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DISSERTATIONS
ON
THE PROPHECIES,

WHICH HAVE BEEN
REMARKABLY FULFILLED,

AND

AT THIS TIME ARE FULFILLING IN THE WORLD.

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


TO WHICH ARE ADDED,
A number of Original Notes, and a Supplement, containing
Extracts from the writings of
Owen, Usher, Brown, Knox, Gill, More, &c.

A NEW EDITION,
IN WHICH THE
GREEK, LATIN, AND OTHER QUOTATIONS,
Are translated into English.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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District of Pennsylvania, to wit:

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the twenty-seventh day of May, in the thirty-seventh year of the independence of the United States of America, A. D. 1813, James Martin, of the said District, hath deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as proprietor, in the words following, to wit:

“Dissertations on the Prophecies, which have been remarkably fulfilled, and at this time are fulfilling in the world. By Thomas Newton, D. D. late Lord Bishop of Bristol. To which are added, a number of original Notes, and a Supplement, containing Extracts from the writings of Owen, Usher, Brown, Knox, Gill, More, &c. A new edition, in which the Greek, Latin, and other Quotations are translated into English. In three volumes. Vol. I.”

In conformity to the Act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, “An Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by securing the Copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the Authors and Proprietors of such Copies, during the times therein mentioned.” And also to the Act, entitled, “An Act supplementary to An Act, entitled, “An Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by securing the Copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the Authors and Proprietors of such Copies during the times therein mentioned,” and extending the benefits thereof to the Arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints.”

D. CALDWELL,
Clerk of the District of Pennsylvania.

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 favours 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 more still 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 style 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, nor even of those prophecies in particular, which were fulfilled in the person and actions of our Saviour ; but only of 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 command in the army, and was a man of good understanding, and of 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 argument 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

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-modelled, much altered, and much enlarged, and confirmed 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 perused and corrected 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. Jortin; who were also my friendly coadjutors in my edition of Milton; 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.

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 *Advancement of Learning*:* and he intitleth 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 years are but as one

* Book II. in English.

day, and therefore they are not fulfilled punctually at once, but have springing and germinant accomplishment throughout many ages, though the height or fulness 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 style 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

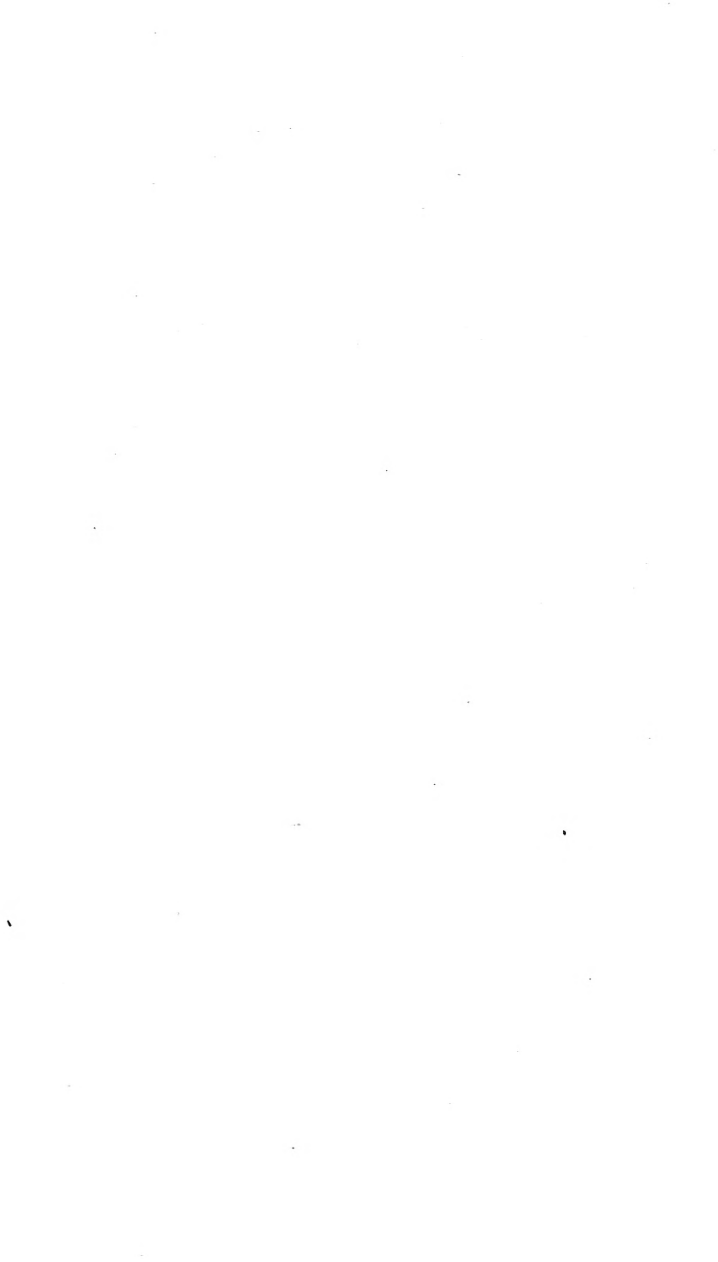
task we will undertake, and will not only produce instances of things foretold with the greatest clearness in ages preceding, and fulfilled with the greatest exactness in ages following, if there is any truth in history sacred or profane ; but we will also (to cut up the objection entirely by the roots) 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

1700 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 endeavour 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 enlivened with a proper intermixture of history, and will include several of the most material transactions from the beginning of the world to this day.

To this edition various notes are added, particularly at the commencement and close of the work, with a view of illustrating the observations of the excellent author, and showing how time continues to confirm the prophecies of the divine word. Nearly sixty years have elapsed since our author wrote. Subsequent events, to an important extent, confirm the persuasion that "the word of the Lord is true and righteous altogether."



CONTENTS

OF

VOL. I.

INTRODUCTION.

Page 7—11.

Prophecies one of the strongest proofs of revelation, p. 7. A history of prophecy desired by Lord Bacon, 7. The consequence plain from the believing of prophecies to the believing of revelation, 8. The objection that the prophecies were written after the events, groundless, and betrays great ignorance, or something worse, 9. The truth of prophecy may be proved by instances of things fulfilling at this very time, 9. The evidence drawn from prophecy, a growing evidence, 10. Miracles the great proofs of revelation to the first ages. Prophecies to the last, 10. The necessity to which infidels are reduced, either to renounce their senses, or to admit the truth of revelation, 11. Most of the principal prophecies of scripture will be comprehended in this work, as well as several of the most material transactions in history, 11.

DISSERTATION I.

NOAH'S PROPHECY.

p. 25—42.

Very few prophecies till Noah, p. 25. Noah's drunkenness, and the behaviour of his sons thereupon, 26. In consequence of their different behaviour he was enabled to foretel the different fortunes of their families, 27. The prophecy, 27. Not to be understood of particular persons, but of whole nations, 27, 28. The curse upon Canaan, a curse upon the Canaanites for their wickedness, 28. The wickedness of the Canaanites very great, 29. The curse particularly implies the subjection of the descendants of Canaan to the descendants of Shem and Japheth, 30. The completion of this shown from the time of Joshua to this day, 31. A different reading proposed of

Ham the father of Canaan instead of Canaan, 32. The curse in this larger sense also shown to be fulfilled from the earliest times to the present, 33, 34. The promise to Shem of the Lord being his God, how fulfilled, 34. The promise of enlargement to Japheth, an allusion to his name, 35. How fulfilled both in former and in later times, 36. The following clause, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem, capable of two senses, and in both punctually fulfilled, 37. Conclusion, 37. A mistake of Mr. Mede corrected, 38. Lord Bolingbroke censured for his indecent reflections on this prophecy, 39. His ignorance about the Codex Alexandrinus, 40. His blunder about the Roman historians, 40, 41. His sneer about believers refuted, 41. Condemned by himself, 41. Had great talents, but misapplied them, 42.

DISSERTATION II.

THE PROPHECIES CONCERNING ISHMAEL.

p. 42—58.

Abraham favoured with several revelations, p. 42. Those concerning Ishmael or the Ishmaelites, 42. The promise of a numerous posterity, how fulfilled, 43. The promise of twelve princes, how fulfilled, 44. The promise of a great nation, how fulfilled, 44. The saying that he should be a wild man, how fulfilled, 45. The saying that his hand should be against every man and every man's hand against him, how fulfilled, 46. The saying that he should dwell in the presence of all his brethren, how fulfilled, 46. The Ishmaelites or Arabians have from first to last maintained their independency, 47. Against the Egyptians and Assyrians, 48. Against the Persians, 48. Against Alexander and his successors, 48, 49. Against the Romans, 49. Their state under Mohammed, and since his time, and now under the Turks, 50, 51. Dr. Shaw's account of them, 53. Bishop Pocock's, 53. And Mr. Hanway's, 54. Conclusion, 55. Wonderful that they should retain the same manners for so many ages, 56. More wonderful that they should still remain a free people, 57. The Jews and Arabs in some respects resemble each other, 57, 58.

DISSERTATION III.

THE PROPHECIES CONCERNING JACOB AND ESAU.

p. 58—71.

More prophecies concerning the posterity of Isaac than of Ishmael, p. 58. The promise of the blessed seed, how fulfilled, 58. The promise of the land of Canaan, how fulfilled, 58, 59. The promise of a numerous posterity, how fulfilled, 59. The promises concerning Esau and Jacob, 60. Not verified in themselves, but in their posterity, 61. Comprehend several particulars, 61. I. The families of Esau and Jacob two different people and nations, 62, 63. II. The family of the elder subject to that of the younger, 64, 65. III. In situation and other temporal advantages much alike, 65, 66. IV. The elder branch delighted more in war and violence, but subdued by the younger, 67, 68. V. The elder at one time shook off the dominion of the younger, 68, 69. VI. In all spiritual gifts and graces the younger superior, and the happy instrument of conveying the blessing to all nations, 69, 70. Conclusion, 70. The prophecies fulfilled in the utter destruction of the Edomites, 70, 71.

DISSERTATION IV.

JACOB'S PROPHECIES CONCERNING HIS SONS, PARTICULARLY JUDAH.

p. 71—89.

An opinion of great antiquity, that the soul near death grew prophetic, 71. Jacob upon his death-bed foretold his sons what should befall them in the last days, the meaning of that phrase, 73. Jacob bequeaths the temporal blessing to all his sons, the spiritual to Judah, 74. The prophecies concerning several tribes, how fulfilled, 75. The temporal blessing how fulfilled to Judah, 76. The spiritual blessing, 77. I. An explanation of the words and meaning of the prophecy, 77—83. The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, explained, 77, 78. Nor a law-giver from between his feet, explained, 79. Shiloh in all the various senses of the word shown to be the Messiah, 80. Le Clerc's singular interpretation, 81. Jews as well as Christians have by Shiloh generally understood the Messiah, 82. And unto him shall the gathering of the people be, capable of three different constructions, 82, 83. II. The completion of the prophecy, 83—89. Judah hereby constituted a

tribe or body politic, and so continued till the coming of the Messiah and the destruction of Jerusalem, 83—85. The latter clause fulfilled in the first sense, and the people gathered to Judah, 85. Fulfilled in the second sense, and the people gathered to the Messiah, 86. Fulfilled in the last sense, and the people gathered to the Messiah before the sceptre's departure, 87. The prophecy with regard to Benjamin fulfilled, 88. Conclusion that Jesus is the Messiah, 88, 89.

DISSERTATION V.

BALAAAM'S PROPHECIES.

p. 89—113.

The gift of prophecy not always confined to the chosen seed, or to good men, p. 89. Balaam both a heathen and an immoral man, 90. A ceremony among the Heathens to curse their enemies, 91. The story of Balaam's ass considered, 91. A proper sign to Balaam, and the prophecies render the miracle more credible, 93. The style of his prophecies beautiful, 94. His prophecy of the singular character of the Jewish nation, how fulfilled even to this day, 95. His prophecy of their victories much the same as Jacob's and Isaac's, 96. His prophecy of a king higher than Agag, how fulfilled, 96. His preface to his latter prophecies explained, 98. His prophecy of a star and sceptre to smite the princes of Moab, how fulfilled by David, 99. Who meant by the sons of Sheth, 99. His prophecy against the Edomites, how fulfilled by David, 101. This prophecy of the star and the sceptre applied by most Jewish and Christian writers to the Messiah, 101, 102. But principally to be understood of David, 103. His prophecy against the Amalekites, how fulfilled, 104. His prophecy against the Kenites, and who the Kenites were, 106. How fulfilled, 107. His prophecy of ships from the coast of Chittim, 108. The land of Chittim shown to be a general name for Greece, Italy, and the countries and islands in the Mediterranean, 109. How afflict Ashur, 111. How afflict Eber, and who meant by Eber, 111. How perish for ever, 112. Conclusion, 113.

DISSERTATION VI.

MOSES' PROPHECY OF A PROPHET LIKE UNTO HIMSELF.

p. 113—124.

Moses hath not only preserved several ancient prophecies, but hath likewise inserted several of his own, p. 113. His prophecy of another prophet like unto himself, 113. I. What prophet was here particularly intended, 114—118. The Messiah principally, if not solely, 114. Proved from the conclusion of the book of Deuteronomy, 115. From God's declaration to Miriam and Aaron, 116. From the text itself, 116. From this prophet's being a lawgiver, 116. From fact, 117. II. The great likeness between Moses and Christ, 118—122. Christ resembled Moses in more respects than any other person ever did, 118. The comparison between them as drawn by Eusebius, 119. As enlarged and improved by Dr. Jortin, 119, 120. His conclusion from thence, 122. III. The punishment of the people for their infidelity and disobedience to this prophet, 122—124.

DISSERTATION VII.

PROPHECIES OF MOSES CONCERNING THE JEWS.

p. 124—138.

Prophecies of Moses abound most in the latter part of his writings, 124. The 28th of Deuteronomy a lively picture of the state of the Jews at present, 124. Prophecy of their enemies coming from far, how fulfilled, 125. Prophecy of the cruelty of their enemies, how fulfilled, 126. Of the sieges of their cities, 126. Of their distress and famine in the sieges, 127. Of women eating their own children, 128. Of their great calamities and slaughters, 130. Of their being carried into Egypt, and sold for slaves at a low price, 130. Of their being plucked from off their own land, 131, 132. Of their being dispersed into all nations, 133. Of their still subsisting as a distinct people, 133. Of their finding no rest, 133. Of their being oppressed and spoiled, 134. Of their children taken from them, 135. Of their madness and desperation, 135. Of their serving other gods, 136. Of their becoming a proverb, and a by-word, 137. Of the long continuance of them, 137. Conclusion, 138.

DISSERTATION VIII.

PROPHECIES OF OTHER PROPHETS CONCERNING
THE JEWS.

p. 138—163.

Other prophecies relative to the present state of the Jews, p. 138. I. The prophecies concerning the restoration of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, and the dissolution of the ten tribes, 139—146. The restoration of the two tribes foretold to be after 70 years, 139. Fulfilled at three periods, 139. The ten tribes to cease from being a people within 65 years, 144. The prophecy how fulfilled, 141. What is become of them since, and where are they at present, 142. Vain conjectures of the Jews thereupon, 142, 143. Not all returned with the two tribes, 143. Not all swallowed up and lost among the heathen nations, 144. Whether they remained, or whether they returned, they ceased from being a distinct people, and were all comprehended under the name of Jews, 144, 145. The reason of this distinction between the two tribes and the ten tribes, 146. II. The preservation of the Jews, and the destruction of their enemies, 146—149. The preservation of the Jews, one of the most illustrious acts of divine providence, 147. Nor less the providence of God in the destruction of their enemies, 148. Not only nations but single persons, 149. III. The desolation of Judea another memorable instance of the truth of prophecy, 149—155. Foretold by the prophets, 149. The present state of Judea answerable to the prophecies, 150. No objection from hence to its having been a land flowing with milk and honey, 151. The ancients, Heathens as well as Jews testify it to have been a good land, 151. Mr. Maundrell's account of its present state, 152, 153. Dr. Shaw's, 152. IV. The prophecies of the infidelity and reprobation of the Jews, how fulfilled, 155—157. V. Of the calling and obedience of the Gentiles, 157. This revolution effected by incompetent persons, and in a short time, 159. The prophecies concerning the Jews and Gentiles have not yet received their entire completion, 159. What hath been accomplished a sufficient pledge of what is to come, 159, 160. Conclusion dissuading all persecution, and recommending humanity and charity to the Jews, 161—163.

DISSERTATION IX.

THE PROPHECIES CONCERNING NINEVEH.

p. 163—181.

Some prophecies relating to other nations which had connections with the Jews, 163. Want of ancient eastern historians to clear up the prophecies, 163. The Assyrians terrible enemies to both Israel and Judah, 164. Isaiah's prophecy against the Assyrians, 165. Nineveh, the capital of the Assyrian empire, a most ancient city, 166. An exceeding great city likewise, and the scripture-account confirmed by heathen authors, 167. Like other great cities very corrupt, but king and people repented, at the preaching of Jonah, 169. Some inquiry who this king was, and at what time Jonah prophesied, 170. Their repentance of short continuance, for Nahum not long after foretold the destruction of the city, 170, 171. Some inquiry when Nahum prophesied, 172. Nineveh accordingly destroyed by the Medes and Babylonians, 172. Some inquiry by whom particularly, 173. Nahum's prophecies of the manner of its destruction exactly fulfilled according to the accounts of Diodorus Siculus, 173, 174. Nahum and Zephaniah foretold its total destruction contrary to all probability, 176, 177. These predictions fulfilled according to the accounts of the ancients, 178. According to the accounts of the moderns, 179, 180. Conclusion, 180, 181.

DISSERTATION X.

THE PROPHECIES CONCERNING BABYLON.

p. 181—203.

Babylon as well as Nineveh an enemy to the people of God, 181. A very great and very ancient city, 181. Considerably improved by Nebuchadnezzar, 182. One of the wonders of the world, 183. Isaiah and Jeremiah foretold its destruction, 183, 184. Prophecies of Cyrus the conqueror of Babylon, fulfilled, 184. The time of the reduction of Babylon foretold, 185. Several circumstances of the siege foretold, 185. Besieged by the Medes and Elamites or Persians, 185, 186. Armenians and other nations united against it, 187. The Babylonians hide themselves within their walls, 187. The river dried up, 188. The city taken during a feast, 189. The facts related by Herodotus and Xenophon, and therefore no room for scepticism, 189. The prophets foretold its total desolation, 190. These

prophecies to be fulfilled by degrees, 191, 192. Its state under Cyrus, 192. Under Darius, 192. Under Xerxes, 193. Under Alexander and afterwards, 194, 195. The accounts of it since that time, by Diodorus, 195. Strabo, 196. Pliny, 196. Pausanias, 196. Maximus Tyrius and Lucian, 197. Jerome, 197. Accounts of later authors, of Benjamin of Tudela, 197. Texeira, 198. Rauwolf, 198. Peter de la Valle, 199. Tavernier, 199. Mr. Salmon, 200. Mr. Hanway, 200. By these accounts it appears how punctually the prophecies have been fulfilled, 201. Conclusion; such prophecies a convincing argument of the divinity of the scriptures, and likewise instances of fine writing, and of the spirit of liberty, 202, 203.

DISSERTATION XI.

THE PROPHECIES CONCERNING TYRE.

p. 203—225.

Tyre, another enemy to the Jews, its fall predicted by Isaiah and Ezekiel, p. 203. The prophecies relate to both old and new Tyre, 203. A very ancient city, 205. The daughter of Sidon, but in time excelled the mother, and became a mart of nations, 206. In this flourishing condition, when the prophets foretold her destruction, for her pride, and wickedness, and cruelty to the Jews, 207, 208. Several particulars included in the prophecies, 209. I. The city to be taken and destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar and the Chaldeans, 209—211. II. The inhabitants to pass over the Mediterranean, but to find no rest, 211—214. III. The city to be restored after 70 years, 214, 215. IV. To be taken and destroyed again, 215, 216. V. The people to forsake idolatry, and become converts to the true religion, 218, 219. VI. The city at last to be totally destroyed, and become a place for fishers to spread their nets upon, 220. These prophecies to be fulfilled by degrees, 221. A short account of the place from the time of Nebuchadnezzar to the present, 221, 222. Huetius' account of it, 222. Dr. Shaw's, 223. Mr. Maundrell's, 223. Conclusion with some reflections upon trade, 224, 225.

DISSERTATION XII.

THE PROPHECIES CONCERNING EGYPT.

p. 225—253.

Egypt famous for its antiquity, p. 225. No less celebrated for its wisdom, 226. The parent of superstition as well as the

mistress of learning, 227. Had such connections with the Jews, that it is made the subject of several prophecies, 227. The phrase of the burden of Egypt considered and explained, 227—229. I. Its conquest by Nebuchadnezzar foretold by Jeremiah and Ezekiel, 229. How fulfilled, 229—232. II. Its conquest by the Persians foretold by Isaiah, and how fulfilled, 232—236. III. Its conquest by Alexander foretold by Isaiah, and at the same time the spreading of the true religion in the land, 236, 237. How fulfilled, 237—241. IV. The prophecy of Ezekiel, that it should be a base tributary kingdom, 241. The truth of it shown by a short deduction of the history of Egypt from that time to this, 242—253. Its state under the Babylonians, 242. Under the Persians, 243—245. Under the Macedonians, 245. Under the Romans, 246. Under the Saracens with the burning of the Alexandrian Library, 247—249. Under the Mamalucs, 249. Under the Turks, 250. No one could have foretold this upon human conjecture, 251. Conclusion with some reflections upon the character of the Egyptians, as drawn by ancient and modern authors, 251—253.

DISSERTATION XIII.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S DREAM OF THE GREAT EMPIRES.

p. 253—278.

Some prophecies relating to more remote nations, p. 253. The genuineness of Daniel's prophecies denied by Porphyry and Collins, but sufficiently vindicated, 254. The credit of Daniel as a prophet established by prophecies fulfilling at this time, 255. Daniel's first prophecy, his interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, with the occasion of it, 255—257. A great human figure not an improper emblem of human power, and the various parts and metals signify various kingdoms, 257. I. The head of fine gold, or the Babylonian empire, 258, 259. The extent of it shown from heathen authors, 259, 260. II. The breast and arms of silver, or the Medo-Persian empire, 260. Why said to be inferior, and how long it lasted, 261. III. The belly and thighs of brass, or the Macedonian empire, 261. Why said to bear rule over all the earth, 261. The kingdom of Alexander and of his successors not two different kingdoms, 263. Spoken of as one and the same by ancient authors, 263. IV. The legs of iron, and feet part of iron and part of clay, or the fourth empire, 264. Farther proofs that the kingdoms of the Seleucida and Lagida cannot be the fourth kingdom, 265. This description appli-

cable only to the Roman empire, 265, 266. So St. Jerome explains it, and all ancient writers both Jewish and Christian, 266, 267. V. The stone that brake the image, or the fifth empire, 267. Cannot be the Roman, 268. Can be understood only of the kingdom of Christ, 268, 269. Represented in two states, as a stone, and as a mountain, 269, 270. This interpretation confirmed by ancient writers, both Jews and Christians, and particularly by Jonathan Ben Uziel, who made the Chaldee paraphrase upon the prophets, 270. The sense of Josephus with Bishop Chandler's reflections upon it, 271, 272. The ancient Christians give the same interpretation, 272. St. Chrysostom's comment, 273. The exposition of Sulpicius Severus, 274. Conclusion, 275. Hence we are enabled to account, for Nebuchadnezzar's prophecy, and the Delphic oracle, 276. Hence the distinction of four great empires, and why only these four predicted, 277, 278.

DISSERTATION XIV.

DANIEL'S VISION OF THE SAME.

p. 278—311.

What was exhibited to Nebuchadnezzar in the form of a great image, was represented to Daniel in the shape of great wild beasts, and why, 278, 279. I. The Babylonian empire why compared to a lion, 279. Why with eagle's wings, 279. Why with a man's heart, 280. II. The Persian empire, why compared to a bear, 281. How raised up itself on one side, and had three ribs in the mouth, 281. Its cruelty, 282. III. The Macedonian empire, why compared to a leopard, 283. Why with four wings and four heads, and dominion given to it, 284. IV. The Roman empire compared to a terrible beast without a name, 284. The kingdoms of the Seleucidæ and Lagidæ, can in no respect answer to this description, 285. The Roman empire answers exactly. A memorable quotation to this purpose, from Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 287. This beast had ten horns or kingdoms, and the kingdoms of Egypt and Syria were never so divided, 288. The notions of Porphyry, Grotius, and Collins, refuted, 289. The ten kingdoms to be sought amid the broken pieces of the Roman empire, 289. The ten kingdoms, according to Machiavel, 289. According to Mr. Mede, 290. According to Bishop Lloyd, 290. According to Sir Isaac Newton, 290. The same number since, 290. How they stood in the eighth century, 291. A little horn to rise up among the ten, 292. The notion of Grotius and Collins, that Antiochus Epiphanes was the little horn, refuted, 292, 293. An inquiry proposed into the sense of the

ancients, 293. The opinion of Irenæus, 293. Of St. Cyril at Jerusalem, 294. Of St. Jerome with Theodoret and St. Austin 295. The fathers had some mistaken notions concerning Antichrist, and how it came to pass they had such, 196—298. The little horn to be sought among the ten kingdoms of the western Roman empire, 298. Machiavel himself points out a little horn springing up among the ten, 299. Three of the first horns to fall before him, 299. The three according to Mr. Mede, 299. According to Sir Isaac Newton, 300. Something to be approved, and something to be disapproved in both their plans, 300. The first of the three horns, the exarchate of Ravenna, 301. The second, the kingdom of the Lombards, 302. The third, the state of Rome, 303. The character answers in all other respects, 304. How long Antichrist to continue, 305, 306. V. All these kingdoms to be succeeded by the kingdom of the Messial, 307. This and the former prophecy compared together, 309. They extend from the reign of the Babylonians to the consummation of all things, 310. Will cast light upon the subsequent prophecies, and the subsequent prophecies reflect light upon them again, 311: Conclusion, 311.

INTRODUCTION TO THE LECTURE FOUNDED BY THE HONOURABLE ROBERT BOYLE.

p. 312—322.

How and by whom the author was appointed to preach the Boyle's Lecture, 312, 313. Previous to the farther explanation of Daniel, a vindication is proposed of the genuineness of his prophecies, against the principal objections of unbelievers, 313. Collins' eleven objections, particularly considered and refuted, 313. His first objection, relating to the age of Daniel, refuted, 314. His second objection, relating to the mistake of the kings names, and to Nebuchadnezzar's madness, refuted, 314. His third objection, relating to the Greek words found in Daniel, refuted, 315. His fourth objection, relating to the version of the Seventy, refuted, 316. His fifth objection, drawn from the clearness of Daniel's prophecies to the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, refuted, 316. His sixth objection, drawn from the omission of Daniel in the book of Ecclesiasticus, refuted, 317. His seventh objection, relating Jonathan's making no Targum on Daniel, refuted, 317. His eighth objection, drawn from the style of Daniel's Chaldee, refuted, 318. His ninth objection, drawn from the forgeries of the Jews, refuted, 319. His tenth objection, drawn from Daniel's uncommon punctuality in fixing the times, refuted, 319. His eleventh objection, relating to Daniel's setting forth

facts very imperfectly, and contrary to other histories, and to his dark and emblematic style, refuted, 320. The external and internal evidence for the genuineness of the book of Daniel, 321. The division of the remainder of this work, agreeable to the design of the honourable founder, 321. From the instance of this excellent person, and some others, it is shown that philosophy and religion may well consist and agree together, 322.

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 in *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 of any 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 'planted 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 word* in the original signifies his *little* son; and some † 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 ‡ 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.

* The Hebrew word *Katan* signifies little, less, least.

† Hence it is inferred with great probability, that he (Canaan) was a companion with his father in his transgression. See Piscator in Pool's Synopsis on Gen. ix. 25.

‡ See Origen on the book of Genesis, page 33. of Vol. II. in the Benedictine Edition. It is a question that has been greatly agitated, why the curse due to Ham should have been denounced by Noah against Canaan. Theodoret answers this in his 57th question on the book of Genesis, that he had learned from a certain Jew, that Canaan first beheld the nakedness of his grandfather, and in a sneering and contemptuous manner pointed him out to his father. But the truth is, that this tradition among the Jews is to be met with in Bereshith Rabba, a rabbinical book written long before the time of Theodoret. See Bochart's book entitled Phaleg, Book IV. Chap. xxxvii. Col. 308.

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, to foretel the different fortunes of their families: for this prophecy relates not so much to themselves, as to 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 superintendence and government of the world, endued 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 *blessing* and *enlargement* 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.

Then this was Noah's prophecy: and it was delivered, as * 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 par-

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

ticularly 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 to punish only Canaan for what Ham had committed? Such arbitrary proceedings are contrary to all our ideas of the divine perfections; 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 till 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 *blessing* and *enlargement* 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 his 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 sup-

port 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 abominably wicked people. The sin and punishment of the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah, and the cities of the plain are too 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 descendants therefore of Canaan were to be subject to the descendants 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 servant to them,’ or ‘their servant;’ so that this is as it were the burden of the prophecy. Some* critics take the phrase of *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 † *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; 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 be-

* Noah cursing Ham, foretold that the time was coming, when his posterity would be the servant of servants. This prediction was fulfilled in the Canaanites, at that time, when they were compelled to come under the yoke of the Israelites, a people who for a long time had served the Egyptians. See Borchart’s Phaleg, Book I. Chap. i. Col. 3, 4.

† S. Pompey was a man without letters, a freedman of freedmen, and a servant of servants. He envied the great, while he cringed to the basest. So saith Velleius Peterculus, II. 73. In the same book II. 83, and in the fragment of Sallust we meet with these words, “here indeed the lowest of servants obtains the superiority.” A vassal below the condition of servants. These examples are taken from some manuscript notes in the possession of Dr. Jortin.

fore 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 and 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 *foretel* 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 descendants 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 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 descendants 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 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.

* Mede’s Works, Book I. Disc. 50. pag. 234. See also towards the end of the XXVII book of Livy.

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 Arabic * version in these three verses hath *the father of Canaan* instead of *Canaan*. Some copies of the Septuagint † likewise have *Ham* instead of *Canaan*, as if *Canaan* was a corruption of the text. Vatablus and others ‡ 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, § as if some-

* Cursed be the father of Canaan. See the Arabic version.

