shall spread his wings over Moab;” and he is also compared to an eagle by Ezekiel, xvii. 3 & 12. “Thus saith the Lord God, A great eagle with great wings, &c.” The lion is esteemed the king of beasts, and the eagle the king of birds: and therefore the kingdom of Babylon, which is described as the first and noblest kingdom, and was the kingdom then in being, is said to partake of the nature of both. Instead of a *lion*, the Vulgar Latin, and the Greek, and Arabic versions have a *lioness*; and it is (*b*) Jerome’s observation, that the kingdom of Babylon for its cruelty is compared not to a lion, but to a lioness, which naturalists say is the fiercer of the two.

The *eagle’s wings* denote its swiftness and rapidity: and the conquests of Babylon were very rapid, that empire being advanced to the height within a few years by a single person, by the conduct and arms of Nebuchadnezzar. It is farther said, *the wings thereof*

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(*a*) See Sir John Chardin and other travellers.

(*b*) Regnum Babylonium propter savitiam et crudelitatem, non leo, sed læana appellatur. Aiunt enim hi qui de bestiarem scripsere naturis læanas esse ferociiores, &c. Hieron. Comment. in locum. Vol. III. P. 1099. Edit. Benedict.

were pluckt, and it was lifted up from the earth, that is, it was taken away from the earth, as it is commonly understood, and as it is translated in almost all the (a) ancient versions: or it may be rendered thus, *the wings thereof were pluckt* wherewith it was lifted up from the earth, as (b) Grotius explains it, and as we read it in the margin of our bibles, the conjunction copulative sometimes supplying the place of a relative. Its wings were beginning to be pluckt at the time of the delivery of this prophecy; for at this time the Medes and Persians were incroaching upon it; Belshazzar the king now reigning was the last of his race; and in the (c) seventeenth year of his reign Babylon was taken, and the kingdom was transferred to the Medes and Persians.

And it was made stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it. It is not easy to say what is the precise meaning of this passage; unless it be an allusion to the case of Nebuchadnezzar, when in his madness, iv. 6. "a beast's heart was given unto him," and after he was restored to his senses, *a man's heart was given unto him* again. What appears most probable is, that after the Babylonian empire was subverted, the people become more humane and gentle; their minds were humbled with their fortune; and they who vaunted as if they had been gods, now felt themselves to be but men. They were brought to such a sense as the Psalmist wisheth such persons to have, Psal. ix. 20. "Put them in fear, O Lord; that the nations may know themselves to be but men."

II. The second kingdom is represented, ver. 5. by "another beast like to a bear, and it raised up itself on one side, and it had three ribs in the mouth of it between the teeth of it: and they said thus unto it, Arise, devour much flesh." This is the kingdom of the Medes and Persians: and for their cruelty and greediness after blood they are compared to a *bear*, which is a most voracious and cruel animal. The very learned (d) Bochart recounts several particulars, wherein the Persians

(a) Et sublata est, inquit, de terra; subverso videlicet impio [imperio] Chaldæorum. Hieron. ib. Sept. Videbam evulsas esse alas ejus, et ab humo sublata. Syriac. et egressa est de terra. Arab.

(b) Et sublata est de terra. Verte; per quas efferebatur supra terram. Sæpe enim Chaldæis, ut Hebræis, copula vim habet relativi. Grot. in locum.

(c) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 11. Sect. 4. P. 462. Edit. Hud. Usher, Prideaux, and other chronologers.

(d) Bochartii Hierozoic. Pars prior. L. 3. C. 9. Col. 816, &c.

resembled bears: but the chief likeness consisted in what I have mentioned; and this likeness was principally intended by the prophet, as I think we may infer from the words of the text itself, *Arise, devour much flesh*. A bear, saith Aristotle, is an all-devouring animal: and so, saith (a) Grotius, the Medo-Perians were great robbers and spoilers according to Jeremiah, li. 48, 56.

And it raised up itself on one side, or as it is in the margin, *it raised up one dominion*; for the Persians were subject to the Medes at the conquest of Babylon, but soon after raised up themselves above them. *And it had three ribs in the mouth of it between the teeth of it*: these (b) Jerome understands of the three kingdoms of the Babylonians, Medes, and Persians, which were reduced into one kingdom; and so likewise Vatablus and Grotius: but (c) Sir Isaac Newton and Bishop Chandler with greater propriety explain them to signify the kingdoms of Babylon, Lydia, and Egypt, which were conquered by it, but were not properly parts and members of its body. They might be called *ribs*, as the conquest of them much strengthened the Persian empire; and they might be said to be *between the teeth of the bear*, as they were much grinded and oppressed by the Persians.

And they said thus unto it, Arise, devour much flesh: this was said, as it was before observed, to denote the cruelty of the Medes and Persians. They are also represented very cruel by the prophet Isaiah, xiii. 18. "Their bows also shall dash the young men to pieces, and they shall have no pity on the fruit of the womb; their eye shall not spare children." Cambyfes, Ochus, and other of their princes were indeed more like bears than men. Instances of their cruelty abound in almost all the historians, who have written of their affairs, from Herodotus

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(a) Ursus [animal omnia vorans] ait Aristoteles viii. 5. Sic Medoperfæ raptores magni, prædones, Jeremiæ li. 48, 56. Grot. in locum.

(b) Ergo tres ordines in ore regni Persarum, et in dentibus ejus, tria regna debemus accipere, Babyloniorum, Medorum, atque Persarum; quæ in unum redacta sunt regnum. Hieron. Comment. Vol. III. P. 1100. Edit. Benedict. Vatablus et Grotius in locum.

(c) Sir Is. Newton's Observ. on Daniel, Chap. 4. P. 29. Bishop Chandler's Vindication Book 1, Chap. 2. Sect. 2, P. 193.

down to Ammianus Marcellinus, (*a*) who describes them proud, cruel, exercising the power of life and death over slaves and obscure plebeians. They pull off the skins, says he, from men alive by pieces or all together: and they have abominable laws, by which for one man's offence all the neighbourhood is destroyed. Well therefore might a learned (*b*) French commentator say, that the Persians have exercised the most severe, and the most cruel dominion that we know of. The punishments used among them beget horror in those who read of them.

III. The third kingdom is represented, ver. 6. by "another
"beast like a leopard, which had upon the back of it four
"wings of a fowl; the beast also had four heads; and domi-
"nion was given to it." This is the kingdom of the Macedonians or Grecians, who under the command of Alexander the great overcame the Persians, and reigned next after them: and it is fitly compared to a *leopard* upon several accounts. The leopard is remarkable for swiftness; "their horses" saith the prophet Habbakuk, i. 8. "are swifter than the leopards:" and Alexander and the Macedonians were amazingly swift and rapid in their conquests. The leopard is a spotted animal: and so was a proper emblem, according to (*c*) Bochart, of the different manners of the nations which Alexander commanded; or, according to (*d*) Grotius, of the various manners of Alexander himself, who was sometimes merciful; and sometimes cruel; sometimes temperate, and sometimes drunken; sometimes abstemious, and sometimes incontinent. The leopard, as (*e*)

(*a*) Superbi, crudeles, vitæ necisque potestatem in servos et plebeios vindicantes obscuros. Cutes vivis hominibus detrahunt particulatim vel solidas.—Leges apud eos—abominandæ—per quas ob noxam unius omnis propinquitas perit. Amm. Marcell. Lib. 25. Cap. 6. P. 384. Edit. Valesii. Paris. 1681.

(*b*) Les Perses ont exerce la domination la plus severe, et la plus cruelle que l'on connoisse. Les supplices usitez parmi eux font horreur a ceux qui les lisent. Calmet in Dan.

(*c*) Maculas pardi referunt gentium, quibus imperavit, diversi mores. Bochart, Hierozoic. Pars prior. Lib. 3. Cap. 7. Col. 789.

(*d*) Pardus varium animal. Sic Alexander moribus variis; modo clemens modo, crudelis; modo victus temperati, modo ebriofus; modo abstinens, modo indulgens amoribus. Grot. in locum.

(*e*) Ut pardus statura parvus est, sed animo et robore maxime præstans, ita ut cum leone et procerissimis quibusque feris congregari non vereatur: Sic Alexander pene regulus, et cum exiguo apparatu, regem regum aggredi ausus est, id est, Darium, cujus regnum a mari Ægæo usque ad Inpos extendebatur. Bochart. ibid.

Bochart observes, is of small stature, but of great courage, so as not to be afraid to engage with the lion and the largest beasts: and so Alexander, a little king in comparison, of small stature too, and with a small army, dared to attack the king of kings, that is Darius, whose kingdom was extended from the *Ægean* sea to the Indies. Others have pursued the comparison further, but with more subtilty than solidity; for I conceive the principal point of likeness was designed between the swiftness and impetuosity of the one and the other.

For the same reason the beast *had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl*. The Babylonian empire was represented with *two* wings, but this is described with *four*. For, as (a) Jerome saith, nothing was swifter than the victories of Alexander, who ran through all the countries from Illyricum and the Adriatic sea to the Indian ocean and the river Ganges, not so much fighting as conquering, and in *six* years (he should have said in *twelve*) subjugated part of Europe, and all Asia to himself. *The beast had also four heads*: to denote the four kingdoms into which this same third kingdom should be divided, as it was divided into four kingdoms after the death of Alexander, (b) his four captains Cassander reigning over Macedon and Greece, Lyfimachus over Thrace and Bithynia, Ptolemy over Egypt, and Seleucus over Syria. *And dominion was given to it*; which showeth, as (c) Jerome saith, that it was not owing to the fortitude of Alexander, but proceeded from the will of the Lord. And indeed unless he had been directed, preserved, and assisted by the mighty power of God, how could Alexander with thirty thousand men have overcome Darius with six hundred thousand, and in so short a time have brought all the countries from Greece as far as to India into subjection?

IV. The fourth kingdom is represented, ver. 7. by a “fourth beast, 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.” Daniel was curious to know particularly what this might mean; ver.

(a) Nihil enim Alexandria victoria velocius fuit, qui ab Illyrico, et Adriatico mari usque ad Indicum oceanum, et Gangen fluvium, non tam præliis, quam victoriis percurrit, et in sex annis partem Europæ, et omnem sibi Asiam subjugavit. Hieron. Comment. Vol. III. P. 1100. Edit. Benedict.

(b) See Prideaux Connect. Part 1. B. 8. Anno 401. Ptolemy Soter 4.

(c) Quodque additur, Et potestas data est ei, ostendit, non Alexandri fortitudinis, sed Domini voluntatis fuisse. Hieron. ibid.

19. "Then I would know the truth of the fourth beaſt, which
 " was diverſe from all the others, exceeding dreadful, whoſe
 " teeth, were of iron, and his nails of braſs, which devoured,
 " break in pieces, and ſtamped the reſidue with his feet." And he was answered thus by the angel, ver. 23. "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." This fourth
 kingdom can be none other than the Roman empire; for it is
 as abſurd as it is ſingular, to pretend to reckon the kingdoms of
 the Seleucidæ in Syria, and of the Lagidæ or Ptolemies in
 Egypt as the fourth kingdom. Calmet himſelf (a) acknowledg-
 eth, that this is uſually explained of the Roman empire; and
 though for reaſons of church, as well as reaſons of ſtate, he
 may prefer the other hypotheſis, yet it is "without pretending
 " to deſtroy the ſyſtem which underſtands the fourth empire of
 " the Roman, and which, as he confeſſeth, is the moſt com-
 " monly received among interpreters."

The kingdoms of the Seleucidæ and of the Lagidæ can in
 no reſpect answer to this deſcription of the fourth beaſt or king-
 dom. It is deſcribed as *dreadful, and terrible, and ſtrong ex-
 ceedingly*: but the kingdoms of the Lagidæ and of the Seleu-
 cidæ were *leſs* terrible, and *leſs* ſtrong than any of the former
 kingdoms. It *devoured, and break in pieces, and ſtamped the
 reſidue*, that is the remains of the former kingdoms, *with the
 feet of it*: but the Lagidæ and the Seleucidæ were almoſt con-
 tinually at war with each other; and inſtead of ſubduing other
 kingdoms, tore to pieces their own. It was *diverſe from all
 kingdoms*, that is of a different nature and conſtitution of go-
 vernment: but Egypt and Syria were governed much in the
 ſame manner as the former kingdoms, and were equally abſo-
 lute monarchies. Of the fourth kingdom it is ſaid, *that it
 ſhall devour the whole earth, and ſhall tread it down, and break
 it in pieces*: but this can never be applied to the kings of Egypt
 and Syria, who were ſo far from enlarging their dominions, that
 they could not preſerve what was left them by their anceſtors.

(a) On l'explique ordinairement de l'empire Romain.—ſans
 pretendre Pour cela detruire le ſyſteme qui entend le quatrieme
 empire, de l'empire Romain, et qui eſt le plas communement recu
 parmi les interpretes. Calmet. in locum.

Wherefore (a) Jerome rightly concluded, that “the fourth empire which now possesseth the world, is the Roman, whereof it is said in the statue, *his legs of iron, his feet part of iron, and part of clay*; and yet he mentions now the iron in part, attesting that it had great iron teeth. And I greatly wonder, saith he, that when he had before placed a lion, and a bear, and a leopard in three kingdoms, he should compare the Roman empire to no beast: unless perhaps that he might make the beast more formidable, he concealed the name; so that whatsoever we could imagine the most fierce in beasts, that we should understand the Romans to be.” The fourth beast was so great and horrible, that it was not easy to find an adequate name for it: and the Roman empire was *dreadful, and terrible, and strong exceedingly*, beyond any of the former kingdoms. It was *diverse from all kingdoms*, not only in its republican form of Government, but likewise in strength, and power, and greatness, length of duration, and extent of dominion. *It devoured, and break in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it*; it reduced Macedon into a Roman province (b) about one hundred and sixty-eight years, the kingdom of Pergamus about one hundred and thirty-three years, Syria about sixty-five years, and Egypt about thirty years before Christ. And besides the remains of the Macedonian empire, it subdued many other provinces and kingdoms, so that it might by a very usual figure be said, to *devour the whole earth, and to tread it down, and break it in pieces*; and became in a manner what the Roman writers delighted to call it, *terrarum orbis imperium*, the empire of the whole world.

A Greek writer too, and he a grave and judicious historian, who flourished in the reign of Augustus Cæsar, hath a remarkable passage, which is very pertinent to our present purpose. Speaking of the great superiority of the Roman em-

(a) *Quartum quod nunc orbem tenet terrarum, imperium Romanum est, de quo in statua dicitur: Tibiæ ejus ferreæ: pedum quædam pars ferrea, quædam fictilis: et tamen ipsius ferri ex parte nunc meminit, dentes ejus ferreos et magnos esse contestans, Satisque mirror, quod quum supra leonem, et ursum, et pardum, in tribus regnis posuerit, Romanum regnum nulli bestiæ compararit; nisi forte ut formidolosam faceret bestiam, vocabulum tacuit; ut quicquid ferocius cogitaverimus in bestiis hoc Romanos intelligamus.* Hieron. Comment. Vol. III. P. 1100. Edit. Benedict.

(b) See Usher, Prideaux, and other chronologers.

pire to all former empires he saith, that the Persian was succeeded by the Macedonian, and the Macedonian by the Roman; so that he had no conception of Alexander's erecting one kingdom, and his successors another, but considered them both as one and the same kingdom. His words are, (a) "The Macedonian empire having overturned the force of the Persians in greatness indeed of dominion exceeded all the kingdoms which were about it: but yet it did not flourish a long time, but after the death of Alexander it began to grow worse and worse. For being immediately distracted into several principalities by his successors, and after them having strength to go on to the second or third generation, it was weakened by itself, and at last was destroyed by the Romans. And yet it did not reduce all the earth and the sea to its obedience. For neither did it possess Africa, except that part adjoining to Egypt; neither did it subdue all Europe, but only northwards it proceeded as far as Thrace, and westwards it descended to the Adriatic sea. But the city of Rome ruleth over all the earth, as far as it is inhabited; and commands all the sea, not only that within the pillars of Hercules, but also the ocean, as far as it is navigable having first and alone of all the most celebrated kingdoms, made the east and west the bounds of its empire: and its dominion hath continued not a short time, but longer, than that of any other city or kingdom."

2. Another remarkable property of this beast is ver. 7. that "it had ten horns:" and according to the angel's interpreta-

(a) Imperium vero Macedonicum, fractis Persarum opibus, imperii amplitudine omnia quotquot ante fuerant, superavit: sed ne ipsum quidem diu floruit, at post Alexandri obitum in pejus capit ruere. Statim enim in multos principes a successoribus distractum, et post illos ad secundum, usque tertiamve ætatem progressum, ipsum per se debeliatum est, tandemque a Romanis deletum. Verum ne ipsum quidem omnes terras omniaque maria in suam ditionem rededit. Neque enim Africæ, quæ late pater, nisi partis Egypto proximæ, politum est: neque totam Europam subegit, sed ab jabus septentrionalibus partibus ad Thraciam usque processit, ab occidentalibus vero usque ad Adriaticum mare descendit.—At respublica Romana totius terræ, quæ non est deserta, sed ab hominibus incolitur, imperium habet: et totius maris est domina, non solum ejus quod est intra columnas Herculis, sed et oceani quæconque navigari potest. primaque et sola post hominum memoriam ortu et occasu fines imperii sui terminavit: ejusque potentia non ad exiguum tempus duravit, sed quantum nulli alii vel reipublicæ vel regno contigit. Dionysius Halicarnass. Antiq. Rom. Lib. 1. P. 2 et 3. Edit. Hudson.

tion, ver. 24. "the ten horns out of this kingdom are ten "kings" or kingdoms "that shall arise." "Four kings" a little before, ver. 17. signified *four kingdoms*: and so here *ten kings* are *ten kingdoms* according to the usual phraseology of scripture. And this is a farther argument, that the kingdoms of the Lagidæ and of the Seleucidæ cannot possibly be the fourth kingdom, because they were never divided into so many parts. The Macedonian empire was divided a few years after the death of Alexander into four kingdoms, whereof Egypt and Syria were two; but these two were never again subdivided into ten lesser kingdoms. Porphyry therefore, who made two separate kingdoms of the kingdom of Alexander and his successors, contrary to the received interpretation of *kings* for *kingdoms*, reckons down to Antiochus Epiphanes, whom he supposeth to be the *little horn*, ten kings who were most cruel; but these kings, as (*a*) Jerome observes, were not all of one kingdom, of Macedonia for instance, or Syria, or Asia, or Egypt; but the list was made up out of the different-kingdoms.

Grotius (*b*) indeed, and Collins after him, from their catalogue of the ten kings, who were very oppressive and cruel to the Jews, out of the kings of Egypt and Syria: and they thus enumerate them, five out of one kingdom, and five out of the other, Ptolemy the son of Lagus, Seleucus Nicator, Ptolemy Eupator, [I suppose they meant Ptolemy Philadelphus, for he reigned next after Ptolemy the son of Lagus, and next before Ptolemy Euergetus, being the son of the former, and the father of the latter] Ptolemy Euergetus, Seleucus Callinicus, Antiochus the great, Ptolemy Philopator, Ptolemy Epiphanes, Seleucus Philopator, and Antiochus Epiphanes. But it happens, that some of these kings did not persecute the Jews at all, as Seleucus Callinicus. Others were so far from persecuting them, that they were their patrons and protectors. Such were Ptolemy the Son of Lagus, Seleucus Nicator, Ptolemy Philadelphus, Ptolemy Euergetus, and Antiochus the great: and such they are reckoned by (*c*) Josephus himself. So that out

(*a*)—et deinde usque ad Antiochum cognomento Epiphanem, decem reges enumerat, qui fuerunt favissimi: ipsosque reges non unius ponit regni verbi gratia, Macedoniae, Syriae, Asiae, et Aegypti; sed de diversis regnis unum efficit regum ordinem. Hieron. Comment. Vol. III. P. 1130. Edit. Benedict.

(*b*) Grotus in locum. Scheme of literal prophecy, &c. P. 162.

(*c*) Vide Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 1, 2, 3. Contra. Apion. Lib. 2. Sect. 4 et 5 P. 1365. Edit. Hudson.

of the ten kings only *four* were persecutors and oppressors of the Jews. The ten horns too are represented as existing all at once; they shoot out and appear upon the head of the beast all together: but these kings were not all contemporaries, many of them were successive, and one fell before another arose. So forced and arbitrary is this exposition, and so contrary to the truth of history.

We must therefore look for the ten kings or kingdoms, where only they can be found, amid the broken pieces of the Roman empire, as the (*a*) Romanists themselves allow, was by means of the incursions of the northern nations, dismembered into ten kingdoms: and (*b*) Machiavel, little thinking what he was doing, (as Bishop Chandler observes) hath given us their names; 1. the Ostrogoths in Mœsia, 2. the Visigoths in Pannonia, 3. the Sueves and Alans in Gofcoigne and Spain, 4. the Vandals in Africa, 5. the Franks in France, 6. the Burgundians in Burgundy, 7. the Heruli and Turingi in Italy, 8. the Saxons and Angles in Britain, 9. the Huns in Hungary, 10. the Lombards at first upon the Danube, afterwards in Italy.

Mr. Mede, whom (*c*) a certain writer esteemed as a man divinely inspired for the interpretation of the prophecies, (*d*) reckons up the ten kingdoms thus, in the year four hundred and fifty-six, the year after Rome was sacked by Genferic king of the Vandals: 1. Britons, 2. the Saxons in Britain, 3. the Franks, 4. the Burgundians in France, 5. the Wisigoths in the south of France and part of Spain, 6. the Sueves and Alans in Gillicia and Portugal, 7. the Vandals in Africa, 8. the Alemans in Germany, 9. the Ostrogoths whom the Longobards succeeded, in Pannonia, and afterwards in Italy, 10. the Greeks in the residue of the empire.

That excellent chronologer Bishop Lloyd exhibits the following (*e*) list of the ten kingdoms with the time of their rise: 1. Huns about A. D. three hundred and fifty-six. 2. Ostrogoths three hundred and seventy-seven. 3. Wisigoths three

(*a*) Calmet upon Rev. xiii. 1. and refers likewise to Berangaud, Bossuet, and Du Pin.

(*b*) Machiavel Hist. Flor. Lib. 1. Bishop Chandler's Vindication, &c. B. 1. Chap. 2. Sect. 3. P. 153.

(*c*) Monf. Jurieu, in the Preface to his accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies.

(*d*) Mede's Works, Book 3. P. 661.

(*e*) Addenda Lowth's Comment. P. 524.

hundred and seventy eight. 4. Franks four hundred and seven. 5. Vandals four hundred and seven. 6. Sueves and Alans four hundred and seven. 7. Burgundians four hundred and seven. 8. Herules and Rugians four hundred and seventy-six. 9. Saxons four hundred and seventy-six. 10. Longobards began to reign in Hungary Anno Dom. five hundred and twenty-six, and were seated in the northern parts of Germany about the year four hundred and eighty-three.

Sir Isaac Newton enumerates them (*a*) thus, 1. the kingdom of the Vandals and Alans in Spain and Africa, 2. the kingdom of the Suevians in Spain, 3. the kingdom of the Visigoths, 4. the kingdom of the Alans in Gallia, 5. the kingdom of the Burgundians, 6. the kingdom of the Franks, 7. the kingdom of the Britons, 8. the kingdom of the Huns, 9. the kingdom of the Lombards, 10. the kingdom of Ravenna.

The few variations in these accounts must be ascribed to the great disorder and confusion of the times, one kingdom falling, and another rising, and scarce any subsisting for a long while together. As a learned (*b*) writer remarks, “all these kingdoms were variously divided either by conquest or inheritance. However, as if that number of *ten* had been fatal in the Roman dominions, it hath been taken notice of upon particular occasions. As about A. D. one thousand two hundred and forty by Eberard bishop of Saltzburg in the diet at Ratisbon. At the time of the Reformation they were also ten. So that the Roman empire was divided into *ten* in a manner, first and last.” Mr. Whitton, who published his essay on the Revelation of St. John, in the year one thousand seven hundred and six, farther (*c*) observes, “that as the number of the kingdoms, into which the Roman empire in Europe, agreeably to the ancient prophecies, was originally divided A. D. four hundred and fifty-six, was exactly *ten*: so it is also very nearly returned again to the same condition; and at present is divided into ten grand or principal kingdoms or states.— For though there are many more great kingdoms and dominions in Europe besides, yet are they out of the bounds of the old Roman empire, and so not so directly within our present inquiry.”

(*a*) Sir Is. Newton's Observ. on Daniel, Chap. 6. P. 47.

(*b*) Daubuz on Rev. xiii. 1. P. 559.

(*c*) Essay on the Rev. Part. 3. Vision 4.

We would, for reasons which will hereafter appear to the attentive reader, fix these ten kingdoms at a different æra from any of the foregoing; and let us see how they stood in the eighth century. The principal states and governments then were 1. of the senate of Rome, who revolted from the Greek emperors, and claimed and exerted the privilege of chusing a new western emperor; 2. of the Greeks in Ravenna; 3. of the Lombards in Lombardy; 4. of the Huns in Hungary; 5. of the Alemanes in Germany; 6. of the Franks in France; 7. of the Burgundians in Burgundy; 8. of the Goths in Spain; 9. of the Britons; 10. of the Saxons in Briton. Not that there were constantly *ten* kingdoms; they were sometimes more, and sometimes fewer: but, as (a) Sir Isaac Newton says, “ whatever was their number afterwards, they are still called the *ten kings* from their first number.”

3. Besides these ten horns or kingdoms of the fourth empire, there was to spring up among them another little horn. “ I considered the horns,” saith Daniel, ver. 8. “ and behold there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns pluckt up by the roots.” Daniel was eager to know, ver. 20. as “ of the ten horns,” so likewise “ of the other which came up, and before whom three fell.” And he was informed by the angel, ver. 24. that as “ the ten horns out of this kingdom were ten kings” or kingdoms “ that should arise,” so likewise that “ another shall arise after them, and he shall subdue three kings” or kingdoms. One absurdity generally produceth another: and (a) Grotius, in consequence of his former supposition that the fourth kingdom was the kingdoms of the Seleucidæ and the Lagidæ, supposeth also, that *the little horn* was Antiochus Epiphanes, and that *the three horns which were pluckt up before him* were his elder brother Seleucus, and Demetrius the son of Seleucus, and Ptolemy Philopator king of Egypt: and Collins adopts the same notion after Grotius, for Collins was only a retailer of scraps, and could not advance any thing of this kind of his own. But surely it is very arbitrary to reckon Antiochus Epiphanes as one of the ten horns, and at the same time as the little horn, when the prophet hath plainly made the little horn an *eleventh* horn, distinct from the former ten. There were *three of the*

(a) Sir Isaac Newton's Observ. on Daniel. Chap. 6. P. 73.

(b) Grotius and Collins *ibid.*

first horns to be pluckt up by the roots before the little horn; but the three kingdoms mentioned by Grotius are not all in his first catalogue of ten kings, neither Ptolemy Philometor (if Philometor be meant) nor Demetrius being of the number. Neither were they *pluckt up by the roots* by Antiochus, or his order. Seleucus was (*a*) poisoned by his treasurer Heliodorus, whose aim it was to usurp the crown to himself, before Antiochus returned from Rome, where he had been detained a hostage several years. Demetrius (*b*) lived to dethrone and murder the son of Antiochus, and succeeded him in the kingdom of Syria. Ptolemy Philopater (*c*) died king of Egypt almost thirty years before Antiochus came to the throne of Syria: or if Ptolemy Philometor, as is most probable, was meant by Grotius, Philometor, though he suffered much in his wars with Antiochus, yet survived him (*d*) about eighteen years, and died in possession of the crown of Egypt, after the family of Antiochus had been set aside from the succession to the crown of Syria. Neither doth Antiochus Epiphanes answer to the character of the little horn in other respects, and particularly in this. The little horn continues, ver. 21, 22, 26. to reign till the second coming of Christ in glory; but Antiochus Epiphanes died about one hundred and sixty-four years before his first coming in the flesh. These are all farther arguments to prove, that the *fourth beast* must needs signify the Roman empire, and that *the ten horns* represent the ten kingdoms into which that empire was divided, and therefore we must look for *the little horn* among them, and no where else: and that we may not be led away by modern prejudices, let us see whether the ancients will not afford us some light and direction.

Irenæus, a father who flourished in the second century, treating of the fraud, pride, and tyranny of Antichrist, asserts, that (*e*) Daniel, respecting the end "of the last kingdom, that

(*a*) Appian in Syriac. P. 116. Edit. Steph. P. 117. Edit. Tollii.

(*b*) Appian *ibid.* P. 117. Edit. Steph. P. 188. Edit. Tollii. Justin. Lib. 34. Cap. 3. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 10. Sect. 1. P. 548. Edit. Hudson.

(*c*) Ptolemy Philopator died Anno 204, Antiochus became king Anno 175 before Christ. See Usher, Prideaux, &c.

(*d*) Antiochus Epiphanes died Anno 164. Ptolemy Philometor Anno 149 before Christ. See Usher, Prid. &c.

(*e*) Daniel autem novissimi regni finem respiciens, id est, novissimos decem reges, in quos divideretur regnum illorum, super quos filius perditionis veniet, cornua dicit decem nasci bestiæ: ei

“ is, the last ten kings, among whom that kingdom should be
 “ divided, upon whom the son of perdition should come, saith
 “ that ten horns should grow on the beast, and another little horn
 “ shall grow up among them, and three of the first horns shall
 “ be rooted out before him. Of whom also Paul the apostle
 “ speaketh in his second epistle to the Thessalonians, calling
 “ him *the son of perdition, and the wicked one*. St. John, our
 “ Lord’s disciple, hath in the Apocalyps still more plainly sig-
 “ nified of the last time, and of these ten kings, among whom
 “ the empire that now reigneth shall be divided, explaining
 “ what the ten horns shall be, which were seen by Daniel.”

St. Cyril, of Jerusalem, who flourished about the middle of
 the fourth century, speaking of Antichrist’s coming in the
 latter times of the Roman empire, (a) saith, “ We teach these
 “ things not of our own invention, but having learned them
 “ out of the divine scriptures, and especially out of the pro-
 “ phesy of Daniel, which was just now read; even as Gabriel
 “ the archangel interpreted, saying thus; *the fourth beast shall*
 “ *be the fourth kingdom upon earth; which shall exceed all the*
 “ *kingdoms*: but that this is the empire of the Romans, ec-
 “ clesiastical interpreters having delivered. For the first that
 “ was made famous, was the kingdom of the Assyrians; and

alterum cornu pusillum nasci in medio ipsorum, et tria cornua depri-
 oribus eradicare a facie ejus—De quo et apostolus Paulus in secunda
 ad Thessalonicenses, &c. Manifestus adhuc etiam de novissimo tem-
 pore, et de his qui sunt in eo decem regibus, in quos dividetur quod
 nunc regnat imperium, significavit Joannes Domini discipulus in
 Apocalypsi, edisserens quæ fuerint decem cornua, quæ a Daniele
 visa sunt. &c. Iren. Lib. 5. Cap. 25, 26. P. 438. &c. Edit. Grabe.

(a) Hæc autem docemus, non comminiscentes, sed e scripturis
 divinis colligentes, et ex ea maxime, quæ nuper lecta est, ex Da-
 niele propheta edecti: sicut Gabriel Archangelus interpretatus est,
 dicenes sic: Quarta bestia, quartum est regnum in terra, quod ma-
 jus erit aliis omnibus regnis; hoc autem esse Romanorum, ecclesi-
 astici interpretes tradiderunt. Primum enim era erat regnum As-
 syriorum: alterum Medorum simul et Persarum: tertium postea
 Macedonum: quartum est nunc regnum Romanorum. Deinceps
 vere Gabriel interpretans dicit: Decem cornua ipsius, decem reg-
 na consurgent: post ista alter consurget, qui omnes ante se
 vincet: neque solum illos decem reges, sed omnes qui ante se fu-
 erunt. Et tres reges deprimet. Manifestum autem est, quod ex
 istis decem tres opprimet, prorsus et ipsemet octavus regnet: et
 verba faciet contra Altissimum. Cyrill. Hieros. Catech. 15. Cap.
 6. P. 211. Edit. Milles. Oxon.

“ the second was that of the Medes and Persians together :
 “ and after these, the third, was that of the Macedonians ;
 “ and the fourth kingdom, is now that of the Romans. After-
 “ wards Gabriel interpreting saith, *Its ten horns are ten kings*
 “ *that shall arise ; and after them shall arise another king, who*
 “ *shall exceed in wickedness all before him ; not only the ten he*
 “ *saith, but also all who were before him. And he shall deprecise*
 “ *three kings : but it is manifest, that of the first ten he shall*
 “ *deprecise three, that he himself may reign the eighth : and he*
 “ *shall speak words, saith he, against the Most High.*”

St. Jerome having refuted Porphyry's notion of Antiochus Epiphanes being the little horn, (where by the way the passage appears to want much emendation) (*a*) concludes thus: “ There-
 “ fore let us say what all ecclesiastical writers have delivered,
 “ that in the latter days, when the empire of the Romans shall
 “ be destroyed, there will be ten kings, who shall divide it be-
 “ tween them, and an eleventh shall arise, a little king, who
 “ shall subdue three of the ten kings, and the other seven shall
 “ submit their necks to the conqueror. Theodoret speaketh
 much to the same purpose in his comment upon Daniel : and (*b*)
 St. Austin expressly approveth of Jerome's interpretation.
 “ Those four kingdoms, saith he, some have expounded to be
 “ the Assyrian, Persian, Macedonian, and Roman. How pro-
 “ perly they have done that, those who are desirous of knowing,
 “ may read the presbyter's book upon Daniel, which is very
 “ accurately and learnedly written.”

The fathers, it appears by these instances, conceived that the fourth empire was the Roman, that the Roman empire was to be divided between ten kings, and that among them would arise Antichrist, who should root up three of the ten kings, and domineer over the other seven. At the same time it must

(*a*) Ergo dicamus quod omnes scriptores ecclesiastici tradiderunt: in consummatione mundi quando regnum destruendum est Romanorum, decem futuros reges, qui orbem Romanum inter se dividant: et undecimum surrecturum esse regem parvulum, qui tres reges decem regibus superaturus sit—Quibus interfectis, etiam septem alii reges victori colla submittent. Hieron. Comment. Vol. III. P. 1101. Edit. Benedict.

(*b*) Quatuor illa regna exposuerunt quidam Assyriorum, Persarum, Macedonum, et Romanorum. Quam vero conventienter id fecerint, qui nosse desiderant, legant presbyteri Hieronymi librum in Daniele, satis diligenter eruditique conscriptum. Aug. de Civ. Dei. Lib. 20, Cap. 23. Tom. 7. P. 457. Edit. Benedict. Ant.

be confessed, that these same fathers entertained strange wild notions concerning this Antichrist, (*a*) that he should be a Jew, that he should descend from the tribe of Dan, that he should come from Babylon, that he should fix his residence in the temple at Jerusalem, that he should first subdue Egypt, and afterwards Lybia and Ethiopia, which were the three horns that should fall before him. But it is no wonder that the fathers, nor indeed that any one should mistake in particularly applying prophecies, which had not then received their completion. The fathers might understand the prophecies so far as they were fulfilled, and might say with certainty which were the four great kingdoms of the world, that the fourth was the Roman, and that the Roman would be divided in the manner that Daniel had foretold. So far was plain and obvious, and so far they might proceed with safety: but when they ventured farther, and would define particularly who were the ten kings, and who was Antichrist, and who were the three kings that should fall before him, then they plunged out of their depth, and were lost in the abyss of error. Such prophecies can be explained only by the events, and these events were yet in the womb of time. Some other mistaken prophecies might lead the fathers into this interpretation. There is not the least foundation for it in this prophecy. On the contrary, the prophecy might have instructed them better, and have taught them, that as the western empire was to be divided into ten kingdoms, so the little horn should arise among them, and subdue three of them: and consequently the little horn could not arise in the east, he could not be a Jew, he could not come from Babylon, neither could Egypt, Lybia, and Ethiopia be the three kingdoms, which should fall before him.

Antichrist then, as the fathers delight to call him, or the little horn, is to be fought among the ten kingdoms of the

(*a*) Irenæi Lib. 5. Cap. 25 et 30. Cyrilli Hieros. Catech. 15. Cap. 7.—tres reges de decem regibus superaturus sit, id est, Ægyptiorem regem, et Africæ et Æthiopiæ. Hieron. Comment. P. 1101.—nasciturus est de populo Judæorum, et de Babylone venturus primus superaturus est regem Ægypti, &c. et postea Libyas et Æthiopas superaturus, quæ de decem cornibus tria contrita cornua supra legimus. Idem in Cap. 11. P. 1128 et 1132. Edit. Benedict. Cum Jacob filios suos benediceret, talia dixit de isto Dan, ut de ipsa tribus existimeretur exsurrecturus Antichristus. Augustin. Quæstiones in Jos. Lib. 6. Quæst. 22. P. 441. 3d Tom. Edit. Benedict. Antwerpæ.

western Roman empire. I say of the western Roman empire, because that was properly the body of the fourth beast; Greece, and the countries which lay eastward of Italy, belonged to the third beast; for the former beasts were still subsisting, though their dominion was taken away. "As concerning the rest of the beasts," saith Daniel, ver. 12. "they had their dominion taken away; yet their lives were prolonged for a season and a time." And therefore, as Sir Isaac (*a*) Newton rightly infers, all the four beasts are still alive, though the dominion of the three first be taken away. The nations of Chaldæa and Assyria are still the first beast. Those of Media and Persia are still the second beast. Those of Macedon, Greece, and Thrace, Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt, are still the third. And those of Europe, on this side Greece, are still the fourth. Seeing therefore the body of the third beast is confined to the nations on this side the river Euphrates, and the body of the fourth beast is confined to the nations on this side Greece; we are to look for all the four heads of the third beast, among the nations on this side the river Euphrates; and for all the eleven horns of the fourth beast, among the nations on this side of Greece. And therefore, at the breaking of the Greek empire into four kingdoms of the Greeks, we include no part of the Chaldæans, Medes, and Persians, in those kingdoms, because they belonged to the bodies of the two first beasts. Nor do we reckon the Greek empire seated at Constanti- nople, among the horns of the fourth beast, because it belonged to the body of the third." For the same reason, neither can the Saracen nor the Turk be the little horn, or Antichrist, as some have imagined them to be; and neither do they come up to the character in other respects.

Let us therefore look for the little horn, as the prophecy itself directs us, among the other ten horns of the western Roman empire. If indeed it be true, as the Romanists pretend, that this part of the prophecy is not yet fulfilled, and that Antichrist will come only for a little time before the general judgment, it would be in vain to inquire who or what he is; we should split upon the same rock as the fathers have done: it would better become us to say with (*b*) Camet, that, "as

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(*a*) Sir Is. Newton's Observ. on Daniel, chap. 4. P. 31, 32.

(*b*) Comme le regne de l'Antichrist est encore éloigné, on ne peut pas montrer l'accomplissement de propheties a son égard. On doit se contenter de considerer le passé, et de le comparer avec les paroles du prophete. Le passé est une assurance de ce qui doit arriver un jour. Calmet in locum.

“ the reign of Antichrist is still remote, we cannot show the accomplishment of the prophecies with regard to him; we ought to content ourselves with considering the past, and comparing it with the words of the prophet; the past is an assurance of the future.” But perhaps upon examination we shall see reason to conclude with the generality of the protestants, that this part of the prophecy is fulfilled. We have seen already that the Roman empire was divided into ten horns or kingdoms, and among them possibly we may find another little horn or kingdom, answering in all respects to the character here given. Machiavel himself will lead us by the hand; for having shown how the Roman empire was broken and divided by the incursions of the northern nations, he (*a*) says, “ About this time the bishops of Rome began to take upon them, and to exercise greater authority than they had formerly done. At first the successors of St. Peter were venerable and eminent for their miracles, and the holiness of their lives; and their examples added daily such numbers to the Christian church, that to obviate or remove the confusions which were then in the world, many princes turned Christians, and the emperor of Rome being converted among the rest, and quitting Rome, to hold his residence at Constantinople; the Roman empire, as we have said before, began to decline, but the church of Rome augmented as fast.” And so he proceeds to give an account how the Roman empire declined, and the power of the church of Rome increased, first under the Goths, then under the Lombards, and afterwards by the calling in of the Franks.

Here then is a little horn springing up among the other ten horns. The bishop of Rome was respectable as a bishop long before, but he did not become a *horn* properly (which is an emblem of strength and power) till he became a temporal prince. He was to *rise after* the other, that is, *behind them*, as the Greek translates it, and as (*b*) Mr. Mede explains it, so that the ten kings were not aware of the growing up of the little horn, till it over-topped them; the word in the original signifying as well *behind* in place, as *after* in time; as also *post* in Latin is used indifferently either of place or time. *Three of the first horns*, that is three of the first kings or kingdoms,

(*a*) Machiavel's Hist. of Florence, B. 1. P. 6. of the English translation.

(*b*) Mede's Works, B. 4. Epist. 24. P. 778, &c.

were to be *pluckt up by the roots*, and to *fall before him*. And these three, according to Mr. Mede, “were those whose dominions extended into Italy, and so stood in his light: first, that of the *Greeks*, whose emperor Leo Isaurus, for the quarrel of image-worship, he excommunicated, and made his subjects of Italy revolt from their allegiance: secondly, that of the *Longobards* (successor to the Ostrogoths) whose kingdom he caused, by the aid of the Franks, to be wholly ruined and extirpated, thereby to get the exarchate of Ravenna, (which, since the revolt from the Greeks, the Longobards were seized on) for a patrimony to St. Peter: thirdly, the last was the kingdom of the *Franks* itself, continued in the empire of Germany; whose emperors, from the days of Henry the fourth, he excommunicated, deposed, and trampled under his feet, and never suffered to live in rest, till he made them not only quit their interest in the election of popes and investitures of bishops, but that remainder also of jurisdiction in Italy, wherewith, together with the Roman name, he had once encoffed their predecessors. These were the kings, by displanting, or (as the vulgar hath) *humbling* of whom, the pope got elbow-room by degrees, and advanced himself to that height of temporal majesty and absolute greatness, which made him so terrible in the world.”

