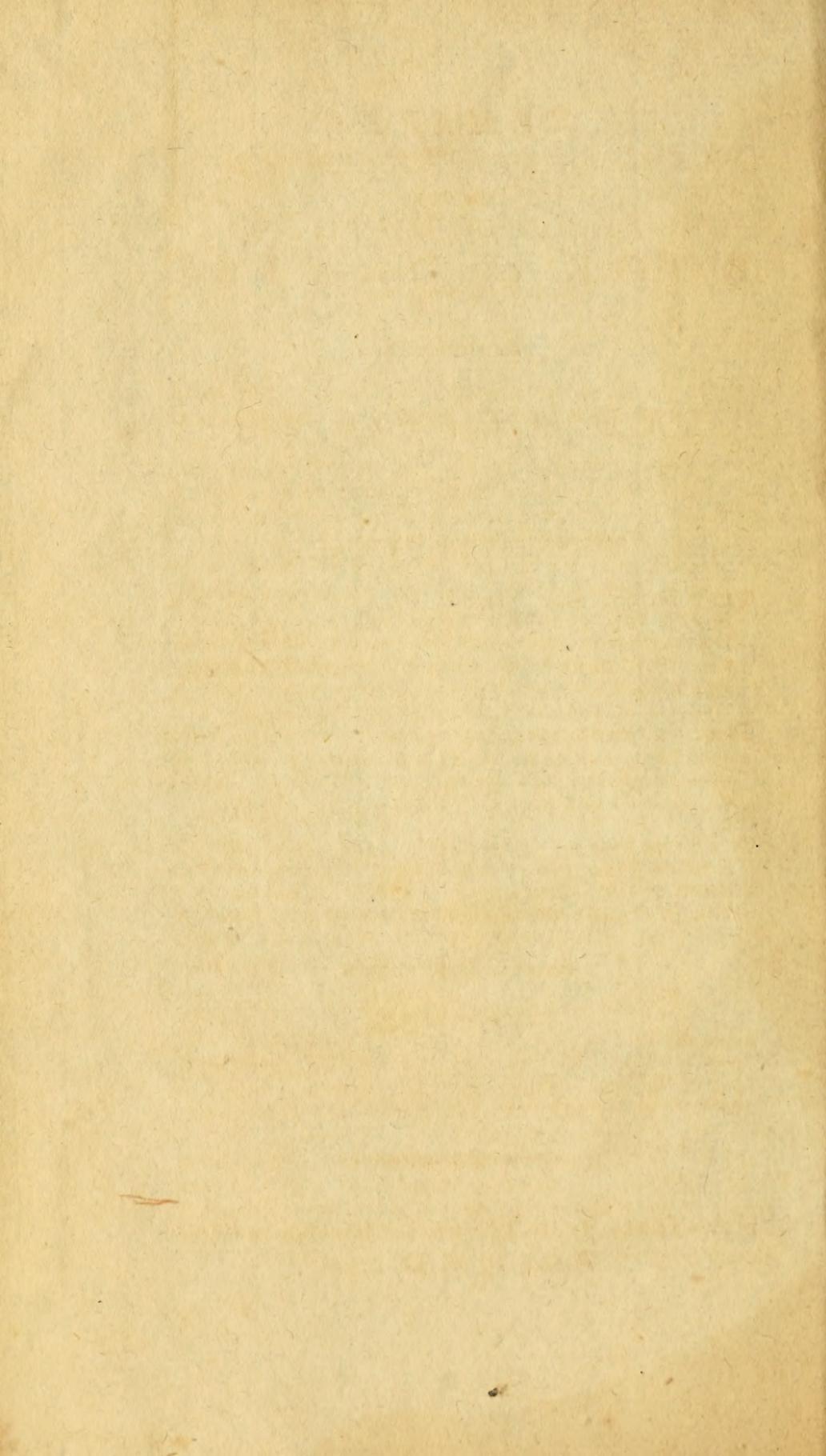


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REMARKS

ON THE

BOOK OF DANIEL,

AND ON THE

REVELATIONS.

WHEREBY IT APPEARS,

THAT DANIEL HAD VISIONS OF EIGHT GREAT TEMPORAL MONARCHIES: THAT THE THREE LAST OF DANIEL BEING FUTURE WHEN JOHN WROTE, HE ONLY HAS VISIONS OF THE THREE LAST GREAT TEMPORAL POWERS.

THAT THE PROPHETIC PERIODS OF DANIEL AND JOHN, ALL TERMINATE IN 2520 YEARS FROM THE FIRST OF CYRUS, AND 1890 YEARS FROM THE BIRTH OF CHRIST, SO FAR AS TEMPORAL POWERS ARE CONCERNED.

THAT THE END OF TEMPORAL POWERS, DESIGNATES AN END OF MANKIND IN THE FLESH; THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE MILLENNIUM; THE RESURRECTION OF THE JUST, AND THE RESTITUTION OF ALL THINGS.

REVELATIONS III.

"BECAUSE THOU HAST KEPT THE WORD OF MY PATIENCE, I WILL ALSO KEEP THEE FROM THE HOUR OF TEMPTATION, THAT COMETH UPON ALL THE WORLD, TO TRY THEM THAT DWELL UPON THE EARTH: BEHOLD I COME QUICKLY: HOLD FAST THAT WHICH THOU HAST, THAT NO MAN TAKE THY CROWN."

NEW-YORK, PRINTED AT GREENLEAF'S PRESS,
APRIL 19, A. D. 1794.

¶ The Book of DANIEL.

C H A P. I.

IN the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim king of Judah came Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon unto Jerusalem, and besieged it.

2 And the Lord gave Jehoiakim king of Judah into his hand, with part of the vessels of the house of God, which he carried into the land of Shinar, to the house of his god; and he brought the vessels into the treasure-house of his god.

3 ¶ And the king spake unto Ashpenaz, the master of his eunuchs, that he should bring *certain* of the children of Israel, and of the kings seed, and of the princes;

4 Children in whom *was* no blemish, but well favoured, and skilful in all wisdom, and cunning in knowledge, and understanding science, and such as *had* ability in them to stand in the kings palace, and whom they might teach the learning and the tongue of the Chaldeans.

5 And the king appointed them a daily provision of the kings meat, and of the wine which he drank; so nourishing them three years, that at the end thereof they might stand before the king.

6 Now among these were of the children of Judah, Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah;

7 Unto whom the prince of the eunuchs gave names: for he gave unto Daniel *the name* of Belteshazzar; and to Hananiah, of Shadrach; and to Mishael, of Meshach; and to Azariah, of Abed-nego.

8 ¶ But Daniel purposed in his heart that he would not defile himself with the portion of the kings meat, nor with the wine which he drank: therefore he requested of the prince of the eunuchs that he might not defile himself.

9 Now God had brought Daniel into favour and tender love with the prince of the eunuchs.

10 And the prince of the eunuchs said unto Daniel, I fear my lord the king, who hath appointed your meat and your drink: for why should he see your faces worse liking than the children which *are* of your sort? then shall ye *make me* endanger my head to the king.

11 Then said Daniel to Melzar, whom the prince of the eunuchs had set over Daniel, Hananiah, Michael, and Azariah.

12 Prove thy servants, I beseech thee, ten days; and let them give us pulse to eat, and water to drink.

13 Then let our countenances be looked upon before thee and the countenance of the children that eat of the portion of the kings meat; and as thou seest, deal with thy servants.

14 So he consented to them in this matter, and proved them ten days.

15 And at the end of ten days their countenances appeared fairer and fatter in flesh than all the children which did eat the portion of the kings meat.

16 Thus Melzar took away the portion of their meat, and the wine that they should drink, and gave them pulse.

17 ¶ As for these four children, God gave them knowledge and skill in all learning and wisdom: and Daniel had understanding in all visions and dreams.

18 Now, at the end of the days that the king had said he should bring them in, then the prince of the eunuchs brought them in before Nebuchadnezzar.

19 And the king communed with them; and among them all was found none like Daniel, Hananiah, Michael, and Azariah: therefore stood they before the king.

20 And in all matters of wisdom *and* understanding, that the king enquired of them, he found them ten times better than all the magicians *and* astrologers that *were* in all his realm.

21 And Daniel continued *even* unto the first year of king Cyrus.

C H A P. II.

AND in the second year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, Nebuchadnezzar dreamed dreams, wherewith his spirit was troubled, and his sleep broke from him.

2 Then the king commanded to call the magicians, and the astrologers, and the forcerers, and the Chaldeans, for to shew the king his dreams. So they came and stood before the king.

3 And the king said unto them I have dreamed a dream, and my spirit was troubled to know the dream.

4 Then spake the Chaldeans to the king in Syriack, O king, live for ever: tell thy servants the dream, and we will shew the interpretation.

5 The king answered and said to the Chaldeans, The thing is gone from me: if ye will not make known unto me the dream, with the interpretation thereof, ye shall be cut in pieces, and your houses shall be made a dunghill:

6 But if ye shew the dream, and the interpretation thereof, ye shall receive of me gifts, and rewards, and great honour: therefore shew me the dream, and the interpretation thereof.

7 They answered again, and said, Let the king tell his servants the dream, and we will shew the interpretation of it.

8 The king answered and said, I know of certainty that ye would gain the time, because ye see the thing is gone from me.

9 But if ye will not make known unto me the dream, *there is but* one decree for you; for ye have prepared lying and corrupt words to speak before me till the time be changed: therefore tell me the dream, and I shall know that ye can shew me the interpretation thereof.

10 ¶ The Chaldeans answered before the king, and said, There is not a man upon the earth that can shew the kings matter: therefore *there is* no king, lord, nor ruler, *that* asked such things at any magician, or astrologer, or Chaldean.

11 And *it is* a rare thing that the king requireth; and there is none other that can shew it before the king except the gods, whose dwelling is not with flesh.

12 For this cause the king was angry and very furious, and commanded to destroy all the wise *men* of Babylon.

13 And the decree went forth that the wise *men* should be slain; and they sought Daniel and his fellows to be slain.

14 ¶ Then Daniel answered with counsel and wisdom to Arioch the captain of the kings guard, which was gone forth to slay the wise *men* of Babylon:

15 He answered and said to Arioch the kings captain, Why *is* the decree *so* hasty from the king? Then Arioch made the thing known to Daniel.

16 Then Daniel went in, and desired of the king that he would give him time, and that he would shew ~~the~~ king the interpretation.

17 Then Daniel went to his house, and made the thing known to Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, his companions;

18 That they would desire mercies of the God of heaven concerning this secret, that Daniel and his fellows should not perish with the rest of the wise *men* of Babylon.

19 ¶ Then was the secret revealed unto Daniel in a night-vision. Then Daniel blessed the God of heaven.

20 Daniel answered and said, Blessed be the name of God for ever and ever; for wisdom and might are his.

21 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:

22 He revealeth the deep and secret things: he knoweth what *is* in the darkness, and the light dwelleth with him.

23 I thank thee, and praise thee, O thou God of my fathers, who hast given me wisdom and might, and hast made known unto me now what we desired of thee: for thou hast *now* made known unto us the kings matter.

24 ¶ Therefore Daniel went in unto Arioch, whom the king had ordained to destroy the wise *men* of Babylon: he went and said thus unto him, Destroy not the wise *men* of Babylon: bring me in before the king, and I will shew unto the king the interpretation.

25 Then Arioch brought in Daniel before the king in haste, and said thus unto him, I have found a man of the captives of Judah that will make known unto the king the interpretation.

26 The king answered, and said to Daniel, whose name *was* Belteshazzar, Art thou able to make known unto me the dream which I have seen, and the interpretation thereof?

27 Daniel answered in the presence of the king, and said, The secret, which the king hath demanded, cannot the wise *men*, the astrologers, the magicians, the soothsayers, shew unto the king;

28 But there is a God in heaven that revealeth secrets, and maketh known to the king Nebuchadnezzar what shall be in the latter days. Thy dream, and the visions of thy head upon thy bed, are these;

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 to thee what shall come to pass:

30 But as for me, this secret is not revealed to me for *any* wisdom that I have more than any living, but for *their* sakes that shall make known the interpretation to the king, and that thou mightest know the thoughts of thy heart;)

31 ¶ Thou, O king, sawest, and behold, a great image. This great image, whose brightness *was* excellent, stood before thee, and the form thereof *was* terrible.

32 This images head *was* of fine gold, his breast and his arms of silver, his belly and his thighs of brass.

33 His legs of iron, his feet part of iron and part of clay.

34 Thou sawest till that a stone was cut out without hands, which smote the image upon his feet *that were* of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces.

35 Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold, broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer threshing-floors; and the wind carried them

away, that no place was found for them: and the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth.

36 ¶ This *is* the dream; and we will tell the interpretation thereof before the king.

37 Thou, O king, *art* a king of kings: for the God of heaven hath given thee a kingdom, power, and strength, and glory.

38 And, wheresoever the children of men dwell, the beasts of the field, and the fowls of the heaven, hath he given into thine hand, and hath made thee ruler over them all. Thou *art* this head of gold.

39 And after thee shall arise another kingdom inferior to thee, and another third kingdom of bras, which shall bear rule over all the earth.

40 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.

41 And whereas thou sawest the feet and toes part of potters 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.

42 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.

43 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.

44 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.

45 Forasmuch as thou sawest that the stone was cut out of the mountain without hands, and that it brake in pieces the iron, the bras, the clay, the silver, and the gold; the great God hath made known to the king what shall come to pass hereafter: and the dream *is* certain, and the interpretation thereof sure.

46 ¶ Then the king Nebuchadnezzar fell upon his face, and worshipped Daniel, and commanded that they should offer an oblation and sweet odours unto him.

47 The king answered unto Daniel, and said, Of a truth *is* that your God *is* a God of gods, and a Lord of kings, and a revealer of secrets, seeing thou couldest reveal this secret.

48 Then the king made Daniel a great man, and gave him many great gifts, and made him ruler over the whole province of Babylon, and chief of the governors over all the wise *men* of Babylon.

49 Then Daniel requested of the king, and he set Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, over the affairs of the province of Babylon: but Daniel *sat* in the gate of the king.

C H A P. III.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR the king made an image of gold, whose height *was* threescore cubits, *and* the breadth thereof six cubits: he set it up in the plain of Dura, in the province of Babylon.

2 Then Nebuchadnezzar the king sent to gather together the princes, the governors, and the captains, the judges, the treasurers, the counsellors, the sheriffs, and all the rulers of the provinces, to come to the dedication of the image which Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up.

3 Then the princes, the governors and captains, the judges, the treasurers, the counsellors, the sheriffs, and all the rulers of the provinces, were gathered together unto the dedication of the image that Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up; and they stood before the image that Nebuchadnezzar had set up.

4 Then an herald cried aloud. To you it is commanded, O people, nations, and languages,

5 *That* at what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer, and all kinds of musick, ye fall down and worship the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar the king hath set up:

6 And whoso falleth not down and worshippeth, shall the same hour be cast into the midst of a burning fiery furnace.

7 Therefore at that time, when all the people heard the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, and all kinds of musick, all the people, the nations, and the languages, fell down *and* worshipped the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up.

8 ¶ Wherefore at that time certain Chaldeans came near, and accused the Jews.

9 They spake and said to the king Nebuchadnezzar, O king, live for ever.

10 Thou, O king, hast made a decree, that every man that shall hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, and dulcimer, and all kinds of musick, shall fall down and worship the golden image:

11 And whoſo ſalleth not down and worſhippeth, *that* he ſhould be caſt into the miſt of a burning fiery furnace.

12 There are certain Jews whom thou haſt ſet over the affairs of the province of Babylon, Shadrach, Meſhach, and Abed-nego: theſe men, O king, have not regarded thee; they ſerve not thy gods, nor worſhip the golden image which thou haſt ſet up.

13 ¶ Then Nebuchadnezzar, in *his* rage and fury, commanded to bring Shadrach, Meſhach, and Abed-nego. Then they brought theſe men before the king.

14 Nebuchadnezzar ſpake and ſaid unto them, *Is it true*, O Shadrach, Meſhach, and Abed-nego? do not ye ſerve my gods, nor worſhip the golden image which I have ſet up?

15 Now if ye be ready, that at what time ye hear the ſound of the cornet, flute, harp, ſackbut, psaltery, and dulcimer, and all kinds of muſick, ye fall down and worſhip the image which I have made, *well*; but if ye worſhip not, ye ſhall be caſt the ſame hour into the miſt of a burning fiery furnace: and who *is* that god that ſhall deliver you out of my hands?