† The Septuagint in some copies have *Ham* instead of *Canaan*, as if *Canaan* were a corruption of the text. See Calmet on this passage. So likewise Ainsworth, [Who says, by *Canaan* may be understood or implied, *Canaan's* father ; as the Greek translation hath *Ham*, and elsewhere in Scripture, *Goliath* is named for *Goliath's* father. 2 Sam. xxi, 19. compared with 1 Chron. xx. 5.]

‡ Some suppose that the word *Abi* father, is left out by the carelessness of transcribers and ought to be supplied, because a little below *Ham* is twice called the father of *Canaan*, see Gen. ix. 18, 22. As if the words stood thus, *Cursed be Ham the father of Canaan*. See Vatablus on the passage.

§ 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 Deborah, the prayer of Habakkuk, &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.

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 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 to 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 characterized as *the father of Canaan* particularly, for the greater encouragement of the Israelites, who were going to 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 particu-

If you will not allow this emendation to be right and certain, yet I think you must 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.

larly 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 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, and 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 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* ; the words may be (and perhaps more pertinently) rendered—*Blessed of Jehovah, my God, be Shem!* See Gen. xxiv. 31.” Or if we choose (as most perhaps will choose) to follow our own as well

* Ham, although cursed, yet was not excluded from earthly blessings ; for in the division of the world, besides Egypt and the whole continent of Africa, a large portion of Syria was likewise allotted to him. See Bochart’s *Phaleg*, Book IV. Chap. i Col. 203.

† See Kennicott’s *Dissertation*, p. 561.

as all the ancient versions, we may observe that the old patriarch doth not say, *Blessed be Shem*, as he said, *Cursed be Canaan*; for men's evils springeth of themselves, but their good from God: and therefore in a strain of devotion breaking forth into thanksgiving to God as the author of all good to Shem. Neither doth he say the same to Japheth; for God certainly 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 being 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 concerning the flesh, Christ came.*

But still Japheth was not dismissed without a promise, ver. 47. '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 best critics † in the language have remarked, besides other reasons, 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 ren-

* [Shem is the first person who had the honour of having the Lord stiled *his God*. This expression denotes his being a God IN COVENANT with him, as when he is called the God of Abram, Isaac, and Jacob. Noah, foreseeing by a spirit of prophecy, that God would enter into a special covenant with the posterity of Shem, taking them to be his peculiar people, and binding himself to be their God, was affected at the consideration of so great a privilege, and breaks out into an ascription of praise to God, on this account.] Fuller.

† See Bochart's Phaleg, Book III. Chap. i. Col. 149. and Le Clerc upon the passage.

dering; 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 comfort us,' the name of *Noah* being thought to signify *comfort*: 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*: 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 *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 descendants 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 demoninates 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 latter times.

* I altogether agree with the admirers of Bochart, who think that by the promise contained in these words was intimated, that God in the division of the earth would bestow the greatest portion on the posterity of Japheth. This must be acknowledged by every person, who considers that besides Europe, large as it is, they inhabit the lesser Asia, Media, a part of Armenia, Iberia, Albania and those most extensive countries towards the north, which formerly the Scythians, but now the Tartars possess; to say nothing of the continent of America, into which, it is highly probable, they found their way by the straits of Anian. See Bochart's *Phaleg*, Book III. Chap. i. Col. 149.

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 the tents of Shem:' and the Chaldee of Onkelos* also thus paraphraseth it, 'and will make his glory to dwell in the tabernacles of Shem.' They who prefer the latter construction, seem to have done it, that they might refer this 27th verse wholly to Japheth, as they refer the 26th wholly to Shem: but the other appears to me the more natural and easy construction. Taken in either sense, the prophecy hath been most punctually fulfilled. In the former sense it was fulfilled literally, when the *Shechinah* or divine presence rested 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. *eskenosen*, pitched his tent, and dwelt among us, ver. 14. In the latter sense it was fulfilled first, when the Greeks and Romans, who sprung originally from Japheth, subdued and possessed Judea and other countries of Asia belonging to Shem; and again spiritually, when they were proselyted to the true religion, and they who were not Israelites by birth, became Israelites by faith, and lived, as we and many others of Japheth's posterity 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 as it were

* And he (God) will cause his glory to abide in the tents of Shem. See the Paraphrase of Onkelos.

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 hath carried matters too far in ascribing more to this prophecy than really belongs to it. For discoursing of the habitations and dispersions of the sons of Noah, he saith * 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 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 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 Asia, if there is any faith in ancient history. The Carthaginians too, were descended from the Canaanites, as we noticed 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 had 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 descendants of Shem, as the two latter were of the sons of Japheth.

* See Mede's Works, Book I. Disc. 49, and 50. pag. 283. Edit. 1672.

† Patrick, &c

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 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 by no means they are competent judges, having never either 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 conclusions, and conclusions without premises.† But I love not controversy, and will only

* Lord Bolingbroke's Works, Vol. 2. Letter iii. pag. 314. Edit. quarto.

† [It is worthy of notice, that the God of Israel thought it no dishonour to his character to declare, that "he would visit the iniquity of the fathers upon the children in those that hated him," any more than that "he would shew mercy to those that loved him," which he did in an eminent degree in the posterity of Abraham. And should any object to this, and to the Bible on this account, we might appeal to universal fact. None can deny, that children are the better or the worse for the conduct of their parents. If any man insists that neither good nor evil shall befall him, but what is the immediate consequence of his own conduct, he must go out of the world, for no such state of existence is known in it.

There is, however, an important difference between *the sin of a parent being the occasion of the prediction of a curse upon his posterity, who were considered by Him who knew the end from the beginning as walking in his steps, and its being the formal cause of their punishment.*

The sin of Ham was the *occasion* of the prediction against the Canaanites, and the *antecedent* to the evil predicted, but it was not the *cause* of it. Its formal, procuring cause, may be seen in

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 himself is 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,* saith he, we owe to George the monk." We are indebted indeed to George the monk, more usually called Syncellus, for what is entitled *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, and 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 † that "Virgil in those famous verses *Excudent alii, &c.* might have justly ascribed to his countrymen the praise of writing history better

the 18th chapter of Leviticus. To Ham, and perhaps to Canaan, the prediction of the servitude of their descendants was a punishment, but the fulfilment of that prediction on the parties was no farther such than as it was connected with their own sin.

There is also an important difference between *the providential dispensations of God towards families and nations in the present world, and the administration of distributive justice towards individuals, with respect to the world to come.* In the last judgment, 'every one shall give an account of himself to God, and be judged according to the deeds done in the body,' but while we are in this world we stand in various relations, in which it is impossible that we should be dealt with merely as individuals. God deals with families and nations *as such*, and in the course of his providence visits them with good and evil, not according to the conduct of individuals, but, as far as conduct is concerned, that of the general body. To insist that we should, in all cases, be treated as individuals, is to renounce the social character.]

Fuller

* Lord Bolingbroke's Works, Letter 1st. page 262.

† Letter the 5th. page 340, &c.

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 Sallust, of Livy, and of Tacitus." But it happened that 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,† 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 philosophers. Raleigh, and Clarendon believed; Bacon, and Locke believed; and where then is the discredit to revelation, if Lord Bolingbroke was an infidel? 'A scorner,' as Solomon saith, Prov. xiv. 6, 'seeketh wisdom, and findeth it not.'

But there cannot be a stronger condemnation of his lordship's conduct, than his own words upon another occasion in his famous Dissertation upon parties. "Some men there are, the pests of society I think them, who pretend a great regard to religion in general, but who take every opportunity of declaiming publicly against that system of religion, or at least against that church-establishment, which is received in Britain. Just so the men, of whom I have been speaking, affect a great regard to liberty in general; but they dislike so much the system of liberty established in Britain, that they are incessant in their endeavours to puzzle the plainest thing in the world, and to refine and distinguish away the life and strength of our constitution, in favour of the little, present, momentary turns, which they are retained to serve. What now would be the consequence, if all these endeavours should succeed?—I am persuaded that the great philosophers, divines, lawyers, and politicians, who

* Virgil died A. U. C. 735. Livy according to Dodwell finished his history in 745. Tacitus was consul in 850. See Fabricius.

† Letter the 4th. page 130.

exert them, have not yet prepared and agreed upon the plans of a new religion, and of new constitutions in church and state. We should find ourselves therefore without any form of religion, or civil government. The first set of these missionaries would take off all the restraints of religion from the governed ; and the latter set would remove, or render ineffectual, all the limitations and controuls, which liberty hath prescribed to those that govern, and disjoint the whole frame of our constitution. Entire dissolution of manners, confusion, anarchy, or perhaps absolute monarchy, would follow ; for it is possible, nay probable, that in such a state as this, and amidst such a route of lawless savages, men would choose this government, absurd as it is, rather than have no government at all."

It is to be lamented that such a genius should be so employed : but the misapplication of those excellent talents with which God had entrusted him, was his reigning fault through every stage, through every scene of life. That which Lord Digby * said of the great Lord Strafford, may with more truth and justice be affirmed of him, that the malignity of his practices was hugely aggravated by those rare abilities of his, whereof God had given him the use, but the devil the application.

II.

THE PROPHECIES CONCERNING ISHMAEL.

ABRAHAM 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

* Rushworth, Vol. 4. page 225.

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 shall bear a son, and shalt 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, 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 also 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 numbered 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

* [God is not said to have heard her prayer, for it does not appear that she, as yet, had ever called upon his name; she merely sat bewailing herself, and not knowing what would become of her—yet, lo, the ear of mercy is open to affliction itself! The groans of the prisoner are heard of God; not only theirs who cry unto him, but, in many cases, theirs who do not.]

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 Hagarines, who probably were denominated from his mother Hagar ; and in the Nabathæans, who had their name from his son Nebaioth ; 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 descendants, the Arabs, are 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 Melo, quoted by Eusebius from Alexander Polyhistor, a heathen historian, relates that “ Abraham * of his Egyptian wife beget 12 sons (he should have said one son who beget 12 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 Thevenot † and other modern travellers testify.

‘ And I will make him a great nation.’ This is repeated twice or thrice ; and it was accomplished, as soon as

* He (Abraham) of his Egyptian wife beget twelve sons, who going into Arabia divided that country among themselves, and were the first who arrived at sovereign authority therein. From thence it hath come to pass, that the Arabians even down to the times in which we live, reckon twelve kings reigning over them, who are called by the same names with their first sovereigns. See the Evangelical preparation of Eusebius, Book IX. Chap. xix. page 421. in the edition of Vigerus.

† See Part I. Book 2 Chap. 32. See likewise Harris’ Voyages, Vol. 2. Book 2. Chap. 9.

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 rapid and 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 ass man, and the learned Bochart * translates it *tam ferus quam onager*, as wild as a wild ass; 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 asses 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 ass free? or who hath loosed the bands of the wild ass? 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 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 descendants than himself. ‘He dwelt in the wilderness;’ and his sons still inhabit the same wilderness, and many of them neither sow nor plant † according to the best accounts ancient and modern. ‘And he became an archer;’ and such were the Itureans, whose bows ‡ and arrows are famous in all authors; such were the mighty men of Ke-

* See the first Part of Bochart’s Hierozoicon, Book I. Chap. xvi. Col. 878.

† See Amianus Marcellinus, Book XIV. Chap. iv. page 14. in the edition of Valesius printed at Paris, 1681. See also Harris’ Voyages, Vol. II. Book II. Chap. ix.

‡ The wood of the yew-tree is bent into Iturean bows. See Virgil’s Georgics, Book II. line 448.—From thence a passage was opened for Iturean arrows. See Lucan VII. 30.

dar in Isaiah's time ; Is. 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 fire arms among them ; * the greater part of them are still strangers to them, and still continue 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 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 † justify, “ by alleging 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 a 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

* Thevenot in Harris, Vol. 2. Book 2. Chap. ix.

† Sale's Preliminary Discourse to the Koran, Sect. I. page 30, 31, where he also quotes a book intituled, *A Journey into Palestine*.

Jeremiah's time; Isa. 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 himself, the sacred historian afterwards relates, Gen. xxv. 17, 18. that 'the years of the life of Ishmael 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 Keturah, the Moabites and Ammonites descendants of Lot, the Israelites descendants of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and the Edomites descendants 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 vallies. 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 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 10 or 12 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

* Sale's Preliminary Discourse, *ibid.* page 2, 3.

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 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 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 † Belesis and Arbaces 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,

* See Diodorus Siculus, Book I. page 36, in the edition of Stephanus, and page 52, in that of Rhodomanus.

† See Diodorus Siculus, Book II. page 79, in the edition of Stephanus, and page 111, in that of Rhodomanus.

that 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 another place † he saith, that while Phœnicia, Palestine, Syria, and the neighbouring countries were taxed, the Arabian territories continued free from paying any tribute. They were then regarded as friends, but afterwards they assisted with their forces Amyrtæus ‡ king of Egypt against Darius Nothus, and Euagoras § 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 Arabs || alone disdained to acknowledge the conqueror, and scorned to send any embassy, or 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, showed 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 suc-

* The Arabians never were subdued by the Persians. Unless a free passage had been granted by them to Cambyses the king of Persia, that prince would never have been able to force his way through their country to invade Egypt. See Gale's edition of Herodotus, Book III. Sect. 88, page 198.

† See the same, Sect. 91, page 199. Beyond the territory of Arabia, for this country was free.

‡ See Diodorus Siculus, Book XIII. page 355, in the edition of Stephanus. Vol. ii. page 172, in the edition of Rhodomanus. See Prideaux Connections, Part I. Book VI. In the year 410.

§ See Diodorus Siculus, Book XV. page 459, in the edition of Stephanus. Vol. II. page 328, in the edition of Rhodomanus. See also Prideaux Connections, Part I. Book VII. year 386.

|| See Strabo, Book XVI. page 1076, and 1132, in the edition of Amsterdam printed in 1707. And Arrian Book VII. page 300, in the edition of Gronovius.

cessors,* made two attempts upon them, one by his general Athenæus, 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 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 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 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.

* See Diodorus Siculus, Book XIX. page 722, &c. in Stephanus' edition, and Vol. II. page 730, in that of Rhodomanus.

† Neither the Assyrians in ancient times, nor the kings of the Medes and Persians afterwards, nor even those of Macedon were able to subjugate them. Although all these put in motion, against them, many well appointed armies, yet their enterprises were never crowned with success. See Diodorus Siculus, Book II. page 92, in Stephanus' edition, and page 131, in that of Rhodomanus.

‡ See Plutarch, every where in his life of Lucullus.

He * carried his arms into the country, obtained some victories, and compelled Aretas 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 † 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 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. About eighty years after, the emperor Severus twice besieged the same city with a numerous army, and a train of military engines ; but he had no better success than Trajan. God, 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

* See Plutarch in his life of Pompey. Page 640, &c. in the Paris edition of 1624.

† See Strabo, Book XVI. page 1126, in the Amsterdam edition of 1707. See also Dion Cassius, Book LIII. page 516, in Leunclavius' edition printed at Hanover, in 1606. Dion calls him by mistake Aelius Largus.

‡ There were thunderings. The rainbow appeared. Flashes of lightning, furious storms, hail and thunderbolts assailed the Romans as often as they attacked them. (The Hagarenes.) As often too as they provided a meal, great swarms of flies sending forth a dreadful stench perched on their meats and drinks. For these reasons Trajan retired from thence. See Dion's History, Book LXVIII. page 785, in Leunclavius' edition printed at Hanover, 1606.

§ And thus God delivered the city (of the Hagarenes,) by the emperor Severus recalling his soldiers, at a time, when they had it in their power to take it, and afterwards when he was desirous of possessing it, he was hindered by the obstinacy of his soldiers. See the same Book LXXV. page 855.

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 Mahommed, who laid the foundation of a mighty empire: and then for several centuries they were better known among the European nations by the name of the *Sarraceni* or *Saraceni*, the *Arraceni** of Pliny, and the *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 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 nations 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 the Arabs, that they have been obliged§ to pay them a sort of annu-

* See Pliny's Natural History, Book VI. Chap. xxxii. and the note of Harduin.

† *Hagarenes*, the descendants of Ishmael. They are called also Ishmaelites and Saraceni, &c. Calmet's Dict.

‡ The Saraceni 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, page 304, 305.

§ See Thevenot in Harris, Vol. 2, Book II. Chap. 9, and Demetrius Cantemir's Hist. of the Othman empire in Ashmed II. page 393.

al 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 dependant 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 Bedoweens, saith 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 Arab 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 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 pas-

* Shaw's Travels, page 300, &c.

† Preface to his Travels, page vii.

sage 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 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 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 encampment those of its particular chief; and though seemingly divided, yet they are all united in a sort of league together; that they 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, ‡ 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 re-

* Pococke's Description of the East. Vol. I. Book III. Chap. 2.

† Book IV. Chap. 4.

‡ Hanway's Travels, Vol. 4, Part 5. Chap. xxix. page 221, &c.

spect 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."

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 conquests they over-ran 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 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 descendants, particularly those therefore called Scenites † formerly, and those called Bedoweens at this day. He was an archer in the wilderness; and 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 inaccessibleness of their country hath been their preservation; for their country hath been often penetrated, though never entirely subdued. I know that 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

* See his Antiquities, Book I. Chap. xii. Sect. 2, page 29, in Hudson's edition. And also Pocock's Specimen of Arabian History, page 319.

† Scenites or Skenites,—wanderers, so called from their tents, in Greek Skene, which signifies a tent. See Pliny, Book VI. Chap. xxviii. Sect. 32, in Harduin's edition. See also Pocock's Specimen of Arabian History, page 87.

‡ See Diodorus Siculus, Book II. page 92, in Stephanus' edition, page 131, in that of Rhodomanus, and Book XIX. page 722, in Stephanus' edition, and page 730, in that of Rhodomanus.

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 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 as 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 are circumcised, and both profess to have derived that ceremony from Abraham. 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 kingdom 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 later ages.

It was promised to Abraham before Ishmael or any son was born to him, Gen. xii. 3. 'In thee shall all 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 swore unto Abraham thy father.' Now it is very well known, that it was not till 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, till 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, 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 descendants 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 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 be-

* See Basnage's History of the Jews, Book VII. Chap. xxxiii. Sect. 15.

lieve, 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 foretel 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;' 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 to thee; be lord over thy brethren, and let thy mother's sons bow down to thee; cursed be every one that curseth thee, and blessed be he that blesseth thee.' And thus he blesseth 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 of 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 all 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 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.*

* [Paul introduces this case as an instance of the sovereignty of God, in the dispensation of his grace. The rejection of a

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 descendants 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 Septuagint,* and the vulgate, hath it, that Jacob was a *plain man*; but he appears from his whole conduct to have been rather an *artful* than a *plain* man. The word* in

great part of the Jewish nation was to some a stumbling block. It seemed to them as if the word of promise, to the fathers had taken no effect. The apostle in answer, maintains that it was not the original design of God, in the promise to save all Abraham’s posterity, but on the contrary, that from the beginning, he drew a line of distinction between Isaac and Ishmael, Jacob and Esau, though each were alike descended from him, according to the flesh. To a farther, supposed objection, that such a distinction between children, while they were yet unborn, reflected on the *righteousness* of God, he contents himself with denying the consequence, and asserting the absolute right of God, to have mercy on whom he will have mercy.] Rom. ix. 6, 16.

* “Aplastos,” in the Septuagint version, and “simplex,” in the Vulgate, both of which signify, plain, simple, or without deceit.

† “Tam,” a Hebrew word, which signifies entire or perfect.

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 Philo* the Jew understands it, and Le Clerc translates it. Esau slighted his birth-right † and those sacred privileges of which Jacob was

In the Syriac and Samaritan, this word is rendered entire, by Onkelos it is translated perfect, and in the Arabic, perfect in virtues.

* See Le Clerc on the passage. "Jacob truly was mild, meek, or gentle."

† [Whether Jacob was right as to the *means* he used or not, his *motives* were good, and those of Esau were evil. Observe particularly.

1. The birth-right attached to seniority.

2. It ordinarily consisted in the excellency of dignity, the excellency of power, and a double portion.

3. These privileges of the first-born, were in several instances, forfeited by the mis-conduct of the parties, as in the case of Cain, Reuben, &c.

4. There was in the family of Abraham a peculiar blessing, which was supposed to be attached to the birth-right, though God in several instances put it in another direction. This blessing was principally spiritual and distant, having respect to the setting up of God's kingdom, to the birth of the Messiah; or in other words to all those great things, included in the covenant of Abraham. This was well understood by the family, both Esau and Jacob must have often heard their parents converse about it. If the birth-right which was bought at that time, had consisted in any temporal advantages of dignity, authority or property to be enjoyed in the life time of the parties, Esau would not have made so light of it as he did, calling it *this* birth-right and intimating that he should soon die, and then it would be of no use to him. It is a fact too that Jacob had none of the ordinary advantages of the birth-right during his life time. Instead of a double portion he was sent out of the family with only a *staff* in his hand, leaving Esau to possess the whole of his father's substance, and, when more than twenty years afterwards he returned to Canaan, he made no scruple to ascribe to his brother, the excellency of dignity, and the excellency of power, calling him *my lord Esau*, and acknowledging himself as his *servant*. The truth is, the question between them was, which should be heir to the blessings promised in the covenant with Abraham. This Jacob *desired*, and Esau *despised*, and in despising blessings of so sacred a nature, and that for a morsel of meat, he was guilty of profaneness. The spirit of his language 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 * mentions an Idumean deity named Koze : 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 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

“ *I cannot live upon promises, give me something to eat and drink, for to-morrow I die.*” Such is the spirit of unbelief in every age ; and thus it is that poor deluded souls continue to despise things, distant and heavenly, and prefer to them the momentary gratifications of flesh and sense.] *Fuller.*

* Koze, was a divinity worshipped by the Edomites. See Antiquities, Book XV. Chap. vii. Sect. 9. page 686, in Hudson’s edition.

put he garrisons, and all they of Edom became David's servants.' In this state of servitude they continued about 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 Joktheel 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 of Hebron, and the towns thereof, and pulled down the fortress of it, and burnt the towers thereof round about,* 1 Macc. v. 2 Macc. x. At last his nephew, 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 proselytes 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 to Jacob, 'God give thee of the dew of heaven, and of the fatness of the

* From about the year of the world 2960 before Christ 1044, to about the year of the world 3115 before Christ 889. See Usher's Annals

† See Josephus' Antiquities, Book IX. Sect. I. page 584, in Hudson's edition.

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 Jerome’s * and the old versions : but some modern commentators, († 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 very same ‡ words with the very same præpositions 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

* In the fatness of the earth, and in the dew of heaven from above.

† He shall be at a distance from the fatness of the earth. See Castalio. His habitation shall be remote indeed from the fatness of the earth, nor shall it be fertilized by the dew of heaven. And truly, the land of Edom was not rich, fertile, or well watered. See Le Clerc on the passage.

‡ Ver. 28. Mittal hashamaim umishmanne haaretz.
of the dew of heaven and the fatnesses of the earth.
Ver. 39. Mishmanne haaretz umittal hashamain mignal
of the fatnesses of the earth and of the dew of heaven from above.

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 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, through 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 alleged 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 shalt thou live, and shalt 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 appears, * that upon a sedition and separation many of the Edomites came, and seized upon the south-west parts of Judea during the Babylonish captivity, and settled there ever afterwards. Both

* See Strabo Book XVI. page 1103, in the Amsterdam edition of 1707. And Prideaux' Connections, Part I. Book I. in the year 740.

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, Rase it, rase it, even to the foundation thereof, Ps. cxxxvii. 7. Even long after they were subdued by the Jews, they still retained the same martial spirit, for 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 seige of Jerusalem, they came at the entreaty of the zealots to assist them against the priests and people, and there together with the zealots 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 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 Syriac, ‡ *But, if thou shalt repent, his*

* They were a turbulent and disorderly nation, always inclined to commotions, and delighting in changes, easily flattered to take up arms and hastening to battles as if they were going to a feast. See the Jewish wars, Book IV. Chap. iv. Sect. 1. page 1177, in Hudson’s edition. Consult also the following chapter.

† ‘Estateid henika ean katheles, kai ekluses ton Zugon antou apo tou trachelou sou.’ Septuagint. That is, It (the times) shall be, when thou mayest shake off and loose his yoke from thy neck. Tempusque veniet cum excutias et solvas jugum ejus de cervicibus tuis. Vulgate Version. That is, the time will come when thou mayest shake off and loose his yoke from thy necks.

‡ But if thou shall exercise repentance, his yoke shall pass off from thy neck.

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 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 when they shall turn themselves away from studying the law, and neglect the precepts, behold then thou, 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, † 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. 8, 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 all the families of the earth be blessed:' and

* And it shall come to pass when the children of Jacob shall labour in the law and keep the commandments, they shall put a yoke of bondage upon thy neck; But when the children of Jacob shall turn away themselves from studying the law, and from keeping the commandments, behold then thou shalt break off their yoke of bondage from thy neck. See the Jerusalem Targum.

† See Josephus' Antiquities, Book VIII. Chap. VII. Sect. 6. page 361, in Hudson's edition.

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 blesseth 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 blesseth thee, shall be blessed, as Moses the prophet, the law-giver 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 the peculiar privilege and advantage of Jacob, to be the happy instrument of conveying the 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

* Jacob, my son, whosoever shall curse thee, shall be cursed, like Balaam the son of Beor; but whosoever blesseth thee, shall be blessed, like Moses the prophet, the Israelitish law-giver. See Jerusalem Targum.

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 were swallowed up and lost, partly among the Nabathæan Arabs, and partly among the Jews; and the very name was 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 Obadiah. And at this day we see the Jews subsisting as a distinct people, while Edom is no more. For agreeably to the words of Obadiah, ver. 10. ‘For thy violence against thy brother Jacob, shame shall 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.’



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 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 ‡ asserts the same opinion. “But now,” saith he,

* See Prideaux' Connect. Part I. Book V. Anno 129.

† See Homer's Iliad, Book XVI. Line 852, and Book XXII. Line 358.

‡ Truly I feel a strong desire to prophecy, to you who have condemned me, as to those things which shall happen hereafter,

“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 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† allegeth 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‡ confirms it likewise by the authority of Aristotle; “the soul,” saith Aristotle, “foresees and foretels 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 antiquity§ of this opinion. And

for now that I am about to die, I am arrived at that period of time when the prophetic faculty is most energetic. See Plato’s *Apology for Socrates*, Vol. II. of his works page 39, in the edition of Serranus.

* The soul of man (at the point of death) seems most divine, and then foresees something of futurity. See Xenophon’s *Cyropædia*, Book VII. near the bottom of page 140, in the edition of Henry Stephens, printed 1581.

† Pythagoras the Samian, and some others of the ancient naturalists have demonstrated the immortality of the soul, as a consequence from this sentiment, that it has a foreknowledge of future events at the time of its separation from the body. See the beginning of Book XVIII. page 586, in Rhodomanus’ edition.

‡ Aristotle saith, the soul divines and foretels future events, when it is about to be separated from the body by death. Against Mashem, page 312.

§ Shakspeare alludes to this notion in *Henry IV. First Part*.

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

The same notion is also happily expressed in a most excellent Latin poem on, *The Immortality of the Soul*, which is deserving of a place among classic authors. In richness of poetry it equals Lucretius, and in clearness and strength of argument, it exceeds him. The following is a prose translation of four of its lines.

it is possible, that 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 foretel 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 asserts, † that it is generally, if not always, a characteristic and criterion 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 prophecies that respect different times and periods. ‘I will advertise thee,’ saith Balaam to Balak, 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. xxxi. 29. ‘that after my death ye 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

For when the joints grow stiff at the approach of death, the mind possesseth a keener perception, and a vivacity more divine. At no time do men discover an eloquence more graceful, than when, about to die, they open their prophetic lips.

* Alluding to these lines of Milton,

Till old experience do attain
To something like prophetic strain.

† Boyle’s Lectures, Vol. 2, page 311.

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 œconomy, 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 foretels 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

* [The double blessing was taken from him and given to Joseph—the kingdom to Judah, and the priesthood to Levi.]

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 hath prevailed among the Jews which is also confirmed by the Jerusalem Targum, that the tribe of Simeon were so straightened 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 two 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 ravin as a wolf:’ and was not that a fierce and warlike tribe, as appears in several instances, and particularly in the case of the Levite’s

* The Jews also have a tradition that the writers, tutors, schoolmasters and teachers of youth were almost all of the tribe of Simeon. That they might procure a subsistence, they were forced to live separately, in the towns and villages of their brethren. This opinion is embraced by the author of the Jerusalem Targum, by Fagius and others.

† [The sentence in Levi’s case was not reversed, but converted into a blessing in consequence of the service his descendants performed in their zeal against the worshippers of the golden calf. Exod. xxxii. 26, 29. Deut. xxxiii. 9, 10. So that being consecrated to God, as the priestly tribe, they were honourably and profitably *divided* and *scattered* in that character throughout Israel. *Scott.*]

The Simeonites, however, for Zimri’s sin, had the curse bound on. Num. xxv. Shameful divisions are the just punishment of sinful confederacies.]

‡ [The maritime situation in which this tribe was placed, tended greatly to enrich it, both by fisheries and commerce. Deut. xxxiii. 18, 19. Zebulun was younger than Issachar, yet Jacob mentions him first, and accordingly his inheritance was first allotted him.] *Scott.*

wife, Judg. xx. when they alone waged war against all the other tribes, and overcame them in two battles? *

In this manner he characterizes these and the other tribes, and foretels their temporal condition, and that of Judah as well as the rest: 'Binding his fole unto the vine, and his asses colt unto the choice vine, he washed his garments in wine, and his clothes 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 Eshcol 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 Dr. Shaw, † "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.*" He farther observes, that "the mountains of the country abound with shrubs and a delicate short grass, both 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 Castravan mountains and Barbary; in all which places the higher grounds are set apart for this use, and the plains and vallies 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 more sweet and nourishing.—It may be presumed likewise, that the vine was not neglected, in a soil and exposition so proper for

* [Dr. Clarke observes, that the union of the tribe of Benjamin "with the tribe of Judah, seems to be intimated in their joint conquest, expressed nearly in the same terms.—*Judah went up from the prey—Benjamin devoured the prey.* Moses in his parallel prophecy, Deut. xxxiii. 12. confirms this by signifying, that the *Sanctuary* should be fixed in his lot, and that he should continue as long as the existence of the temple itself."