Sir Isaac Newton reckons them up with some variation. Kings, (a) saith he, are put for kingdoms, as above; and therefore the little horn is a little kingdom. It was a horn of the fourth beast, and rooted up three of his first horns: and therefore we are to look for it among the nations of the Latin empire, after the rise of the ten horns.—In the eighth century, by rooting up and subduing the exarchate of *Ravenna*, the kingdom of the *Lombards*, and the senate and dukedom of *Rome*, he acquired Peter’s patrimony out of their dominions; and thereby rose up as a temporal prince or king, or horn of the fourth beast.” Again, “It was certainly by the victory of the see of Rome over the *Greek* emperor, the king of *Lombardy*, and the senate of *Rome*, that she acquired Peter’s patrimony, and rose up to her greatness.

(a) Sir Is. Newton’s Observ. on Daniel, Chap. 7. P. 74 et 75, et 76.

In both these schemes there is something to be approved, and something perhaps to be disapproved. In Mr. Mede's plan it is to be approved, that the three kingdoms which he proposeth, are mentioned in his first table of the ten kingdoms; but then it may be questioned, whether the kingdom of the Franks or Germans in Italy can be said properly to have been *pluckt up by the roots* through the power or policy of the popes. There were indeed long struggles and contests between the popes and emperors; but did the pope ever so totally prevail over the emperors, as to *extirpate* and *eradicate* them out of Italy, (for so the (a) original word signifies) and to seize and annex their dominions to his own? If all history answers in the affirmative, as it hath been said, it would be easy to point out the time or times. But for my part I recollect no period when the pope dispossessed the emperor of all his Italian dominions, and united them to the estates of the church, and enjoyed them as such for any time. The emperor possesseth dominions in Italy to this day. In Sir Isaac Newton's plan it is to be approved, that the three kingdoms which he proposeth, were *pluckt up by the roots*, were totally subdued by the popes, and possessed as parts of Peter's patrimony: but then it may be objected, that only two of the three are mentioned in his first catalogue of the ten kingdoms, the senate and dukedome of Rome being not included in the number. There were not only *three horns* to be pluckt up before the little horn, but *three of the first horns*. We have therefore exhibited a catalogue of the ten kingdoms, as they stood in the eighth century; and therein are comprehended the three states or kingdoms, which constituted the pope's dominions, and which we conceive to be the same as Sir Isaac Newton did the *exarchate of Ravenna*, the *kingdom of the Lombards*, and the *state of Rome*.

First, the *exarchate of Ravenna*, which of right belonged to the Greek emperors, and which was the capital of their dominions in Italy, having revolted at the instigation of the pope, was unjustly seized by (b) Astulphus king of the Lombards,

(a) Evellere, extirpare, eradicare. Buxtorf.

(b) Sigonius de regno Ital. L. 3. ann. 753—755. Abrege Chronologique par Mezeray, Pepin, Roy 22. Platina's Liver of the Popes, translated and continued by Sir Paul Rycaut in Stephen II. Sir H. Newton's Observ. on Dan. chap. 7. Voltaire on the origin of the power of the popes in the first part of his Gen. Hist. of Europe.

who thereupon thought of making himself master of Italy. The pope in this exigency applied for help to Pipin king of France, who marched into Italy, besieged the Lombards in Pavia, and forced them to surrender the exarchate and other territories, which were not restored to the Greek emperor, as in justice they ought to have been, but at the solicitation of the pope, were given to St. Peter and his successors for a perpetual succession. Pope Zachary had acknowledged Pipin, usurper of the crown of France, as lawful sovereign; and now Pipin in his turn bestowed a principality, which was another's properly, upon pope Stephen II, the successor of Zachary. "And so, as (a) Platina says, the name of the exarchate, which had continued from the time of Narfes to the taking of Ravenna by Aistulphus an hundred and seventy years, was extinguished." This was effected in the year seven hundred and fifty-five, according to Sigonius. And henceforward the popes, being now become temporal princes, did no longer date their epistles and bulls by the years of the emperors reign, but by the years of their own advancement to the papal chair.

Secondly, the *kingdom* of the *Lombards* was often troublesome to the popes: and now again (b) king Desiderius invaded the territories of pope Adrian I. so that the pope was obliged to have recourse again to the king of France, and earnestly invited Charles the great, the son and successor of Pipin, to come into Italy to his assistance. He came accordingly with a great army, being ambitious also himself of enlarging his dominions in Italy, and conquered the Lombards, and put an end to their kingdom, and gave great part of their dominions to the pope. He not only confirmed the former donations, of his father Pipin, but also made an addition of other countries to them, as Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, the Sabin territory, the whole tract between Lucca and Parma, and that part of Tuscany which belonged to the Lombards: and the tables of these donations he signed himself, and caused them to be signed by the bishops, abbots, and other great men then present, and laid them so signed upon the altar of St. Peter. And this (c) was

(a) Platina *ibid.* P. 140.

(b) Sigonius *de regno Ital.* Lib. 3. Ann. 772—774. Platina in *Adrian I. Abrege Chronologique* par Mezeray, Charlemagne, Roy 23. Ann. 772—774. Sir If. Newton's *Observ. on Daniel*, Chap. 7. P. 80.

(c) *Atque hic quidem finis regni Longobardorum in Italia fuit, anno postquam Italiam occupaverant, ducentesimo sexto Christi vera septingentesimo septuagessimo quarto.* Sigonius in *sine libri tertii.*

the end of the kingdom of the Lombards, in the 206th year after their possessing Italy, and in the year of Christ 774.

Thirdly, the *state of Rome*, though subject to the popes in things spiritual, was yet in things temporal governed by the senate and people, who after their defection from the eastern emperors, still retained many of their old privileges, and elected both the western emperor and the popes. After (*a*) Charles the great had overthrown the kingdom of the Lombards, he came again to Rome, and was there by the pope, bishops, abbots, and people of Rome, chosen Roman patrician, which is the degree of honour and power next to the emperor. He then settled the affairs of Italy, and permitted the pope to hold under him the duchy of Rome with other territories: but after a few years, the (*b*) Romans desirous to recover their liberty, conspired against pope Leo III, accused him of many great crimes, and imprisoned him. His accusers were heard on a day appointed before Charles and a council of French and Italian bishops: but the pope, without pleading his own cause or making any defence, was acquitted, his accusers were slain or banished, and he himself was declared superior to all human judicature. And thus the foundation was laid for the absolute authority of the pope over the Romans, which was completed by degrees; and Charles in return was chosen emperor of the west. However (*c*) after the death of Charles the great, the Romans again conspired against the pope: but Lewis the Pious, the son and successor of Charles, acquitted him again. In the mean while Leo was dangerously ill: which as soon as the Romans his enemies perceived, they rose again, burnt and plundered his villa's, and thence marched to Rome to recover what things they complained were taken from them by force; but they were repressed by some of the emperor's troops. The same (*d*) emperor Lewis the Pious, at the request of pope Paschal, confirmed the donations which his father and grandfather had made to the see of Rome. Sigonius has recited the confirmation: and therein are mentioned Rome and its duchy,

(*a*) Sigonius de regno Ital. Lib. 4. Ann. 774. Mezeray *ibid*.

(*b*) Sigonius *ibid*. Ann. 798—801. Platina in Leo III. Mezeray *ibid*. Ann. 799, &c. Sir Is. Newton *ibid*. Voltaire, of the revival of the empire of the West, in the first part of his General History of Europe.

(*c*) Sigonius *ibid*. Ann. 814, 815.

(*d*) Sigonius *ibid*. Ann. 817. Sir Is. Newton's *Observ. on Daniel*, Chap. 7. P. 88.

containing part of Tuscany and Campania, Ravenna with the exarchate and Pentapolis, and the other part of Tuscany and the countries taken from the Lombards: and all these are granted to the pope and his successors to the end of the world, *ut in suo detineant jure, principatus, atque ditone*, that they should hold them in their own right, principality, and dominion.—These, as we conceive, were *the three horns, three of the first horns*, which fell before the little horn: and the pope hath in a manner pointed himself out for the person by wearing *the triple crown*.

4. In o her respects too the pope fully answers the character of the little horn; so that exquisite fitness of application may assure us of the true sense of the prophecy, we can no longer doubt concerning the person. He is *a little horn*: And the power of the pope was originally very small, and their temporal dominions were little and inconsiderable in comparison with others of the ten horns.—“He shall be diverse from the first:” ver. 24. The Greek and Arabic translate it, that (a) he shall exceed in wickedness all before him; and so most of the fathers, who made use only of the Greek translation, understood it; but it rather signifies that his kingdom shall be of a different nature and constitution: And the power of the pope differs greatly from that of all other princes, being an ecclesiastical and spiritual, as well as a civil and temporal authority.—“And behold in this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man:” ver. 8. To denote his cunning and foresight, his looking out and watching all opportunities to promote his own interests: And the policy of the Roman hierarchy hath almost passed into a proverb; the pope is properly an *overlooker* or *overseer*, or bishop, in the literal sense of the word.—“He hath a mouth speaking very great things:” ver. 8, 20. And who hath been more noisy and blustering than the pope, especially in former ages, boasting of his supremacy, thundering out his bulls and anathemas, excommunicating princes, and absolving subjects from their allegiance?—“His look was more stout than his fellows:” ver. 20. And the pope assumes a superiority not only over his fellow bishops, but even over crowned heads, and requires his foot to be kissed, and greater honors to be paid to him than to kings and emperors themselves.—“And he shall speak great words against the most High:” ver. 25. or as

(a) Qui malis omnes prædecessores suos superabit. Arab.

(a) Symmachus interprets it, *he shall speak great words as the most High*; setting up himself above all laws divine and human, arrogating to himself godlike attributes and titles of holiness and infallibility, exacting obedience to his ordinances and decrees in preference to, and open violation of reason and scripture, insulting men, and blaspheming God. In Gratian's decretals the pope hath the title of *God* given to him.—*And he shall wear out the saints of the most High*; by wars and massacres, and inquisitions, persecuting and destroying the faithful servants of Jesus and the true worshippers of God, who protest against his innovations, and refuse to comply with the idolatry practised in the church of Rome.—*And he shall think to change times and seasons*: appointing fasts and feasts, canonizing saints, granting pardons and indulgences for sins, instituting new modes of worship, imposing new articles of faith, injoining new rules of practice, and reversing at pleasure the laws both of God and men.—*And they shall be given into his hand, until a time, and times, and the dividing of time*. *A time*, all agree, signifies a year; and *a time and times and the dividing of time*, or *half a time*, are three years and an half. So long and no longer, as the Romanists conceive, the power of Antichrist will continue; but it is impossible for all the things, which are predicted of Antichrist, to be fulfilled in so short a space of time; and neither is Antichrist or the little horn a single man, but a kingdom. Single men are not the subjects of this prophecy, but kingdoms. The *four kings*, ver. 17. are not four single kings, but kingdoms; and so the *ten horns or kings*, ver. 24. are not ten single kings, but kingdoms; and so likewise *the little horn* is not a single king, but a kingdom, not a single man, but a succession of men, exercising such powers, and performing such actions, as are here described. We must therefore compute the time according to the nature and genius of the prophetic language. *A time*, then, *and times*, and *half a time* are three years and a half: and the ancient Jewish year consisting of twelve months, and each month of thirty days, *a time, and times, and half a time*, or three years and a half, are reckoned in the Revelation, xi. 2, 3. xii. 6, 14. as equivalent to *forty and two months*, or *a thousand two hundred and threescore days*: and a day in the stile of the prophets is a year; “*I have appointed thee each day for a*

(a) Sive ut interpretatus est Symmachus; Sermones quasi Deus loquatur. Hieron. Comment. Vol. III. P. 1103. Edit. Benedict.

“*year*,” saith God to Ezekiel; iv. 6. and it is confessed, that *the seventy weeks* in the ninth chapter of Daniel are weeks of years; and consequently *1260 days* are *1260 years*. So long Antichrist or the little horn will continue: but from what point of time the commencement of these 1260 years is to be dated, is not so easy to determine. It should seem that they are to be computed from the full establishment of the power of the pope, and no less is implied in the expression *given into his hand*. Now the power of the pope as a horn or temporal prince, it hath been shown, was established in the eighth century: and 1260 years from that time will lead us down to about the year of Christ 2000, or about the 6000th year of the world: and there is an (a) old tradition both among Jews and Christians, that at the end of six thousand years the Messiah shall come, and the world shall be renewed, the reign of the wicked one shall cease, and the reign of the saints upon earth shall begin. But as (b) Irenæus saith in a like case, it is surer and safer to wait for the completion of the prophecy, than to conjecture and to divine about it. When the end shall come, then we shall know better whence to date the beginning.

V. All these kingdoms will be succeeded by the kingdom of the Messiah. “I beheld,” saith Daniel, ver. 9, 10. “till the thrones were cast down,” or rather (c) “till the thrones were set, 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; thousand thousands ministered unto him: and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: the judgment was set,” or the judges did sit, “and the books were opened.” These metaphors and figures are borrowed from the solemnities of earthly judicatories, and particularly of the great Sanhedrim of the Jews, where the father of the consisto-

(a) S. Barnabæ Epist. Cap. 15. cum notis Cotelerii. Burnet's Theory, B. 3. Ch. 5.

(b) Certius ergo et sine periculo est, sustinere ad impletionem prophetiæ, quam suspicari et divinare. Iren. Lib. 5. Cap. 30. P. 448. Edit. Grabe.

(c) Donec throni posita sunt, Vulg. Sept. Videbam subsellia posita esse. Syr. sedes posita fuerunt. Arab. And the same word is used in the Chaldee paraphrase of Jer. i, 15. “they shall set every one his throne.”

ry fat, with his affeſſors ſeated on each ſide of him in the form of a ſemicircle, and the people ſtanding before him: and from this deſcription again was borrowed the deſcription of the day of judgment in the New Teſtament.

“ I beheld them becauſe of the voice of the great words which the horn ſpake; I beheld, even till the beaſt was ſlain, and his body deſtroyed, and given to the burning flame.” ver. 11. The beaſt will be deſtroyed *becauſe of the great words which the horn ſpake*, and the deſtruction of the beaſt will alſo be the deſtruction of the horn; and conſequently the horn is a part of the fourth beaſt, or of the Roman empire. “ As concerning the reſt of the beaſts, they had their dominion taken away, yet their lives were prolonged for a ſeaſon and time,” ver. 12. When the dominion was taken away from the other beaſts, their bodies were not deſtroyed, they were ſuffered to continue ſtill in being: but when the dominion ſhall be taken away from this beaſt, his body ſhall totally be deſtroyed; becauſe other kingdoms ſucceeded to thoſe, but none other earthly kingdom ſhall ſucceed to this.

“ 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.” ver. 13. How ſtrange and forced, how abſurd and unworthy of Grotius is it to apply this to the Romans, which hath always been, and can only be properly underſtood of the Meſſiah? From hence *the ſon of man* came to be a (a) phraſe for the Meſſiah among the Jews. From hence it was taken and uſed ſo frequently in the goſpels: and our Saviour intimates himſelf to be this very ſon of man, in ſaying, Matt. xxvi. 64, 65. “ Hereafter ſhall ye ſee the ſon of man ſitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven;” and thereupon he was charged by the high-prieſt with having *ſpoken blaſphemy*.

“ 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.” ver. 14. All theſe kingdoms ſhall in their turns be deſtroyed, but the kingdom of the Meſſiah ſhall ſtand for ever: and it was in alluſion to this prophecy, that the angel

(a) See Jewiſh authors cited even by Grotius and Bp. Chandler in his Defence of Chriſtianity, Chap. 2. Sect. 1. P. 108. 3d Edit.

said of Jesus before he was conceived in the womb, Luke i. 33. "He shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end."

After what manner these great changes will be effected, we cannot pretend to say, as God hath not been pleased to reveal it. We see the remains of the ten horns, which arose out of the Roman empire. We see the little horn still subsisting, though not in full strength and vigor, but as we hope upon the decline, and tending towards a desolation. And having seen so many of these particulars accomplished, we can have no reason to doubt that the rest also will be fulfilled in due season, though we cannot frame any conception how Christ will be manifested in glory, how the little horn with the body of the fourth beast will be given to the burning flame, or how the saints will take the kingdom, and possess it for ever and ever. It is the nature of such prophecies not to be perfectly understood, till they are fulfilled. The best comment upon them will be their completion.

It may yet add some farther light to these prophecies, if we compare this and the former together; for comparing scripture with scripture is the best way to understand both the one and the other. What was represented to Nebuchadnezzar in the form of a *great image*, was represented again to Daniel by *four great wild beasts*: and the best degenerate, as the metals in the image grow worse and worse, the lower they descend.

This image's head was of fine gold, and the first beast was like a lion with eagle's wings; and these answer to each other; and both represented the powers then reigning, or the kingdom of the Babylonians; but it appeared in splendor and glory to Nebuchadnezzar, as it was then in its flourishing condition: the *plucking of its wings*, and its humiliation were shown to Daniel, as it was then drawing near to its fatal end.

The breast and arms of silver, and the second beast like a bear were designed to represent the second kingdom, or that of the Medes and Persians. The *two arms* are supposed to denote the two people; but some farther particulars were hinted to Daniel, of the one people rising up above the other people, and of the conquest of three additional kingdoms. To Nebuchadnezzar this kingdom was called *inferior*, or worse than the former; and to Daniel it was described as very cruel, *Arise, devour much flesh*.

The third kingdom, or that of the Macedonians, was represented by *the belly and thighs of brass*, and by *the third beast like a leopard with four wings of a fowl*. It was said to Nebuchadnezzar, that *it should bear rule over all the earth*; and in Daniel's vision, *dominion was given to it*. The *four heads* signify Alexander's four successors; but the *two thighs* can only signify the two principal of them, the Seleucidæ, and Lagidæ, the Syrian and Egyptian kings.

The legs of iron, and *the fourth beast with great iron teeth*, correspond exactly; and as *iron breaketh in pieces all other metals*, so the fourth beast *devoured, and break in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it*; and they were both therefore equally proper representatives of the fourth kingdom, or the Roman, which was stronger and more powerful than all the former kingdoms. The *ten toes* two and the *ten horns* were alike fit emblems of the ten kingdoms, which arose out of the division of the Roman empire; but all that relates to *the little horn* was revealed only to Daniel, as a person more immediately interested in the fate of the church.

The *stone, that was cut out of the mountain without hands, and became itself a mountain, and filled the whole earth*, is explained to be a kingdom, which shall prevail over all other kingdoms, and become universal and everlasting. In like manner, *one like the son of man came to the ancient of days*, and was advanced to a kingdom, which shall prevail likewise over all other kingdoms, and become universal and everlasting.

Such concord and agreement is there between these prophecies of Daniel, which remarkable as they are in many things, are in nothing more remarkable, than that they comprehend so many distant events, and extend through so many ages, from the reign of the Babylonians to the consummation of all things. They are truly, as, (a) Mr. Mede called them "*the sacred calendar and great almanac of prophecy*, a prophetic chronology of times measured by the succession of four principal kingdoms, from the beginning of the captivity of Israel, until the mystery of God should be finished." They are as it were the great outlines, the rest mostly are filling up the parts: and as these will cast light upon the subsequent prophecies, so the subsequent prophecies will reflect light upon them again.

(a) Mede's Works, B. 3. P. 654.

Daniel was "much troubled," ver. 28. "and his countenance changed in him" at the foresight of the calamities to be brought upon the church by the little horn: "but he kept the matter in his heart." Much more may good men be grieved at the sight of these calamities, and lament the prevalence of popery and wickedness in the world: but let them *keep it in their heart*, that a time of just retribution will certainly come. The proof may be drawn from the moral attributes of God, as well as from his promise; ver. 26, 27. "The judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and to destroy it unto the end. And the kingdom, and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominion shall serve and obey him."

XV.

DANIEL'S *Vision of the RAM and HE-GOAT.*

HITHERTO the prophecies of Daniel, that is from the fourth verse of the second chapter to the eighth chapter, are written in Chaldee. As they greatly concerned the Chaldeans, so they were published in that language. But the remaining prophecies are written in Hebrew, because they treat altogether of affairs subsequent to the times of the Chaldeans, and no ways relate to them, but principally to the church and people of God. Which is a plain proof, that the scriptures were originally written in such a manner as they might be best understood by the people; and consequently it is defeating the very end and design of writing them, to *take away the key of knowledge*, and to keep them locked up in an unknown tongue. We may observe too that in the former part of the book of Daniel he is generally spoken of in the third person, but in the latter part he speaketh of himself in the first person, which is some kind of proof that this part was written by himself if the other was not, but probably this diversity might arise from the different dates, the one being written some time after the other. ♦

Daniel's former vision of the four great beasts, representing the four great empires of the world, was vii. 1. "in the first year of Belshazzar king of Babylon." He had another vision in the *third* year of the reign of the same King Belshazzar, that is (a) about 553 years before Christ. viii. 1. "In the third year of the reign of king Belshazzar, a vision appeared unto me at the first." It was exhibited to him, ver. 2. at the place in Shushan, and by the side of the river *Ulai*, or *Eulæus*, as it is called by the Greeks and Romans. "And I saw in a vision (and it came to pass when I saw, that I was at Shushan in the palace, which is in the province of Alam) and I saw in a vision, and I was by the river Ulai." So likewise the prophet Ezekiel saw visions by the river Chebar; as if the holy Spirit had delighted to manifest himself in such retired scenes:

(a) See Usher, Prideaux, and other chronologers.

and the gifts and graces of the Spirit are often in scripture-language described by the metaphors of springs and streams of water, than which nothing was more agreeable and refreshing in hot and dry countries.

Such was the time and place of the vision. The vision itself was of a ram and he-goat. And we may observe with the learned (a) Bochart, that others also have had like visions, portending future events. So Plutarch reports in the life of Sylla, that two great goats were seen fighting in Campania, and suddenly the vision vanished: not long afterwards in that very place Sylla having routed and slain seven thousand men besieged the consul in Capua. In the Brutus of Accius, which is cited by Cicero in his first book of Divination, Tarquinius Superbus relates his dream, "that a shepherd drove his flock
" to him; two rams of the same breed were selected from
" thence, both choice and beautiful, and he killed the finer of
" them; the other rushed upon him with his horns, and cast
" him down and wounded him." These rams of the same breed signified Lucius Junius Brutus and his brother; one of whom was slain by Tarquin, and the other rose against Tarquin, and despoiled him of his kingdom. So that the probabilities of the poets and historians bear some resemblance to the realities of

(a) *Observemus etiam aliis apparuisse visiones hujusmodi, quæ futura portenderent. Ita, Plutarcho teste in vita Syllæ. In Campania, circa Tiphaton montem (qui aliis Tifata) interdieu visi sunt confligere magni hirci duo, et ea omnia facere et pati, quæ viri in pugna solent. Spectrum autem, e terca sensum elatum, paulo post dissipatum, et ex oculis elapsum, est. Nec multo post Sylla, Mario Juniore et Norbano consule, in eo ipso loco fuis, et profligatis, et cæsis hominum septem millibus, consulem inclusit Capuæ. Et in Accii Bruto, qui a Cicerone citatur libro primo De Divinatione, Tarquinius Superbus suum hoc somnium narrat.*

*Visum est in somnis pastorem ad me appellere
Pecus lanigerum eximia pulchritudine,
Duos consanguineos arietes inde eligi,
Præclarioremque alterum immolare me:
Deinde ejus germanum cornibus connitier
In me arietare, oequè me ad casum dari:
Exin prostratum terra graviter fauciam,
Resupinum, in cælo contueri maximum, &c.*

Hi arietes consanguineus L. Junium Brutum, et fratrem ejus a Tarquinio cæsum significabant; quorum ille, in Tarquinium insurges, cum regno suo spoliavit. Bocharti Hierozoi. Pars Prior Lib. 2. Cap. 46. Col. 527.

holy writ. Or rather, in this instance of prophecy, as in the ceremonies of religion and the modes of government, God was pleased to condescend and conform to the customs and manners of the age, to make thereby a stronger impression on the minds of the people. Nor is such a condescension unworthy of the deity, nor unsuitable to the other methods of his providence, but is rather an argument of his infinite goodness.

In the former vision there appeared four beasts, because there four empires were represented: but here are only two, because here we have a representation of what was transacted chiefly within two empires. The first of the four empires, that is the Babylonian, is wholly omitted here, for its fate was sufficiently known, and it was now drawing very near to a conclusion. The second empire in the former vision, is the first in this; and what was there compared to a bear, is here prefigured by a ram. "Then I lifted up mine eyes," saith Daniel, ver. 3. "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." This ram with two horns, according to the explication of the angel Gabriel, was the empire of the Medes and Persians; ver. 20. "The ram which thou sawest having two horns, are the kings" or kingdoms "of Media and Persia." The source of this figure of *horns* for *kingdoms*, as a (a) learned writer observes, must be derived from the oriental languages, in which the same words signifies a *horn*, and a *crown*, and *power*, and *splendor*. Whence a *horn* was an ensign of royalty among the Phœnicians, and the Hebrew word *keren* or a *horn*, is several times by the Chaldee paraphrasts rendered *malchutha* or a *kingdom*; and *horns* are frequently used for *kings* and *kingdoms* in the Old Testament. This empire therefore, which was formed by the conjunction of the Medes and Persians, and is often called the Medo-Persian, was not unfitly represented by a ram *with two horns*. Cyrus the founder of this empire, was (b) son of Cambyfes

(a) Quam melius ita que ex linguis orientis potuisset hujus rei fons erui? quibus, ut id est jam contritum, eadem voce cornu, corona, potentia, ac splendor nuncupantur. Unde cornu, regium insigne apud Phœnices, et Hebræorum seu cornu, Chaldæis interpretibus aliquoties seu regnum redditur, ut vidit illustris Grotius: et cornua pro regno et regibus passim in veteri fœdere. Spanheim de Ufu Numismatum. Vol. I. Dissert. 7. P. 400.

(b) Xenophon. Cyropæd. Lib. 1 et 8.

king of Persia, and by his mother Mandane was grandson of Astyages king of Media; and afterwards marrying the daughter and only child of his uncle Cyaxares king of Media, he succeeded to both crowns, and united the kingdoms of Media and Persia. It was a coalition of two very formidable powers, and therefore it is said that *the two horns were high: but one, it is added, was higher than the other, and the higher came up last.* The kingdom of Media was the more ancient of the two, and more famous in history; Persia was of little note or account till the time of Cyrus: but under Cyrus the Persians gained and maintained the ascendent; some (a) authors say that Cyrus subdued the king of the Medes by force of arms; and his son (b) Cambyses upon his death-bed earnestly exhorted the Persians not to suffer the kingdom to return again to the Medes. But a question still remains, why that empire, which was before likened to a bear for its cruelty, should now be represented by a ram? Mr. Mede's conjecture is ingenious and plausible enough, (c) that the Hebrew word for a ram, and the Hebrew word for Persia, both springing from the same root, and both, implying something of strength, the one is not improperly made the type of the other. The propriety of it appears farther from hence, as it suggested likewise by another writer in the general preface to Mr. Mede's works, that it was usual for the king of Persia to wear a ram's head made of gold, and adorned with precious stones, instead of a diadem; for so (d) Ammianus Marcellinus describes him. Bishop Chandler and others farther (e) observe,

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(a) Herod. Lib. 1. Sect. 130. P. 56. Edit. Gale. Strabo, Lib. 15. P. 730. Edit. Paris. 1620. P. 1062. Edit. Amstel. 1707. Justin. Lib. 1. Cap. 6.

(b) Herod. Lib. 3. Sect. 65. P. 188. Edit. Gale.

(c) — quis suspicari possit, etiam arietis de rege Persarum in eadem visione typum, ad nominis Elam (quod alterum duorum est quo ea gens appelletur) significatum alludere. Enim Hebrais (unde nomen aries) et atque Chadæis, idem significant, nempe fortem seu robustum esse. Forte igitur Elam istus ut illis arietem sonabat, indeque rex Elam hoc typo Danieli figuratur. Mede's Works. B. 3. Comment Apoc. P. 474.

(d) — aurem capitis arietini figmentum interstinctum lapillis pro diademate gestans. Amm. Marcell. Lib. 19. Cap. 1. P. 208. Edit. Valesii. Paris. 1681.

(e) Bishop Chandler's Vindication, Chap. 1. Sect. 4. P. 154. Aries item bicornis inter rudera Persepoleos. Wetstein in Rev. xiii. 11.

that “rams heads with horns, one higher and the other lower, “are still to be seen on the pillars at Persepolis.”

The great exploits of the ram are recapitulated in the next verse, ver. 4. “I saw the ram pushing westward, and northward, and southward, so that no beast 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.” Under Cyrus himself, the Persians, pushed their conquests *westward* (a) as far as the Ægean sea, and the bounds of Asia: *northward* they subdued (b) the Armenians, Cappadocians, and the various other nations: *southward* they conquered Egypt, if not under Cyrus, as (c) Xenophon affirms, yet most certainly under (d) Cambyses, the son and successor of Cyrus. Under Darius they subdued (e) India, but in the prophecy no mention is made of their conquests in the *east*, because those countries lay very remote from the Jews, and were of little concern or consequence to them. The ram was strong and powerful, *so that no beasts might stand before him, neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand*; that is, none of the neighbouring kingdoms were able to contend with the Persians, but all fell under their dominion. *He did according to his will, and became great*: and the Persian empire was increased and enlarged to such a degree, that it extended, Esther i. 1. “from India even unto Ethiopia, “over an hundred and seven and twenty provinces;” so that seven provinces were added to the hundred and twenty, Dan. vi. 1. which it contained in the time of Cyrus.

After the ram, the he-goat appears next upon the scene. “And as I was considering,” saith Daniel, ver. 5, “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.” Which is thus interpreted by the angel Gabriel, ver. 21. “The rough goat is the king “of Grecia, and the great horn that is between his eyes, is “the first king,” or kingdom. A *goat* is very properly made, the type of the Grecian or Macedonian empire, because the Macedonians at first, about two hundred years before Daniel, were denominated *Ægeadæ*, or *the goat’s people*; and upon this occasion, as heathen authors report. Caranus, their first king, going with a great multitude of Greeks to seek new habi-

(a) Herod. Lib. 1. Xenoph. Cyropæd. Lib. 7.

(b) Xenoph. *ibid.* Lib. 3 et 7.

(c) Xenoph. *ibid.* Lib. 1 et 8.

(d) Herod. Lib. 3.

(e) Herod. Lib. 4. Cap. 44. P. 239. Edit. Gale.

tations in Macedonia, was commanded by the oracle to take the goats for his guides to empire: and afterwards seeing a herd of goats flying from a violent storm, he followed them to Edessa, and there fixed the seat of his empire, made the goats his ensigns or standards, and called the city *Ægeæ*, or *the goat's town*, and the people *Ægeades* or *the goat's people*. This observation is likewise owing to the most excellent Mr. Mede (*a*): and to this may be added, that the city *Ægeæ*, or *Ægæ*, was the (*b*) usual burying-place of the Macedonian kings. It is also very remarkable, that Alexander's son by Roxana was named Alexander *Ægus*, or *the son of the goat*; and (*c*) some of Alexander's successors are represented in their coins with *goat's horns*. This he-goat came from the west: and who is ignorant that Europe lieth westward of Asia? He came on the face of the whole earth, carrying every thing before him in all the three parts of the world then known: and he touched not the ground, his marches were so swift, and his conquests so rapid, that he might be said in a manner to fly over the ground without touching it. For the same reason the same empire in the former vision was likened to a leopard,

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(*a*) Nec deesse videtur hujusmodi allusionis exemplum apud Daniëlem, Cap. 8. ubi Macedonis, qui tunc temporis *Ægeades* (hoc est, Caprini) dicebantur, typo caprarum, rexque hirci figura designatur. Ecce, inquit, hircus caprarum (id est, caprarum maritus) venit ab occidente, &c. Innuit autem. Alexandrum magnum, *Ægeadum* regem. Illi Macedones sunt. Ita enim gens ista vocabatur qua prima regni sedes erat, a Carano conditore, dacentis plus minus ante Daniëlem annis. Occasionem nominis ex Trogo refert epitomator Justinus, Lib. 7. cujus verbe ascribere non gravabor. “Caranus, inquit, cum magna multitudine Græcorum, sedes
“ in Macedonia responso oraculi jussus quærere, cum in *Æmathi-*
“ am venisset urbem Edessam non sentientibus oppidanis propter
“ imbrium et nebulae magnitudinem, gregem caprarum imbrem
“ fugientium secutus, occupavit: revocatusque in memoriam ora-
“ culi, quo jessus erat ducibus capris imperium quærere, regni
“ sedem statuit; religioseque postea observavit, quocumque agmen
“ moveret, ante signa easdem capras habere, ceptorum duces ha-
“ biturus quos regni habuarat authores. Urbem Edessam ob me-
“ moriam muneris *Ægeas*, populum *Ægeades* vocavit.” Vide cætera. Mede's Works, B. 3. Comment. Apoc. P. 473, 474.

(*b*) Plin. Lib. 4. Cap. 10. Sect. 17. P. 200. Edit. Harduin. Vide etiam notis Harduini.

(*c*) Spanheim de Usu Numismatum. Vol. 1. Dissert. 7. P. 389 et 399.

which is a swift nimble animal, and to denote the greater quickness and impetuosity, to a *leopard with four wings*. And the goat had a notable horn between his eyes; this horn, saith the angel, is the first king, or kingdom of the Greeks in Asia, which was erected by Alexander the great, and continued for some years in his brother Philip Aridæus, and his two young sons Alexander Ægeus and Hercules. Dean Prideaux, speaking of the swiftness of Alexander's marches, hath a (a) passage which is very pertinent to our present purpose. "He flew with victory swifter than others can travel, often with his horse pursuing his enemies upon the spur whole days and nights, and sometimes making long marches for several days one after the other, as once he did in pursuit of Darius of near forty miles a day for eleven days together. So that by the speed of his marches he came upon his enemy before they were aware of him, and conquered them before they could be in a posture to resist him. Which exactly agreeth with the description given of him in the prophecies of Daniel some ages before, he being in them set forth under the similitude of a panther or leopard with four wings: for he was impetuous and fierce in his warlike expeditions, as a panther after his prey, and came on upon his enemies with that speed, as if he flew with a double pair of wings. And to this purpose he is in another place of those prophecies compared to an he-goat coming from the west with that swiftness upon the king of Media and Persia, that he seemed as if his feet did not touch the ground. And his actions, as well in this comparison as in the former, fully verified the prophecy."

In the two next verses we have an account of the Grecians overthrowing the Persian empire. ver. 6, 7. "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." The ram had before *pushed westward*, and

(a) Prideaux Connect. Part 1. Book 8. Ann. 330. Alexander 2.
 (b) Herod. Lib. 6 et 7.

the Persians in the (a) reigns of Darius Hystaspis and Xerxes had poured down with great armies into Greece; but now the Grecians in return carried their arms into Asia, and the he-goat invaded the ram that had invaded him. *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.* One can hardly read these words without having some image of Darius's army standing and guarding the river (b) Granicus, and of Alexander on the other side with his forces plunging in, swimming across the stream, and rushing on the enemy with all the fire and fury that can be imagined. It was certainly a strange rash mad attempt with only about thirty-five thousand men to attack, at such disadvantage, an army of more than five times the number: but he was successful in it, and this success diffused a terror of his name, and opened his way to the conquest of Asia. *And I saw him come close unto the ram:* he had several close engagements or set battles with the king of Persia, and particularly at the river Granicus in Phrygia, at the straits of Issus in Cilicia, and in the plains of Arbela in Assyria. *And he was moved with choler against him,* for (c) the cruelties which the Persians had exercised towards the Grecians: and for (d) Darius's attempting to corrupt sometimes his soldiers to betray him, and sometimes his friends to destroy him; so that he would not listen the most advantageous offers of peace, but determined to pursue the Persian king, not as a generous and noble enemy, but as a poisoner and a raulderer, to the death that he deserved. *And he smote the ram, and break his two horns:* he subdued Persia and Media with the other provinces and kingdoms of the Persian empire; and it is memorable, that in (e) Persia he barbarously sacked and burned the royal city of Persepolis, the capital of the empire; and in (f) Media Darius was seized and made a prisoner by some of his own traitor-subjects, who not long afterwards base-

(a) Herod. Lib. 6 et 7.

(b) Arrian de exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Cap. 14, &c. Sic Granicum, tot millibus equitum peditumque in ulteriore stantibus ripa, superavit. Quint. Curt. Lib. 4. Cap. 9.

(c) Diod. Sic. Lib. 17. P. 599. Edit. Steph. P. 543. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. Quint. Curt. Lib. 5. Cap. 6.

(d) Quint. Curt. Lib. 4. Cap. 11. Verum enimvero, quum modo milites meos litteris ad prodicionem, modo amicos ad perniciem meam pecunia sollicitet; ad internecionem mihi persequendus est non ut iustus hostis, sed ut percussor veneticus.

(e) Diod. Sic. Lib. 17. ibid. Quint. Curt. Lib. 5. Cap. 6 et 7.

(f) Quint. Curt. Lib. 5. Cap. 8, &c.

ly murdered him. *And there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him; he conquered wherever he came, routed all the forces, took all the cities and castles and entirely subverted and ruined the Persian empire. And there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand; not even his numerous armies could defend the king of Persia, though his forces (a) in the battle of Issus amounted to six hundred thousand men, and (b) in that of Arbela to ten or eleven hundred thousand, whereas the (c) whole number of Alexander's was not more than forty-seven thousand in either engagement. So true is the observation of the Psalmist, xxxiii. 16. "there is no king saved by the multitude of an host:" and especially when God hath decreed the fall of empires, then even the greatest must fall.*

The fortune of Alexander, of which so much hath been said; Plutarch hath written a whole treatise about it; the fortune of Alexander, I say, was nothing but the providence of God.

When Alexander was at Jerusalem, these prophecies were shewn to him by the high-priest, according to the (d) relation of Josephus. For while Alexander lay at the siege of Tyre, he sent to Jaddua the high-priest at Jerusalem to demand provisions for his army, and the tribute that was annually paid to Darius. But the high-priest refused to comply with these commands by reason of his oath of allegiance to the king of Persia. Alexander therefore in great rage vowed to revenge himself upon the Jews: and as soon as he had taken Tyre and Gaza, he marched against Jerusalem. The high-priest in this imminent danger had recourse to God by sacrifices and supplications: and as he was directed in a vision of the night, he went forth the next day in his pontifical robes, with all the priests in their proper habits, and the people in white apparel, to meet the conqueror, and to make their submissions to him. As soon as the king saw the high-priest coming to him in this solemn procession, he advanced eagerly to meet him, and bowing down himself before him, received him with religious awe and veneration. All present were astonished at this behaviour of the king, so contrary to their expectation; and Parmenio in

(a) Arrian de Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Cap. 3. P. 73. Edit. Gronov. Plutarch in Alex. P. 67. Edit. Paris, 1624.

(b) Plutarch in Alex. P. 682. *ibid.* Diod. Sic. Lib. 17. P. 590. Edit. Steph. P. 530. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. Arrian, Lib. 3. Cap. 8. P. 115.

(c) Polyb. Lib. 12. Arrian, Lib. 3. Cap. 12. P. 122. Edit. Gronov.

(d) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 11. Cap. 1.

particular demanded the reason of it, why he whom all others adored, should pay such adoration to the Jewish high-priest. Alexander replied, that he payed not his adoration to him but to that God whose priest he was: for while he was at Dio in Macedonia, and was meditating upon his expedition against the king of Persia, there appeared unto him in a dream this very man, and in this very habit, inviting him to come over to Asia, and promising him success in the conquest of it: and now he was assured that he had set out upon this expedition under the conduct of God, to whom therefore he payed this adoration in the person of his high-priest. Hereupon he entered Jerusalem in peace, and went up and offered sacrifices to God in the temple, where the high-priest produced and laid before him the prophecies of Daniel, wherein it was written that a king of Grecia should overthrow the Persian empire, which he interpreted of himself. After this he granted peculiar privileges to the Jews, and proceeded in his expedition with full confidence and assurance of success.

Some persons have rejected this account as fabulous, particularly (a) Van Dale, Mr. Moyle, and Collins, who says that it is "an entire fiction unsupported, and inconsistent with history and chronology, and romantic in its circumstances." But (b) Bishop Lloyd, Dean Prideaux, Bishop Chandler and others have sufficiently vindicated the truth of the story. Even Bayle himself, who was never thought to be over-credulous, admits the fact: and it must be said, though some things are extraordinary, yet there is nothing incredible in the whole relation. Alexander lay seven months at the siege of Tyre; in that time he might well want provisions for his army: and it is no wonder that he should send for some into Judea, when the Tyrians themselves used to be supplied from thence. 1 Kings v. 2, 11. Ezek. xxvii. 17. Acts xii. 20. The fidelity of the Jews to Darius, and their regard to their oath was nothing more than they practised upon other occasions; for the same reason (c) they would not submit to Ptolemy, having

(a) Van Dale Dissert. super Aristeam, Cap. 10. Moyle's Letters to Prideaux, P. 26, &c. Vol. II. Collins's Scheme of literal Prophecy, P. 462.

(b) Bishop Lloyd's Letters to Dr. Sherlock Prideaux Connect. and Answers to Mr. Moyle. Bishop Chandler's Vindication of his Defence, Chap. 2. Sect. 1. P. 107, &c. Mr. Sam. Chandler's Vindication of Daniel, P. 176, &c. Bayle's Dict. Art. Macedo. Not. O.

(c) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 1. P. 507. Edit. Hudson.

taken an oath to another governor: and Ptolemy afterwards rewarded them for it in Egypt, and (*a*) committed the most important garrisons and places of trust to their keeping, thinking that he might safely rely upon them, who had proved themselves so steady and faithful to their former princes and governors, and particularly to Darius king of Persia. That Alexander was in Judea, I think we may collect from other authors. Arrian says, (*b*) that he subdued all that part of Syria which was called Palestine. Pliny affirms, (*c*) that the balsam-tree, which grew only in Judea, was cut and bled a certain quantity in a day, while Alexander was waging war in those parts. Justin informs us, (*d*) that he went into Syria, where many princes of the east met him with their mitres; upon which passage the note of Isaac Vossius is very just and pertinent, (*e*) "I think that Justin had respect to that memorable history, which Josephus relates of Judas the high-priest of the Jews." If Alexander therefore came into Judea, as he certainly did, it was prudent in the Jews, though they refused to succour him at a distance, yet to submit to him upon his nearer approach; it was in vain to withstand the conqueror, and the terror of his name was now become very great by his victories, and especially after the dreadful execution that he had made at Tyre and at Gaza. While Alexander was at Jerusalem, it was natural enough for the high-priest to show him the prophecies of a king of Grecia overcoming the king of Persia. Nothing could be devised more likely to engage his attention, to confirm his hopes, and to conciliate his favour to the whole nation. And for his sacrificing in the temple, it is no more than (*f*) other heathen princes have done, it is no

(*a*) Joseph. *ibid.* et *Contra Apion.* Lib. 2. Sect. 4. P. 1365. Edit. Hudson.