16 Shadrach, Meſhach, and Abed-nego, answered and ſaid to the king, O Nebuchadnezzar, we *are* not careful to answer thee in this matter.

17 If it be *ſo*, our God, whom we ſerve, is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace; and he will deliver *us* out of thine hands, O king.

18 But if not, be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not ſerve thy gods, nor worſhip the golden image which thou haſt ſet up.

19 ¶ Then was Nebuchadnezzar full of fury, and the form of his viſage was changed againſt Shadrach, Meſhach, and Abed-nego: *therefore* he ſpake, and commanded that they ſhould heat the furnace one ſeven times more than it was wont to be heated.

20 And he commanded the moſt mighty men that *were* in his army to bind Shadrach, Meſhach, and Abed-nego, and to caſt *them* into the burning fiery furnace.

21 Then theſe men were bound in their coats, their hoſen, and their hats, and their *other* garments, and were caſt into the miſt of the burning fiery furnace.

22 Therefore, becauſe the kings commandment was urgent, and the furnace exceeding hot, the flame of the fire flew thoſe men that took up Shadrach, Meſhach, and Abed-nego.

23 And theſe three men, Shadrach, Meſhach, and Abed-nego, fell down bound into the miſt of the burning fiery furnace.

24 Then Nebuchadnezzar the king was astonished, and rose up in haste, *and* spake, and said unto his counsellors, Did not we cast three men bound into the midst of the fire? They answered and said unto the king, True, O king.

25 He answered and said, Lo, I see four men loose, walking in the midst of the fire, and they have no hurt; and the form of the fourth is like the son of God.

26 ¶ Then Nebuchadnezzar came near to the mouth of the burning fiery furnace, *and* spake, and said, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, ye servants of the most high God, come forth, and come *hither*. Then Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, came forth of the midst of the fire.

27 And the princes, governors, and captains, and the kings counsellors, being gathered together, saw these men, upon whose bodies the fire had no power, nor was an hair of their head singed, neither were their coats changed, nor the smell of fire had passed on them.

28 *Then* Nebuchadnezzar spake and said, Blessed *be* the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, who hath sent his angel, and delivered his servants that trusted in him, and have changed the kings word, and yielded their bodies, that they might not serve nor worship any God except their own God.

29 Therefore I make a decree, That every people, nation, and language, which speak any thing amiss against the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, shall be cut in pieces, and their houses shall be made a dunghill; because there is no other God that can deliver after this sort.

30 ¶ Then the king promoted Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, in the province of Babylon.

C H A P. IV.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR the king, unto all people, nations, and languages, that dwell in all the earth; Peace be multiplied unto you.

2 I thought it good to shew the signs and wonders that the high God hath wrought toward me.

3 How great *are* his signs! and how mighty *are* his wonders! his kingdom *is* an everlasting kingdom, and his dominion *is* from generation to generation.

4 ¶ I Nebuchadnezzar was at rest in mine house, and flourishing in my palace:

5 I saw a dream which made me afraid, and the thoughts upon my bed and the visions of my head troubled me.

6 Therefore made I a decree to bring in all the wise *men* of Babylon before me, that they might make known unto me the interpretation of the dream.

7 Then came in the magicians, the astrologers, the Chaldeans, and the soothsayers: and I told the dream before them; but they did not make known unto me the interpretation thereof.

8 But at the last Daniel came in before me (whose name *was* Belteshazzar, according to the name of my god, and in whom *is* the spirit of the holy Gods) and before him I told the dream, *saying*,

9 O Belteshazzar, master of the magicians, because I know that the spirit of the holy Gods *is* in thee, and no secret troubleth thee, tell me the visions of my dream that I have seen, and the interpretation thereof.

10 Thus *were* the visions of mine head in my bed: I saw, and, behold, a tree in the midst of the earth, and the height thereof *was* great.

11 The tree grew, and was strong, and the height thereof reached unto heaven, and the sight thereof to the end of all the earth.

12 The leaves thereof *were* fair, and the fruit thereof much, and in it *was* meat for all: the beasts of the field had shadow under it, and the fowls of the heaven dwelt in the boughs thereof, and all flesh was fed of it.

13 I saw in the visions of my head upon my bed, and, behold, a watcher and an holy one came down from heaven.

14 He cried aloud, and said thus, Hew down the tree, and cut off his branches, shake off his leaves, and scatter his fruit: let the beasts get away from under it, and the fowls from his branches.

15 Nevertheless, leave the stump of his roots in the earth, even with a band of iron and brass, in the tender grass of the field; and let it be wet with the dew of heaven, and *let* his portion *be* with the beasts in the grass of the earth.

16 Let his heart be changed from mans, and let a beasts heart be given unto him; and let seven times pass over him.

17 This matter *is* by the decree of the watchers, and the demand by the word of the holy ones; to the intent that the living may know that the most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the basest of men.

18 This dream I king Nebuchadnezzar have seen. Now thou, O Belteshazzar, declare the interpretation thereof; forasmuch as all the wise *men* of my kingdom are not able to make

known unto me the interpretation : but thou *art* able ; for the spirit of the holy Gods *is* in thee.

19 ¶ Then Daniel (whose name *was* Belteshazzar) was astonished for one hour, and his thoughts troubled him. The king spake and said, Belteshazzar, let not the dream, or the interpretation thereof, trouble thee. Belteshazzar answered and said, My lord, the dream *be* to them that hate thee, and the interpretation thereof to thine enemies.

20 The tree that thou sawest, which grew, and was strong, whose height reached unto the heaven, and the sight thereof to all the earth ;

21 Whose leaves *were* fair, and the fruit thereof much, and in it *was* meat for all ; under which the beasts of the field dwelt, and upon whose branches the fowls of the heaven had their habitation :

22 It *is* thou, O king, that art grown and become strong : for thy greatness is grown, and reacheth unto heaven, and thy dominion to the end of the earth.

23 And whereas the king saw a watcher and an holy one coming down from heaven, and saying, Hew the tree down, and destroy it ; yet leave the stump of the roots thereof in the earth, even with a band of iron and brass, in the tender grass of the field ; and let it be wet with the dew of heaven, and *let* his portion *be* with the beasts of the field, till seven times pass over him ;

24 This *is* the interpretation, O king, and this *is* the decree of the most High, which is come upon my lord the king :

25 That they shall drive thee from men, and thy dwelling shall be with the beasts of the field, and they shall make thee to eat grass as oxen, and they shall wet thee with the dew of heaven, and seven times shall pass over thee, till thou know that the most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will.

26 And whereas they commanded to leave the stump of the tree-roots ; thy kingdom shall be sure unto thee, after that thou shalt have known that the heavens do rule.

27 Wherefore, O king, let my counsel be acceptable unto thee, and break off thy sins by righteousness, and thine iniquities by shewing mercy to the poor ; if it may be a lengthening of thy tranquillity.

28 ¶ All *this* came upon the king Nebuchadnezzar.

29 At the end of twelve months he walked in the palace of the kingdom of Babylon.

30 The king spake and said, 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 ?

31 While the word *was* in the kings mouth there fell a voice from heaven, *saying*, O king Nebuchadnezzar, to thee it is spoken; The kingdom is departed from thee;

32 And they shall drive thee from men, and thy dwelling *shall be* with the beasts of the field: they shall make thee to eat grass as oxen, and seven times shall pass over thee, until thou know that the most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will.

33 The same hour was the thing fulfilled upon Nebuchadnezzar: and he was driven from men, and did eat grass as oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were grown like eagles *feathers*, and his nails like birds *claws*.

34 And at the end of the days I Nebuchadnezzar lifted up mine eyes unto heaven, and mine understanding returned unto me; and I blessed the most High, and I praised and honoured him that liveth for ever, whose dominion *is* an everlasting dominion, and his kingdom *is* from generation to generation:

35 And all the inhabitants of the earth *are* reputed as nothing: and he doeth according to his will in the army of heaven, and *among* the inhabitants of the earth; and none can stay his hand, or say unto him, What doest thou?

36 At the same time my reason returned unto me; and, for the glory of my kingdom, mine honour and brightness returned unto me; and my counsellors and my lords sought unto me; and I was established in my kingdom; and excellent majesty was added unto me.

37 Now I Nebuchadnezzar praise, and extol, and honour the King of heaven, all whose works *are* truth, and his ways judgment: and those that walk in pride he is able to abase.

C H A P. V.

BELSHAZZAR the king made a great feast to a thousand of his lords, and drank wine before the thousand.

2 Belshazzar, whiles he tasted the wine, commanded to bring the golden and silver vessels which his father Nebuchadnezzar had taken out of the temple which *was* in Jerusalem; that the king and his princes, his wives and his concubines, might drink therein.

3 Then they brought the golden vessels that were taken out of the temple of the house of God which *was* at Jerusalem; and the king and his princes, his wives and his concubines, drank in them.

4 They drank wine, and praised the gods of gold, and of silver, of brass, of iron, of wood, and of stone.

5 ¶ In the same hour came forth fingers of a mans hand, and wrote over against the candlestick upon the plaister of the wall of the kings palace; and the king saw the part of the hand that wrote.

6 Then the kings countenance was changed, and his thoughts troubled him, so that the joints of his loins were loosed, and his knees smote one against another.

7 The king cried aloud to bring in the astrologers, the Chaldeans, and the soothsayers. *And* the king spake, and said to the wise men of Babylon, Whosoever shall read this writing, and shew me the interpretation thereof, shall be clothed with scarlet, and have a chain of gold about his neck, and shall be the third ruler in the kingdom.

8 Then came in all the kings wise men: but they could not read the writing, nor make known to the king the interpretation thereof.

9 Then was king Belshazzar greatly troubled, and his countenance was changed in him, and his lords were astonished.

10 ¶ *Now* the queen, by reason of the words of the king and his lords, came into the banquet-house; and the queen spake and said, O king, live for ever: let not thy thoughts trouble thee, nor let thy countenance be changed:

11 There is a man in thy kingdom, in whom *is* the spirit of the holy Gods: and, in the days of thy father, light and understanding, and wisdom, like the wisdom of the gods, was found in him; whom the king Nebuchadnezzar thy father, the king, *I say*, thy father, made master of the magicians, astrologers, Chaldeans, and soothsayers:

12 Forasmuch as an excellent spirit, and knowledge, and understanding, interpreting of dreams, and shewing of hard sentences; and dissolving of doubts, were found in the same Daniel, whom the king named Belteshazzar: now let Daniel be called, and he will shew the interpretation.

13 Then was Daniel brought in before the king. *And* the king spake and said unto Daniel, *Art* thou that Daniel, which *art* of the children of the captivity of Judah, whom the king my father brought out of Jewry?

14 I have even heard of thee, that the spirit of the Gods *is* in thee, and *that* light, and understanding, and excellent wisdom, is found in thee.

15 And now the wise men, the astrologers, have been brought in before me, that they should read this writing, and make known unto me the interpretation thereof: but they could not shew the interpretation of the thing:

16 And I have heard of thee that thou canst make interpretations, and dissolve doubts : now if thou canst read the writing, and make known to me the interpretation thereof, thou shalt be clothed with scarlet, and *have* a chain of gold about thy neck, and shalt be the third ruler in the kingdom.

17 ¶ Then Daniel answered and said before the king, Let thy gifts be to thyself, and give thy rewards to another ; yet I will read the writing unto the king, and make known to him the interpretation.

18 O thou king, the most high God gave Nebuchadnezzar thy father a kingdom, and majesty, and glory, and honour.

19 And, for the majesty that he gave him, all people, nations, and languages, trembled and feared before him : whom he would he slew, and whom he would he kept alive, and whom he would he set up, and whom he would he put down.

20 But when his heart was lifted up, and his mind hardened in pride, he was deposed from his kingly throne, and they took his glory from him :

21 And he was driven from the sons of men ; and his heart was made like the beasts, and his dwelling *was* with the wild asses : they fed him with grass like oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven ; till he knew that the most high God ruled in the kingdom of men, and *that* he appointeth over it whomsoever he will.

22 And thou his son, O Belshazzar, hast not humbled thine heart, though thou knewest all this ;

23 But hast lifted up thyself against the Lord of heaven ; and they have brought the vessels of his house before thee, and thou and thy lords, thy wives and thy concubines, have drunk wine in them ; and thou hast praised the gods of silver and gold, of brass, iron, wood, and stone, which see not, nor hear, nor know : and the God in whose hand thy breath *is*, and whose *are* all thy ways, hast thou not glorified.

24 Then was the part of the hand sent from him ; and this writing was written.

25 ¶ And this *is* the writing that was written, MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN.

26 This *is* the interpretation of the thing : MENE ; God hath numbered thy kingdom, and finished it.

27 TEKEL ; Thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting.

28 PERES ; Thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians.

29 Then commanded Belshazzar, and they clothed Daniel with scarlet, and *put* a chain of gold about his neck, and made

a proclamation concerning him, that he should be the third ruler in the kingdom.

30 ¶ In that night was Belshazzar the king of the Chaldeans slain.

31 And Darius the Median took the kingdom, *being* about threescore and two years old.

C H A P. VI.

IT pleased Darius to set over the kingdom an hundred and twenty princes, which should be over the whole kingdom ;

2 And over these three presidents, of whom Daniel *was* first ; that the princes might give accounts unto them, and the king should have no damage.

3 Then this Daniel was preferred above the presidents and princes, because an excellent spirit *was* in him ; and the king thought to set him over the whole realm.

4 ¶ Then the presidents and princes sought to find occasion against Daniel concerning the kingdom ; but they could find none occasion nor fault ; forasmuch as he *was* faithful, neither was there any error or fault found in him.

5 Then said these men, We shall not find any occasion against this Daniel, except we find *it* against him concerning the law of his God.

6 Then these presidents and princes assembled together to the king, and said thus unto him, King Darius, live for ever.

7 All the presidents of the kingdom, the governors, and the princes, the counsellors, and the captains, have consulted together to establish a royal statute, and to make a firm decree, that whosoever shall ask a petition of any god or man for thirty days, save of thee, O king, he shall be cast into the den of lions.

8 Now, O king, establish the decree, and sign the writing, that it be not changed, according to the law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not.

9 Wherefore king Darius signed the writing and the decree.

10 ¶ Now when Daniel knew that the writing was signed, he went into his house ; and, his windows being open in his chamber toward Jerusalem, he kneeled upon his knees three times a-day, and prayed, and gave thanks before his God, as he did aforetime.

11 Then these men assembled, and found Daniel praying and making supplication before his God.

12 Then they came near, and spake before the king concerning the kings decree ; Hast thou not signed a decree, that every man that shall ask a *petition* of any god or man within thirty days, save of thee, O king, shall be cast into the den of

lions? The king answered and said, The thing *is* true according to the law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not.

13 Then answered they, and said before the king, That Daniel, which *is* of the children of the captivity of Judah, regardeth not thee, O king, nor the decree that thou hast signed, but maketh his petition three times a-day.

14 Then the king, when he heard *these* words, was fore displeas'd with himself, and set *his* heart on Daniel to deliver him; and he laboured till the going down of the sun to deliver him.

15 Then these men assembled unto the king, and said unto the king, Know, O king, that the law of the Medes and Persians *is*, That no decree nor statute which the king establisheth may be changed.

16 Then the king commanded, and they brought Daniel, and cast *him* into the den of lions. Now the king spake and said unto Daniel, Thy God, whom thou servest continually, he will deliver thee.

17 And a stone was brought, and laid upon the mouth of the den; and the king sealed it with his own signet, and with the signet of his lords, that the purpose might not be changed concerning Daniel.

18 ¶ Then the king went to his palace, and passed the night fasting: neither were instruments of musick brought before him; and his sleep went from him.

19 Then the king arose very early in the morning, and went in haste unto the den of lions.

20 And when he came to the den he cried with a lamentable voice unto Daniel: *and* the king spake and said to Daniel, O Daniel, servant of the living God, is thy God, whom thou servest continually, able to deliver thee from the lions?

21 Then said Daniel unto the king, O king, live for ever.

22 My God hath sent his angel, and hath shut the lions mouths, that they have not hurt me: forasmuch as before him innocency was found in me; and also before thee, O king, have I done no hurt.

23 Then was the king exceeding glad for him, and commanded that they should take Daniel up out of the den. So Daniel was taken up out of the den, and no manner of hurt was found upon him, because he believed in his God.

24 ¶ And the king commanded, and they brought those men which had accused Daniel, and they cast *them* into the den of lions, them, their children, and their wives; and the lions had the mastery of them, and brake all their bones in pieces or ever they came at the bottom of the den.

25 ¶ Then king Darius wrote unto all people, nations, and languages, that dwell in all the earth; Peace be multiplied unto you.