The beloved of the Lord, shall dwell with him in safety and shall cover him all the day long, and shall dwell between his shoulders] Deut. xxxiii. 18.

† Shaw's Travels, page 366, 367.

it to thrive in." He mentions particularly "the many tokens which are to be met with, of the ancient vineyards about Jerusalem and Hebron," and "the great quantity of grapes and raisins, which are from thence brought daily to the markets of Jerusalem, and sent yearly to Egypt."

But Jacob bequeaths 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 law-giver 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 show 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 Huetius* and Le Clerc; † but no one hath treated the subject in a more masterly manner than the present 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§ belonged to each tribe as an ensign of their autho-

* See Eusebius' Evangelical preparation, Prop. IX. Chap. IV.

† See Le Clerc's commentary on the passage.

‡ See the 3d Dissertation in Bishop Sherlock's Discourses of the Use and intent of Prophecy.

§ Bishop Sherlock hath cited to this purpose Menochius on the Hebrew Republic, Book I. Chap. IV. where he saith, the name (of a rod) hath been transferred to denote a tribe, because each tribe was in possession of its peculiar rod, with its name inscribed thereon, which the princes of the tribes used to carry in their hand. When the Lord addresseth Aaron in these words,

rity ; 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 twice used 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 the 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, 1 Chro. 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 ‘ archon,’ a *ruler*, which answers better to a *law-giver* 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 that 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 meaning of a sceptre 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

but take thou with thee, both thy brethren of the tribe of Levi and the rod of thy father, we are to understand both the rod itself and the whole tribe, which was thereby signified and ruled.

• Ouk ekleipsei archon ex Juda. Septuagint. That is, a ruler out of Judah shall not be wanting.

body politic, having rulers and governors of his own till a certain period here foretold.

‘Nor a law-giver from between his feet.’ The sense of the word *sceptre* will help us to fix and determine the meaning of the other word *mechokck*, which we translate a *law-giver*. For if they are not synonymous, they are not very different. Such as the government is, such must be the law-giver. The government was only of a single tribe, and the law-giver 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 Zadok the 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 law-giver in the strict sense of the word. The king himself was not properly a law-giver; 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 law-giver*; Numb. xxi. 18. Deut. xxxiii. 21. and when the word is applied to any other person or persons, as Judah is twice called by the Psalmist, Psal. xl. 7. cviii. 8. *my law-giver*, it is used in a lower signification. For it signifies not only a law-giver, but a judge: not only one who maketh laws, but likewise one who exerciseth jurisdiction: and in the Greek * it is translated ‘hegoumenos,’ a *leader* or *president*, in the Chaldee a *scribe*, † in the Syrac ‡ an *expositor*, 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 *law-giver* therefore is to be taken in a restrained sense as well as the *sceptre*; and perhaps it cannot be translated better than *judge*: *Nor a judge*

* ‘Kai hegoumenos ek ton meron autou,’ Septuagint. That is a ruler out of his loins.

† Nor a Scribe from his children’s children. See the Chaldee version.

‡ And an expositor from between his feet.

from between his feet. Whether we understand it, that a judge 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 the 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 was 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 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 speaking of himself in the gospel under the denomination of 'him whom the Father hath sent?'—The † Seventy translate it 'ta apokei mena auto,' *the things reserved for him*, or according to other copies 'hō apokei tai' *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*

* As if St. Jerome had read Shiloch instead of Shiloh, and derived it from Shalach, he sent. The letter in Hebrew made use of to express the sound of *ch*, is nearly of the same form with the letter answering to our *h*.

† Deriving it from *sh* signifying which or what, and *lo*, to him.

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 whose was Judah, or whose was the kingdom so properly as the Messiah's, who is so many times predicted under the character of *the king of Israel*?—Junius and Tremellius with others,* translate it *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 *pac fus, the peace-maker* ; and 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 Pentateuch ; 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 says ‡ that *Shiloh* signifies *fnis ejus aut cessatio, his end or ceasing*, and that it may be referred to the *law-giver*, or to the *sceptre*, or even to Judah himself. But if it be referred to the *law-giver*, or to the *sceptre*, what is it but an unmeaning tautology. 'There

*As if it was derived from Shil, an issue of blood, or Shilohah, the secundines, that wherein the infant is wrapt, and thence by a metonymy, the infant itself.

† I look upon the word Shiloh to be derived from the verb Shalah, he was tranquil or peaceful, in the same manner as Kitor smoke is formed from Katar he made smoke underneath ; and there are other words of that formation.

‡ He says that Shiloh is the same as Shilo, and Shil may be derived from Shul, and Shul is the same as Shalah, which in Chaldee signifies to cease, to end. It may be translated the end or ceasing. This being supposed, his end may be referred to law-givers, to sceptre, or even to Judah. See his Commentary on the passage.

shall be a law-giver as long as there shall be a law-giver, 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 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 supposed * to have been made before our Saviour's time, and he † 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, till Messiah 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 three 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;

* See Prideaux' Connections, Part 2. Book VIII. and year 37.

† There shall not be taken away one, having the chief rule, from the tribe of Judah, nor a Scribe from his children's children, even for ever; till Messiah come, whose is the kingdom.

only 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 proceeding 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 Mr. Mede † and some others. And each of these interpretations may very well be justified by the event.

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 law-giver 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:

* And he shall be the expectation of the nations. So the Vulgate following the Septuagint, doth translate.

† See Mede's Discourse VIII. and Gothofredus Valandus' Dissertation, entituled, a leader not to depart from the midst of the citizens of Judah, before the universal empire of Messiah. See Collection of Dissertations, Vol. I. and Mann's critical note on the passage.

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; Jerem. 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 affluence, 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 Asmonean princes, as it had under the government of the Judges, and Samuel, and Saul; for in the books 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 sub-

sisted 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 some 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 departing, 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 law-giver, 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 prelate* expresseth it) after all their pretences, to show any signs or marks of the *sceptre* among them, till they discover the unknown country, *where never mankind dwell*, and where the apocryphal Esdras has placed their brethren of the ten tribes." 2 Esdras 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

* Bishop Shelock's Dissertation 3d. page 351. edit. 5.

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 was 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:' 1 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 times, and upon such different occasions, the other tribes were gathered to this tribe, insomuch 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 centurion, 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 Gentiles, 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 fore-runners of the sceptre's departing from Judah, the coming of the Messiah, and the gathering of the Gentiles to him; and these together point out with greater 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, Mat. 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 end of the Jewish constitution. The Jews were not to be cut off, till 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 polity 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

* [Such was the value of his sacrifice and mediation, that it was considered a light thing for him, merely to raise up the tribes of Jacob: he must be a light to the Gentiles and God's salvation to the ends of the earth. Nor has this promise yet spent its force: probably the greater part of it is yet to be fulfilled. What is foretold of the church in the lx. of Isaiah, of multitudes of all nations gathering together unto her, will be the accomplishment of this promise concerning Christ; for those who are gathered to her are first gathered to him.] Fuller.

hath been departed ever since. And now even the distinction of tribes is in great measure lost among them; they are 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 ravin 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 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’ 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

* Thus some Jewish interpreters, referred to by Bochart, understood the expression; In the morning, that is, in the first or early times of the Israelitish kingdom.—In the evening, that is, after the time of the Babylonish captivity. See Bochart’s *Microzoicon*, first Part, Book III. Chap. x. Col. 828.

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 little before that period, prejudice itself cannot long make any doubt concerning the person. All considerate men must say as Simon Peter said to 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.

BALAAM'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 13th chapter of the first book of Kings we read of two prophets, the one a liar 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 wonderful 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 mountains of the east; Numb. xxiii. 7. Deut. xxxiii. 4. and the east was infamous for soothsayers and diviners. Is. 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*, whatever they were, Numb. xxiv. 1. He appears to 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,' 3 Pet. 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 *sooth-sayer* in one part of scripture, Josh. xiii. 22.

in another part he is called a *prophet* : 2 Pet. 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 honourable 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 * Macrobius hath preserved the form of these 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 blessest is blessed, and he whom thou cursest 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 † 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 ob-

* In his Saturnalia, Book III. Chap. ix.

† See the first part of the Hierozoicon, Book II. Chap. xiv.

ject 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 Bosor, who loved the wages of unrighteousness ; but was rebuked for his iniquity; the dumb ass speaking with man’s voice, forbad the madness of the prophet.’ The ass was enabled to utter such and such sounds * probably, as parrots do, without understanding them : and say what you will of the construction of the ass’s mouth, of the formation of the tongue and jaws being unfit for speaking, yet an adequate cause is assigned for this wonderful effect, for it is said expressly, ‘that the Lord opened the mouth of the ass ;’ and no one who believes a God, can doubt of his having power to do this, and much more. If the whole transaction was visionary, no reason can be given why it was said particularly, that ‘the Lord opened the mouth of the ass.’ But it is thought strange that Balaam should express no surprise upon this extraordinary occasion : but perhaps he had been accustomed to prodigies with his enchantments ; or perhaps, believing the eastern doctrine of the transmigration of human souls into the bodies of brutes, he might think such a humanized brute not incapable of speaking : or perhaps, he might not regard, or attend to the wonder, through excess of rage and *madness* as the word is in St. Peter ; or perhaps, (which is the most probable of all) he might be greatly disturbed and

* [And where is the wonder of all this? If the ass had opened her own mouth and reprov'd the rash prophet, we might well be astonished, but when God opens the mouth, an ass can speak as well as a man. It is worthy of remark here, that Balaam testifies no surprise at this miracle because he saw it was the Lord’s doings]

astonished, as Josephus * affirms he was, and yet Moses in his short history might omit this circumstance. The miracle was by no means needless or superfluous; it was very proper to convince Balaam, that the mouth and tongue were under God's direction, and that the same divine power which caused the dumb ass to speak contrary to its nature, could make him in like manner utter blessings contrary to his inclination. And accordingly he was overruled to bless the people, though he came prepared and disposed to curse them, which according to Bochart † was the greater miracle of the two, for the ass was merely passive, but Balaam resisted the good motions of God.— We may be the more certain that he was influenced to speak contrary to his inclination, because after he had done prophecy, though he had been ordered in anger to depart and *flee to his place*; Numb. xxiv. 10. 11. yet he had the meanness to stay, and give 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 foretel 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

* See Antiquities, Book IV. Chap. VI. Sect. 2. But whilst he was astonished and confounded by the ass addressing him in a human voice, &c. See page 150, of Hudson's edition.

† Rabba in his twentieth section on the book of Numbers, affirms that God opened the mouth of Balaam's ass, to teach him, that the mouth and the tongue were in his power, and so those of Balaam himself, if he should go about to curse Israel. And indeed, the event itself shewed the same thing, seeing Balaam in spite of all that could be done, blessed the very persons, whom with so much parade, it was intended that he should curse. This was even a greater miracle than when the ass spake. For the ass was merely passive, whereas Balaam to the utmost opposed himself to the influences of God, as Saul did when he prophesied. See the first part of Hierozoicon, Book II. Chap. xiv.

the accomplishment of the others. His predictions are indeed wonderful, whether we consider the matter or the stile, 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. l. xxix. 1. *Moreover, Job continued his parable, and said.* It is commonly translated *parable* or *proverb*. Le Clerc translates it *figurationis orationem*; and thereby is meant a weighty and solemn speech delivered in figurative and majestic language. Such, remarkably such,* are the prophecies or parables of Balaam. 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.

* See to this purpose Bishop Lowth's Prelections, particularly the fourth, page 41, and eighteenth, page 173, and his ingenious version of Part of Balaam's prophecies into Latin verse.— See Prelection XX. page 206. The reader will not be displeas'd to see here a prose translation of it. How glorious in thine encampment, O Jacob! and in thy standards, O Israel! Thou art like a well watered valley, stretching out its fertile sides, or as a garden abounding with streams. Thou art like the spicy plants in Eden's consecrated ground, always verdant and flourishing, or like trees planted by the rivers, whose moist branches drop by reason of copious dews, and whose fruit is nourished by perennial waters. Thy king always victorious over thine enemies, shall extend and perpetuate thy dominion. Thy God having triumphed gloriously, over the Egyptians, hath been thy leader from the banks of the Nile, daily renewing thy strength. Thou art like an unicorn, that has escaped from the toils of the hunter, which elated carries its horn aloft. It devours its enemies, crushes their bones, and breaks in pieces the spears of its assailants. Thou art like a lion stretched out and lying at his ease, or like a lioness couching, who dare rouse thee? May every one be enriched with blessings who prays for thy prosperity, and may he be overwhelmed with calamities who prays for thy hurt.

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 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 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 characterized 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 con-

* See the Divine Legation of Moses. Book II. Sect. 6, and Book V. Sect. 2.

clusion 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, Numb. 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 blesseth 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 blesseth 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 authors* of the Universal History, who say that, "as the Samaritan, Septuagint, Syriac, and Arabic, read *Gog* instead of *Agag*, and *Gog* doth generally signify the Scythians and northern nations, several interpreters have preferred this latter reading to

* See the Universal Hist. Book I, Chap. vii. Sect. 2. Vol. I page 534. Fol. edit. Note Y.

the first, and not without good grounds." But it is a mistake to say, that the Syriac and Arabic read *Gog*: it is found only in the Samaritan * and the Septuagint, and in Symmachus according to Grotius: the Syriac † 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 Scythians 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 particularly, as Cyrus and Josiah were several years before they were born: or, we must with Moses Gerundensis, ‡ 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 Philistines. 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.

* And his king shall be exalted above Gog. See the Samaritan version, "And the kingdom of Gog shall be exalted." See the Septuagint. "And his kingdom shall be exalted above Gog." See Symmachus, as quoted by Grotius.

† "He shall be extolled above king Agag, and his kingdom shall be exalted." See the Syriac version. "More than Agag shall his king be exalted, and his kingdom shall be extolled." See the Arabic version. "His king shall be strengthened more than Agag, and his kingdom shall be lifted up." See the version of Onkelos. "His king shall be taken away for the sake of Agag, and his kingdom shall be removed." See the Vulgate version.

‡ And according to Moses Gerundensis, all the kings of the Amalekites were named *Agag*. For the name of the first king was transferred to all that succeeded him in the throne of the kingdom; as all the Roman emperors had the name of *Cæsar*, from Julius *Cæsar*, the first who arrived at this dignity among that people. See Munster.

it is styled, *the first of the 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 accomplished 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 the Amalekites alive, and utterly destroyed 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 ushers 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 *shatam* 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 obturatis 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 that 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 this people should do to his people in the latter days*, by which phrase it 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 styled *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 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

* "And he shall subjugate all the children of Seth." See the Syriac version. "And he shall rule over all the children of men." See the Chaldee.

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 Jerusalem Targum * translates it, *the sons of the east*, the Moabites lying east of Judea. Rabbi Nathan † says, that *Sheth* is the name of a city in the border of Moab. Grotius imagines ‡ *Sheth* to be the name of some famous king among the Moabites. Our Poole, who is a judicious 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 upon Isaiah, 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 style of the Hebrews, and especially in the poetic parts of scripture, and we may observe it

* Hence the Jerusalem paraphrast rendereth it, the children of the Moabites dwelt on the east of Judea. See Le Clerc.

† Rabbi Nathan saith, that Seth was a city in the confines of Moab. See Lira and Drusius.

‡ Nothing is more probable, than that Seth was some distinguished king among the Moabites. See Grotius.

§ I am fully persuaded that the word ‘karkar,’ in the speech of Balaam, signifies *destruction*, *overthrow*, *devastation*, but I am in some doubt about the phrase, the children of Seth, whom from the circumstance of the place, I imagine to have been Idumeans. For I think that the word Seth, ought to be understood appellatively, as signifying in general, a foundation or fortified place, because the Idumeans placed the greatest trust in their castles and fortifications. See Vitringa’s Commentary on Isaiah xxii. 5. page 611. Vol. I.

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, 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 of Edom. ‘Out of Jacob shall come he that shall have dominion, and shall destroy him that remaineth of the city;’ not only to 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, ‘smote 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 Jewish, 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,”* 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 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, assumed † the title of *Barchochebas*, 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 nativity. Origen in particular saith, that ‡ 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 Origen § and Eusebius affirm,

* When a king of the house of Jacob shall arise, and Christ of the house of Israel shall be anointed ; he shall both kill the princes of Moab, and bear rule over all the children of men.— See Onkelos.

† See Basnage’s History of the Jews, Book 6. Chapter ix. Sect. 12.

‡ Wherefore, although in the law, there may be found many things, which typically and enigmatically have a reference to Christ, yet at present, I can think of none, which more plainly and manifestly have an allusion to him, than the one now before us.

§ See Origen against Celsus, Book IX. Sect. 60. page 374, of Vol. I. See his thirteenth homily on the book of Numbers, Sect. 7. page 321, of the Benedictine edition. See Eusebius’ Evangelical Demonstration, Book IX. Sect. 1. page 417, of the edition published at Paris in 1628.

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 *Moab* 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 two-fold 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 styled 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 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 God: † (and how much hieroglyphic 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*

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

† A painted star was employed by the Egyptians to denote God. See Horapol. Hierog. Book II. Chap. i.

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. 15, 26. *the star of your God,* is here a noble figurative expression to signify *the image of your God*; for a *star*, being employed 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 related 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 particularly, because Balaam is here advertising Balak, 'What this people should do to his people in the latter days,' that is, what the Israelites 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 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 natural, and for a very good reason, because the Amalekites appear

* The wars of Israel commenced with Amalek. See Onkelos.

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 from 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 Amlik, fils de Cham, fils de Noe—C’est celuy que les Hebreux appellent Amelec 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 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 great measure executed by Saul, who ‘smote the Amalekites, and

* See Universal History, Book I. Chap. 3, page 281, of Vol. I. in the Folio edition.

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 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 Ziklag: 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 Ashur 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 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 Bochart, † *those Kenites* as well as the Ke-

* Here these more ancient Kenites are to be understood. See Le Clerc on the passage.

† I am of opinion, that their names perished in that period, which intervened, between the times of Abraham and of Moses. This however is certain, that their name was unknown to Joshua. At least in his division of the land, and in his enumeration of the nations subdued by the Israelites, he nowhere makes mention of it. See Bochart's Phaleg, Book IV. Chap. xxxvi. Col. 397.

nizzites 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. 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 Ashur 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 showeth 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. 23. '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 *vau* often signifies, and this instance among others is cited by Noldius.* 'For ships shall come from the coast of Chittim, and shall afflict Ashur, 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 descendants of Chittim, as *Ashur* is put for the descendants of Ashur, that is the Assyrians: but what people were the descendants 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, Grotius and Le Clerc † contend for the former, Bochart and Vitringa ‡ 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

* See Noldius on the Hebrew particle, ver. 37.

† See Grotius and Le Clerc on the passage, as also upon Gen. x. 4.

‡ See Bochart's *Phaleg*, Book III. Chap. v. And Vitringa on Isa. xxiii. 1.

Italy ; and as Josephus * saith, that all islands and most maritime places are called *Chethem* by the Hebrews ; and as manifest traces of the name are to be found in both countries ; the ancient name of Macedonia having been *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 Homer and Strabo. ‡ From Asia they might pass over into the island of Cyprus, which 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 was therefore called the *Cittean*. And from thence they might send forth colonies into Greece and Italy. This plainly appears, that wherever the *land of Chittim* or the *isles of Chittim* are mentioned in scripture, there are evidently meant some countries or islands in the Mediterranean.

Isaiah prophecyng 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, but even there they should find no secure place of refuge ; God’s judgments should still pursue them. Jeremiah expostulating with the Jews concerning their causeless

* And from it (namely Chittim) every island, and almost every place on the sea coast, is by the Hebrews called Chittim. See Josephus’ Antiquities, Book I. Chap. vi, in the 17 page of Hudson’s edition, Vol. I.

† See Bochart in the place above quoted.

‡ See Homer’s Odyssey, Book XII. Line 520, and the Scholiast upon it. See also Strabo’s Geography, Book XIII. pages 915, 916, in the second Volume of the Amsterdam edition of 1707.

§ But Chettim possessed the island of Chittima, which is now called Cyprus. See Josephus in the place above quoted.

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 apostacy as this of the Jews. Ezekiel describing the luxury of the Tyrians even in their shipping, saith, xxvii. 6. according to the 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 ambassador† coming from Italy to Greece, and from thence to Alexandria, obliged Antiochus, to his great grief and disappointment, to depart from Egypt without accomplishing his desigus. 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 Chittims*. By these instances it appears, that *the land of Chittim* was a general name for the countries and islands in 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.

* See Bochart in the place above quoted, and the first part of his *Hieroicoicon*, Book II. Chap. xxiv.

† See Livy, Book XLV. Chapters x. xi. xii. See also Polybius, page 915, and 916, in Casaubon's edition.

‘And shall afflict Ashur.’ *Ashur*, as we noted before, signifies properly the descendants of Ashur, the Assyrians: but * 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 † 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 *Ashur* the posterity of Ashur, 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 entitle 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 Onkelos, ‡ and is 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 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

* This name extended as widely as their empire,—Many of the ancients consider the Syrians and the Assyrians as the same people. See Bochart’s Phaleg. Book II. Chap. iii. Col. 72.

† See Dion’s Roman History, Book LXVIII. page 783, in Leunclavius’ edition, printed at Hanover in 1606.

‡ ‘And they shall subdue beyond the River Euphrates.’ See Onkelos.

§ See Hyde’s History of the Religion of the ancient Persians. Chap. ii. page 52—57.

afflict Ashur, 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 is the same there 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 Ashur, 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 Seleucidæ, and particularly by Antiochus Epiphanes, who spoiled Jerusalem, defiled the temple, and slew all those who adhered to the law of Moses. I 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 Ashur, and to afflict Eber: but this notwithstanding, 'he also shall be even to perdition,' he also shall be destroyed as well as Amalek, for in the original, the words are the same concerning both. *He*, in the singular number, cannot well refer to both *Ashur* 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 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 to 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 attesting the innocence of Jesus.

VI.

MOSES' 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, * 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 hearkened unto Moses in all things, so will we hearken unto thee.' Some again have imagined, † that Jeremiah was the person; because he frequently applies (say they) the words of Moses; and Abarbinel in his preface to the 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, ‡ 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 propounders and favourers of these different opinions, I think, agree

* See Munster, Drussius, Fagius, Calmet, &c.

† See Munster, Fagius, Patrick, Calmet, &c.

‡ See Fagius, Poole, Le Clerc, Calmet, &c.

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 hand 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 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? Nobody 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 mutinied against him, saying, 'Hath the Lord indeed spoken only by Moses? hath he not spoken also by us?' Numb. xxii. 2. The controversy was of such importance, that God himself interposed; and what is his 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 considerable argument, that the letter of the text favours 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 do; he had given 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 law-giver. 'A prophet like unto thee;' not simply a prophet, but a prophet like unto Moses, that is a second law-

giver, as 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 law-giver who should speak unto them his commands in a familiar and gentle way. This prophet therefore was to be a law-giver: but none of the Jewish prophets were law-givers, 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 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 Saviour. The Jews then, as well as ‡ 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

* See Eusebius’ Evangelical Demonstration, Book I. Chap. iij. page 6, and Book IX. Chap. xi. page 443, in the Paris edition of 1628.

† See Smith’s Discourse of Prophecy, chap. ii, and xi, wherein it is shown from Maimonides, that Moses’s inspiration excelled all others in four particulars. 1. All other prophets prophecied in a dream or vision, but Moses waking and standing. 2. All other prophets prophecied, by the help or ministry of an angel, but Moses prophecied 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 prophecy at what time they would, save Moses.

‡ See authorities cited in Bishop Chandler’s Defence of Christianity. Chap. 6. Sect. 2. p. 307. Edit. 3d.

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 *law-giver*, 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 *law-givers*: and in these respects none of the ancient prophets were like unto Moses. None of them were law-givers; 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 communications with God; they all saw visions, and dreamed dreams. Moses and Jesus Christ are the only two, who perfectly resemble 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 divines: and as we cannot pretend to add any modern thing to them, we must be content to copy from them.

Eusebius treating of the prophecies concerning Christ, * 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 law-giver, 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' 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 changes 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."

Dr. Jortin † hath enlarged upon these hints of Euse-

* See Eusebius' Evangelical Demonstration, Book III. Chap. ii. page 90—94, in the Paris edition of 1628.

† Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, Vol. I. page 203—222.

bius, 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; Matth. 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, choosing rather to suffer affliction. Christ refused to be made king, choosing rather to suffer affliction. Moses, says St. Stephen, 'was learned,' *επιστευθε* '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 law-giver, 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 persecuted his church. Moses conquered Amalek 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 pass-over, 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' 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 to 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 eyes 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 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 *law-givers*, 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 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.

* 'Ego ekdikeso ex autou.' See the Septuagint.

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, Mat. 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 to 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 hearkening unto him? We may be the more certain of this application, as our Saviour himself not only denounced the same destruction, but also foretold the signs, the manner, and the circumstances 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, distressed, 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 themselves give of their long captivity, dispersion, and misery? Their former captivity for the punishment of their wickedness and idolatry lasted only seventy years: but they have lived in their present dispersion, even though they have been no idola-

ters, now these seventeen hundred years, and yet without any immediate prospect of their restoration: and what enormous 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 turn to the faith, they will be grafted in again. One would think, it should be worth their while to try the experiment. Sure we are, that they have long been monuments of God's justice; we believe, that upon their faith and repentance 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 observeable 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 the 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 latter 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 law-giver 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 woderfully remarkable in their good or bad fortune? and is not the truth of the predic-

tion 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 peoples' 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 Chaldeans; 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 fulfilling 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 Chaldeans 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 Chaldeans by Jeremiah, ver. 14. '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 eagles 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 rapti-

dity 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 characterized 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 Chaldeans; 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 entered Gadera, * 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, † "For nobody escaped besides two women, and they escaped 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 he shall besiege thee in all thy gates, until thy high and fenced walls come down, wherein thou trustedst, throughout all thy land. So Shalmanezzer 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.

* And afterwards having entered into it, (Gadera,) he ordered all that were grown up to be slain. The Romans shewed mercy to no age, both on account of their hatred to the whole nation, and because of their recollection of the wrong which they (the Jews) had done to Cestius. See Jewish Wars, Book III. Chap. vii. Sect. 1. page 1128, in Hudson's edition.

† None were saved excepting two women, and they escaped, because at the time of sacking the city, they privily had withdrawn and concealed themselves from the fury of the Romans. They did not even spare infants, but every one laying hold of many of them, threw them down headlong from the castle.

‘So did Sennacherib king of Assyria came 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’ 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. in-somuch that they are presented 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 Tacitus* as well as of Josephus: and yet how many † times it was taken? It was taken by Shishak 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 fourscore pieces of silver, and the fourth part of a cab of dove’s 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, par-

* See Tacitus’ History, Book V. See Josephus’ Jewish wars, Book V. Chap. iv, and v.

† See Josephus’ Jewish wars, Book VI. and last chapter, page 1292, of Hudson’s edition.

ticularly, 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 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 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

* Forasmuch as wives squeezed the food out of the mouths of their husbands, and children out of the mouths of their parents, and what was most miserable of all, mothers out of the mouths of their babes. See Jewish wars, Book V. Chap. x. Sect. 3. page 1245.

† Wherever, in any house, but the shadow of bread appeared, instantly a battle ensued, and they who before had been on the most friendly footing, fought against each other with the greatest fury, that they might carry off some miserable scraps for their sustenance. See Book VI. Chap. iii. Sect. 3. page 1274, of Hudson’s edition.

boiled and eaten to-day, and the other to deliver up 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 expresseth 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 daughters 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 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 all her substance and provisions by the tyrants and soldiers. Moses saith, that she 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 would certainly have foreseen and foretold it.

* Distinguished by her birth and wealth—The tyrants indeed had by this time plundered her of all her substance, &c. Afterwards having dressed her child, she devoured the one half of him, and covering up the remainder, she secretly reserved him for another meal. See Jewish wars, Book VI. Chap. iii. Sect. 4, of Hudson's edition.

6. Great numbers of them were to be destroyed, ver. 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 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 cleven 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 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 unto 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, 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

* But of them who perished by famine throughout the city, there was an incalculable multitude. See Jewish wars, Book VI. Chap. iii. Sect. 3, page 1274.

And during the whole time of the siege, there perished eleven hundred thousand persons. See the same, Chap. ix. Sect. 3. page 1291, of Hudson’s edition.

† Hist. of the Jews, Book I. Chap. viii. Sect. 19. See too the conclusion of Usher’s Annals.

them by land. It appears from Josephus* that in the reigns of the two first Ptolemies many of the Jews were slaves in Egypt. And when Jerusalem was taken by Titus,† 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 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

* See Josephus’ Antiquities, Book XII. Chap. i. and ii.

† Having chained the males that were above seventeen years of age, he sent them down to the works which were in Egypt.—But such of them as were below that age, he sold. While Phronton had the charge of the captives, eleven thousand perished through want. See Jewish wars, Book VI Chap. ix. Sect. 2, page 1291, and Chap. viii. Sect. 2, page 1288, of Hudson’s edition.

‡ After the last destruction, which was brought upon them by the emperor Adrian, many thousands of the Jews were sold; and such of them as could find no purchasers, were transported into Egypt. Of these last many perished by shipwreck, or famine, or were cruelly massacred by the Egyptians. See Jerome on Zech. XI. page 1774, in the third volume of the Benedictine edition.

Jews, he published an edict * forbidding them upon pain of death to set foot in Jerusalem, or even to approach the country round about it. Tertullian and Jerome say, † 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 own nation, and to learn an exact state of their affairs: and he ‡ 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 depopulated. 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 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 vallies, 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."

* See Tertullian's Apology, Chap. xxi. page 19, in Rigaut's edition, printed at Paris in 1675. See also Jerome on Isa. vi. page 65, and upon Daniel, Chap. ix. page 1117, in the third volume of the Benedictine edition.

† See Benjamin of Tudela's Itinerary, and Basnage's History of the Jews, Book VII. Chap. vii.

‡ See Justin Martyr's Apology, page 71, of Thirlbius' edition, and Eusebius' Church History, Book IV. Chap. vi.

§ See Sandy's Travels, Book III. page 114, of the seventh edition.