(*b*) Arrian de *Exped. Alex.* Lib. 2. Cap. 25. P. 101. Edit. Gronov. Et cætera quidem Syriæ, quæ Palæstina vocatur, oppida in suam potestatem adduxerat.

(*c*) Plin. *Nat. Hist.* Lib. 12. Cap. 25. Sect. 54. Edit. Harduin. Alexandro magno res ibi gerente, toto die ætivo unam concham impleri justum erat.

(*d*) Tunc in Syriam proficiscitur, ubi obvios cum infulis multos orientis reges habuit. Justin. *Hist.* Lib. 11. Cap. 10. Sect. 6. Edit. Grævii.

(*e*) Puto respicere Justinum ad memorabilem illam historiam, quam Josephus de gaddo, summo Judæorum sacerdote, narrat.

(*f*) Joseph. *contra Apion.* Lib. 2. Sect. 5. P. 1365. Edit. Hudson. 2 *Maccab.* xiii, 23.

more than he did in other places. He might perhaps consider God as a local deity, and offer sacrifices to him at Jerusalem, as he did to Hercules at Tyre and to Jupiter Hammon in Egypt, and to Belus in Babylon.

What are then the great objections to the credibility of this story? It is pretended, that it is inconsistent with chronology; for Josephus places this event after the sieges of Tyre and of Gaza, whereas (a) all historians agree that Alexander went directly from Gaza to Egypt in seven days. But the best historians do not always relate facts in exact order of time, as they happened; they connect things of a sort together, and often mention later occurrences first, reserving what they think more important for the last place: and such possibly might be the intention of Josephus. Eusebius affirms, that (b) Alexander went after the siege of Tyre immediately to Jerusalem; and he might have good authority for affirming so, living as he did in Palestine; and with him agree Usher, Prideaux, and the best chronologers. And indeed it is most probable, that Alexander's progress was from Tyre to Jerusalem, and from Jerusalem to Gaza; because his resentment of the affront that he had received was then fresher in his mind, and Jerusalem lay not much out of the way from Tyre to Gaza, and it was not likely that he should leave a place of such strength and importance untaken behind him. But if Josephus was mistaken about two months in point of time, yet such a mistake is not sufficient to shake the credit of his whole relation. What historian is there almost who hath not fallen into a mistake of the like kind? And yet after all Josephus might not be mistaken, for Alexander might march against Jerusalem from Gaza, either during the siege, or after it. Arrian informs us, (c) that while the siege of Tyre was carrying on, and the machines and ships were building, Alexander with some troops of horse and other forces went into Arabia, and having reduced that part of the country to his obedience partly by force, and partly by treaty, he returned to the camp in eleven days: and why might he not make such an excursion from Gaza for a few days, during the two months that his army was besieging it? or after

(a) Diod. Sic. Lib. 17. Q. Curt. Lib. 4. Arrian, Lib. 3. Plutarch in Alex.

(b) Eusebii Chron. Usher's Annals, P. 214, 215. Prid. Connect. Part 1. B. 7. Anno. 332. Darius 4.

(c) Arrian de Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Cap. 20. P. 94. Edit. Gronov.

he had taken the city, why might he not with part of the army go to Jerufalem, and leave the other part to refit themfelves at Gaza? Jerufalem lay at no very great diftance from Gaza, and a perfon of Alexander's expedition might go and return within a very few days. The hiftorians fay indeed, that he came into Egypt in feven days after he departed from Gaza; but none of them fay how long he ftayed at Gaza, to refrefh his army after the fiege. We know from (a) Diodorus, that he ftayed long enough to fettle the affairs of the country about Gaza; and why might he not in that time make his vifit to Jerufalem?

Another objection is taken from the filence of authors, who would hardly have paffed over fo memorable a tranfaction, if there had been any truth in it: but it is not fo much as mentioned by any of the heathen hiftorians; it is fupported entirely by the teftimony of Jofephus. But if we reject all relations, which reft upon the credit of a fingle hiftorian, ancient hiftory will be fhrunk into a very narrow compafs. There were numerous writers of the life and actions of Alexander, who were his companions in the wars, or lived in or near his time, as Ptolemy, Ariftobulus, and others: but none of their writings have been tranfmitted down to us; they have all been fwallowed up in the gulph between that time and this; and who can be certain that fome of them did not record this tranfaction? It muft have been mentioned by fome ancient hiftorian; for we fee that Juftin in a fhort abridgment of hiftory is thought to have alluded to it: and fome other author might have related it at large in all its circumftances. The moft copious writers now extant of Alexander's affairs, are Diodorus Siculus, Quintius Curtius, Arrian, and Plutarch, fo that they muft have tranfcribed from former hiftorians: and they have tranfcribed variously, as futed their particular purpofe; what one hath inferted, another hath omitted; and not two of them hath related things exactly alike. There are actions and fayings of Alexander, which are omitted by them all, but yet are preferved by other authors: and no wonder then, that with the common prejudice of Greeks and Romans, they fhould omit fome particulars of fo remote and fo difagreeable a people as the Jews. The affairs of each province are beft related

(a) Diod. Sic. Lib. 17. P. 588 Edit. Steph. P. 526. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod.

by the writers of each province. A Jew was most likely to record the particulars concerning the Jews. And Josephus, though he may have been thought credulous in some respects, yet was never charged with forging of history. His credit as an historian, will upon examination be found equal almost to the very best. Joseph Scaliger, who was an exceeding good judge in matters of this nature, (*a*) giveth him the character of a most faithful, a most diligent, and a most learned writer; of whom, saith he, we may boldly affirm, that not only in Jewish, but likewise in foreign affairs, we may more safely rely on his credit, than on all the Greek and Latin historians together.

There remains then no difficulty that can really stick with us, unless it be the particular interposition of God in this affair, and the prophetic dreams of Alexander and the high-priest. These things, it must be confessed, are wonderful: but if we recollect the miraculous interpositions of God in favour of his people; if we reflect what a particular providence attended Alexander, and conducted him to conquest and empire; if we consider the clear and express prophecies concerning him; these things though wonderful, may yet easily be reconciled to our belief, and will appear perfectly consistent with the other dispensations of divine providence. Admitting the truth of the prophecies, we cannot think these extraordinary circumstances at all incredible. These extraordinary circumstances are alledged to confirm the prophecies; and if the prophecies be found mutually to confirm these extraordinary circumstances, this is so far from weakening that it strengthens the argument. Indeed without the supposition of the truth of these circumstances, it will be extremely difficult to account for Alexander's granting so many privileges and favours to the Jews. He (*b*) allowed them the free exercise of their religion; he exempted their land from tribute every seventh, or the sabbatical year; he settled many of them at Alexandria with privileges and immunities equal to those of the Macedonians themselves; and when the Samaritans had revolted, and murdered

(*a*) Josephus, *fidissimus, diligentissimus, et ereditissimus* scriptor. Scas. in *Notis ad Fragmenta Græc.* P. 45. De Josepho nos hoc audacter decimus, non solum in rebus ludæicis, sed etiam in exterius tutius illi credi, quam omnibus Græcis et Latinis: in *Prolegum de Emendatione Temporum*, P. 17.

(*b*) Joseph. *Antiq. Lib. 11. Cap. 8. Sect. 5. P. 504.* Edit. Hudson.

the governor whom he had set over them, he assigned their country to the Jews, and exempted it in the same manner as Judea from tribute, (a) Josephus hath proved from Alexander's own letters, and from the testimony of Hecataeus, a heathen historian. But what were the merits and services of the Jews, that they should be so favoured and distinguished above other people? There is no way of accounting for it so probable, as by admitting the truth of this relation. With this all appears natural and easy, and is utterly inexplicable without it.

But to return from this digression, if it may be called a digression, to consider a point of history, that is so nearly related to our subject. Nothing is fixed and stable in human affairs; and the empire of the goat, though exceeding great, was perhaps for that reason the sooner broken into pieces. Ver. 8. "Therefore the he-goat waxed very great, and when he was strong, the great horn was broken: and for it came up four notable ones, toward the four winds of heaven." Which the angel thus interprets, ver. 22. "Now that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power." The empire of the goat was in its full strength when Alexander died of a fever at Babylon. He was succeeded in the throne by his natural brother Philip Aridæus, and by his own two sons Alexander Ægus and Hercules: but in the space of (b) about fifteen years they were all murdered, and then the first *horn* or kingdom was entirely broken. The royal family being thus extinct, the (c) governors of provinces, who had usurped the power, assumed the title of kings: and by the defeat and death of Antigonus, in the battle of Ipsus, they were reduced (d) to four, Cassander, Lyfimachus, Ptolemy, and Seleucus, who parted Alexander's dominions between them, and divided and settled them into four kingdoms. These four kingdoms are the *four*

(a) Joseph. contra Apion, Lib. 2. Sect. 4. P. 1364, 1365. Edit. Hudson.

(b) See Usher, Prideaux, and the Chronologers.

(c) Diod. Sic. Lib. 20. Justin. Lib. 15. Cap. 2. Hujus honoris ornamentis tamdiu omnes abstinuerunt, quamdiu filii regis sui superesse potuerunt. Tanta in illis verecundia fuit, ut cum opes regias haberent regum tamen nominibus æquo animo caruerint, quoad Alexandro iustus hæres fuit.

(d) Diod. Sic. Lib. 20. Polyb. Lib. 5. P. 410. Edit. Casaubon. Plutarch Demetrio.

notable horns, which came up in the room of the first great horn; and are the same as the *four heads of the leopard* in the former vision. *Four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power*: they were to be kingdoms of Greeks, not of Alexander's own family, but only of his nation; and neither were they to be equal to him in power and dominion, as an empire united is certainly more powerful than the same empire divided, and the whole is greater than any of the parts. They were likewise to extend *toward the four winds of heaven*: and in the partition of the empire, (a) Cassander held Macedon, and Greece, and the *western* parts; Lyfimachus had Thrace, Bithynia, and the *northern* regions; Ptolemy possessed Egypt, and the *southern* countries; and Seleucus obtained Syria and the *eastern* provinces. Thus were they divided *toward the four winds of heaven*.

As in the former vision a little horn sprang up among the ten horns of the Roman empire, so here a little horn is described as rising among the four horns of the Grecian empire, ver. 9, 10, 11, 12. "And out of one of them came forth a little horn, which waxed exceeding great, towards 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." All which is thus explained by the angel, ver. 23, 24, 25. "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." This *little horn* is by the generality of

(a) Diod. Sic. *ibid.* Prideaux *Connect.* Part 1. B. 8. Ann. 301. Ptolemy Soter 4.

interpreters, both Jewish and Christian, ancient and modern, supposed to mean Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, who was a great enemy and cruel persecutor of the Jews. So (a) Josephus understands the prophecy, and says, that "our nation suffered these calamities under Antiochus Epiphanes, as Daniel saw, and many years before wrote what things should come to pass." In like manner (b) St. Jerome explains it of Antiochus Epiphanes, and says, "that he fought against Ptolemy Philometor and the Egyptians, that is *against the south*: and again *against the east*, and those who attempted a change of government in Persia; and lastly, he fought against the Jews, took Judea, entered into Jerusalem, and in the temple of God, set up the image of Jupiter Olympius." With St. Jerome agree most of the ancient fathers, and modern divines and commentators; but then they allow that Antiochus Epiphanes was a type of Antichrist. Antiochus Epiphanes at first sight doth indeed in some features very much resemble the *little horn*; but upon a nearer view and examination, it will evidently appear, that in other parts there is no manner of similitude or correspondence between them. Sir Isaac Newton, with that sagacity which was peculiar to him, and with which he penetrated into scripture as well as into nature, (c) perceived plainly that the *little horn* could not be drawn for Antiochus Epiphanes, but must be designed for some other subject: and though we shall not entirely follow his plan, nor build altogether upon his foundation, yet we shall be obliged to make use of several of his materials. There are then two ways of expounding this prophecy of the *little horn*, either by understanding it of Antiochus Epiphanes, and considering Antiochus as a type of Antichrist; or by leaving him wholly out of the question, and seeking another application: and which method of the two is to be preferred, will better appear in the progress of this discourse.

(a) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 11. Sect. 7. Et sane sanctum est ut hæc ipsa sub Antiocho Epiphane gens nostra pateretur, prout viderat Danielus, et multis ante annis quæ ventura erant scriptis manudaverat, P. 466. Edit. Hudson.

(b) Hieron. in Dan. Cap. 8.—contra Ptolemæum Philometorem dimicavit, hoc est, contra meridiem, et contra Ægyptos. Rursumque ad orientem, et contra eos qui res novas in Perside moliebantur: ad externum contra Judæos dimicans, capta Judæa, ingressus est Jerosolimam: et in templo Dei simulacrum Jovis Olympii stat. Col. 1105. Edit. Benedict.

(c) Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on Daniel, Chap. 9.

A *horn*, in the style of Daniel, doth not signify any particular king, but is an emblem of a kingdom. In the former vision the *ten horns* were not ten kings, but so many kingdoms, into which the Roman empire was divided: and the *little horn* did not typify a single person, but a succession of men, claiming such prerogatives, and exerting such powers, as are there specified. In this vision likewise the *two horns* of the ram do not represent the two kings, Darius the Mede and Cyrus the Persian, but the two kingdoms of Media and Persia; and for this plain reason, because the ram hath all along two horns; even when he is attacked by the he-goat, he hath still two horns; but the two kingdoms of Media and Persia had been long united under one king. The horns of the he-goat too prefigured not kings but kingdoms. The first *great horn* doth not design Alexander himself, but the kingdom of Alexander, as long as the title continued united in him, and his brother and two sons. The *four horns*, which arose after the first was broken, are expressly said, ver. 22. to be *four kingdoms*: and consequently it should seem that the *little horn* cannot signify Antiochus Epiphanes, or any single king, but must denote some kingdom; by *kingdom* meaning, what (a) the ancients meant, any government, state, or polity in the world, whether monarchy, or republic, or what form soever. Now what kingdom was there, that rose up during the subsistence of the four kingdoms of the Grecian empire, and was advanced to any greatness and eminence, but the Roman? The first *great horn* was the kingdom of Alexander and his family. The *four horns were four kingdoms*, not of his family, but only of the nation. *Four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation*: and doth not this imply that the remaining kingdom, the kingdom of the *little horn*, should be of the nation?

The general character therefore is better adapted to the Romans: and now let us consider the particular properties and actions of the little horn, whether they may be more justly ascribed to Antiochus Epiphanes, or to the Romans. *And out of one of them came forth a little horn*. Antiochus Epiphanes was indeed the son of Antiochus the great, king of Syria; and he

(a) See this point proved from heathen authors, as well as from scripture in the beginning of Mr. Mede's tract intitled, *Regnum Romanum est regnum quartum Danielis*. Mede's Works, B. 3. P. 711.

is (a) said to be the *little horn*, because he arose from small beginnings to the kingdom, having been many years an hostage at Rome. But then his kingdom was nothing more than a continuation of one of the four kingdoms; it cannot possibly be reckoned as a fifth kingdom springing up among the four: and the little horn is plainly some power different and distinct from the four former horns. Is not this therefore more applicable to the Romans, who were a new and different power, who rose from small beginnings to an exceeding great empire, who first subdued Macedon and Greece, the capital kingdom of the goat, and from thence spread and enlarged their conquests over the rest? Nor let it seem strange that the Romans who were prefigured by a great *beast* in the former vision, should in this be represented only by the *horn* of a beast; for nothing is more usual than to describe the same person or thing under different images upon different occasions: and besides, in this vision, the Roman empire is not designed at large, but only the Roman empire as a horn of the goat. When the Romans first got footing in Greece, then they became a horn of the goat. Out of this horn they came, and were at first a little horn, but in process of time overtopped the other horns. From Greece they extended their arms, and overran the other parts of the goat's dominions: and there actions within the dominions of the goat, and not their affairs in the western empire, are the principal subject of this prophecy. But their actions, which are most largely and particularly specified, are their great persecution and oppression of the people of God: which renders it probable, that the appellation of *the little horn* might be given them for the same reason, that the great persecutor and oppressor of the saints in the western empire is also called *the little horn*. It is the same kind of power, and therefore might be signified by the same name.

It will appear too, that the time agrees better with the Romans. *And in the latter time of their kingdom, when the transgressors are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance, and understand dark sentences, shall stand up.* Antiochus Epi-

(a) Quid quam obses fuisset Romæ, et nesciente senatu cepisset imperium, &c. Hieron. in Dan. 3. Col. 1105. Edit. Benedi&t. Antiochum Epiphanem significat, quia fuit Romæ obses. Vatablus in locum. Antiochus, qui obses fuit Romæ, nec a patre designatus rex, sed invasit regnum, &c. Clarius in locum. Antiochus modicæ primum fortunæ, privatus, et Romæ obses, ex post facto dictus Epiphanes. Grotius in locum. So likewise Poole, &c.

phases might be said indeed to *stand up in the latter time of their kingdom*; because Macedonia, the first of the four kingdoms, was conquered and reduced into a Roman province, during his reign. But when he stood up, *the transgressions in the Jewish nation were not come to the full*; for when he began to reign, (a) Onias was high-priest of the Jews, and the temporal as well as ecclesiastical government, was at this time in the hands of the high-priest, and this Onias was a most worthy good magistrate, as well as a most venerable pious priest. As the author of the second book of Maccabees saith, 2 Mac. iii. 1. “the holy city was inhabited with all peace, and the laws were kept very well, because of the godliness of Onias the high-priest, and his hatred of wickedness.” It was after this time, that the great corruptions were introduced into the Jewish church and nation; and they were introduced chiefly through the means of Antiochus, by his direction, or under his authority. The Romans might much better be said to stand up *in the latter time of their kingdom*, who saw the end not only of one kingdom, but of all the four: who first subdued the kingdom of Macedon and Greece, and then inherited by the will of Attalus the kingdom of Pergamus, which was the remains of the kingdom of Lyfimachus, and afterwards made a province of the kingdom of Syria, and lastly of the kingdom of Egypt. When the Romans stood up too, *the transgressions were come to the full*; for the high-priesthood was exposed to sale: good Onias ejected for a sum of money to make room for wicked Jason, and Jason was again supplanted for a greater sum of money, by a worse man, if possible, than himself, his brother Manelaus; and the golden vessels of the temple were sold to pay for the sacrilegious purchase. At the same time the customs of the heathen nations were introduced among the Jews; the youth were trained up and exercised after the manner of the Greeks; the people apostatized from the true religion, and even “the priests, 2 Mac. iv. 14. had no courage to serve any more at the altar, but despising the temple, and neglecting the sacrifices, they hastened to be partakers of unlawful diversions.” Nay, Jerusalem was taken by Antiochus; forty thousand Jews were slain, and a

(a) For these and many particulars which follow, the two books of Maccabees, and Josephus' *Antiquities* of the Jews must be consulted.

many more were sold into slavery; the temple was profaned even under the conduct of the high-priest Menelaus, was defiled with swines blood, and plundered of every thing valuable; and in (a) the same year that Paulus Æmilius, the Roman consul, vanquished Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, and thereby put an end to that kingdom, the Jewish religion was put down, and the heathen worship was set up in the cities of Judea, and in Jerusalem; and the temple itself was consecrated to Jupiter Olympius, and his image was erected upon the very altar. Then indeed *the transgressors were come to the full*, and then, as we see, the Romans stood up, *a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences*.

A king, in the prophetic stile, is the same as a kingdom; and a kingdom, as we before observed, is any state or government. *A king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences*. The latter expression in the (b) Syriac is translated *skilful in ruling*, and in the Arabic *skilful of disputations*. We may suppose the meaning to be, that this should be a politic and artful, as well as a formidable power; which is not so properly the character of Antiochus, as of the Romans. They were represented in the former vision by a *beast dreadful and terrible*; and for the same reason they are here denominated *a king of fierce countenance*, who was even frightened out of Egypt by a message from the Romans. The (c) story is worthy of memory. Antiochus Epiphanes was making war upon Egypt, and was in a fair way of becoming master of the whole kingdom. The Romans therefore fearing lest he should grow too powerful by annexing Egypt to the crown of Syria, sent an embassy to him, to require him to desist from his enterprize, or to declare war against him. He was drawing near to besiege Alexandria, when he was met by the three ambassadors from Rome. Popillius, the chief of them, had formerly been his friend and acquaintance, while he was an hostage at Rome: and the king at their first meeting graciously offered him his hand in remembrance of their former friendship. But Popillius declined the compliment by saying, that private friendship must give place to the public welfare, and he must first know whether

(a) See Prideaux Connect. Part 2. B. 3. Anno. 168.

(b) Regnandi peritus. Syr. Disputatumum peritus. Arab.

(c) Polyb. Legat. 92. P. 916. Edit. Casaubon. Appian. de Bellis Syriacis, P. 131. Edit. Steph. P. 212. Edit. Tollii, Livius, Lib. 45. Cap. 12. Valerius Maximus, Lib. 6. Cap. 4. Sect. 3. Velleius Paterculus, Lib. 1. Cap. 10. Justin. Lib. 34. Cap. 3.

the king was a friend to the Roman state, before he could acknowledge him as a friend to himself: and so saying, he presented to him the tables which contained the decree of the senate, and desired an immediate answer. Antiochus opened and perused them, and replied, that he would consider the matter with his friends, and return his answer very speedily. But Popillius with a wand that he carried in his hand, drew a circle in the sand round the king, and insisted upon his answer, before he stirred out of that circle. The king, astonished at this peremptory and imperious manner of proceeding, after some hesitation, said that he would obey the commands of the senate: and then at length Popillius reached forth his hand to him as a friend and confederate. This incident happened very soon after the conquest of Macedonia, which, as it disinayed Antiochus so, it emboldened the Romans to act in this manner: and this being the first memorable action as soon as they became a horn or kingdom of the goat, it is very fitly said of them, more fitly than of Antiochus, *a king of fierce countenance shall stand up.*

The other actions likewise of the little horn accord better with the Romans. This horn, though little at first, yet *waxed exceeding great, toward the south, and toward the east, and toward the pleasant land.* This horn therefore, as Sir Isaac Newton (*a*) justly observes, was to rise up in the north-west parts of those nations, which composed the body of the goat; and from thence was to extend his dominion towards Egypt, Syria, and Judea. Observe the particulars. He *waxed exceeding great*: and so did the Roman empire even within the territories of the goat, but not so did Antiochus Epiphanes; for he was so far from enlarging the kingdom of Syria, that it was less in his time than under most of his predecessors, and he (*b*) left it as he found it, tributary to the Romans.—*Toward the south*: Antiochus indeed did several times invade Egypt, and gained great advantage over Ptolemy Philometer king of Egypt: but he was never able to make himself absolute master of the country, and annex it to the kingdom of Syria; as the Romans made it a province of their empire, and kept possession of it for several centuries. His designs were frustrated, as we have seen, by an embassy from the Romans; and he went out

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(*a*) Sir Isaac Newton's Observ. on Daniel, Chap. 9. P. 117, 121.

(*b*) 2 Macc. viii. 10.

of Egypt baffled and disgraced, a word from them being as effectual as an army.—*Toward the east*: the Romans did grow very powerful toward the east; they conquered and made a province of Syria, which was the eastern kingdom of the goat: but Antiochus was seated in the east himself, and did not extend his dominions farther eastward. On the contrary the Parthians had withdrawn their obedience from the kings of Syria, and had erected a growing kingdom in the east. Antiochus did indeed (*a*) vanquish Artaxias, the tributary king of Armenia, who had revolted from him; but this was rather in the north than in the east. He had not the like success among the Persians, who were also dilatory in paying their tribute; for (*b*) having heard much of the tribes of Elymais, and particularly of the temple there, he went thither with a design of seizing the treasures of the city and temple; but the inhabitants rose upon him, repelled and routed him and his army, so that he was forced to fly with disappointment and disgrace out of the country; and soon after he sickened and died.—*And toward the pleasant land*, that is Judea; for so it is called in the Psalms, cvi. 24. “the pleasant land; and in Jeremiah, iii. 19. “a pleasant land, a goodly heritage;” and so twice again afterwards in Daniel, xi. 16—41. Antiochus did indeed take Jerusalem, and miserably harass and oppress the Jews, as it has been above related: but the Jews in a little time, under the conduct of the Maccabees, recovered their liberties, and established their religion and government in greater splendor and security than before. The Romans more effectually conquered and subdued them, first made a province of their country, and then destroyed their city and temple, and dispersed the people, so that after so fatal a fall they have never from that time to this been able to rise again.

Another remarkable property, that eminently distinguished the little horn from all others, was that *his power should be mighty, but not by his own power*; which commentators are much at a loss to explain. Some say, (*c*) that he should be mighty, not so much by his own industry, as by the gift of

(*a*) Appian. de Bell. Syr. P. 117 et 131. Edit. Steph. P. 187 et 212. Edit. Tollii. Porphyrius apud Hieron. in Dan. 11. Col. 1133. Edit. Benedict.

(*b*) 1 Maccab. vi. 1—4. 2 Maccab. ix. 1, 2. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 8. Sect. 1. P. 544. Edit. Hudson. Porphyrius apud Hieron. *ibid*.

(*c*) Non propria industria, sed Deo dante. Vatabulus.

God: but so are all horns or kingdoms whatever. Others say, (a) that God should give him this power for the punishment of his people; and others again, (b) that he should obtain it by the factions and perfidy and baseness of the Jews, who should betray their country to him: but these limit and restrain the meaning to a particular subject, to his power over the Jews, whereas it is said in the general, that *his power should be mighty, but not by his own power.* His power in general, not over this or that particular people, *should be mighty, but not by his own power.* The best explanation that they can give of it, who understand the whole of Antiochus Epiphanes, is that (c) he attained to the crown chiefly by the favour and assistance of Eumenes king of Pergamus, and Attalus his brother, who having at that time some jealousy of the Romans, were desirous to make the king of Syria their friend: but we do not read that they assisted him in any of his wars afterwards, and neither was his kingdom strengthened by foreign armies or alliances. They who conceive Antiochus to be a true type of Antichrist, (d) offer a fairer interpretation, because Antichrist was to exercise an usurped authority, and not his own, and the kings of the earth, according to St. John, Rev. xvii. 13. were to "give their power and strength unto the beast." But this part of the prophecy, as well as the rest, can no where be so justly and properly applied, as to the Romans. With them it quadrates exactly, and with none of the other horns or kingdoms of the goat. The strength of the other kingdoms consisted in themselves, and had its foundation in some part of the goat: but the Roman empire, as a horn or kingdom of the goat, was not mighty by his own power, was not strong by virtue of the goat, but drew its nourishment and strength from Rome and Italy. There grew the trunk and body of the tree, though the branches extended over Greece, Asia, Syria, and Egypt.

The remainder of the prophecy relates mostly to the persecution and oppression of the people of God. *And he waxed great, even to the host of heaven, (or against the host of heaven) and he cast down some of the host, and of the stars to the ground,*

(a) Quia Deus voluit per ipsum penire populum suum. Clarius.

(b) So Poole, Lowth, &c. Non tam ex ipso causa erit tanti incrementi, quam ex factionibus Judæorum. Grotius.

(c) Appian. de Bell. Syr. P. 316. Edit. Steph. P. 187. Edit. Tollii.

(d) See Lowth's Comment.

and stamped upon them, that is, the Jewish state in general, "the mighty and the holy people," ver. 24. or the Priests and Levites in particular; who are called *stars*; as they were eminent for their station, and illustrious for their knowledge, and *the host of heaven*, as they watched and served in the temple, and their service is denominated "a warfare," Num. viii. 24, 25. This passage was in some measure fulfilled by Antiochus Epiphanes, as well as by the Romans: but our Saviour making use of the like expressions, Matt. xxiv. 29. "the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken," in speaking of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans; this passage also may more properly be referred to that event.

Yea he magnified himself even to the prince of the host, (or against the prince of the host) and by him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of the sanctuary was cast down. Antiochus did indeed take away the daily sacrifice, but he did not cast down the place of his sanctuary, he did not destroy the temple. He took away the daily sacrifice for a few years, but the Romans for many ages: and the Romans likewise utterly destroyed the temple, which he spoiled only and profaned.

And an host was given him against the daily sacrifice by reason of transgression. The word here translated *an host*, is rendered in other places, Job. vii. 1. and in the book of Daniel itself, x. 1. "an appointed time;" *And an appointed time was given him against the daily sacrifice by reason of transgression*; Or as we read in the margin, *The host was given over for the transgression against the daily sacrifice, and he cast down the truth to the ground, and he practised and prospered.* Or, as the same thing is expressed by the angel: *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.* But Antiochus did not so mightily destroy the Jews, nor prosper in his practises and designs against them. When he took Jerusalem, (a) he slew forty thousand, and sold forty thousand more: but when the city was besieged and taken by the Romans, (b) the number of the captives amounted to ninety-seven thousand, and of the

(a) 2 Macc. v. 14.

(b) Joseph de Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 9. Sect. 2 et 3. P. 1291. Edit. Hudson.

slain to eleven hundred thousand. The Romans too carried their conquest and revenge so far, as to put an end to the government of the Jews, and entirely to take away their place and nation. Antiochus meant as much to root out the whole people; his malice was as great, but his success was not equal: for though his forces were victorious at first, yet they were defeated at last, and his (a) generals, Appollonius, Seron, Nicaner, and Gordias, Timotheus, and Bacchides, and even Lysius himself, were all shamefully routed one after another: and the news of these defeats hastened his death.

It is further added, that *he shall also stand up against the prince of princes*. If by *the prince of princes* the high-priest be meant, it is very true that Antiochus did put in and put out the high-priests at pleasure, but the Romans took away the whole administration. If by *the prince of princes* be meant, as most probably was meant, the Messiah, then Antiochus had no share in the completion; it was effected by the Romans. It was by the malice of the Jews, but by the Authority of the Romans, that he was put to death; and he suffered the punishment of the Roman malefactors and slaves. And indeed it is very worthy of our most serious consideration, whether this part of the prophecy be not a sketch of the fate and sufferings of the Christian, as well as of the Jewish church. Nothing is more usual with the prophets than to describe the religion and worship of later times by metaphors and figures borrowed from their own religion. The Christians may still as well as the Jews be comprehended under the name of *the holy people, or people of the holy ones*. And the Romans not only crucified our Saviour, but also persecuted his disciples for above three centuries: and when at length they embraced the Christian religion, they soon corrupted it; so that it may be questioned, whether their favour was not as hurtful to the church, as their enmity. As the power of the Roman emperors declined, that of the Roman pontiffs increased: and may it not with equal truth and justice be said of the latter, as of the former, that they *cast down the truth to the ground, and trampled, and prospered*? How applicable in this sense is every part of the angel's interpretation! *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,*

(a) 1 Macc. iii. iv. 2 Macc. viii. x. xi. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. Cap. 7. P. 537. Edit. Hudson.

and shall prosper, and practise, and shall destroy the mighty and the holy people, (or the people of the holy ones :) And through his policy also he shall cause croft 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 this farther opens and explains the reason of the appellation of *the little horn*. The persecuting power of Rome, whether exercised towards the Jews, or towards the Christians, or by the emperors, or by the popes, is still *the little horn*. The tyranny is the same; but as exerted in Greece and the east, it is the little horn of the he-goat or the third empire; as exerted in Italy and the west, it is the little horn of the fourth beast, or the fourth empire.

But the little horn, like other tyrannical powers, was to come to a remarkable end; *he shall be broken without hand*. As the stone in Nebuchadnezzar's dream was *cut out of the mountain without hands*, that is not by human, but by supernatural means; so the little horn *shall be broken without hand*, not die the common death, not fall by the hand of men, but perish by a stroke from heaven. And this agrees perfectly with the former predictions of the fatal catastrophe of the Romans. "The stone," that is the power of Christ, ii. 34. "smote the image upon his feet of iron and clay, and break them to pieces." Again vii. 11. "I beheld then, because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake; I beheld even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame." And again, ver. 26. "the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume, and to destroy it unto the end." All which implies that the dominion of the Romans shall finally be destroyed with some extraordinary manifestation of the divine power. It is indeed very true, that Antiochus Epiphanes died in an extraordinary manner. He was returning from his unsuccessful expedition into Persia, when he heard the news of the defeat of his armies one after another by the forces of the Maccabees. He set forward therefore in great rage and fury, breathing nothing but death and destruction to the whole generation of the Jews. But in the way he was seized with violent pains in his bowels; and having a fall from his chariot, he was sorely bruised, and his inward pains grew more violent, so that he was not able to proceed in his journey, but was forced to stop at a little town

upon the road. There he lay in great torment, and filthy ulcers broke out in his body, from whence issued worms, and such a stench, that he became intolerable to others, and even to himself. Nor were the torments and agonies of his mind less than those of his body. He was vexed even to distraction, thought he saw dreadful specters and apparitions, and suffered all the pangs and horrors of a guilty conscience: and in this miserable condition he lay pining and rotting till he died. This is the account that is given of his death, and (a) confirmed by Heathen as well as Jewish historians: but with this difference, that the former ascribe it to the vengeance of the gods for the sacrilege that he designed to commit at Elymais; the latter represent it as the just judgment of heaven for the sacrilege that he really committed at Jerusalem, and for the barbarous slaughter that he made of so many thousands of the Jews; and they say, that he himself upon his death-bed confessed as much: and which of these accounts is the more probable and credible, every intelligent reader will easily determine.

By thus tracing the particulars it appears, that though some of them may agree very well with Antiochus Epiphanes, yet others can by no means accord or be reconciled to him: but they all agree and correspond exactly with the Romans, and with no one else: so that the application of the character to them must be the right application. It is therefore surprising, that a man of Dr. Hallifax's learning, after so many proofs to the contrary, should be of opinion, that the character "must of necessity be restrained to Antiochus Epiphanes, and to him only:" and for such reasons, and for none others than have here been obviated and refuted. The fitness and propriety of the application to the Romans will still farther appear by considering the time, that is allotted for the duration and continuance of the vision. "I will make thee know," saith the angel to Daniel, ver. 19. "what shall be in the last end," or "to the last end of the indignation:" that is, as Mr. Lowth paraphraseth it, "I will explain to thee the whole series of God's judgments upon his people to the end and conclusion of them:" but that end and conclusion is not yet come. There are intimations in the prophets, that God's indignation against

(a) Polyb. P. 927. Edit. Casaubon. Appian. de Bell. Syr. P. 131. Edit. Steph. P. 212. Edit. Tollii. Diodorus et Porphyrius apud Hieron. in Dan. 11. Col. 1131 et 1133. Edit. Benedict. 1 Maccab. vi. 1—16. 2 Maccab. ix. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 8. Sect. 1. P. 544. Edit. Hudson.

his people will be accomplished, and the final destruction of the Roman dominion will fall out about the same period. But the time is more particularly noted. One angel asked another angel, ver. 13. "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?" In the original there is no such word as *concerning*; and Mr. Lowth rightly observes, that the words may be rendered more agreeable to the Hebrew thus; *For how long a time shall the vision last, the daily sacrifice be taken away, and the transgression of desolation continue, &c.?* After the same manner the question is translated by the (a) Seventy, and in the Arabic version, and in the Vulgar Latin. The answer is, ver. 14. "Unto two thousand, and three hundred days; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed." In the original it is, *Unto two thousand and three hundred evenings and mornings*, an evening and morning being in Hebrew the notation of time for a day; and in allusion to this expression, it is said afterwards, ver. 26. "The vision of the evening and the morning is true." Now these two thousand and three hundred days can by no computation be accommodated to the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, even though the days be taken for natural days. Two thousand and three hundred days are six years and somewhat more than a quarter: but the profanation of the altar under Antiochus lasted but three years complete, according to the author of the first book of Maccabees, 1 Macc. i. 59. compared with iv. 52. and the desolation of the temple, and the taking away of the daily sacrifice by Appollonius continued but three years and a half, according (b) to Josephus. Mr. Mede proposeth a method to reconcile the difference, and (c) saith, that the time is "not to be reckoned from the height of the calamity, when the *daily sacrifice should be taken away*, (from thence it is but three years) but from the beginning of the transgression, which occasioned this desolation, and is described, 1 Macc. i. 11, &c." But Antiochus began to reign, according to the author of the first book of the Maccabees, i. 10. "in the one hundred and thirty-seventh year of the kingdom

(a) Quousque visio hæc continet. et auferetur sacrificium, &c. Arab. Usquequo visio, et jure sacrificium, &c. Vulg.

(b) Josephi Proem. de Bell. Jud. Sect. 7. P. 956. Lib. 1. Cap. 1. Sect. 1. P. 958. Edit. Hudson.

(c) Mr. Mede's Apostacy of the latter Times, Part 1. Chap. 14. in his Works, B. 3. P. 659.

“ of the Greeks,” or æra of the Seleucidæ; and *in these days* was the beginning of the transgression, which is described, 1 Macc. i. 11, &c. that is, ten or eleven years before the cleansing of the sanctuary, which was performed in the *one hundred and forty-eighth year*, according to the same author: iv. 52. Or if we compute the time from Antiochus’s first going up against Jerusalem, and spoiling the city and temple, these things were done according to the same author, i. 20. “ in the one hundred and forty-third year;” so that this reckoning would fall short of the time assigned, as the other exceeds it. The difficulty or impossibility rather of making these two thousand and three hundred days accord with the times of Antiochus, I suppose, obliged the ancients to consider Antiochus as a type of Antichrist, and therefore (a) Jerome saith in his comment, that this place most Christians refer to Antichrist; and affirm, that what was transacted in a type under Antiochus, will be fulfilled in truth under Antichrist. The days, without doubt, are to be taken agreeably to the style of Daniel in other places, not for natural, but for prophetic days or years; and as the question was asked, not only how long the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the transgression of desolation continue, but also how long the vision shall last; so the answer is to be understood, and these two thousand and three hundred days denote the whole time from the beginning of the vision to the cleansing of the sanctuary. The sanctuary is not yet cleansed, and consequently these years are not yet expired. When these years shall be expired, then their end will clearly show from whence their beginning is to be dated, whether from the vision of the ram, or of the he-goat, or of the little horn. It is difficult to fix the precise time, when the prophetic dates begin, and when they end, till the prophecies are fulfilled, and the event declares the certainty of them. And the difficulty is increased in this case, by reason of some variety in the copies. For the (b) Seventy have *four hundred* in this place; and others, as (c) Jerome informs us, read *two hundred*, instead of three hundred. If we follow the reading of the Seventy, *Unto two thousand and four hundred days or years*, then perhaps they are to be com-

(a) Hunc locum plerique nostrorum ad Antichristum referunt: et quod sub Antiocho in typo factum est, sub illo in veritate dicunt esse complendum. Hieron. in locum. Col. 1106. Edit. Benedict.

(b). Septuagint.

(c) Quodam pro duobus millibus trecentis, duo millia ducentos legunt. Hieron. ibid.

puted from the vision of the ram, or the establishment of the Persian empire. If we follow the other reading mentioned by Jerome, *Unto two thousand and two hundred days or years*, then perhaps they are to be computed from the vision of the little horn, or the Romans invading the Grecian empire. And it is remarkable, (a) that the Romans first passed over with an army, and made war upon Philip king of Macedonia, just two hundred years before Christ. But if we still retain the common reading, (which probably is the truest and best) *Unto two thousand and three hundred days, or years*, then I conceive they are to be computed from the vision of the he-goat, or Alexander's invading Asia. Alexander invaded Asia (b) in the year of the world three thousand six hundred and seventy, and in the year before Christ three hundred and thirty-four. Two thousand and three hundred years from that time, will draw towards the conclusion of the sixth millennium of the world, and about that period, according to (c) an old tradition, which was current before our Saviour's time, and was probably founded upon the prophecies, great changes and revolutions are expected; and particularly as (d) Rabbi Abraham Sebah saith, Rome is to be overthrown, and the Jews are to be restored. The angel farther affirms the truth and certainty of the vision, and of the time allotted for it, ver. 26. "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." *The shutting up of the vision*, implies, that it should not be understood for some time; and we cannot say that it was sufficiently understood, so long as Antiochus Epiphanes was taken for the little horn. The vision being for *many days*, must necessarily infer a longer term than the calamity under Antiochus, or three years, or three years and a half, or even than the whole time from the first beginning of the vision in Cyrus, to the cleansing of the sanctuary under Antio-

(a) See Usher's Annals, A. M. 3804.

(b) See Usher, Prideaux, &c.

(c) See Placita Doctorum Hebræorum de magno die judicii, et regno Messie tunc futuro, in Mede's Works, B. 3. P. 535. and Placita Doctorum Hebræorum de Babylonis seu Romæ excidio, in Mede's Works, B. 5. P. 902.

(d) R. Abraham Sebah in Gen. 1. ait, currente sexto annorum mundi millenario Romam evertendam et Judæos reducendos. Ibid. P. 903.

chus, which was not (a) above three hundred and seventy-one years. Such a vision could not well be called long to Daniel, who had seen so much longer before; and especially as the time assigned for it is *two thousand and three hundred days*: which since they cannot by any account be natural days, must needs be prophetic days, or two thousand and three hundred years. Such a vision may properly enough be said to be *for many days*.

Daniel was much affected with the misfortunes and afflictions, which were to befall the church and people of God, ver. 27. "And I Daniel fainted and was sick certain days; afterward I rose up, and did the king's business, and I was astonished at the vision, but none understood it." Munster, and Clarius who generally transcribes Munster, (b) are of opinion that Daniel was visited by this sickness, lest he should be lifted up by the sublimity of the visions. I presume they thought his case somewhat like St. Paul's, 2 Cor. xii. 7. who had "a thorn in the flesh," or a bodily infirmity, "lest he should be exalted above measure through the abundance of the revelations." But it is much more probable, that Daniel's sickness proceeded from his grief for his religion and country: as in the former vision *he was grieved in his spirit, his cogitations much troubled him, and his countenance changed in him*, at the success of the little horn there described. And this is another most conclusive argument, that the calamities under Antiochus Epiphanes could not possibly be the main end and ultimate scope of this prophecy. For the calamities under Antiochus were of small extent and of short duration, in comparison with what the nation had suffered, and was then suffering under Nebuchadnezzar and his successors. Antiochus took the city, but Nebuchadnezzar burnt it to the ground. Antiochus profaned the temple, but Nebuchadnezzar utterly destroyed it. Antiochus made captives forty thousand of the Jews, but Nebuchadnezzar carried the whole nation into captivity. Antiochus took away the daily sacrifice for three years and a half, but Nebuchadnezzar abolished all the temple service for seven-

(a) See Usher, Prideaux, &c. The first year of Cyrus was A. M. 3468, before Christ 536. The sanctuary was cleansed A. M. 3839, before Christ 165.