26 I make a decree, That in every dominion of my kingdom, men tremble and fear before the God of Daniel; for he is the living God, and stedfast for ever, and his kingdom *that* which shall not be destroyed, and his dominion *shall be even* unto the end.

27 He delivereth and rescueth, and he worketh signs and wonders in heaven and in earth, who hath delivered Daniel from the power of the lions.

28 So this Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius, and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian.

C H A P. VII.

IN the first year of Belshazzar king of Babylon, Daniel had a dream, and visions of his head upon his bed: then he wrote the dream, *and* told the sum of the matters.

2 Daniel spake and said, I saw in my vision by night, and, behold, the four winds of the heaven strove upon the great sea.

3 And four great beasts came up from the sea, diverse one from another.

4 The first *was* like a lion, and had eagles wings: I beheld till the wings thereof were plucked, and it was lifted up from the earth, and made stand upon the feet as a man, and a mans heart was given to it.

5 And, behold, another beast, a second, 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.

6 After this I beheld, and, lo, another, 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.

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

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

9 ¶ I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of days did sit, whose garment *was* white as snow, and the

hair of his head like the pure wool : his throne *was like* the fiery flame, *and* his wheels *as* burning fire.

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

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

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

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

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

15 ¶ I Daniel was grieved in my spirit in the midst of *my* body, and the visions of my head troubled me.

16 I came near unto one of them that stood by, and asked him the truth of all this. So he told me, and made me know the interpretation of the things.

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

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

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

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

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

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

23 Thus he said, The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall be diverse from all kingdoms,

and shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down, and break it in pieces.

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

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

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

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

28 Hitherto *is* the end of the matter. As for me Daniel, my cogitations much troubled me, and my countenance changed in me: but I kept the matter in my heart.

C H A P. VIII.

IN the third year of the reign of king Belshazzar a vision appeared unto me, *even unto* me Daniel, after that which appeared unto me at the first.

2 And I saw in a vision (and it came to pass, when I saw, that I *was* at Shushan *in* the palace, which *is* in the province of Elam) and I saw in a vision, and I *was* by the river of Ulai.

3 Then I lifted up mine eyes, and saw, and, behold, there stood before the river a ram which had *two* horns, and the *two* horns *were* high; but one *was* higher than the other, and the higher came up last.

4 I saw the ram pushing westward, and northward, and southward; so that no beasts might stand before him, neither *was there any* that could deliver out of his hand; but he did according to his will, and became great.

5 And as I was considering, behold, an he-goat came from the west, on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground: and the goat *had* a notable horn between his eyes.

6 And he came to the ram that had *two* horns, which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power.

7 And I saw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns; and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and

stamped upon him : and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand.

8 Therefore the he-goat waxed very great : and when he was strong the great horn was broken ; and for it came up four notable ones, toward the four winds of heaven.

9 And out of one of them came forth a little horn, which waxed exceeding great, toward the south, and toward the east, and toward the pleasant *land*.

10 And it waxed great, *even* to the host of heaven ; and it cast down *some* of the host and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them.

11 Yea, he magnified *himself* even to the prince of the host, and by him the daily *sacrifice* was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down.

12 And an host was given him against the daily *sacrifice* by reason of transgression, and it cast down the truth to the ground ; and it practised, and prospered.

13 ¶ Then I heard one saint speaking, and another saint said unto that certain *saint* which spake, How long *shall be* the vision concerning the daily *sacrifice*, and the transgression of desolation, to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot ?

14 And he said unto me, Unto two thousand and three hundred days ; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed.

15 ¶ And it came to pass, when I, *even* I Daniel, had seen the vision, and sought for the meaning, then, behold, there stood before me as the appearance of a man.

16 And I heard a mans voice between *the banks of Ulai*, which called, and said, Gabriel, make this *man* to understand the vision.

17 So he came near where I stood ; and when he came I was afraid, and fell upon my face ; but he said unto me, Understand, O son of man ; for at the time of the end *shall be* the vision.

18 Now, as he was speaking with me, I was in a deep sleep on my face toward the ground : but he touched me, and set me upright.

19 And he said, Behold, I will make thee know what shall be in the last end of the indignation : for at the time appointed the end *shall be*.

20 The ram which thou sawest having *two* horns are the kings of Media and Persia.

21 And the rough goat *is* the king of Grecia : and the great horn that *is* between his eyes *is* the first king.

22 Now, that being broken, whereas four stood up for it four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power.

23 And in the latter time of their kingdom, when the transgressors are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences, shall stand up.

24 And his power shall be mighty, but not by his own power: and he shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper, and practise, and shall destroy the mighty and the holy people.

25 And through his policy also he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand; and he shall magnify *himself* in his heart, and by peace shall destroy many; he shall also stand up against the Prince of princes; but he shall be broken without hand.

26 And the vision of the evening and the morning which was told is true: wherefore shut thou up the vision; for it *shall be* for many days.

27 And I Daniel fainted, and was sick *certain* days; afterward I rose up, and did the kings business; and I was astonished at the vision, but none understood *it*.

C H A P. IX.

IN the first year of Darius, the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes, which was made king over the realm of the Chaldeans;

2 In the first year of his reign, I Daniel understood by books the number of the years, whereof the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah the prophet, that he would accomplish seventy years in the desolations of Jerusalem.

3 ¶ And I set my face unto the Lord God, to seek by prayer and supplications, with fasting, and sackcloth, and ashes:

4 And I prayed unto the Lord my God, and made my confession, and said, O Lord, the great and dreadful God, keeping the covenant and mercy to them that love him, and to them that keep his commandments;

5 We have sinned, and have committed iniquity, and have done wickedly, and have rebelled, even by departing from thy precepts, and from thy judgments:

6 Neither have we hearkened unto thy servants the prophets which spake in thy name to our kings, our princes, and our fathers, and to all the people of the land.

7 O Lord, righteousness *belongeth* unto thee; but unto us confusion of faces, as at this day; to the men of Judah, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and unto all Israel, *that are near,*

and *that are* far off, through all the countries whither thou hast driven them, because of their trespasss that they have trespassed against thee.

8 O Lord, to us *belongeth* confusion of face, to our kings, to our princes, and to our fathers, because we have sinned against thee.

9 To the Lord our God *belong* mercies and forgivenesses, though we have rebelled against him :

10 Neither have we obeyed the voice of the Lord our God, to walk in his laws, which he set before us by his servants the prophets.

11 Yea, all Israel have transgressed thy law, even by departing, that they might not obey thy voice ; therefore the curse is poured upon us, and the oath that *is* written in the law of Moses the servant of God, because we have sinned against him.

12 And he hath confirmed his words, which he spake against us, and against our judges that judged us, by bringing upon us a great evil : for under the whole heaven hath not been done as hath been done upon Jerusalem.

13 As *it is* written in the law of Moses, all this evil is come upon us : yet made we not our prayer before the Lord our God, that we might turn from our iniquities, and understand thy truth.

14 Therefore hath the Lord watched upon the evil, and brought it upon us : for the Lord our God *is* righteous in all his works which he doeth : for we obeyed not his voice.

15 And now, O Lord our God, that hast brought thy people forth out of the land of Egypt with a mighty hand, and hast gotten thee renown, as at this day ; we have sinned, we have done wickedly.

16 ¶ O Lord, according to all thy righteousness, I beseech thee, let thine anger and thy fury be turned away from thy city Jerusalem, thy holy mountain : because for our sins, and for the iniquities of our fathers, Jerusalem and thy people *are become* a reproach to all *that are* about us.

17 Now, therefore, O our God, hear the prayer of thy servant, and his supplications, and cause thy face to shine upon thy sanctuary *that is* desolate, for the Lords sake.

18 O my God, incline thine ear, and hear ; open thine eyes, and behold our desolations, and the city which is called by thy name : for we do not present our supplications before thee for our righteousnesses, but for thy great mercies.

19 O Lord, hear ; O Lord, forgive ; O Lord, hearken, and do ; defer not, for thine own sake, O my God : for thy city and thy people are called by thy name.

20 ¶ And whiles I was speaking, and praying, and confessing my sin, and the sin of my people Israel, and presenting my supplication before the Lord my God for the holy mountain of my God;

21 Yea, whiles I *was* speaking in prayer, even the man Gabriel, whom I had seen in the vision at the beginning, being caused to fly swiftly, touched me about the time of the evening oblation.

22 And he informed *me*, and talked with me, and said, O Daniel, I am now come forth to give thee skill and understanding.

23 At the beginning of thy supplications the commandment came forth, and I am come to shew *thee*; for thou *art* greatly beloved: therefore understand the matter, and consider the vision.

24 Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the most Holy.

25 Know, therefore, and understand, *that* from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem, unto the Messiah the Prince, *shall be* seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks: the street shall be built again, and the wall, even in troublous times.

26 And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself: and the people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city, and the sanctuary; and the end thereof *shall be* with a flood, and unto the end of the war desolations are determined.

27 And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week: and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations he shall make *it* desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate.

C H A P. X.

IN the third year of Cyrus king of Persia a thing was revealed unto Daniel, whose name was called Belteshazzar; and the thing *was* true, but the time appointed *was* long: and he understood the thing, and had understanding of the vision.

2 In those days I Daniel was mourning three full weeks.

3 I ate no pleasant bread, neither came flesh nor wine in my mouth, neither did I anoint myself at all, till three whole weeks were fulfilled.

4 And in the four and twentieth day of the first month, as I was by the side of the great river, which is Hiddekel;

5 Then I lifted up mine eyes, and looked, and, behold, a certain man clothed in linen, whose loins were girded with fine gold of Uphaz:

6 His body also was like the beryl, and his face as the appearance of lightning, and his eyes as lamps of fire, and his arms and his feet like in colour to polished brass, and the voice of his words like the voice of a multitude.

7 And I Daniel alone saw the vision: for the men that were with me saw not the vision; but a great quaking fell upon them, so that they fled to hide themselves.

8 Therefore I was left alone, and saw this great vision, and there remained no strength in me: for my comeliness was turned in me into corruption, and I retained no strength.

9 Yet heard I the voice of his words: and when I heard the voice of his words, then was I in a deep sleep on my face, and my face toward the ground.

10 ¶ And, behold, an hand touched me, which set me upon my knees and upon the palms of my hands:

11 And he said unto me, O Daniel, a man greatly beloved, understand the words that I speak unto thee, and stand upright: for unto thee am I now sent. And, when he had spoken this word unto me, I stood trembling.

12 Then said he unto me, Fear not, Daniel; for from the first day that thou didst set thine heart to understand, and to chasten thyself before thy God, thy words were heard, and I am come for thy words.

13 But the prince of the kingdom of Persia withstood me one and twenty days: but, lo, Michael, one of the chief princes, came to help me; and I remained there with the kings of Persia.

14 Now I am come to make thee understand what shall befall thy people in the latter days; for yet the vision is for many days.

15 And when he had spoken such words unto me, I set my face toward the ground, and I became dumb.

16 And, behold, one like the similitude of the sons of men touched my lips: then I opened my mouth, and spake, and said unto him that stood before me, O my lord, by the vision my sorrows are turned upon me, and I have retained no strength.

17 For how can the servant of this my lord talk with this my lord? for, as for me, straightway there remained no strength in me, neither is there breath left in me.

18 Then there came again and touched me *one* like the appearance of a man, and he strengthened me.

19 And said, O man greatly beloved, fear not; peace *be* unto thee, be strong, yea, be strong. And, when he had spoken unto me, I was strengthened, and said, Let my lord speak; for thou hast strengthened me.

20 Then said he, Knowest thou wherefore I come unto thee? and now will I return to fight with the prince of Persia; and when I am gone forth, lo, the prince of Grecia shall come.

21 But I will shew thee that which is noted in the scripture of truth: and *there is* none that holdeth with me in these things, but Michael your prince.

C H A P. XI.

ALSO I, in the first year of Darius the Mede, *even* I, stood to confirm and to strengthen him.

2 And now will I shew thee the truth, Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia; and the fourth shall be far richer than *they* all: and by his strength through his riches he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia.

3 And a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will.

4 And when he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided toward the four winds of heaven; and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled; for his kingdom shall be plucked up, even for others besides those.

5 ¶ And the king of the south shall be strong, and *one* of his princes; and he shall be strong above him, and have dominion; his dominion *shall be* a great dominion.

6 And in the end of years they shall join themselves together; for the kings daughter of the south shall come to the king of the north to make an agreement: but she shall not retain the power of the arm; neither shall he stand, nor his arm; but she shall be given up, and they that brought her, and he that begat her, and he that strengthened her in *these* times.

7 But out of a branch of her roots shall *one* stand up in his estate, which shall come with an army, and shall enter into the fortrefs of the king of the north, and shall deal against them, and shall prevail;

8 And shall also carry captives into Egypt their gods, with their princes, *and* with their precious vessels of silver and of gold; and he shall continue *more* years than the king of the north.

9 So the king of the south shall come into *his* kingdom, and shall return into his own land.

10 But his sons shall be stirred up, and shall assemble a multitude of great forces: and *one* shall certainly come, and overflow, and pass through; then shall he return, and be stirred up, *even* to his fortrefs.

11 And the king of the south shall be moved with choler, and shall come forth and fight with him, *even* with the king of the north: and he shall set forth a great multitude; but the multitude shall be given into his hand.

12 *And* when he hath taken away the multitude, his heart shall be lifted up; and he shall cast down *many* ten thousands: but he shall not be strengthened. *by it.*

13 For the king of the north shall return, and shall set forth a multitude greater than the former, and shall certainly come after certain years with a great army, and with much riches.

14 And in those times there shall many stand up against the king of the south: also the robbers of thy people shall exalt themselves to establish the vision; but they shall fall.

15 So the king of the north shall come, and cast up a mount and take the most fenced cities; and the arms of the south shall not withstand, neither his chosen people, neither *shall there be any* strength to withstand.

16 But he that cometh against him shall do according to his own will, and none shall stand before him; and he shall stand in the glorious land, which by his hand shall be consumed.

17 He shall also set his face to enter with the strength of his whole kingdom, and upright ones with him; thus shall he do: and he shall give him the daughter of women, corrupting her; but she shall not stand *on his side*, neither be for him.

18 After this shall he turn his face unto the isles, and shall take many: but a prince for his own behalf shall cause the reproach offered by him to cease; without his own reproach he shall cause *it* to turn upon him.

19 Then he shall turn his face toward the fort of his own land: but he shall stumble, and fall, and not be found.

20 Then shall stand up in his estate a raiser of taxes *in* the glory of the kingdom: but within few days he shall be destroyed neither in anger nor in battle.

21 And in his estate shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom: but he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries.

22 And with the arms of a flood shall they be overflowed from before him, and shall be broken; yea, also the prince of the covenant.

23 And after the league *made* with him he shall work deceitfully : for he shall come up, and shall become strong with a small people.

24 He shall enter peaceably even upon the fattest places of the province ; and he shall do *that* which his fathers have not done, nor his fathers fathers ; he shall scatter among them the prey, and spoil, and riches : *yea*, and he shall forecast his devices against the strong holds, even for a time.

25 And he shall stir up his power and his courage against the king of the south with a great army ; and the king of the south shall be stirred up to battle with a very great and mighty army ; but he shall not stand : for they shall forecast devices against him.

26 *Yea*, they that feed of the portion of his meat shall destroy him, and his army shall overflow ; and many shall fall down slain.

27 And both these kings hearts *shall be* to do mischief, and they shall speak lyes at one table ; but it shall not prosper : for yet the end *shall be* at the time appointed.

28 Then shall he return into his land with great riches ; and his heart *shall be* against the holy covenant ; and he shall do *exploits*, and return to his own land.

29 At the time appointed he shall return, and come toward the south : but it shall not be as the former, or as the latter.

30 ¶ For the ships of Chittim shall come against him ; therefore he shall be grieved, and return, and have indignation against the holy covenant : so shall he do ; he shall even return, and have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant.

31 And arms shall stand on his part, and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength, and shall take away the daily *sacrifice*, and they shall place the abomination that maketh desolate.

32 And such as do wickedly against the covenant shall he corrupt by flatteries : but the people that do know their God shall be strong, and do *exploits*.

33 And they that understand among the people shall instruct many : yet they shall fall by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil, *many* days.

34 Now when they shall fall they shall be holpen with a little help : but many shall cleave to them with flatteries.

35 And *some* of them of understanding shall fall, to try them and to purge, and to make *them* white, *even* to the time of the end : because *it is* yet for a time appointed.