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 to 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 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, are 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, as 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 break my covenant with them.' The Jewish nation,* 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

* See Basnage's History of the Jews, Book VI. Chap. I. Sect. 1.
VOL. 1. M

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* 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† were banished from France (for the seventh time, says Mezeray) by Charles VI; and ever since they had been only tolerated, they have not enjoyed entire liberty except at Metz where they have a synagogue. In the latter end of the fifteenth century 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 always*, 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 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

* See Kennet, Echard, and Basnage's History of the Jews, Book VII. Chap. xix.

† The Jews were ordered to depart for the seventh time, &c. See Mezeray's Chronological abridgement, and Basnage, Book VII. Chap. xviii.

‡ See Mariana's History of Spain, Book XXVI. Chap. i. and vi. See also Basnage, Book VII. xxi.

§ See Daniel in Kennet, Vol. I. page 179.

silver, besides two hundred marks of gold, which he had presented to the queen. And in like manner 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 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 Mariana,† "ordered all their children, under 14 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 allege only two similar instances, one from ancient, and one from modern history. After the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus,‡ 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 Eleazar 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.

* See Basnage, Book VII. Chap. xii. Sect. 14.

† See Mariana's History of Spain, Book XXVI. Chap. vi.

‡ See Josephus' Jewish wars, Book VII. Chap. viii, and ix, of Hudson's edition.

Such another instance we have in our English history.* For 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's 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 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, 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 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§ *make alliances, change their names, and*

* See Basnage, Book VII. Chap. x. Sect. 20, who cites Matthew Paris, page 111, and Polydon Virgil, Book XIV. page 248.

† See Basnage, Book VII. Chap. xxxiii. Sect. 14.

‡ See Book VII. Chap. xxi. Sect. 26.

§ See Limborch's conference with a Jew, page 102.

take ancient scutcheons; 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 came 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? Mahommedans, Heathens, and Christians, however they may disagree in other points, yet generally agree in vilifying, abusing, and persecuting the Jews. In most places where they are tolerated, they are obliged to live in a separate quarter by themselves, (as they did here in the Old Jewry) 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 Ezekiel* and Daniel prophesied in the land of the Chaldeans: but now they have no true prophet to foretel

* See Basnage, Book VI. Chap. i. Sect. 2.

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 hearkendest 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.'

VIII.

PROPHECIES OF THE 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.

1. 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 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 same year* it began to be put in execution; for Nebuchadnezzar invaded Judea, 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 in 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. The 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 conclusion † will fall about the time when Darius issued

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

† See Prideaux Connections, Anno 518, and fourth of Darius

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 conclusion * will fall about the time when the temple was finished and dedicated, and the first pass-over was solemnized in it. "So that," as Dean Prideaux says, "taking it which way you will, and 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 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 only the heads of their respective cities, they should not prevail against Jerusalem, and within sixty and five years Israel should be broken as to be no more a people. The learned Vitringa † is of opinion, that the text is corrupted, and that instead of *sixty* and five it was originally *sixteen* and five. *Sixteen and five*, 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*,

* See Prideaux' Connections, Anno 515, and 7 of Darius.

† See his Commentary on the passage.

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 number or 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 * 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 Esarhaddon 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 Esarhaddon 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, Tiglathpilezer took many of the Israelites, ‘even the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh, and all the land of Naphtali, and carried them captive 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 Assyria, 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, 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 two of his sons, 2 Kings xviii. 19. Another of his sons, Esarhaddon 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

* See Usher, Prideaux, &c.

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 Havah, 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 a half, before they arrived at this country, which was called Arsareth. 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 12th century, * hath likewise assigned them a large and spacious country with fine cities; but nobody knoweth to this day where it is situated. Eldad, another Jew of the thirteenth century, had placed them in Ethiopia and I know not where, and hath made the Saracens and twenty-five kingdoms tributary to them. Another Jewish writer, Peritful of Ferrara, who lived in the century before the last, hath 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

* For these particulars, the reader may consult Basnage's History of the Jews, Book VI. Chap. ii, and iii.

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 were manifest forgeries of the Jews to aggrandize their nation.

The difficulty of finding out the habitations of the ten tribes hath induced 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 of the chief of the fathers of Judah and Benjamin*, i. 5. and he calleth the Samaritans *the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin*; iv. i. these two tribes were the principals, the others were only as accessories. 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 Ezra †

* See Calmet's two Dissertations, 1st. Concerning the country into which the ten tribes were carried, and concerning the present place of their abode. Vol. III. and 2, An inquiry, whether the ten tribes have returned from their captivity, into the land of Israel. Vol. VI.

† He (Ezra,) indeed sent a copy of it, (the decree,) into Media, to all the people of his nation,—when as many as were actuated by a desire of returning to Jerusalem, betook themselves with their effects to Babylon. But the great bulk of the Israelites remained scattered over that country, so that two only of the tribes live in Asia and Europe under the Roman dominion. Whereas the ten remaining tribes, at present are settled beyond the

sent a copy of the decree of Artaxerxes to all of 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, said he, that there are two tribes 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,* 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

Euphrates and compose an infinite and incalculable number of people. See Antiquities, Book XI. Chap. v. Sect. 2. page 482, of Hudson's edition.

* See Prideaux' Connections, Part I. Book I. Year 677, and 22, of Manassch.

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 the hundred twenty and seven provinces of the kingdom of Ahasuerus 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 descendants 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 styled, 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 a 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 dis-

inction between them. The Samaritans* indeed (of whom there are still some remains at Sichern and the neighbouring towns) pretend to be the descendants 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.

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 distinction of families and genealogies is lost among them: and the 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 before-hand by the spirit of prophecy, as we find particularly in the prophet Jeremiah, xlvi. 28.

* See Prideaux as before.

† See Bishop Chandler's Defence of Christianity, Chap. I. Sect. 2, page 38, of the third edition.

‘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 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 hither. No people have continued unmixed so long as they have done, not only of those who have sent 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 pedi-

gree 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 in 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 are no more?

Nay, not only nations have been punished for their cruelties to the Jews, but divine vengeance hath pursued even single persons, who have 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 * 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, † died in the same miserable manner. Flaccus, governor of Egypt, who barbarously plundered and oppressed the Jews of Alexandria, ‡ was afterwards banished and slain. Caligula, who persecuted the Jews for refusing to pay divine honours to his statues, § was murdered in the flower of his age, after a short and wicked reign. But where are they 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 effectual 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, Levit. 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

* See 2 Maccab. ix. 9. See also the Fragments of Polybius in page 997, of Casaubon's edition.

† See Josephus' Antiquities, Book XVII. Chap. vi. Sect. 5, page 768. See also his Jewish wars, Book I. Chap. xxxiii. Sect. 5, in page 1040, of Hudson's edition.

‡ See Philo upon Flaccus.

§ See Philo's Embassy to Caius Cæsar. See Josephus' Antiquities, Book XVIII. Chap. ix. and Book XIX. Chap. i. See Suetonius' life of Caligula, Chap. lix. who tells us that Caligula lived thirty years, and reigned three years, ten months and eight days.

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 farther reference to the devastations made by the Chaldeans, and especially by the Romans. In this sense it is understood by 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 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 † in his history

* See Justin Martyr's Apology, page 70, in the edition of Thirlbius. See the Dialogue with Tryphon, pages 160 and 143. See Tertullian against the Marcionites, Book VIII. Chap. xiiii. page 411, in Rigaut's edition printed at Paris in 1675, and Jerome on the passage, Vol. III. page 12, of the Benedictine edition.

† See Voltaire's History, not far from the beginning.

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 Switzerland." 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. Aristeas and Josephus too* 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. Strabo † describes indeed the country about Jerusalem as rocky and barren, but he commends other parts, particularly about Jordan and Jericho. Hecataeus ‡ quoted by Jose-

* See Aristeas, page 13, 14, in the edition of Hody. See Josephus' Jewish Wars, Book VIII. Chap. iii. page 1120, of Hudson's edition.

† See Strabo, Book XVI. page 761, of the Paris edition, and page 1104, of that of Amsterdam. See page 755, of the Paris edition and page 1095, of that of Amsterdam. See page 763, of the Paris edition and page 1106, in that of Amsterdam printed in 1707.

‡ See Josephus against Apion, Book I. Sect. 22. where it is called a country the best and most productive, page 1348, in Hudson's edition.

plus giveth it the character of one of the best and most fertile countries. Tacitus* saith; that it raineth seldom, 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 be fully satisfied of the truth of what is here asserted.

The 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 astonished and baulked in their expectations; finding that country in such an inhospitable condition, concerning whose pleasantness 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 it 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 the inhabitants, no less than if the country had been all plain: nay, perhaps much more; for as much, as such a

* See Tacitus’ History, Book V. where he saith, that in this country they have but few showers, the soil however is fertile, and produceth in great abundance the same fruits as are to be met with in Italy, and besides these, it abounds with Balsams and palm trees.

† See Maundrell, page 64, fifth edition.

mountainous and uneven surface, affords a larger space of ground for cultivation, 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 mould from tumbling or being washed down; and form 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 sustenance 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 improper 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 production 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 unserviceable 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 give us his testimony, *De Bell. Jud. Lib. 5. Cap. 4.* And I have reason to believe it, because 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 productive, 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 clime, inclining them to a more abstemious diet than we use in England, and other colder regions."

The 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 preferable crop. Thus the cotton that is gathered in the plains of Ramah, Esdraelon, 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 commonly sold at Jerusalem. The barrenness or scarcity rather, which some authors may either ignorantly or maliciously complain of, does not proceed from the incapacity or natural unfruitfulness 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 discords, 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 uncertain, 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 been therefore 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 *the glory of all lands*: † all which productions are

* Shaw's Travels, page 365, &c.

† 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*:

either actually enjoyed, or as least might be, by proper care and 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 as 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 those men were in being. The prophets were naturally prejudiced in favour of their own nation; but yet they foretel 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 style 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 authorised 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, Denounce my judgment upon this people, that their heart shall be fat, and their ears heavy, and their eyes shut: lest they see with their eyes, and hear with 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 inhabitants 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 those particulars exactly fulfilled? Have not the Jews laboured under a spiritual blindness and infatuation in *hearing, 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 inhabitants, 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 750 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:' Psal. ii. 8. that 'all the ends of the world should remember and turn unto the Lord, and all the kindreds of the nations should worship before him,' Psal. 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 shouldest 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 in 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 a 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, lx. 22. Our Saviour's commission to his apostles was, ' Go teach all nations : ' and who were the persons to whom this commission was given ? those 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 superstition of the people, the interest 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 it was effected too in a short compass of time. After our Saviour's ascension 'the number of 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,' Isa. lx. 15. The time is not yet come, when 'violence shall no

more be heard in the land, wasting nor destruction within their borders,' ver. 18. 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 children's 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 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 manifestation. '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 prescribe, 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 show mercy to them; and we should choose 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 of 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 na-

ture into a good olive-tree,' should presume to 'boast against the natural branches;' ver. xxiv. 18. 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 ye should be wise in your 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 invective, 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 an-

ger, and clamour, 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 our 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 the 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 Berossus, 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, wherever 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 the 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 xv. 19. 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 xvi. 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

[* Herodotus mentions this destruction, but ascribes it to a large number of field mice devouring in a night their shield-

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 send 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 conquest, and establish their own dominion upon the ruins of others: 'Howbeit he meaneth not so, neither doth his heart think so, but it is in his heart to destroy, and cut off nations not a few,' ver. 7. Wherefore when they shall have served the purpo-

straps, quivers and bow-strings—Herapollo says that the Egyptians to signify destruction painted a mouse.—Boswell in his life of Dr. S. Johnson observes, that it was a subject of conversation between them, in what manner so great a multitude of Sennacherib's army was destroyed. "We are not to suppose," says the doctor, "that the angel went about with a sword in his hand stabbing them one by one, but, that some powerful natural agent was employed, most probably the Samiel." The Samiel according to Mr. Bruce consists of a meteor "appearing like a thin smoke and passing with a gentle ruffling wind. It is peculiarly fatal to persons sleeping. It is felt and is compared to a suffocating fire. Its extent is very considerable; and it often happens in the night." God says, Isaiah 37. 7. "Behold I will send a BLAST upon him."]]

ses 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 punish the fruit of the stout heart of the king of Assyria, and the glory of his high looks,' ver. 12. There was no prospect of such an event, while the Assyrians were in the midst of their successes and triumphs; 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 involved in that of the other. This was a very ancient city, being built by Ashur, 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 Ashur, and builded Nineveh*, others translate it, as the 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 *Ashur* 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 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, be-*

* "Out of that land he went into Assyria." See Onkelos.

ing 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 whom soever 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 styled *that great city*, i. 2. iii. 2. *an exceeding great city*, iii. 3. In the original it is * *a city great to God*; in the same manner as Moses is called by St. Stephen, in the Acts of the Apostles, vii. 20. 'asteios to Theo,' *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 † says, that Nineveh was much greater even than Babylon: and ‡ Diodorus Siculus from Ctesias affirms that "its 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 "nobody afterwards built such a city, either as to the

* 'Gnir Gedolah Lelohim,' a city great to God. 'Polis megale to Theo.' See Septuagint.

† It was much larger than Babylon. See Strabo, Book XVI. page 737, of the Paris edition, and page 1071, of that of Amsterdam, printed in 1707.

‡ Also he (Ninus), made quick dispatch to build a city of such magnitude, that it should exceed in greatness, not only all that were then in the world, but that no person afterwards to be born engaging in a like work should go beyond it—For since, none hath ever built a city inclosing a larger space, or with walls more magnificent. See Diodorus Siculus, Book II. page 65, in Stephanus' edition, and page 91, 92. in that of Rhodomanus.

greatness of the compass, or as to the magnificence of the walls." It is added in Jonah iii. 3. that it was * 'an exceeding great city of three day's 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 † the circuit of Babylon was 385 furlongs: but ‡ Diodorus Siculus asserts, that the whole circuit of Nineveh was 480 furlongs; which § make somewhat more than 60 miles, and 60 miles were three days journey, 20 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 sixscore thousand persons, who could not discern between their right hand, and their left hand, and also much cattle.' I think it is || 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

* A large city, and of so extensive a circuit, that it could scarcely be travelled round in the space of three days. See Jerome's Commentary on the passage, page 1486. Vol. III. of the Benedictine edition.

† Its walls were three hundred and eighty-five furlongs in circumference. See Strabo, page 738 of the Paris edition, and page 1072, of that of Amsterdam, published in 1707.

‡ The whole circumference (of Nineveh) measured four hundred and eighty furlongs. See Book II. page 56, of Stephanus' edition, and page 92, in that of Rhodomanus

§ The circumference of Nineveh measured four hundred and eighty furlongs, that is sixty miles, which will require three days to travel round it, allowing twenty miles for each day. A day's journey was considered by the Roman lawyers, and by the ancient Greeks, as extending to this number of miles. Herodotus, in Book V. Chap. xxxv. saith they marched an hundred and fifty furlongs each day.—Now an hundred and fifty furlongs, make twenty miles. *The Stadian or furlong among the Greeks being larger than ours.* See Bochart's Phaleg, Book IV. Chap. xx.—Col. 252.

|| See the same work of Bochart, Col. 253. Lowth's Commentary and Calmet's.

by Diodorus Siculus, * that it was in length 150 furlongs, in breadth 90 furlongs, and in circuit 480 furlongs, that is 20 miles long, about 12 miles broad, and above 60 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 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 modern method † of calculation the number of 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 the 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 computed ‡ that in London there are about 725,943 persons, and about 437,478 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 § supposeth him to have been Pul the king of Assyria, who afterward in-

* Each of the two longer sides measured one hundred and fifty furlongs, and each of the two shorter ninety. See Diodorus Siculus in the same place.

† See Maitland's History of London, Book III. Chap. ii. page 542.

‡ See Maitland, page 541 and 548.

§ See Usher's Annals, year of the world 5233, page 58, and Lowth's Commentary.

vaded the kingdom of Israel, in the days of Menahem ; 2 Kings 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 Israel taken by the king of Syria, 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 reasonably 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* saith, that he flourished in the time

* And there was a certain prophet at this time, whose name was Nahum.—All these things which were foretold by him concerning Nineveh, were accomplished one hundred and fifteen

of Jotham king of Judah, and that all the things which he foretold concerning Nineveh came to pass one hundred and fifteen years afterwards. St. Jerome * 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 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 St. Jerome † supposeth it to have been a village in Galilee, the ruins whereof were shown to him, when he travelled in those parts. Now we learn from the sacred history, 2 Kings xv. 29. that the people of 'Galilee were taken by Tiglathpileser 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 foretel the fall of Nineveh: and that time coincides with the reign of Jotham king of Judah, which

years afterwards. See Josephus' Antiquities, Book IX. Chap. xi. Sect. 3. page 422, and 423, of Hudson's edition.

* Nahum, which is by interpretation "a Comforter." For during the reign of Hezekiah the king of Judah, the ten tribes had been led into captivity by the Assyrians, and at that very time the prophet had a vision against Nineveh, for the comfort of these captives. Nor was his vision calculated to afford small consolation only to such of the Israelites as were now in bondage to the Assyrians, but to the remaining tribes of Judah and Benjamin, under the government of Hezekiah, who were now attacked by the same enemies; when they should learn that the Assyrians in their turn would be led into captivity by the Chaldees, as will be shewn in the sequel of this book. See Jerome's preface to the book of Nahum, page 1553, Vol. III. of the Benedictine edition.

† Elkosh, at this very day is a village in Galilee, small indeed and scarcely in its ruins discovering any vestiges of its ancient buildings. It is, however, well known to the Jews, and was pointed out to me by my conductor. See Jerome in the same place, page 1559.

is the time assigned for Nahum's prophecy 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 prophecy; 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* with more reason believes, that it was effected by Sennacherib, before he marched against Jerusalem; and then Nahum's prophecy would coincide exactly with the reign of Hezekiah, which is the time assigned for it by St. Jerome.

But whenever it was that Nahum prophecied, he plainly and largely foretold the destruction of Nineveh; his whole prophesy 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 uniting 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† affirms. that it was taken by Cyaxares king of the Medes; St. Jerome after the Hebrew chronicle‡ asserts that it

* See Prideaux' Connections, Part I. Book I. year 713, and 15 of Hezekiah.

† See also Herodotus, Book I. Chap. cvi. page 45, in Gale's edition.

‡ Jerome on Nah. ii. 12. page 1574. Vol. 3, of the Benedictine edition, saith, that Seder Olam Rabba ascribes the taking of Nineveh to Nebuchodnosor alone, and fixes the time. For in his first year, Nebuchodnosor took Nineveh, that is, soon after the death of his father.—This Hebrew Chronicle is followed by Jerome, &c. See also Marsham's Chronicle of the XVIII. age, page 559.

was taken by Nebuchodnosor king of the Babylonians : but these accounts may be easily reconciled, for Cyaxares and Nebuchodnosor 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 Tobit died, he heard of the destruction of Nineveh, which was taken by Nebuchodnosor and Assuerus ; and before his death he rejoiced over Nineveh.* Josephus, * 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 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. Ctesias, and after him Diodorus Siculus ‡ ascribe the taking of Nineveh, and the subversion of the Assyrian empire to Arbaces the Mede, assisted by Belesis the Babylonian. I know that Eusebius, § and after him several excellent chronologers, Usher, Prideaux, 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. Diodo-

* The empire of the Assyrians was destroyed by the Medes. See Josephus' Antiquities, Book X. Chap. ii. Sect. 2, page 435. The Medes and the Babylonians who had destroyed the empire of the Assyrians. See the same, Chap. v. Sect. 1, page 441, in Hudson's edition.

† They (the Medes,) took Nineveh, and subdued the Assyrians, excepting that quarter which pertained to Babylon. See Herodotus, Book I. Chap. cvi. page 45, in Gale's edition.

‡ See Diodorus Siculus, Book II. page 78, in Stephanus' edition, and page 110, in that of Rhodomanus.

§ Eusebius (according to the plan which he had adopted,) hath stated both these opinions. For following Ctesias he saith, Arbaces the Mede, Num. 1197,) having destroyed the empire of the Assyrians, transferred the sovereignty to the Medes. And again, (213 years afterwards,) upon the credit of Herodotus, (Num. 1410,) he saith, Cyaxares the Mede destroyed Nineveh. But these assertions are inconsistent. See Marsham's Chronicle of the XVIII age, page 556.

rus, who relates this catastrophe, doth not mention the other; but saith expressly,* 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 kings 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 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; † 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, ‡ 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 pro-

* But Arbaces having collected the inhabitants of Nineveh, dispersed them among the country villages.—He levelled the city with the ground.—Then he conveyed the gold and silver, of which there were many talents, to Ecbatana, the metropolis of Media. In this manner the dominions of the Assyrians were put an end to, by the Medes. See Diodorus Siculus, Book II. page 81, in Stephanus' edition, and page 115, in that of Rhodomanus.

† And they also took Nineveh, (but in what manner, I will shew elsewhere.) See Herodotus, Book I. Chap. cvi. page 45, in Gale's edition.

‡ Of whom, in giving an account of the Assyrians, I shall make mention, Book I. Chap. clxxxiv. page 76, of Gale's edition. See also Vossius' Grecian History, Book I. Chap. iii. And also Fabricius' Greek Library, Book II. Chap. xx.

bability 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 while they be folden together as thorns, and while they are drunken as drunkards, they shall be devoured as stubble fully dry : ' and 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 drunkenness in the camp of the enemies, assaulted them unexpectedly by night, and falling orderly on them disorderly, and prepared on them unprepared, became 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 Diodorus † informs us, " that there was an

* While the whole (Assyrian) army was devoting itself to feasting, Arbaces, by means of deserters, having learned their negligence and drunkenness, attacks them suddenly by night. And because his army was well arranged and prepared for the onset, and the case of the enemy the very reverse, he easily made himself master of their camp, put a vast number of the soldiers to the sword, and chased the rest into the city. See Diodorus Siculus, Book II. page 80, of Stephanus' edition, and page 112, of that of Rhodomanus.

† But there was a prophecy handed down by tradition from their ancestors, that Nineveh could never be taken, till the river had first become its enemy.—At length it came to pass in the third year, that the Euphrates, (Tigris) increasing by the heaviest showers of rain, which were of long continuance, overflowed a part of the city, and with its torrent, brake down about twenty furlongs of the wall. Then the king thinking that the prophecy was accomplished, and that the river was now evidently become an enemy to the city, fell into despair. Lest, therefore, he should fall into the hands of his enemies, he caused a large funeral pile to be constructed in the midst of his palace. Into this he ordered to be conveyed all his gold, silver, and royal apparel.—Then having shut up his concubines and eunuchs with himself, in an apartment in the centre thereof, he set fire to it, all of which, with the palace, was reduced to ashes. As soon as the revolters from the king heard of his death, they entered by a breach made in the wall, and took the city. See Diodorus Siculus, Book II. page 80, of Stephanus' edition, and page 113, in that of Rhodomanus.

old prophecy, that Nineveh should not be taken, till 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 20 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 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 literally, fulfilled, 'With an over-running flood he will make an utter end of the place thereof.' Nahum promises the enemy much spoil of gold and silver, ii. 19. '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 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 over-running flood will make an utter end of the place there; 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

* Then having collected whatever gold and silver the fire of the funeral pile had not consumed, amounting to many talents, he carried them off to Ecbatana of Media. Diodorus Siculus, Book II. page 81, of Stephanus' edition and page 115, in that of Rhodomanus.

ariseth, they flee away, and in 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 bruise of thee shall clap the 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 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 hand.'* 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 inhabitants, a city which had walls, according to Diodorus Siculus, † a hundred feet

* ["The entire desolation of Nineveh is in this prophecy most expressly and particularly foretold, yet no event can be imagined more improbable at the time when Nahum wrote than this was. The entire desolation of *London*, so that none could decide where this great metropolis was situated, would not be considered by us, as more improbable than the desolations of Nineveh must have appeared at that day; when it was the most populous and powerful city in the known world. The discordant opinions, 'relative to the spot where once it stood' is the completest proof imaginable that the prediction has been most wonderfully accomplished, and that it was delivered by the inspiration of that God, known unto whom are all his works from the beginning."]

Scott.

† For its wall rose to the height of a hundred feet, its breadth was so extended, that three chariots abreast could quite easily be driven along. The number of its towers amounted to fifteen hundred, and the height of each of them was two hundred feet. See Diodorus Siculus, Book II. page 65, of Stephanus' edition, and page 92, of that of Rhodomanus.

high, and so thick that three chariots could go abreast upon them, and fifteen hundred towers at proper 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 afterwards 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 authors than Ctesias and Diodorus Siculus* represent it as situated upon the river Euphrates. Nay, authors differ not only from one another, but also from themselves. For the learned 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 sometimes as if it was situated upon the River Euphrates. So that to reconcile these authors with themselves and with others, it is supposed by Bochart ‡ that there were two Ninevehs, and by Sir John 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

* See Diodorus Siculus, page 80, of Stephanus' edition, and page 113, of that of Rhodomanus.

† See Bochart's Phaleg, Book IV. Chap. xx. Col. 248, 249.

‡ I cannot see how to reconcile these things, but by supposing there were two Ninevehs; one of them situated on the banks of the Euphrates in Comagena, the other beyond the river Tigris in Assyria. See Bochart's Phaleg, and same place.

§ In the writings of the ancients, mention is made of three Ninevehs; one in Syria, another in Assyria, and a third in Persia. See Marsham's Chronicle of the XVIII age, page 559.

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, * 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 Tigris, and on the opposite eastern shore are ruins of a great extent, which are said to be the ruins of Nineveh. Benjamin of Tudela, † 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 Thevenot, ‡ upon whose authority Prideaux relates

* Nineveh hath so perished, that no vestige of it at present remaineth, nor can it be easily ascertained where formerly it stood. See Lucian's Contemplations near the end.

† Benjamin of Tudela, who wrote his Itinerary in the year of our Lord 1173, saith (page 62.) that between Mosul and Nineveh there is at present only a bridge. The latter place is in ruins, yet it hath still many small villages and castles.—But Haiton the Armenian in his book concerning the Tartars, Chap. xi. page 406. (he wrote in the year 1300,) saith that the city of Nineveh, is at present totally in ruins.—Marsham in his Chronicle of the XVIII age, observes, page 558, that by the ruins which are still to be seen, one may be fully satisfied, that it was once one of the greatest cities in the world. See this in Bochart's Phaleg, Book IV. page xx. Col. 255.

‡ See Thevenot's Travels, Part 2. Book I. Chap. xi. page 50. See also Prideaux' Connections, Part I. Book I. year 612, and 29th of Josiah.

that "Mosul is situated on the west side of 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 affirms,* that "across the Tigris, which hath a swift stream and whitish water, 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. 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. *Miserere 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 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 never be found.' I presume we should look upon such a prophet as a madman, and shew 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 empire had subsisted and flourished more

* See Tavernier in Harris' Collection, Vol. 2. Book II. Chap. iv.

† See Salmon's Modern History, Vol. I Chap. xii. See present state of the Turkish Empire. Quarto.

ages than any form of government in this country ; so that you cannot object the instability of the eastern monarchies in this case. Let us then, since this event would not be more improbable and extraordinary 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 this 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 385 furlongs in compass, or 360 according to Diodorus Siculus, * or 368 according to Quintus Curtius: but Herodotus, † who was an older author than any of them, represents it of the same dimensions as Nineveh, that is, 480 furlongs or above 60 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 120 furlongs in length. So that according to this account Babylon contained more ground in it than Nineveh did; for by the multiplying the sides of the one by the other, it will be found, that Nineveh contained within its walls only 13,500 furlongs, and that Babylon contained 14,400. It was also 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 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, Berosus, and Abydenus, whose words are quo-

* He threw about the city, a wall of three hundred and sixty furlongs. See Diodorus Siculus, Book II. page 68, in Stephanus’ edition, and page 95, in that of Rhodomanus. The circumference of the whole work measured three hundred and sixty-eight furlongs. See Quintus Curtius, Book V. Chap. i.

† The city stood in a plain of great extent. It was in the form of a square. Each of its sides was a hundred and twenty furlongs, so that the measurement of all its sides amounted to four hundred and eighty furlongs. See Herodotus, Book I. Chap. clxxviii. page 74, in Gale’s edition.

‡ It had been built by Semiramis, or in the opinion of many, by Belus. See Quintus Curtius in the same place.

ted by 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 scriptures, Dan. iv. 30. *great Babylon* ; Isa. xiii. 19. *the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency* ; Isa. xiv. 4, *the golden city* ; Isa. 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, temple, palaces, and hanging gardens ; the banks of the river, and the artificial canals and lakes 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 Connections. 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 towers, its palaces and temples : and 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 : Isa. xiv. 2. Jer. li. 58, and the city ‡ had an hundred gates, 25 on each side, all made of solid brass : and its walls according to Herodotus § were 350 feet in height, and 87 in thickness, and six chariots could go abreast upon them, as 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

* See Josephus' Antiquities, Book X. Chap. xi. Sect. i. page 459, in Hudson's edition. See also Eusebius' Evangelical Preparation, Book IX. Chap. xli. page 457, in Vigerus' edition.

† To which he gave an appearance, very much resembling that of mountains. See Antiquities in the same place.

‡ See Herodotus, Book I. Chap. clxxix. page 74, in Gale's edition.

§ See the same book of Herodotus, Chap. clxxviii. See also Prideaux' Connections in the same place.

|| So that the breadth of the wall was sufficient for passing six chariots abreast. See Diodorus Siculus, Book II. page 68, in Stephanus' edition, and page 96, in that of Rhodomanus:

any other, boast that she could continue for ever. So she vainly gloried, Isa. 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, Isa. xxi. 9. 'Babylon is fallen, is fallen; and all the graven images of her gods he hath broken to 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 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 style is called *a sea*, but also that the places about Babylon as Abydenus* informs us out of Megasthenes, are said from the beginning to have been overwhelmed with waters, and to have been called *the sea*.

Cyrus, who was the conqueror of Babylon, and transferred the empire from the Babylonians to the Medes and Persians, was particularly foretold by name, Isa. xlv. 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*: Isa. 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,' Isa. xlv. 1.

* It is reported that all these places were from the beginning covered with water, and called Sea. See Eusebius' Evangelical Preparation, Book IX. Chap. xli. page 457, in Vigerus' edition.