(b) Et quod subditur de agrotatione Danielis, ostenditur illam prophetæ immisam, ne extolleretur sublimitate visionum, quas solus intelligebat. Munsterus. Et quod de agrotatione sua dicit, ostenditur, illam prophetæ immisam, ne extolleretur sublimitate visionum, quas solus intelligebat. Clarius.

ty years. Why then should Daniel, who had seen and felt these greater calamities, be so much grieved at those lesser disasters of the nation? Present and sensible evils usually affect us most: and therefore that Daniel was so much more affected with the future than with the present, *was astonished, and fainted, and was sick certain days*, can be ascribed to nothing but to his foreseeing, that the future distress and misery of the nation would greatly exceed all that they sustained at present. But the calamities under Antiochus were much less, and much shorter. Those only which they suffered from the Romans, were greater and worse than the evils brought on them by Nebuchadnezzar. And *the transgression of desolation* hath now continued these one thousand seven hundred years. They expect, and we expect, that at length *the sanctuary will be cleansed*, and that in God's determined time his promise will be fully accomplished; Amos ix. 11, 12. Acts xv. 16, 17. "I will return, and will build again the tabernacle of David, which is fallen down; and I will build again the ruins thereof, and I will set it up; That the residue of men might seek after the Lord, and all the Gentiles upon whom my name is called, saith the Lord, who doeth all these things."

This concern of Daniel, and affection for his religion and country, shew him in a very amiable light, and give an additional lustre and glory to his character. But not only in this instance, but in every other, he manifests the same public spirit, and appears no less eminently a patriot than a prophet. Though he was torn early from his country, and enjoyed all the advantages that he could enjoy in foreign service, yet nothing could make him forget his native home: And in the next chapter we see him pouring out his soul in prayer, and supplicating most earnestly and devoutly for the pardon and restoration of his captive nation. It is a gross mistake therefore, to think, that religion will ever extinguish or abate our love for our country. The scriptures will rather incite and inflame it, exhibit several illustrious examples of it, and recommend and enforce this, as well as all other moral and social virtues; and especially when the interests of true religion and of our country are so blendid and interwoven, that they cannot well be separated the one from the other. This is a double incentive to the love of our country; and with the same zeal that every pious Jew might say formerly, every honest Briton may say now, with the good Psalmist, Psal.

cxxii. 6, &c. “ Or pray for the peace of Jerufalem ; they
“ fhall prosper that love thee. Peace be within thy walls, and
“ plenteoufnefs within thy palaces. For my brethren and
“ companions fake will I with thee prosperity ; Yea, becaufe
“ of the houfe of the Lord our God, I will feek to do thee
“ good.”

XIV.

DANIEL'S *Prophecy of the Things noted in the Scripture of Truth.*

IN TWO PARTS.

PART I.

IT is the usual method of the holy Spirit to make the latter prophecies explanatory of the former: and revelation is, Prov. iv. 18. "as the shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day." The four great empires of the world, which were shown to Nebuchadnezzar in the form of a great image, were again more particularly represented to Daniel in the shape of four great wild beasts. In like manner, the memorable events, which were revealed to Daniel in the vision of the ram and he-goat, are here again more clearly and explicitly revealed in his last vision by an angel; so that this latter prophecy may not improperly be said to be a comment and explanation of the former. This revelation was made, x. 1. "in the third year of Cyrus king of Persia, when Daniel was very far advanced in years. For the third year of Cyrus was the seventy-third of Daniel's captivity; and being a youth when he was carried captive, he cannot be supposed now to have been less than ninety; and not long after this, it is reasonable to believe that he died. Old as he was, he *set his heart to understand* the former revelations which had been made to him, and particularly the vision of the ram and he-goat, as I think we may collect from the sequel: and for this purpose he prayed, and fasted three weeks. His fasting and prayers had the desired effect, for an angel was sent, and said unto him, ver. 12. "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 are heard, and I am come for thy words." And whoever would attain the same ends, and excel in divine knowledge, must pursue the same means, and

habituate himself to study, temperance, and devotion. The angel declares the design of his coming, ver. 14. "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." This prophecy therefore contains the fate and fortune of the people of God for many years. As it was said before, ver. 1. "the thing was true, but the time appointed was long:" and consequently this prophecy must extend farther than from the third year of Cyrus to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, which was not (a) above three hundred and seventy years. In reality it comprehends many signal events after that time to the end of the world: but the types and figures of the things are not exhibited in this as in most of the other visions, and then expounded by the angel; but the angel relates the whole, and not by way of vision, but only by narration, informs Daniel of *that which is noted in the scripture of truth*. Ver. 21. "I will show thee that which is noted in scripture of truth," as if future events were noted in a book before God: and this prophecy being taken from *the scripture of truth*, is therefore deserving of our strictest attention; and we may depend upon the certainty of all the particulars contained therein, if we can but rightly understand and expound them.

The angel first prophecies of the Persian empire, which was then subsisting. "Behold there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia; and the fourth shall be far richer than they all; and by his strength through his riches he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia." xi. 2. *There shall stand up yet*, that is, after Cyrus, the founder of the empire, who was then reigning. *Three kings in Persia*; these were Cambyfes, the son of Cyrus; Smerdis the Magian, who pretended to be another son of Cyrus, but was really an impostor; and Darius, the son of Hytaspes, who married the daughter of Cyrus. *And the fourth shall be far richer than they all*. The fourth after Cyrus was Xerxes, the son and successor of Darius; of whom Justin (b) truly remarks, "If you consider this king, you may praise his riches, not the general; of which there

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(a) The third year of Cyrus was A. M. 3470, before Christ 534. Antiochus Epiphanes died A. M. 3840, before Christ 164. See Usher, Prideaux, &c.

(b) Si regem spectes, divitias, non ducem laudes; quarum tanta copia in regno ejus fuit, ut, cum flumina multitudine consumerentur, opes tamen regis superessent. Justin. Lib. 2. Cap. 10.

“ was so great abundance in his kingdom, that when rivers
 “ were dried up by his army, yet his wealth remained unex-
 “ hausted.” Pythius the Lydian (*a*) was at that time the richest subject in the world. He generously entertained Xerxes and all his army, and proffered him two thousand talents of silver, and three millions nine hundred ninety-three thousand pieces of gold with the stamp of Darius, towards defraying the charges of the war. But Xerxes was so far from wanting any supplies, that he rewarded Pythius for his liberality, and presented him with seven thousand Darics, to make up his number a complete round sum of four millions. Each of these Darics (*b*) was worth better than a guinea of our money. *And by his strength through his riches he shall stir up all, both subjects and allies, against the realm of Grecia.* Xerxes’s expedition into Greece, is one of the most memorable adventures in ancient history. Herodotus affirms, that (*c*) Xerxes, in raising his army, searched every place of the continent, and it was the greatest army that ever was brought into the field; for what nation was there, says he, that Xerxes led not out of Asia into Greece? Herodotus lived in that age, and he (*d*) recounts with great exactness the various nations of which Xerxes’s army was composed, and computes that the whole number of horse and foot, by land and sea, out of Asia and out of Europe, soldiers and followers of the camp, amounted to five millions, two hundred eighty-three thousand, two hundred and twenty men. Nor was Xerxes content with stirring up the east, but was for stirring up (*e*) the west likewise, and engaged the Carthaginians in his alliance, that while he with his army overwhelmed Greece, they might fall upon the Greek colonies in Sicily and Italy; and the Carthaginians for this purpose not only raised all the forces they could in Africa, but also hired a great number of mercenaries in Spain, and Gaul, and Italy; so that their army consisted of three hundred thousand men, and their fleet of two hundred ships. Thus did Xerxes *stir up all*

(*a*) Herod. Lib. 7. Sect 27, &c. P. 395. Edit. Gale.

(*b*) Bernard de ponderibus et mensuris antiquis. P. 171. Priedeaux Connect. Part 1. B. 2. Anno 538. Darius the Mede 1.

(*c*) Xerxes autem ita copias suas contraxit, ut omnem continentis locum scrutaretur.—nam omnium quos novimus exercituum hic multo maximus extitit.—quam enim ex Asia gentem in Græciam non adduxit Xerxes? Herod. Lib. 7. Sect. 20, 21. P. 393. Edit. Gale.

(*d*) Herod. *ibid.* Sect. 60. &c. 184, &c.

(*e*) Diod. Sic. Lib. 11. in initio.

against the realm of Grecia; and after him no mention is made of any other king of Persia. "It is to be noted (a) faith Jerome, that the prophet having enumerated four kings of the Persians after Cyrus, slippeth over nine, and passeth to Alexander; for the prophetic spirit did not care to follow the order of history, but only to touch upon the most famous events." Xerxes was the principal author of the long wars and inveterate hatred between the Grecians and Persians: and as he was the last king of Persia who invaded Greece, he is mentioned last. The Grecians then in their turn invaded Asia; and Xerxes's expedition being the most memorable on one side, as Alexander's was on the other, the reigns of these two are not improperly connected together.

Alexander is thus characterised, ver. 3. "And a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will." That Alexander was a *mighty king* and conqueror; that he *ruled with great dominion*, not only over Greece and the whole Persian empire, but likewise added India to his conquests; and that he *did according to his will*, none daring, not even his friends, to contradict and oppose him, or if they did, like Clitus and Callisthenes, paying for it with their lives; are facts two well known to require any particular proof or illustration.

But his kingdom was soon to be broken and divided, ver. 4. "And when he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided towards the four winds of heaven; and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled: for his kingdom shall be pluckt up even for other's besides those." These particulars were in good measure suggested before viii. 8, 22. "He 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. Now that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power." Alexander died in Babylon, (b) having lived

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(a) Notandum quod quattuor post Cyrum regibus Persarum enumeratis, novem præterierit. et transierit ad Alexandrum. Non enim curæ fuit spiritui prophetali historiæ ordinem sequi; sed præclara quæque perstringere. Hieron. in locum. Col. 1121. Edit. Benedict.

(b) Vixit annos xxxii, menses viii. ut auctor est Aritobulus. Regnavit annos xii, menses viii. Arrian. Lib. 7. Cap. 28. P. 309. Edit. Gronov.

only thirty-two years and eight months, of which he reigned twelve years and eight months. In so short a time did this sun of glory rise and set: and in the space of about fifteen years afterwards his family and posterity became extinct, and chiefly by the means of Cassander. It was soon after Alexander's death, that his wife Statira, the daughter of Darius, (*a*) was murdered out of jealousy, by his other wife Roxana; and her body was thrown into a well, and earth cast upon it. His natural brother Aridæus, who succeeded him in the throne, by the name of Philip, (*b*) was, together with his wife Euridice, killed by the command of Olympias, the mother of Alexander, after he had borne the title of king six years and some months; and not long after (*c*) Olympias herself was slain in revenge by the soldiers of Cassander. Alexander Ægus, the son of Alexander by Roxana, as soon as he was born, was joined in the title of king with Philip Aridæus; and when he had attained to the fourteenth year of his age, (*d*) he and his mother were privately murdered in the castle of Amphipolis, by order of Cassander. In the second year after this, (*e*) Hercules, the other son of Alexander by Barsine, the widow of Memnon, was also with his mother privately murdered by Polyperchon, induced thereto by the great offers made to him by Cassander. Such was the miserable end of Alexander's family; and then the governors made themselves kings, each in his province, from which title they had abstained, (*f*) as long as any just heir of Alexander was surviving. Thus was Alexander's kingdom *broken and divided not to his posterity, but was pluckt up even for others beside those*: and it was *divided towards the the four winds of heaven*; for four of his captains, as it hath been shown in former dissertations, prevailed over the rest, and Cassander reigned in Greece and the *west*, Lysimachus in Thrace and the *north*, Ptolemy in Egypt and the *south*, and Seleucus in Syria and the *east*.

(*a*) Plutarch in fine Vit. Alex. P. 707. Edit. Paris 1624.

(*b*) Diod. Sic. Lib. 19. P. 676. Edit. Steph. P. 660. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. Justin. Lib. 14. Cap. 5.

(*c*) Diod. Sic. ibid. P. 698, 699. Edit. Steph. P. 694. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. Justin. Lib. 14. 24. Cap. 6. Pausanias Bæot. five Lib. 9. P. 725. Edit. Khunii.

(*d*) Diod. Sic. ibid. P. 728. Edit. Steph. P. 739. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. Justin. Lib. 15. Cap. 2. Pausanias, ibid.

(*e*) Diod. Sic. Lib. 20. P. 746. Edit. Steph. P. 767. Tom. 2 Edit. Rhod. Justin. ibid. Pausanias, ibid.

(*f*)—quoad Alexandro iustus heres fuit. Justin. ibid.

But though the kingdom of Alexander was divided into four principal parts, yet only two of them have a place allotted in this prophecy, Egypt and Syria. These two were by far the greatest and most considerable: and these two at one time were in a manner the only remaining kingdoms of the four; the (a) kingdom of Macedon having been conquered by Lysimachus and annexed to Thrace; and (b) Lysimachus again having been conquered by Seleucus, and the kingdoms of Macedon and Thrace annexed to Syria. These two likewise continued distinct kingdoms, after the others were swallowed up by the power of the Romans. But there is a more proper and peculiar reason for enlarging upon these two particularly; (c) because Judea, lying between them, was sometimes in the possession of the king of Egypt, and sometimes of the kings of Syria; and it is the purpose of holy scripture, to interweave only so much of foreign affairs, as hath some relation of the Jews: and it is in respect of their situation to Judea, that the kings of Egypt and Syria are called the kings of the *south* and the *north*. "And the king of the south shall be strong," ver. 5. "and one of his princes," that is, of Alexander's princes, "and he shall be strong above him." There is manifestly either some redundance, or some defect in the Hebrew copy; which should be rendered as it is by the Seventy. *And the king of the south shall be strong, and one of his princes shall be strong above him: or perhaps may better be rendered thus, And the king of the south shall be strong, and one of his princes; and the king of the north shall be strong above him, and have dominion; his dominion shall be a great dominion.* The king of the south was indeed very strong; for (d) Ptolemy had an-

(a) Justin. Lib. 16. Cap. 3. Plutarch. in Pyrrho. P. 390. Edit. Paris. 1624. Pausanias in Attic. five Lib. 1. Cap. 10. P. 24. Edit. Kunii.

(b) Justin. Lib. 17. Cap. 1 et 2. Appian. de Bell. Syr. P. 128. Edit. Steph. 207. Edit. Tollii. Memnonis Excerpta apud Photium. Cap. 9. P. 714. Edit. Rothom. 1653.

(c) Idcirco autem cæteru regna dimittens, Macedonia videlicet et Aîæ, tantum Ægypti et Syriæ narrat regibus: quæ in medio Judæ posita, nunc ab illis, nunc ab istis regibus tenebatur. Et scripturæ sanctæ propositum est, non externam absque Judæis historiam texere: sed eam quæ Israeli populo copulata est. Hieron. in locum. Col. 1122. Edit. Benediët.

(d) — ad Ægyptum adjecerat Cyprium, Phœniceni Gariam, aliasque insulas et regiones, ut hic ex antiquis commemorat Hieronymus. Grot. The words in Jerome are, et multas insulas urbefque et regiones.

nexed Cyprus, Phœnicia, Caria, and many islands, and cities, and regions to Egypt, as Jerome here commemorates out of the ancients. He had likewise enlarged the bounds of his empire, as (*a*) Justin testifies, by the acquisition of Cyrene, and was now become so great, that he was in a condition not so much to fear, as to be feared by his enemies. But still the king of the North, or Seleucus Nicator, was *strong above him*; for having annexed, as we have seen, the kingdoms of Macedon and Thrace to the crown of Syria, he was become master of three parts out of four of Alexander's dominions. All historians agree in representing him not only as the longest liver of Alexander's successors, but likewise as (*b*) the conqueror of the conquerors. Appian in particular (*c*) enumerates the nations which he subdued, and the cities which he built, and affirms, that after Alexander he possessed the largest part of Asia; for all was subject to him from Phrygia up to the river Indus, and beyond it; and (*d*) afterwards he denominates him expressly "the greatest king of Alexander."

Seleucus Nicator (*e*) having reigned seven months after the death of Lyfimachus, over the kingdoms of Macedon, Thrace, and Syria, was basely murdered; and to him succeeded in the throne of Syria, his son Antiochus Soter, and to Antiochus Soter succeeded his son Antiochus Theus. At the same time Ptolemy Philadelphus reigned in Egypt after his father, the first Ptolemy, the son of Lagus. There were frequent wars between the kings of Egypt and Syria. There were so particularly between Ptolemy Philadelphus the second king of Egypt, and Antiochus Theus the third king of Syria. "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; but

(*a*) —terminos quoque imperii acquisita Cyrene urbe ampliaverat factusque jam cantus erat, ut non tam timeret quam timendus ipse hostibus esset, Justin. Lib. 13. Cap. 6.

(*b*) —victoremque victorum extitisse—Justin. Lib. 17. Cap. 2.

(*c*) Appian. de Bell. Syr. P. 193. Edit. Steph. P. 197. Edit. Tollii. quo excepto [Alexandro] nemo unquam pluras terras in Asia tenuit: nam a Phrygiæ terminis Indum usque mediterranea Seleuco parebant: omnia: et hoc queque trajecit, &c. Vide etiam, P. 201. Edit. Tollii.

(*d*) —regem post Alexandrum maximum. P. 128. Edit. Steph. P. 207. Edit. Tollii.

(*e*) Quippe post menses admodum septem, &c. Justin. Lib. 17. Cap. 2. sect. 4. P. 351. Edit. Grævii. Appian. de Bell. Syr.

“ she shall be given up, and they that brought her, and he that begat her, and he that strengthened her in these times,” ver. 6. *And in the end of years*, that is, after several years; for these wars lasted long, (a) Jerome reports out of the ancients, and Antiochus Theus fought against Ptolemy Philadelphus with all the forces of Babylon and the east. *They shall join themselves together, or shall associate themselves*: At length they agreed to make peace upon condition, that (b) Antiochus Theus should put away his former wife Laodice and her two sons, and should marry Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy Philadelphus. *For the king's daughter of the south shall come to the king of the north to make rights, or an agreement*: and accordingly (c) Ptolemy Philadelphus brought his daughter to Antiochus Theus, and with her an immense treasure, so that he received the appellation of *the dowry-giver*. *But she shall not retain the power of the arm*, that is, her interest and power with Antiochus; for (d) after some time in a fit of love, he brought back his former wife Laodice with her children to court again. *Neither shall he stand, nor his arm, or his seed*; for (e) Laodice fearing the fickle temper of her husband, lest he should recall Berenice, caused him to be poisoned; and neither did his seed by Berenice succeed him in the kingdom, but Laodice contrived and managed matters so, as to fix her elder son Seleucus Callinicus on the throne of his ancestors. *But she shall be given up*; for Laodice not content with poisoning her husband, (f) caused also Berenice to be murdered. *And*

(a) *Ite adversus Ptolemæum Philadelphum. qui secundus imperabat Ægyptiis, gessit bella quam plurima: et totis Babylonis atque orientis viribus dimicavit. Hieron. Comment. in locum, Col. 1123. Vol. III. Edit. Benedict.*

(b) *Volens itaque Ptolemæus Philadelphus post multos annos molestum finire certamen, filiam suam nomine Berenicen, Antiocho uxorem dedit; qui de priore uxore nomine Loadice, habebat duos filios, &c. Hieron. ibid.*

(c) *Deduxitque eam usque Pelusium; et infinita auri et argenti millia, dotis nomine dedit: Unde id est dotialis appellatus est. Hieron. ibid.*

(d) *—post multum temporis amore superatus, Laodicen cum liberis suis reduxit in regiam. Hieron. ibid.*

(e) *Quæ metuens ambiguum viri animum ne Berenicen reduceret, virum per ministros veneno interfecit, &c. Hieron. ibid. Appian. de Bell. Syr. P. 130. Edit. Steph. P. 211. Edit. Tollii. Valer. Maximus, Lib. 9. Cap. 14. Plin. Lib. 7. Sect. 10. Edit. Harduini.*

(f) *Hieron. ibid. Appian. ibid. Polyæni Strat. Lib. 8. Cap. 50.*

that they brought her; for her (a) Egyptian women and attendants, endeavouring to defend her, were many of them slain with her. And he that begat her, or rather, as it is in the margin, he whom she brought forth; for (b) the son was murdered as well as the mother, by order of Laodice. And he that strengthened her in these times; her husband Antiochus, as (c) Jerome conceives; or those who took her part and defended her; or rather her father who died a little before, and was so very fond of her, (d) that he took care continually to send her fresh supplies of the water of the Nile, thinking it better for her to drink of that than of any other river, as Polybius relates.

But such wickedness should not pass unpunished and unrevenged. "But out of a branch of her root shall one stand up in his estate," or rather, as is translated (e) in the vulgar Latin, "out of a branch of her root shall stand up a plant; and he shall come with an army, and shall enter into the fortress," or the fenced cities "of the king of the north, and shall deal," shall act "against them, and shall prevail: And shall also carry captives into Egypt, their gods with their princes," or rather (f) "their gods with their molten images, and with their precious vessels of silver and of gold, and shall continue more years than the king of the north," or more literally, *he shall continue some years after the king of the north*. "So the king of the south shall come into his kingdom, and shall return into his own land," ver. 7, 8, 9. This *branch*, which sprung out of the same root with Berenice, was Ptolemy Euergetes her brother, who no sooner succeeded his father Ptolemy Philadelphus in the kingdom,

(a) Hieron. *ibid.* Quæ vero circa eam erant mulieres defensionem parantes, plurimæ ceciderunt. Polyænus *ibid.* P. 801. Edit. Maaivicii.

(b) Hieron. *ibid.* Appian. *ibid.* Polyæo. *ibid.* Justin. Lib. 27. Cap. 1.

(c) Rex quoque Antiochus qui confortabat eam, hoc est, per quem poterat prævalere, veneno uxoris occisus est. Hieron. *ibid.*

(d) Ptolemæus secundus Ægypti rex, cognomine Philadelphus, cum filiam Berenicen Antiocho regi Syriæ nuptum dedisset, mittendam ad ipsam Nili aquam sedulo curavit, ut eam solam gnata biberet, quod Polybius scripsit. Athenæus Lib. 2. P. 45. Edit. Casaubon.

(e) Et stabit de germine radicum ejus plantatio. Vulg.

(f) Deos eorum et sculptilie. Vulg. Sept. deos eorum cum fufilibus eorum. Arab.

than (a) he came with a great army, and entered into the provinces of the king of the north, that is, of Seleucus Callinicus, who with his mother Laodice reigned in Syria; and he acted against them, and prevailed so far, that he took Syria and Cicilia, and the upper parts beyond Euphrates, and almost all Asia. And when he had heard that a sedition was raised in Egypt, he plundered the kingdom of Seleucus, and took forty thousand talents of silver, and precious vessels, and images of the gods, two thousand and five hundred: among which were also those which Cambyses, after he had taken Egypt, had carried into Persia. And for thus restoring their gods after many years, the Egyptians, who were a nation much addicted to idolatry, complimented him with the title of *Euergetes*, or *the benefactor*. This is Jerome's account, extracted from ancient historians; but there are authors still extant, who confirm several of the same particulars. Appian informs us, that (a) Laodice having killed Antiochus, and after him both Berenice and her child, Ptolemy the son of Philadelphus, to revenge these murders, invaded Syria, slew Laodice, and proceeded as far as to Babylon. From Polybius we learn, that (b) Ptolemy surnamed Euergetes, being greatly incensed at the cruel treatment of his sister Berenice, marched with an army into Syria, and took the city of Seleucia, which was kept for some years afterwards by the garrisons of the kings of Egypt. Thus did he enter into the fortresses of the

(a) — de plantatione et de germine radicis ejus, eo quod esset germanus: et venit cum exercitu magno, et ingressus est provinciam regis aquilonis, id est Seleuci cognomento Callinici, qui cum matre Laodice regnabat in Syria: et abusus est eis; et obtinuit, in tantum ut Syriam caperet, et Ciliciam, superioresque partes trans Euphraten, et propemodum universam Asiam. Quumque audisset in Ægypto seditionem moveri, diripiens regnum Seleuci, quadraginta millia talentorum argenti tulit, et vasa pretiosa simulacraque deorum, duo milia quingenta: in quibus erant, et illa quæ Cambyses capta Ægypto, in Persas portaverat. Denique gens Ægyptiorum idolatriæ dedita, quia post multos annos deos eorum retulerat, Euergeten eum appellavit. Hieron. ibid.

(b) Laodice ipsum interfecit, et mox Berenicem cum infantulo. Eam injuriam Ptolemæus Philadelphii filius, ut ulcisceretur, de Laodice sumpsit supplicium, et ingressus Syriam, Babylonem usque peruenit. Appian. de Bell. Syr. P. 130. Edit. Steph. P. 211. Edit. Tollii.

(c) Adhuc illa tempestate regum Ægypti præcidiis tenebatur Seleucia, jam inde ab illis temporibus, cum Ptolemæus cognomento Euergeta, propter casum Berenicæ Seleuco regi iratus bello Syriæ illo, ea urbe est potitus. Polyb. Lib. 5. P. 402, 403. Edit. Casaubon.

king of the north. Polyænus affirms, that (a) Ptolemy made himself master of all the country from mount Taurus, as far as to India, without war or battle: but he ascribes it by mistake to the father instead of the son. Justin asserts, that (b) if Ptolemy had not been recalled by a domestic sedition into Egypt, he would have possessed the whole kingdom of Seleucus. *So the king of the south came into the kingdom of the north, and then returned into his own land.* He likewise *continued more years than the king of the north*; for Seleucus Callinicus (c) died in exile of a fall from his horse, And Ptolemy Euergetes (d) survived him about four or five years.

But his sons, that is the sons of the king of the north, should endeavour to vindicate and avenge the cause of their father and their country." "But his sons shall be stirred up, and shall assemble 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 fortrefs," ver. 10. The sons of Seleucus Callinicus were (e) Seleucus and Antiochus; the elder of whom, Seleucus, succeeded him in the throne, and to distinguish him from others of the same name, was denominated *Ceraunus*, or *the thunderer*. Where by the way one cannot help observing the ridiculous vanity of princes in assuming or receiving such pompous appellations without deserving them. Seleucus the father was surnamed *Callinicus*, or *the famous conqueror*, though he was so far from gaining any considerable victory, that he was shamefully beaten by the Egyptians in the west, and was made a prisoner by the Parthians in the east. In like manner Seleucus the son was called *Ceraunus*, or *the thunderer*, though he was so far from performing any thing worthy of the name, that he was a poor and weak prince in all respects in mind and body and estate. Great and splendid titles, when improperly applied, are rather a satire and insult upon

(a) A Tauro usque ad Indiam absque bello ac pugna superavit. Polyæni Arat. Lib. 8. Cap. 50. P. 802. Edit. Maafvicii.

(b) Qui nisi in Ægyptum domestica seditione revocatus esset, totum regnum Seleuci occupasset. Justin. Lib. 27. Cap. 1.

(c) Justin Lib. 27. Cap. 3.

(d) See Usher, Prideaux, Blair, and other chronologers.

(e) Post fugam et mortem Seleuci Callinici, duo filii ejus Seleucus cognomento Ceraunus, et Antiochus qui appellatus est Magnus, &c. Hieron. in locum. Col. 1124. Vol. III. Edit. Benedicti. Polyb. Lib. 4. P. 315. Edit. Casaubon Appian. de Bell. Syr. P. 131. Edit. Steph. P. 211. Edit. Tollii.

the persons, than any honour or commendation. Seleucus Ceraunus was indeed *stirred up, and assembled a multitude of great forces*, in order to recover his father's dominions: but (*a*) being destitute of money, and unable to keep his army in obedience, he was poisoned by two of his generals, after an inglorious reign of two or three years. Upon his decease, his brother Antiochus Magnus was proclaimed king, who was more deserving of the title of *great*, than Seleucus was of *the thunderer*. The prophet's expression is very (*b*) remarkable, that *his sons should be stirred up, and assemble a multitude of great forces*; but then the number is changed, and only *one should certainly come, and overflow, and pass through*. Accordingly (*c*) Antiochus came with a great army, retook Seleucia, and by the means of Theodotus the Ætolian recovered Syria, making himself master of some places by treaty, and of others by force of arms. Then (*d*) after a truce, wherein both sides treated of peace, but prepared for war, Antiochus *returned*, and overcame in battle Nicolaus the Egyptian general, and had thoughts of invading Egypt itself.

The king of Egypt at that time was Ptolemy Philopator, who was (*e*) advanced to the crown upon the death of his father Euergetes, not long after Antiochus Magnus succeeded his brother in the throne of Syria. This Ptolemy was (*f*) a most luxurious and vicious prince, but was roused at length by

(*a*) Seleucus nec valetudine firmus nec opibus, exercitum in officio continere non potuit, veneno sublatus purpuratorum perfidia, post exactum regni annum alterum. Appian. *ibid.* Quumque Seleucus in major frater, tertio anno imperii esset occisus in Phrygia, per dolum Nicanoris et Apaturii, &c. Hieron. *ibid.* Polyb. *ibid.*

(*b*) Et propterea nunc infert, quod duo quidem filii provocati sunt, et congregaverent multitudinem exercituum plurimorum: sed quod unus Antiochus Magnus venerit de Babylone in Syriam, &c. Hieron. *ibid.*

(*c*) Polyb. Lib. 5. P. 403. &c. Hieron. *ibid.*

(*d*) Polyb. *ibid.* P. 411, &c. Quumque pugnasset adversum duces ejus, imo proditione Theodeti obtinisset Syriam, quæ per successione jam a regibus Ægypti tenebatur, in tantam venit audaciam contempta luxuria Philopatoris--ut ultro Ægyptiis bellum conaretur. inferre. Hieron. *ibid.* Antiochus rex Syriæ, veteri inter se regnorum odio stimulante, repentino bello multas urbes ejus [Ptolemæi] oppressit, ipsamque Ægyptum aggreditur. Justin. Lib. 30. Cap. 1.

(*e*) Ptolemæus in Can. Eusebius in Chron. Usher, Prideaux, and the Chronologers.

(*f*) Polyb. Lib. 5. P. 380, &c. Edit. Casaubon. Strabo, Lib. 17. P. 796. Edit. Paris. 1620. P. 1146. Edit. Amstel. 1707. Plutarch. in Cleomene. P. 820. Edit. Paris. 1624. Justin. L. 30. C. 1.

the near approach of danger. "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. 11. Ptolemy Philopator was, no doubt, *moved with choler* for the losses which he had sustained, and for the revolt of Theodotus and others. And he *came forth*; he (*a*) marched out of Egypt with a numerous army to oppose the enemy, and encamped not far from Raphia, which is the nearest town to Egypt from Rhonocorura. And there he *fought with him, even with the king of the north*; for thither likewise (*b*) came Antiochus with his army, and a memorable battle was fought by the two kings. And he, the king of the north, *set forth a great multitude*; Polybius hath (*c*) recited the various nations of which Antiochus's army was composed, and altogether it amounted to sixty-two thousand foot, six thousand horse, and one hundred and two elephants. But yet *the multitude was given into his hand*, that is, into the hand of the king of the south; for (*d*) Ptolemy obtained a complete victory; and of Antiochus's army there were slain not much fewer than ten thousand foot, more than three hundred horse, and above four thousand men, were taken prisoners: whereas of Ptolemy's, there were killed only fifteen hundred foot and seven hundred horse. Upon this defeat (*e*) Raphia and the neighbouring towns contended who should be most forward to submit to the conqueror; and Antiochus was forced to retreat with his shattered army to Antioch, and from thence sent ambassadors to solicit a peace.

Ptolemy Philopator was more fortunate in gaining a victory,

(*a*) Polyb. *ibid.* P. 421, 422. Hieron. *ibid.*

(*b*) Polyb. *ibid.* P. 423, &c. Strabo, Lib. 16. P. 759. Edit. Paris. 1620. P. 1102. Edit. Amstel. 1707. Hieron. *ibid.*

(*c*) Polyb. *ibid.* 421, 422. Summa totius exercitus Antiochi; peditum duo et septuaginta [sexaginta] millia; equitum sex; elephantum duo supra centum.

(*d*) Decideravit autem e suis Antiochus non multo pauciores decem millibus peditum: equites trecentos et eo plures: capti sunt vivi supra quatuor millia.—E Ptolemaicis occisi sunt pedites mille et quingenti: equites septinti. Polyb. *ibid.* P. 427. Inito ergo certamine juxta oppidum Raphiæ, quod in foribus Ægypti est, omnem Antiochus amisit exercitum, &c. Hieron. *ibid.*

(*e*) Polyb. *ibid.* P. 427, 428. Quamque cessisset Syria, ad extremum fœdere, et quibusdam conditionibus pugna finita est. Hieron. *ibid.*

than prudent in knowing how to make a proper advantage of it. "And when he hath taken away the multitude, his heart shall be lifted up, and he shall cast down many ten thousands; but he shall not be strengthened by it," ver. 12. If Ptolemy had pursued the blow that he had given, it is (a) reasonably presumed that he might have deprived Antiochus of his kingdom: but *his heart was lifted up* by his success; being delivered from his fears, he now more freely indulged his lusts; and after a few menaces and complaints, he granted peace to Antiochus, that he might be no more interrupted in the gratification of his appetites and passions. He had before (b) murdered his father, and his mother, and his brother; and now (c) he killed his wife, who was also his sister: and (d) gave himself up entirely to the management of Agathoclea, his harlot, and her brother Agathocles, who was his Catamite, and their mother CEnanthe, who was his bawd. And (e) so forgetful of all the greatness of his name and majesty, he consumed his days in feasting, and his nights in lewdness; and became not only the spectator, but the master and leader of all wickedness. And what availed it to have conquered his enemies, when he was thus overcome by his vices? He was so far from being *strengthened* by it, that even (f) his own subjects, offended at his inglorious peace, and more inglorious life, rebelled against him. But the prophet in this passage alluded more particularly to the case of his own countrymen. After the retreat of Antiochus, Ptolemy (g) visited the cities of Cœle-Syria and Palestine, which had submitted to him; and among others in his progress he came to Jerusalem. He there offered sacrifices, and was desirous of entering into the holy of holies, contrary to the custom and religion of the place, being, as the (h) writer of the third book of Maccabees says, greatly lifted

(a) Justin. Lib. 30. Cap. 1.—spoliassetque regno Antiochum, si fortunam virtute juvisset. Polyb. Lib. 5. P. 428. Edit. Casaubon.

(b) Justin. Lib. 29. Cap. 1. Polyb. Lib. 5. P. 380, 382.

(c) Justin. Lib. 30. Cap. 1. Polyb. Lib. 15. P. 719.

(d) Plutarch in Cleomene, P. 820. Edit. Paris. 1624. Polyb. Lib. 15. passim. Justin. Lib. 30. Cap. 1 et 2.

(e) Atque ita omnem magnitudinem nominis ac majestatis oblitus, noctes in stupris, dies in conviviis consumit—nec jam spectator rex, sed magister nequitie. Justin. ibid. Cap. 1.

(f) Polyb. Lib. 5. P. 444.

(g) For these particulars the 3d book of Maccabees must be consulted.

(h) 3 Macc. ii. 21.

up by pride and confidence. His curiosity was restrained with great difficulty, and he departed with heavy displeasure against the whole nation of the Jews. At his return therefore to Alexandria, he began a cruel persecution upon the Jewish inhabitants of that city, who had resided there from the time of Alexander, and enjoyed the privileges of the most favoured citizens. *And he cast down many ten thousands*; for it appears from (a) Eusebius, that about this time forty thousand Jews were slain, or sixty thousand as they are reckoned in Jerome's Latin interpretation. No king could be *strengthened* by the loss of such a number of useful subjects. The loss of so many Jews, and the rebellion of the Egyptians, added to the male-administration of the state, must certainly very much weaken, and almost totally ruin the kingdom.

Peace was to continue between the two crowns of Egypt and Syria for some years, and then the king of the north should attempt another invasion. "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," (at the end of times, that is years) "with a great army, and with much riches, ver. 13. The following events, you see, were not to take place till *after certain years*; and the peace continued between the two crowns (b) about fourteen years. In that time Ptolemy Philopator (c) died of intemperance and debauchery, and was succeeded by his son Ptolemy Epiphanes, a child of four or five years old. Antiochus too, (d) having taken and slain the rebel Achæus, and having (e) also reduced and settled the eastern parts in their obedience, was at leisure to prosecute any enterprise, and could not let slip so favourable an opportunity of extending his dominions. He had acquired great riches, and collected many forces in his eastern expedition; so that he was enabled to *set forth a greater multitude than the former*, and he doubted not to have an easy victory over an infant king. Polybius expressly informs us, that (f) from the

(a) Eusebii Chron. P. 185. Victi Judæi : et lx. millia armorum ex numero eorum cæsa. Interprete Hieron. P. 143.

(b) See Usher, Prideaux, and the Chronologers.

(c) Ptolem. in Canone, Eusebius, Justin. Lib. 30. Cap. 2. Hiron. &c.

(d) Polyb. Lib. 8. P. 522. &c. Edit. Casaubon.

(e) Polyb. Lib. 10 et 11. Appian. de Bell. Syr. in principio.

(f) Ibi quoque elephantos alios accepit, ut jam centum quinquaginta bestias haberet, &c. Polyb. Lib. 11. P. 652.

king of Bactria and from the king of India he received so many elephants as made up his number one hundred and fifty, besides provisions and riches. Jerome, out of ancient authors, affirms, that (*a*) he gathered together an incredible army out of the countries beyond Babylon; and contrary to the league, he marched with his army, Ptolemy Philopator being dead, against his son, who was then four years old, and was called Ptolemy Epiphanes, or the illustrious. Justin also says, that (*b*) Ptolemy Philopator, king of Egypt, being dead, in contempt of the childhood of his son, who being left heir to the kingdom, was a prey even to his domestics, Antiochus king of Syria resolved to take possession of Egypt; as if the thing were as easily executed as resolved.

But Antiochus was not the only one who rose up against young Ptolemy. Others also confederated with him. "And in those times there shall many stand up against the king of the south: also the robbers of thy people shall exalt themselves to establish the vision, but they shall fall," ver. 14. Agathocles (*c*) was in possession of the young king's person; and he was so dissolute and proud in the exercise of his power, that the provinces which before were subject to Egypt, rebelled, and Egypt itself was disturbed by seditions; and the people of Alexandria rose up in a body against Agathocles, and caused him, and his sister, and mother, and their associates, to be put to death. Philip too (*d*) the king of Macedon, entered into a league with Antiochus, to divide Ptolemy's dominions between them, and each to take the parts which lay nearest and most

(*a*) —incredibilem de superioribus locis Babylonis exercitum congregavit. Et Ptolemæo Philopatore mortuo adversum filium ejus, qui tunc quatuor annorum erat, et vocabatur Ptolemæus, rupto fœdere movit exercitum. Hieron. in locum. Col. 1124.

(*b*) Mortuo Ptolemæo Philopatore rege Ægypti, contemptaque parvuli filii ejus ætate, qui in ipem regni relictus prædæ etiam domesticis erat, Antiochus rex Syriæ occupare Ægyptum statuit. Justin. Lib. 31. Cap. 1.

(*c*) Polyb. Lib. 15. P. 712, &c. Edit. Casaubon. Tantæ enim dissolutionis et superbiæ Agathocles fuit, ut subditæ prius Ægypto provinciæ rebellarent; ipsaque Ægyptus seditionibus vexaretur. Hieron. ibid. Justin. Lib. 30. Cap. 2.

(*d*) Philippus quoque rex Macedonum, et magnus Antiochus pace facta, adversum Agathoclen et Ptolemæum Epiphanem dimicarent, sub hac conditione, ut proximas civitates regno suo singuli de regno Ptolemæi jungerent. Hieron. ibid. Polyb. Lib. 3. P. 159. Lib. 15. P. 707. Justin. ibid.

convenient to him. And this is the meaning, as (a) Jerome concludes, of the prophet's saying, that many shall rise up together against the king of the south. *Also the robbers of thy people.* It is literally (a) *the sons of the breakers*, the sons of the revolters, the factious and refractory ones, *of thy people*; for the Jews were at that time *broken* into factions, part adhering to the king of Egypt, and part to the king of Syria; but the majority were for *breaking away* from their allegiance to Ptolemy. In the vulgate it is (b) translated, *the sons also of the prevaricators of thy people*; in the Septuagint, *the sons of the pestilent ones of thy people.* What shall they do? *shall exalt themselves to establish the vision*; shall revolt from Ptolemy, and thereby shall contribute greatly, without their knowing it, towards the accomplishment of this prophecy concerning the calamities which should be brought upon the Jewish nation by the succeeding kings of Syria. That the Jews revolted from Ptolemy is evident from what Jerome affirms, that (c) the provinces, which before were subject to Egypt, rebelled; and (d) heathen authors intimate, that Antiochus took possession of the cities of Cœle-Syria and Palestine, without any opposition, at least they do not mention any. *But they shall fail*: for (e) Scopas came with a powerful army from Ptolemy, and Antiochus being engaged in other parts, soon reduced the cities of Cœle-Syria and Palestine to their former obedience. He subdued the Jews in the winter season, placed a garrison in the castle of Jerusalem, and returned with great spoils to Alexandria; for he was (f) noted above all men for his avarice and rapacity. The expression of Josephus is remarkable, that (g) the Jews submitted to Scopas by force, but to Antiochus they submitted willingly.

It was in the absence of Antiochus, that these advantages were obtained by the arms of Egypt, but his presence soon turn-

(a) Et hoc est quod nunc dicit multos confurgere adversus regem Austri, Ptolemæum scilicet Epiphanem, qui erat ætate pueri. Hieron. *ibid.*

(b) Vide 1 Sam. xxv. 10.

(c) Filii quoque prævaricatorum populi tui. Vulg. Sept.

(d)—ut subditæ prius Ægypto provinciæ rebellarent. Hieron. *ib.*

(e) Polyb. Lib. 3. P. 159. Appian. de Bell. Syr. in principio.