36 ¶ And the king shall do according to his will, and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and

shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished: for that that is determined shall be done.

37 Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women, nor regard any god: for he shall magnify himself above all.

38 But in his estate shall he honour the God of forces; and a god whom his fathers knew not shall he honour with gold, and silver, and with precious stones, and pleasant things.

39 Thus shall he do in the most strong holds with a strange god, whom he shall acknowledge *and* increase with glory: and he shall cause them to rule over many, and shall divide the land for gain.

40 And at the time of the end shall the king of the south push at him: and the king of the north shall come against him like a whirlwind, with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships; and he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow and pass over.

41 He shall enter also into the glorious land, and many *countries* shall be overthrown: but these shall escape out of his hand, *even* Edom, and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon.

42 He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries; and the land of Egypt shall not escape.

43 But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt: and the Libyans and the Ethiopians *shall be* at his steps.

44 But tidings out of the east and out of the north shall trouble him: therefore he shall go forth with great fury to destroy, and utterly to make away many.

45 And he shall plant the tabernacles of his palaces between the seas in the glorious holy mountain: yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him.

C H A P. XII.

AND at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince which standeth for the children of thy people; and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation *even* to that same time: and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one *that shall be* found written in the book.

2 And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame *and* everlasting contempt.

3 And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever.

4 But thou, O Daniel, shut up the words, and seal the book, *even* to the time of the end; many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.

5 ¶ Then I Daniel looked, and, behold, there stood other two, the one on this side of the bank of the river, and the other on that side of the bank of the river.

6 And *one* said to the man clothed in linen, which *was* upon the waters of the river, How long *shall it be* to the end of these wonders?

7 And I heard the man clothed in linen, which *was* upon the waters of the river, when he held up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and swore by him that liveth for ever, that *it shall be* for a time, times, and an half; and when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people all these *things* shall be finished.

8 And I heard, but I understood not: then said I, O my Lord, what *shall be* the end of these *things*?

9 And he said, Go thy way, Daniel; for the words *are* closed up and sealed till the time of the end.

10 Many shall be purified, and made white, and tried; but the wicked shall do wickedly: and none of the wicked shall understand; but the wise shall understand.

11 And from the time *that* the daily *sacrifice* shall be taken away, and the abomination that maketh desolate set up, *there shall be* a thousand two hundred and ninety days.

12 Blessed *is* he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days.

13 But go thou thy way till the end *be*; for thou shalt rest, and stand in thy lot at the end of the days.

INTRODUCTION.

THE authenticity and genuineness of the Prophecies of DANIEL have been called in question by such as have not denied the other parts of the sacred writings. Porphyry, who wrote about the close of the third century after Christ, may be considered as the first who endeavoured to prove by his writings that they were not authentic. But he was an infidel. He exerted his utmost abilities, in fifteen books (the twelfth of which was against the prophecies of Daniel) to demonstrate the falsity of the Christian Religion! He endeavoured to shew that these prophecies were not so antient as they claimed to be; but that they were written in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes:—because to that time the history was plain and exact; but after that time all was manifestly false. This work of Porphyry is lost; and the answers made thereto by Eusebius, Apollinarius, and Methodius—excepting a few quotations, which are to be found in Jerome, and others of the fathers.

The author of *The Scheme of literal Prophecy* has pursued the same tract with Porphyry. He has noted every thing which in the course of his reading he apprehended would operate against the authenticity of the book of Daniel, and thereupon raises eleven objections against it; and concludes, with great assurance, that it must have been written in the time of the Maccabees.

But Bishop Chandler, in his *Vindication of his Defence of Christianity*, and Mr. Chandler's *Vindication of the Antiquity and Authority of Daniel's Prophecy*, in answer to *The Scheme of literal Prophecy considered*, have solidly and clearly refuted the eleven objections; and have shewn them all to be mere cavils or direct falsities, groundless assertions, wrong quotations, or plain contradictions.

Porphyry wrote nearly fifteen hundred years ago; and the author above mentioned nearly fifteen hundred years after Porphyry: both agree that these prophecies were written about 200 years before the Christian era. The only question

will be, Whether sundry events have not taken place since the times of Antiochus Epiphanes and the Maccabees, to which the characters and descriptions in the book of Daniel apply with great exactness; nay, with as much accuracy—excepting appropriate names—as the characters and descriptions do apply to events that happened (and are allowed to have been justly applied) before the time of Antiochus Epiphanes?—The explanations will shew on which side of the question the truth is to be found.

We are informed, that, after the death of the good king Josiah, his son Jehoahaz, who was also called Shallum, was anointed king; that he was even thrown into prison, where he ended his days in misery, in a strange land: for Pharaoh Necho, upon his return from an expedition against the Babylonians, wherein he had great success, hearing Jehoahaz had taken upon himself the kingdom of Judah without his consent, sent for him to Riblah in Syria; and on his arrival caused him to be put in chains, and sent prisoner to Egypt, where he died. He had an elder brother, whose name was Eliakim: but Necho, when he came to Jerusalem, changed it to Jehoiakim; and having constituted him king, and put the land to an annual tribute of an hundred talents of silver, returned with great triumph into his own kingdom.

There is a remarkable difference as to the age of Jehoiakim when he came to the throne: for in *2 Chron.* xxxvi. 9. it is said that he was but eight years old; and in *2 Kings* xxiv. 8. that he was eighteen when he began to reign. An error may have happened in the sacred text, in transcribing the same: for two of the most antient and venerable versions (the Syriac and Arabic) have rendered that place not *eight*, but *eighteen*.

The prophet Jeremiah, soon after Jehoiakim came to the throne, went to him in his palace, and denounced the judgments of heaven against him and his family; and afterwards went into the temple and addressed the people in the same manner. The priests, irritated with his boldness, caused him to be seized, and to be brought before the king's council, in hopes of having him put to death: but Ahikam interested himself in the affair, and procured his discharge by the general suffrage of the princes and elders of the people.

But Uriah, another prophet, who had been alike bold and explicit, fled into Egypt, whither Jehoiakim sent for him, and had him brought to Jerusalem a prisoner, and there executed him, and treated the body with great contempt.

In the third year of Jehoiakim's reign, Nabopolassar being now old, perceived that upon the late advantage, which the

king of Egypt had gained over him, all Syria and Palestine had revolted from him, took his son Nebuchadnezzar into partnership with him in the empire, and sent him with a strong army into those parts, in order to recover what was lost.

The Introduction of Daniel says it was in the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim—Stackhouse says it was in the fourth year—when Nebuchadnezzar, having defeated Necho's army on the banks of the Euphrates, marched into Syria and Palestine, and soon recovered these provinces. He besieged Jerusalem, and took it; and carried away the king, and part of the vessels of the temple, to Babylon. But in a short time he released him, and restored him to his crown, on condition of his becoming tributary to him, which he continued to be for three years: but in the fourth he withdrew his subjection; whereupon Nebuchadnezzar invaded Jerusalem again. But, before this invasion, Jeremiah prophesied that Nebuchadnezzar would again come against Judah and Jerusalem; that he would lay waste the country, and carry the people captive to Babylon, where they should continue in that condition for the space of seventy years.

After Nebuchadnezzar had invaded and taken Jerusalem the first time, he bound Jehoiakim in chains to carry him to Babylon: but upon his humiliation, and swearing fealty to him, he again restored him to his kingdom, and left Jerusalem in order to pursue his victories against the Egyptians. But, before he did that, he caused great numbers of the people to be sent captives to Babylon; and gave particular orders to Ashpenaz, the master of his eunuchs, that out of the children of the royal family, and of the nobility of the land, he should make choice of such as surpassed the others in beauty and wit; that when they came to Babylon they might be made eunuchs too, and attend his palace. This Ashpenaz accordingly did: and among the children that were carried away for this purpose, were Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah. From hence is generally reckoned the seventy years captivity; and the fourth year of Jehoiakim is the first year in the computation.

Jehoiakim, after he had lived in subjection to the king of Babylon for three years, rebelled against him; and, refusing to pay him any more tribute, renewed his confederacy with Necho king of Egypt. Hereupon Nebuchadnezzar, not being at leisure to come himself to chastise him, sent orders to all his lieutenants and governors of provinces in those parts, to make war against him: and in the eleventh year of his reign all parties joined together against him; and, having shut him up in

Jerusalem, they took him prisoner in a sally which he made upon them, slew him with the sword, and, in the completion of the prophet's prediction against him, cast his dead body in the highway, without allowing it the decency of a funeral.

After his death, his son Jehoiakin (who is likewise called Coniah and Jeconiah) ascended the throne: but, for the little time he continued thereon, persisting in his father's impieties, he drew upon himself a severe declaration of God's wrath, which was speedily executed: for, in three months after his father's death, Nebuchadnezzar coming in person with his royal army to Jerusalem, which was then blocked up by his lieutenants, caused the place to be begirt with a close siege on every side. This so terrified Jehoiakin, that, taking his mother, his princes, and his chief ministers with him, he went out to Nebuchadnezzar, and delivered himself into his hands; who, though he spared his life, put him in chains, and sent him to Babylon, where he continued in prison until the death of his conqueror. But Evil-Merodach succeeded to his father's throne: he not only released him from his imprisonment, which had continued for 37 years, but treated him with great humanity and respect; allowing him an honourable maintenance, and giving him precedence of all the princes in Babylon.

At this time Nebuchadnezzar carried away with him, besides the king and his family, a vast number of other captives, among whom was Ezekiel the prophet; all the mighty men of valour, and all the useful artificers out of Jerusalem, to the number of ten thousand men; together with all the treasures, and rich furniture of the temple, and of the royal palace. What he left in the land were only the poorer sort of people, over whom he made Mattaniah, the third son of Josiah, king. Of him he took a solemn oath to be faithful and true in his obedience to the crown of Babylon: and, to engage him the more to be so, he changed his name to Zedekiah, which signifies *the justice of the Lord*; intending thereby to put him in mind of the vengeance and justice of the Lord his God, if he violated that fidelity which he had in his name sworn unto him.

Nebuchadnezzar carried away the vessels and rich furniture of the temple at three different times: First, in the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim. When he first took Jerusalem he carried part of the vessels of the house of God away into the land of Shinar, and put them into the house of his god, *Dan. i. 2.* These were the vessels which his son Belshazzar profaned, *Dan. v. 2.* and which Cyrus restored to the Jews, *Ezra i. 7.* to be set up again in the temple when rebuilt.

Secondly, in the reign of Jehoiakin he took the city again, and cut in pieces a great part of the vessels of gold which Solomon had made, *2 Kings* xxiv. 13. and, by some chance or other, had escaped his former plunder.

Thirdly, in the eleventh year of Zedekiah he pillaged the temple once more; when he brake in pieces the pillars of brass, and the bases, and the brazen sea, and took along with him all the vessels of silver and gold that he could find, and carried them to Babyion, *2 Kings* xxv. 13.

In the seventh year of the reign of Zedekiah, grown impatient of the Babylonish yoke, he sent his ambassadors and made a confederacy with Pharaoh-Hophra, king of Egypt; which, when Nebuchadnezzar understood, he drew together a great army out of all nations that were under his dominion, and in a short time marched towards Judea. In the ninth year of Zedekiah's reign, the tenth month, and tenth day of the month, he came before Jerusalem, and besieged it close on every side. Shortly famine began to prevail; and in memory of this the Jews have ever since observed the tenth day of Tebith, the month when this happened, as a day of solemn fasting and humiliation to this time.

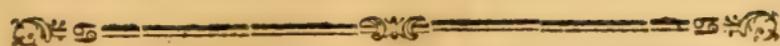
On that very day of the month, when the siege of Jerusalem began, Ezekiel, then a captive in Chaldea, had it revealed to him, by the type of a boiling pot, what a dismal destruction should be brought upon that devoted city: and in the beginning of the next year Jeremiah was ordered to declare to the king, that the Babylonians, who were then besieging the town, would certainly take it, and burn it with fire; make him prisoner, and carry him to Babylon, where he should die; which provoked Zedekiah to such a degree that he shut him up a close prisoner.

As Nebuchadnezzar's army was approaching Jerusalem, Zedekiah and his people, in dread of what might follow, made a shew of returning unto the Lord their God. They entered into a solemn covenant, thenceforward to serve Him only, and to obey his laws: and, in pursuance of that, agreed to proclaim a manumission or liberty to all Hebrew servants of either sex, according to what the law enjoined: but upon the coming of Hophra, king of Egypt, to the relief of Jerusalem, and Nebuchadnezzar's raising the siege to meet him and give him battle, the Jews were generally of opinion that the Chaldeans were gone for good and all; and thereupon repented of the covenant of reformation, and caused every man his servant to return to their servitude: which base and inhuman prevarication so provoked God, that he ordered his prophet to proclaim liberty to the sword, and to the famine, and to the pestilence.

In the eleventh year of king Zedekiah, and on the ninth day of the fourth month of that year, the city was taken by storm about midnight. Through the favour of the night, Zedekiah and his friends endeavoured to make their escape towards the wilderness, but he was soon taken, and carried to Nebuchadnezzar, who, after some severe reproaches, first caused his sons, and the princes of Judah taken with him, to be slain before his face; and then commanded to put out the eyes of Zedekiah, and to bind him in fetters of brass, to be sent to Babylon, and put in prison for life.

As soon as Nebuchadnezzar had advice of the taking of Jerusalem, he sent Nebuzaradan, the captain of his guards, with orders to raze the place, plunder the temple, and carry the people that were left captive to Babylon; which he failed not to execute with the utmost rigour and cruelty: for, having taken all the vessels out of the house of the Lord, and gathered together all the riches that he could find, either in the king's palace or the great men's houses, he set both the temple and city on fire, and overthrew all the walls, and fortresses, and towers thereunto belonging, until he had brought the whole to a perfect desolation.

See Bishop Newton on the Prophecy of Daniel.



REMARKS

ON THE

PROPHECIES OF DANIEL.

DANIEL—CHAP. II.

- Verse 1. *And in the second year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, he dreamed dreams, wherein his spirit was troubled; and his sleep brake, from him.*
- 28 *Thou, O king, sawest, and behold a great image. This great image, whose brightness was excellent, stood before thee; and the form thereof was terrible.*
- 32 *This image's head was of fine gold; his breast and his arms of silver; his belly and his thighs of brass:*
- 33 *His legs of iron; his feet part of iron and part of clay.*
- 34 *Thou sawest till that a Stone was cut out without hands, which smote the image upon his feet that were of iron and of clay, and brake them in pieces.*
- 35 *Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold broken in pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer threshing-floors; and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them. And the Stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth.*
- 36 *This is the dream; and we will tell the interpretation thereof before the king.*
- 37 *Thou, O king, art a king of kings: for the God of heaven hath given thee a kingdom, and power, and strength, and glory.*
- 38 *And wheresoever the children of men dwell, the beasts of the field and the fowls of the heaven hath he given into thy hand, and hath made thee ruler over them all. Thou art this head of gold.*

THE empire of Babylon had been in existence about 139 years before Nebuchadnezzar came to the throne. But the head of this great image commences with this monarch: he is addressed personally,—*Thou art this head of gold.* It was addressed to him in the beginning of his reign; and the manner in which he was informed must at once have impressed

his mind that Daniel possessed more than human wisdom. He reigned near forty years afterwards; and it is natural to suppose that it inspired him with fortitude and zeal in pushing his conquests to the amazing extent which he did afterwards.

All the antient eastern histories are lost. A few fragments and quotations from heathen historians are preserved, which speak of this mighty conqueror and his extended empire. Josephus, from Berosus, 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 adds, that in the archives of the Phœnicians there are written things consonant to those which are said by Berosus concerning this king of the Babylonians; that he subdued Syria and all Phœnicia. Philostratus, in his history, agrees with these; and Megasthenes, in the fourth book of his *Judean History*, attempts to shew that this monarch 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 that he proceeded as far as the Pillars of Hercules, and led his army out of Spain into Thrace and Pontus. But his empire, though of very great extent, was yet of no long duration: for it ended in his grandson Belshazzar, about seventy years after the delivery of this prophecy, and about twenty-three years after his death.

The description of this great image is important in several points of view. The delineation is sufficiently particular as to three essential parts of it: as to the other parts, it is not so full and complete with respect to the number of them, but that doubts may exist, especially as to those after the belly and thighs. I trust, however, that it will appear that the whole number is seven parts, or seven distinct political heads.

The great outlines of seven future temporal empires are here sketched out; and the names of some of them, and characteristic descriptions of others, will fall in, as the prophet proceeds in his history. The design of the prophecy was to shew Nebuchadnezzar what shall be in the latter days.