‘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 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; Isa. 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 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 Cræsus 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 seventy years* to the taking of Babylon, and the restoration of the Jews. Nebuchadnezzar had transplanted the Jews to Babylon to people and strengthen the place, and their removal from thence must have weakened it very much; and after that it was distressed more and more, till at last it was brought to nought.

Several circumstances likewise of the siege and taking of Babylon were presignified by the prophets. It was foretold, that God would stir up the Medes and Persians against it; ‘Go up, O Elam,’ that is, Persia, Isa. xxi. 2. ‘besiege, O Media;’ and, Jer. li. 11. ‘The Lord hath

* The whole of Asia from India to the Ægean Sea. See Marsham’s Chronicle, XVIII age, page 587.

† See Pliny, Book XXXIII. Chap. xv. in Harduin’s edition.

‡ See Prideaux and other chronologers.

raised up the spirit of the kings of the Medes, for his device 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 for both nations, and so it is used and applied by several Greek historians as well as by the sacred writers. *Elam** was an old name for *Persia*, for the name of *Persia* doth not appear to have been known in Isaiah’s time ; Ezekiel is the first who mentions it. And 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

* *Elam* is *Persia*, and is frequently mentioned along with *Media*. The name of the Persians, before the Babylonish captivity, was scarcely known. Ezekiel Chap. xxvii. 10, and xxxviii. 5, is the first who mentions them under that name, and ranks them among warlike nations, when the deeds of Cyrus were yet unknown. From the time of Cyrus, who was a Persian by birth, and celebrated for his victories, the glory of the Persians was widely spread. See Marsham’s *Chronicle*, XVIII age, page 564.

† But the Persians derived their name from their cavalry, in which they were powerful. In horsemanship they were instructed from their earliest years. Cyrus was the first that introduced this kind of discipline among them.—From a change so suddenly brought in amongst them, it came to pass, that their country was called *Paras*, and themselves *Persians*, that is, horsemen. In the Arabic language, *Pharas* signifies a horse, and *Pharis* an horseman, as *Pharash* doth in Hebrew. The same word *Pharis* is made use of by them, to denote *Persia*. This is the reason that neither Moses, nor the author of the books of *Kings*, nor *Isaiah*, nor *Jeremiah*, nor in short any one that lived before the time of Cyrus, make mention of that people under this name. But the name of *Persians* frequently occurs in the books of *Daniel* and *Ezekiel*, who were contemporaries with Cyrus, and in the books of *Chronicles*, *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, *Esther*, &c. which were written after the time of Cyrus. Before his time, it is probable that the Hebrew names *Chut* and *Gnelam*, or *Elam*, took in a large portion of *Persia*. See Bochart’s *Phaleg*, Book IV. Chap. x. Col. 224.

it, and upon the following occasion. Abradates * was viceroy or governor of Susa or Shushan, and Shushan 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; Isa. 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 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' army consisted of various nations; and among them were these very people,‡ whom he had conquered before, 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 foreborn 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 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

* See Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, Book IV, V, VI, and VII.

† See Bochart's *Phalæg*, Book I. Chap. 3, Col. 16, and 20, and Book III. Chap. ix. Col. 174.

‡ See Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, Book V. page 77. Book VII. page 111, in Henry Stephen's edition of 1581.

§ See Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, Book V. page 75, in Henry Stephen's edition of 1581.

the 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,† 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 better and stronger fortified by the river than by the walls; but yet the prophets predicted that the waters should be dried up; Isai. xlv. 27. 'That saith to the deep and dry, and I will dry up thy rivers?' Jer. i. 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 Cyrus‡ turned the course of the river Euphrates which ran through the midst of Babylon, and by means of deep trenches and the canals and lakes 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 Herodotus,§ for more than twenty years, saith Xenophon; or, as Herodotus saith,|| if the Babylonians had

* See the same, Book VII. 'Since they do not go out of their walls to fight,' page 112.

† See Xenophon's *Cyropædia*. Book VII. 'The width of the river is more than two furlongs, and its depth such, that two men standing the one on the other, the uppermost would not appear above the water. And therefore the river afforded a better defence to the city than its walls.'

‡ See Herodotus, Book I. Chap. cxci. page 79, in Gale's edition. 'They had amassed stores of provisions (which might serve them) for many years.' See Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, Book VII. page 113, in Stephen's edition. 'They had necessaries for more than twenty years.'

§ 'Whom, if the Babylonians had heard or perceived beforehand what had been done by Cyrus, they would not have suffered him to enter (the city,) but would have put them to the most dreadful destruction. For by shutting all the sally ports that led to the river, and by mounting the rampart, and standing on the banks, they would have caught as in a trap, his soldiers as they came forward.'

|| See Herodotus, Book I. Chap. cxci. page 79, in Gale's edition. See also Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, Book VII. page 113, in Stephen's edition.

but known 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 wise men, her captains, and her rulers, and her mighty men, and they shall sleep a perpetual sleep, and not wake, saith the king, whose name is the Lord of hosts:' And accordingly the city was taken, in the night of a great annual festival, while the inhabitants were dancing, drinking, and reveling; and as Aristotle reports,* it had been taken three days, before some part of the city perceived it; but Herodotus' † 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 250 years before Herodotus, and near 350 before Xenophon, and Jeremiah lived about 150 years before the one and near 250 before the other. Cyrus took Babylon, according to

* See Aristotle's Politics, Book III. Chap. iii. 'which having been taken three days, they tell us, that this was not known by a certain portion of the city.'

† And by reason of the greatness of the city, as is related by some of its inhabitants, when the extremities of Babylon were in the possession of the enemy, they who lived in the midst of it were unacquainted with what had happened. See Herodotus in the same place.

Prideaux, in the year 539 before Christ. Isaiah prophesied 'in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah,' Isa. i. 1. which was at least 160 years before the taking of Babylon, for Hezekiah died in the year 699 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 56 years before the taking of Babylon, for the fourth year of Zedekiah coincides with the year 595 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 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 deserts shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs 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 grand-son,*) 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 became 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 forever ; 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 desolation, a dry land, and a wilderness, a land wherein no man dwelleth, neither doth any son of man pass thereby.' We shall see how these and other prophecies have by degrees been accomplished, for in the nature of the things they could not be fulfilled all at once. But as the prophets often speak of things future, 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 revealed perhaps to the minds of the prophets.

Isaiah addresseth Babylon by the name of a *virgin*, as having never before been taken by any enemy : Isa. xlvii. 1. 'Come down, and sit in the dust, O virgin daughter of Babylon, sit on the ground :' and 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 became a tributary city ; from being governed by its own kings, and governing strangers, it came itself to be governed by strangers ; and the seat of empire, being transferred to Shushan, it decayed

* 'And thus indeed Babylon was taken for the first time.' See Herodotus, Book I. Chap. cxci. page 79, in Gale's edition.

by degrees, till it was reduced at last to utter desolation. Berosus in Josephus * saith, that when Cyrus had taken Babylon, he ordered the outer walls to be pulled down, because the city appeared to him to be very factious and difficult to be taken. And 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 tribute 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, ‡ they rebelled against Darius, and in order to hold out to the last extremity, they took all their women, and each man choosing one of them, out of those of his own family, whom he liked best, they strangled the rest, that unnecessary mouths might not consume their provisions. "And hereby," saith Dr. Prideaux, § "was very signally fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah against them, in which he foretold, Chap. xlvi. 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 sorceries, 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

* 'But Cyrus having taken Babylon, gave orders to destroy the outer walls, both because he saw that the city was factious, and difficult to be taken.' See Josephus against Apion, Book I. Sect. 22. page 1344, in Hudson's edition.

† See Xenophon's Cyropædia, Book VII. page 114 and 117, in Stephanus' edition.

‡ See Herodotus, Book III. Chap. clvi. page 220, in Gale's edition.

§ See Prideaux' Connections, Part 1. Book III. year 517, and 5 of Darius.

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; Isa. xiii. 17, 18. Jer. I. 42. and he likewise demolished the wall, and took away the gates, neither of which, saith Herodotus,* had Cyrus done before. But either Herodotus or Berosus must have been mistaken; or we must suppose that Cyrus' orders were never carried into execution; or we must understand Herodotus to speak of the inner wall, as Berosus 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 Berosus † affirms. Herodotus ‡ computes the height of the wall to be 200 cubits; but latter authors reckon it much lower, § Quintus Curtius at 100, Strabo || who is a more exact writer, at 50 cubits. Herodotus describes it as it was originally; and we may conclude therefore that Darius reduced it from 200 to 50 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 ¶ after his return from his unfortunate expedition into Greece, partly out of religious zeal, being a pro-

* He took away the wall, and removed all the gates, none of which had been done when first it was taken by Cyrus.' See Herodotus, Book III. Chap. clix. page 223, in Gale's edition.

† 'He surrounded the city by three walls within, and in like manner with three walls without.' See Josephus against Apion, Book I Sect. 19, in Hudson's edition.

‡ 'The height was of two hundred cubits.' See Herodotus, Book I. Chap. clxxviii. page 74, in Gale's edition.

§ 'The height of the wall was more than a hundred cubits.' See Quintus Curtius, Book V. Chap. i.

|| 'The height of the wall between the towers, was fifty cubits.' See Strabo, Book XVI. page 738, in the Paris edition; and page 1072, in that of Amsterdam, printed in 1707.

¶ See Herodotus, Book I Chap. clxxxiii. page 76, in Gale's edition. See Arrian's expedition of Alexander, Book VII. Chap. xvii. page 296, in Gronovius' edition. See Usher's Annals, year

fessed enemy to image worship, and partly to reimburse himself after his immense expenses, seized the sacred treasures, and plundered or destroyed the temples and idols of Babylon, thereby accomplishing the prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah; Isa. xxi. 9. 'Babylon is fallen, is fallen; and all the graven images of her gods he hath broken unto the ground:' Isa. xlvi. 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, saith the Lord, 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 Quintus Curtius * says, that the whole circuit of the city was 358 furlongs, yet he affirms, that only for the space of 90 furlongs it 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 † purposed to have made

of the world 3526, page 129. See Prideaux' Connections, Oart I. Book IV. year 479, and 7 of Xerxes.

* Quintus Curtius, Book V. Chap. i, saith, 'that all the space within the walls was not occupied by buildings. Only the space of ninety furlongs was inhabited, and even in this space, the houses were not close to one another.'

† See Arrian's expedition of Alexander, Book VII. Chap. xvii. page 296, and Chap. xxi. page 303, in Gronovius' edition. See Hecateus in Josephus against Apion, Book I. Sect. 22 page 1348, in Hudson's edition. See also Strabo, Book XVI. page 738, in the Paris edition, and page 1073, in that of Amsterdam, printed in 1707.

Babylon the seat of his empire, and actually set men at work to rebuild the temple of Belus, and to repair the banks of the river, and to bring back the waters again into their 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 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 Babylon † by several authors. We learn farther from a fragment of Diodorus Siculus, which is produced by Valesius, and quoted from him by 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 130 years before Christ: and now let us see what account is given of Babylon by authors after that time.

Diodorus Siculus § describes the buildings as ruined or

* See Strabo in the same place. And also Pliny's Natural History, Book VI. Chap. xxx. in Harduin's edition.

† See the same place of Pliny; 'which nevertheless is called Babylon.' See Prideaux' Connections, Part I. Book VIII. year 293, and 12 of Ptolemy Soter.

‡ Vitringa in his Commentary on Isaiah, Chap. xiii. page 421. Vol. I. expressed himself thus. "Euemerus the king of the Parthians, (Valesius from comparing some passages of Justin and Athnæus, and from the time in which he lived, hath clearly shewn, that his name ought to be read Hindrus) a native of Hyrcania, going beyond every tyrant in rigour, was inattentive to no sort of cruelty. For he sent into Media, and distributed in every family of that country, vast multitudes of Babylonians, doomed to slavery. He also set on fire the forum, and some of the temples at Babylon, and destroyed all the finest places of the city. This calamity happened during the reign of the descendants of Seleucus, about 130 years before the birth of our Lord."

§ 'Time in some cases, hath altogether destroyed, and in others defaced the royal palaces and other stately edifices. For

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 * 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 any 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 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 Pausanius ‡ (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

at present, only a certain small portion of Babylon is inhabited, the far greater part within the walls is under tillage.' See Diodorus Siculus, Book II. page 70, in Stephanus' edition, and page 98, in that of Rhodomanus.

* 'The Persians destroyed a part of the city. A part has been consumed by time, and the neglect of the Macedonians. But the chief cause of its decay, has been the building of Seleucia, on the banks of the Tigris, by Seleucus Nicator, at the distance only of three hundred furlongs from Babylon. For both he, and all his descendants, have laboured to the utmost, to aggrandize it (Seleucia), and have removed the court thither. At present, it is greater than Babylon, so that one may boldly say, that concerning it, which was said by a certain comedy writer, concerning Megalopolis, a large city of Arcadia, Megalopolis is now a vast desert.' See Strabo, Book XVI. page 738, in the Paris edition, and page 1073, in that of Amsterdam, printed in 1707.

† 'Surely it hath returned to a desolate and forsaken place, on account of its vicinity to Seleucia, a city built for that very purpose by Nicator.' See Pliny's *Natural History*, Book VI. Chap. xxx. in Harduin's edition.

‡ 'Babylon, the greatest of all these cities, which ever the sun shone upon, has now nothing remaining besides its walls.' See Pausanias, Book III. Chap. xxxiii.

nothing now remaining, but the walls. Maximus Tyrius * mentions it, as lying neglected and forsaken; and 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 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, ‡ 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, § 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 700 years ago, he asserts || that ancient Baby-

* 'Babylon forsaken.' See Maximus Tyrius, Dissertation VI. near the end.

† 'Not long hence it will be searched for, like Nineveh.' See Lucian's Contemplations, near the end.

‡ 'We have been informed, by a certain Elamite friar, who at present, leads a monastic life in Jerusalem, but came from that country, that Babylon is a royal hunting park, and that wild beasts of every kind are shut up within its circuit.' See Jerome's commentary, on Isa. xiii. page 111. Vol. 3. in the Benedictine edition.

§ 'For excepting the walls of brick, which after the lapse of many years, are repaired, for confining the wild beasts, all the space in the middle is gone to a wilderness.' See the same on Chap. xiv. page 115.

|| Benjamin in his Itinerary, page 76, saith, that men are afraid

lon 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,* that of this great and famous city, there is nothing but 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 1574, and † 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 Chaldea, 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,

to enter into it, by reason of the serpents and scorpions, which dwell in the midst of it. See Bochart's Phaleg, Book IV. Chap. xv. Col. 234. See Vitrunga on Isa. xiii. page 421. Vol. I. Prideaux' Connections, Part I. Book VIII. year 293, and 12, of Ptolemy Soter. See Calmet's Dictionary on the word Babylon.

* 'None but a few vestiges remain of this city; nor is there any place in that country less frequented.' See Bochart in the same place, and Prideaux.

† See Babylon in Calmet's Dictionary, and Prideaux as before, and Raay's edition of these Travels in English, Part 2. Chap. 7.

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 Vallensis, (Della Valle,) was at Bagdat in the year 1616, and went to see the ruins, as they are thought of, ancient Babylon; and he informs us, * 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.—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 compass of that huge mass, to convince one so great a city as Babylon had ever stood there: all one discovers within fifty or sixty paces of it, being only the remains here and there, of some foundations of buildings; and the country round about it so flat and level, that one can hardly believe it should be chosen for the situation of so great and noble a city as Babylon, or that there were ever any remarkable buildings on it; but for my part, I am astonished there appears so much as there does, considering, it is at least four thousand years since that city was built, and that Diodorus Siculus tells us, it was reduced almost to nothing in his time.”

Tavernier, who is a very celebrated traveller, relates † that “at the parting of the Tigris, which is but a little way from Bagdat, there is the foundation of a city, which may seem to have been a large league in compass. There are some of the walls yet standing, upon which six coaches

* See *Viaggi de Pietro della Valle*, Part 2. Epistle xvii. See *Le Clerc's Commentary on Isa. xiii. 20.* See *Vitringa's Commentary on the same*, page 421, of Vol. 1. See also *Universal History*, Book 1. Chap. II. Sect. 4. Note N.

† See *Tavernier in Harris's Collection*, Vol. 2. Book 2. Chap. v.

may go abreast; They are made of burnt brick, ten foot square and three thick. The chronicles of the country say, here stood the ancient Babylon." Tavernier, no doubt, saw the same ruins, as Benjamin the Jew, and Rauwolf, and Peter delle Valla did; but he thought them not to be the ruins of Nebuchadnezzar's palace, or of the tower of Babel. He adopts the opinion of the Arabs, and conceives them to be rather the remains of some tower built by one of their princes for a beacon to assemble his subjects in time of war: and this in all probability was the truth of the matter.

Mr. Salmon's* observation is just and pertinent: "What is as strange as any thing that is related of Babylon is, that we cannot learn either by ancient writers or modern travellers, where this famous city stood, only in general, that it was situated in the province of Chaldea, upon the river Euphrates, considerably above the place where it is united with the Tigris. Travellers have guessed from the great ruins they have discovered in several parts of this country, that in this 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. Hanway † going to give an account of the siege of Bagdat by Nadir Shah, prefaceth 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

* See Salmon's *Modern History*, Vol. I. Present state of the Turkish Empire, Chap. xi.

† See Hanway's *Travels*, Vol. IV. Part III. Chap. x. page 78.

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-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 allege this as a memorable instance of his prescience, and challenge all the false gods and their votaries, to produce the like, Isa. 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 *Épinikion*, 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 *Alcæus*, * 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 his lectures † upon the sacred

* And O *Alcæus*,—thee sounding thy notes more fully with a golden bow, &c. See *Horace*, Ode II.

Quintilian in his oratorical institutions, Book I. Chap. I. saith, that *Alcæus* in a part of the work is presented with a golden bow, because he employs it against tyrants, &c.

† *Lowth* in his thirteenth Prelection, page 120, &c. saith, throughout the whole, a free, sublime, and truly divine spirit prevailleth; nor is there any thing wanting to add to the sublimity and perfect beauty of this Ode: to which if I should speak freely what I think, there is nothing that equals, or indeed that comes near to it, either in Greek or Roman poetry.' See also Prelection XXVIII. page 2772.

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 * 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 ‘where the 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.’

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

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

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 horse sand with chariots;' a *fort*, a *mount*, and *engines of war*, are *set against it*; at other times, Isa. xxiii. 2, 4, 6. it is expressly called *an island*, and *the sea*, *even the strength of the sea*. Now it is said, Ezek. xxiv. 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 near falling into the hands of the Chaldeans, then the Tyrians fled from thence, and built new Tyre in the island: but the learned * 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 † 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 ascribe by

* See Vitringa's Commentary on Isa. xxiii. Vol. I. pages 667—671.

† 'The circumference, including old Tyre, is nineteen miles.' See Pliny's Natural History, Book V. Chap. xvii. in Harduin's edition.

way of 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 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 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 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§ who was himself at Tyre, and enquired 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 ancient 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, for

* Marsham, in his chronicle of the XI age, saith in page 290. ‘That name is given by way of anticipation.’

† Next to Sidon, Tyre is the largest and most ancient city of the Phœnicians, and comparable to it in size, beauty, and antiquity.’ See Strabo, Book XVI. page 756, in the Paris edition, and page 1007, in that of Amsterdam, printed in 1707.

‡ ‘The ancient origin of this city, and the frequent changes of its condition, have rendered it memorable to posterity.’ See Quintus Curtius, Book IV. Chap. iv.

§ ‘For they said, that along with the city, the foundation of the temple of the god (Hercules) was laid; and that from the building of Tyre, they reckoned two thousand and three hundred years.’ See Herodotus, Book II. Chap. xlv. page 107, in Gale’s edition.

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 Chaldeans, that is not one hundred and thirty years before. Josephus 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,† 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 Sanchoniathon,‡ the Phœnician historian, who is reckoned§ to have lived about the time of Gideon,|| 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, Jud. 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 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

* 'From the building of Tyre to the raising of Solomon's temple, there were two hundred and forty years.' See Josephus' Antiquities, Book VIII. Chap. iii. Sect. 1. page 341, in Hudson's edition.

† See Vitranga in the same place, page 669.

‡ See Eusebius' Evangelical Preparation, Book I. Chap. x. page 35, in Vigerus' edition.

§ 'Therefore he is properly thrown back to the time of Gideon.' See Bochart's Canaan, Book II. Chap. xvii. Col. 776.

|| See Stillingfleet's book, entitled Origines Sacræ, Book I. Chap. ii.

¶ 'Indeed the poets employ themselves more in celebrating the praise of Sidon. Homer is silent with respect to Tyre.' See Strabo in the place above quoted, page 1097.

more ancient: and Justin,* the epitomizer 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 honourable men of the earth;’ and Ezekiel, as it were commenting upon the words of Isaiah, *a mart of nations*, Chap. xxviii. 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 125 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 honourable 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, Antony, was not with greater finery and magnificence; nor have † 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 honours, xxviii. 2, &c. ‘Son of man, say unto the prince of Tyrius, 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

* ‘Many years afterwards, the inhabitants of Sidon being driven from their city, by the king of Ascalon, and conveyed by their ships, went and built Tyre.’ See Justin, Book XVIII. Chap. i. Sect. 5. page 362, in Grævius’ edition.

† See Plutarch’s life of Antony, page 913, Vol. in the Paris edition of 1624. See also Shakspeare and Dryden.

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 traffic hast thou increased thy riches, and thine heart is lifted up, because of thy riches; Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Because thou hast set thine heart as the heart of God; Behold therefore, I will bring strangers upon thee, the terrible of the nations; and they shall draw their swords against the beauty of thy wisdom, and they shall defile thy brightness: 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 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 recompense 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 delivered up the whole captivity to Edom, and remembered not the brotherly covenant,’ that is, the league and alliance between *Hiram* king of Tyre on one part, and David and Solomon on the other. The Psalmist reckons them among the most inveterate and implacable enemies of the Jewish name and nation, Psalm. lxxxiii. 6, 7. ‘The tabernacles of Edom, and the Ishmaelites of Moab, and the Hagarenes, Gebal, and Ammon, and Amalek, 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 together, 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 inconsiderable 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 would be restored after 70 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 Chaldeans, 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 Chaldeans ; 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, that he is going to utter something new and extraordinary ; 'the land of the Chaldeans,' 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 before 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 here 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 Chaldeans 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 Chaldeans were their slaves and subjects; and therefore it is the more extraordinary, that the prophet should so many years before-hand foresee the successes and conquests of the Chaldeans.

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 Tyre, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, a king of kings from the north, with horses, and with chariots, and with horsemen, and companies, and much people;—he shall slay thy people by the sword, and thy strong garrisons, and shall go down to the ground.' Salmaneser, king of Assyria,* 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 Tyre; every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled.'

Menander the Ephesian, translated the Phœnician annals into Greek; and Josephus asserts† upon their authority, that Nebuchadnezzar besieged Tyre 13 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 historian ‡ likewise observes, that

* See Menander's Annals in Josephus' Antiquities, Book IX. Chap. xiv. Sect. 2. page 428, in Hudson's edition.

† See Josephus against Apion, Book I. Sec. 20 and 21, in Hudson's edition.

‡ Philostratus, both in the histories of India and Phœnicia, asserts, 'that this king (Nebuchadnezzar) besieged Tyre for the space of thirteen years, at the time that Ithobalus was its sovereign.' See Antiquities, Book X. Chap. xi. Sect. 1. page 460 in Hudson's edition.

Philostratus in his Indian and Phœnician histories affirms, that this king (Nebuchadnezzar) besieged Tyre 13 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 prophane history cast upon sacred. It farther appears from the Phœnician annals, quoted by the same 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. Prideaux † hath clearly shown, agree exactly with Ezekiel's account of the time, and year, wherein the city was taken. Tyre therefore according to the prophecies was subdued, and taken by Nebuchadnezzar and the Chaldeans: 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

* See Josephus against Apion, Book I. Sect. 21. page 1344, in Hudson's edition.

† See Prideaux' Connections, Part I. Book II. year 573, and 32 of Nebuchadnezzar.

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 Strabo testifies,† and sent forth colonies into Africa and Spain, unto and beyond the pillars of Hercules: and 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, saith he,§ in the histories of the Assyrians, that 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 sea.’ And in another place he saith,¶ that when the Tyrians saw that the works for carrying on the siege were perfected, and the foundations of the walls were shaken, by the battering of the rams, whatsoever precious things in gold, silver, cloths, and various kinds of furniture the nobility had, they put them on board their

* See Bochart’s Canaan.

† ‘But the Colonies sent into Africa and Spain, to and beyond the pillars of Hercules, celebrated Tyre much in their songs.’ See Strabo, Book XVI. page 1097.

‡ ‘Surely its colonies were spread almost over the whole world.’ See Quintus Curtius, Book IV. Chap. iv.

§ We have read in the Assyrian histories, that when the Tyrians being besieged, perceived that no hope of escaping left, went on board their ships, and fled to Carthage, or to the islands of the Ionian and Ægean sea. See Jerome on Isa. xxiii. 6. page 144, in the Benedictine edition.

¶ ‘Which (works for carrying on the siege,) when the Tyrians saw completed, and the foundations of their walls shaken by the blows of the battering-rams, whatever precious commodity in gold, or silver, in apparel or furniture, the Noblesse were first in possession of, they put it on board of ships, and conveyed it to the islands: so that when the city was taken, Nebuchadnezzar found nothing in it to reward his toil.’ See Jerome on Ezek. xxix. page 909.

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, after 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, * who lived about 300 years before Christ, and was employed by Seleucus Nicator in an embassy to the king of India, wrote afterwards a history of India, wherein he mentioned Nebuchadnezzar with great honor. This historian is quoted by several ancient authors, and he is cited particularly by † Strabo, Josephus, 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

* See Arrian's expedition of Alexander, Book V. Chap. vi. page 203. See also his Indian history, Chap. v. page 318, in Gronovius' edition. See Vossius' Greek History, Book I. Chap. xi. See also Prideaux' Connections, Part I. Book VIII. year 298, and 7th of Ptolomy Soter.

† See Strabo, Book XV. page 687, in the Paris edition, and page 1007, in that of Amsterdam, printed in 1707. See Josephus' Antiquities, Book X. Chap. xi. Sect. 1. page 460. See him against Apion, Book I. Sect. 20. page 1343, in Hudson's edition. See also Eusebius' Evangelical Preparation, Book IX. Chap. xvi. page 456, in Vigerus' edition.

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 70 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 70 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 an harlot, and from thence these figures are borrowed, the plain meaning of which is, that she should lie neglected of traders and merchants for 70 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 wore 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 some 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 70 years after another manner,* Tyre was taken by Nebuchadnezzar, in the 32d year of his reign, and in the year 573 before Christ.—Seventy years from thence will bring us down to the year 503 before Christ, and the 19th of Darius Hystaspis. At that time it appears from 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 ‡ 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, Isa. xxiii. 6. 'How 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 sea:' these expressions can imply no less than the insular Tyre should be destroyed as well as that

* See Prideaux' Connections, Part I Book II. and Book IV.

† See Herodotus, Book V. Chap. cviii. &c. page 330.

‡ See Herodotus, Book VII. Chap. lxxxix, &c. page 412, in Gale's edition. See Diodorus Siculus, Book XI. page 244, in Stephanus' edition, and page 3, Vol. 2. in that of Rhodomanus.

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 Zechariah, who prophesied in the reign of Darius, Zech. 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 her a strong hold*; for her situation was very strong in an island, and besides the sea to defend her she was fortified with a wall of 150 feet in height, and of a proportionable thickness. ‘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 set † the city on fire. The ruins of old Tyre contributed much to the taking of the new city: for ‡ 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

* See Arrian’s expedition of Alexander, Book II. Chap. xxi. page 96, in Gronovius’ edition. ‘The height was an hundred and fifty feet, and of a corresponding thickness.

† See Quintus Curtius, Book IV. Chap. iv. ‘And he orders fire to be thrown into the houses.’

‡ See Quintus Curtius, Book IV. Chap. ii. See Diodorus Siculus, Book XVII. page 583, in Stephanus’ edition, and 219, Vol. 2. in that of Rhodomanus.

lay thy stones, and thy timber, and thy dust in the midst of the water.' He was seven months in completing this work, but the time and labour were well employed, for by means hereof 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 adjoining; so they did likewise in this latter siege; for Diodorus Siculus, * and Quintus Curtius, both testify that they sent their wives and children to Carthage; and upon the taking of the place, the Sidonians † secretly conveyed away fifteen thousand more in their ships. Happy were they who thus escaped, for of those who remained behind, the 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 their § king held his crown by

* 'They determined to send their children and wives, and aged people to Carthage. They prevented a part of their children and wives from falling into the hands of the enemy, by sending them away secretly to the Carthaginians.' See Diodorus Siculus, Book XVII.—'They delivered their wives and children to be conveyed to Carthage.' See Quintus Curtius, Book IV. Chap. iii.

† See Quintus Curtius, Book IV. Chap. iv.

‡ See Arrian, Book II. Chap. xxiv page 100, in Gronovius' edition. See the same place of Quintus Curtius.

§ See Diodorus Siculus, Book XVII. page 587, in Stephanus' edition, and page 524, Vol. II. in the edition of Rhodomanus. 'He appointed one named Byllonymus, king of the city of the Tyrians.'

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 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 centre, by virtue hereof it was, that it so soon revived to its pristine vigour."

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 good.' But nothing can be plainer than Isaiah's declaration, that they should consecrate the grains of their merchandise, for the maintenance of those who minister to the Lord in holy things, xxxiii. 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 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 able commentator, and will receive more light and assistance from him, than from all besides him.

* See Diodorus Siculus, Book XIX. page 704, in Stephanus' edition, and page 703, Vol. II. in that of Rhodomanus. See Prideaux' Connections, Part I. Book VIII, year 313, and 4, of Alexander.

† See Vitringa's Commentary on Isa. xxiii. Vol. I. page 701.

The Tyrians were much addicted to the worship of Hercules, as he was called by the Greeks, or of Baal, 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;' Matth. 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 Christianity, that in the time of Dioclesian's persecution, they exhibited several glorious examples of confessors and martyrs: this 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 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 ‡ 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 merchan-

* See Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History, Book VIII. Chap. vii. See the Palestine Martyrs, Chap. v. and vii.

† See Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History, Book X. Chap. iv.