(f) Hieron. Col. 1125. Polyb. apud Joseph. et Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 3. Sect. 3. P. 520, 521. Edit. Hudson.

(g) Polyb. Lib. 17. P. 773.

(b) Oppugnata enim, in ejus partes concessit. Judæ ultro deditionem fecerunt. Joseph. *ibid.*

ed the scale, and changed the whole face of affairs. "So the king of the north shall come, and cast up a mount, and take the most fenced cities," or "the city of munitions, and the arms of the south shall not withstand, neither his chosen people, neither shall there be any strength to withstand. But he that cometh against him shall do according to his own will, and none shall stand before him: and he shall stand in the glorious land, which by his hand shall be consumed," ver. 15 and 16. Antiochus (*a*) being willing to recover Judea, and the cities of Cœle-Syria and Palestine, which Scopas had taken, came again into those parts. Scopas was sent again to oppose him, and Antiochus fought with him near the sources of the river Jordan, destroyed a great part of his army, and pursued him to Sidon, where he shut him up with ten thousand men, and closely besieged him. Three famous generals were sent from Egypt to raise the siege; but they could not succeed, and at length Scopas was forced by famine to surrender upon the hard conditions of having life only granted to him and his men; they were obliged to lay down their arms, and were sent away stript and naked. This event, I conceive, was principally intended by his *casting up a mount, and taking the city of munition*; for Sidon was an exceeding strong city in its situation and fortifications. But if we take the phrase more generally, as our translators understand it, Antiochus, after the success of this battle and of this siege, reduced other countries and took other *fenced cities*, which are mentioned by (*b*) Polybius, and recited by Jerome out of the Greek and Roman historians. *The arms of the south could not withstand him, neither his chosen people*, neither Scopas, nor the other great generals, nor the choicest troops who were sent against him: but he *did according to his own will, and none was able to stand before him*; for he soon (*c*)

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(*a*) Antiochus enim volens Judæam recuperare, et Syria urbes plurimas, Scopam ducem Ptolemæi juxta fontis Jordanis, ubi nunc Pancas condita est, inito certaminis fugavit, et cum decem millibus armatorum obsedit clausum in Sidone. Ob quam liberandum misit Ptolemæus duces inclytos Eropum, et Menoclem, et Damoxenum. Sed obsidionem solvere non potuit: donec fame superatus Scopas manus dedit, et nudus cum sociis dimissus est. Hieron. *ibid.* Joseph. *ibid.* Valesii Excerpta ex Polyb. P. 77, &c.

(*b*) Polyb. apud. Joseph, *ibid.* Hieron. *ibid.*

(*c*) Liv. Lib. 33. Cap. 19. Justin. Lib. 31. Cap. 1. Polyb. Legat. 72. P. 893.

rendered himself master of all Cœle-Syria and Palestine. Among others (*a*) the Jews also readily submitted to him, went forth in solemn procession to meet him, received him splendidly into their city, supplied him with plenty of provisions for all his army and elephants, and assisted him in besieging the garrison which Scopas had left in the citadel. Thus he *stood in the glorious land*, and his power was established in Judea. *Which by his hand shall be consumed*: So this passage is generally understood and translated, and commentators hereupon observe that (*b*) Josephus relates, that “Antiochus the great reigning in Asia, the Jews, their country being wasted, suffered many things, as well as the inhabitants of Cœle-Syria. For Antiochus warring against Ptolemy Philopator, and against his son Ptolemy Epiphanes, it was their fate to suffer, whether he was conqueror, or was beaten, so that they were like a ship tost in a tempest, and lying between both, were sure to suffer, which ever side prevailed.”

But then they could not be said to be *consumed by the hand of Antiochus* particularly; they were consumed as much or more by Scopas: and the word is capable of another interpretation, which agrees as well with the truth of the Hebrew, and better with the truth of this history. It may be translated, *Which shall be perfected*, or prosper, or flourish, *in his hand*. The original will well admit of this sense, and the event confirms it. For Antiochus, to reward and encourage the Jews in their fidelity and obedience to him, (*c*) gave orders that their city should be repaired, and the dispersed Jews should return and inhabit it; that they should be supplied with cattle and other provisions for sacrifices; that they should be furnished with timber and other materials for finishing and adorning the temple; that they should live all according to the laws of their country; that the priests and elders, the scribes and Levites, should be exempted from the capitation and other taxes; that those who then inhabited the city, or should

(*a*) Joseph. *ibid.*

(*b*) Regnante in Asia Antiocho Magno, accidit ut tum Judæi terra eorum vastata, tum qui Cœlen-Syriam incolebant, multa adversa paterentur. Eo enim belligerante adversus Ptolemæum Eupatorem [Alibi constanter Philopatorem eum vocat] et ejus filium cognomine Epiphanem, contigit illis, ut si is superior fuerit, affligerentur, si inferior, plane eadem paterentur: adeo ut haud dissimiles essent navi in tempestate, fluctibus utrinque vexatæ, ut qui in medio jacerent, dum et Antiocho res prospere cederent et in contrarias partes mutarentur. Joseph. *ibid.*

(*c*) Vide Epit. Antiochi apud Joseph. *ibid.*

return to it within a limited time, should be free from all tribute for three years, and the third part of their tribute should be remitted to them for ever after; and also, that as many as had been taken and forced into servitude, should be released, and their substance and goods be restored to them. Where Grotius remarks, (a) that what is said about *finishing* and *completing* the temple, answers exactly to the word *perfected*, or *consummated* in the Hebrew. Thus also the Seventy translate it, and thus (b) Theodoret explains it, "*And it shall be perfected by his hand,*" that is, it shall prosper; for so likewise Josephus hath taught "us in his history, that the Jews of their own accord having received Antiochus, were greatly honoured by him."

Antiochus the great, like other ambitious princes, the more he attained, aspired the more to conquest and dominion. "He shall also set his face to enter with the strength of his whole kingdom, and upright ones with him: thus shall he do, and he shall give him the daughter of women corrupting her," or to corrupt her: "but she shall not stand on his side, neither be for him, ver. 17. *He shall also set his face to enter with the strength of his whole kingdom,* or rather, *He shall also set his face to enter by force the whole kingdom:* and Antiochus, not content with having rent the principal provinces from Egypt, was forming schemes (c) to seize upon the whole kingdom. *And upright ones with him; thus shall he do:* If this translation be right, *the upright ones* here intended are the Jews, who marched under the banners of Antiochus, and are so denominated to distinguish them from the other idolatrous soldiers. But the (d) Seventy and the Vulgar Latin exhibit a much more probable translation, that *he shall set things right, or make agreement with him,* as the phrase is used before, ver. 6. Antiochus would have seized upon the kingdom of Egypt by force: but as he was (e) meditating a war with the Romans, he judged it better to proceed by stratagem, and to

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(a) Ubi est quod hic quod alibi per [consummare] alibi per [finire] aut [implere] vertunt lxx. Grot. in locum.

(b) Hoc est, prospere ei succedet. Sic enim nos item Josephus docuit in historia. Judæos Antiocho ultro accepto, magno in honore ab illo habitos fuisse. Theod. in locum. Vol. II. P. 681. Edit. Sirmondi.

(c) Properavit in Ægyptum, ut occuparet orbatam principem. Appian. de Bell. Syr. P. 88. Edit. Steph. P. 144. Edit. Tollii. Antiochus rex Syriæ occupare Ægyptum statuit. Justin. Lib. 31. Cap. 1.

(d) Sept. Et resla faciet cum eo. Vulg.

(e) Appian. ibid. P. 115.

carry on his designs by treaty rather than by arms. For purpose *he shall give him the daughter of women*, his daughter so called, as being one of the most eminent and beautiful of women: and accordingly (*a*) Antiochus proposed a treaty of marriage by Eucles the Rhodian, betrothed his daughter Cleopatra to Ptolemy, in the seventh year of his reign, and married her to him in the thirteenth. He conducted her himself to Raphia, where they were married; and gave in dowry with her the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Palestine, upon condition of the revenues being equally divided between the two kings. All this he transacted with a fraudulent intention *to corrupt her*, and induce her to betray her husband's interests to her father, but his designs did not take effect; *she shall not stand on his part, neither be for him*. Ptolemy and his generals (*b*) were aware of his artifices, and therefore stood upon their guard: and Cleopatra herself affected more the cause of her husband than of her father; insomuch that (*d*) she joined with her husband in an embassy to the Romans, to congratulate them upon the victories over her father, and to exhort them, after they had expelled him out of Greece, to prosecute the war in Asia, assuring them at the same time that the king and queen of Egypt, would readily obey the commands of the senate.

Antiochus having, as he thought, secured all things behind him, engaged in an unhappy war with the Romans. "After this shall he turn his face unto the isles, and shall take many: 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. Antiochus (*d*) fitted

(*a*) —filiam suam Cleopatram per Euclem Rhodium, septimo anno regni adolescentis, despondit Ptolemæo et tertio decimo anno tradidit, data ei dotis nomine omni Cœle-Syria et Judæa. Hieron. in locum Col. 1126. Appian. *ibid.* Liv. Lib. 35. Cap. 13. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 4. Sect. 1. P. 523. Edit. Hudson.

(*b*) Ptolemæus Epiphanes et duces ejus sentientes dolum, cautos se egerunt. et Cleopatra magis viri partes, quam parentis fovit. Hieron. *ibid.*

(*c*) Legati ab Ptolemæa, et Cleopatra, regibus Ægypti, gratulantes quod Manius Acilius consul Antiochum regem Græcia expulisset, venerunt: adhortantesque ut in Asiam exercitum traderet—regis Ægypti ad ea, quæ censuisset senatus, paratos fore. Liv. Lib. 37. Cap. 3.

(*d*) Liv. Lib. 33. Cap. 19, 20, 38, &c. Appian. de Bell. Syr. P. 86, 89, 93, &c. Edit. Steph. P. 142, 145, 151, &c. Edit. Tollii. Hieron. *ibid.* Aurel. Victor de Viris Illust. Cap. 54. Statimque Græciam insulasque ejus occupavit.

out a formidable fleet of one hundred large ships of war, and two hundred other lesser vessels. With this fleet *he turned his face unto the isles* of the Mediterranean; subdued most of the maritime places on the coasts of Asia, Thrace, and Greece; and *took* Samos, Eubœa, and *many* other islands. This was a great indignity and *reproach offered* to the Romans, (*a*) when their confederates were thus oppressed, and the cities, which they had lately restored to liberty, were enslaved. *But a prince, or rather a leader, a general,* meaning the Roman generals, repelled the injury, and *caused his reproach to cease*. Acilius the consul (*b*) fought with Antiochus at the Straits of Thermopylæ, routed him, and expelled him out of Greece: Livius and Æmilius beat his fleets at sea, and Scipio finally obtained a decisive victory over him in Asia, near the city of Magnesia, at the foot of mount Syphilus. Antiochus lost fifty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, in that day's engagement; fourteen hundred were taken prisoners, and he himself escaped with difficulty. Upon this defeat he (*c*) was necessitated to sue for peace, and was obliged to submit to very dishonourable conditions, not to set foot in Europe, and to quit all Asia on this side of mount Taurus, to defray the whole charges of the war, &c. and to give twenty hostages for the performance of these articles, one of whom was his youngest son Antiochus, afterwards called Epiphanes. By these means (*d*) he and his successors became tributary to the Romans; so truly and effectually did they not only *cause the reproach offered by him to cease*, but greatly to their honour, *caused it to turn upon him*.

Antiochus did not long survive this disgrace; and the latter end of his life and reign was as mean as the former part had been glorious. "Then shall he turn his face towards the fort
"of his own land: but he shall stumble and fall, and not be
"found," ver. 19. Antiochus, after the battle, (*e*) fled away that night to Sardes, and from thence to Apamea, and the next

(*a*) Appian. de Bell. Syr. P. 87, Edit. Steph. P. 143. Edit. Tollii. Liv. Lib. 33. Cap. 39. Lib. 34. Cap. 58. Polyb. Lib. 17. P. 769. Edit. Casaubon.

(*b*) Liv. Lib. 36 et 37. Appian. de Bell. Syr. Florus Lib. 2. Cap. 8. Justin. Lib. 31. Cap. 6, 7, 8.

(*c*) Polyb. Legat. 24. P. 816. 817. Liv. Lib. 37. Cap. 45. Appian. de Bell. Syr. P. 111, &c. Edit. Steph. P. 178, &c. Edit. Tollii. Justin. *ibid*.

(*d*) 1 Macc. viii. 7.

(*e*) Liv. Lib. 37. Cap. 44. Appian. de Bell. Syr. P. 110. Edit. Steph. P. 177. Edit. Tollii.

day he came into Syria; to Antioch, *the fort of his own land*. It was from thence that he sent embassadors to sue for peace; and (a) within a few days after peace was granted, he sent part of the money demanded, and the hostages, to the Roman consul at Ephesus. He is (b) reported indeed to have borne his losses with great equanimity and temper, and said, that he was much obliged to the Romans for easing him from a great deal of care and trouble, and for confining him within the bounds of a moderate empire. But whatever he might pretend, he lived in distress and poverty for a great king, being under the greatest difficulties how to raise the money which he had stipulated to pay to the Romans: and his necessity or his avarice prompted him at last to commit sacrilege. He (c) marched into the eastern provinces, to collect there the arrears of tribute, and amass what treasures he could: and attempting to plunder the rich temple of Jupiter Belus, in Elymais, he was assaulted by the inhabitants of the country, was defeated, and himself and all his attendants were slain. So Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Justin, and Jerome relate the manner and circumstances of his death. Aurelius Victor reports it otherwise, and affirms (d) that he was slain by some of his companions, whom in his liquor he had beaten at a banquet; but his account deserves not so much credit as the concurrent testimony of earlier historians. However it was, his death was inglorious: *he stumbled and fell, and was no more found*.

His successor was far from retrieving the splendour and glory of the nation. "Then shall stand up in his estate a raider of taxes in the glory of the kingdom;" or rather, ac-

(a) Polyb. Legat. 24. P. 817. Liv. Lib. 37. Cap. 45.

(b) Cicero pro Deiotaro, Cap. 13. Valerius Maximus, Lib. 4. Cap. 1.

(c) Diodor Sic. in Excerpt. Valefii, P. 292 et 298. Strabo, Lib. 16. P. 744. Edit. Paris, 1620. P. 1080. Edit. Amstel. 1707. Interea in Syria rex Antiochus cum gravi tributo pacis, a Romanis victus oneratus esset, seu inopia pecuniæ compulsus, seu avaritia sollicitatus, qua sperabat se, sub specie tributariæ necessitatis, excusatus sacrilegia commissorum, adhibito exercitu, nocte templum Elymæi Jovis aggreditur. Qua re prodita, concursu insolarium, cum omni militia interficitur. Justin. Lib. 32. Cap. 2. Victus ergo Antiochus, intra Taurum regnare jussus est; et inde fugit ad Apamiam, ac Susam, et ultimas regni sui penetravit urbes. Quumque adversum Elymaeos pugnaret, cum omni est deletus exercitu. Hieron. ibid.

(d) A sodalibus, quos temulentus in convivio pulsaverat, occisus est, Aurel. Victor de Viris Illustr. Cap. 54.

according to the original, and as we read in the margin, "one that causeth an exactor to pass over the glory of the kingdom: but within few days he shall be destroyed, neither in anger, nor in battle," ver. 20. Seleucus Philopator succeeded his father Antiochus the great, in the throne of Syria: but as (a) Jerome affirms, he performed nothing worthy of the empire of Syria and of his father, and perished ingloriously without fighting any battles. As Appian also testifies, he reigned (b) both idly and weakly, by reason of his father's calamity. He had an inclination to break the peace, and shake off the Roman yoke; but had not the courage to do it. He (c) raised an army with intent to march over mount Taurus to the assistance of Pharnaces king of Pontus: but his dread of the Romans confined him at home, within the bounds prescribed to him; and almost as soon as he had raised, he disbanded his army. The tribute of a thousand talents, which he was obliged to pay annually to the Romans, was indeed a grievous burden to him and his kingdom: and was little more than a *raiser of taxes* all his days. He was tempted even to commit sacrilege; for (d) being informed of the money that was deposited in the temple of Jerusalem, he sent his treasurer Heliodorus to seize it. This was literally *causing an exactor to pass over the glory of the kingdom*, when he sent his treasurer to plunder that temple, which (e) *even kings did honour, and magnify with their best gifts*, and where Seleucus himself, of his own revenues, bare all the costs belonging to the service of the sacrifices. But within a few days, or rather years, according to the prophetic stile, he was to be destroyed; and his reign was of short duration in comparison of his father's; for he (f) reigned only twelve years, and his father thirty-seven. Or perhaps the passage may be better expounded thus, that *within few days or years*, after his attempting to plunder the temple of

(a) Seleucum dicit cognomento Philopatorem filium magni Antiochi, qui nihil dignum Syriæ, et patris gessit imperio; et absque ullis præliis inglorius periit. Hieron. *ibid.*

(b) —otiosus nec admòdum potens, propter cladem, quam pater acceperat. Appian. de Bell. Syr. P. 131. Edit. Steph. P. 212. Edit. Tollii.

(c) Diod. Sic. in Excerpt. Valefii. P. 302. Usher's Ann. A. M. 3825. A. C. 181. P. 403.

(d) 2 Macc. iii. 7. Joseph. de Macc. Sect. 4. P. 1395. Edit. Hud.

(e) 2 Macc. iii. 2, 3.

(f) Vide Appian, *ibid.*

Jerusalem, he should *be destroyed*; and not long after that, as all chronologers agree, he was *destroyed, neither in anger nor in battle*, neither in rebellion at home, nor in war abroad, but (*a*) by the treachery of his own treasurer Heliodorus. The same wicked hand, that was the instrument of his sacrilege, was also the instrument of his death. Seleucus having (*b*) sent his only son Demetrius to be an hostage at Rome, instead of his brother Antiochus, and Antiochus being not yet returned to the Syrian court, Heliodorus thought this a fit opportunity to dispatch his master, and in the absence of the next heirs to the crown, to usurp it to himself. But he was disappointed in his ambitious projects, and only made way for another's usurped greatness, instead of his own.

Few circumstances are mentioned relating to Seleucus Philopator; many more particulars are predicted of his brother and successor Antiochus Epiphanes, as he was indeed a more extraordinary person, and likewise a greater enemy and oppressor of the Jews. "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. Antiochus returning from Rome (*c*) was at Athens in his way to Syria, when his brother Seleucus died by the treachery of Heliodorus: and *the honour of the kingdom was not given unto him*; for Heliodorus attempted to get possession of it himself; another (*d*) party declared in favour of Ptolemy Philometor, king of Egypt, whose mother Cleopatra was the daughter of Antiochus the great, and sister of the late king Seleucus; and neither was Antiochus Epiphanes the right heir to the crown, but his nephew Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, who was then an hostage at Rome. However he *obtained the kingdom by flatteries*. He flattered (*e*) Eumenes, king of Pergamus, and Attalus his brother, and by fair promises engaged their assistance, and they the more readily assisted him, as they were at that juncture jealous of the Romans, and were willing therefore to secure a friend in the king of Syria. He flattered too (*f*) the Syrians, and with great show of clemency obtained their con-

(*a*) Insidiis Heliodori cujusdam purpurati oppressus est. App. de Bell. Syr. P. 116. Edit. Steph. P. 187. Edit. Tollii.

(*b*) Vide Appian, *ibid*.

(*c*) Appian, *ibid*.

(*d*) *ibid*. in locum. Col. 1127.

(*e*) Appian, *ibid*.

(*f*) Simulatione clementiæ obtinuit regnum Syriæ. Hieron. *ib*

currence. He flattered also (a) the Romans, and sent ambassadors to court their favour, to pay them the arrears of tribute, to present them besides with golden vessels of five hundred pounds weight, and to desire that the friendship and alliance which they had had with his father, might be renewed with him, and that they would lay their commands upon him as upon a good and faithful confederate king; he would never be wanting in any duty. Thus he *came in peaceably*; and as he flattered the Syrians, the Syrians flattered him again, (b) and bestowed upon him the title of *Epiphanes*, or *the illustrious*: but the epithet of *vile*, or rather *despicable*, given him by the prophet, agrees better with his true character. For, as (c) Polybius and other heathen historians describe him, he would steal out of the palace, and ramble about the streets in disguise; would mix with the lowest company, and drink and revel with them to the greatest excess; would put on the Roman gown, and go about canvassing for votes, in imitation of the candidates for offices at Rome; would sometimes scatter money in the streets among his followers, and sometimes pelt them with stones; would wash in the public baths, and expose himself by all manner of ridiculous and indecent gestures; with a thousand such freaks and extravagancies, as induced (d) Polybius, who was a contemporary writer, and others after him, instead of *Epiphanes*, or *the illustrious*, more rightly to call him *Epimanes*, or *the madman*.

But frantic and extravagant as he was, he was however successful and victorious. "And with the arms of a flood shall they be overflown from before him;" or rather more agreeably to the (e) original. "And the arms of the overflower shall be overflown from before him, and shall be broken; yea, also the prince of the covenant: And after the league made with him he shall work deceitfully," ver. 22, 23.

(a) Liv. Lib. 42. Cap. 6. *Petere regem, ut quæ cum patre suo societas atque amicitia fuisset, ea secum renovaretur: imperaretque sibi populus Romanus, quæ bono fidelique socio regi essent imperanda; se nullo usquam cessaturum officio.*

(b) Appian de Bell. Syr. P. 117. Edit. Steph. P. 187. Edit. Tollii.

(c) Polyb. apud Athenæum, Lib. 5. P. 193. Lib. 10. P. 438. Edit. Casaubon. Diod. Sic. in Excerptis Valesii, P. 305, 306. Liv. Lib. 41. Cap. 24, 25.

(d) Polybius libro vigesimo sexto historiarum cum vocat, non ob ea quæ ab illo gesta sunt. Athenæus, Lib. 10. P. 439. Vide etiam, Lib. 2. P. 45. Lib. 5. P. 193.

(e) Et brachia obruentis obruentur a conspectu ejus. Arab. Et brachia pugnantis expugnabunter a facie ejus. Vulg.

The *arms* which were *overflown from before him*, were those of his competitors for the crown. Heliodorus (*a*) the murderer of Seleucus and his partizans, as well as those of the king of Egypt, who had formed some designs upon Syria, were vanquished by the forces of Eumenes and Attalus, and were dissipated by the arrival of Antiochus, whose presence disconcerted all their measures. *The prince also of the covenant was broken*, that is, the high priest of the Jews: and so (*b*) Theodoret understands and explains it. “*The prince of the covenant*; He speaketh of the pious high priest, the brother of Jason, and foretelleth that “even he should be turned out of his office.” As soon as Antiochus was seated in the throne, (*c*) he removed Onias from the high priesthood, and preferred Jason, the brother of Onias, to that dignity, not for any crime committed against him by the former, but for the great sums of money which were offered to him by the latter. For Jason offered to give him no less than three hundred and sixty talents of silver for the high priesthood, besides eighty more upon another account: and the good Onias was not only displaced to make way for a wicked usurper, but after a few years, living at Antioch, he was with as great treachery as cruelty murdered by the king’s deputy. But tho’ Antiochus had *made a league* with Jason, the new high priest, yet he did not faithfully adhere to it, but acted *deceitfully*. For Manelaus, the brother of Jason, (*d*) being sent to the Syrian court, with a commission from his brother, to pay the tribute, and to transact some business with the king; he by his address and flattery so far insinuated himself into the royal favour, that he attempted to supplant his elder brother Jason, as Jason had supplanted his elder brother Onias; and proffered to give three hundred talents more for the high priesthood than Jason had given for it. The

(*a*) Heliodore meurtrier de Seleucus, et ses partisans, aussi bien que ceux du roi d’Egypte, qui avoient quelques desseins sur la Syrie, furent vaincus par les forces d’Attalus, et d’Eumenes; et dissipés par l’arrivee d’Antiochus, dont la presence deconcerta tous leurs desseins. Calmet. Vide, si placet Appian. Syr. P. 116, 117. Grot. Hic.

(*b*) Et dux fœderis. Principem sacerdotum intelligi vult pium Jasonis fratrem, præmonetque fore ut illum etiam abdicet pontificatu maximo. Theod. in locum. P. 683. Tom. 2. Edit. Sirmondi.

(*c*) 2 Macc. iv. Joseph. de Maccabæis, Sect. 4. P. 1395. Edit. Hudson.

(*d*) 2 Macc. ibid. Sulpicii Severi Sacr. Hist. 2. P. 85. Edit. Elzevir. 1656.

king readily accepted the proposal, and issued his mandate for the deposing of Jason, and advancing of Manelaus in his room: but he could not effect the change without an armed force, which put Manelaus in possession of the place, and compelled Jason to fly, and take shelter in the land of the Ammonites.

What follows is not assigning a reason for any thing that preceded, and therefore ought not to have been translated "For he shall come up," but *And he shall come up*, "and shall become strong with a small people. He shall enter peaceably even upon the fattest places of the province," or as it is in the margin, *He shall enter into the peaceable and fat places of the province*: "and he shall do what 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 strong holds, even for a time," ver. 23, 24. Antiochus Epiphanes had been many years an hostage at Rome; and coming from thence with only a few attendants, he appeared in Syria little at first, but soon received a great increase, *and became strong with a small people*. By the (a) friendship of Eumenes and Attalus he *entered peaceably* upon the upper provinces; and appointed Timarchus and Heraclides, the one to be governor of Babylon, and the other to be his treasurer, two brothers, with both of whom he had unnatural commerce. He likewise *entered peaceably* upon the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Palestine. And wherever he came, he outdid *his fathers, and his fathers fathers* in liberality and profusion. He *scattered among them the prey, and spoil, and riches*. The (b) *prey* of his enemies, the *spoil* of temples, and the *riches* of his friends as well as his own revenues, were expended in public shows, and bestowed in largesses among the people. The writer of the first book of Maccabees affirms, that (c) in the liberal giving of gifts *he abounded above the kings that were before him*. Josephus testifies, that (d) he was magnanimous and munificent. Polybius recounts (e) various instances of his extravagance, and relates particularly, that (f) some times meeting accidentally with people whom he had

(a) Appian de Bell. Syr. P. 117. Edit. Steph. P. 187. Edit. Tollii.

(b) Polyb. apud Athenæum, Lib. 5. P. 195. Edit. Casaubon.

(c) 1 Macc. iii. 30.

(d) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 7. Sect. 2. P. 537. Edit. Hudson. Vir magni animi, et largitor.

(e) Polyb. ibid. P. 149, &c. Lib. 10. P. 438, &c.

(f) Aliquando forte obvius, quo, nunquam viderat, imperatoribus muneribus afficeret. P. 194.

never seen before, he would enrich them with unexpected presents; and (a) sometimes standing in the public streets, he would throw about his money, and cry aloud, Let him take it to whom fortune shall give it. His generosity was the more requisite to fix the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Palestine in his interest, because they were claimed as of right belonging to the king of Egypt. Ptolemy Epiphanes was now dead; his queen Cleopatra was dead too; (b) and Eulæus an eunuch, and Lenæus, who were administrators of the kingdom for the young king Ptolemy Philometor, demanded the restitution of these provinces, alledging with very good reason, that they were assigned to the first Ptolemy in the last partition of the empire among Alexander's captains; that they had remained ever since in the possession of the kings of Egypt, till Antiochus the great took them away unjustly in the minority of Ptolemy Epiphanes the present king's father; and after he had taken them away he agreed to surrender them again in dowry with his daughter Cleopatra. Antiochus denied these pleas and pretences with the direct contrary assertions; and foreseeing, as well he might foresee, that these demands would prove the ground and occasion of a new war between the two crowns, (c) he came to Joppa to take a view of the frontiers, and to put them into a proper state of defence. In his progress he came to Jerusalem, where he was honourably received by Jason the high-priest; and by all the people; and as it was evening he was ushered into the city with torch-light and with great rejoicings; and from thence he went into Phœnicia, to fortify his own *strong holds*, and to *forecast* his *divices* against those of the enemy. The (d) Seventy and the Arabic translator with a little variation in the reading render it, to *forecast his divices against Egypt*. Thus he did *even for a time*, and employed some years in his hostile preparations.

At length Antiochus, in the fifth year of his reign, (e) de-

(a) Nonnunquam publica via stentem cum proclamasset, Sumat cui fortuna dederit, jactis sparisque aureis nummis discessisse. P. 438.

(b) Et quam post mortem Cleopatræ Eulaius eunuchus nutricius Philometoris, et Lenæus Egyptum regerent, et repeterent Syriam quam Antiochus fraude occupaverat, ortum est inter avunculum et puerum Ptolemæum prælium. Hieron. in locum. Col. 1127. Polyb. Legat. 72. P. 892. Legat. 82. P. 908. Edit. Casaubon.

(c) 2 Macc. iv. 21, 22.

(d) Et Cogitabit adversus Ægyptum cogitationes. Arab.

(e) Liv. Lib. 43. Cap. 29.

spising the youth of Ptolemy, and the inertness of his tutors, and believing the Romans to be too much employed in the Macedonian war to give him any interruption, resolved to carry hostilities into the enemy's country instead of waiting for them in his own, and marched with a powerful army against Egypt. "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 forecalt devices against him. Yea, they that feed of the portion of his meat, shall destroy him, and his army shall overflow," or (*a*) rather "shall be overflown: and many shall fall down slain," ver. 25, 26. These things (*b*) Porphyry rightly interprets of Antiochus, who marched against Ptolemy his sister's son with a great army. The king of the south too, that is the generals of Ptolemy were stirred up to war with very many and exceeding strong forces; and yet could not resist the fraudulent counsels of Antiochus. The two armies engaged (*c*) between Pelusium and mount Casius, and Antiochus obtained the victory. The (*d*) next campaign he had greater success, routed the Egyptians, took Pelusium, ascended as far as Memphis, and made himself master of all Egypt except Alexandria. These transactions are thus related by the (*e*) writer of the first book of Maccabees: "Now when the kingdom was established before Antiochus, he thought to reign over Egypt, that he might have the dominion of two realms. Wherefore he entered into Egypt with a great multitude, with chariots, and elephants, and horsemen, and a great navy; and made war against Ptolemy king of Egypt: but Ptolemy was afraid of him, and fled; and many were wounded to death. Thus they got the strong cities in

(*a*) Exercitus ejus inundabitur. Pagn. Exercitusque ejus opprimetur. Vulg. Exercitus ejus dissipabatur. Syr.

(*b*) Hæc Porphyrius interpretatur de Antiocho, qui adversus Ptolemæum sororis suæ filium profectus est cum exercitu magno. Sed et rex austri, id est, duces Ptolemæi provocati sunt ad bellum multis auxiliis, et fortibus nimis; et non potuerunt resistere Antiochi consiliis fraudulentis. Hieron. in locum. Col. 1128.

(*c*) Quumque inter Pelusium et montem Gausium prælium commisissent, victi, sunt duces Ptolemæi. Hieron. Col. 1127, 1128.

(*d*) 2 Macc. v. 1. Hieron. ibid. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 5. Sect. 2. P. 532. Edit. Hudson. Valesii Excerpta ex Diodoro, P. 311.

(*e*) 1 Macc. i. 16, 17, 18, 19.

“ the land of Egypt, and he took the spoils thereof.” He shall stir up his power against the king of the south with a great army, says the prophet; he entered into Egypt with a great multitude, says the historian. *The king of the south shall not stand*, says the prophet; *Ptolemy was afraid and fled*, says the historian. *Many shall fall down slain*, says the prophet; *and many were wounded to death*, says the historian. The misfortunes of Ptolemy Philometor are by the prophet ascribed principally to the treachery and baseness of his own ministers and subjects: *for they shall forecast devices against him; Yea, they that feed of the portion of his meat shall destroy him*. And it is certain that Eulæus (*a*) was a very wicked minister, and bred up the young king in luxury and effeminacy according to his natural inclination. Ptolemy Macron too, (*b*) who was governor of Cyprus, revolted from him, and delivered up that important island to Antiochus; and for the reward of his treason was admitted into the number of the king’s principal friends, and was made governor of Cœle-Syria and Palestine. Nay even (*c*) the Alexandrians, seeing the distress of Philometor, renounced their allegiance; and taking his younger brother Euergetes or Physcon, proclaimed him king instead of the elder brother.

History hath not informed us, by what means Ptolemy Philometor came into the hands of Antiochus, whether he was taken prisoner, or surrendered himself of his own accord; but that he was in the hands of Antiochus, it is evident beyond all contradiction. “ And both these kings 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. After Antiochus was come to Memphis, and the greater part of Egypt had submitted to him, (*d*) he and Philometor did frequently eat and converse together *at one table*: but notwithstanding this appearance of peace and friendship, *their hearts were really bent to do mischief*, and they *spoke lies* the one to the other. For (*e*) Antiochus pre-

(*a*) Valesii Excerpta ex Diodoro. P. 311, 313.

(*b*) Valesii Excerpta ex Polybio. P. 126. 2 Macc. x. 13. 1 Macc. iii. 38. 2 Macc. viii. 8.

(*c*) Porphyrius apud Eusebii Chron. Græc. P. 60 et 68:

(*d*) Nulli dubium est quin Antiochus pacem cum Ptolemæo fecerit, et inierit cum eo convivium, et dolos machinatus sit, &c. Hieron. *ibid.* Col. 1128.

(*e*) Polyb. Legat. 84. P. 909. Edit. Casaubon. Liv. Lib. 44. Cap. 19. Lib. 45. Cap. 11.

tended to take care of his nephew Philometor's interest, and promised to restore him to the crown, at the same time that he was plotting his ruin, and was contriving means to weaken the two brothers in a war against each other, that the conqueror wearied and exhausted might fall an easier prey to him. On the other side (*a*) Philometor laid the blame of the war on his governor Eulæus, professed great obligations to his uncle, and seemed to hold the crown by his favor, at the same time that he was resolved to take the first opportunity of breaking the league with him, and of being reconciled to his brother: and accordingly, as soon as ever Antiochus was withdrawn, he made proposals of accommodation, and by the mediation of their sister Cleopatra, a peace was made between the two brothers, who agreed to reign jointly in Egypt and Alexandria. But still this artifice and dissimulation did *not prosper* on either side. For (*b*) neither did Antiochus obtain the kingdom, neither did Philometor utterly exclude him, and prevent his returning with an army, as each intended and expected by the measures which he had taken: for these wars were not to have an *end till the time appointed*, which was not yet come.

Antiochus hoping to become absolute master of Egypt, more easily by the civil war between the two brothers than by the exertion of his own forces, left the kingdom for a while, and returned into Syria. "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. He did indeed *return with great riches*; for the spoils which he took in Egypt were of immense value. The (*c*) writer of the first book of Maccabees says, "Thus they
" got the strong cities in the land of Egypt, and he took the
" spoils thereof. And after that Antiochus had smitten
" Egypt he returned." Polybius (*d*) describing his opulence and the great show that he made of gold, silver, jewels, and the like, affirms that he took them partly out of Egypt, having

(*a*) Liv. *ibid.* Polyb. Legat. 82. P. 903. Porphyr. apud Lufebium *ibid.*

(*b*) — et nihil profecerit: quia regnum ejus non posuerit obtinere, &c. Hieron *ibid.*

(*c*) 1 Macc. i. 19, 20.

(*d*) Omnia porro hæc sic absoluta et exulta sunt partim his quibus in Ægypto, perfide violato fœderis pacto regem Ptolemæum Philometora adhuc puerulum defraudaverat. Polyb. apud Athenæum, Lib. 5. P. 195. Edit. Casaubon.

broken the league with the young king Philometor. Returning too from Egypt, he set *his heart against the holy covenant*. For it happened while he was in Egypt, that (a) a false report was spread of his death. Jason thinking this a favourable opportunity for him to recover the high priesthood, marched to Jerusalem with a thousand men, assaulted and took the city, drove Menelaus into the castle, and exercised great cruelties upon the citizens. Antiochus hearing of this, concluded that the whole nation had revolted; and being informed that the people had made great rejoicing at the report of his death, he determined to take a severe revenge, and went up with a great army, as well as with great indignation, against Jerusalem. He besieged and took the city by force of arms, slew forty thousand of the inhabitants, and sold as many more for slaves, polluted the temple and altar with swines flesh, profaned the holy of holies by breaking into it, took away the golden vessels and other sacred treasures to the value of eighteen hundred talents, restored Menelaus to his office and authority, and constituted one Philip, by nation a Phrygian, in manners, a barbarian, governor of Judea. When he had *done these exploits*, he *returned to his own land*. So says (b) the writer of the first book of Maccabees, "When he had taken all away, he went into his own land, having made a great massacre, and spoken very proudly:" So likewise (c) the author of the second book of Maccabees, "When Antiochus had carried out of the temple a thousand and eight hundred talents, he departed in all haste unto Antiochia." Josephus too (d) to the same purpose, "When he had gotten possession of Jerusalem, he slew many of the adverse party; and having taken great spoils, he returned to Antioch. These things are not only

(a) 2 Macc. v. 5—23. 1 Macc. i. 20—28. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 5. Sect. 3. P. 532. Lib. 13. Cap. 8. Sect. 2. P. 582. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 1. Cap. 1. Sect. 1. P. 958. De Maccab. Sect. 4. P. 1396. Polybius Megalopolitanus. Strabo Cappadox, Nicolaus Damascenus, Timagenes, Castor et Apollodorus apud Joseph. contra Apion. Lib. 2. P. 1369. Edit. Hudson. Diodorus Siculus. Ex Lib. 34. Ecloga prima. P. 901. Edit. Rhod. et apud Photii Biblioth. Cod. 244. P. 1149. Edit. Rothom. 1653.

(b) 1 Macc. i. 24.

(c) 2 Macc. v. 21.

(d) Ubi autem is in sua potestate habuit Hierosolyima, multos diversarum partium interfecit; magnaue pecuniæ vi direpta, Antiochiam rediit. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 5. Sect. 3. P. 532. Edit. Hudson.

recorded by Jews; for as (a) Jerome observes, "both the Greek and Roman history relates, that after Antiochus returned from Egypt, he came into Judea, that is, *against the holy covenant*, and spoiled the temple, and took away a great quantity of gold; and having placed a garrison of Macedonians in the citadel, he returned into his own land."

After (b) two years Antiochus marched into Egypt again. "At the time appointed," and hinted as before, ver. 27. "he shall return, and come toward the south, but it shall not be as the former, or as the latter;" or as it is translated in (c) the Vulgar Latin, "the latter shall not be like the former. "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. Antiochus perceiving that his fine-woven policy was all unravelled, and that the two brothers, instead of wasting and ruining each other in war, had provided for their mutual safety and interest by making peace, (d) was so offended, that he prepared war much more eagerly and maliciously against both, than he had before against one of them. Early therefore in the spring he set forwards with his army, and passing through Cœle-Syria came into Egypt, and the inhabitants of Memphis and the other Egyptians, partly out of love, partly out of fear, submitting to him, he came by easy marches down to Alexandria. *But this expedition was not as successful as his former ones; the reason of which is assigned in the next words, the ships of Chittim coming against him.* In the fifth dissertation it was proved, that *the coast of Chittim, and the land of Chittim, is a general*

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(a) Et Græca et Romana narrat historia: postquam reversus est Antiochus expulsus ab Ægyptiis, venisse eum in Judæam, hoc est adversus Testamentum sanctum, et spoliasse templum, et auri tulisse quam plurimum: positoque in arce præfidia Macedonum, reversum in terram suam. Hieron. in locum. Col. 1129.

(b) Et post biennium rursus contra Ptolemæum exercitum congregesse, et venisse ad austrum. Hieron. ibid.

(c) Non erit priori simile novissimum. Vul.

(d) —adeo est offensus, ut multo acrius infensiusque adversus duos, quam ante adversus unum, pararet bellum:—ipse primo vere cum exercitu Ægyptum petens, in Cælen-Syriam processit—[receptus ab iis qui] ad Memphim incolebant, et ab cæteris Ægyptiis, partim voluntate, partim metu, ad Alexandriam modicis itineribus descendit. Liv. Lib. 45. Cap. 11, 12.

name for Greece, Italy, and the countries and islands in the Mediterranean. *The ships of Chittim* therefore are the ships which brought the Roman ambassadors, who came from Italy, touched at Greece, and arrived in Egypt, being sent by the senate at the supplication of the Ptolemies, to command a peace between the contending kings. The story was related out of the Greek and Roman historians in the last dissertation: it is needless therefore to repeat it here: it will be sufficient to add what (a) St. Jerome says upon the occasion. “When the two brothers Ptolemies, the sons of Cleopatra, were besieged by their uncle in Alexandria, the Roman ambassadors came: one of whom Marcus Popillius Lenas, when he had found him standing on the shore, and had delivered to him the decree of the senate, by which he was commanded to depart from the friends of the Roman people, and to be content with his own empire, and he would have deferred the matter to consult with his friends; Popillius is said to have made a circle in the sand with the stick that he held in his hand, and to have circumscribed the king, and to have said, the senate and people of Rome order, that in that place you answer, what is your intention. With these words being frightened he said, If this pleases the senate and people of Rome, we must depart; and so presently drew off his army.” The reason of the Romans acting in this imperious manner, and of Antiochus so readily obeying, was, as (b) Polybius suggests, the total conquests that Æmilius, the Roman consul, had just made of the kingdom of Macedonia. It was without doubt a great mortification to Antiochus, to be so humbled, and so disappointed of his expected prey. *Therefore he grieved and returned.* He led back his forces into Syria, as

(a) Quumque duo fratres Ptolemæi Cleopatæ filii, quorum avunculus erat, obsiderentur Alexandriæ, legatos venisse Romanos: quorum unus Marcus Popilius Lenas, quum eum stantem invenisset in littore, et senatus consultum dedisset, quo jubebatur ab amicis populi Romani recedere, et suo imperio esse contentus; et ille ad amicorum responsonem consilium distulisset; orbem dicitur fecisse in arenis baculo quem tenebat in manu, et circumscripsisse regem atque dixisse; Senatus et populus Romanus præcipiunt, ut in isto loco respondeas, quid consilii geras. Quibus dictis ille perterritus ait: Si hoc placet senatui et populo Romano, recedendum est, atque ita statim movit exercitum. Hieron. ibid.

(b) Nam hoc nisi accidisset, neque de ea re constitisset, nunquam, opinor, esset adductus Antiochus, ut imperata faceret. Polyb. Legat. 92. P. 917. Edit. Casaubon.