It is now about 2400 years since this figure of a man, excellent in brightness, but terrible in aspect, appeared to Nebuchadnezzar: time has probably completed and matured all its parts. The feet and toes may now be considered as the last political head of the image, the duration of which cannot be much longer according to the course of nature.

All the prophecies respecting temporal governments will have their completion in some part of the age of this emblematical representation of them.

I. The head of fine gold lasted no longer than the common age of man, or threescore years and ten. *Thou, O king, art a king of kings.* There were at that time many powerful kings, who were obliged to submit to Nebuchadnezzar: for God made him ruler over them all, as well as over all the children of men, the beasts of the field, and the fowls of heaven. The sea and its various tribes are not comprised in this gift. After-ages have seen more extensive power exercised over the sea than Nebuchadnezzar exercised.

II. His breast and his arms of silver.—*And after thee shall arise another kingdom, inferior to thee.* After the death of Nebuchadnezzar, his son Evil-Merodach succeeded to the throne of Babylon; who released Jehoiakim, the captive king of Judah, from his imprisonment, which had lasted nearly thirty-seven years, and promoted him to great honour in his palace. His tyranny and wickedness rendered him intolerable; and his subjects conspired against him, and put him to death, shortly after he came to the throne; and Neriglissar, his sister's husband, who was at the head of the conspiracy, reigned in his stead: and as Jehoiakim did not long survive him, Salathiel his son succeeded as nominal prince of the Jews. Neriglissar, as soon as he came to the throne, made great preparations for war against the Medes, which obliged Cyaxares their king to request the aid of Cyrus his nephew, son of the king of Persia; who came with an army of thirty thousand Persians. Cyaxares made his nephew Cyrus general of the forces of Media: with this combined army he gave Neriglissar battle, slew him, and defeated his army.

The death of Neriglissar was a heavy loss to the Babylonians; for his son Laborosoarchod, who succeeded him, was the reverse of his father; and his subjects conspired against him, and put him to death, at the end of nine months after he began to reign.

Belshazzar, in all probability the grandson of Nebuchadnezzar, succeeded him; in the first year of whose reign Daniel had his dream of the four beasts; and in the third, the famous vision of the ram and he-goat. Cyrus had several times engaged with Belshazzar's armies; at length, in a pitched battle, defeated him; and shut him up in the city of Babylon, and laid siege to the same. Belshazzar, having made a great feast for his courtiers, ordered the vessels of gold and silver, which Nebuchadnezzar had brought from the temple of Jerusalem, to be brought into the banquetting-house, that he, his princes, his wives, and concubines might drink out of them: and, to add to

the profanation, in the midst of their cups, they sang songs in praise of their idols.

But the king's mirth was soon checked, and he exceedingly affrighted, by the appearance of a hand writing on the wall, which none of the wise men, magicians, or astrologers were able to explain to him. But Daniel's interpretation of the words,—which were *Mene, Tekel, Upharfin*,—was as follows: "*Mene*, signifies that the days of your life and reign are numbered, or that you have but a short time to live: *Tekel*, signifies weight, and intimates that you have been weighed in the balance of God's justice, and have been found too light: *Upharfin*, signifies a fragment, and intimates that your kingdom shall be divided, and given to the Medes and Persians:" which came to pass that very night. In the midst of their feasting and rioting, the city was taken by surprize; Belshazzar was slain; and the kingdom transferred to Cyaxares, called in scripture Darius the Mede.

It is universally agreed, that Astyages king of the Medes had a son called in profane history Cyaxares: and a daughter named Mandana, married to Cambyfes a Persian, by whom she had Cyrus. But whether this Cambyfes was king of the country, or only a private person is not so well agreed. The two chief historians who write of this matter, are Herodotus and Zenophon: the last makes his father king of Persia, the first makes him a meaner man.

The account of Herodotus contains narratives that are much more strange and surprising, and more diverting and acceptable to the reader: On this account probably, more have chosen to follow him, than Zenophon: But though Zenophon, being a great commander, as well as a great politician, has certainly grafted many maxims of war, as well as policy, in his history; yet where nothing of this appears, he must be allowed to be a historian of much more credit in matters of fact, than Herodotus: The last having travelled through Egypt, Syria and several other countries, in order to the writing of his history, did, as travellers are used to do, put down all matters upon trust, and in many, no doubt, was imposed on. But Zenophon was a man of another character—he wrote all things with great judgment and due consideration; and having lived in the court of Cyrus the younger, a descendant of the first Cyrus, had opportunities of being better informed, of what he wrote concerning this great prince, than Herodotus had.

Cyrus had laid before Babylon to little or no purpose for the space of two years; when understanding that a great annual feast was approaching, wherein the Babylonians, in honor

of their idol Shefback, were wont to spend the whole night in revelling and drunkenness, he thought this no improper time to attempt to surprisè them.—To this purpose, having posted one part of his men at the place where the river ran into the city, and another, where it came out, with orders to enter by way of the channel, as soon as they found the river fordable: about the close of the evening, he fell to work, broke down the dams, and turned aside the stream, so that by the middle of the night, the river was so drained, that the parties entered the channel, and finding the gates leading down to the river open, by them they ascended into the city, and made directly to the palace, where they slew the king, and all those that were about him. Thus Cyrus became master of Babylon; but he took no care to repair the breaches in the bank of the river: so that all the country on that side, was overflown; and the current which passed through the city of Babylon, grew afterwards so shallow, as to become unfit for the smallest navigation; so truly verified were all these prophecies against Babylon. Behold I will stir up the Medes against her, *Isaiah* xiii. 17. I will dry up her sea and make her springs dry, *Jere.* li. 36. Babylon the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees excellency, shall be like Sodom and Gomorrah, *Isaiah* xiii. 19.

Of the manner of taking the city by surprisè, Zenophon gives the following relation; that two deserters, Gadates and Gobrias, having assisted some of the Persian army to kill the guards, and seize upon the palace, they entered into the room where the king was, whom they found standing up in a posture of defence; but they soon dispatched him, and those that were with him, and thereby fulfilled the prophecy of Jeremiah; 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 awake.

Nebuchadnezzar the great died in the year of the world 3442, and before Christ 562: after he had reigned from the death of his father, according to the Babylonish account, 43 years.

Evil-Merodach succeeded his father.

Neriglissar, son in law of Nebuchadnezzar, succeeded Evil-Merodach.

Laborosoarchod succeeded his father Neriglissar; of whose tyrannical violence, Zenophon gives two instances towards two of his principal nobility, Gobrias and Gadates, that the only son of the former, he slew at an hunting, for no other reason, but his throwing a dart with success at a wild beast, when he himself had missed it:

And that the other he caused to be castrated, merely because one of his concubines had commended him for an handsome man.

Belshazzar is supposed to have been the son of Evil-Merodach, and grand son of Nebuchadnezzar.

Upon the reduction of Babylon, which put an end to the Chaldean empire, after it had continued from the reign of Nabonassar, who founded it, 209 years, Cyrus went into Persia to make a visit to his father and mother, who were yet living; and on his return through Media, married the daughter, and only child of his uncle Darius, and had in dower with her, the reversion of the kingdom of Media, after her father's death; so that in a short time he succeeded not only to the Babylonish empire, but to the two kingdoms of Persia and Media; from hence the whole extent of his dominions took the name of the Persian empire.

Cyrus died when he was 70 years old, after he had reigned, from his first being commander of the Persian and Median armies, 30 years; from his taking of Babylon, 9 years; and from his becoming sole monarch of the earth, 7 years: and was succeeded by his son Cambyfes, who reigned 7 years and 5 months. It is a matter of dispute, who succeeded Cambyfes: it is however generally supposed, that Smerdis an usurper succeeded for a few months; who pretended to be the brother of Cambyfes.

The manner in which this Magian came to usurp the Persian throne is thus related by most historians: Cambyfes had a brother, the only son of Cyrus besides himself, and born of the same mother; his name according to Zenophon was Tanaoxares; but Herodotus calls him Smerdis, and Justin Margis: he accompanied him in his wars for sometime; but upon a pique of jealousy, the king sent him back into Persia, and there caused him to be murdered privately. The king, when he went upon the Egyptian expedition, had left the supreme government of his affairs in the hands of Patizithes, one of the chief of the magians (for the king was addicted to that sect of religion) who had a brother that very much resembled Smerdis son of Cyrus, and was for that reason perhaps called by the same name. Patizithes hearing of the young prince's death, and supposing that this and some other extravagancies of Cambyfes had made him odious to his subjects, placed this brother of his on the throne; pretending that he was the true Smerdis son of Cyrus: and so sent heralds through the empire to proclaim him king.

It was the custom of the eastern princes in those days, to live retired in their palaces, and there transact all their affairs by the intercourse of their eunuchs, without admitting any one else; unless those of the highest confidence, to have access to them.

This conduct, the pretended Smerdis exactly observed : but Otanes, a Persian nobleman, having a daughter whose name was Phedyma, who had been one of Cambyfes' wives, and was now kept by Smerdis in the same quality, and being desirous to know whether he was the real son of Cyrus or no, sent her instructions, that the first night she lay with him, she should feel whether he had any ears (because Cyrus, for some crime or other, had cut off this Median's ears) and she acquainting her father that he had none, he immediately took six others of the Persian quality with him (among whom Darius was one) and entered into the palace, slew both the usurper and his brother, who had been the contriver of the whole plot.

It is therefore supposed, that Cambyfes was the Ahasuerus, and the false Smerdis the Artaxerxes, who obstructed the work of the temple : because they are said in scripture, *Ezra iv. 5.* to be the kings of Persia, that reigned between the time of Cyrus, and the time of that Darius, by whose decree the temple was finished : but as that Darius was the son of Hystaspes, between whom, and Cyrus, there reigned none in Persia, but Cambyfes and Smerdis, it must follow from hence, that none but Cambyfes and Smerdis, could be the Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes who are said in *Ezra* to have put a stop to this work. These historic facts are extracted from Prideaux and Stackhouse, to which there appear to me to be insurmountable objections ; first, Cyrus must have been 38 or 39 years old at the death of Nebuchadnezzar the Great. He must have been sixty-one years old at the taking of Babylon ; after which he marries the daughter of his uncle Cyaxeres. He dies in nine years afterwards : so that he could not leave a child above seven or eight years old ; and yet Cambyfes must have been a man grown at his father's death.

When Cyrus led the 30,000 Persians to the assistance of his uncle Cyaxeres, his father accompanies him some part of the way, according to Xenophon ; and enforces upon his son sundry maxims of policy and war ; and it appears that Cyrus must have been quite a young man at that time, by his answers and queries to his father—probably about twenty years old ; and, consequently, 18 or 19 years before the death of Nebuchadnezzar the Great. It seems to me to be apparent, that the birth of Cyrus is very considerably antedated ; and that his marriage must have taken place much more than nine years before his death.

It may be justly questioned, whether there was any such person as the pretended Smerdis on the Persian throne. Josephus lays expressly, that, after the death of Cambyfes, the em-

pire was governed by the Magi for nine months; and then Darius, son of Hystaspes, succeeded to the empire. It is possible, and very probable, that the Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes in Ezra mean the same person. Ahasuerus signifies *first*, or *chief*. The Prince of Wales and George the Third are politically different, but not personally: before he was king, he was the Prince of Wales; after he was king, he was no longer Prince of Wales. So Ahasuerus might be an appropriate name for the heir apparent, whilst the father was living.

Cambyfes was no friend to the Jews: and if, whilst Cyrus was prosecuting foreign wars, he left him at home, as regent of the empire, we may easily account for the interruption of the Jews in building the temple, whilst Cyrus was alive; which was the case, according to Josephus.

The empire of Persia lasted 210 years, and ended with Darius Codomanus. This kingdom is said to be inferior to the former, as being less, or *minus re*, 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. As to the great image, there is no difference of opinion respecting the Babylonian and Medo-Persian empires; they constitute the head of gold, and the arms and breast of silver.

III. His belly and his thighs of brass; and another kingdom of brass, which shall rule over all the earth.

The opinions of expositors differ here materially, as to the extent and duration of this kingdom.

In tracing anatomically the human body, from the head downwards, we come across the two arms before we arrive at the chest: so the empire that succeeded that of Babylon commenced in two arms, and centered in the same chest, making but one empire.

The Macedonian empire commenced in one trunk, divided itself into two branches, making but one empire: the thighs are as naturally connected with the lower part of the trunk of the body, as the arms are with the chest.

This empire commenced about 326 years before the Christian era, and the branch of the Seleucidæ ended about 60 years, and the branch of the Lagidæ about 90 years before that era.

It is a matter of dispute, whether this third kingdom ended in the person of Alexander, or was continued in his successors. St. Jerome's opinion was, that it included Alexander and his successors, the Seleucidæ who reigned in Syria, and the Lagidæ who reigned in Egypt. It is the same government still conti-

nued: they who governed were still Macedonians. After the death of Alexander, saith Justin, the kingdoms of the east were divided among his successors, and he denominates them Macedonians, and their empire Macedonian. If the kingdoms of the Seleucidæ and the Lagidæ are not as one and the same with that of brass, they must be reckoned as two, against which I think there will hereafter appear to be insurmountable objections: so that we must either consider them as constituting in succession the third empire, or we must leave them entirely out of the computation of great empires; and therefore, in either case, the Roman will be the fourth.

IV. His legs of iron.—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.

These two legs constitute distinct empires, but made up of the same people. If the third kingdom was Alexander's personally, the fourth cannot be the Seleucidæ and the Lagidæ, because they had little or none of the strength attributed to this fourth kingdom. The distant and lower parts of this image are very faintly sketched out here, but will be made more plain in other prophecies. One of these legs is the Roman empire, whilst it enjoyed a popular government: the other of them the same empire, with emperors at the head of it.

V. His feet, part of iron and part of clay.—And whereas thou sawest the feet and toes part of potters 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 the miry clay: And as the toes of the feet were part of iron and part of clay, 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.

As this description has reference to the Romans, we may observe here, that the lower parts of the great image commenced their existence nearly at the same time with the head of fine gold. The city of Rome began to be, 750 years before the Christian era.

These two feet and ten toes constitute the two last parts of the great image; making, in the whole, seven parts or political heads.

The last two parts are the Eastern and Western empires.

This image constitutes the great red dragon in the Revelations, having seven heads and ten horns, and seven crowns on his head.

“Thou sawest till a stone was cut out without hands, which smote the image upon his feet that were of iron and of clay, and brake them to pieces.

“Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold, broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer threshing-floors; and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them. And the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth.” Which Daniel thus interprets:

“And in the days of those kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed. And the kingdom shall not be left to other people: but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever.

“Forasmuch as thou sawest the stone was cut out of the mountain without hands, and that it brake in pieces the iron, the clay, the silver, and the gold: the great God hath made known to the king what shall come to pass hereafter. And the dream thereof is certain, and the interpretation thereof is sure.”

Bishop Newton remarks, that 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, *Rab i. 1.* signifies in the days when some of the judges ruled: so in the days of these kings, signifies in the days of some of those kingdoms.

The stone was a totally different thing from the image, and the kingdom as totally different from the kingdoms of this world. The stone was cut out of the mountain without hands; as our heavenly body is said to be a building of God, not made with hands. This the fathers generally apply to Christ himself, who was miraculously born of a virgin. But it should rather be understood of the kingdom of Christ, which was formed out of the Roman empire, 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 Christ; and so it was used and understood by the Jews, and so it was applied by our Saviour in the New Testament. Other kingdoms were raised by human ambition, and worldly power: but this was the work of God alone.

Many expositors, apprehending that the fourth kingdom of

the great image is the last, have denominated this, which we are speaking of, The fifth kingdom: which opinion will be either appear to be erroneous. Mr. Mede has made a distinction between the kingdom of the stone, and the kingdom of the mountain; or, the *regnum lapidis* and the *regnum montis*. 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 kingdom of Christ was set up first when the Roman empire was in its full strength and greatest splendour; since which, various changes have affected it. The image is still standing on his feet and toes—the kingdom of Christ is yet a stone of stumbling and rock of offence: but the stone will one day strike the image upon the feet and toes, and destroy it utterly. 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.