‡ 'Which we see accomplished in our time. For since a church of God hath been established in the city of Tyre, in like manner as in other nations, much of its wealth procured by merchandise, offered to its church, is consecrated to the Lord. This he soon afterwards explains by saying, that it is applied to the use of the ministers of the altar, or of the gospel, according to the Lord's appointment, that they who serve at the altar, should live by it.'

dise 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 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 who 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 those proofs we will only add, that as Tyre consecrated its merchandise and hire unto the Lord, so it had the honour † of being erected into an archbishopric, and the first archbishopric under the patriarchate of Jerusalem, having fourteen bishops under its primacy ; and in this state it continued several years.

VI. But after all, the city should be totally destroyed, and become a place only for fishers to spread their nets upon. When the prophets denounced the destruction of a city or country, it was not intended that such denunciation should take effect immediately. The sentence of condemnation, (as I may say,) was then passed upon it, but the execution might be respited for some time. When it was threatened that Babylon should become a desolation without an inhabitant, there were yet many ages before it was reduced to that condition ; it decayed by degrees, till at last it came to nothing ; and now the place is so little known, that you may look for Babylon in the midst of Babylon. In like manner, Tyre was not to be ruined and desolated all at once. Other things were

* We may behold in Tyre, churches built to the honour of Christ, and may see that the wealth of all its inhabitants is not hoarded or treasured up, but given to them who dwell before the Lord.—For so hath the Lord appointed, that they who preach the gospel, should live by the gospel. See Jerome on Isa. xxiii. page 146, Vol. III. in the Benedictine edition.

† See Sandy's Travels, Book III. page 168, sixth edition, printed in 1670. See Hoffman's Lexicon, &c.

to happen first. It was to be restored after 70 years; it was to be destroyed and restored again, in order to its being adopted into the church. These events were to take place, before Ezekiel's prophecies could be fully accomplished: xxvi. 3, 4, 5. '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: And they shall destroy the walls of Tyrus, and break down her towers; I will also scrape her dust from her, and make her like the top of a rock: It shall be a place for the spreading of nets in the midst of the sea: for I have spoken it, saith the Lord God.' He repeats it to show the certainty of it, ver. 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 hath spoken it, saith the Lord God:' and again, ver. 21. 'I will make thee a terror, and thou shalt be no more: though thou be sought for, yet shalt thou never be found again, saith the Lord God.'

These prophecies, like most others, were to receive their completion by degrees. Nebuchadnezzar, as we have seen, destroyed the old city; and Alexander employed the ruins and rubbish in making his causeway from the continent to the island, which henceforwards were joined together. "It is no wonder therefore," as Bishop Pocock * observes, "that there 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

* See Pocock's Description of the East, Vol. II. Book I. Chap. xx. page 81, 82.

misfortune afterwards of changing its masters often, being sometimes in the hands of the Ptolemies kings of Egypt, and sometimes of the Selucidæ kings of Syria, till at length it fell under the dominion of the Romans. It was taken by the Saracens * about the year of Christ 639 in the reign of Omar their third emperor. It was retaken by the Christians, † during the time of the holy war in the year 1124, Baldwin the second of that name, being then king of Jerusalem, and assisted by a fleet of the Venetians. From the Christians, it was taken ‡ again in the year 1289, by the Mamalucs of Egypt, under their Sultan Alphix, who sacked and razed 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 again taken § in the year 1516 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 centre 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.

The famous Huetius || knew one Hadrianus Parville,

* See Ockley’s History of the Saracens, Vol. I. page 340.

† See Abul-Phrajius’ History, Dynasty 9. page 250. See Pocock, and Savage’s Abridgment of Knolles and Rycaut, Vol. I. page 26.

‡ See Savage’s Abridgment, Vol. I. page 95. and Pocock’s Description of the East, Vol. II. Book I. Chap. xx. page 83.

§ See Savage’s Abridgments, Vol. I. page 241.

|| I remember to have been told by Hadrianus Parvillerius, a Jesuit, a man greatly distinguished for his candour, and for his skill in the Arabic language, and who spent ten years of his time in Syria, that long ago, when he drew near to the fallen-down ruins of Tyre, he beheld at a distance, the rocks stretching out towards the sea, and the stones scattered in different directions upon the shore, washed and smoothed by the sun, the waves and the wind, and only useful for drying the fishermen’s nets, which then happened to be spread upon them, it brought to his recollection, these words of the prophet Ezekiel. ‘It shall be a place for the spreading of nets in the midst of the sea, for I have spoken it, saith the Lord God.—And I will make thee like the

rius, 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 on 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. 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 *cotton* 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 are 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 bason 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 rubbish, 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

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.' See Chap. xxvi. 5, 14.

* See Shaw's Travels, page 350.

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, * 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 hath 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 rivaling 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. Neither kingdoms nor commonwealths, neither public companies nor private persons, can long carry on a beneficial flourishing trade without virtue, and

* See Maundrell, page 48, 49. fifth edition.

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, Isa. xxiii. 8, 9. 'Who hath taken this 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 traffic 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, will I 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 traffic; 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. All 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 of 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 *Hammon*, and by his son *Mizraim*. The name of *Egypt* is of more uncertain derivation. It appears that the river

was so called in Homer's* time ; and from thence, as Hesychius imagines, the name might be derived to the country. Others more probably conceive, that the meaning of the name *Ægyptius* † is *ava 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 other countries repaired, and imbibed their learning at this fountain. It is mentioned to the commendation of Moses, Acts vii. 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 all the wisdom of the children' of the east country, and all the wisdom of Egypt.' But with this wisdom, and this greatness, it was early corrupted ; and was as much the parent of superstition, as it was the mis-

* 'On the fifth day we came to the beautifully flowing Egypt, and I equipped in the river Egypt, vessels rowed on both sides.' See Homer's *Odyssey*, Book XIV. Lines 257, 258.

The fifth fair morn we stem the Egyptian tide,
And tilting o'er the bay, the vessels ride. See Pope's Translation.

Hesychius saith, that Egypt is the river Nile, and hence the country by later writers, hath been called Egypt.

† See Mede's Works, Book I. Discourse 50, page 281. See also Hoffman's Lexicon.

ness 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 shall 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' 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 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,' Isaiah 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 Nineveh,' Isa. xiii. 1. 'the burden of Babylon, Isa. xxiii. 1. 'the burden of Tyre:' and so here likewise, Isaiah xix. 1. the prophecies against Egypt have the title of 'the burden of Egypt.' And by *burden* is commonly understood a threatening burden, some 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 Habakkuk and Malachi are entitled ‘ the burden which Habakkuk 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 and foolish things for thee, they have seen for thee false 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 prophecy, as well as 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 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,

* The Hebrew word Masha, a burden, is derived from *Nasha*, which signifies, he carried, he took up, he lifted up, he brought forth. See Buxtorf’s Lexicon.

and deserves 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. xliiii, 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 testimonies* of Magasthenes and Berosus, two heathen histori-

* 'For they say, that he (Nebuchadnezzar) reduced into his obedience a great part of Africa.' See Megasthenes in Josephus' Antiquities, Book X. Chap. xi. Sect. 1. in Hudson's edition. 'But Nebuchadnezzar, not long after, having heard

ans, who lived about 300 years before Christ, one of whom affirms expressly, that Nebuchadnezzar conquered the greatest part of 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 hasted directly to Babylon. If neither Herodotus nor Diodorus Siculus, have recorded this transaction, what 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 Chaldeans they concealed. Josephus, we may presume, had good authorities, and was supported by earlier historians, when he † asserted, that Nebuchadnezzar, having subdued Cœlo-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 much from Herodotus himself. The name of the king of Egypt, at that time, according to Jeremiah, was *Pharaoh-Hophra*, and he

of the death of his father, and having set in order his affairs in Egypt, &c.' See Berosus as quoted by the same author. See also Eusebius' Evangelical Preparation, Book IX. Chap. xl. and xli.

* What is plainly related by Jeremiah, Herodotus was ignorant of. For these Egyptian priests, who answered his questions concerning the affairs of Egypt, candidly told him, that they only made mention of these things, which tended to the honour of their nation, but that they concealed every thing relating to their idleness, their servitude, or the tribute which they paid to the Chaldeans. See Scaliger's Fragments, page 11.

† 'He (Nebuchadnezzar) invaded Cœlo-Syria, and having made himself master of it, he fought against the Ammonites and Moabites. When he had reduced these nations under his power, he made an incursion into Egypt. There he slew the reigning king, and appointed another.' See Josephus' Jewish Antiquities, Book X. Sect. 9. page 454, in Hudson's edition.

can be none 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 * 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. 30. 'Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will 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 sought his life:' and accordingly Apriest† 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 Berosus,‡ that Ne-

* It is reported, that Apries was fully persuaded, that no one of the gods was able to put an end to his kingdom, as it seemed to him to be so firmly established. See Herodotus, Book II. Sect. 169, in Gale's edition.

† See Herodotus in the place above quoted. See Diodorus Siculus, Book I. page 43, in Stephanus' edition, and page 62, in that of Rhodomanus.

‡ Berosus as quoted by Josephus, Book X. Chap. xi. Sect. 1. page 459, in Hudson's edition, saith, 'that having joined the Egyptian prisoners, with those whom he had taken from other nations, their (Egyptian) allies, he sent them to Babylon.'

Nebuchadnezzar took several captives in Egypt, and carried them to Babylon; and from 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 Cambyses and the Persians, which is the main subject of the 19th chapter of Isaiah. Some parts indeed of this prophecy have a near 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 Cambyses and the Persians. They 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,

* 'He caused a colony of them to be settled on the right hand side of Pontus. See Megasthenes in Eusebius, in the place above quoted, Chap. xli. page 456, in Vigerus' edition.

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 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, who 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 † 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 the famous temple of Jupiter Hammon. Ochus too, who was another king of Persia, and subdued the Egyptians again after they had revolted, ‡ 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

* See Polyænus’ Stratagems, Book VII. Chap. ix. page 620, in Maasvicius’ edition.

† See Herodotus, Book III. Sect. 27, &c. page 172, and Sect. 37, &c. page 176, in Gale’s edition. See Strabo, Book XVII. page 805, in the Paris edition, and page 1158, in the Amsterdam edition of 1707. See Justin, Book I. Chap. ix. page 29, in Grævius’ edition.

‡ See Diodorus Siculus, Book XVI. page 537, in Stephanus’ edition, and page 448 of Vol. 2. in the edition of Rhodomanus. See Plutarch upon Isis and Osiris, page 355, in the Paris edition of 1624.

every one against his brother, and every one against his neighbour, city against city, and kingdom against kingdom ;' *nomos epi nomon* as the Seventy translate it, province against province, Egypt being divided into *nomoi*, prefectures or provinces. Vitringa and others apply this to the time of the *dodekarchia* * or the reign of the twelve kings, the anarchy that preceded, 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. † the civil wars between Apries and Amasis, at the time of Nebuchadnezzar's invasion, and the ‡ 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 charm-ers, 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 Psammitichus was such a *fierce* and *cruel* tyrant ; on the contrary he § re-established the

* See Herodotus, Book II. Sect. 147—154, page 146—150, in Gale's edition. See Diodorus Siculus, Book I. page 41, &c. in Stephanus' edition, and page 59, &c. Vol. I, in that of Rhodomanus.

† See Herodotus, Book II. Sect. 169, page 155, in Gale's edition. See Diodorus Siculus, Book I page 43, in Stephanus' edition, and page 62, Vol. I. in that of Rhodomanus.

‡ See Plutarch's life of Agesilaus. See Diodorus Siculus, Book XV. page 506, in Stephanus' edition, and page 390, &c. Vol. 2, in that of Rhodomanus.

§ See Herodotus, Book II. Sect. 153—157. page 150. 151. in Gale's edition. See Diodorus Siculus, Book I. page 42, in Ste-

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 Cambyses 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 Cambyses, after his killing of Apis, was stricken with madness; but his actions, saith Dr. Prideaux * after Herodotus, showed him to have been mad long before. He could hardly have performed these 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 cruelest and worst of all the kings of Persia, and was so destructive and oppressive to Egypt in particular, that his favourite eunuch 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 entailed on both them and their posterity; and afterwards

phanus' edition, and page 60. Vol. I. in that of Rhodomanus. See also Marsham's Chronicle, age XVIII. page 505.

* See Prideaux' Connections, Part I. Book III. year 525, and 5 of Cambyses. See Herodotus, Book III. Sect. 30. page 173, in Gale's edition. 'But Cambyses (as the Egyptians say,) on account of this wickedness, was immediately stricken with madness, but before that, he was not in his right senses.'

† See Diodorus Siculus, Book XVI. page 564, in Stephanus' edition, and 490, of Vol. 2. in that of Rhodomanus. See Aelian's Various history, Book VI. Chap. viii.

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, 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 19th 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 in 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 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 in 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 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 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 he 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 re-

* See Diodorus Siculus, Book XVII. page 533, in Stephanus' edition, and page 526, of Vol. 2. in that of Rhodomanus. See Arrian, Book III. Chap. 1, &c. See Quintus Curtius, Book IV. Chap. vii. and viii.

gulations, 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. xliii. &c. who there uttered most of his prophecies, concerning the conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar. From thence some knowledge of God, and some notice 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 Le Clerc, * that the *five cities*, wherein the worship of the one true God was received, were *Helio polis*, which is particularly named in the text, and the four others, which are mentioned in Jeremiah, xliv. 1. as the places of the residence of the Jews, *Migdol* or *Magdulus*, *Tahpanhes*, or *Daphne*, *Noph* or *Memphis*,

* 'If one might form a conjecture, concerning the names of five (four) other cities, I would say that they are these mentioned by Jeremiah in Chap. xliv. 1. namely *Migdol*, called by Herodotus, *Magdulus*, *Tahpanhes*, called by the same author *Daphne*, *Noph*, or *Memphis*, and the fourth, in the country of *Pathros*, or *Pathyris*, the name of which is not mentioned, perhaps *Ammon*—*No*, or *Diospolis*. In these cities dwelt the Jews, who through fear of the Chaldeans, migrated into Egypt, and who forced Jeremiah to accompany them thither. Although these men were very wicked in general, on which account, the prophet denounced against them very heavy calamities, yet amongst them there might be a few godly men, who made known to the Egyptians his predictions. And these last, when they saw them accomplished, embraced the Jewish religion. This however is not to be understood of all the inhabitants of these places, but only of some. For that is a sufficient reason, why mention should be made of five cities, that were to speak the language of Canaan, and to swear by the name of Jehovah. See his Commentary on the passage.

and the fourth *in the country of Pathros* or Thebais, not mentioned by name, perhaps Ammon—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 * 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 † carried more of them into Egypt, who there 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, ‡ 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 Ptolemy, § called Euergetes, having subdued all Syria, did not sacrifice to the gods of Egypt, in acknowledgment 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 Ptolemy, || called Philometor, and his queen

* See Jewish wars, Book II. Chap. xviii. Sect. 7. page 1098. See his work against Apion, Book II Sect. 4. page 1364, in Hudson’s edition.

† See Josephus’ Antiquities, Book XII. Chap. i. page 508. See Hecataeus in Josephus. See him against Apion, Book I. Sect. 22. page 1347, in Hudson’s edition.

‡ See Josephus’ Antiquities, Book XII. Chap. ii. page 508. See him against Apion, Sect. 4. page 1365, in Hudson’s edition. See Hody on the Greek version, Book II. Chap. ii.

§ See Josephus against Apion, Book II, Sect. 5. page 1365, in Hudson’s edition.

|| See Josephus against Apion in the same place. See his An-

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 license from the king and queen to build a temple for the Jews of Egypt like that at Jerusalem, alleging 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 ministration; 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 Egypt, and in the parts of Lybia about Cyrene, Jews and proselytes.' Nay, from the instance of Candace's eunuch, Acts, viii. 27. we may infer that there were proselytes, even beyond Egypt, in Ethiopia. Thus were the Jews settled and encouraged in Egypt, insomuch that 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. Seleu-

quities, Book XIII Chap. iii. page 562. See his Jewish wars, Book I. Chap. i. Sect. 1. page 958. Book VII. Chap. x. Sect. 2. page 1325, in Hudson's edition.

* 'They were not short of a hundred myriads.' See him against Flaccus, page 971, in the Paris edition of 1640.

cas Nicator * 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, † published several decrees in favour of the Jews, both of those who inhabited Jerusalem, and of those who dwelt in Mesopotamia and Babylonia. Josephus ‡ saith, that the Jews gained more proselytes at Antioch. And thus by the means of the Jews and proselytes 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. 14, 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 absolute, 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

* See Josephus’ Antiquities, Book XII. Chap. iii. page 519, in Hudson’s edition.

† See the same place of Josephus.

‡ See his Jewish wars, Book VII. Chap. iii. Sect. 3. page 1290, in Hudson’s edition.

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,* 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 had 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' own narration. The Persians succeeded in the right of the Baby-

* 'And having settled his affairs in Egypt, and in the rest of the country, he sent the prisoners which he had taken therein, to Babylon. See Josephus' Antiquities, Book X. Chap. xi. Sect. 1. page 459, in Hudson's edition.

Ionians : and it appears* by Cyrus' sending for the best physician in Egypt to Amasis, who was obliged to force one from his wife and children ; and by Cambyses' demanding the daughter of Amasis, not for a wife but for a mistress ; by these instances, I say, it appears that they considered them as their tributaries and subjects. 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 † mentions the league and alliance, which Amasis made with Cræsus 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, ‡ 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 son Cambyses § did conquer Egypt, and deprive Psammenitus of his crown, to which he had newly succeeded upon the death of his father Amasis. Cambyses 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, || towards the latter end of the reign of Darius, the son of Hystaspis : but his son and successor Xerxes, in the second year of his reign, subdued them again, and reduced them to a worse condition of servitude than they had been in under Darius, and appointed

* See Herodotus, Book III. Sect. 1. page 161, in Gale's edition.

† See Herodotus, Book I. Sect. 77. page 82, in Gale's edition.

‡ See Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, Book I. page 2, Book VIII. page 127, in Henry Stephens' edition of 1531.

§ See Herodotus, Book III. Sect. 10—13. page 164—167, in Gale's edition.

|| See Herodotus, Book VII. Sect. 1, and 7. page 382, and 384, in Gale's edition.

his brother Achæmenes governor of Egypt. About four and twenty years after this, when * 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 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, whither 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 † 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 ‡ tenth year of Darius Nothus they revolted again under the conduct of Amyrtæus, who sailed 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,§ as Herodotus informs us, succeeded him in his kingdom by the favour 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 Mnemon|| made several efforts to re-conquer it, but all in vain. It was not totally and finally subdued till the ninth ¶ year of the

* See Thucydides, Book I. Sect. 104—110. page 57—60, in Hudson's edition. See Diodorus Siculus, Book XI. page 279, in Stephanus' edition, and page 54, &c. of Vol. 2. in that of Rhodomanus.

† See Herodotus, Book III. Sect. 15. page 167. in Gale's edition.

‡ See Eusebius' Chronicle. See Usher's Annals, year of the world 3590, page 146. See Prideaux' Connections, Part I. Book VI. year 414.

§ See Herodotus, Book III. Sect. 15, in the same place.

|| See Diodorus Siculus, Book XV. page 478, in Stephanus' edition, and page 357, &c. of Vol. II. in that of Rhodomanus.

¶ See Diodorus Siculus, Book XVI. page 537, in the edition of Stephanus, page 448, of Vol. II. in that of Rhodomanus. See Prideaux' Connections, Part I. Book VII. and year 350. See Usher's Annals, year of the world 3654.

following reign of Ochus, about 350 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 nobles, 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 years have passed from the conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar 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 kingdom by their consent and favour: 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 subdued 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 Macedonians. It submitted to Alexander the Great, without striking a stroke; made no attempts at that favourable 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 prodigies of luxury and wickedness. It is Strabo's * observa-

* 'All after the third Ptolemy, governed the state very ill, being debauched by luxury; but of all, the worst were the fourth

tion, that all, after the third Ptolemy, governed very ill, being corrupted 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 * Ptolemy Philopater 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 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 Ptolemy Auletes ‡ or *the piper*, so denominated because he spent much of his time in playing on the pipe, and used to contend for the prize in the public shows. This kingdom of the Macedonians § continued from the death of Alexander 294 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, || 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 prefect or governor: and so it

and seventh, and last, called Auletes.' See Strabo, Book XVII. page 796, in the Paris edition, and page 1146, in the Amsterdam edition of 1707.

* See Justin, Book XXIX. Chap. I. Sect. 5. page 466, in Grævius' edition. 'Ptolemy had gotten possession of Egypt by slaying his father and mother. He had the surname of Philopater, by way of irony given to him, that is, the lover of his father.'

† See Athenæus, Book XII. page 549, in Causabon's edition.

‡ See Strabo in the same place.

§ See the Stromata of Clement of Alexandria, Book I. page 143, in the Sylburgh edition, and page 396, in Potter's edition.—See Prideaux' Connections, Part II. Book VIII. year 30, and 8 of Herod.

|| See Strabo, Book XVII. page 797, and 819, in the Paris edition, and page 1147, and 1175, in the Amsterdam edition of 1707. See Dion Cassius, Book LI. page 455. in Leunclavius' edition.

continued to be governed by a prefect or viceroy sent from Rome, and 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 * 30 before Christ, and in this state it remained without much variation till the year 641 after Christ, that is 670 years in the whole, from the reign of Augustus Cæsar, to that of the emperor Heraclius.

Then it was that the 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 effected 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 amounted ‡ to the number of seven hundred thousand volumes. It consisted of two parts,§ one in that quarter of the city called Baruchion, containing four hundred thousand volumes, and the other within the Serapeum, containing three hundred thousand volumes.—It happened, that while Julius Cæsar was making war upon the inhabitants of Alexandria, ¶ the library in Baruchion, together with other buildings was burnt, and the

* See Usher, Prideaux, and others, under that year.

† See Elnacinus' History of the Saracens, Book I. page 25, 24. See Abul-Pharajius' History, Dyn. 9. page 112, Pocock's version. See Ockley's History of the Saracens, Vol. I. page 344.

‡ See Ammianus Marcellinus, Book XXII. Chap. xvi. page 343, in Valesius' edition of 1681, and the note of Valesius on the passage. See Aulus Gellius, Book VI. Chap. xvii.

§ See Epiphanius on measures and weights, Vol. II. page 168, in Petravius' edition, printed at Paris in 1622. See Chrysostom's first oration against the Jews, page 595. Vol. I. in the Benedictine edition.

¶ See Plutarch's life of Julius Cæsar, Vol. I. page 731, in the

four hundred thousand volumes* which was kept therein were all consumed. But this loss was in some measure repaired by the Pergamean library,† consisting of two hundred thousand volumes, which Antony presented to Cleopatra, and by the addition of other books afterwards,‡ so that 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 John the Grammarian,§ a famous philosopher of Alexandria, being in great favour 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 passed 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 ¶ was frequent-

Paris edition of 1624. See Dion Cassius, Book XLII. page 202, in Leunclavius' edition.

* See Seneca on the tranquillity of the mind, Chap. ix. Vol. I. page 362, edition varior. See Orosius' history, Book VI. Chap. xv. page 421, in Havercamp's edition.

† See Plutarch's life of Antony, Vol. I. page 94, in the Paris edition of 1624.

‡ See Tertullian's Apology, Chap. xviii. page 18, in Rigaut's edition of 1675.

§ See Abul-Pharajius' history, ninth Dynasty, page 114, Pocock's translation. See Oekley's history, of the Saracens, Vol. I. page 359, &c. See Prideaux' Connections, Part II. Book I. year 284, and first of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

¶ Sulimianus Marcellinus, Book XXII. Chap. xvi. page 344, &c. in Valesius' edition at Paris of 1681.

ed 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 1250.

About that time it was that the Mamalukes* usurped the royal authority. The word in general,† signifies a slave bought with money, but it is appropriated in particular to those Turkish and Circassian slaves, whom the Sultans of Egypt bought very young, 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 authors, and which 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 chosen Sultan, that had not been actually sold for

* See Abul-Pharajius' History, Dynasty IX. page 325, &c. and Pocock's Supplement, page 8, &c.

† See Pocock's Supplement, page 7. ‘Mamaluc, (and in the plural Mamalic,) signifies a purchased slave, or one that becomes the property of a master by a price told down.’ See Herbelot's Oriental Library, page 525, on the word Mamlouk. ‘This word, of which the plural is Memalik, signifies in Arabic, a slave in general, but in particular it hath been applied to Turkish and Circassian slaves,’ &c.

‡ See Sir William Temple's works, Vol. I. Miscellanies, Part II. Essay on Heroic Virtue, Sect. 5. page 224.

a slave, brought from Circassia, and trained up a private soldier in the Mamaluc bands." But they * who were better versed in oriental authors, assure us, that these are vulgar errors, and it appears from the Arabian historians,† that among the Mamalucs the son often succeeded the father in the kingdom. Their government is thus characterised by an Arabic author,‡ quoted by Dr. Pocock; "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§ began with Sultan Ibeg, in the 648th year of the Hegira, and the year of Christ 1250; and continued through a || series of 24 Turkish and 23 Circassian Mamaluc Sultans, 275 Arabic and 267 Julian years; and ended ¶ with Tamanbai in the 923d year of the Hegira, and the year of Christ 1517.

For at that time Selim,** the ninth emperor of the Turks conquered the Mamalucs, hanged their last Sultan Tamanbai 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 chil-

* See Pocock's Supplement, page 31. From what has been said, it is manifest that they are mistaken, who think that the Mamalucs are the sons of Christians only. They have also been mistaken, who have written concerning the right of succession among them, and concerning their discipline. Herbelot in his Oriental Library, page 545, saith; It appears from what we have seen, that the Mamalucs were not the sons of Christians, (though perhaps there may be some such among them,) as some of our historians have asserted.

† See Pocock's Supplement, page 8, 10, 11, 13, 18, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25.

‡ Al-Janabius in Pocock's Supplement, page 31, saith, 'if you take a retrospective view of the whole time in which they possessed the kingdom, especially that which approached to the termination of it, you will find it filled with a detail of wars, fights, injuries, and plunderings.'

§ See Pocock, page 8. See Herbelot, page 479.

|| See Pocock, page 8—30. See Herbelot, page 545.

¶ See Pocock, page 30. See Herbelot, page 1031.

** See Pocock's Supplement, page 30 and 49. See Herbelot's Oriental Library, page 545, and 802, and 1031. See also Savage's Abridgment of Knolles and Rycaut's Turkish History, Vol. I. page 211.

dren, 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 this. It is governed as prince Cantemir informs us, by a Turkish Basha,* 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 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 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

* See Prince Cantemir's History of the Othman empire, Part I. Book III page 156, in the Notes.

† See Prideaux' Connections, Part I. Book I. year 589, and 10, of Zedekiah.

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 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 generally been more wicked, than other nations. Ancient authors describe them every where as superstitious and luxurious, as an* unwarlike and unserviceable people; as † a faithless and fallacious nation, always meaning one thing and pretending another, as ‡ lovers of wine and strong drink, as § cruel in their anger, as || thieves and tolerating all kinds of theft, as ¶ patient of tortures, and though put to the rack, yet choosing rather to die than to confess the truth. Modern authors paint them still in blacker colours. The famous 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 *maiden* or three halfpence." Bishop Pocock's †† character of

* See Strabo, Book XVII. page 817, in the Paris edition, and page 1175, in the Amsterdam edition of 1707. See also Juvenal's Satire XV. line 126, 'An unwarlike and useless rabble.'

† See Lucan, V. line 58th. 'a faithless nation.' See Hirtius' Wars of Alexander, Chap. xvi. 'A treacherous nation, always designing one thing, and pretending another.'

‡ Athenæus in Dion, Book I. page 34, in Casaubon's edition, 'much addicted to wine and strong drink.'

§ Polybius, Book XV. page 719, in Casaubon's edition, saith, 'That this seems to be constitutional with the Egyptians, that they are wonderfully irascible and cruel.'

|| Aulus Gellius, Book XI. Chap. xviii, 'on the authority of Aristo, saith, that all kinds of theft were suffered to pass with impunity.' See Diodorus Siculus, Book I. page 50, in Stephanus' edition, and page 72, in that of Rhodomanus.

¶ Aelian in his Various History, Book VII. Chap. xviii. has these words; 'It is said, that the Egyptians endure torture with the greatest patience; and that an Egyptian will rather die, when examined upon the rack, than tell the truth.' See Ammianus Marcellinus, Book XXII. Chap. xvi. page 347, in Valesius' edition of 1681.

** See Thevenot in Harris's Collection, Vol. II. Chap. viii. page 429.

†† See Pocock's Description of the East, Vol. I. Book IV. Chap. iv. page 177.

them is not much more favourable, though not so harsh and 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 villanies are expiated, when once they wash their hands and feet.—Their 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 the 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 fifteen books* against the Christian religion, the twelfth of which was designed to depreciate the prophecies of Daniel; and therein he affirmed, that they were not composed by Daniel whose name they bore, but by somebody 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, Appolinarius, and Methodius, is wholly lost, excepting a few fragments and quotations, which are preserved in Jerome and others of the fathers. But as Jerome† rightly observes, this method 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 Literal 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 two learned opponents,‡ both of the same name,

* See Cave's Literary History, Vol. I. page 156. See Jerome's Preface to the book of Daniel, Vol. III. page 1072, in the Benedictine edition.

† The opposing of which (prophecies) is a testimony of their truth. For so great was the truth of their words, that even to men that were not credulous, the prophet seemed not to be speaking of future events, but to be relating such as were past. See the same place of Jerome.

‡ See Bp. 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 Literal Prophecy considered.