(a) Polybius says, grieved and groaning, but thinking it expedient to yield to the times for the present. *And had indignation against the holy covenant*: for (b) he vented all his anger upon the Jews: he detached Apollonius with an army of twenty-two thousand men, who coming to Jerufalem flew great multitudes, plundered the city, fet fire to it in feveral places, and pulled down the houfes and walls round about it. Then they builded, on an eminence in the city of David, a ftrong fortrefs, which might command the temple; and iffuing from thence, they fell on thofe who came to worfhip, and fhed innocent blood on every fide of the fanctuary, and defiled it: fo that the temple was deserted, and the whole fervice omitted: the city was forfaken of its natives, and became an habitation of ftrangers. *So he did*, and after his *return* to Antioch (c) he published a decree, which obliged all perfons upon pain of death, to conform to the religion of the Greeks: and fo the Jewish law was abrogated, the Heathen worfhip was fet up in its ftead, and the temple itfelf was confecrated to Jupiter Olympius. In the tranfacting and ordering of thefe matters he *had intelligence with them that forfook the holy covenant*, Menelaus and the other apoftate Jews of his party, who were the king's chief infligators againft their religion and their country. For (d) as the writer of the firft book of Maccabees fays, "In thofe
 " days went there out of Ifrael wicked men, who perfuaded
 " many, faying, Let us go, and make a covenant with the
 " Heathen, that are round about us: Then certain of the
 " people were fo forward herein, that they went to the king,
 " who gave them licence to do after the ordinances of the
 " Heathen: And they made themfelves uncircumcifed, and
 " forfook the holy covenant, and joined themfelves unto the
 " Heathen, and were fold to do mischief." Jofephus has plainly (e) afcribed the diftreff of his country to the factions among

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(a) Antiochus copias Agriam [Syriam] fuas, gravate illa quidem ac gemens, fed tamen abduxit, in prefentia tempore cedendum ratus. Polyb. *ibid.* P. 916.

(b) 1 Macc. i. 29—40. 2 Macc. v. 24, 25, 26.

(c) 1 Macc. i. 41—64. 2 Macc. vi. 1—9.

(d) 1 Macc. i. 11, 13, 15.

(e) Jofeph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 1. Cap. 1. Sect. 1. P. 953. Edit. Hudfon. Illi vero ad Antiochum fe receperunt, eique supplicarunt ut ipsis ducibus in Judæam irrumperet.

his countrymen, and to those persons particularly who fled to Antiochus, and besought him that under their conduct he would invade Judea.

It may be proper to stop here, and reflect a little how particular and circumstantial this prophecy is concerning the kingdoms of Egypt and Syria, from the death of Alexander to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. There is not so complete and regular a series of their kings, there is not so concise and comprehensive an account of their affairs to be found in any author of those times. The prophecy is really more perfect than any history. No one historian hath related so many circumstances, and in such exact order of time, as the prophet hath foretold them; so that it was necessary to have recourse to several authors, Greek and Roman, Jewish and Christian; and to collect here something from one, and to collect there something from another, for the better explaining and illustrating the great variety of particulars contained in this prophecy. We have been particularly obliged to Porphyry and Jerome, who made use of the same authors for different purposes, and enjoyed the advantages of having those histories entire, which have since, either in whole or in part, been destroyed. For (*a*) they had not only Polybius, Diodorus, Livy, Trogus Pompeius, and Justin, some parts of whose works are now remaining; but they had likewise Sutorius Callinicus, Hieronymus, Posidonius, Claudius Theon, and Andronicus Alipius, historians who wrote of those times, and whose works have since entirely perished. If these authors were still extant, and those who are extant were still complete, the great exactness of the prophecy might in all probability have been proved in more particulars than it hath been. The exactness was so convincing, that Porphyry could not pretend to deny it; he

Ad intelligendas autem extremas partes Danielis, multiplex Græcorum historia necessaria est; Sutorii videlicet, Callinci, Diodori, Hieronymi, Polybii, Posidonii, Claudii, Theonis, et Andronici cognomento Alipii, quos et Porphyry esse se fecutum dicit: Josephi quoque et eorum quos ponit Josephus, præcipueque nostri Livii, et Pompeii Trogi, atque Justin, qui omnem extremæ visionis narrat historiam. Hieron. Præf. in Dan. Col. 1074. Edit. Benedict. Sutorii videlicet Callinici, Diodori, Hieronymi, Polybii, Posidonii, Claudii Theonis, et Andronici cognomento Alipii. Ita eum locum emenda. In vulgatis est Sutorius, et ante Callinicus distinguitur, quasi a Sutorio sit divesus. Vossius de Hist. Græc. Lib. 2. Cap. 13.

rather laboured to confirm it, and drew this inference from it, that the prophecy was so very exact, that it could not possibly have been written before, but must have been written in, or soon after the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, all being true and exact to that time, and no farther. Others after him have asserted the same thing, not only without any proof, but contrary to all the proofs which can be had in cases of this nature, as it hath been shown in a former dissertation. The prophecy indeed is wonderfully exact to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, but it is equally so beyond that time, as you will evidently perceive in the sequel, which cannot all with any propriety be applied to Antiochus, but extends to remoter ages, and reaches even to the general resurrection. No one could thus declare “the times, and the seasons, Acts i. 7. but he who “hath them “in his power.

XVII.

The same subject continued.

PART II.

THUS far the meaning and completion of the prophecy is sufficiently clear and evident; there is more obscurity and difficulty in the part that remains to be considered. Thus far commentators are in the main agreed, and few or none have deviated much out of the common road: but hereafter they pursue so many different paths, that it is not always easy to know whom it is best and safest to follow. Some, (*a*) as Porphyry among the ancients, and Grotius among the moderns, contend that the whole was literally accomplished in Antiochus Epiphanes. Others, (*b*) Jerome, and most of the Christian Fathers, consider Antiochus as a type of Antichrist; as in the seventy-second psalm Solomon is exhibited as a type of Christ, and many things are said of the one, which are only applicable to the other. Some again understand what remains, partly of the tyranny of Antiochus, and partly of the great apostacy of the latter days, or the days of the Roman empire. Others again apply it wholly to the invasion and tyranny of the Romans, the subsequent corruptions in the church, and alterations in the empire. There is no writer or commentator, whom we would chuse to follow implicitly in all things; but in this we may agree with one, in that with another, and in some instances perhaps differ from all.

The prophet proceeds thus ver. 31. “And arms shall stand
“ on his part, and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength,”
the temple so called by reason of its fortifications, “and shall
“ take away the daily sacrifice, and they shall place the abomi-

(*a*) *Cætera quæ sequuntur usque ad finem voluminis, ille [Porphyrius] interpretatur super persona Antiochi qui cognominatus est Epiphanes, &c. Hieron. Col. 1127.*

(*b*) *Nostri autem hæc omnia de Antichristo prophetari arbitrantur—Quumque multa quæ postea lecturi et exposituri sumus, super Antiochi persona non convenient, typum eum volunt Antichristi habere—juxta illud quod de Domino Salvatore in septuagesimo primo [secundo apud Hebr. et Sept.] psalmo dicitur, qui prenotatus Salomonis; et omnia quæ de eo dicuntur, Salomoni non valent convenire, &c. Hieron. ibid.*

nation that maketh desolate." Porphyry and his adherents (*a*) would have those to be signified, who were sent by Antiochus two years after he had spoiled the temple, that they might exact tribute from the Jews, and take away the worship of God, and place in the temple of Jerusalem the image of Jupiter Olympius, and the statues of Antiochus, which are here called *the abomination of desolation*. And it is very true, (*b*) as the writer of the first book of Maccabees saith, that Apollonius and others commissioned by Antiochus, did "pollute the sanctuary, and forbid burnt-offerings, and sacrifice, and drink-offerings in the temple, and set up the abomination of desolation upon the altar, and builded idol-altars throughout the cities of Judea on every side." Josephus likewise (*c*) affirms, that Antiochus forbade the Jews to offer the daily sacrifices, which they offered to God according to the law. He compelled them also to leave off the service of their God, and to worship those whom he esteemed gods; and to build temples and erect altars to them in every city and village, and to sacrifice swine upon them every day. This interpretation therefore might very well be admitted, if the other parts were equally applicable to Antiochus; but the difficulty, or rather impossibility of applying them to Antiochus, or any of the Syrian kings his successors, obliges us to look out for another interpretation. Jerome and the Christians of his time, (*d*) contend, that all these things were a type of Antichrist, who is about to sit in the temple of God, and to make himself as God: but the fathers had very confused and imperfect notions of Antichrist, the prophecies relating to him having not then received their completion. All things duly considered, no in-

(*a*) Volunt autem eos significari qui ab Antiocho missi sunt post biennium quam templam expoliaverat, ut tributa exigerent a Judæis, et auferrent cultum Dei, et in templo Jerusalem, Jovis Olympii simulacrum, et Antiochi statuas ponerent; quas nunc abominationem desolationis vocat. Hieron. in locum. Col. 1129.

(*b*) 1 Macc. i. 45, 46, 54.

(*c*) Nam et sacrificia quotidiana, quæ offerre solebant ex lege, offerre eos vetuit. Coegit enim eos, Dei ipsorum cultu omisso, eos colere quos ipse Deos existimaret; et cum fana ipsorum oppidatim vicatimque extruxissent et aras collocassent, quotidie ibi immolare sues. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 5. Sect. 4. P. 533. Edit. Hudson.

(*d*) Quæ universa in typo Antichristi, nostri præcessisse contendunt; qui sessurus est in templo Dei, et se facturus ut Deum. Hieron. *ibid.*

terpretation of this passage appears so rational and convincing, as that proposed by Sir (a) Isaac Newton. "In the same year that Antiochus, by the command of the Romans, retired out of Egypt, and set up the worship of the Greeks in Judea; the Romans conquered the kingdom of Macedon, the fundamental kingdom of the empire of the Greeks, and reduced it into a Roman province; and thereby began to put an end to the reign of Daniel's third beast. This is thus expressed by Daniel: *And after him arms, that is, the Romans, shall stand up.* As the Hebrew text signifies, *after the king,* Dan. xi. 8.; so it may signify *after him.* *Arms* are every where in this prophecy of Daniel, put for the military power of a kingdom; and they stand up when they conquer and grow powerful. Hitherto Daniel described the actions of the kings of the *north* and *south*; but upon the conquest of Macedon by the Romans, he left off describing the actions of the Greeks, and began to describe those of the Romans in Greece. They conquered Macedon, Illyricum and Epirus, in the year of Nabonassar five hundred and eighty; thirty-five years after, by the last will and testament of Attalus, the last king of Pergamus, they inherited that rich and flourishing kingdom, that is, all Asia westward of mount Taurus; sixty-nine years after they conquered the kingdom of Syria, and reduced it into a province; and thirty-four years after they did the like to Egypt. By all these steps the Roman arms stood up over the Greeks: and after ninety-five years more, by making war upon the Jews, *they polluted the sanctuary of strength, and took away the daily sacrifice, and then placed the abomination of desolation.* For this abomination was placed after the days of Christ, Matt. xxiv. 15. in the sixteenth year of the emperor Adrian, A. C. one hundred and thirty-two, they placed this abomination by building a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus where the temple of God in Jerusalem had stood. Thereupon the Jews, under the conduct of Barchochab, rose up in arms against the Romans, and in the war had fifty cities demolished, nine hundred and eighty-five of their best towns destroyed, and five hundred and eighty thousand men slain by the sword; and in the end of the war, A. C. one hundred and thirty-six, were banished Judea upon pain of death, and thenceforward the land remained desolate

(a) Sir Is. Newton's Observ. on Daniel, Chap. 12. P. 188, &c. See also Chap. 9. P. 125, &c.

“ of its old inhabitants.” In support of this interpretation it may be farther added, that the Jews themselves, as (a) Jerome informs us, “ understood this passage neither of Antiochus Epiphanes, nor of Antichrist, but of the Romans, of whom “ it was said above, that *the ships of Chittim shall come, and be “ shall be grieved.* After some time, says the prophet, out of “ the Romans themselves, who came to assist Ptolemy, and “ menaced Antiochus, there shall arise the emperor Vespasian, “ there shall arise his arms and seed, his son Titus, with an “ army; and they shall pollute the sanctuary, and take away “ the daily sacrifice, and deliver the temple to eternal desola- “ tion.” Mr. Mede too assigns (b) the same reason for the prophet’s passing from Antiochus Epiphanes to the Romans. “ We must know, says he, that after the death of Antiochus “ Epiphanes, the third kingdom comes no more in the holy

(a) *Judæi autem hoc nec de Antiocho Epiphane, nec de Antichristo, sed de Romanis intelligi volunt, de quibus supra dictum est, Et venient trieres, sive Itali atque Romani, et humiliabitur. Post multa, inquit, tempora de ipsis Romanis, qui Ptolemæo venire auxilio, et Antiocho comminati sunt, consurget rex Vespasianus, furgent brachia ejus et semina, Titus filius cum exercitu; et polluent sanctuarium, auferentique jude sacrificium, et templum tradent æternæ solitudini. Hieron. ibid.*

(b) *Medes Works, B. 4. Epist. 41. P. 797, See too B. 3. P. 667, 672. Lucius Florus, Lib. 2. Cap. 7. Cedente Hannibale, Præmium victoriæ Africa fuit, et secutus Africam terrarum orbis. Post Carthaginem vinci neminem puduit; secutæ sunt statim Africam Gentes, Macedonia, Græcia Syria, cæteraque omnia, quodam quasi æstu et torrente fortunæ; sed primi omnium Macedones, affectator quondam imperii populus. Hannibal being worsted, Africa became the reward of the victory, and after Africa the whole world also. None thought it a thame to be overcome, after Carthage was. Macedonia, Greece, Syria, and all other nations, as if carried with a certain current and torrent of fortune, did soon follow Africa: But the first who followed were the Macedonians, a people that sometimes affected the empire of the world. In Velleius Paterculus, Lib. 1. Cap. 6. is an annotation out of one Æmilius Sura in these words: Assyrii principes omnium gentium rerum potiti sunt, deinde Medi, postea Persæ deinde Macedones; exinde duobus regibus, Philippo et Antiocho, quia Macedonibus, oriundi erant, haud multo post Carthaginem subactam, devicis, summa imperii ad populum Romanum pervenit. The Assyrians had the sovereign dominion the first of all nations, then the Medes and Persians; after them the Macedonians; afterwards those two kings, Philip and Antiochus, being overcome, and that a little after that Carthage was subdued, the imperial power came to the Romans.*

“reckoning, none of the Greek kings after him being at all
 “prophecied of; yea Daniel himself calling the time of Antio-
 “chus his reign *the latter end of the Greek kingdom*, viii. 23.
 “The reason of this is, because, during the reign of Antiochus,
 “Macedonia (whence that kingdom sprung) with all the rest
 “of Greece, came under the Roman obedience. From thence
 “therefore the Holy Ghost begins the rise of the fourth king-
 “dom, yea the Roman historians themselves mark out that
 “time for the rise of their empire.” And for this purpose he
 alledges two quotations from Lucius Florus and Velleius Pa-
 terculus. Our Saviour himself making use of this same phrase
the abomination of desolation, in his prediction of the destruction
 of Jerusalem, may convince us that this part of the prophecy
 refers to that event.

What follows can be but in part applied to the times of
 Antiochus Epiphanes. “And such as do wickedly against
 “the covenant, shall be 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 by spoil many days,” ver. 32, 33. If it may
 be said of Antiochus, that he *corrupted many by flatteries*, by
 rewards and promises, to forsake the holy covenant, and to
 conform to the religion of the Greeks; *but the people who
 knew their God*, the Maccabees and their associates, *were strong,
 and did exploits*: Yet it cannot so properly be said of the
 Maccabees, or any of the devout Jews of their time, that they
 did *instruct many*, and make many proselytes to their religion;
 neither did the persecution, which Antiochus raised against the
 Jews, continue *many days*, or years according to the prophetic
 stile, for it lasted only a few years. All these things are much
 more truly applicable to the Christian Jews: for now the daily
 sacrifice was taken away, the temple was given to desolation,
 and the Christian Church had succeeded in the place of the
 Jewish, the new covenant in the room of the old. *And such
 as do wickedly against the covenant, shall be corrupt by flatteries*;
He, that is, the power before described, who *took away the daily
 sacrifice, and placed the abomination of desolation*: nor is such
 a change of number unfrequent in the Hebrew language.
 “There are some, saith an (a) old commentator, who think

(a) Sunt qui putent hic prophetam aspicere ad Christianos, quos
 impii idolatrae conati fuerent ab initio nascentis ecclesiae seducere

“ that the prophet here had respect to the Christians, whom
 “ the wicked idolaters endeavoured from the beginning of the
 “ rising church to seduce by flatteries; but the persecution of
 “ tyrants raged chiefly against the apostles and holy teachers.”
 The Roman Magistrates and officers, it is very well known,
 made use of the most alluring promises, as well as the most
 terrible threatenings, to prevail upon the primitive Christians to
 renounce their religion, and offer incense to the statues of the
 emperors and images of the gods. Many were induced to
 comply with the temptation, and apostatized from the faith, as
 we learn particularly from the famous (a) epistle of Pliny to
 Trajan: but the true Christians, *the people who knew their God*
were strong, remained firm to their religion, and gave the most
 illustrious proofs of the most heroic patience and fortitude.
 It may too with the strictest truth and propriety be said of the
 primitive Christians, that being dispersed every where, and
 preaching the gospel in all the parts of the Roman empire,
 they *instructed many*, and gained a great number of profelytes
 to their religion: *yet they fell by the sword, and by flame. by*
captivity, and by spoil many days; for they were exposed to the
 malice and fury of ten general persecutions, and suffered all
 manner of injuries, afflictions, and tortures, with little inter-
 mission, for the space of three hundred years.

After these violent persecutions, the church obtained some
 rest and relaxation. “ Now when they shall fall, they shall be
 “ holpen with a little help; but many shall cleave to them
 “ with flatteries. And some of them of understanding shall
 “ fall, to try them, and to purge, and to make them white,
 “ even to the time of the end; because it is yet for a time
 “ appointed,” ver. 34, 35. Here Porphyry hath many fol-
 lowers, besides Grotius: and he (b) supposeth, that by *the little*
help, was meant Mattathias of Modin, who rebelled against the
 generals of Antiochus, and endeavoured to preserve the worship
 of the true God. It is called *a little help*, saith he, because

blanditiis. Potissime autem seviit tytannorem persecutio in apos-
 tolos et sanctos doctores. Clarius in locum.

(a) Plinii Epist. Lib. 10. Epist. 97.

(b) Parvulum auxilium, Matuabiam signincari arbitratur Porphy-
 rius de vico Modin; qui adverium duces Antiochi rebellavit, et
 cultum veri Dei servare conatus est. Parvum autem. inquit, auxili-
 um vocat quia occisus est in prelio Mattathias; et postea Judas fi-
 lius ejus, qui vocabitur Maccabeus, pugnans cecidit; et ceteri
 fraires ejus adversariorum fraude decepti sunt. Hieron. Col. 1130.

Mattathias was slain in battle; and afterwards his son Judas, who was called Maccabeus, fell in fight; and his other brethren were deceived by the fraud of their adversaries. But this is not an exact or just representation of the case. Mattathias (*a*) was not slain in battle, but died of old age. His son Judas Maccabeus several times vanquished the generals of Antiochus, recovered the holy city, cleansed the sanctuary, restored the public worship of God, and not only survived Antiochus some years, but also received the good news of the dethroning and murdering of his son. His brother Jonathan was made high priest, and his brother Simon sovereign prince of the Jews; and both these dignities, the high-priesthood and the sovereignty, descended to Simon's son, and continued united in the family for several generations. That therefore could not be deemed *a little help*, which prevailed and triumphed over all the power and malice of the enemy, and established the Jewish religion and government upon a firmer basis than before; so far were they from falling again into a state of persecution, as the next verse intimates that they should. It may be concluded then, that Porphyry was mistaken in the sense of this passage. The Jewish doctors seem to have come nearer the mark, for some of them, as Jerome (*b*) affirms, understood these things of the emperors Severus and Antoninus, who much loved the Jews; and others, of the emperor Julian, who pretended to love the Jews, and promised to sacrifice in their temple. But the most natural way in interpretation is to follow the course and series of events. The church had now laboured under long and severe persecutions from the civil power. They *had fallen by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil many days*. The tenth and last general persecution was begun (*c*) by Diocletian: it raged, though not at all times equally, ten years; and was suppressed entirely by Constantine, the first Roman emperor, as it is universally known, who made open profession of Christianity; and then the church was no

(*a*) For these particulars the two books of Maccabees, Josephus, Usher, Prideaux, &c. must be consulted.

(*b*) Hebræorum quidam hæc de Severo et Antonio principibus intelligunt, qui Judæos plurimum delegerunt. Alii vero de ultiano imperatore:—Judæos amare se simulans, et in temply eorum immolaturum se esse promittens. Hieron. *ibid.*

(*c*) Eusebii Eccles. Hist. Lib. 8. Cap. 2 et 15, &c. Lectant. de Mort. Persecut. Cap. 12 et 48. Sic ab everfa ecclesia usque ad restitutam seferunt anni decem, &c.

longer persecuted, but was protected and favoured by the civil power. But still this is called only *a little help*; because, though it added much to the temporal prosperity, yet it contributed little to the spiritual graces and virtues of Christians. It enlarged their revenues, and increased their endowments; but proved the fatal means of corrupting the doctrine, and relaxing the discipline of the church. It was attended with this peculiar disadvantage, that *many cleave to them with flatteries*. Many became Christians for the sake of the loaves and the fishes, and pretended to be of the religion, only because it was the religion of the emperor. Eusebius, who was a contemporary writer, (*a*) reckons that one of the reigning vices of the time was the dissimulation and hypocrisy of men fraudently entering into the church, and borrowing the name of Christians, without the reality. Julian himself, as a (*b*) heathen historian relates, that he might allure the Christians to favour him, publicly professed the faith, from which he had long ago privately revolted; and even went to church, and joined with them in the most solemn offices of religion. He did more; his dissimulation carried him so far as to (*c*) become an ecclesiastic in lower orders, or a *reader* in the church. Moreover, this is also called *a little help*, 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 the fury of their Heathen adversaries, than they began to quarrel among themselves, and to persecute one another. The (Consubstantialists, even in the time of Constantine, led the way, by excommunicating and banishing the Arians. The latter, under the favour of Constantius and Valens, more than retorted the injury, and were guilty of many horrible outrages and cruelties towards the former.

(*a*) Et fraudulentam simulationem eorum qui callide in ecclesiam irripebant, et Christianorum nomen falso ac specie tenus præferabant. Euseb. de vita Conit. Lib. 4. Cap. 54.

(*b*) Utque omnes, nullo impediante, ad sui favorem illiceret, ad hæerere cultui Christiano sorgebat, a quo jam pridem occulte desciverat—Et—progressus in eorum ecclesiam, sollempniter numine orato discesset. Ammian. Marcell. Lib. 21. Cap. 2. P. 266. Edit. Valesii. Paris. 1681.

(*c*) Theodoret Eccles. Hist. Lib. 3. Cap. 1. In lectorum numerum ad scriptus est, et sacros libros in ecclesiasticis conventibus populo recitavit.

(*d*) See Socrates, Sozomen, &c. and Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History. Vol. III. P. 104, 105.

Such, more or less, have been the fate and condition of the church ever since; and generally speaking, *those of understanding have fallen* a sacrifice to others, some of the best and wisest men to some of the worst and most ignorant. At least, if the persecuted have not been always in the right, yet the persecutors have been always in the wrong. These calamities were to befall the Christians, *to try them; and to purge, and to make them white*, not only at that time, but *even to the time of the end, because it is yet for a time appointed*. And we see even at this day, not to alludge other instances, how the poor Protestants are persecuted, plundered and murdered, in the southern parts of France.

The principal source of these persecutions is traced out in the following verses. "And the king," who shall cause these persecutions, "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," ver. 36. From this place, as (a) Jerome asserts, the Jews as well as the Christians of his time understood all to be spoken of Antichrist. But Porphyry and others who follow him; suppose it to be spoken of Antiochus Epiphanes, that he should be exalted against the worship of God, and grow to that height of pride, that he should command his statue to be placed in the temple at Jerusalem. But if it might be said of Antiochus, that he *spoke marvellous things against the God of Israel*; yet it could not be so well affirmed of him, that he *magnified and exalted him above every god*; when (b) in his public sacrifices and worship of the gods he was more sumptuous and magnificent than all who reigned before him; and when in his solemn shows and processions were carried the images of all who among men were called or

(a) Ab hoc loco, Judæi deci de Antichristo putant—Quod quidem et nos de Antichristo intelligimus. Porphyrius autem et cæteri qui sequuntur eum, de Antiocho Epiphane dici arbitrantur, quod erectus sit contra cultum Dei, et in tantam superbiam venerit, ut in templo Jerosolymis simulacrum suum poni jufferit. Hieron. Col. 1131.

(b) Omnes quotquot regnarunt, sacrorum magnificentia, quæ illius sumptu in claris urbibus fiebant, cultuque ac veneratione deorum exuperasse. Omnium enim quotquot apud homines vel creduntur vel dicuntur esse dii, aut demones, atque adeo heroum simulacra gestabantur. Polyb. apud Athen. Lib. 5. P. 194, 195. Edit. Casaubon.

reputed gods, or dæmons, and even heroes; as Athenæus reports out of Polybius. He was certainly very superstitious, though sometimes his extravagancies and necessities might induce him to commit sacrilege. It is a strong argument in favour of the Jewish and Christian interpretation, that St. Paul appears to have understood this passage much in the same manner, because he applies the same expressions, 2 Thess. ii. 3, 4. to “the man of sin, 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.” The thread of the prophecy will also conduct us to the same conclusion. For the prophet was speaking of the persecutions which should 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. *A king, or kingdom*, as we have shown before, and it appears in several instances, signifies any government, state, or potentate: and the meaning of this verse we conceive to be, that after the empire was become Christian, there should spring up in the church an antichristian power, that should act in the most absolute and arbitrary manner, exalt itself above all laws divine and human, dispense with the most solemn and sacred obligations, and in many respects injoin what God had forbidden, and forbid what God had commanded. This power began in the Roman emperors, who summoned councils, and directed and influenced their determinations almost as they pleased. After the division of the empire, this power still increased, and was exerted principally by the Greek emperors in the east, and by the bishops of Rome in the west; as we shall see in the several particulars hereafter specified by the prophet. This power too was to continue in the church, and *prosper till the indignation be accomplished; for that that is determined, shall be done.* This must denote some particular period; or otherwise it is no more than saying, that God’s indignation shall not be accomplished till it be accomplished. This is the same as what before was called, viii. 19. “the last end of the indignation,” and ix. 27. “the consummation:” and it meaneth the last end and consummation of God’s indignation against his people the Jews. This seemeth to be expressed plainer in the following chapter, ver. 7. “And when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall

“ be finished.” So long this antichristian power should continue. We see it still subsisting in the church of Rome: and it was an ancient tradition among the Jewish doctors, that the destruction of Rome and the restoration of the Jews should fall out about the same period. It is a saying of the famous rabbi David Kimchi, in his comment upon Obadiah, (*a*) when Rome shall be laid waste, there shall be redemption for Israel. The curious reader may see more authorities cited by Mr. Mede, in a small Latin tractate upon this subject.

In this prophecy the antichristian power is described as exerted principally in the eastern empire, as it was before described as exerted in the western empire, under the figure of *the little horn* of the fourth beast. “ 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,” ver. 37. That he should *not regard the God of his fathers*, could not be truly affirmed by Antiochus, (*b*) who compelled all, and especially the Jews and Samaritans, to conform their worship to the religion of the Greeks: and what were the idols that were set up among them, but the Grecian deities, as Jupiter Olympius in the temple of Jerusalem, and Jupiter Xineus, or the defender of strangers, in the temple of the Samaritans? This therefore, as Jerome rightly observes, agrees better with Antichrist than with Antiochus. By *not regarding the God of his fathers*, Mr. Mede (*c*) understands the Roman states cashiering and casting off the Pagan deities and Heathen gods which were worshipped in their empire. But the conversion of the Roman state was hinted before, ver. 34. and other events have been pointed out since; so that it would be breaking in upon the series and order of the prophecy, to resume that subject again. The character too here given, doth not seem, in any part of it, to be designed by way of commendation. It is not mentioned to the honour, but to the reproach of the power here described, that he should forsake the religion of his ancestors, and in a

(*a*) Cum devastabitur Roma, erit Israeli redemptio. See Mede's Works, B. 5. Cap. 7. Placita doctorum Hebræorum de Babylonis seu Romæ excidio. P. 902.

(*b*) 1 Macc. i. 41—64. 2 Macc. vi. 1, &c. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 5. Sect. 3. P. 533. Edit. Hudson. Hoc magis Antichristo quam Antiocho convenit. Legimus enim Antiochum idolorum Græciæ habuisse cultum, et Judæos atque Samaritas ad venerationem seuorum deorum compulsisse. Hieron. *ibid.*

(*c*) Mede's Works, B. 3. P. 668.

manner set up a new religion. It was not the prophet's intention to praise him for renouncing the idolatry of his Heathen fathers, but to blame him for apostatizing in some measure from the religion of his Christian fathers; as he did actually do in the Greek and Latin church, by worshipping *Mabuz*. instead of the true God himself forever.

Another property of the power here described is, that he should *not regard the desire of women*: And neither could this with any truth be declared of Antiochus, who besides having a wife, (a) was lewd and vicious to such a degree, that he had no regard to common decency, but would prostitute his royal dignity, and gratify and indulge his lusts publicly in the presence of the people. He had a favourite concubine, whom he called after his own name Antiochus. To her he assigned two cities in Cilicia, Tarsus and Mallus for her maintenance: and the inhabitants, rather than they would submit to such an indignity, rebelled against him. As Jerome says, (b) the interpretation is easier of Antichrist, that he should therefore counterfeit chastity, that he might deceive many. In the Vulgar Latin it is indeed (c) *And he shall regard the desire of women*: but this reading is plainly contrary to the original, and to most other versions; unless with Grotius we understand the copulative *and*, when it follows a negative, as becoming a negative too, and signifying *neither*. Grotius explains it of Antiochus, (d) that he should not spare even women: but the words in the original will not by any fair construction admit of this interpretation. The word in the original for *women* (e) signifieth properly *wives*, as *desire*, doth *conjugal affection*.

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A a

(a) —luxuriosissimus fuisse dicitur, et in tantum dedecus per stupra et corruptelas venisse regie dignitatis; ut mimis quoque et scortis publice jungeretur, et libidinem suam populo præsentem completeret. Hieron. *ibid.* Vidæ etiam Theodoret. in locum. P. 689. 2 Macc. iv. 30.

(b) de Antichristo facilior interpretatio est; quod ideo simulet castitatem, ut plurimos decipiat. Hieron. *ibid.*

(c) Et erit in concupiscentiis sæminarum. Vulg.

(d) Apud Hebræos negativam sequens negat, et valet nec, ut sensus sit, neque, deciderium mulierum, id est, neque sæminas, quanquam amabiles, curabit quicquam, nulla sexus illius tangetur misericordia. Grot. in locum.

(e) See Mede's Works, B. 3. P. 658. And it might have been translated in this place desire of wives, as well as desire of women; for there is no other word used in the original for wives above once or twice in the whole scripture, but the Greek which

The meaning therefore of *not regarding the desire of women* is neglecting and discourging marriage; as both the Greeks and Latins did to the great detriment of human society, and to the great discredit of the christian religion. The Julian and Papian laws which were enacted in the most flourishing times of the Romans for the favour and encouragement of those who were married, and had children, (a) Constantine himself repealed, and allowed equal or greater privileges and immunities to those who were unmarried and had no children. Nay he (b) held in the highest veneration those men, who had devoted themselves to the divine philosophy, that is to a monastic life; and almost adored the most holy company of perpetual virgins, being convinced that the God, to whom they had consecrated themselves, did dwell in their minds. His example was followed by his successors: and the married clergy were discountenanced and depressed; the monks were honoured and advanced; and in the fourth century like a torrent overran the eastern church, and soon after the western too. This was *evidently not regarding the desire of wives*, or conjugal affection. At first only second marriages were prohibited, but in time the clergy were absolutely restrained from marrying at all. So much did the power here described *magnify himself above all*, even God himself, by contradicting the primary law of God and nature; and making that dishonourable, which the scripture, Heb. xiii. 4. hath pronounced *honourable in all*.

More proofs are alledged in the next verse, of his apostatizing from the true religion of his ancestors. "But in his estate shall he

is here termed women. With the like use of the word desire, the spouse in the Canticles vii. 10. expresseth her well beloved to be her husband; I am my beloved's and his desire is towards me; that is, he is my husband; for so twice before she expressed herself, ii. 16. My beloved is mine, and I am his; and vi. 3. I am my beloved's, and my beloved is mine. So Ezek. xxiv. 16. the Lord threatening to take away Ezekiel's wife, saith, Behold, I take away from thee the desire of thine eyes; and afterwards ver. 18. it followeth, And at even my wife died. Yea, the Roman language itself is not unacquainted with this speech. Cicero ad uxorem, En mea lux, meum deciderium.

(a) Euseb. de Vit. Constantini Lib. 4. Cap. 26. Sozoman, Lib. 1. Cap. 9. Jortin's Remarks on Eccles. Hist. Vol. III. P. 231.

(b) Præ cæteris vero eos maxime honorabat, qui se totos divinæ philosophiæ addixissent. Ipsum quidem sanctissimum perpetuarum Dei virginum cætum tactum non venerabatur, cum ipsum cui se consecraverant Deum, in earum mentibus habitare, pro certo haberet. Euseb. ibid. Cap. 28.

“honor the God of forces,” or Mahuzzim; “and a God whom his fathers knew not, shall he honor with gold and silver, and with precious stones, and pleasant things,” ver. 38. How can this with any propriety, or with any degree of sense, be applied to Antiochus? The God Mahuzzim, as (a) Jerome remarks, Porphyry hath ridiculouſly interpreted the God of Modin, the town from whence came Mattathias and his ſons, and where the generals of Antiochus compelled the Jews to ſacrifice to Jupiter, that is, to the God of Modin, *the God whom his fathers knew not*, Grotius alſo (b) ſays, was Baal Semen, who was the ſame as Jupiter Olympius: but if ſo, how was he unknown to the Macedonians? It is neceſſary therefore to conclude with Jerome that (c) this likewiſe agrees better with Antichriſt than with Antiochus. The word *Mahuzzim* was taken perſonally, and is retained (d) in ſeveral translations. It is derived from (e) a radical verb ſignifying *he was ſtrong*; and the proper meaning of it is *munitions, bulwarks, ſtreſſes*: but the Hebrews often uſing abſtracts for concretes, it ſignifies equally *protectors, defenders, and guardians*, as Mr. Mede (f) hath ſhown in ſeveral inſtances. This being the derivation and ſignification of the word, the verſe may literally be tranſlated thus, *And the God Mahuzzim in his eſtate ſhall he honour; even a god whom his fathers knew not ſhall he honour with gold and ſilver, and with precious ſtones, and deſirable things*. There are examples of the ſame conſtruction in other parts of ſcripture, as particularly in Pf. lxxxvi. 9. “They ſhall glorify thy name;” where (g) in the original the verb and particle prefixed to the noun are the ſame as in

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(a) Deum Maozim ridicule Porphyrius interpretatus eſt, ut diceret in vico Modin, unde fuit Mattathias et filii ejus, Antiochi duces Jovis poſuiſſe ſtatuum, et compuliſſe Judæos, ut ei victimas immolarent, id eſt, Deo Modin. Hieron. *ibid*.

(b) Is Deus eſt ſummus Phœnicum Deus Baal Semen. quem Græci appellant Jovem Olympium, quaſi tranſlato nomine. Grot. in locum.

(c) Hoc magis Antichriſto quam Antiocho convenit. Hieron. *ib*.

(d) Sept. Deum autem Maozim in loco ſuo venerabitur. Vulg. Lat.

(e) Robur, Item, Arax, Munitio, a Roboravit, Roberavit ſe, Roboratus fuit. Buxtorf.

(f) Mede’s Works, B. 3. P. 669, 670. Wherefore the Septuagint five times in the Pſalms render the word Mahoz, and the Vulgar Latin as often protector. The places are theſe; Pſal. xxvii. 1. xxviii. 8. xxxi. 3. 5 xxxvii. 39.

(g) Glorificabunt omen tuum.

this passage. But if it be thought requisite to separate *God* and *Mabuzzim*, and to express the force of the particle, then the verse may be translated thus, *And with God, or instead of God, Mabuzzim in his estate shall be honour; even with God, or instead of God (a) those whom his fathers knew not shall be honour with gold and silver, and with precious stones, and desirable things.* However it be translated, the meaning evidently is, that he should establish the worship of *Mabuzzim*, of *protectors*, *defenders*, and *guardians*. He should worship them as God, or with God: and who is there so well acquainted with ecclesiastical history, as not to know that the worship of *saints* and *angels* was established both in the Greek and Latin church? They were not only invoked and adored as patrons, intercessors, and guardians of mankind, but festival days were instituted to them; miracles were ascribed to them; churches were erected to them; their very relics were worshipped; and their shrines and images were adorned with the most costly offerings, and *honoured with gold and silver, and with precious stones, and desirable things.*

And what renders the completion of the prophecy still more remarkable is, that they were celebrated and adored under the title of *Mabuzzim*, of *bulwarks* and *fortresses*, of *protectors* and *guardians* of Mankind. Mr. Mede and Sir Isaac Newton (*b*) have proved this point by a great variety of authorities cited from the fathers and other ancient writers. It may be proper to recite some of the principal. Basil, a monk, who was made bishop of Cæsaria in the year three hundred and sixty-nine, and died in the year three hundred and seventy-eight, concludes his oration upon the martyr Mamas with praying, “that (*c*) “ God would preserve the church of Cæsaria unshaken, being “ guarded with the great towers of the martyrs.” In his oration upon the forty martyrs, whose relics were dispersed in all places thereabouts; “These are they, (*d*) faith he, who having

(*a*) The Greek often signifies *ille qui, illi qui*, as in Numb. xxii. 6. Ruth ii. 2. Gen. vii. 23. Josh. xvii. 16. 1 Sam. xxx. 27, 28, 29, 30, 31.

(*b*) Mede's Works, B. 3. P. 673, 674. Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on Daniel, Chap. 14.

(*c*) *Ecclesiam hanc quæ magnis martyrum turibus munitur, custodiat inconcussam.* Basil. Op. Vol. II. P. 189. Edit. Benedict.

(*d*) *Hi sunt qui regionem nostram obtinentes, veluti desæ quædam turres ipsam adversus hostium incursum tuto communiunt.* ibid. P. 155. *O communes generis humani custodes, boni curarum focii, precum fautores, legati potentissimi, &c.* P. 156.

“ taken possession of our country, as certain conjoined towers,
 “ secure it from the incursions of our enemies;” and he farther
 invokes them, “ O Ye common keepers of mankind, good compa-
 “ nions of our cares, coadjutors of our prayers, most powerful
 “ ambassadors to God,” &c. Chrysofome, in his thirty-second
 homily upon the epistle to the Romans, speaking of the relics
 of Peter and Paul, “ This corpse, (a) saith he, meaning of Paul,
 “ fortifies that city of Rome more strongly than ten towers, or
 “ than ten thousand rampires, as also doth the corpse of Peter.”
 Are not these strong *Mabuzzim*? In his homily likewise upon
 the Ægyptian martyrs, he speaketh (b) after this manner;
 “ The bodies of these saints fortify our city more strongly than
 “ any impregnable wall of adamant: and as certain high rocks
 “ prominent on every side, not only repel the assaults of these
 “ enemies who fall under the senses and are seen by the eyes,
 “ but also subvert and dissipate the snares of invisible demons,
 “ and all the stratagems of the devil.” Hilary also will tell us,
 that neither the *guards* of saints, nor [angelorum munitiones]
 the *bulwarks* of Angels are wanting to those who are willing
 to stand. Here *angels* are *Mabuzzim*, as *saints* were before.
 The Greeks at this day, in their *Preces Horariæ*, thus invoke
 the blessed virgin, “ O thou virgin mother of God,
 “ thou impregnable wall, thou *fortress* of salvation, we call up-
 “ on thee, that thou wouldst frustrate the purposes of our ene-
 “ mies, and be a *fence* to this city:” thus they go on, calling
 her *The Hope, Safeguard, and Sanctuary of Christians*.
 Gregory Nyssen in his third oration upon the forty martyrs
 calleth them *guarders and protectors*: Eucherius his St. Ger-
 vase the perpetual [propugnator] *protector of the faithful*.
 Theodoret (c) calleth the holy martyrs *guardians of cities*,

(a) Hoc corpus urbem illam quasi mœniis cingit, quod omni
 turre et vallis innumeris tutius est: et cum hoc etiam Petri cor-
 pus. Chrysof. Op. Vol. IX. P. 759. Edit. Benedict.

(b) Sanctorum enim horum corpora quovis adamantino et in-
 expugnabili muri tutius nobis urbem muniunt; et tamquam excelsi
 quidam scopuli undique prominentes, non horum, qui sub sensus
 cadunt, et oculis cernuntur, hostium impetus propulsant tantum,
 sed etiam invisibilium dæmonum insidias omnesque diaboli fraudes
 subvertunt, ac dissipant. Ibid. Vol. II. P. 699.

(c) Veneranturque tanquam urbium præfides atque custodes.
 Hi sunt vere hominum duces, et propugnatores, et auxiliares,
 malorumque depulsores, damna, quæ a dæmonibus intliguntur,
 procul arcentes. Theod. Op. Vol. IV. de Græcarum affectionum
 Curatione. Serm. 8. P. 593, 594, 600. Edit. Paris. 1642.

Lieutenants of places, Captains of men, Princes, Champions and Guardians, by whom disasters are turned from us, and those which come from devils debarred and driven away. By these and other authorities it appears, not only that *Mabuzzim* were worshipped, but they were worshipped likewise as *Mabuzzim*. This superstition began to prevail in the fourth century; and in the eighth century, in the year seven hundred and eighty seven, the worship of images and the like was fully established by the seventh general council, and the second which was held at Nice: such different fortune attended that city, that there the first general council established orthodoxy, and there also the seventh established idolatry by law.