Notwithstanding this distinction may naturally be made, the words do not seem to be calculated to make the same impression on Nebuchadnezzar's mind. He saw *till*—that is, he extended his view so far into futurity, that he saw the image completely matured in all its parts, and in its old age ready to be utterly destroyed: He saw something by which its total dissolution was to be effected: He saw it fully effected:—he saw all the different metals, and the clay, broken to pieces, and scattered like chaff which the wind carries away, and no place was found for them. This is effected by the stone; and cannot intend that invisible kingdom which operates only on the hearts of individuals, from Christ's first to his second advent. This stone represents the second advent. What space of time there may be between the second advent in power and glory, and the stone's becoming a mountain itself and filling the whole earth, is nowhere very clearly revealed; it is probable that something relative to this matter may be collected from the last chapter of Daniel: He seems there to limit the duration of the last great temporal powers to 1260 years—the cleansing of the sanctuary to 1290 years—and pronounces a blessing on him who comes to the 1335 years; between which there is a difference of 75 years. The work to be performed by the stone is of great extent: probably it will not be instantaneously performed. It displays the vengeance and justice of God; during which time it does not become a mountain, and fill the whole earth: which last intimates that Kingdom which shall be given to the saints of the Most High, after all temporal power and authority are put down by Christ alone;—not through the assistance, intervention, or medium of his saints.

DANIEL—CHAP. III.

IN the third chapter we have an account of the Image of Gold set up by Nebuchadnezzar's orders to be worshipped by all people, nations, and languages.

Of the three Hebrews refusing to worship the same; in consequence of which they are cast into a fiery furnace seven times heated, but receive no injury from the fire.

The result is, that Nebuchadnezzar makes a decree, that every people, nation, and language, that speak any thing against the God of these three Hebrews, shall be cut in pieces.

This part of history has not, that I have found, had any other sense affixed to it than what the words naturally import. But, on considering it attentively, perhaps we may be influenced to believe that these realities are but a figure of a future and similar reality.

It may be intended to intimate, that all the great political heads before-mentioned will promote and enforce idolatrous worship; and that those who refuse to comply with the unjust decrees, and are faithful to the true God, though in the midst of the general conflagration of nature, when the heavens may be on fire, and the elements melt with fervent heat; though in the midst of the second death, yet the lambent flame shall not be hurtful to them: for over such the second death shall have no power.

I see no impropriety in considering this part of history in this extensive view.

Babylon was one of the most ancient cities of the world. It was founded by Nimrod, not long after the building of the famous tower of Babel; and was enlarged and beautified by Semiramis: but Nebuchadnezzar was the person who put the finishing hand to it, to make it one of the great wonders of the world.

Stackhouse gives the following description of the city and walls of Babylon:

I. The whole city, which stood on a large flat, consisted properly of two parts, which were divided by the river Euphrates. That part of it which was on the east side of the river, was the old city; the other, on the west side, was added by Nebuchadnezzar; and the whole was a square of an hundred and twenty furlongs, or fifteen miles, every way: which made the whole circumference of it to be four hundred and eighty furlongs, or exactly three score miles. Its walls—which were in thicknes 87 feet, in height 350 feet, and in compass 480 furlongs—were

all built of large bricks, cemented together with bitumen, a glutinous slime, which, issuing out of the earth in that country, binds stronger and firmer than lime, and in a short time grows harder than the very brick and stone which it cements.

The city was encompassed without the walls with a vast ditch, filled with water, and lined with bricks on both sides, after the manner of a counterscarp: And as the earth which was dug out of it made the bricks wherewith the walls were built, we may judge of the depth and largeness of the ditch, from the vast height and thickness of the walls. In the whole compass of the walls, there were an hundred gates; that is, five and twenty on each side, all made of solid brass; and between every two of these gates, at proper distances, were three towers, that is, at the four corners of this great square; there were four towers between each of these corners, and the next gate on either side, three towers; and every one of these towers was ten feet higher than the walls.

Answering to every one of these gates, there was a street, which led from gate to gate, so that there were fifty in all, each fifteen miles long; whereof twenty five going one way, and twenty five another, they crossed each other at right angles, and so cut the whole city out into 676 squares; each of which was four furlongs and an half on every side, that is, two miles and a quarter in compass; and round these, on every side, towards the streets, stood the houses, all built three or four stories high, with fronts adorned with all manner of embellishments, and with yards and gardens thrown backwards: Besides these, there were four other streets, built only on one side, because they had the wall on the other, which went round the four sides of the city, and were all of them 200 feet broad; the other streets were but 150.

Quite across the city, ran a branch of the river Euphrates, which entered in on the north, and went out on the south side of the city; and over it, in the very middle of the city, was a bridge of a furlong in length, and thirty feet in breadth, built with wonderful art, to supply the defect of a foundation in the bottom of the river, which was all sandy. By this bridge, a communication was kept up between both parts of the city; and at the two extremities of it, stood two palaces, the old one on the east, and the new one on the west side of the river: The former of these took up four of the squares above-mentioned, and the other nine, and the temple of Belus, which stood near the old palace, took up another.

II. The temple of Belus, which was one of the most wonderful works in the world, was a square of a furlong on each

side, that is, half a mile, and consisted of eight towers, or what seemed like towers, built one above another. Herodotus tells us, that the way to go up to it, was by stairs on the outside round it, from whence it seems most likely, that the whole ascent to it was by benching-in, drawn in a sloping line, from the bottom to the top, eight times round it, and that this made the appearance of eight towers, one above another. The eight towers, as they are called, being like so many stories were each of them seventy five feet high, and in them were many great rooms, with arched roofs, supported with pillars; which, after that the place was consecrated to an idolatrous use, were all made parts of the temple: But the most sacred part of all, and where the chiefest devotions were performed, was the uppermost story; over which, on the top of the tower, was an observatory—by the benefit of which, the Babylonians advanced their knowledge in astronomy beyond all other nations.

This tower, and the several rooms in it, were all that was called the temple of Belus, until Nebuchadnezzar enlarged it with vast buildings, which were erected in a square of two furlongs on every side, or a mile in circumference. On the outside of the tower was a wall enclosing the whole, in which were several gates leading up to the temple, all made of solid brass; very probably the brazen sea, the brazen pillars, and the other brazen vessels which, from the temple of Jerusalem, were carried to Babylon.

This temple stood until the time of Xerxes: But he, on his return from the Grecian expedition, having first plundered it of its immense riches, among which were several images or statues of massy gold, demolished the whole of it, and laid it all in ruins. Alexander, upon his return to Babylon, from his Indian expedition, proposed to have re-built it, and to that purpose sent ten thousand men to clear away the rubbish. But his death, in a short time after, put an end thereto, and the knowledge of the place where it stood, is now lost.

III. Near to this temple, on the east side of the river, as we said, stood the old palace of the kings of Babylon, four miles in circumference: and exactly over against it, on the other side of the river, was the new palace, built by Nebuchadnezzar, eight miles in compass; and sit rounded with three walls, one within another. But the most wonderful things belonging to it, were, the hanging gardens, which Nebuchadnezzar made in compliance to his wife Amytis, daughter of Amyages, king of Media: for she retaining a strong inclination for the mountains and forests of her own country, desired to have something like it in Babylon; and therefore, to gratify her, he erected this monstrous work of vanity.

These gardens were four hundred feet square, and were carried aloft into the air in the manner of several large terraces, one above another, until the highest of them came up to the height of the walls of the city, that is, 350 feet high.

On the top of the arches were first laid flat stones, sixteen feet long and four feet broad; over them was a layer of reed mixed with a great quantity of bitumen; over this were two rows of bricks, closely cemented together with plaister; over these were laid thick sheets of lead; and all this to keep the moisture of the mould from draining away: and then, upon this lead, such a large quantity of earth as afforded depth enough for the largest trees to take root in. In this garden there was every thing that could delight the eye, or gratify the curiosity: beautiful and large trees, flowers, plants, and shrubs; and, to keep every thing verdant, in the upper terrace there was an aqueduct, or engine, which drew up water out of the river into a reservoir, which watered the whole garden.

IV. The rain, indeed, at certain seasons of the year (that is, June, July, and August) by the sun's melting the snow in the mountains of Armenia, used to overflow its banks, in the same manner as the Nile in Egypt does, to the great damage of the country and city of Babylon. To prevent this inconvenience, Nebuchadnezzar had two artificial canals cut on the east side of the Euphrates, in order to carry off the superfluous water into the Tigris. One of these canals discharged itself near Seleucia, and the other over against Apamia. And, for the farther security of the country, from the head of these canals down to the city, and some way lower, he made vast banks of brick and bitumen. But the most wonderful part of the work was within the city. There, on each side of the banks of the river Euphrates, he built, from the very bottom of the channel, a great wall of the same thickness with the walls of the city, 87 feet thick, and 160 furlongs or 20 miles in length. Against every street that crossed the river he made on each side a brazen gate in the wall, and stairs leading down to the river, from whence the inhabitants passed by boat from one part of the city to the other.

V. It was necessary, however, while this work was carrying on, that the stream should be diverted some other way; and therefore he had a vast artificial lake made to the west of Babylon, which, according to the lowest computation, was 40 miles square, and 160 miles in compass; and, being of a proportionable depth, was able to contain all the water, until the work was finished. When this was done, the river was returned to its former channel: but the lake and the canal were

still preserved; because they were found of use to fertilize, by means of sluices, the adjacent country.

These are some of the vast works which the generality of writers ascribe to Nebuchadnezzar; and upon the view and contemplation of which he grew so arrogant and elated as to think himself equal, if not superior, to God: for, Is not this great Babylon which I have built for the honour of my majesty? and, Who is God but Nebuchadnezzar? say his sycophants of him, *Judith* vi. 2. It was therefore fit that such impious pride should be abased. He had said in his heart (for of him is that prophecy in *Isaiah* xiv. 13) I will ascend into heaven; I will exalt my throne above the stars of God: I will ascend above the heights of the clouds: I will be like the Most High. But how art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning? How art thou cut down to the ground, who didst weaken the nations? They that see thee shall narrowly look upon thee, and consider thee, saying, Is this the man that made the earth to tremble; that did shake all kingdoms; that made the world as a wilderness, and destroyed the cities thereof? And well they might, if they saw him dwelling with the beasts of the field, eating grass like oxen, and wet with the dew of heaven, with his hair grown like eagles feathers, and his nails like the claws of birds.

Origen, who was for resolving every thing that he could not comprehend in Scripture into allegory, was of opinion, that, under the name of Nebuchadnezzar, Daniel intended to give us a representation of the fall of Lucifer; being probably led thereto by the above cited passage from *Isaiah*. But, says Stackhouse, the account of the punishment which befel this prince, is so often inculcated in the same chapter, foretold in the dream, explained by the prophet, repeated by the voice from heaven; and all this published in a solemn declaration by the king himself, after the recovery of his senses, that there is no manner of ground to think of any figure or allegory in this piece of history.

Nebuchadnezzar's real metamorphosis into an ox, both as to his inward and outward form, is a notion too gross to be received.

The metempsychosis of an ox's soul into Nebuchadnezzar's body, thereby to communicate the same motion, taste, and inclination, that are observable in that animal, is a notion unknown to all antiquity, and incongruous; as it supposes two souls, a rational and a brutal, animating the prince at the same time.

A fascination, both in the eyes of Nebuchadnezzar's subjects, and in his own fancy and imagination, which might make them believe that he was really changed into an ox, and had the figure of one, is a notion full of absurdity.

The most general, and, therefore, the most probable opinion is, that Nebuchadnezzar, by the judgment of God, was punished with madness, which so disordered his imagination, that he fancied himself a beast, and acted like one.

If the manifesto in this 4th chap. was drawn up by Nebuchadnezzar, as seems apparently to be the case, and addressed to all people, nations, and languages that dwell in all the earth, to which an excellent petition is subjoined, Peace be multiplied unto you, how came it to form a part of the Book of Daniel? for, by the best account we have of him, he must have been an atheist.

The first dream he had, troubled and agitated him exceedingly: Notwithstanding it had clean escaped from his memory, he was fully impressed that he had had an extraordinary dream: Here he seems to be a representative of the Heathen world, from whose minds had escaped every true notion of Religion and God; yet they were agitated and troubled about their false gods, and false religion. Such a divinely inspired person as Daniel was absolutely necessary in both cases: No doubt Noah was a true worshipper of God, but his posterity soon lost the true knowledge of God, and his worship, and could no more recover it, than Nebuchadnezzar could his dream.

We may answer the question, How came God to visit Nebuchadnezzar, an Atheistical person? by asking another question, How came God, in the days of the apostles, to visit those that were without God in the world, and as Atheistical as Nebuchadnezzar? If God's visitations in mercy had been suspended upon the condition of mankind's becoming true Theists, they would have been suspended forever; for the revelation was not received from, nor by the will of man.

We have no evidence from prophane history, with respect to Nebuchadnezzar's being drove from the society of men, or of his becoming very pious: Had such an event taken place, with so excellent an instructor as Daniel, it would seem, that the effects of it must have been of much more public notoriety.

He thought it good, and it was undoubtedly a very good thing, to shew the signs and the wonders that the high God had done towards him.

The short ejaculation is pious and noble—How great are his signs, and how mighty are his wonders! his kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and his dominion is from generation to generation—A sentiment founded in undoubted truth, which he voluntarily expresses, after he had recovered his senses.

I, Nebuchadnezzar, was at rest in mine house, and flourishing in my palace.

It would have been a great satisfaction, if the year of his reign had been mentioned : From the description of his works, they must have employed him a great number of years ; and it is not probable, that he was at rest and flourishing, much before the end of his reign : At this time he has a dream, which not only makes him afraid, but troubles him—He has a perfect recollection of this dream, and says, that he told the dream before the Magicians, the astrologers, the Chaldeans, and the soothsayers ; whether they attempted an explanation, is not mentioned, but he says, they did not make known unto me the interpretation thereof : At last Daniel came before me, and before him I told the dream, saying,

I saw, and behold, a tree in the midst of the earth, and the height thereof was great, &c.

This matter is by decree of the watcher, and the demand by the word of the holy ones—to the intent, that the living may know, that the most high ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the basest of men.

It seems impossible that the intention of this dream, which is here expressed, could be answered, by subjecting Nebuchadnezzar to a fit of madness for a short time : During his phrenzy, or whatever it may be called, his kingdom was not given to any other ; neither could Nebuchadnezzar, the head of fine gold, be said or thought to be the basest of men. There must be in this dream something more copious and extensive.

Daniel says the tree which thou sawest, which grew, and was strong, whose height reached unto Heaven, and the sight thereof to all the earth ; whose leaves were fair, and the fruit thereof much ; and in it was meat for all ; under which the beasts of the field dwelt, and upon whose branches the fowls of Heaven had their habitations :

It is thou, O king, that art grown and become strong ; for thy greatness is grown, and reacheth unto Heaven, and thy dominion to the end of the earth.

If this great tree has reference to the head of gold only, which seems to have commenced with Nebuchadnezzar (though it is not material whether it did or not) then it would seem more natural for him to remember this dream than the first (of the great image) because this was respecting an empire, which was near its end when he died : He had seen and known the extent of this empire ; and his memory would furnish him with many of the most important facts respecting it. But the great image

reaching far into futurity, he could not naturally have any knowledge or memory about it.

The tree represents imperial Babylon: The hewing it down and destroying of it, designates the end of this empire; and the *seven times* designate the period of time between the end of that empire and the resurrection. The great object of the dream, therefore, terminates in the *seven time*, which undoubtedly intend 2520 years, or thirty-six times seventy years. In this sense, the dream is great and important, and carries us to a period of time for the resurrection, which agrees with the time that many able expositors have fixed upon for that great event, or very nearly so.

If the descriptions apply solely to Nebuchadnezzar in a state of madness, for a short time, it seems difficult to find the justness and propriety of those strong terms, *Hew the tree down, and destroy it*. The explanation of Daniel may have been partial, that is, not a full explanation; yet it was such as was proper for Nebuchadnezzar to know, though it might not have been proper to unfold the whole truth to him.

The full explanation seems to be, that Nebuchadnezzar's empire should cease to be; that he and his subjects should die like men, and like beasts: for, as Solomon saith, one event happeneth to both; both are from the dust, and return to the dust; both go to one place. Which seems to be the meaning of the words, *Let his portion be with the beasts of the field; and that until seven times pass over him*.

The state of the dead seems to be fully expressed by these words, as well as an assurance that they will not always remain in that state: *Leave the stump of the roots thereof in the earth, with a band of iron and brass, &c.*

The stump of the roots conveys the same idea that Paul does when he says, *It is sown bare grain, perhaps wheat or barley, or some other grain, which must die before other grain grows from it*. The certainty of the roots shooting and living again, is expressed by the bands of iron and brass. Though the strongest metals are used to express a certain revivification; yet they derive their strength from that omnipotent Power which has given assurance of the resurrection of the dead, in that he raised Jesus Christ from the dead.