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 a 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. 23. '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 believers to object, as Colins 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 notions 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 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. 29. 'what should 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 re-

membrance 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 unto 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 ordained 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 show unto the king the interpretation.' The captain of the guard immediately introduced him to the king, and said, ver. 25. 'I have found 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, sua 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 show unto the king, was not revealed to 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 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 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

* See Jerome's Commentary on verse 1. He saith, 'That the wicked king had a prophetic dream, that by the saints making known and interpreting to him what was revealed, God might be glorified, and that great consolation might be imparted to them who served God, and that were in a state of captivity. The very same thing we read of in the case of Pharaoh, not that Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar deserved to have such things revealed to them, but that Joseph and Daniel were found worthy to be preferred to all others, by the interpretation of them.' And afterwards on verse 29, he addeth, 'And that Nebuchadnezzar might admire the grace of divine inspiration, he (Daniel) not only told to him the dream, which he was favoured with, but even the secret thoughts of his heart, previous to the dream.' See Vol. III. page 1077, and 1080, in the Benedictine edition.

women. A great terrible human figure was 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, 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 head * and higher parts signifying the earlier times, and the lower the parts, the later the times. From hence, 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 200 years before Daniel, mentioned the four ages of the world ; so that this vision was formed agreeably to the commonly received notion, and the commonly 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 the 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

* ' The part of the statue which was higher, signifies what was first in the order of time, and the parts lower downwards, events that were to follow after in the same order.' See Grotius on the passage.

† ' From this passage of Daniel, poets have deduced their fable concerning the four ages of the world, namely, these of gold, silver, brass, and iron ; by which declension in this passage is signified, that the world is always degenerating, and its manners growing worse.' See Calvin in Pool's Synopsi.

called by Isaiah, xiv. 4. 'the golden city.' The *Assyrian* is usually said to be the first of the four great empires; and the name may be allowed to pass, 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: Isa. 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, and 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 histories almost are lost: but there are some fragments even of heathen historians yet preserved, which speak of this mighty conqueror, and his extended empire. Berosus in Josephus* saith, that he held in subjection Egypt, Syria, Phœnicia, Arabia, and by his exploits surpassed all the Chaldeans and Babylonians who reigned before him. Josephus† subjoins, that in the archives of the Phœnicians, there are written

* 'He further saith, that this Babylonian king held in subjection to himself, Egypt, Syria, Phœnicia and Arabia, and that by his illustrious actions, he far surpassed all the Chaldean and Babylonian kings, who had gone before him' See Josephus' against Apion, Book I. Sect. 19. page 1342, in Hudson's edition.

† 'In the archives of the Phœnicians, are to be found things written, which agree with what is related by Berosus, concerning the king of the Babylonians. For in these it is affirmed, that he subdued Syria and all Phœnicia. And with them, Philostratus in his history exactly accords.—Nay, Megasthenes, in the

things consonant to those which are said by Berosus concerning this king of the Babylonians, that he subdued Syria and all Phœnicia: With these likewise agree Philostratus in his history, and Megasthenes in the fourth book of his Indian history, throughout which he attempts to show, that the forementioned 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* asserts, that this king among the Chaldeans was more celebrated than 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 † ended in his grandson Belshazzar, not 70 years after the delivery of this prophecy, nor above 23 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-Persian. The two hands and the shoulders, saith Josephus,‡ signify that the empire of the Babylonians

fourth volume of his Indian history, attempts to show, that the forementioned king of the Babylonians surpassed Hercules in bravery, and in splendor of action, for he saith, that he conquered a great part of Africa and Spain.' See Josephus against Apion, Book I. Sect. 2. page 1343.

* 'But Nebuchadnezzar, who is more extolled among the Chaldeans than Hercules, marched to the pillars of Hercules—and afterwards conducted his army out of Spain, into Thrace and Pontus. See Strabo, Book XV. page 687, in the Paris edition, and page 1007, in the Amsterdam edition of 1707.

† See Usher's Annals, year of the world 3466, page 100. See Prideaux' Connections, Part I. Book II. year 539, and 17 of Belshazzar.

‡ 'But the two hands and the shoulders, show that your kingdom will be dissolved by two kings.' See Josephus' Antiquities, Book X. Chap. x. Sect. 4. page 457, in Hudson's edition.

should be dissolved by two kings. The two kings were the kings of the Medes and Persians, 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-Persian, or the Persian, as it is more usually called, the Persians 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 translates 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 Dr. Prideaux * asserts, 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 Josephus † is, that another coming from the west, completely armed in brass

* See Prideaux' Connections, Part I. Book II. year 559, and first of Neriglissar.

† 'But another completely armed in brass, coming from the west, shall destroy their kingdom.' See Josephus' Antiquities, Book X. Chap. x. Sect. 4. page 457, in Hudson's edition.

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 * commanded that he should be called ‘the king of all the world;’ not that he really conquered, or nearly 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 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 Arrian‡ remarks, did Alexander himself appear to himself and to those about him to be ‘master both of all the earth and sea.’

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 § 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 lan-

* ‘After he had received the empire, he gave orders that he should be called the king of all lands, and of the world.’— See Justin, Book XII. Chap. xvi. Sect. 9. in Grævius’ edition.

† ‘At this time, ambassadors from almost every part of the world came to him, &c. See Diodorus Siculus, Book XVII. page 622, in Stephanus’ edition, and page 579, Vol. 2. in that of Rhodomanus.

‡ ‘And then especially, Alexander appeared to himself, and to them that were about him, to be master of every land and sea.’ See Arrian’s expedition of Alexander, Book VII. Chap. xv. page 294, in Gronovius’ edition.

§ *And another third kingdom of brass, which shall bear rule over all the earth,* Dan. ii. 39. ‘This means Alexander, and the kingdom of the Macedonians, and of the successors of Alexander. They rightly may be said to be of brass. For among all the metals brass is most sonorous, it tinkles loudest, and its sound is diffused far and wide; and so it shows not only the fame and power of the kingdom, but also the eloquence of the Greek tongue.’ See Jerome, Vol. III. page 1081, in the Benedictine edition.

guage. Another commentator observes * 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 Selucidæ who reigned in Syria, and the Lagidæ who reigned in Egypt, might be designed particularly by 'the 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 kingdom. The thing is implied in the very name by which they are usually called, 'the successors of Alexander.' Alexander being dead, 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 Justin, ‡ the kingdoms of the east were divided

* It is compared to the belly, to denote the drunkenness and profuse luxury of Alexander, and of his successors, especially the Ptolemies.' See Tirinis in Pool's Synopsis.

† 'Upon the death of Alexander, his empire was divided among his successors.' See Josephus' Antiquities, Book XI. Chap. viii. Sect. 4. page 505, in Hudson's edition.

‡ 'After the death of Alexander the Great, whilst his eastern kingdoms were divided among his successors,' &c. See Justin,

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 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 Selucidæ being a different kingdom from that of Alexander, because if they are not considered as parts of Alexander's dominion, they cannot be counted as 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 Selucidæ and of the Lagidæ cannot possibly be the fourth kingdom, because the marks and characters here given

Book XLI. Chap. iv. Sect. 1. speaking of the Parthians, he saith, 'that he triumphing in the east, they last of all became subject to the Macedonians,' Chap. i. Sect. 5. They afterwards, the Macedonians, being drawn into a civil war, &c. Chap. iv. Sect 2. The government of the nation, after their revolt from the Macedonian empire was monarchical, Chap. ii. Sect. 1. Thus Arsaces having sought and established his kingdom, was no less renowned among the Parthians, than Cyrus among the Persians, or Alexander among the Macedonians, or Romulus among the Romans. He died in an extreme old age, Chap. v. Sect. 5. in Grævius' edition.

* 'Even at present, the Jews call these kingdoms by one name, that of the Grecks.' See Grotius on Dan. vii. 7.

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 bruise all other metals, so this breaketh and subdueth all the former kingdoms: but the kingdoms of the Lagidæ and of the Selucidæ 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 Selucidæ 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 brake 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 might 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, 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 men; and yet no solid union ensues. Which observation was suggested to me by an unknown correspondent, Mr. Hercules Younge, 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 * year 65 before Christ; it subdued Egypt, and made the kingdom of the Lagidæ a Roman province in the year 30 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 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 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

* See Usher, Prideaux, and other chronologers.

† ‘But the fourth kingdom, which evidently belongs to the Romans, is that of iron, which breaks in pieces, and subdues all things. But its feet and toes are partly of iron, and partly of clay, which is most manifestly proven at this time. For as in the beginning, nothing was firmer and harder than the Roman empire, so in the end, nothing is weaker, seeing both in the civil wars, and against foreign nations, we require the aid of other barbarous nations.’ See Vol. III. page 1082, in the Benedictine edition.

that he had been blamed for it, as a reflection upon the government; and therefore he maketh this apology for himself. "If,* saith he, in explaining the statue 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 the authority, but is even contrary to the authority of both scripture and history. It is a just observation of Mr. Mede, † who was as able and consummate a judge as any in these matters: "The Rôman 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 300 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 toge-

* 'But if in expounding the statue, and the different materials of its feet and toes, I have interpreted the iron and clay of the Roman kingdom, which the scripture foretels should be first strong, and then weak, let them not impute it to me, but to the prophet. For neither must we so pay adulation to princes as to neglect the truth of the holy scriptures, nor can a general disquisition be regarded as an insult offered to an individual.' See his preface to Isa. xxxvi. Vol. III. page 283, in the Benedictine edition.

† See Mede's Works, Book IV. Letter 6th. page 736.

ther, 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 these kings shall the God of Heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed; and the kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces, and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever: Forasmuch as thou sawest that the stone was cut out of the mountain without hands, and that it brake in pieces the iron, the brass, the clay, the silver, and the gold.’ 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. Thus the 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 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 two-fold state, first strong and flourishing 'with legs of iron,' and then weakened and divided 'with feet and toes, part of iron and of clay;' so this fifth kingdom or the kingdom of Christ is described likewise in two states, which Mr. Mede † rightly distinguished by the names of *regnum lapidis*, 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 set up first, while the Roman empire was in its full strength

* See Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Tryphon, page 301, in Thirlbius' edition. See Irenæus against Heresies, Chap. xxviii. page 258, in Grabe's edition. See Jerome's Commentary on the passage, Vol. III. page 1081, in the Benedictine edition.

† See Mede's Works, Book IV. Letter 8. page 743.

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 made the Chaldee Targum or paraphrase upon the prophets, * 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 Habakkuk he speaketh of the four great kingdoms of the earth, † that they should in their turns be destroyed, and be succeeded by the kingdom of the Messiah. "For the kingdom of Babylon

* See Walton's Preface, XII. 10.—See Wolsius' Hebrew Library, Book VI. Chap. ii. Sect. 2. See also Prideaux' Connections, Part II. Book VIII. year 27, and first of Herod.

† Habak. iii. 17, 18. 'For the kingdom of Babylon shall not be permanent, nor exercise dominion over Israel. The kings of Media shall be slain, the brave men of Greece shall not prosper. The Romans shall be destroyed, nor shall they collect tribute from Jerusalem. Therefore on account of the sign, and of the redemption which thou shalt accomplish for thy Christ, and for the residue of thy people, they who remain shall celebrate thy praise saying,' &c.

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 Chandler* together with his reflections upon it. “Josephus’ exposition of this text is so full in the point, that it ought not to be omitted. Josephus was born while Jesus Christ lived, and was, as he† 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,‡ that the second kingdom shall be taken out of the way, by one that should come from the west clothed 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

* See Defence of Christianity, Chap. ii. Sect. 2. page 104, &c. third edition.

† See Josephus’ Jewish Wars, Book III. Chap. vii. Sect. 3. page 1143, in Hudson’s edition.

‡ ‘But their empire shall be destroyed by one coming from the west, equipped with brazen armour. The strength of the kingdom set up by him, shall be overcome by another power, which may be compared to iron, and shall bring all under its power like that metal, which in its nature hath a firmer texture than gold, or silver, or brass. Moreover Daniel expounded to the king, every thing relating to the stone. But it is not becoming in me to relate these things, seeing I have prescribed these limits to myself, to commit to writing what has happened long ago, or lately, without meddling with future events. But if any person should be eagerly desirous to come at the truth, and curious to push his inquiries into those obscure matters, that are yet future, let him carefully search the book of Daniel, which he will find among the sacred writings.’ See Josephus’ Antiquities, Book X. Chap. x. Sect. 4. page 457, in Hudson’s edition.

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; because 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, among 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 feared to offend the power in being, whose protection he needed 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 this excuse for stopping 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 suppose will continue, till it gives place to the everlasting kingdom 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, Matth. 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, Isa 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 coming; but the kingdom of the *mountain*, when manifested, shall beat the feet of the monarchial statue to dust, and leave no remains 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,* 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, therefore it occupies the place of the feet. But some parts of this kingdom are weaker 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 why doth he call his (Nebuchadnezzar's) kingdom, a kingdom of gold, and that of the Persians one of silver, and that of the Macedonians, of brass, and that of the Romans of iron and clay? You may observe the materials well chosen and arranged. For gold is an emblem of riches—and so was that kingdom—and it holds the place of the head, because it was first in the order of time. But that of the Persians was not so opulent, nor that of the Macedonians. But that of the Romans was more useful and stronger, and followed the rest in the order of time, and therefore holds the place of the feet. But some parts of this kingdom are weaker, and others stronger.—"And in the days of these kings, shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed, and the kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever." Bring me hither the Jews, what will they say concerning this prophecy! For surely it is not lawful to say of any kingdom merely human, that it hath no bounds or termination.—"In the days of these kingdoms," namely of the Romans. But if they say otherwise. Let them tell me, how he could break in pieces and consume the kingdom of the Babylonians, which already had been long ago destroyed? How the silver, the kingdom of the Persians? How the brass, the kingdom of the Macedonians? For all these were kingdoms that had been in former times, and then were no more.—But how can he destroy kingdoms which are already extinct? The reason is plain, he destroyed other kingdoms that swallowed up and destroyed those.' See John Chrysostom on Daniel, page 214, and 216, in the 6th Vol. of the Benedictine edition.

but it shall break in pieces, and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand forever. Bring hither 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 those 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 the 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 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 Chaldeans: forasmuch as that was the first and most wealthy. The breast and arms of silver signify the second kingdom: For Cy-

* Therefore, according to the interpretation of the prophet, the image seen is a picture of the world. The head of gold is the empire of the Chaldeans, forasmuch as we have been told, it was the first and the most wealthy. The breast and arms of silver speak out the second kingdom. For Cyrus, when he had vanquished the Chaldeans and Medes, transferred the empire to the Persians. In the belly of brass is evidently foreshown the third kingdom. This part of the prophecy we see fulfilled. For Alexander having wrested the empire from the Persians, delivered it up to the Macedonians. The legs of iron denote the fourth empire, namely, the Roman, which was the strongest of all the kingdoms that had gone before it. But the feet, partly of iron, and partly of clay, signify that the Roman empire was to be divided in such a manner, as never to be again united. This also has been fulfilled.—For the Roman territory is now possessed by foreign nations or rebels.—in our armies, cities, and provinces, we at present witness a mixture of barbarous nations.—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 an emblem of Christ. For he will bring to nothing, that world in which are earthly kingdoms, and shall establish another incorruptible kingdom. Concerning which alone, some are still in doubt, discrediting future things, though convinced of the past.’ See Sulpicius' Sacred History, Book II. page 66, 67, in the Elzvir edition of 1656.

rus, the Chaldeans 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 that it should never unite again: which is equally fulfilled—Forasmuch as the Roman territory is occupied by foreign nations or rebels:—and we see (saith he, and he lived at the beginning of the 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 another 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 † the sublimer sense is, that Christ will put an end to all earthly empires, according to 1 Cor. 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 interpreta-

* See Cave’s Literary History, Vol. I. page 374.

† ‘The sublimer sense is, that Christ will put an end to all earthly governments,’ 1 Cor. xv. 24. See Grotius on the passage.

tion, and of the great events which shou'd follow. And from hence we are enabled in some measure to account for Nebuchadnezzar's prophecy 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 upon the authority of Megasthenes, that Nebuchadnezzar was divinely inspired and prophecied in this manner:* “ I Nebuchadnezzar foretel 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 † when a mule should rule over the Medes, that he shou'd not be ashamed to fly away. Which oracle was afterwards thus interpreted by the Pythian priestess; Cyrus‡ 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

* ‘ O Babylonians, I Nebuchadnezzar foretel to you an approaching calamity, which neither Belus my progenitor, nor queen Beltis could ever persuade the fates to turn away from you. A Persian mule will come, aided by your demons, and lay a heavy yoke upon your necks. He shall have for his assistant a Mede, the pride of the Assyrians. See Eusebius' Evangelical Preparation, Book IX. Chap. xli. page 456, in Vigerus' edition.

† ‘ But when a mule shall be king of the Medes, then, O Lydian, be not ashamed to flee away.’ See Herodotus, Book I. Chap. lv. page 21, in Gale's edition

‡ ‘ For Cyrus truly was this mule, being descended from two parents that belonged to different nations, and being of a nobler extraction by the mother's side than by the father's. For she was a Mede, the daughter of Astyages, a king of the Medes. But he was a Persian, and under the dominion of the Medes.’ See Herodotus, in the same place, Chap. xci. page 39.

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; 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, verse 20—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 knowledge 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 the 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 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

* See Lowth’s Commentary on Chap. ii. 31. and Grotius on the passage.

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 heads, and a beast with ten horns: but such emblems and hieroglyphics were usual among the eastern nations; a winged lion and such fictitious animals may still be seen in the 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,

* See Sir John Chardin, and other travellers.

and the Greek and Arabic versions have a *lioness*; and it is 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 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 † ancient versions: or it may be rendered thus. *the wings thereof were pluckt wherewith it was lifted up from the earth*, as 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 § seventh year of his reign Babylon was taken, and the kingdom was transferred to the Medes and Persians.

'And it was made to stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it.' It is not easy to say what

* The Babylonian kingdom, on account of its ferocity and cruelty,—is not called a lion, but a lioness. For they who have written on the nature of beasts, tell us, that the lioness is the most ferocious and cruel, &c. See Jerome's Commentary on the place, Vol. III. page 1099, in the Benedictine edition.

† 'And (he says) it was lifted up from the earth. This happened by the subversion of the impious empire of the Chaldeans.' See Jerome on the passage. 'And it was taken away from the earth.' See the Septuagint. 'I beheld its wings plucked, and removed from the ground.' See the Syriac version. 'And it went away from the earth.' See the Arabic.

‡ 'And it was removed from the earth; namely by its wings, which lifted it above the earth. For frequently in the Chaldee, no less than in the Hebrew language, the copulative conjunction has the power of the relative pronoun.' See Grotius on Dan. vii. 4.

§ See Josephus' Antiquities, Book X. Chap. xi. Sect. 4. page 462, in Hudson's edition. See also Usher, Prideaux, and other Chronologers.

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 to him’ again. What appears most probable is, that after the Babylonian empire was subverted, the people became 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 presented, 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 Bochart * recounts several particulars, wherein the Persians 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 Grotius,† the Medo-Persians 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 ‡ Jerome understands of the three kingdoms of the

* See Bochart’s Hierozoicon, Part I. Book III. Chap. ix. Col. 316, &c.

† ‘ The bear is an all-devouring animal, saith Aristotle,’ Book VIII. Chap. v. So Grotius on Jer. li. 48, 56. saith, ‘ that the Medo-Persians were great spoilers and plunderers’

‡ ‘ Therefore, the three rows (ribs) in the mouth of the kingdom of the Persians, and in its teeth, we must understand, the

Babylonians, Medes, and Persians, which were reduced into one kingdom; and so likewise Vatabulus and Grotius: but Sir Isaac Newton * and Bishop Chandler with greater propriety explain them to signify the kingdoms of Babylon, Lybia, 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.’ Cambyses, Ochus, and others 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 down to Ammianus Marcellinus, † who describes them proud, cruel, exercising the power of life and death over slaves and obscure plebeians. They pull off the skin, 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 French ‡ commentator

three kingdoms of the Babylonians, Medes and Persians, which were reduced into one kingdom.’ See Jerome’s Commentary, Vol. III. page 1100, in the Benedictine edition. See also Vatabulus, and Grotius on the passage.

* See Sir Isaac Newton’s Observations on Daniel, Chap. iv. page 29. See also Bp. Chandler’s Vindication, Book I. Chap. ii. Sect. 2. page 198.

† ‘Haughty, cruel, claiming the power of life and death, over slaves and obscure common people. They pull the skin off from men alive, either in piecemeal or altogether. Their laws are to be detested, whereby for the fault of one man, all his kindred are put to death.’ See Ammianus Marcellinus, Book XXIII. Chap. vi. page 384, in Valesius’ edition, printed at Paris in 1681.

‡ ‘The Persians have exercised a dominion, the severest and most cruel which is known. The punishments inflicted by them produce horror in those who read them.’ See Calmet on Daniel.

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 had also four heads; and dominion 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 Habakkuk, 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 Bochart,* of the different manners of the nations which Alexander commanded; or according to 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 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 design-

* 'The different manners and customs of the nations, over which he bare rule, may have a reference to the spots of a leopard.' See Bochart's Hierozoicon, Part I. Book III Chap. vii. Col. 789.

† 'The leopard is an animal of divers colours. So in Alexander we discover a variety. For sometimes he was merciful, then cruel, sometimes temperate, then drunken, sometimes chaste, and then incontinent.' See Grotius on the passage.

‡ 'The leopard is a beast of small stature, but eminently distinguished for its courage and strength, so that it is not afraid to engage with the lion, or any other of the largest beasts of

ed 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 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. † his four captains Cassander reigning over Macedon and Greece, Lysimachus over Thrace and Bithynia, Ptolemy over Egypt, and Seleucus over Syria. 'And dominion was given to it;' which sheweth, as 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

prey. In like manner, Alexander, though a little king and with a small army, ventured to attack a king of kings, namely, Darius, whose Empire reached from the Ægean sea to the Indies.— See Bochart in the same place.

* 'Nothing was swifter than the conquests of Alexander. For he ran through all the countries, which extend from Illyricum, and the Venetian sea to the Indian ocean, and the banks of the Ganges, rather conquering than fighting: And in the compass of six years, he made himself master of a part of Europe, and the whole of Asia.' See Jerome's Commentary, Vol. III. page 1160, in the Benedictine edition.

† See Prideaux' Connections, Part I. Book VIII. year 301, and fourth of Ptolemy Soter.

in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it, and it was divers from all the beasts that were before it.' Daniel was curious to know particularly what this might mean; ver. 19. 'Then I would know the truth of the fourth beast, which was divers from all the others, exceeding dreadful, whose teeth were of iron, and his nails of brass, which devoured, brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with his feet.' And he was answered thus by the angel; ver. 23. 'The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall be divers 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* acknowledgeth, 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 commonly 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 kingdom. It is described as 'dreadful, and terrible, and strong exceedingly: but the kingdoms of the Lagidæ, and of the Seleucidæ, were *less* terrible, and *less* strong than any of the former kingdoms. It 'devoured, and brake 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 continually at war with each other; and instead of subduing other kingdoms, tore to pieces their own. It was 'divers from all kingdoms that is, of a different nature and constitution of government: but Egypt and Syria were governed much in the same manner, as the former king-

* 'It is ordinarily explained of the Roman empire.—Without pretending nevertheless to overturn the system, which understands the fourth empire of the Roman, and which is the most commonly received among interpreters.'" See Calmet on the passage.

doms, and were equally absolute 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.

Wherefore 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 whosoever we could have imagined 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 'divers 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 brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it ;' it reduced Macedon into a Roman province† about 168 years, the kingdom of Pergamus about 133 years, Syria about 65 years, and Egypt about 30 years before Christ. And besides the remains of the Macedonian empire, it

* 'The fourth kingdom, which now bears rule over all the earth, is the Roman. Concerning it, in the image it is said, *that its legs were of iron, and its feet partly of iron, and partly of clay* ; and yet he now mentions the iron in part, and bears witness that its teeth were of iron, and large. I greatly wonder, that when he hath put the lioness, the bear, and the leopard, in three kingdoms, he should not compare the Roman to any wild beast ; unless perhaps he hath omitted the name, to render the beast the more terrible, that whatever we can think of, as being fiercest, is to be understood of the Roman.' See Jerome's Commentary, Vol. III. page 1100 in the Benedictine edition.

† See Usher, Prideaux, and other chronologers.

subdued many other provinces and kingdoms, so that it might by a very useful 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 readers 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 empire 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, * "the Macedonian empire having overturned the force of the Persians, in greatness indeed of dominion, exceeded all the kingdoms which were before 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

* 'The kingdom of the Macedonians, having destroyed the power of the Persians, exceeded in largeness of dominion all that had been before it. But even this kingdom did not long flourish. For after the death of Alexander, its ruin began. It was then divided into many principalities by his successors, and after them, it was continued to the third and fourth generation, but was weakened by itself, and at last overturned by the Romans. Nor yet did it reduce into its dominion all lands and seas. It was not even possessed of Africa, which is of great extent, excepting that part of it, which bordereth upon Egypt, nor did it conquer the whole of Europe, but reached only to Thrace northward, and westward descended to the Venetian sea—But the Roman republic has obtained dominion over all that part of the earth, which is not desert, but inhabited, and is mistress of the whole sea, not only of that within the pillars of Hercules, but also of the ocean, as far as it is navigable. It is the first and only one, in the memory of man, which hath made the east and west, the bounds of its dominion. Its power hath not lasted for a short time, but its duration hath been greater, than hath fallen to the lot of any republic or kingdom.' See the Roman antiquities of Dionysius, of Halicarnassus, Book 1. page 2, and 3, in Hudson's edition.

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 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 westward 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 not continued 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 interpretation, 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 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.

* And afterwards down to Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, all of whom were outrageously cruel. He places these kings, not in one kingdom, for example, in that of Macedonia, or Syria, or Asia, or Egypt. But he makes up his one list of kings, by taking them out of different kingdoms. See Jerome's Commentary, Vol. III. page 1130, in the Benedictine edition.

Grotius* indeed, and Collins after him, form 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 mean Ptolemy Philadelphus, for he reigned next before Ptolemy the son of Lagus, and next after Ptolemy Euergetes, being the son of the former, and the father of the latter] Ptolemy Euergetes, Seleucus Callinicus, Antiochus the Great, Ptolemy Philopater, Ptolemy Epiphanes, Seleucus Philopater, 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 Euergetes, and Antiochus the Great; and such they are reckoned by Josephus himself † So that out 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 rose. 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. The Roman empire, as the Romanists ‡ themselves allow, was by means of the incursions of the northern nations, dismembered into ten kingdoms: and 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

* See Grotius on the passage. See also Scheme of Literal Prophecy, &c. page 162.

† See Antiquities, Book XII. Chap. i. ii. iii. See him against Apion, Book II. Sect. 4 and 5. page 1363, in Hudson's edition.

‡ See Calmet upon Rev. xiii. 1. He refers to Berengaud, Bossuet, and Du Pin.

§ See Machiavel's History of Florence, Book I. See Bp. Chandler's Vindication, &c. Book I. Chap. ii. Sect. 3. page 235.

Pannonia, 3. the Sueves and Alans in Gascogne and Spain, 4. the Vandals in Africa, 5. the Franks in France, 6. the Burgundians in Burgundy, 7. the Hueli 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 * a certain writer esteemed as a man divinely inspired for the interpretation of the prophecies, † reckons up the ten kingdoms thus, in the year 456, the year after Rome was sacked by Genseric king of the Vandals: 1. the Britons, 2. the Saxons in Briton, 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 Galicia and Portugal, 7. the Vandals in Africa, 8. the Alemanes 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 list ‡ of the ten kingdoms with the time of their rise: 1. Huns about A. D. 356. 2. Ostrogoths 377. 3. Wisigoths 378. 4. Franks 407. 5. Vandals 407. 6. Sueves and Alans 407. 7. Burgundians 407. 8. Herules and Rugians 476. 9. Saxons 476. 10. Longobards began to reign in Hungary A. D. 526, and were seated in the northern parts of Germany about the year 485.

Sir Isaac Newton enumerates them 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

* See Mons. Jurieu's Preface to his Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies.

† See Mede's Works, Book III. page 661.

‡ See the Addenda to Lowth's Commentary, page 514.

§ See Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on the book of Daniel, Chap. vi. page 47.

kingdom falling, and another rising, and scarce any subsisting for a long while together. As a learned 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. 1240 by Eberard, Bishop of Saltsburg, 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. Whiston, who published his essay on the Revelation of St. John in the year 1706, farther 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. 456, 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 they are out of the bounds of the old Roman empire, and so not directly within our present inquiry."

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 choosing 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 Britain. Not that there were constantly *ten* kingdoms; they were sometimes more, and sometimes fewer; but, as Sir Isaac Newton ‡ says, "whatever was their number afterwards, they are still called the *ten* kings from their first number."

* See Daubuz on Rev. xiii. 1. page 559.

† See Essay on the Revelation, Part III. Vision IV.

‡ See Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on the Book of Daniel, Chap. vi. page 73.

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 rise after them, and he shall subdue three kings' or kingdoms. One absurdity generally produceth another: and 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 Philopater king of Egypt: and Collins adopt's 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 first horns' to be pluckt up by the roots before the little horn; but the three kings mentioned by Grotius are not all in his first catalogue of ten kings, neither Ptolemy Philometer, (if Philometer be meant) nor Demetrius being of the number. Neither were they 'pluckt up by the roots' by Antiochus, or by his order. Seleucus was † 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 ‡ lived to dethrone and murder the son of Antiochus, and succeeded

* See Grotius, Collins on the same place.

† See Appian's History of the Syrian War, page 116, in Stephanus' edition, and page 187, in that of Tollius.

‡ See the same work of Appian, page 117, in Stephanus' edition, page 188, in that of Tollius. See Justin, Book xxxiv. Chap.

him in the kingdom of Syria. Ptolemy Philopater* died king of Egypt, almost thirty years before Antiochus came to the throne of Syria: or if Ptolemy Philometor. Philometor (as is most probable) was meant by Grotius, though he suffered much in his wars with Antiochus, yet survived him † 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 164 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 Daniel ‡ respecting the end “of the last king-

iii. See Josephus' Antiquities, Book xii. Chap. x. Sect. 1. page 548, in Hudson's edition.

* Ptolemy Philopater died Anno 204. Antiochus became king Anno 175 before Christ. See Usher, Prideaux, &c.

† Antiochus Epiphanes died Anno 164. Ptolemy Philometor, Anno 146 before Christ. See Usher, Prideaux, &c.