Other instances of his regard to *Mabuzzim* are produced in the next verse. “ 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. 39. Porphyry (*a*) explains this of Antiochus fortifying the city of Jerusalem, and placing garrisons in the other cities, and persuading the people to worship Jupiter; and then giving much honour and glory to those whom he had so persuaded, and causing them to rule over the other Jews, and dividing possessions and distributing rewards to them for their prevarication. But if all the rest could be accommodated to Antiochus, how could Jupiter, whom he had always worshipped, be called a *strange god whom he should acknowledge*? The worship of *Mabuzzim* was indeed the worship of a strange god both to those who imposed it, and to those who received it in the Christian church. But for the better understanding of this part of the prophecy, it may be proper to propose a more literal translation of it. *Thus shall he do; to the defenders of Mabuzzim, together with the strange god whom he shall acknowledge, he shall multiply honor; and he shall cause them to rule over many, and the earth he shall divide for a reward.* Mr. Mede’s (*b*) translation is somewhat different: but I conceive it is neither so literal, nor so just to the original.

(*a*) Quod Porphyrius ita edisserit: faciet hæc omnia, ut muniat arcem Jerusalem, et in cæteris urbibus ponat præcidia, et Judæos doceat adorare Deum alienum: haud dubium quin Jovem significet. Quem quum illis ostenderit, et adorandum esse persuaserit: tunc dabit deceptis honorem, et gloriam plurimam: et faciet cæteris qui in Judæa fuerint dominari, et proprævaricatione possessiones dividet, et dona distribuet. Hieron. Col. 1131.

(*b*) Mede’s Works, B. 3. P. 667.

And he shall make the holds of the Mahuzzim withal, or jointly to the foreign god, whom acknowledging, he shall increase with honour; and shall cause them to rule over many, and shall distribute the earth for a reward.

Let us examine and compare the translations together. In our bible-translation it is, *Thus shall he do in the most strong holds, or as we read in the margin, in the fortresses of munitions, with a strange god: but here Mahuzzim is not taken personally, as it was in the foregoing verse. Mr. Mede translates it thus, And he shall make the holds of the Mahuzzim withal, or jointly, to the foreign god: but then he does not express the force of the particle prefixed to holds in the Hebrew, which ought not to be neglected. Whom he shall acknowledge and increase with glory, says our bible-translation: but there is no conjunction like and before increase, and no preposition like with before glory in the original. Mr. Mede hath avoided the former objection, by changing the verb into a participle, Whom acknowledging he shall increase with honour; but the latter objection remains still in its full strength. The latter part is much the same in all translations: but in our bible-translation there is nothing to which them can be referred, And he shall cause them to rule over many; for it cannot well be said, that he shall cause the strong holds to rule over many. Let us now consider, how these inconveniences may be wholly avoided by a new translation. Thus (a) shall he do; so the same words are translated, ver. 30; but then here a stop is to be made. To (b) the defenders of Mahuzzim, or to the priests of Mahuzzim: Here the force of the particle is expressed; here again the abstract is used for the concrete as in the foregoing verse, holds or fortresses for defenders and supporters, or priests, as it may be translated; and this notion of the word I find (c) approved and confirmed by father Houbigant. It is manifest, that persons must be meant, because they are said afterwards to rule over many. Together (d) with the strange god whom he shall acknowledge: This is the most useful signification of the preposition; and if Mahuzzim be not considered as the strange god, it is difficult*

(a) Sic faciet.

(b) Propubnatoribus Mahuzzimorum.

(c) Custodibus Maozim, ex significato Arabico, videre, esse intelligentem, ut significentur sacerdotes, qui dei istius cultum callebant, atque in eo populum instituebant. Liquet ex verbo dominos faciet eos, notai in vocabulo personas, non munitiones. Houbigant in locum.

(d) Una cum deo alieno quem agnosceret.

to say who *the strange god is*. He (a) shall multiply honour : Here is no conjunction, nor preposition inserted without authority from the original. He shall multiply honour : the noun is the same as the verb in the verse preceding, *he shall honour*. He shall multiply honour to the defenders and champions of Mahuzzim, as well as to Mahuzzim themselves. Deifying Mahuzzim, he shall also glorify their priests and ministers : (b) and he shall cause them to rule over many, and the earth he shall divide for a reward. The prophecy thus expounded, the completion becomes obvious and evident to the meanest capacity. The defenders and champions of Mahuzzim were the monks, and priests and bishops : and of them it may most truly and properly be said, that they were *increased with honour*, that they *ruled over many, and divided the land for gain*. Mr. Mede (c) applies the latter part to Mahuzzim themselves : and he paraphrases it after this manner : “ Yea he shall distribute the earth among his Mahuzzim ; so that besides several patrimonies which in every country he shall allot them, he shall share whole kingdoms and provinces among them : Saint George shall have England ; Saint Andrew, Scotland ; Saint Dennis, France ; Saint James, Spain ; Saint Mark, Venice, &c. and bear rule as presidents and patrons of their several countries.” But it appears more natural and easy to understand it of the principal teachers and propagators of the worship of Mahuzzim, the bishops, and priests, and monks, and religious orders ; and that they 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 public notoriety, that they require no proof, as they will admit of no denial.

Such was the degeneracy of the Christian church, and now we shall see its punishment, especially in the eastern part of it. “ 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

(a) Multiplicabit honorem. Ver. 31. honorabit.

(b) Et dominari faciet eos in multos : terramque partietur in mercedem.

(c) Mede's Works, P. 672.

“with many ships, and he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow, and pass over,” ver. 40. These things also (*a*) Porphyry refers to Antiochus: that in the eleventh year of his reign, he warred against his sister’s son, Ptolemy Philometor, who hearing of his coming, gathered together many thousands of the people; but Antiochus, like a whirlwind, with chariots, and with horsemen, and with a great fleet, entered into many countries, and in passing over, laid all waste; and came to the famous land, that is Judea, and fortified the citadel out of the ruins of the walls of the city, and so marched forwards into Egypt. But here Porphyry may be convicted of falsifying history; for after Antiochus was disinherited out of Egypt by the Romans, he never ventured to go thither again. The (*b*) eleventh was the last year of his reign: and all (*c*) historians agree, that the latter part of his reign was employed in his eastern expedition, in reducing Artaxias, king of Armenia, to his obedience, and in collecting the tribute among the Persians; and before he returned, he died. Others therefore (*d*) have said, that the prophet here resumes his former subject of the wars between Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, and Ptolemy Philometor, king of Egypt. But it is not likely, after giving an account of the conclusion of those wars by the interposition of the Romans, that he should return to them again. Having hitherto deduced things in a regular series, it is more probable that he should continue that series, and proceed to other subsequent events, than that of a sudden he should stop short, and revert to

(*a*) Et hæc Porphyrius ad Antiochum refert: quod undecimo anno regni sui rursus contra sororis filium Ptolemæum Philometorem dimicaverit. Qui audiens venire Antiochum, congregavit multa populorum millia. Sed Antiochus quasi tempeitas valida in curribus, et in equitibus, et in classe magna ingressus sit terras plurimas, et transeundo univèrsa vastaverit: venerisque ad terram inclytam, id est, Judæam—et arcem munierit de ruinis murorum civitatis, et sic perrexerit in Ægyptum. Hieron. *ibid.*

(*b*) Obiit cum regnasset annos solidos undecim. Petavii Rat. Temp. Part 1. Lib. 4. Cap. 10. So likewise Eusebius, Jerome, & Sulpitius Severus. Uther’s Annals. A. M. 3340. Prideaux Connect. Part 2. B. 3. Anno. 164.

(*c*) 1 Macc. iii. 31, &c. vi. 1, &c. 2 Macc. ix. 1, &c. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 8. Sect. 1. P. 544. Edit. Hudson. Valesii Excerpta ex Polybio, P. 145. Appian de Bell. Syr. P. 131. Edit. Steph. P. 212. Edit. Tollii. Diod. Sic. apud Hieron. Col. 1131.

(*d*) Menochius, Sanctius, Maldonatus, &c. apud Poli Synops. Calmet, Houbigant, &c. in locum.

Antiochus, after the intermixture of so many other affairs. But the question is not so much what it was probable for him to do, as what he actually hath done; and we shall find, that the remaining parts of the prophecy are applicable to other subsequent events, than to the transactions of Antiochus. The kings of the *south* and the *north* are to be taken and explained according to the times of which the prophet is speaking. As long as the kingdoms of Egypt and Syria were subsisting, so long the Egyptian and Syrian kings were the kings of the south and the north: but when these kingdoms were swallowed up in the Roman empire, then the other powers became the kings of the south and the north. *And at the time of the end*, that is, as Mr. Mede (a) rightly expounds it, in the latter days of the Roman empire, *shall the king of the south push at him*; that is the Saracens, who were of the Arabians, and came from the south; and under the conduct of their false prophet Mohammed and his successors, made war upon the emperor Heraclius, and with amazing rapidity deprived him of Egypt, Syria, and many of his finest provinces. They were only to *push at*, and sorely wound the Greek empire, but they were not to subvert and destroy it. *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*: that is, the Turks, who were originally of the Scythians, and came from the north; and after the Saracens seized on Syria, and assaulted with great violence the remains of the Greek empire, and in time rendered themselves absolute masters of the whole. The Saracens dismembered and weakened the Greek empire, but the Turks totally ruined and destroyed it: and for this reason, we may presume, so much more is said of the Turks than of the Saracens. Their *chariots* and their *horsemen* are particularly mentioned, because their armies consisted chiefly of horse, especially before the institution of the Janizaries, and their standards still are horse-tails. Their *ships* too are said to be *many*; and indeed without many ships they could never have gotten possession of so many islands and maritime countries, nor have so frequently vanquished the Venetians, who were at that time the greatest naval power in Europe. What fleets, what armies were employed in besieging and taking of Constantinople, of Negropont or Eubœa, of Rhodes, of Cyprus, and lastly Candy or Crete? The words, *shall enter into the countries, and*

(a) Mede's Works, B. 3. P. 674. & B. 4. P. 816.

overflow, and pass over, give us an exact idea of their overflowing the western parts of Asia, and then passing over into Europe, and fixing the seat of their empire at Constantinople, as they did under their seventh emperor Mohammed the second.

As to Among his other conquests, this king of the north took possession of the holy land, and to subdue the neighbouring countries: but the mixed people of Aegyptus were to escape out of his hand. "He shall enter also into glorious land, and many countries shall be overthrown, but these shall escape out of his hand, even Edom, Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon," &c. 41. Porphyry, and those of his opinion, (a) affirm, that Antiochus marching hastily against Ptolemy the king of the south, did not meddle with the Idumeans, and Moabites, and Ammonites, who were situated on the side of Judea; lest his being engaged in another war should render Ptolemy the stronger. Grotius saith, (b) that Antiochus spared these nations because they obeyed all his commands; and therefore the Maccabees made war upon them, as the friends of Antiochus. An ancient commentator, and venerable father, Theodoret, on the contrary, (c) asserts, that neither do these things any more than the rest fit Antiochus; for having overthrown these nations, he constituted rulers over them, one of whom was Timotheus the commander of the Ammonites. This Timotheus, I suppose, was the same who is mentioned in the fifth chapter of the first book of Maccabees. The diversity of these accounts demonstrates the difficulty of accommodating this passage to Antiochus. If we believe Theodoret, it cannot be applied to Antiochus in any sense. If we rather follow Porphyry or Grotius, it can be applied to Antiochus only in an improper sense. The words are, *Many countries shall be overthrown, but these shall escape out of his hand.* The manner of expression sufficiently implies, that he should attempt to conquer *these* as well as the rest, but not with the same success. *These* should

(a) Antiochus, aiunt, festinans contra Ptolemæum regem austri, Idumæos, et Moabitas, et Ammonitas, qui ex latere Judææ erant, non tetigit: ne occupatus alio prælio, Ptolemæum redderet fortio-rem. Hieron. ibid.

(b) His pepercit Antiochus, quod omnia imperata facerent. Vide 1 Macc. v. Ideo Maccabæi his populis, ut Antiochi amicis, bellum intulere. Grot. in locum.

(c) Neque hæc Antiocho conveniunt; etenim cum hos subigesset, duces ipsis præfuit, ex quibus unus erat Timotheus dux Ammanitarum. Theod. in locum. P. 690. Edit. Sirmondi.

not, like the rest, *be overthrown*; they should deliver themselves, and *escape out of his hand*: and we read of no such transaction in the history of Antiochus. We shall find that the whole may be much better accommodated to the Othman empire. *He shall enter also into the glorious land*: the same expression *the glorious land*, was used before, ver. 16. and in *of Israel*. Now rendered by the Syrian translator (a) *the land* took possession of the thing is better known, than that the Turks this day. Sultan Selim (b) *land*, and remain masters of it to to Egypt. *And many countries shall be overthrown*: Aleppo, Damascus, Gaza, and the neighbouring *countries* and countries were forced to submit, and receive the yoke of the conqueror. *But these shall escape out of his hand, even Edom, and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon*: these were some of the people who inhabited Arabia, and the Arabians the Turks have never been able, with all their forces, to subdue entirely. Sultan Selim, their ninth emperor, was the conqueror of the neighbouring countries, and annexed them to the Othman empire; but he could not make a complete conquest of the Arabians. By large gifts (c) he brought over some of their chieftains, and so bribed them to a submission: and ever since his time, (d) the Othman emperors have paid them an annual pension of forty thousand crowns of gold for the safe passage of the caravans and pilgrims going to Mecca: and for their farther security the Sultan commonly orders the Bascha of Damascus to attend them with soldiers and water-bearers, and to take care that their number never fall short of fourteen thousand. This pension was not paid for some years, on account of the war in Hungary: and what was the consequence? One of the Arabian princes,

(a) Stabitque in terra Israelis, ver. 16. Pervenietque ad terram Israelis, ver. 41. syr.

(b) Savage's Abridgment of Knolles and Rycaut. Vol. I. P. 243. Prince Cantemir's Hist. of the Othman empire in Selim I. Sect. 21. P. 163. Joannis Leunclavii Pandect. Hist. Turcic. Cap. 210. P. 486. Edit. Paris. P. 366. Edit. Venet. Pauli Jovii Hist. Lib. 17. et Rerum Turc. Comment. in Selymo.

(c) Savage ib. P. 248. Itaque Selymus per idoneos homines plures eorum duces data fide ad se Memphim evocavit, et summa liberalitate profecutus est: quorum exemplo fiebat, ut cæteri quotidie accederent, acceptisque numeribus in verba ejus continuo jurarent. Pauli Jovii Hist. Lib. 18. P. 1064. Edit. Gryphii. 1561.

(d) Prince Cantemir's Hist. in Ahmed ii. Sect. 49. P. 393. with the note, and also in Bajazet ii. Sect. 1. P. 116. with note 2.

in the year one thousand six hundred and ninety-four, with several thousands of his countrymen, attacked and plundered the caravan going on pilgrimage to Mecca, and made them all prisoners. The neighbouring Bashes were sent against him; but the prince defeated them all by a stratagem, and put them to flight. Among the prisoners who had been taken, was the most illustrious Chan of Tartary, whom the Arabians dismissed upon his parole, that he would carry their complaints to the Sultan, and procure the continuance of the pension. He stood to his engagement, and never ceased importuning the Othman court, till the arrears of the pension were duly paid. But notwithstanding this pension, the Arabians, as often as they find a lucky opportunity, rob and plunder the Turks as well as other travellers. An instance of the same kind happened lately, and is related in the London Gazette of February 11, 1758.

“Constantinople, December 23. The Mecca caravan, which has been lately plundered by the Arabs, was attacked by a numerous body of that people; some say, from thirty to forty thousand. The action lasted sixteen hours. They first cut off the Basha of Sidon, who marched out as usual to supply the pilgrims with provisions; he was killed in the engagement: then they turned and attacked the caravan. The Emir Hage, or commanding Basha, offered them one thousand purses of money to desist; but they refused any terms, being determined by a mere principle of revenge, for their tribes having been laid aside as conductors or guards to the caravan, and others substituted in their place; and it is thought the removal of their favourite, Ezade Basha, from that post to Aleppo, had also some share in it. At the return to Damascus of the fugitive soldiery, who convoyed the caravan, those in the town rose up in arms against them, as traitors to their faith; a great slaughter ensued, and continued some time; but there are advices since, that is quieted there. The Basha of the caravan fled to Gaza, with about fifteen or sixteen of his people, and it is thought he will lose his head. The riches lost to many cities of this empire, which are either taken by the Arabs, or dispersed in the deserts, are computed to amount to an immense sum, as they are supplied from India with all sorts of valuable merchandize, spices, &c. by that channel. A like accident happened in the year one thousand six hundred and ninety-four, under Ahmed the second.”

Other instances of the same kind have happened since; and are also recorded in the London Gazette, but I cannot recollect the dates, and at present have not the collection of Gazettes to apply to upon this occasion. So constantly have the Arabs maintained the same spirit in all ages; and there is no power that can effectually control them. Armies have been sent against parties of the Arabians, but without success. These freebooters have commonly been too cunning for their enemies: and when it was thought that they were well nigh surrounded and taken, they have still *escaped out of their hands*. So well doth this particular prediction relating to some of the tribes of the Arabians agree with that general one concerning the main body of the nation, Gen. xvi. 12. "He will be a wild man; his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him: and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren."

But though the Arabians should *escape out of his hands*, yet Egypt should *not escape*, but fall under his dominion together with the adjoining countries. "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 silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt: and the Libyans and the Ethiopians shall be at his steps," ver. 42, 43. We read, saith (a) Jerome, that Antiochus did these things in part: but what follows, relating to the Libyans and Ethiopians, our doctors assert, agrees better with Antichrist; for Antiochus did not possess Libya and Ethiopia. Theodoret too (b) affirms, that these things also by no means fit Antiochus, for he neither possessed Libya, nor Ethiopia, nor even Egypt itself. This prophecy then cannot belong to Antiochus; and indeed the proper application is to the Othman emperor. *He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries*: This implies that his dominions should be of large extent; and he hath *stretched forth his hand* upon many, not only Asian and European, but likewise African countries. Egypt in particular was destined to submit to his yoke: *And the land*

(a) Hæc Antiochum ex parte fecisse legimus. Sed quod sequitur, per Libyas et Æthiopias transibit, magis nostri asserunt Antichristo convenire. Antiochus enim Libyam quam plerique Africam intelligunt, Æthiopiamque non tenuit. Hieron. *ibid.*

(b) Et hæc item minime conventunt Antiocho: qui neque Libya, neque Æthiopia, neque etiam ipsa Ægypto potitus est. Theod. *ibid.* P. 691.

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 conquest of Egypt, with the neighbouring countries follows next in order after the conquest of Judea, with the neighbouring countries, as in the prophecy, so likewise in history. The Othman emperor Selim, (a) having routed and slain Gauri, sultan of Egypt, in a battle near Aleppo, became master of all Syria and Judea. He then marched into Egypt, against Tumanbai, the new sultan, whom also having vanquished and taken prisoner, he barbarously ordered him to be hanged before one of the gates of Cairo, and so put an end to the government of the Mamalucs, and established that of the Turks in Egypt. The prophecy says particularly, that *he should have power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt*: And history informs us, that (b) when Cairo was taken, “the Turks rifled the houses of the Egyptians, as well friends as foes, and suffered nothing to be locked up, or kept private from them: and Selim caused five hundred of the chiefest families of the Egyptians to be transported to Constantinople, as likewise a great number of the Mamalucs wives and children, besides the sultan’s treasure, and other vast riches.” And since that time, it is impossible to say what immense treasures have been drained out of this rich and fertile, but oppressed and wretched country. The prophecy says farther, that some others also of the African nations should submit to the conqueror, *the Libyans and Ethiopians should be at his steps*: And we read in history, that (c) after the conquest of Egypt, “the terror of Selim’s many victories now spreading wide, the kings Afric bordering upon Cyreniaca, sent their ambassadors with proffers to become his tributaries. Other more remote nations also to-

(a) Prince Cantemir’s Hist. in Selim i. Sect. 16. P. 156, &c. Savage’s Abridgment of Knolles and Rycaut. Vol. I. P. 240, &c. Pauli Jovii Hist. Lib. 18. et Rerum Turc. Comment. in Selymo. Leunclav. Annales Turc. P. 341. Edit. Paris, P. 265. Edit. Venet. Pandect. Hist. Turc. Cap. 207, &c.

(b) Savage, ibid. P. 246 et 248. Pauli Jovii Hist. Lib. 18.

(c) Savage, ibid. P. 248. Ipsique Africæ reges Cyreniacæ finitimi, qui pendere tributa, et Sulthanis certo fœdere parere consueverant, legationes destinabant.—Omnesque hæ gentes, quæ ad Æthiopiæ vergunt, sicuti amicitiam potius, quam imperium Sulthanorum agnoscebant, ita victoriæ fama perductæ, in Turcarum fidem facile concessere. Pauli Jovii Hist. Lib. 18. P. 1062 et 1065. Edit. Gryph. 1561.

“wards Ethiopia, were easily induced to join in amity with the “Turks.” At this present time also many places in Africa besides Egypt, as Algiers, Tunis, &c. are under the dominion of the Turks. One thing more is observable with regard to the fate of Egypt, that the particular prophecy coincides exactly with the general one, as it did before in the instance of Arabia. It was foretold by Ezekiel, xxix. 14. xxx. 12. that Egypt should always be *a base kingdom*, and subject to strangers; and here it is foretold, that in the latter times it should be made a province to the Turks, as we see at this day.

The two next, which are the two last verses of this chapter, I conceive, remain yet to be fulfilled. “But tidings out of the east, and out of the north, shall trouble him; therefore he shall go forth with great fury to destroy, and utterly to make away many. And he shall plant the tabernacles of his palace,” or rather “his camp, between the two seas, in the glorious holy mountain,” or, as it is in the margin, “the mountain of delight of holiness; yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him,” ver. 44, 45. Prideaux (*a*) and other learned men, as well as Porphyry and Grotius, refer this passage to Antiochus, and to his hearing of the revolt of the provinces in the east, and of Artaxias in the north, and to his going forth therefore in great anger, and with a great army, to reduce them to their obedience. But if this part might be fitly applied to Antiochus, yet how could he be said afterwards to *plant the tabernacle of his camp between the two seas in the glorious holy mountain*; for he returned no more into Judea, but died in the eastern expedition? Porphyry therefore (*b*) considers the word *Aphedno*, which we translate *his place*, or *his camp*, as the proper name of a place situated between the two great rivers, Tigris and Euphrates: But as Jerome replies, he cannot produce any history, wherein mention is made of any such place:

(*a*) Prid. Connect. Part 2. B. 3. Anno 164. Houbigant in locum, &c. &c. Porphyry, apud Hieron. Col. 1133. Grotius in locum. Nuntius belli a Partho et Armenio. Parthi ad orientem Antiocho, Armenii ad septentrionem. De Partho testimonium habemus Taciti, ubi de Judæis agit, “Rex Antiochus demere superstitionem et mores Græcorum dare adnixus, quo minus teterrimam gentem in melius mutaret, Parthico bello prohibitus est.”

(*b*) Aphedno, qui inter duo latissima situs est flumina, Tigridem et Euphratem. Quamque hucusque processerit, in quo monte inclyto federit, et sancto, dicere non potest: quanquam inter duo maria eum sedisse probare non potest; et stultum sit duo Mesopotamiæ flumina, duo maria interpretari. Hieron. Col. 1133.

neither can he say which is *the glorious and holy mountain*; beside the folly of interpreting two seas by two rivers. Father Houbigant (*a*) understands it as the name of a place situated in the mountains, in which mountains the book of Maccabees relates Antiochus to have died. This place, says he, was *between two seas*, namely the Caspian and Euxine, in Armenia itself, where Artaxias prepared rebellion. But neither doth he procure any authority for his assertions. Where doth he read of any such place as *Aphedno*, between the Caspian and Euxine seas? Where doth he read that Antiochus died in the mountains of Armenia? The book of Maccabees, which he alledgeth, testifieth no such thing. Both the (*b*) books of Maccabees agree, that Antiochus died returning out of Persia, through Babylon, according to the first book; through Ecbatana, according to the second, *in the mountains* indeed; but it is not said in what mountains. Antiochus was victorious in Armenia, and did not die there. Besides, with what propriety could any mountain in Armenia be called *the glorious holy mountain*? Theodotion and Aquila too (*c*) render it *Aphedanos*, the proper name of a place, as doth Jerome also, who taketh it for a place near Nicopolis, which formerly was called Emmaus. Indeed if it be the name of any place, it must be some place in the holy land; because in the Psalms, cvi. 24. "the pleasant land;" in Jeremiah iii. 19. "the pleasant land, the goodly heritage;" and in Ezekiel xx. 6. "the glory of all lands;" and constantly throughout the book of Daniel, "the pleasant land," viii. 9. "the glorious land," xi. 16. and again, "the glorious land," ver. 41. are appellatives of the holy land; and so consequently *the glorious holy mountain* must be Sion, or Olivet, or some mountain in the holy land, which lieth *between the seas*, (*d*) the Dead sea on the east, and the Mediterranean on the west. But after all, *Aphedno* doth not seem to be the name of any place.

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(*a*) Accipimus Aphedno, ut nomen loci, in montibus narrat liber Machabeorum Antiochum occidisse. Hic locus erat inter duo maria, nimirum mare Caspium et Pontum Euxinum, in Armenia ipsa, ubi rebellionem parabat Artaxias. Houbigant in locum.

(*b*) 1 Macc. iv. 4. 2 Macc. ix. 2. 28.

(*c*) Theodotio: Et figet tabernaculum suum in Aphedano inter maria. Aquila: Et plantabit tabernaculum prætorii sui in inter maria. Hphedno juxta Nicopolim, quæ prius Emmaus vocabatur. Aieron. Col. 1134.

(*d*) Inter duo maria, mare videlicet quod nunc appellatur Mortuum ab oriente, et mare Magnum. Hieron. Col. 1134.

They who render it as the proper name of a place, most probably did not know what else to make of it: but the word (*a*) occurs in Jonathan's Targum of Jeremiah, xliiii. 10. and there it signifies a *pavilion*; "And he shall spread his royal pavilion over them." And to the same purpose it should be translated here, *he shall plant the tabernacles of his camp between the seas in the glorious holy mountain.* This prophecy then cannot, by the help of any explanation, be made to fit and agree with Antiochus: and in our application of it to the Othman empire, as these events are yet future, we cannot pretend to point them out with any certainty and exactness. Mr. Mede (*b*) supposeth that "the *tidings from the east and north* may be that of "the return of Judah and Israel from those quarters. For "Judah was carried captive at the first into the *east*, and Israel "by the Assyrian into the *north*, (namely, in respect of the "holy land) and in those parts the greatest number of each are "dispersed at this day. Of the reduction of Israel from the "north, see the prophecies, Jer. xvi. 14, 15. and chap. xxiii. "8. also chap. xxxi. 8. Or if this *tidings from the north* may "be some other thing, yet *that from the east* I may have some "warrant to apply to the Jews return, from that of the *sixth vial* in the Apocalyps xvi. 12. where the waters of the great "river Euphrates are dried up, to prepare the way of the *kings of the east.*" If this application be not admitted, yet it is universally known, that the Persians are seated to the east of the Othman dominions, and the Russians to the north. Persia hath indeed of late years been miserably torn and distracted by intestine divisions; but when it shall unite again in a settled government, under one sovereign, it may become again, as it hath frequently been, a dangerous rival and enemy to the Othman emperor. The power of Russia is growing daily; and it is a current tradition among the common people in Turkey, that their empire shall one time or other be destroyed by the Russians. Sir Paul Rycout, in his account of the (*c*) present state of the Greek church, speaking of the respect and reverence which the Muscovites have for the see of Constantinople, says also, that "the Greeks on the other side have an esteem and "affection for the Muscovites, as for those whom ancient prophecies mention to be designed by God, for their avengers

(*a*) Et extendet tentorium suum super eos.

(*b*) Mede's Works. B. 4. P. 816.

(*c*) Cap. 3. P. 83.

“and deliverers in after ages.” Which, if it proveth nothing more, yet proveth that the Greek church interpreted this prophecy much in the same sense as we explain it. However this may be, the Port is at all times jealous of the junction of the two powers of the Persia and Russia, and exerts all its policy to prevent it. They are certainly two very formidable neighbours to the Turks; and who can say what tidings may or may not come from thence to trouble the Port? Who can say, how unlikely soever it be at present, that they may not hereafter be made instruments of Providence in the restoration of the Jews? Whatever be the motive and occasion, the Turk *shall go forth with great fury to destroy, and utterly to make away many.* The original word, which we translate *utterly to make away*, (*b*) signifies, *to anathematize, to consecrate, to devote to utter perdition*; so that it strongly implies, that this war should be made upon a religious account. *And he shall plant the tabernacles of his camp between the seas in the glorious holy mountain.* It is a notion advanced by (*b*) some commentators, that here both the Turk and the Pope are signified, the former of whom hath fixed his seat between the Mediterranean and Euxine seas, at Constantinople, and the latter between the Mediterranean and Adriatic, at Rome; both Antichrists, the one without, the other within the temple of God. But such notions are more ingenious than solid, and have rather the resemblance of worth than the substance. *Between the seas, in the glorious holy mountain*, must denote, as we have shown, some part of the holy land. There the Turk shall incamp with all his power, *yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him*, shall help him effectually, or deliver him. The same times, and the same events, seem to be presignified in this prophecy, as in that of Ezekiel concerning *Gog of the land of Magog*. He likewise is a northern power. He is represented as of (*c*) Scythian extraction, xxxviii. 2. *He cometh from his place out of the north parts*, ver. 15. His army too is described as consisting chiefly of *horses and horsemen*, ver. 4. He likewise hath *Ethiopia and Libya with him*, ver. 5. *He shall come up against the people of Israel in the latter days*, ver. 16. after their return from captivity, ver. 8. He too shall in-

B b 2

(a) Anathematizavit, Anathemate vel anathemati, interneconi, perditioni devovit: Consecravit, Devotum effecit. Buxtorf.

(b) See Poole, and his additional commentators.

(c) Vide Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 3. Cap. 13. Col. 117, &c.

camp upon the mountains of Israel, xxxix. 2. He shall also fall upon the mountains of Israel, and all the people that is with him, ver. 4. There the divine judgments shall overtake him, xxxviii. 22, 23. and God shall be magnified and sanctified in the eyes of many nations.

At that time there shall be a great tribulation, xii. 1. "such as never was since there was a nation, even to that same time:" And after that shall be the general resurrection, ver. 2. "And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt." They certainly are guilty of manifest violence and injury to the sacred text, and rack and torture the words to confess a meaning which they never meant, who contend that nothing more was meant in this passage, than the persecution of the Jews by Antiochus; and the Maccabees, after some time, coming out of their holes and caves of the earth, wherein they had concealed themselves from the fury and cruelty of their enemies. These critics usually pretend to be strong advocates for the literal and obvious meaning of the prophecies: but here they pervert the plainest expressions into figures, and prefer the most forced to the most natural interpretation. The troubles under Antiochus were neither in degree nor in duration to be compared to what the nation had suffered under Nebuchadnezzar; so that the time of Antiochus could not be reckoned *a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation.* The Maccabees too came out of their lurking holes and caves, and recovered their city, and cleansed the sanctuary, even before the death of Antiochus himself: but the resurrection in this place is described as something subsequent to the destruction of the king of the north. Besides, how could the Maccabees, who were a set of brave virtuous men, zealously devoted to their religion, liberty, and country, by coming forth from the rocks and caves, to oppose the enemy in the open field, be said to *awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt?* Such expressions can with truth and propriety be applied only to the general resurrection of the just and unjust: and though it be said *many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake,* yet that is no objection to the truth here delivered; for, as (a) Theodoret observed long ago, the prophet hath said *many* for *all*, in the same manner as

(a) Multi autem pro omnes dixit. Etenim beatus quoque Paulus multi pro omnes posuit, cum dixit, &c. Theod. in locum. P. 693.

St. Paul hath put *many* for *all*, when he said, "If through the
 "offence of one *many* be dead, much more the grace of God,
 "and the gift by grace which is by one man Jesus Christ,
 "hath abounded unto *many*," Rom. v. 15. And again, ver.
 19. "As by one man's disobedience *many* were made sinners,
 "so by the obedience of one shall *many* be made righteous."
 The proper conclusion of all is the general resurrection, and the
 consequent happiness of the wise and good; ver. 3. "And
 "they that be wise, shall shine as the brightness of the firma-
 "ment, and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars
 "for ever and ever."

The angel having thus finished his prophecy of the things
noted in the scripture of truth, an inquiry is made relating to
 the time of these events. It was said before, xi. 40. "At the
 "time of the end shall the king of the south push at him:"
 and here the question is asked, ver. 6. (a) "How long shall
 "be the end of these wonders? The answer is returned in
 the most solemn manner, ver. 7. "that it shall be for a time,
 "times, and a half." *A time, times, and a half*, as there hath
 been occasion to show in a former dissertation, are three pro-
 phetic years and a half; and three prophetic years and a half,
 are one thousand two hundred and sixty prophetic days; and
 one thousand two hundred and sixty prophetic days, are one
 thousand two hundred and sixty years. The same time there-
 fore is prefixed for the desolation and oppression of the eastern
 church, as for the tyranny of the little horn, vii. 25. in the
 western church: And it is wonderfully remarkable, that the
 doctrine of Mohammed was first forged at Mecca, and the
 supremacy of the Pope was established by virtue of a grant from
 the wicked tyrant Phocas, in the very same year of Christ, six
 hundred and six. It is to be observed, says (b) Dean Pri-
 "deaux, that Mahomet began this impostor about the same
 "time that the Bishop of Rome, by virtue of a grant from the
 "wicked tyrant Phocas, first assumed the title of Universal
 "Pastor, and thereon claimed to himself that supremacy which
 "he hath been ever since endeavouring to usurp over the Chri-
 "stian church. [Phocas made this grant, A. D. six hundred
 "and six, which was the very year that Mahomet retired to

(a) *Usque quo finis mirabilium*; Pagnin. *Usque quo finis horum mirabilium*? Vul. Sept.

(b) *Life of Mahomet*. P. 13. 3th Edit. See also Bishop Jewel's Reply to Harding, P. 181.

“ his cave to forge that imposture there, which two years after
 “ A. D. six hundred and eight, he began to propagate at Mec-
 “ ca.] And from this time, both having conspired to found
 “ themselves an empire in imposture, their followers have been
 “ ever since endeavouring by the same methods, that is, those
 “ of fire and sword, to propagate it among mankind; so that
 “ Antichrist seems at this time to have set both his feet upon
 “ Christendom together, the one in the east, and the other in
 “ the west; and how much each hath trampled upon the
 “ church of Christ, the ages ever since succeeding have abun-
 “ dantly experienced.” There is a farther notation of the time
 in the following words, *And when he shall have accomplished to
 scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be
 finished:* when the Jews shall be recalled from their dispersion,
 then all these things shall receive their full and final comple-
 tion. The prophet not sufficiently understanding this answer,
 inquired, ver. 8. *What, or how long shall be these latter times,
 or latter wonders?* And it is answered again, ver. 11. that
 “ from the time of taking away the daily sacrifice, and setting
 “ up the abomination that maketh desolate, there shall be a
 “ thousand two hundred and ninety days.” The days still are
 prophetic days, or years: but even if they were natural days,
 they could by no manner of computation be accommodated to
 the times of Antiochus Epiphanes. The *setting up of the abo-
 mination of desolation* appears to be a general phrase, and com-
 prehensive of various events. It is applied by the writer of
 the first book of Maccabees, i. 54. to the profanation of the
 temple by Antiochus, and his setting up the image of Jupiter
 Olympus upon the altar of God. It is applied by our Saviour,
 Matt. xxiv 15. to the destruction of the city and temple by the
 Romans, under the conduct of Titus, in the reign of Vespasian.
 It may for the same reason be applied to the Roman emperor
 Adrian’s building a temple to Jupiter Capitoline, in the same
 place where the temple of God had stood; and to the misery
 of the Jews, and the desolation of Judea that followed. It may
 with equal justice be applied to the Mohammedans invading
 and desolating Christendom, and converting, the churches into
 mosques: and this latter event seemeth to have been particu-
 larly intended in this passage. If this interpretation be true,
 the religion of Mohammed will prevail in the east the space of
 one thousand two hundred and sixty years; and then a great
 and glorious revolution will follow; perhaps the restoration of

the Jews, perhaps the destruction of Antichrist; but another still greater and more glorious will succeed: and what can this be so probably as the full conversion of the Gentiles to the church of Christ, and the beginning of the millennium, or reign of the saints upon earth? For ver. 12. "Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days." Here are then three different periods assigned, one thousand two hundred and sixty years, one thousand two hundred and ninety years, and one thousand three hundred and thirty-five years: and what is the precise time of their beginning, and consequently of their ending, as well as what are the great and signal events which will take place at the end of each period, we can only conjecture, time alone can with certainty discover. If we are mistaken in our conjecture, it is no more than (a) Mr. Mede, and other much more learned men have been, who have gone before us in this argument. It is indeed no wonder that we cannot fully understand and explain these things: for the angel said to Daniel himself, ver. 4 and 9. though *many shall run to and fro, should inquire and examine into these things, and thereby knowledge should be increased*; yet the full understanding of them is reserved for the time of the end, *the words are closed up, and sealed till the time of the end*. But however the great uncertainty of these events, which remain yet to be fulfilled, cannot shake the credit and certainty of those particulars which have already been accomplished. As (b) Prideaux judiciously observes, it is the nature of such prophecies not to be thoroughly understood, till they are thoroughly fulfilled. Not that such prophecies are therefore like the Pagan oracles, of an ambiguous, equivocal, and delusive nature. Obscure they may be, but there is a wide difference between obscurity and equivocation. The Pagan oracles were purposely worded in such a manner, that if they failed in one sense, they might hold good in another, though (c) directly the contrary: the scripture-prophecies have a determinate meaning, and though sometimes they may comprehend more events than one, yet are they never applicable to contrary events. The Pagan oracles were deli-

(a) See Mede's Works, B. 3. P. 717. De numeris Danielis.

(b) Prid. Connec. Part 2. B. 3. in the conclusion.

(c) As in these instances:

Crœsus Halym penetrans magnam pervertet opum vim.

Vio te, Æacida, Romanos vincere posse.

vered for the immediate direction of those who consulted them : and therefore a mistake at first was of more fatal consequence ; the scripture prophecies were intended more for the instruction and illumination of future ages, and therefore it is sufficient if time shall illustrate the particulars. The Pagan oracles are no sooner understood, than they are despised, whereas the reverse is true of the scripture-prophecies, and the better you understand, the more you will admire them. The completion of the former demonstrates their fraud and futility, the completion of the latter their truth and dignity.

Upon the whole, what an amazing prophecy is this, comprehending so many various events, and extending through so many successive ages, from the first establishment of the Persian empire, above five hundred and thirty years before Christ, to the general resurrection ! And the farther it extends, and the more it comprehends, the more amazingly surely, and the more divine it must appear, if not to an infidel like Porphyry, yet to all who like Grotius have any belief of revelation. How much nobler and more exalted the sense, more important and more worthy to be known by men, and to be revealed by God, when taken in this extended view, and applied to this long and yet regular series of affairs, by the most easy and natural construction ; than when confined and limited to the times and actions of Antiochus, to which yet it cannot be reconciled by the most strained and unnatural interpretation ! What stronger and more convincing proofs can be given or required of a divine Providence, and a divine revelation, that there is a God who directs and orders the transactions of the world, and that Daniel was a prophet inspired by him, *a man greatly beloved*, as he is often addressed by the angel ! Our blessed Saviour, Matt. xxiv. 15. hath bestowed upon him the appellation of *Daniel the prophet* ; and that is authority sufficient for any Christian : but in this work have been produced such instances and attestations of his being a prophet, as an infidel cannot deny, or if he denies, cannot disprove. The character that is given of him by Josephus, is nothing more than strictly his due. It expresseth the sense of the Jewish church ; and the same must be the sentiments of every man, who will consider and compare the prophecies and events together. This historian is commending the superior excellence of Daniel's predictions ; " for he was wont, says he, not only to foretel
" future things, as other prophets also did ; but he likewise

“determines the time where they should happen (a).” Afterwards having mentioned some of Daniel’s prophecies, he (b) proceeds thus: “All these things, God having shewn them to him, he left in writing, that they who read them, and behold the events might admire Daniel for the honour vouchsafed unto him by God; and by these things might be convinced how much the Epicureans are mistaken, who deny a Providence, and allow not that God regards human actions, nor that all things are governed by a blessed and immortal Being for the preservation of the whole, but assert that the world is carried on at random without a guide or ruler: which, if it was without a governor, as they pretend, would have been destroyed by the blind impulse, and have perished and come to nought, as we see ships which are destitute of pilots, overwhelmed by the storms, and chariots overturned and broken to pieces, which have no drivers. For by these things predicted by Daniel, they appear to me widely to err from the truth, who declare, that God hath no care of human affairs: for we should not see all things succeed according to his prophecies, if it happened that the world was governed by chance.”

In short, we see how well Daniel deserves the character which his contemporary Ezekiel hath given him, xiv. and xxviii. for his *piety* and *wisdom*: and these usually go together; for as the angel saith, ver. 10. “none of the wicked shall understand, but the wise shall understand.” Happy are they who both know the will of God, and do it!

(a) Non enim futura solum, quemadmodum et alii vates, prædicere solebat, sed et tempus, quo hac eventura erant, præfinivit. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 11. Sect. 7. P. 465. Edit. Hudson.

(b) Ista omnia, a Deo sibi monstrata, scriptis consignata reliquit: ut qui ea legerint, et eventus perspexerint, Danielum mirentur ob tam insignem honorem illi a Deo habitum; et Epicureos magno in errore versari deprehendant, qui providentiam e vita ejiciunt, et a Deo res humanas curari non existimant, nec omnia a natura beata et immortali (ad universitatis rerum perennitatem) regi et administrari volunt, sed sine rectore et curatore mundum suoapte impetu ferri asseverant: qui si ita ut illi autumant præde careret, quemadmodum naves sine gubernatoribus videmus procellis et fluctibus obrui, cutrusque aurigis destitutos procelli, temerario sane motu labefactatus concideret periretque. Cunque ista prædicta fuerint a Daniælo, videntur mihi a vera opinione multum aberrare, qui Deum non curare pronunciant quid agat genus humanum: non enim vaticiniis ejus eventus respondisse conspiceremus, si omnia in mundo temeritate regerentur. *ibid.* P. 466.

XVIII.