Daniel makes the interpretation personally of Nebuchadnezzar. But if we grant that some very uncommon judgment was brought upon Nebuchadnezzar (which I think must be granted; for Daniel declares to Belshazzar, a long time afterwards, that it was a fact, and that Belshazzar knew it to be so, notwithstanding which he continued his impieties) yet it may

be figurative. Let his portion be with the beasts of the field, Daniel explains by saying, They shall make thee to eat gra's as oxen, and they shall wet, &c. Who are intended by the pronoun *they*, does not appear.

In all this we may as well suppose the state of Nebuchadnezzar was typical, as that of Ezekiel, when he was commanded to lie in a particular posture for a certain number of days, which days were to signify as many years; and to eat certain unfavoury things, to represent the miserable, distressed state of the Jews.

Till thou know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will.

How far Nebuchadnezzar attained to this knowledge in its true sense, or whether he ever did, may be justly questioned. Daniel informs Belshazzar that his father set up and put down, that he slew and made alive whom he would: which represents him as acting with the same sovereign uncontrouled power as God himself. Such power as this it is not now thought proper to commit to the hands of any one man: for all men are subject to be misled by ignorance and passion.

If Nebuchadnezzar did attain to the true knowledge of what is suggested, it may appear a little strange that there appeared none of the fruits or effects of it in his empire. When he was in the insensible, irrational state of a beast, how should this have a tendency to make him know the power of the Most High? And yet he is to continue in this state until that event happens.

That Nebuchadnezzar was a very wicked person in the eyes of Daniel, is evident from the exhortation, Break off thy sins by righteousness, and thine iniquities by shewing mercy to the poor; if it may be a lengthening of thy tranquillity.

The extensive wars, and the monstrous, and almost visionary extent of his works and operations, must have made his subjects miserably poor and wretched: they must have been the most abject slaves; otherwise he could not have effected what he did.

It seems that he either did not break off his sins; or, if he did, it had no effect in averting the judgment of heaven: for at the end of twelve months he walked in the palace of the kingdom of Babylon, and the king said, Is not this great Babylon which I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty? Or that Nebuchadnezzar must have been dreaming the whole year, after such heavy judgments were denounced against him, the very dream of which, without knowing what it portended,

made him terribly afraid. He, before whom the world trembled, was easily terrified himself.

The very instant Nebuchadnezzar is speaking those words, the judgment is executed : and there is some addition in the description of the punishment, which Daniel had not suggested— And his body was wet with the dew of heaven, *till* his hairs were grown like eagles feathers, and his nails like birds claws.

Something like this we find in the description of some of the four beasts. The first, which is like a lion, has eagles wings ; and the last had iron teeth, and nails of brass.

If this dream has reference to any other things than Nebuchadnezzar personally, and his punishment ; then two things naturally suggest themselves, which are, A state of the dead till the resurrection, and the progressive growth and formation of the great image. Here Nebuchadnezzar may be said to live, after he is personally dead, as being the head of the other parts. And if this be typical of that image, or the beasts that are constituent parts of it ; we may be sure that in this sense neither Nebuchadnezzar, nor any of them, have yet lifted their eyes up to heaven ; that the end of the days is not yet come, in which this is to be done by them. And this will not be done until the kingdoms of this world become the kingdom of Jesus Christ ; when he shall take to himself his great power, and reign King of nations.

Nebuchadnezzar died, and had, and still has, in an important sense, his portion with the beasts of the field ; his subjects died likewise, and have the same portion. The first lives in his successors, the great empires ; the last live in their descendants— for as all the inhabitants of the earth were given into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar, so all that are now on the face of the earth, must be descendants from them.

When Nebuchadnezzar speaks, it is the monarch that speaks—*I, Nebuchadnezzar, the head of fine gold, lifted up mine eyes unto Heaven, and mine understanding returned unto me— I bless, I praise, I honor him that liveth forever.* But in this sense neither Nebuchadnezzar, nor any of his imperial successors, have ever lifted up their eyes to Heaven.

We have now considered and had before our view three very extraordinary miracles which were performed before Nebuchadnezzar.

I. Daniel informs him accurately of a vision or dream, which he was sure had been in his mind, and had escaped entirely from his memory : and not only informed him what it was, but explained to him the meaning of the same : The extent of

which is apparently commensurate with that great period of time, commencing with this monarch's reign, and ending with the dissolution of all temporal monarchies, at the second coming of Christ, in glory. No intimation of the length of this period of time is given, when this great image is introduced.

II. The miraculous preservation of the three Hebrews, when cast into the fiery furnace; in which place Nebuchadnezzar plainly saw a fourth person, like unto the son of man: What idea the king had of the son of man, or how he came to suppose him to be like unto the son of man, does not appear. The state of the righteous at the second advent of Christ seems to be typified hereby.

III. The dream of the great tree, and interpretation made thereof by Daniel, with the judgment that fell upon him, agreeably to the prediction of the prophet.

If the word *times* is to be taken here in the same sense that Daniel uses it in several other places, then it is apparent, that the state of this great tree, hewn down, must be co-extensive with the great image; and the duration of the image is hereby ascertained; and that whatever befell Nebuchadnezzar for a measured time, was only typical of the state of the dead, and the duration of all the great temporal governments that were to be until the resurrection.

DANIEL—CHAP. VII.

Whatever learning and ingenuity expositors may have displayed upon the 7th chap. it appears to me, that none of them have added any light to the same; but, on the contrary, have confused and perplexed the plain account of the prophet: Unless we would charge him with needless repetition, we cannot suppose the four beasts here designated, are the same four which he had informed Nebuchadnezzar of, in the explanation of the great image. I flatter myself, that the prophet really designates eight great monarchies; that the revolutions and changes of empires, which prophane history places before our eyes, will warrant us in this opinion; and that if this be not a fact, it will be impossible to give any satisfactory account and explanation of several descriptions in this book, as well as in that of the Revelations.

The vision of these four beasts happened in the first year of Belshazzar, king of Babylon, and about 555 years before the birth of Christ.

Daniel spake, and said, I saw in my vision by nights, and behold, the four winds of Heaven strove upon the sea, and four beasts came out from the sea, diverse one from another :

The first was like a lion, and had eagle's wings ; I beheld until the wings thereof were plucked, 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 beast is a constituent part of the great image, and makes the fifth head, and, consequently, must be one of the legs ; and, of course, Rome Imperial is designated hereby.

And behold, another beast, a second 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 beast is not a constituent part of the great image ; it makes the seventh power, in order of time, and is, consequently, the Mahometan power.

After this I beheld, and lo, another, 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 beast constitutes another part of the great image, which I trust we shall make manifest hereafter. It is the eastern empire, and the sixth head of the image, and one of its feet.

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

I considered the horns, and, behold, there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were 3 of the first horns plucked up by the roots : and behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth, speaking great things.

This beast is a constituent part of the great image, and makes the seventh head, and, consequently, is the other foot of the image, which, with the toes, makes a complete image of a man. This is the last temporal beast : And this beast is the seventh in order of connection with the great image ; but the eighth in order of time.

I beheld until the thrones were cast down, and the ancient of days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool : his throne was like the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire.

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

This is a description of the commencement of the Millenium, which immediately succeeds the temporal thrones—Consequently points out to us what will be a part of the work of the Millenium, that is, an exercise of judiciary power.

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

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

By the rest of the beasts, it appears to me, that we are to understand the first and third ; because it will appear, that the second and fourth are to continue until the Millenium, or nearly to that time.

I saw in the night visions, and behold, one like the son of man came with the clouds of Heaven, and came to the Ancient of Days, and they brought him near before him ; and there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom ; that all people, nations, and languages should serve him ; his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away ; and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.

I, Daniel, was grieved in my spirit in the midst of my body, and the visions of my head troubled me.

I came near unto one of them that stood by, and asked him the truth of all this : So he told me, and made me know the interpretation of the things.

These great beasts, which are four, are four kings which shall arise out of the earth : But the Saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom forever, even forever and ever.

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

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

I beheld, and the same horn made war against the Saints, and prevailed against them.

Until the Antient of Days came, and judgment was given to the Saints of the Most High; and the time came that the Saints possessed the kingdom.

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

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

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

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

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

We shall not be any where informed what particular empires the four here described are. It seems plain, contrary to the opinions of those who suppose them to be the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Grecian and Roman, that the fact is otherwise: for it is not usual for the prophets to describe a kingdom as arising, which has actually been in existence some time before. And this was the case with the Babylonian. This empire was near its dissolution when Daniel had this vision: it commenced about 741 years before the birth of Christ, and ended about 532 years before the same event.

These beasts arise after the four winds of heaven had strove upon the great sea, and they come up from the sea diverse one from another. Whether there was any essential difference between the heads of gold, silver, and brass, is not only doubtful, but more than probable that there was none, in the political administrations of the empires, worthy of notice.

The term *sea* is universally explained to signify an empire of the greatest extent. As these four beasts arise out of such a sea, we shall see hereafter that the first of them must intend Imperial Rome.

We remark here, that it is of importance to attend to the strong language that is made use of in the punishment of the fourth beast, I beheld till the beast was slain, his body destroyed and given to the burning flame.

The judgment was set, and the books were opened. By which it is evidently conveyed, that, with the destruction of this beast, the judgment commences.

The permanency and durability of the kingdom that succeeds this fourth beast is also expressed in strong language, as well as its extent and numbers. There is no ground for the opinion that some entertain, that there will be a very great defection from this kingdom, under the characters of Gog and Magog. Such characters may appear in consequence of opening the books, and the exercise of an upright and true judiciary power. The execution of the sentence may be deferred, so as to give an opportunity for those exertions attributed to Gog and Magog.

The objection against considering these four beasts, as being the same that Nebuchadnezzar saw in his dream, is not capable of refutation. It is as follows.

The description of the three first, in the second chapter, ends with the thighs of the image. Now if the fourth there hinted at intends the same as the fourth mentioned in this chapter, and both mean the Roman empire, it is manifest that empire has long since ceased to be, and that it did not come to its end in the manner pointed out for the dissolution and destruction of the fourth beast.

That the three first heads of the image, if we reckon to the end of the Grecian empire, including in the same the Seleucidæ and the Lagidæ, did not last (computing from the beginning of Nebuchadnezzar the Great's reign) longer than about 570 years: whereas to this last beast a period is assigned, by many, of at least two thousand years.

The fourth beast here is an assemblage of eleven horns, all exercising kingly authority, and independent of each other: yet it is a complete beast. The Roman empire was not made up of such an assemblage.

We may therefore conclude with certainty that this fourth beast is distinct and different from the Roman empire.

This fourth beast can be no other, says Bishop Newton, than the Roman empire: and yet, if he proves any thing, he makes two complete beasts; for he says, We must look for the ten kings where only they can be found, amid the broken pieces of the Roman empire: consequently this assemblage of kings does not exist till after the dissolution of the Roman empire, —and must make a beast diverse and distinct from it, and is plainly one of the last of the temporal beasts. But so is not the Roman.

The prophet appears to me to have pursued the idea of the great image, and to have described the various parts in such a manner that a skilful painter might delineate the image, and fix the proper names to its parts by degrees. We have yet found only two names to write upon the image. The next chapter will furnish us with another name. The fifth chapter introduced the Medo-Persian empire by name: the eighth chapter will introduce the Grecian empire; after which the names of the heads will not be specified, that is, such as are to succeed it.

The great image, or man, which Nebuchadnezzar saw, was constituted of great empires.

Those who make the first of these four beasts intend the Babylonian empire, cannot make the characteristic descriptions apply to the same. There can be no good reason given why it is said to be made to stand upon the feet as a man.

When only the head of the great image existed, it would be more proper to say it stood upon his head, than his feet: but when the Roman empire existed, that is the legs and feet of the image, then it might properly be said of it, that it was made to stand upon its feet as a man. And there can be no doubt but this description has reference to the progressive formation of the great image.

It may seem to be a small anticipation, as this is but the fifth head, and two others are yet to be: yet such is the connexion, and such it will appear to be, between this head and the other two, that there will be no impropriety in considering the image as now capable of standing upon its feet as a man.

The feet of the image naturally arise out of Imperial Rome, when it came to a peaceable end, and was divided into two empires, A. D. 392.

DANIEL—CHAP. VIII.

THE seventh and eighth chapters, notwithstanding the visions contained in them were about 14 years before the dissolution of the Babylonian empire, yet they appear not to have been arranged in this book of Daniel till after that event happened, by the preceding fifth and sixth chapters; the last of which informs us of Daniel's being cast into the den of lions by Darius.

The first matter of difficulty that occurs in the eighth chapter is, what power is intended by these words—*And out of one of them came forth a little horn, &c.*

The second, if the 2300 days intend so many years, when does the period commence?

The third is, What power is intended by—*A king of fierce countenance, and undrstanding dark sentences, shall stand up?*

The Babylonian empire was destroyed by Cyrus, who commanded the combined forces of Media and Persia. Darius king of Media, and Cyrus's uncle, was the first who reigned, as emperor, over the whole of the conquests that Cyrus made. Darius dying in the space of about two years, Cyrus succeeded him in the empire, who is designated by "the higher horn came up the last." The Persian empire stood 206 years; and had thirteen kings (if Smerdis the Magian be reckoned as one) who were Cyrus, Cambyfes, Smerdis the Magian, Darius the son of Hystaspes, Zerxes the First, Artaxerxes Longimanus, Zerxes the Second, Sogdianus, Darius Nothus, Artaxerxes Mnemon, Ochus, Arses, Darius Codomannus.

Alexander the Great was born 356 years before the Christian era. He mounted the throne of Macedonia at the age of 20 years. He immediately made great preparations for war against Darius Codomannus, who ascended the Persian throne the same year that Alexander did that of Macedonia; that is, in the year 336 before the Christian era. Darius, in several pitched battles, was defeated, and was killed in the year 330, when Alexander became the great horn, or the third empire of the great image, designated by brass. Alexander died in the year 323, after a reign of seven years only, from the death of Darius Codomannus.

The empire was shortly afterwards divided as follows:

Ptolemy had Egypt, Lybia, Arabia, and Palestine.

Cassander had Macedonia and Greece.

Lysimachus had Bythinia and Thrace.

Seleucus had Asia, as far as the river Indus.

This last territory, which comprehended all the provinces of the antient Persian empire, was called the kingdom of Syria; because the Seleucidæ, his kings of the race of Seleucus, resided at Antioch, a city of Syria.

About 100 years after these, the Romans began to make a great figure; and finally put an end to the four kingdoms above mentioned.

It is a well-established fact, that Greece and Italy fell under the general appellation of Chittim, or Citim; and the people were called Citimites. By those names the Jews described them generally, till the name of Roman became more familiar. Out of the country, therefore, assigned to Cassander, arose the little horn.

The seat of the Persian empire was in the east, and the power thereof is represented as pushing westward, and northward, and southward. Alexander is represented as coming from the west: therefore he pushes eastward, and northward, and southward. The Romans are the only power after Alexander that could be considered as starting from the same point of compass, and pushing successfully the same way. The interpretation made to Daniel confirms this sense beyond all doubt: for it is not till the latter time of the four kingdoms, when the transgressions are come to the full, that a king of fierce countenance stands up. By the term *king*, we may, without any impropriety, understand a commonwealth or republic. No monarch put on a fiercer countenance than the senate of Rome, as we might, if necessary, shew in numberless instances: hardihood, oftentimes approaching to obstinate madness. They understood dark sentences, and were not to be imposed upon by art or flattery. When Antiochus the Great endeavoured to deceive the consul Flaminius, he was mistaken: the consul let him know he perceived it:—He spoke plain language to him, and he made Antiochus speak plain language. They did not work as kings and their ministers usually do, by artifice and intrigue; but in a resolute, plain, open manner.

But as I doubt not it will be apparent that there is a distinction between Rome Popular and Rome Imperial, it will be more proper to consider the little horn as designating the commonwealth or republic of Rome, which was not broken without hands. The fact of being broken or divided without hands, which is elsewhere expressed, neither in anger nor battle, is literally true of Imperial Rome. The interpretation pursues that power farther than is mentioned at first.

Whether the vision, and the interpretation thereof, make a distinction between Rome Popular and Rome Imperial, is not very material here: that point will be made more clear hereafter.

Though some of the acts and doings of the little horn seem applicable to Antiochus Epiphanes, yet, taking every part of the description into view, it is apparently altogether inapplicable to him. As the same matters will be brought before us again in the eleventh chapter, we omit adding more on these powers here.