‡ ‘For Daniel, considering the end of the last kingdom, that is, the last ten kings, among whom that kingdom was to be parcelled out, in whose time the son of perdition should come, saith that ten horns shall grow upon the beast, and another small horn shall grow up in the midst of them, and shall root out three of the former horns.—Of this the apostle Paul speaks, in his second epistle to the Thessalonians, when he mentions the son of perdition and the wicked one, &c. John, the Lord's disciple, in his book of the Revelation, hath made us more fully acquainted with the last time, and with the ten kings, among whom the present empire shall be divided, declaring plainly, what the ten horns shall be, which were seen by Daniel,’ &c. See Irenæus, Book V. Chap. xxv. xxvi. &c. in Grabe's edition.

dom, that is, the last ten kings, among whom that kingdom should be divided, upon whom the son of perdition shall come, saith that ten horns shall 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 Apocalypse still more plainly signified 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,* saith, "We teach these things not of our own invention, but having learned them out of the divine scriptures, and especially out of the prophecy 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, ecclesiastical in-

* 'But these things we teach, not with an affectation of eloquence, but in the way of gathering them out of the holy scriptures, and especially out of the words of Daniel, which we have just read, even as the archangel Gabriel hath interpreted the matter expressing himself in these words, "the fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall be greater than all other kingdoms," and that this is the empire of the Romans, is the sentiment of Ecclesiastical writers. For the first of these kingdoms that became renowned, was that of the Assyrians. The second was that of the Medes and Persians. After these came the third, namely, the kingdom of the Macedonians. And the fourth is the present Roman empire. Afterwards Gabriel goes on to interpret, saying, "Its ten horns are ten kings that shall arise, and another shall arise after them, who shall surpass in wickedness all that went before him;" not only these ten kings, but all others who have gone before him. "And he shall subdue three kings." But it is manifest that out of the first ten he shall subdue three, while he himself shall reign as the eighth, and he shall speak great words against the most High." See Cyril of Jerusalem's Catechesis XV. Chap. vi. page 211, in Mill's edition of Oxford.

terpreters have delivered. For the first that was made famous, was the kingdom of the Assyrians; and 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. Afterwards 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 depress three kings;* but it is manifest, that of the first ten he shall depress three. that he himself may reign the eighth: and he shall speak words, saith he, against the most High.'

St. Jerome having refuted Pophyry's notion of Antiochus Epiphanes, being the little horn, (where by the way, the passage appears to want much emendation)* concludes thus: "Therefore, 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 between 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 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 properly they have done that, those who are desir-

* 'Therefore, let us mention the sentiment of all Ecclesiastical writers, namely, that at the end of the world, when the empire of the Romans shall be destroyed, there will arise ten kings who shall divide it among them, and an eleventh inconsiderable king shall spring up, who shall conquer three of the ten kings. These being slain, the remaining seven kings shall do homage to the conqueror.' See Jerome's Commentary, Vol. III. page 1101, in the Benedictine edition.

† 'Some have expounded these four kingdoms to be the Assyrian, Persian, Macedonian and Roman. How aptly this hath been done, they who are desirous of learning, may consult the presbyter Jerome's book upon Daniel, which has been written with considerable care and learning.' See Augustine's city of God, Book XX. Chap, xxiii. Vol. VII. page 457, in the Benedictine edition, printed at Antwerp.

ous of knowing, may read the presbyter Jerome'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 be confessed, that these same fathers entertained strange wild notions concerning this Antichrist,* 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

* See Irenæus, Book V. Chap. xxv, and xxx. See Cyril of Jerusalem's Catechesis XV. Chap. vii. 'He shall conquer three out of the ten kings, namely, the kings of Egypt, Africa, and Ethiopia.' See Jerome's Commentary, page 1101.—'He will be descended from the Jews, and he will come from Babylon, and first subdue the king of Egypt, &c. Afterwards he will subdue those of Africa, and Ethiopia, which are the three horns out of the ten, that were to fall before him.'—See the same in Chap. xi, page 1128, and 1132, in the Benedictine edition.—'When Jacob blessed his sons, he spake such things concerning Dan, that from thence it hath been thought that Antichrist would spring from him.' See Augustine's Questions on Joshua, Book VI. Question xxii. page 441, Vol. III. in the Benedictine edition, printed at Antwerp.

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, this 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, and 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 sought among the ten kingdoms of the 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 Newton* rightly infers, all the four beasts are still alive, though the dominion of the three first be taken away. The nations of Chaldea 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 nation 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 Chaldeans, Medes, and Persians

* See Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on Daniel, Chap. iv. page 31, 32.

in those kingdoms, because they belonged to the bodies of the two first beasts. Nor do we reckon the Greek empire seated at Constantinople, 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 Calmet,* that "as 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 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.

* As the reign of Antichrist is yet far distant, we cannot show the accomplishment of the prophecies with respect to him. We should content ourselves with considering what is past, and compare that with the words of the prophet. The past is a pledge of that which must one day happen.' Calmet on the place.

† See Machiavel's history of Florence, Book I. page 6. of the English translation.

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, *opis auton*, and as Mr. Mede explains it,* so that ten kings were not aware of the growing up of the little horn, till it overtopped 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, were to be *plucked 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* (successors 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,

* See Mede's Works, Book IV. Epistle xxiv. page 778, &c.

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 infeoffed 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, 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."

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 original word signi-

* See Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on Daniel, Chap. vii. page 74, 75, and 76.

fies,)* 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 dukedom 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 Aistulphus, King of the Lombards,† who thereupon thought of making himself master of all Italy. The pope in this exigency applied for help to Pepin, 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

* 'Gnakar' to pluck up, to extirpate, to eradicate. See Buxtorf's Lexicon. See Dan. vii. 8.

† See Sigonius' kingdom of Italy, Book III. Anno 753—755. See Mezeray's Chronological Abridgment, Art. Pepin, 23d. king. See Platina's lives of the Popes, translated and continued by Sir Paul Rycaut, in Stephen II. See Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on Daniel, Chap. vii. See also Voltaire's origin of the power of the Popes, in the first part of his general history of Europe.

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 Pepin, usurper of the crown of France, as lawful sovereign; and now Pepin in his turn bestowed a principality, which was another's properly, upon Pope Stephen II. the successor of Zachary. "And so, as Platina says,* the name of the exarchate, which had continued from the time of Narses to the taking of Ravenna by Aistulphus, an hundred and seventy years, was extinguished." This was effected in the year 755 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 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 Pepin, 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 Pepin, 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 was the

* See Platina on the same, page 140.

† See Sigonius' kingdom of Italy, Book III. Anno 772—774. See Platina's Adrian. See Mezeray's Chronological Abridgment, Article Charlemagne 23d. king, Anno 772—774. See also Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on Daniel, Chap. vii. page 80.

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 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 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,§ 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 meanwhile Leo was dangerously ill: which as soon as the Romans, his enemies, perceived, they rose again, burned and plundered his villas, and

* ‘And here was the end of the kingdom of the Lombards in Italy, in the 206th year after they had gotten possession of that country, and in the year of Christ 774.’ See Sigonius in the end of his third Book.

† See Sigonius’ kingdom of Italy, Book IV. year 774. See the above work of Mezeray.

‡ See Sigonius in the same place, years 798—801. See Platina’s life of Leo III. See also the same work of Mezeray, year 799, &c. See Sir Isaac Newton’s observations on Daniel. See also Voltaire’s revival of the empire of the west, in the first part of his general history of Europe.

§ See Sigonius in the same place, years 814, 815.

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 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 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, principatu, atque ditione*, 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 other respects too the pope fully answers the character of the little horn; so that if 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 popes was originally very small, and their temporal dominions were little and inconsiderable in comparison with others of the ten horns.—‘He shall be divers from the first:’ ver. 24. The Greek and Arabic translate it, that 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

* See Sigonius in the same place, year 817. See Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on Daniel, Chap. vii. page 88.

† ‘Who in wickedness shall surpass all his predecessors.’ See the Arabic version.

policy of the Roman hierarchy hath almost passed into a proverb; the pope is properly an *overlooker* or *over-seer*, *Episkopos* or bishop in the literal sense of the word — ‘He had 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 honours 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 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 laws;’ 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 a half. So long and no longer, as the Romanists conceive, the power of Antichrist will continue; but

* Or, as Symmachus hath translated, ‘he shall speak great words as if he were God’ See Jerome’s Commentary, Vol. III. page 1103, in the Benedictine edition.

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 style of the prophets, is a year; 'I have appointed thee each day for a 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 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 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 Irenæus saith, in a like case, it is surer and

* See the Epistles of Barnabas, Chap. xv. with Cotelerius' Notes. See Burnet's Theory, Book III. Chap. v.

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 † 'till 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 consistory sat, with his assessors 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 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,' 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 a time,' ver. 12. When the dominion was taken away from the other beasts, their

* 'Therefore it is safer and attended with less danger, to wait the accomplishment of the prophecy, than to conjecture or to divine about it.' See Irenæus, Book V. Chap. xxx. page 448. in Grabe's edition.

† 'Till the thrones were set,' so the Vulgate, 'Until the thrones were placed,' so the Septuagint. 'I saw the benches placed,' so the Syriac. 'The seats were set,' so the Arabic. And the same word is used in the Chaldee paraphrase of Jer. i. 15. 'They shall set every one his throne.'

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 known 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, Matth. 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 ‘ having spoken with 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 an allusion to this prophecy, that the angel 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 vigour, but as we hope on the decline, and tending towards a dissolution. And having seen so many of these

* See Jewish authors cited even by Grotius, and Bp. Chandler in his defence of Christianity, Chap. ii. Sect. 1. page 108, of the third edition.

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 beasts 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 splendour 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 brake 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* too 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 Mr. Mede † called them, “*the sacred calender and great almanack of prophecy*,” ‡ a prophetic chronology

* [The Jews unanimously agree, that by the stone, is here meant the Messiah. His kingdom, from small beginnings, should proceed to fill the whole earth, as if a stone should grow into a mountain. Mr. Mede has judiciously observed, that this kingdom is described here in two states, the kingdom of the stone, and the kingdom of the mountain. The small and progressive success of Christianity is meant by the former, the universal triumph of it by the latter.]

† See Mede’s Works, Book III. page 654.

‡ [The kingdom of Christ from small beginnings hath already made a vast progress, it hath subverted, and will continue to subvert Pagan and Antichristian kingdoms, and entirely to destroy and dispose them, and at length it will triumph over all

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.

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.

opposition, become a great mountain, and fill the earth. This latter part of the prophecy yet remains to be accomplished : so that we have in this dream a most extraordinary prophetic abstract of the most signal events that would take place, through all succeeding ages, nearly to the consummation of all things. As far as the accomplishment hath proceeded, it hath been most exact and undeniable, and future ages shall be filled with astonishment and awe, by witnessing this stone cut out without hands, destroying the remaining toes of this image, and universally triumphant."}]

Scott.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE LECTURE FOUNDED BY THE HONOURABLE

ROBERT BOYLE,

JANUARY 5, 1756.

THERE is not a stronger, or more convincing proof of divine revelation, than the *sure word of prophecy*. But to the truth of prophecy it is objected, that the predictions were written after the events; and could it be proved as well as asserted, it would really be an insuperable objection. It was thought therefore that a greater service could not be done to the cause of Christianity, than by an induction of particulars to show, that the predictions were prior to the events, nay, that several prophecies have been fulfilled in these later ages, and are fulfilling even at this present time: And for the farther prosecution and the better encouragement of this work, I have been called to preach these lectures, by the favour and recommendation of *the great prelate*, who having himself written most excellently *of the use and intent of prophecy*, is also willing to reward and encourage any one who bestows his time and pains upon the same subject. The ready and gracious concurrence of the other trustees,* was an additional

* The Trustees appointed by Mr. Boyle himself, were Sir John Rotheram, Sergeant at law; Sir Henry Ashurst of London, Knight and Bart. Thomas Tenison, D. D. afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and John Evelyn Esq.; Archbishop Tenison, the survivor of these, nominated and appointed for trustees, Richard Earl of Burlington; Dr. Edmund Gibson, then Archdeacon of Surry, afterwards Lord Bishop of London; Dr. Charles Trimmel, then Bishop of Norwick, afterwards Bishop of Winchester; Dr. White Kennet, then Dean, afterwards bishop of Peterborough; and Dr. Samuel Bradford, then Rector of St. Mary Le Bow, afterwards Bishop of Rochester. The Earl of Burlington, being the only surviving trustee, appointed to succeed him in the said trust; William, then Marquis of Hartington, now Duke of Devonshire; Dr. Thomas Sherlock, lord Bishop of London; Dr. Martin Benson, Lord Bishop of Gloucester; Dr. Thomas

honour and favour, and is deserving the most grateful acknowledgments. Engaging in this service may indeed have retarded the publication of these discourses longer than was intended: but perhaps they may be the better for the delay, since there have been more frequent occasions to review and reconsider them; and time corrects and improves works as well as generous wines, at least it affords opportunities of correcting and improving them.

This work hath already been deduced to the prophecies of Daniel: and as some time and pains have been employed in explaining some parts of his prophecies, and more will be taken in explaining other parts, it may be proper, before we proceed, to consider the principal objections which have been made to the genuineness of the book of Daniel. It was before asserted, that the first who called in question the truth and authenticity of Daniel's prophecies, was the famous Porphyry, who maintained that they were written about the time of Antiochus Epiphanes: but he was amply refuted by Jerome, * and hath been and will be more amply refuted still, in the course of these dissertations. A modern infidel hath followed Porphyry's example, and in his *scheme of literal prophecy*, hath heaped together all that he could find or invent against the book of Daniel, and hath comprised the whole in eleven objections, in order to show that the book was written about the time of the Maccabees: but he likewise hath been refuted to the satisfaction of every intelligent and impartial reader; as indeed there never were any arguments urged in favour of infidelity, but better were always produced in support of truth. The substance of his † objections, and of the answers to him, may with truth and candour, be represented in the following manner.

Secker, Lord Bishop of Oxford, now Archbishop of Canterbury; and the Honourable Richard Arundell, Esq. of whom Bishop Benson died before, and Mr. Arundell since the appointment of the present lecturer.

* See Jerome's Commentary on Daniel, Vol. III. in the Benedictine edition.

† See Collins' *Scheme of Literal Prophecy*, page 149—157. See Bp. Chandler's *Vindication*, page 4—157. See also Sam. Chandler's *Vindication*, page 3—60.

1. It is objected, "that the famous Daniel mentioned by Ezekiel, could not be the author of the book of Daniel; because Ezekiel, who prophesied in the 'fifth year of Jehoiakim' king of Judah, implies Daniel at that time to be a person in years; whereas the book of Daniel, speaks of Daniel at that time as a youth." But here the objector is either ignorantly or wilfully guilty of gross misrepresentation. For Ezekiel did not prophecy 'in the fifth year of Jehoiakim,' nor in the reign of Jehoiakim at all; but he began to prophecy in the 'fifth year of king Jehoiakim's captivity,' the son and successor of Jehoiakim, Ezek. i. 2. that is, eleven years after. When Daniel was first carried into captivity; he might be a youth* about eighteen: but when Ezekiel magnified his piety and wisdom, Chap. xiv. and xxviii. he was between thirty and forty: and several years before that he had interpreted Nebuchadnezzar's dream, and was advanced, Dan. ii. 48. to be 'ruler over the whole province of Babylon, and chief of the governors over all the wise men of Babylon;' and was therefore very fit and worthy to be celebrated by his fellow-captive Ezekiel.

2. His second objection is, "that Daniel is represented in the Book of Daniel, as living chiefly at the courts of the kings of Babylon and Persia; and yet the names of the several kings of his time are all mistaken in the book of Daniel. It is also more suited to a fabulous writer, than to a contemporary historian, to talk of 'Nebuchadnezzar's dwelling with the beasts of the field, and eating grass like oxen,' &c. and then returning again to the government of his kingdom." Here are two objections confounded in one. As to the mistake of the kings names, there are only four kings mentioned in the book of Daniel, Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, Darius the Mede, and Cyrus. Of the first and the last, there was never any doubt; and the other two may be rightly named, though they are named differently by the Greek historians, who yet differ as much one from another as from Daniel. It is well known that the eastern monarchs had several names; and one might be made use of by one writer and another by another. It is plainly begging the question, to presume without farther proof, that

* See Pridcaux' Connections, Part I. Book I.

Daniel was not the oldest of these writers, and had not better opportunities of knowing the names than any of them. As to the case of Nebuchadnezzar, it is related indeed in the prophetic figurative style. It is the interpretation of a dream, and stripped of its figures, the plain meaning is, that Nebuchadnezzar should be punished with madness, should fancy himself a beast, and live like a beast, should be 'made to eat grass as oxen,' be obliged to live upon a vegetable diet, but after some time, should recover his reason, and resume the government. And what is there fabulous or absurd in this? The dream was not of Daniel's inditing, but was told by Nebuchadnezzar himself. The dream is in a poetic strain, and so likewise is the interpretation, the better to show how the one corresponded with the other, and how the prophecy and event agreed together.

3. He objects, "that the book of Daniel could not be written by that Daniel who was carried captive in the Babylonish captivity, because it abounds with derivations from the Greek, which language was unknown to the Jews till long after the captivity." The assertion is false, that the book of Daniel *abounds* with derivations from the Greek. There is an affinity only between some few words in the Greek and the Chaldee language: and why must they be derived the one from the other? or if derived, why should not the Greeks derive them from the Chaldee, rather than the Chaldees from the Greek? If the words in question could be shown to be of Greek extraction, yet there was some communication between the eastern kingdoms, and the Colonies of the Greeks settled in Asia Minor before Nebuchadnezzar's time; and so some particular terms might pass from the Greek into the oriental languages. But on the contrary, the words in question are shown to be not of Greek, but of eastern derivation; and consequently, passed from the east to the Greeks, rather than from the Greeks to the east. Most of the words are names of musical instruments; and the Greeks acknowledge,* that they receiv-

* 'And having consecrated to Bacchus the whole of Asia, all the way to India, they borrow from thence a considerable part of their music.' See Strabo, Book X. page 471, in the Paris edition of 1620. page 722, in the Amsterdam edition of 1707. See also Athenæus, Book XIV. page 625.

ed their music from the eastern nations, from whence they themselves originally descended.

4. "It doth not appear," says the objector, "that the book of Daniel was translated into Greek, when the other books of the Old Testament were, which are attributed to the Seventy; the present Greek version, inserted in the Septuagint, being taken from Theodotion's translation of the Old Testament, made in the second century of Christ." But it doth appear, that there was an ancient Greek version of Daniel, which is attributed to the Seventy, as well as the version of the other books of the Old Testament. It is cited by Clemens Romanus, Justin Martyr, and many of the ancient fathers. It was inserted in Origen, and filled a column of his Hexapla. It is quoted several times by Jerome; and he saith expressly,* that the version of the Seventy was repudiated by the doctors of the church, and that of Theodotion substituted in the room of it, because it came nearer to the Hebrew verity. This version hath also been lately published from an ancient M. S. discovered in the Chigian library at Rome.

5. It is objected "that divers matters of fact are spoken of with the clearness of history, to the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, who is very particularly dwelt upon, and that with great and seeming fresh resentment for his barbarous usage of the Jews: And this clearness determined Porphyry, and would determine any one to think, that the book was written about the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, the author appearing to be well acquainted with things, down to the death of Antiochus, but not farther." But what an argument is this against the book of Daniel? His prophecies are clear, and therefore are no prophe-

* 'The churches of our Lord and Saviour do not read the prophecies of Daniel according to the Septuagint, but make use of the version of Theodotion; that which is at great variance with the truth, is rejected with great propriety.' See Jerome's Preface to the Book of Daniel, Vol. I. page 987.—'According to the judgment of teachers in the church, the Septuagint version has been rejected, and that of Theodotion is commonly read. For it agrees better with the Hebrew and other translations,' &c. See his Commentary on Dan. IV. Col. 1088. of Vol. III, in the Benedictine edition.

cies: as if an all-knowing God could not foretel things clearly; or as if there were not many predictions in other prophets, as clear as any in Daniel. If his prophecies extend not lower than the times of Antiochus Epaphanes, his commission might be limited there, and he would not go beyond his commission. But it hath been shown, and will be shown, that there are several prophecies in Daniel, relating to times long after the death of Antiochus, and these prophecies are as clear as those before the death of Antiochus. Neither is Antiochus so very particularly dwelt upon as is commonly imagined; neither is he spoken of with greater resentment, than other prophets express towards the kings of Assyria and Babylon. All honest men, who love liberty and their country, must speak with indignation of tyrants and oppressors.

6. His sixth objection is, "that Daniel is omitted among the prophets recited in Ecclesiasticus, where it seems proper to have mentioned him as a Jewish prophet-author, had the book under his name been received as canonical, when Ecclesiasticus was published." It might have been proper to have mentioned him, had the author been giving a complete catalogue of the Jewish canonical writers. But that is not the case. He mentions several who never pretended to be inspired writers, and omits others who really were so. No mention is made of Job and Ezra, and of the books under their names, as well as of Daniel: and who can account for the silence of authors in any particular at this distance of time? Daniel is proposed, 1 Macc. ii. 60. as a pattern, by the father of the Maccabees, and his wisdom is highly recommended by Ezekiel: and these are sufficient testimonies of his antiquity, without the confirmation of a later writer.

7. It is objected, "that Jonathan, who made the Chaldee paraphrases on the prophets, has omitted Daniel: from whence it should seem, the book of Daniel was not of that account with the Jews, as the other books of the prophets were." But there are other books, which were always accounted canonical among the Jews, and yet have no Chaldee paraphrases extant, as the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. Jonathan might perhaps not make

a Targum or Chaldee paraphrase on Daniel, because half of the book is written in Chaldee. Or he might have made a Targum on Daniel, and that Targum may have been lost, as other ancient Targums have been destroyed by the injury of time; and there are good proofs in the Misna, and other writers cited by Bishop Chandler, that there was an ancient Targum on Daniel. But though Jonathan made no Targum on Daniel, yet in his interpretation of other prophets, he frequently applies the prophecies of Daniel, as fuller and clearer in describing the same events; and consequently Daniel was in his esteem a prophet, and at least of equal authority with those before him. The ranking of Daniel among the Hagiographa, and not among the prophets, was done by the Jews since Christ's time for very obvious reasons. He was always esteemed a prophet by the ancient Jewish church. Our Saviour calleth him 'Daniel the prophet:' and Josephus* speaketh of him as one of the greatest of the prophets.

8. "That part of Daniel," says the objector, "which is written in Chaldee, is near the style of the old Chaldee paraphrases; which being composed many hundred years after Daniel's time, must have a very different style from that used in his time, as any one may judge from the nature of language, which is in a constant flux, and in every age deviating from what it was in the former: And therefore that part could not be written at a time very remote from the date of the eldest of those Chaldee paraphrases." But by the same argument Homer cannot be so ancient an author, as he is generally reputed, because the Greek language continued much the same, many hundred years after his time. Nay, the style of Daniel's Chaldee differs more from that of the old Chaldee paraphrases, than Homer doth from the latest of the Greek classic writers; and when it was said by Prideaux and Kidder, whose authority the objector alleges, that the old Chaldee paraphrases, came near to the Chaldee of Daniel, it was not said absolutely, but comparatively, with respect to other paraphrases, which did not come near to Daniel's purity.

* See Josephus' Antiquities, Book X. Chap. x, and xi.

9. It is objected, "that the Jews were great composers of books, under the names of their renowned prophets, to do themselves the honour, and particularly under the name of Daniel: and the book of Daniel seems composed to do honour to the Jews. in the person of Daniel, in making a Jew superior to all the wise men of Babylon." If there is any force in this objection. it is this. There have been books counterfeited under the names of men of renown, therefore there can be no genuine books of the same men. Some pieces in Greek have been forged under the name of Daniel, and therefore he wrote no book in Chaldee and Hebrew long before these forgeries. In like manner, some poems have been ascribed to Homer and Virgil, which were not of their composing; and therefore the one did not compose the Iliad, nor the other the Æneid. Some false writings have been attributed to St. Peter and St. Paul; and therefore there are no true writings of those apostles. Such arguments sufficiently expose and refute themselves. One would think the inference should rather lie on the other side. Some books have been counterfeited in the name of this or that writer; and therefore that there were some genuine books of his writing, is a much more probable presumption than the contrary.

10. The tenth objection is, "that the author of the book of Daniel appears plainly to be a writer of things past, after a prophetic manner, by his uncommon punctuality, by not only foretelling things to come, like other prophets, but fixed the time when the things were to happen." But other prophets and other prophecies have prefixed the times for several events; as 120 years for the continuance of the antediluvian world; 400 years for the sojourning of Abraham's seed in a strange land; 40 years for the peregrination of the children of Israel; 65 years for Ephraim's continuing a people; 70 years for the desolation of Tyre; 70 years for Judah's captivity; and the like: and therefore the fixing of the times cannot be a particular objection against the prophecies of Daniel. Daniel may have done it in more instances than any other prophet: but why might not God, if he was so pleased, foretel the dates and periods of any events, as well as the events themselves? Josephus, whom the ob-

jector hath quoted upon this occasion, differs totally from him. He * ascribes this punctuality to divine revelation, not like the objector, to the late composition of the book. He infers from it, that Daniel was one of the greatest prophets, not like the objector, that he was no prophet at all.

Lastly, it is objected, "that the book of Daniel sets forth facts very imperfectly, and often contrary to other historical relations, and the whole is written in a dark and emblematical style, with images and symbols unlike the books of other prophets, and taken from the schools of the Greeks." As to Daniel's setting forth facts very imperfectly, he is perfect enough for his design, which was not to write a history but prophecies, and history only so far as it relates to his prophecies. As to his writing contrary to other historical relations, it is false. For most of the main facts related by him are confirmed even by heathen historians; but if he contradicted them, yet he would deserve more credit, as he was more ancient than any of them, and lived in the times whereof he wrote. As to his emblems being unlike the books of other prophets, and taken from the schools of the Greeks, this is also false. For the like emblems are often used by other prophets, and are agreeable to the style and genius of all the eastern writers of his time. They were so far from being taken from the schools of the Greeks, that on the contrary, if they were ever used by the Greeks, the Greeks borrowed them from the oriental writers. But after all how doth this last objection consist and agree with the fifth and tenth? There *divers matters of fact were spoken of with the clearness of history*, and the author was convicted of forgery by *his uncommon punctuality*. Here *all is dark and emblematical, imperfect and contrary to other histories*. Such objections contradict and destroy another. Both may be false, both cannot be true.

* 'For whatever books have been written and left by him, are at present read among us; and from these we are persuaded that Daniel enjoyed familiar intercourse with God. For unlike to other prophets, he not only foretold future things, but he also fixes the time of their accomplishment.' See Josephus' *Antiquities*, Book X. Chap. xi. Sect. 7. page 465, in Hudson's edition.

These objections being removed, what is there wanting of external or internal evidence to prove the genuineness and authenticity of the book of Daniel? There is all the external evidence that can well be had or desired in a case of this nature; not only the testimony of the whole Jewish church and nation, who have constantly received this book as canonical; but of Josephus particularly, who commends him as the greatest of the prophets; of the Jewish Targums and Talmuds, which frequently cite and appeal to his authority; of St. Paul and St. John, who have copied many of his prophecies: of our Saviour himself, who citeth his words, and styleth him 'Daniel the prophet;' of ancient historians, who relate many of the same transactions; of the mother of the seven sons, and of the father of the Maccabees, who both recommend the example of Daniel to their sons: of old Eleazer in Egypt, who praying for the Jews then suffering under the persecution of Ptolemy Philopater, 3 Macc. vii. 6, 7. mentions the deliverance of Daniel out of the den of lions, together with the deliverance of the three men out of the fiery furnace; of the Jewish high-priest, who showed Daniel's prophecies to Alexander the Great, while he was at Jerusalem; and still higher, of Ezekiel, a contemporary writer, who greatly extols his *fiety* and *wisdom*. Nor is the internal less powerful and convincing than the external evidence; for the language, the style, the manner of writing, and all other internal marks and characters, are perfectly agreeable to that age; and he appears plainly and undeniably to have been a prophet by the exact accomplishment of his prophecies, as well those which have already been fulfilled, as those which are now fulfilling in the world.

The genuineness and authenticity of the book of Daniel being therefore established beyond all reasonable contradiction, we may now proceed in our main design: and the vision of the Ram and he-goat, and the prophecy of the things noted in the scripture of truth, and the transactions of the kings of the north and the south, will find sufficient matter for our meditations this year. Another year will be fully employed on our Saviour's prophecies of the destruction of Jerusalem, and the dispersion of the Jews together with St. Paul's prophecies of the Man of

Sin, and of the apostacy of the latter times. The last and most difficult task of all, will be an analysis or explication of the Apocalypse or revelation of St. John. It is a hazardous attempt, in our little bark, to venture on that dangerous ocean, where so many stouter vessels and abler pilots have been shipwrecked and lost: but possibly we may be the better able to sail through it, coming prepared, careened and sheathed as I may say for such a voyage, by the assistance of the former prophets, having particularly Daniel and St. Paul as our pole-star and compass, and begging withal of God's holy Spirit to steer and direct our course. The conclusion will consist of reflections and inferences from the whole. In this manner, with the divine assistance, shall be employed the three years, which is the period usually allotted to these exercises; and it is hoped that the design of the honourable founder will in some measure be answered by proving the truth of revelation from the truth of prophecy. It was indeed a noble design after a life spent in the study of philosophy, and equally devoted to the service of religion, to benefit posterity not only by his own useful and numerous writings, theological as well as philosophical, but also by engaging the thoughts and pens of others in defence of natural and revealed religion; and some of the best treatises on these subjects in the English language, or indeed in any language, are owing to his institution. This is continuing to do good even after death; and what was said of Abel's faith, may also be said of his, that 'by it he being dead, yet speaketh.'

From the instance of this excellent person, and some others who might be mentioned, it appears that there is nothing inconsistent in science and religion, but a great philosopher may be a good Christian. True philosophy is indeed the handmaid to true religion: and the knowledge of the works of nature will lead one to the knowledge of the God of nature, *the invisible things of him being clearly seen by the things which are made; even his eternal power and Godhead.* They are only minute philosophers, who are sceptics and unbelievers. Smatterers in science, they are but smatterers in religion. Whereas the most eminent philosophers, those who have done honour to the nation, done honour to human nature itself,

have also been believers and defenders of revelation, have studied scripture as well as nature, have searched after God in his word as well as in his works, and have even made comments on several parts of holy writ. So just and true is the observation of the Lord Bacon, * one of the illustrious persons here intended ; “ A little philosophy inclineth man’s mind to atheism, but depth in philosophy bringeth men’s minds about religion.”

* See Lord Bacon’s Essays, XVII.

END OF VOL. I.