*Our SAVIOUR'S Prophecies relating to the destruction of
Jerusalem.*

IN FOUR PARTS.

PART I.

THE Jewish church, consisting only of a single nation, and living under a theocracy or the immediate government of God, experienced continual interpositions of a particular extraordinary providence in its favour and protection, and was from time to time instructed by prophets raised up and sent one after another as occasions required. But the Christian church being designed to comprehend the whole world, was like the world at first erected by miracle, but like the world too is since governed by a general ordinary providence, by established laws, and the mediation of second causes. This difference in the nature and constitution of the two churches, is the reason why prophecies, and miracles, and other supernatural powers, which were continued so long, and repeated so frequently in the Jewish church, were in the christian church confined to the first ages, and limited chiefly to the persons of our blessed Saviour, and his disciples, and their companions. There were "prophets," Acts xi. 27. who "came from Jerusalem unto Antioch. One "of them named Agabus," ver. 28. foretold the "great dearth, "which came to pass in the days of Claudius Cæsar." The same prophet foretold likewise, Acts xxi. 10, 11. the bonds and imprisonment of St. Paul. Philip the evangelist had also, ver. 9. "four daughters, virgins, which did prophecy." Prophetic as well as other spiritual gifts abounded in the primitive church; "their sons and their daughters did prophecy," Acts ii. 17. "their young men saw visions, and their old men dreamed "dreams." But the only prophecies, which the spirit of God hath thought fit to record and preserve, are some delivered by our blessed Saviour himself, and by his apostles, particularly St. Paul and St. John.

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

ture events, who could foretel them with such certainty and exactness: and some of them are actually accomplishing in the world at this present time.

But none of our Saviour's prophecies are more remarkable than those relating to the destruction of Jerusalem, as none are more proper and pertinent to the design of these discourses: and we will consider them as they lie in the twenty fourth chapter of St. Matthew, taking in also what is superadded by the other evangelists upon parallel occasions. These prophecies were delivered by our Saviour about forty years, and were committed to writing by St. Matthew about thirty years, before they were to take effect. St. Matthew's is universally allowed to be the (*a*) first of the four Gospels; the first in time, as it is always placed the first in order. It was written, as (*b*) most writers affirm, in the eighth year after the ascension of our Saviour. It must have been written before the dispersion of the apostles, because (*c*) St. Bartholemew is said to have taken it along with him into India, and to have left it there, where it was found several years afterwards by Pantænus. If the general tradition of antiquity be true, that it was written originally in Hebrew, it certainly was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, for there was no occasion for writing it in that language after the destruction of Jerusalem and the dispersion of the Jews into all nations. It is asserted upon (*d*) good authority, that the Gospels of Mark and Luke were approved and confirmed, the one by St. Peter, the other by St. Paul. So Papius Bishop of Hيرapolis and Clemens Alexandrinus say expressly that the Gos-

(*a*) Primum evangelium scriptum esse a Matthæo, prius quidem publicano. postea vero apostolo Jesu Christi. Origen apud Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 6. Cap. 25, &c. &c.

(*b*) On croit que saint Matthieu commença a travailler a son evangile, la huitieme année apres la resurrection du Sauveur; c'est-à-dire, l'an 41 de l'ere vulgaire. Presque tous les anciens manuscrits Grecs le marquent ainsi a la fin de son volume. Calmet Preface. Magno consensu perhibent Patres, Matthæum, in gratiam credentium ex Judæis in Palestina, evangelium suum scripsisse, et quidem, ut multi addunt, Hierosolymis, octavo post ascensionem Christi anno, qui Claudii imperatoris primus fuit. Wettstein.

(*c*) Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 5. Cap. 10. Hieron. Catalog. Script. Eccles. in Pantæno. P. 112. Vol. IV. Par. 2. Edit. Benedict.

(*d*) Papias et Clemens Alex. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. 2. Cap. 15. Orig. apud Euseb. Lib. 6. Cap. 25. Tertul. adv. Marcion. Lib. 4. Sect. 5. P. 416. Edit. Rigaltii. Paris 1675. Hieron. de Script. Eccles. P. 101. Vol. IV. Edit. Benedict. &c. &c.

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

(a) Mortuus est autem octavo Neronis ann. De Script. Eccles. P. 105. Vol. IV. Edit. Benedict.

(b) See Vol. I. of his Supplement to the Credibility of the Gospel History.

(c) See this argument pursued more at large in Dr. Jortin's Remarks on Eccles. Hist. Vol. I. P. 72—77.

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

In the conclusion of the twenty-third chapter of St. Matthew, our Saviour had with the most merciful severity, with the most compassionate justice, pronounced the sentence of desolation upon Jerusalem: ver. 37, 38. "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not! Behold, your house is left unto you desolate." In like manner, upon another occasion, when he was approaching to Jerusalem, Luke xix. 41, 42. "he beheld the city, and wept over it, saying, If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes." So deeply was our Saviour affected, and so tenderly did he lament over the calamities, which were coming upon his nation! Such a generous and amiable pattern of a patriot spirit hath he left to his disciples; and so contrary to truth is the insinuation of a (*a*) noble writer, that there is nothing in the Gospels to recommend and encourage the love of one's country.

When our Saviour uttered that prophetic lamentation recorded in the twenty-third chapter of St. Matthew, he was in the temple, speaking to a mixt audience of his disciples and the multitude: and as he was departing out of the temple, ver. 1st of the twenty fourth chapter, "his disciples came to him for to show him the buildings of the temple," intimating what a pitiable calamity they thought it, that so magnificent a structure should be destroyed. In the other Gospels they are represented as saying, Mark xiii. 1. "Master see what manner of stones, and what buildings are here;" and as speaking of the temple, Luke xxi. 5. "how it was adorned with goodly stones, and gifts." The gifts of ages were repositied there, the (*b*) presents of kings and emperors as well as the offerings

(*a*) Shaftsbury's Characteristics, Vol. I. P. 99.

(*b*) Vide Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 5. Cap. 13. Sect. 6. Edit. Hudson.

of the Jews: and as the whole temple was built with the greatest cost and magnificence, so nothing was more stupendous than the uncommon measure of the stones. The disciples appear to have admired them particularly, and to have thought them very extraordinary; and indeed they were of a size almost incredible. Those (*a*) employed in the foundations were in magnitude forty cubits, that is above sixty feet, a cubit being somewhat more than a foot and a half: and the superstructure was worthy of such foundations. There were some stones of the whitest marble forty-five cubits long, five cubits high, and six cubits broad, as a priest of the temple hath described them.

Such a structure as this, one would have expected, might have endured for many generations; and was indeed worthy of the highest admiration: but notwithstanding our Saviour assures his disciples, ver. 6. "There shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down." Our Saviour in his prophecies frequently alludes to phrases and expressions used by the ancient prophets; and as the prophet Haggai, ii. 15. expresseth the building of the temple by *a stone being laid upon a stone*, so Christ expresseth the destruction of it by *one stone not being left upon another*. In the same manner he speaketh of and to the city, Luke xix. 44. "They shall lay thee even with the ground, and shall not leave in thee one stone upon another." It is a proverbial and figurative manner of expression, to denote an utter destruction; and the prophecy would have been amply fulfilled, if the city and temple had been utterly ruined, though every single stone had not been overturned. But it happened in this case, that the words were almost literally fulfilled, and scarce *one stone was left upon another*. For when the Romans had taken Jerusalem, (*b*) Titus ordered his soldiers to dig up the foundations both of all the city and the temple. The temple was a building of such strength and grandeur, of such splendor and beauty, that it was likely to be preserved, as it was

(*a*) Saxis vero in exstructione usi sunt quadragenorum cubitorum magnitudinis. Tantis autem fundamentis digna erant opera illis imposita. Saxorum autem, quibus exstructum erant templum, quædam erant xlv. cubitos longa, alta v. et lata vi. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 5. Cap. 5. Sect. 1, 2, 6. Edit. Hudson.

(*b*) Juret eos Cæsar totam funditus jam evertere civitatem et templum. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 7. Cap. 1. Sect. 1. P. 1295. Edit. Hudson.

worthy to be preserved, for a monument of the victory and glory of the Roman empire. Titus was accordingly very desirous of preserving it, and (*a*) protested to the Jews, who had fortified themselves within it, that he would preserve it, even against their will. He had (*b*) expressed the like desire of preserving the city too, and sent Josephus and other Jews again and again to their countrymen, to persuade them to a surrender. But an overruling providence directed things otherwise. The Jews themselves (*c*) first set fire to the portico's of the temple, and then the Romans. One of the soldiers, (*d*) neither waiting for any command, nor trembling for such an attempt, but urged by a certain divine impulse, threw a burning brand in at the golden window, and thereby set fire to the buildings of the temple itself. Titus (*e*) ran immediately to the temple, and commanded his soldiers to extinguish the flame. But neither exhortations nor threatenings could restrain their violence. They either could not hear, or would not hear; and those behind encouraged those before to set fire to the temple. He was still for preserving the holy place. He commanded his soldiers even to be beaten for disobeying him: but their anger, and their hatred of the Jews, and a certain warlike vehement fury overcame their reverence for their general, and their dread for his commands. A soldier in the dark set fire to the doors: and thus, as Josephus (*f*) says, the temple was burnt against the will of Cæsar. Afterwards, as we (*g*) read in the Jewish Talmud and in Maimonides, Turnus Rufus, or rather (*b*) Terentius Rufus, who was left to command the army at Jerusalem, did with a ploughshare tear up the foundation of the temple; and thereby signally fulfilled those words of Micah, iii. 12.

(*a*) *Vobis autem etiam invitis templum servabo.* Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 2. Sect. 4. P. 1269. Edit. Hudson.

(*b*) Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 5. Cap. 8: Sect. 1. Cap. 9. Sect. 2. &c. Cap. 11. Sect. 2. Lib. 6. Cap. 2. Sect. 1. Edit. Hudson.

(*c*) Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 2. Sect. 9. Edit. Hud.

(*d*) *Quo tempore miles quidam, non expectato cujusquam mandato, neque tantum facinus veritus, divino quodam impetu fretus,* &c. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. L. 6. C. 4. S. 5. P. 1278. Edit. Hudson.

(*e*) Joseph. *ibid.* Sect. 6 et 7.

(*f*) *Et templum quidem hoc modo exuriter, invito Cæsare,* Sect. 7. P. 1279.

(*g*) See them quoted in Lightfoot, Whitby, Wetstein, &c. upon the place.

(*b*) Terentius Rufus; namque is exercitui præfectus relictus erat. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 7. Cap. 2. P. 1298.

“Therefore shall Zion for your sake be ploughed as a field.” Eusebius (*a*) too affirms, that it was ploughed up by the Romans, and he saw it lying in ruins. The (*b*) city also shared the same fate, and was burnt and destroyed as well as the temple. The (*c*) Romans burnt the extremest parts of the city, and demolished the walls. Three (*d*) towers only, and some part of the wall were left standing, for the better incamping of the soldiers, and to show to posterity what a city and how fortified the valour of the Romans had taken. All the rest of the city was so demolished and levelled with the ground, that they who came to see it, could not believe that it was ever inhabited. After the city was thus taken and destroyed, (*e*) great riches were found among the ruins, and the Romans dug it up in search of the treasures which had been concealed and buried in the earth. So literally were our Saviour’s words accomplished in the ruin both of the city and of the temple: and well might Eleazar (*f*) say, that God had delivered his most holy city to be burnt, and to be subverted by their enemies; and (*g*) wish that they all had died, before they saw that holy city demolished by the hands of their enemies, and the sacred temple so wickedly dug up from the foundations.

In this plain manner our Saviour, now drawing near to his fatal hour, foretold the absolute ruin and destruction of the city and temple. The disciples were curious to know more of these events, when they should be, and how they should be; but yet thought it not proper to ask him at present, the multitude probably still flocking about him: and therefore they take an opportunity of coming unto him *privately, as he was sitting upon the mount of Olives*, from whence was a good prospect of the city

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(*a*) Eusebii Demonf. Evangel. Lib. 6. Cap. 13. P. 273. Edit. Paris 1628.

(*b*) Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 6. Sect. 3. Cap. 7. Sect. 2. Cap. 8. Sect. 5. Edit. Hudson.

(*c*) Romani vero extremas urbis partes incenderunt, et mania funditus everterunt. Joseph. ib. Cap. 9. Sect. 4. P. 1292. Edit. Hud.

(*d*) Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 7. Cap. 1. Sect. 1. Edit. Hudson.

(*e*) Joseph. ibid. Cap. 5. Sect. 2.

(*f*) Urbenque sibi sacratissimam tradidisset hostibus ut incendio periret et funditus dirueretur. Joseph. ib. Cap. 8. Sect. 6. P. 1318.

(*g*) Atque utinam omnes fuissetis mortui, priusquam illam sacram civitatem hostium manibus exseindi videremus, priusquam templum tanta impietate funditus erni. Joseph. ibid. Sect. 7. P. 1322. Edit. Hudson.

and temple, and there prefer their request to him, ver. 3. "Tell us when shall these things be? and what shall be the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the world?" These are only different expressions to denote the same period with the destruction of Jerusalem; for when they conceived would be the destruction of Jerusalem, then they conceived would be the coming of Christ; and when they conceived would be the coming of Christ, then they conceived would be *the end of the world*, or rather, as it should be rendered, *the conclusion of the age*. *The end of the world*, or *the conclusion of the age*, is the same period with the destruction of Jerusalem; for there being two ages, as they were called, among the Jews, the one under the law, the other under the Messiah; when the city and temple were destroyed, and the Jewish polity in church and state was dissolved, the former age must of course be concluded, and the age under the Messiah be commenced. It is true, the phrase in the original most usually signifies *the end of the world*, properly so called; as in the parable of the tares, Matth. xiii. 39. "The harvest is the end of the world: As therefore the tares," ver. 40. "are gathered and burnt in the fire, so shall it be in the end of this world." And again, ver. 49. "So shall it be at the end of the world, the angels shall come forth, and sever the wicked from among the just." In like manner our Saviour says to his disciples, Matt. xxviii. 20. "Lo, I am with you alway even unto the end of the world." But here the phrase appears to be used much in the same manner as in the epistle to the Hebrews, ix. 26. "But now once in the end of the world hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself;" *in the end of the world*, in the conclusion of the Jewish age or ages: And these, I think, are all the places where the phrase occurs in scripture. *The coming of Christ* is also the same period with the destruction of Jerusalem, as may appear from several places in the gospels, and particularly from these two passages. "There are some standing here," saith our blessed Lord, Matt. xvi. 28. "who shall not taste of death, till they see the son of man coming in his kingdom;" that is evidently, there are some standing here who shall live, not till the end of the world, to the coming of Christ to judge mankind, but till the destruction of Jerusalem, to the coming of Christ in judgment upon the Jews. In another place, John xxi. 22. speaking to Peter concerning John, he saith, "If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that

“to thee?” What is it to thee, if I will that he live till the destruction of Jerusalem? as in truth he did, and longer. *The coming of Christ, and the conclusion of the age*, being therefore only different expressions to denote the same period with the destruction of Jerusalem, the purport of the question plainly is, *when shall the destruction of Jerusalem be, and what shall be the signs of it?* In the parallel place of St. Mark, xiii. 4. the question is put thus: “When shall these things be, and “what shall be the sign when all these things shall be fulfilled?” In the parallel place of St. Luke, xxi. 7. the question is put thus: “When shall these things be, and what sign “will there be when these things shall come to pass?” So that the disciples ask two things; first, the *time* of the destruction of Jerusalem, *when these things shall be?* and secondly, the *signs* of it, *and what shall be the sign when all these things shall be fulfilled*, as it is in St. Mark; *and what will be the sign when these things shall come to pass*, as it is in St. Luke; *and what shall be the sign of thy coming, and of the conclusion of the age*, as it is in St. Matthew. The latter part of the question our Saviour answereth first, and treateth of the *signs* of his coming, and the destruction of Jerusalem, from the 4th to the 31st verse inclusive; and then passeth on to the other part of the question concerning the *time* of his coming: And these two heads of our Saviour’s answer shall likewise in the same method and order be made the subject of this and some subsequent discourses.

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

False Christs, our Saviour mentions, as the first sign of his coming, ver. 4 and 5. “Take heed that no man deceive “you: For many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ; “and shall deceive many.” With this he begins in all the evangelists, and in all useth almost the very same words; only in St. Luke, xxi. 8. he addeth, “the time draweth near;” and indeed within a little time this part of the prophecy began to be fulfilled. For very soon after our Saviour’s decease appeared Simon Magus, Acts viii. 9, 10. “and bewitched the people

“ of Samaria, giving out that himself was some great one :
 “ To whom they all gave heed, from the least to the greatest,
 “ saying, this man is the great power of God.” He boasted himself likewise (a) among the Jews, as the Son of God. Of the same stamp and character was also (b) Dositheus the Samaritan, who pretended that he was the Christ foretold by Moses. In the reign of Claudius, about twelve years after the death of our Saviour, when Cuspius Fadus was procurator of Judea, a certain impostor, named Theudas, persuaded a great multitude with their best effects to follow him to the river Jordan ; for he said that he was a prophet, and promised to divide the river for their passage ; and saying these things, he deceived many, (c) saith Josephus. But Fadus sent a troop of horse against them, who falling unexpectedly upon them, killed many, and made many prisoners ; and having taken Theudas himself alive, they cut off his head, and brought it to Jerusalem. A few years afterwards, in the reign of Nero, and under the procuratorship of Felix, these impostors arose so frequent, that (d) many of them were apprehended and killed every day. They seduced great numbers of the people still expecting the Messiah ; and well therefore might our Saviour caution his disciples against them.

The next signs he giveth of his coming are several calamities, as wars and rumours of wars, famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes in divers places, ver. 6 and 7. “ And ye shall hear
 “ of wars and rumours of wars : see that ye be not troubled :
 “ for all these things must come to pass, but the end is not yet.
 “ For nation shall rise up against nation, and kingdom against
 “ kingdom : and there shall be famines, and pestilences, and
 “ earthquakes in divers places.” Accordingly there were *wars and rumours of war*, as appears in all the historians of those times, and above all in Josephus. To relate the particulars would indeed be to transcribe great part of his history of the

(a) Irenæi, Lib. 1. Cap. 20. P. 94. Edit. Grabe. Theod. Hæretic. Fab. Lib. 1. Cap. 1. P. 192. Vol. IV. Edit. Paris 1642.

(b) Post Jesu tempora voluit et Dositheus quidam Samarita suis persuadere, se esse Christum illum, quem Moyse prædixerat, visusque est nonnullos sibi sua doctrina conciliare. Origen contra Celsum, Lib. 1. P. 372. Vide etiam Lib. 6. P. 633. Vol. I. In Matt. Tract. 27. P. 851. Col. 2. Vol. III. Edit. Benedict.

(c) Et hujusmodi sermonibus plurimos decepit. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 20. Cap. 4. Sect. 1. P. 886. Edit. Hudson.

(d) Horum quidem multos,—quotidie captos, Felix sustulit, Joseph. ibid. Cap. 7. Sect. 5. P. 892.

Jewish wars. There were more especially rumours of wars, (a) when Caligula, the Roman emperor, ordered his statue to be set up in the temple of Jerusalem, which the Jews refused to suffer, and persisted in their refusal; and having therefore reason to apprehend a war from the Romans, were in such a consternation, that they omitted even the tilling of their lands: but this storm was soon blown over, and their fears were dissipated by the timely death of that emperor.

It is said moreover, that *nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom*. Here, as (b) Grotius well observes, Christ declares, that greater disturbances than those which happened under Caligula, should fall out in the latter times of Claudius, and in the reign of Nero. That of *nation against nation*, portended the dissensions, insurrections, and mutual slaughter of the Jews, and those of other nations, who dwelt in the same cities together; as particularly at (c) Cæsarea, where the Jews and Syrians contended about the right of the city, which contention at length proceeded so far, that above twenty thousand Jews were slain, and the city was cleared of the Jewish inhabitants. At this blow the (d) whole nation of the Jews were exasperated; and dividing themselves into parties, they burnt and plundered the neighbouring cities and villages of the Syrians, and made an immense slaughter of the people. The Syrians in revenge destroyed not a less number of Jews, and every city, (e)

(a) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 18. Cap. 9. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 20. Edit. Hud. Philo. contra Flaccum. Tacitus Hist. Lib. 5.

(b) Indicat Christos majores quam sub Caio evenerant cædes imminere ultimis temporibus Claudianis, et Neronis principatu. Illud significat Judæos et qui aliam erant gentium iisdem in civitatibus morantes mutuis inter se cædibus collidendos: quod contigit Cæsareæ primum, deinde Scythopoli, Ptolemaide, Tyri, Gardaris, rursus Alexandriæ, deinde et Damasci. Illud autem significat tetrarcharum aut provinciarum aperta inter se bella.—Huc referri debet Judæorum in Peræa habitantium bellum adversus Philadelphenos ob finium controversiam, Cuspio Fado procuratore; Judæorum et Galilæorum bellum adversus Samaritas, procuratore Cumano; postremo bellum primum a sicariis quos vocabant, deinde ad universa Judæorum gente sumtum adversus Romanos et Agrippam aliosque Romani imperii socios, quod initium habuit Gessio Floro procuratore. Grot.

(c) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 20. Cap. 7. Sect. 7. &c. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 13. Sect. 7. Cap. 18. Sect. 1. Edit. Hudson.

(d) Ibid. Cap. 18. Sect. 1.

(e) Ibid. Sect. 2. et unaquæque civitas in duos divisa erat exercitus, P. 1295.

as Josephus expreffeth it, was divided into two armies. At (*a*) Scythopolis the inhabitants compelled the Jews who refided among them, to fight againft their own countrymen; and after the victory, basely fetting upon them by night, murdered above thirteen thousand of them, and fpoiled their goods. At (*b*) Afcalon they killed two thousand and five hundred; at Ptolemais, two thousand, and made not a few prifoners. The Tyrians put many to death, and imprifoned more. The people of Gadara did likewise, and all the other cities of Syria, in proportion as they hated or feared the Jews. At Alexandria (*c*) the old enmity was revived between the Jews and Heathens, and many fell on both fides, but of the Jews to the number of fifty thousand. The (*d*) people of Damafcus too confpired againft the Jews of the fame city, and affaulting them unarmed, killed ten thousand of them. That of *kingdom againft kingdom*, portended the open wars of different tetrarchies and provinces, againft one another: as (*e*) that of the Jews who dwelt in Peræa, againft the people of Philadelphia, concerning their bounds, while Cufpius Fadus was procurator; and (*f*) that of the Jews and Galileans, againft the Samaritans, for the murder of fome Galileans going up to the feaft at Jerufalem, while Cumanus was procurator; and (*g*) that of the whole nation of the Jews againft the Romans, and Agrippa, and other allies of the Roman empire, which began while Geffius Florus was procurator. But as (*h*) Josephus faith, there was not only fedition and civil war throughout Judea, but likewise in Italy, Otho and Vitellius contending for the empire.

It is farther added, *and there fhall be famines, and peffilences, and earthquakes in divers places*. There were famines, as particularly that prophefied of by Agabus, and mentioned in the Acts of the Apoftles, xi. 28. and by (*i*) Suetonius, and other profane hiftorians referred to by Eufebius, *which came to pafs in the days of Claudius Cæfar*, and was fo fevere at Jerufalem,

(*a*) Ibid. Sect. 3. Vita Josephi. Sect. 6.

(*b*) De Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 18. Sect. 5.

(*c*) Ibid. Sect. 7 et 8.

(*d*) Ibid. Cap. 20. Sect. 2.

(*e*) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 20. Cap. 1. Sect. 1.

(*f*) Ibid. Cap. 5. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 12. Sect. 3, &c.

(*g*) Ibid. Cap. 17.

(*h*) Verum non solum per Judæam erat feditio et bellum civile, sed etiam in Italia. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 4. Cap. 9. Sect. 9. P. 1200.

(*i*) Suetonius in Claudio 18. Taciti Annal. Lib. 12. Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 2. Cap. 8.

that, as (a) Josephus saith, many perished for want of victuals.—And *pestilences*, for these are the usual attendants upon famines. Scarcity and badness of provisions almost always end in some epidemical distemper. We see many die by reason of the famine in the reign of Claudius: and (b) Josephus farther informs us, that when Niger was killed by the Jewish zealots, he imprecated, besides other calamities, famine and pestilence upon them, in the very words used by the Evangelist; all which, saith he, God ratified and brought to pass against the ungodly,—*And earthquakes in divers places*; as particularly that (c) in Crete, in the reign of Claudius, mentioned by Philostratus, in the life of Apollonius, and those also mentioned by Philostratus at Smyrna, Miletus, Chios, Samos, in all which places some Jews inhabited; and those (d) at Rome, mentioned by Tacitus; and that (e) at Laodicea, in the reign of Nero, mentioned by Tacitus; which city was overthrown, as were likewise Hieropolis and Colosse; and that in (f) Campania, mentioned by Seneca; and at (g) Rome, in the reign of Galba, mentioned by Suetonius; and that in Judea, mentioned by (b) Josephus. For by night there broke out a most dreadful tempest, and violent strong winds, with the most vehement showers, and continual lightnings, and horrid thunderings, and prodigious bellowings of the shaken earth: and it was manifest, as he saith, that the constitution of the universe was confounded for the destruction of man; and any one might easily conjecture, that these things portended no common calamity.

(a) *Multis alimentorum inopia pereuntibus.* Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 20. Cap. 2. Sect. 6. P. 881. Ibid. Cap. 4. Sect. 2. Edit. Hudson.

(b) *Quæ sane universa contra improbos rata habuit Deus.* Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 4. Cap. 6. Sect. 1. P. 1186. Edit. Hudson.

(c) *Gravis terræ motus qui in Creta accidit Claudio imperante meminit Philostratus in vita Apollonii.* Item terræ motuum Smyrnæ, Miletî, Chii, Sami paulo ante tempora excisæ urbis Hierosylpmorum. Grot. in locum.

(d) Tacit. Annal. Lib. 12. P. 91. Edit. Lipsii.

(e) Tacit. Annal. Lib. 14. P. 113. Edit. Lipsii. Orosius Lib. 7. Cap. 7. P. 473. Edit. Havercamp.

(f) Nat. Quæst. Lib. 6. Cap. 1.

(g) Suet. Galb. Cap. 18.

(b) Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 4. Cap. 4. Sect. 5. *Nocte enim gravissima erumpit tempestas, ventusque violentus cum imbre vehementi conjunctus, et crebra fulgura, horrendaque tonitrua, et ingentes terræ concussæ mugitus: manifestumque erat, hominum in exitium mundi statum fuisse conturbatum: eratque ut quis conjiceret ea non vulgares portendere calamitates,* P. 1181. Edit. Hudson.

To these St. Luke addeth, xxi. 11. that "there shall be fearful sights, and great signs from heaven." Josephus, in (a) the preface to his history of the Jewish war, undertakes to relate the signs and prodigies which preceded the taking of the city; and he relates accordingly, that (b) a star hung over the city like a sword, and the comet continued for a whole year; that (c) the people being assembled to celebrate the feast of unleavened bread, at the ninth hour of the night, there shone so great a light about the altar and the temple, that it seemed to be bright day, and this continued for half an hour; that (d) at the same feast a cow, led by the priest to sacrifice, brought forth a lamb in the middle of the temple; that (e) the eastern gate of the temple, which was of solid brass and very heavy, and was scarcely shut in an evening by twenty men, and was fastened by strong bars and bolts, was seen at the sixth hour of the night opened of its own accord, and could hardly be shut again; that (f) before the setting of the sun there were seen over all the country chariots and armies fighting in the clouds, and besieging cities; that (g) at the feast of Pentecost, as the priests were going into the inner temple by night as usual to attend their service, they heard first a motion and noise, and then a voice as of a multitude saying, Let us depart hence; and (h) what he reckons as the most terrible of all, that one Jesus, an ordinary country fellow, four years before the war began, and when the city was in peace and plenty, came to the feast of tabernacles, and ran crying up and down the streets day and night, "A voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds, a voice against

(a) Quæque præcesserant signa et prodigia. Sect. 11. P. 957.

(b) Supre civitatem stetit sidus simile gladio, et anni spatio ardere perseverabat cometes, Lib. 6. Cap. 5. Sect. 3. P. 1281.

(c) Populo ad festum diem Azymorum congregato,—hora noctis nona, tanta lux circa altare templumque circumfusa est, ut dies clarus esse videretur, atque hoc horæ dimidiæ spatio duravit. Ibid.

(d) In eadem quoque solemnitate, vacca, cum a pontifice ad sacrificium adduceretur, agnum in medio templo enixa est. Ibid.

(e) Sed et janua, &c. ibid.

(f) Ante solis occasum per universam regionem currus in aere sublimes ferri, et armaræ phalanges per nubes discurrere, urbisque circumvallare sunt visæ. Ibid. P. 1282.

(g) Festo autem die qui Pentecoste appellatur, sacerdotes noctu templum ingressi ad obeunda ex mora ministeria, primum quidem motum ac strepitum se exaudisse dixerunt, tum deinde vocem quati conferræ multitudinis simul clamantis, Migremus hinc. Ibid.

(h) Quod vero his omnibus terribilius est, Jesus quidam, &c. Ib.

“Jerusalem and the temple, a voice against the bridegrooms and the brides, a voice against all the people. The magistrates endeavoured by stripes and torture, to restrain him; but he still cried with a mournful voice, “Woe woe to Jerusalem!” This he continued to do for seven years and five months together, and especially at the great festivals; and he neither grew hoarse nor was tired: but went about the walls, and cried with a loud voice, “Woe woe to the city, and to the people, and to the temple;” and as he added at last, “Woe woe also to myself,” it happened that a stone from some sling or engine immediately struck him dead. These were indeed *fearful signs and great sights from heaven*: and there is not a more creditable historian than the author who relates them, and who appeals to the testimony of those who saw and heard them. But it may add some weight to his relation, that Tacitus, the Roman historian, also gives us a summary account of the same occurrences. He saith that (*a*) there happened several prodigies, armies were seen engaging, in the heavens, arms were seen glittering, and the temple shone with the sudden fire of the clouds, the doors of the temple opened suddenly, and a voice greater than human was heard, that the gods were departing, and likewise a great motion of their departing. Dr. Jortin’s (*b*) remark is very pertinent, “If Christ had not expressly foretold this, many, who give little heed to portents, and who know that historians have been too credulous in that point, would have suspected that Josephus exaggerated, and that Tacitus was misinformed; but as the testimonies of Josephus and Tacitus confirm the predictions of Christ, so the predictions of Christ confirm the wonders recorded by these historians.” But even allowing all that incredulity can urge—that in the great calamities of war, and famine, and pestilence, the people always grow superstitious, and are struck with religious panics:—that they see nothing then but prodigies and portents, which in happier seasons are overlooked;—that some of these appear to be formed in imitation of the Greek and Roman historians, as par-

(*a*) *Evenerant prodigia—Visa per cælum concurrere acies, rutilantia arma, et subito nubium igne collucere templum. Expassee repente delubri fores, ut audita majohr umana vox, Excedere deos. Simul ingens motus excedentium. Tacit. Hist. Lib. 5. P. 217. Edit. Lipsii.*

(*b*) *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, Vol. I. P. 41.*

ticularly the cow's bringing forth a lamb;—that armies fighting in the clouds, seen in calamitous times in all ages and countries, are nothing more than meteors, such as the aurora borealis;—in short, allowing that some of these prodigies were feigned and others were exaggerated, yet the prediction of them is not the less divine on that account. Whether they were supernatural, or the fictitious only of a disordered imagination, yet they were believed as realities, and had all the effects of realities, and were equally worthy to be made the objects of prophecy. *Fearful sights and great signs from heaven* they certainly were, as much as if they had been created on purpose to astonish the earth.

But notwithstanding all these terrible calamities, our Saviour exhorts his disciples not to be troubled. The Jews may be under dreadful apprehensions, as they were particularly in the case of Caligula abovementioned; *but be not yet troubled, for all these things must come to pass, but the end is not yet*, but the destruction of Jerusalem is not yet. "All these are" *only* "the beginning of sorrows," ver. 8. Great troubles and calamities are often expressed in scripture-language metaphorically by the pains of travailing women. All these are only the first pangs and throws, and are nothing to that hard labour which shall follow.

From the calamities of the nation in general, he passeth to those of the Christians in particular: and indeed the former were in great measure the occasion of the latter; famines, pestilences, earthquakes, and the like calamities being reckoned judgments for the sins of the Christians, and the poor Christians being often maltreated and persecuted on that account, as we learn from some of the earliest apologists for the Christian religion. Now the calamities which were to befall the Christians were cruel persecutions, ver. 9. "Then shall they deliver you up to be afflicted, and shall kill you; and ye shall be hated of all nations," not only of the Jews, but likewise of the Gentiles, "for my name's sake." St. Mark and St. Luke are rather more particular. St. Mark saith, xiii. 9, 11. "They shall deliver you up to councils; and in the synagogues
" ye shall be beaten, and ye shall be brought before rulers and
" kings for my sake, for a testimony against them. But when
" they shall lead you, and deliver you up, take no thought
" beforehand what ye shall speak, neither do ye premeditate:
" but whatsoever shall be given you in that hour, that speak

“ye; for it is not ye that speak, but the Holy Ghost.” St. Luke saith, xxi. 12, 13, 14, 15. “But before all these they shall lay their hands on you, and persecute you, delivering you up to the synagogue, and into prisons, being brought before kings and rulers for my name’s sake. And it shall turn to you for a testimony. Settle it before in your hearts, not to meditate before, what you shall answer. For I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay nor resist.” We need look no farther than the Acts of the Apostles for the completion of these particulars. There are instances enough of the sufferings of some Christians, and of the deaths of others. Some are *delivered to councils*, as Peter and John, iv. 5, &c. Some are *brought before rulers and kings*, as Paul before Gallio, xviii. 12. Felix, xxiv. Festus and Agrippa, xxv. Some have *a mouth and wisdom which all their adversaries were not able to gainsay nor resist*, as it is said of Stephen, vi. 10. that “they were not able to resist the wisdom and the spirit by which he spake;” and Paul made even Felix to *tremble*, xxiv. 25. and the gospel still prevailed against all opposition and persecution whatever. Some are *imprisoned*, as Peter and John, iv. 3. Some are *beaten*, as Paul and Silas, xvi. 23. Some are *put to death*, as Stephen, vii. 59. and James the brother of John, xii. 2. But if we would look farther, we have a more melancholy proof of the truth of this prediction, in the persecutions under Nero, in which besides numberless other Christians, fell those (a) two great champions of our faith, St. Peter and St. Paul. And it was *nominis prælium*, as (b) Tertullian called it; it was a war against the very name. Though a man was possessed of every human virtue, yet it was crime enough if he was a *Christian*; so true were our Saviour’s words, that they should be hated of all nations *for his name’s sake*.

But they were not only to be hated of all nations, but were also to be betrayed by apostates and traitors of their own brethren, ver. 10. “And then shall many be offended, and shall betray one another, and shall hate one another.” By reason of persecution *many shall be offended*, and apostatize from the faith; as particularly those mentioned by St. Paul, in his second epistle to Timothy, i. 15. “Phygellus and Hermogenes, who, with many others in Asia, turned away from him;” and, vi. 10. “Demas, who forsook him, having loved this pre-

(a) Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 2. Cap. 25.

(b) Tertull. Annal. Cap. 2.

“sent world.” But they shall not only apostatize from the faith, but also *shall betray one another, and shall hate one another.* To illustrate this point, we need only cite a sentence out of Tacitus, speaking of the persecution under Nero. “At first, says (a) he, several were seized, who confessed, and then, by their discovery, a great multitude of others were convicted, and barbarously executed.”

False teachers too, and false prophets, were to infest the church, ver. 11. “And many false prophets shall rise, and shall deceive many.” Such particularly was Simon Magus, and his followers, the Gnostics, were very numerous. Such also were the Judaizing teachers, *false apostles*, as they are called by St. Paul, 2 Cor. xi. 13. “deceitful workers, transforming themselves into the apostles of Christ.” Such also were *Hymeneus and Philetus*, of whom the apostle complains, 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18. that they affirmed *the resurrection to be past already, and overthrew the faith of some.*

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

“But he that shall endure unto the end,” ver. 13. But he who shall not be terrified by these trials and persecutions; he who shall neither apostatize from the faith himself, nor be seduced by others; he who shall not be ashamed to profess his faith in Christ, and his love to the brethren, “the same shall be saved;” saved both here and hereafter. “There shall

(a) Primo correpti qui fatebantur, deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens convicti sunt. Et pereuntibus addita ludibria, &c. Tacit. Annal. Lib. 15. P. 128. Edit. Lipsii.

“not an hair of your head perish,” as it is in St. Luke, xxi. 18. and indeed it is very remarkable, and was most certainly a most signal act of Providence, that none of the Christians perished in the destruction of Jerusalem. So true and prophetic also was that assertion of St. Peter upon the same occasion, 2 Pet. ii. 9. “The Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptations.”

But notwithstanding the persecutions and calamities of the Christians, there was to be an universal publication of the gospel before the destruction of Jerusalem, ver. 14. “And this gospel of the kingdom” this gospel of the kingdom of God, “shall be preached in all the world, for a witness unto all nations, and then shall the end come;” and then shall the destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the Jewish polity come to pass; when all nations shall be or may be convinced of the crying sin of the Jews in crucifying the Lord of glory, and of the justice of God’s judgments upon them for it. The Acts of the apostles contain only a small part of the history of a small part of the Apostles; and yet even in that history we see, the gospel was widely disseminated, and had taken root in the most considerable parts of the Roman empire. As early as in the reign of Nero, (*a*) the Christians were grown so numerous at Rome, as to raise the jealousy of the government, and the first general persecution was commenced against them under pretence of their having set fire to the city, of which the emperor himself was really guilty, but willing to transfer the blame and odium upon the poor innocent Christians. Clement, who was a contemporary and fellow-labourer with St. Paul, (*b*) says of him in particular, that he was a preacher both in the east and in the west, that he taught the whole world righteousness, and travelled as far as to the utmost borders of the west: and if such were the labours of one apostle, though the chiefest of the apostles, what were the united labours of them all? It appears indeed from the writers of the history of the church, that before the destruction of Jerusalem the gospel was not only preached in the lesser Asia, and Greece, and Italy, the great theatres of action then in the world; but was likewise propagated as far northward as Scythia, as far south-

(*a*) Tacit. Annal. Lib. 15.

(*b*) Præco factus in oriente ac occidente—totum mundum docens justitiam, et ad occidentis terminum veniens. Clem. Epist. ad Corinth. i. Cap. 5.

ward as Ethiopia, as far eastward as Parthia and India, as far westward as Spain and Britain. Our ancestors of this island seem to have lain as remote from the scene of our Saviour's actions, as almost any nation, and were a (*a*) rough inhospitable people, as unlikely to receive so civilized an institution as any people whatever. But yet there is (*b*) some probability, that the gospel was preached here by St. Simon the apostle; there is much greater probability, that it was preached here by St. Paul; and there is absolute certainty, that Christianity was planted in this country, in the days of the apostles, before the destruction of Jerusalem. Agreeable to this (*c*) Eusebius informs us, that the apostles preached the gospel in all the world; and some of them passed beyond the ocean, to the Britannic isles. Theodoret likewise (*d*) affirms, that the apostles had induced every nation and kind of men to embrace the gospel; and among the converted nations, he reckons particularly the Britons. St. Paul himself, in his Epistle to the Colossians, i. 6, 26. speaketh of the gospel's being "come into all the world, and preached to every creature under heaven:" and in his epistle to the Romans, x. 18. very elegantly applies to the lights of the church, what the Psalmist said of the lights of heaven, "their sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world. But how improbable, and in all human appearance impossible was it, that a few poor fishermen, and such inferior illiterate persons should propagate and establish a new religion, in so short a space of time, throughout the world? Doubtless it was not man's, but God's work, and from the same divine Spirit proceedeth both the prophecy and the completion!

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

The first reflection that naturally occurs, is the strange and surprising manner in which these prophecies have been fulfilled, and the great argument that may thence be drawn from the

(*a*) *Britannos hospitibus feros.* Hor. Od. iii. iv. 33.

(*b*) See Stillington's *Origines Britannicæ.* Chap. 1. Collier's *Eccles. Hist.* Book 1. Usserij *Britann. Eccles. Antiquitates.* Cap. 1, &c.

(*c*) *Trans oceanum evasisse, ad eas insulas quæ Britannicæ vocantur.* Demonst. Evangel. Lib. 3. Cap. 5. P. 112. Edit. Paris. 1628.

(*d*) Theod. Serm. 9. Tom. 4. P. 610. Edit. Paris, 1642. neque solum Romanos—sed et—Britannos—atque, ut semel dicam, omne hominum genus nationesque omnes, &c.

truth of our Saviour's divine mission; but we shall have a fitter opportunity for enlarging upon this hereafter.

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

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

A fourth reflection we may make (and it is the last that I shall make) that seldom any state is ruined, but there are evident signals and presages of it. Few people have their fate particularly foretold by prophets, like the Jews; nor indeed can the fate of any people be so particularly foretold, the time, the manner, and all the circumstances preceding and succeeding, without divine inspiration. So many passages and circumstances cannot be particularly foretold unless particularly

revealed: but in the general, without the spirit of prophecy, it is no difficult matter to perceive when cities and kingdoms are tending towards their final period and dissolution. There are as certain tokens and symptoms of a consumption and decay in the body politic, as in the body natural. I would not presage ill to my country; but when we consider the many heinous and presumptuous sins of this nation, the licentiousness and violation of all order and discipline, the daring insolence of robbers and smugglers in open defiance of all law and justice, the factions and divisions, the venality and corruption, the avarice and profusion of all ranks and degrees among us, the total want of public spirit, and ardent passion for private ends and interests, the luxury and gaming and dissoluteness in high life, and the laziness and drunkenness and debauchery in low life, and above all, the barefaced ridicule of all virtue and decency, and that scandalous neglect, and I wish I could not say contempt of all public worship and religion; when we consider these things, these signs of the times, the stoutest and most sanguine of us all must tremble at the natural and probable consequences of them. God gives us grace that we may "know," Luke xix. 42. "at least in this our day, the things which belong unto our peace, *before* they are hid from our eyes." Never may such blindness happen to us, as befel the Jews; but may we, Is. lv. 6, 7. "seek the Lord while he may be found, and call upon him while he is near; and return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy upon us, and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon."

END of the FIRST VOLUME.