As the computations in Daniel are guided and directed by great temporal powers, it is most probable that the 2300 days commence with the end of the Persian and the beginning of Alexander's empire, and will end when the great image shall be broken and scattered as chaff by the wind.

The readings are various : some have 2400 days, and some 2200 days; but Bishop Newton thinks the 2300 days is probably right.

The placing of this prophecy in the book of Daniel after the Persian monarchy has been introduced, even after it actually expired, is an evidence that we are not to commence the 2300 days with that monarchy. The purport of it is to shew the end of this empire, and introduce its successors. The very position of it may be wisely designed to lead us to a right computation.

The translation, according to the best critics in Hebrew, does not give the sense of the original : because there is nothing in it to answer the word *concernit: g*; and this word limits the extent of the question, and makes it have relation only to the daily sacrifice; and, consequently, how long it will be from the taking that away to the cleansing the sanctuary. Mr. Lowth says, it would have been better rendered, "for how long a time shall the vision last, the daily sacrifice be taken away, and the transgression of desolation continue?" And, thus rendered, the question not only embraces the period of time between the taking away of the daily sacrifice and the cleansing the sanctuary, but also from the commencement of the vision to the taking away of the daily sacrifice : and the vision manifestly begins when the Persian monarchy ends, and the Macedonian monarchy commences.

The answer is intended to fill up all that space of time between the death of Darius Codomannus and the coming of the stone that is cut out of the mountain without hands, to smite and destroy the great image : and these 2300 days coincide with, and corroborate, the other great computations of Daniel. The period ends in the year of the Christian era 1970.

As some have supposed that the little horn designates Antiochus Epiphones, and that the number of days are to be taken for natural days; the following objections against such an opinion are unanswerable :

First, 2300 natural days are somewhat more than six years. It appears, by comparing 1 *Macc.* i. 59. with iv. 52. that the profanation of the temple by Antiochus lasted but three years; according to Josephus, the taking away of the daily sacrifice lasted but three years and an half.

Second, if we commence them with the beginning of the reign of Antiochus, which was the 137th year of the kingdom of the Greeks, or era of the Seleucidæ; then the cleansing of the sanctuary happened in the 148th year of that era, which makes a difference of eleven years, and is nearly twice 2300

days; or, if we compute from the time Antiochus first went to Jerusalem, which was in the 143d year of the same era; the number of days exceed, that is, extend considerably beyond the 148th year, in which the sanctuary was cleansed.

The ancient fathers were perplexed about this place; and Jerome, in his comment upon it, says, that Christians generally referred it to Antichrist, and supposed that Antiochus was typical of him. If the little horn designates the rise of Rome Popular (and I think there can be no doubt but it does) this power began to make its progress eastward just 200 years before the Christian era. They, that is the Romans, at this time, first passed into Macedonia, and made war against king Philip.

Third, the vision was to be for many days; on account of which Daniel fainted, was sick, and was astonished at the vision. The three years, or three years and a half, that the Jews were afflicted by Antiochus, could not occasion all this: for the calamities they suffered from Nebuchadnezzar were incomparably greater than what they suffered from the other. If we commence the vision with Cyrus, it was but about 370 years to the cleansing of the sanctuary, after it was profaned by Antiochus. Such a vision could not be long to Daniel, who had seen visions extending much farther into the womb of time. Bishop Newton justly remarks, that the calamities under Antiochus were of small extent, and of short duration, in comparison with those they suffered from Nebuchadnezzar and his successors. The first took the city, the latter burnt it to the ground. The first profaned the temple, the latter utterly destroyed it. The first made captive 40,000 Jews, the latter carried the whole nation into captivity. The first took away the daily sacrifice for three years and a half, the latter abolished the temple service for seventy years. The calamities brought on the Jews by the Romans exceed those brought upon them by Nebuchadnezzar, as much, and more, than his exceed those of Antiochus. It is therefore no wonder, when Daniel had a full view of them, that he was faint, sick, and astonished.

We have before remarked, on the terms *seven times*, where it is said, Hew down the tree, and let his portion be with the beasts of the field, till seven times pass over him, &c. that no good reason could be given why they should not mean 2520 years. The 2300 days are a plain confirmation of that construction: for, from the destruction of imperial Babylon by Cyrus, to the death of Darius Codomannus, there are 210 years computed. But it is most probable that the Persian empire lasted 210 years: and, from the observations before made with respect to the chronology of Cyrus, it may be probable, and

it seems necessary, that Darius the Mede should have reigned at least ten years. And this makes the two visions agree exactly in their extent; that is, computing from the beginning of Darius, and of Alexander; the first is 2520 years, the latter is 2300 years; both end at the same time.

We may farther observe, that as seventy years are adopted as a measure for the Jewish calamities, that 2520 years are exactly 36 times 70; and that one more is to be added for the Babylonish captivity: so that the exact measure of their calamities, beginning with that captivity, is 37 times 70 years; and through all this period of time Daniel was enabled to extend his view. Of the 36 seventies, 33 seventies and 33 years expire this present year 1793; and two seventies and 37 years, 177 years, are yet unexpired.

DANIEL—CHAP. IX.

IN the first year of Darius, the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes, which was made king over the realm of the Chaldeans:

In the first year of his reign, I, Daniel, understood by books the number of years whereof the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah the prophet, that he would accomplish seventy years in the desolations of Jerusalem.

Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sin, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the most holy.

Whether this prophecy has reference only to the first coming of Christ in the flesh, may be a question: as several things to be done do not seem to have been fully accomplished at that time, such as the making an end of sin and transgression.

It has however been considered in no other light, that I know of. If the seventy weeks commence with the issuing of the commandment by Cyrus, then 490 years will expire about 42 years before the birth of Christ, and 75 years before the Passion. If they are to commence with the commission given to Ezra, 490 years will carry us to the year of the Passion.

Mr. Ferguson has endeavoured to explain the seventy weeks as follows.

The Dionysian, or vulgar era of Christ's birth, was about the end of the year of the Julian period 4713; and consequently

the first year of his age, according to that account, was the 4714th year of the said period. Therefore if to the current year of Christ we add 4713, the sum will be the year of the Julian period: so the year 1793 will be found to be the 6506th year of that period. Or to find the year of the Julian period, answering to any given year of Christ, subtract the number of that given year from 4714, and the remainder will be the year of the Julian period. Thus the year 585 before the first year of Christ, which was the 584th before his birth, was the 4129th year of the said period.

The vulgar era of Christ's birth was never settled till the year 527, when Dionysius Exiguus, a Roman abbot, fixed it to the end of the 4713th year of the Julian period, which was four too late: for our Saviour was born before the death of Herod, who sought to kill him as soon as he heard of his birth. And according to the testimony of Josephus (book xvii. chap. 8) there was an eclipse of the moon in the time of Herod's last illness; which eclipse appears, by our astronomical tables, to have been in the year of the Julian period 4710, March 13th, at three hours past midnight, at Jerusalem. Now as our Saviour must have been born some months before Herod's death, since in the interval he was carried into Egypt, the latest time in which we can fix the true era of his birth, is about the end of the 4709th year of the Julian period.

There is a remarkable prophecy delivered to us in the 9th chapter of Daniel, which from a certain epoch fixes the time of restoring the state of the Jews, and of building the walls of Jerusalem; the coming of the Messiah; his death, and the destruction of Jerusalem. But some parts of this prophecy (v. 25.) are so injudiciously pointed in our English translation of the bible, that, if they be read according to those stops, they are quite unintelligible. But the learned Dr. Prideaux, by altering those stops, makes the sense very plain. And as he seems to me to have explained the whole of it better than any author I have read on the subject, I shall set down the whole of the prophecy, according as he has pointed it, to shew in what manner he has divided it into four parts.

V. 24. Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sin, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and the prophecy, and to anoint the most holy. Ver. 25. Know therefore and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and build Jerusalem unto the Messiah the Prince shall be seven weeks and threescore and two weeks,

the street shall be built again, and the wall even in troublous times. V. 26. And after three score and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself, and the people of the Prince that shall come, shall destroy the city and sanctuary, and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and to the end of the war desolations are determined.

Ver. 27. And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week, and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate.

This commission was given to Ezra by Artaxerxes Longimanus, in the seventh year of that king's reign. *Ezra vii. 11. 26.* Ezra began the work which was afterwards accomplished by Nehemiah; in which they met with great opposition and trouble from the Samaritans and others, during the first seven weeks, or forty-nine years.

From this accomplishment till the time when Christ's messenger John the Baptist began to preach the kingdom of the Messiah, 62 weeks, or 434 years.

From thence to the beginning of Christ's public ministry half a week, or three years and an half.

And from thence to the death of Christ, half a week, or three years and an half: in which half week he preached and confirmed the covenant of the gospel with many of the Jews.

In all, from the going forth of the commandment till the death of Christ, 70 weeks, or 490 years.

And lastly, in a very striking manner, the prophecy foretells what should come to pass after the expiration of the seventy weeks; namely, the destruction of the city and sanctuary, by the people of the prince that was to come: which were the Roman armies under the command of Titus their prince, who invaded Jerusalem as a torrent, with their idolatrous images, which were an abomination to the Jews, and under which they marched against them, invaded their land, and besieged their holy city; and, by a calamitous war, brought such utter destruction on both, that the Jews have never been able to recover themselves even to this day.

Now both by the undoubted canon of Ptolemy, and the famous era of Nabonasser, the beginning of the seventh year of the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus king of Persia (who is called Abastertus in the book of Esther) is pinned down to the 4256th year of the Julian period, in which year he gave Ezra the above mentioned ample commission: from which count 490 years to the death of Christ, and it will carry the same to the 4746th year of the Julian period.

Our Saturday is the Jewish sabbath ; and it is plain, from St. Mark xv. 42. and St. Luke xxiii. 54. that Christ was crucified on a Friday, seeing the crucifixion was on the day next before the Jewish sabbath. And according to St. John, xviii. 28. on the day that the passover was to be eaten, at least, by many of the Jews.

The Jews reckoned their months by the moon, and their years by the revolution of the sun ; and they ate the passover on the fourteenth day of the month Nisan, which was the first month of their year, reckoning from the first appearance of the new moon, which at that time of the year might be on the evening of the day next after the change, if the sky was clear : so that their fourteenth day of the month answers to our 15th day of the moon, on which she is full ; consequently the passover was always kept on the day of the full moon. And the full moon at which it was kept, was that one which happened next after the vernal equinox. For Josephus expressly says (*Antiq. b. iii. c. 10*) the passover was kept on the fourteenth day of the month Nisan, according to the moon, when the sun was in Aries. And the sun always enters Aries at the instant of the vernal equinox, which in our Saviour's time fell on the 22d day of March.

The dispute among chronologers about the year of Christ's death, is limited to four or five years at most.

But as we have shewn that he was crucified on the day of a paschal full moon, and on a Friday, all that we have to do, in order to ascertain the year of his death, is only to compute in which of those years there was a passover full moon on Friday : for the full moon anticipates eleven days every year (twelve lunar months being so much short of a solar year) and therefore, once in every three years at least, the Jews were obliged to set their passover a whole month forwarder than it fell by the course of the moon, on the year next before, in order to keep it at the full moon next after the equinox ; therefore there could not be two passovers on the same day of the week, within the compass of a few years. And I find by calculation, the only passover full moon that fell on a Friday, for several years before or after the disputed year of the crucifixion, was on the third day of April, in the 4746th year of the Julian period, which was the 490th year after Ezra received the above-mentioned commission from Artaxerxes Longimanus, according to Ptolemy's canon, and the year in which the Messiah is to be cut off, according to the prophecy, reckoning from the going forth of that commission or commandment ; and this 490th year was the thirty-third year of our Saviour's age, reckoning

from the vulgar era of his birth: but the thirty-seventh, reckoning from the true era thereof.

The 4746th year of the Julian period, which we have astronomically proved to be the year of the crucifixion, was the fourth year of the two hundred and second Olympiad: in which year, Phlegon, a heathen writer, tells us, there was the most extraordinary eclipse of the sun that ever was seen. But I find, by calculation, that there could be no total eclipse of the sun at Jerusalem, in a natural way, in that year: so that what Phlegon here calls an eclipse of the sun, seems to have been the great darkness for three hours, at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion, as mentioned by the evangelists;—a darkness altogether supernatural, as the moon was then in the side of the heavens opposite to the sun.

The most remarkable eras are those of the Creation, the Greek Olympiads, the building of Rome, the era of Nabonassar, the death of Alexander, the birth of Christ, the Arabian Hegeira, and the Persian Jesdegird. See *Mr. Ferguson's Table of remarkable Eras and Events*.

I have made these lengthy extracts, because I think the astronomer has satisfactorily proved one important matter, which is the year and day of the crucifixion.

But it is a doubtful matter, whether the prophecy was designed to carry us precisely to that day and year. Few prophecies are so very particular. It is the opinion of some, who have a critical knowledge in the Hebrew language, that the words translated *seventy weeks*, should have been rendered *many seventies*. There is a repetition of the same word; and literally it would be, *seventies, seventies*: which, according to the Hebrew idiom, may be well rendered many seventies.

That John began to preach repentance three years and an half before Christ began his public ministry, is a matter that cannot be ascertained.

If we fix the commencement of the 490 years to the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, we cannot give any rational account of the seven weeks or forty-nine years; for thirteen years afterwards, that is in the twentieth year of the same king, Nehemiah received as ample a commission, and in about a year afterwards repaired and built up the walls.

The introduction of the seven weeks seem to be intended to shew, that it should be so long from the issuing the commandment, to the repairing and building up the walls of Jerusalem: and this is the general construction put upon these words: the period between Ezra's receiving his commission, and Ne-

hemiah's completing the repairs, is too short to satisfy this construction.

The commencement of the desolation of the Jews began when Vespasian and Titus took Jerusalem; that desolation continues yet, through the whole extent of which this prophecy seems to look.

The commandment issued, appears to me to be that, which was issued by Cyrus in the first year of his reign: from which period, to the commencement of the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, Mr. Ferguson makes seventy-two years.—That first issued by Cyrus seems to be the ground-work of the several that were afterwards issued—Some of them, it is true, gave, in matters of civil polity, more extensive powers.

In the succession of the Persian kings, and the length of their reigns, there is great confusion and perplexity: at the beginning of Cyrus's reign, the Jews had ended one seventy years captivity—then commence many more seventies: and this idea is verified by what has since taken place. If the commencement of Artaxerxes Longimanus' reign is placed right, about one more had then expired.—Consequently from the commencement of Cyrus' reign to the crucifixion was eight seventies, or 560 years.—From this period to Vespasian and Titus besieging Jerusalem, was just half a seventy, or thirty-five years. According to the general opinion of expositors, from the crucifixion, to the receiving the Jews again, there will be nearly thirty seventies more.

From the first year of Cyrus, to the birth of Christ, were seven and an half seventies; consequently, from his birth, to the total destruction of Jerusalem, was one seventy, or one week: and he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week; this undoubtedly has reference to the pious Jews, who had the term of seventy years confirmed to them in their own country, to enjoy the blessings of the Christian religion; after which, they enjoyed that blessing no more in their native country. And in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice, and the oblation to cease—and the passion was in the middle of this week, when the veil of the temple was rent in twain, and the ceremonial law forever abolished. A computation of part of the time is made by weeks; one week signifying seven years.—Thus, I think, we are to understand the seven weeks and the sixty-two weeks, which together amount to 483 years, and carry us to the very time when Julius Cæsar, having defeated Pompey and his army, destroyed the republic of Rome, on the ruins of which, imperial Rome was erected. After this period, that is, after threescore and two weeks, shall Messiah be cut off:—how long after, is not

pointed out; and when it is said, that from the going forth of the commandment unto Messiah shall be seven weeks and sixty-two weeks, we may rationally suppose, that he does not mean to intimate, that he would appear precisely at the end of that time—It was a ground for believing that it would not be before that time, and that it would take place near about the same—it admonished the Jews to begin to look out beforehand, and the space of time was but short for them to be thus upon the watch, and expecting the great event. That is, about forty years.

Those who commence the period at the time when Ezra received his commission, have to clear up this inconsistency; the seven weeks and the sixty-two weeks do not expire until about thirty years after Christ appeared—so that they make the words, *unto Messiah*, not to mean precisely at his first appearance, but about thirty-five years afterwards.

DANIEL—CHAP. X. XI. XII.

THE tenth, eleventh, and twelfth chapters, contain a narrative of the angel to Daniel. It was a revelation, and the time appointed was long. It seems to be plainly conveyed in the tenth chapter, That the narrative is not to have relation to the Persian empire.—The revelation was made to Daniel in the third year of Cyrus. Of the beginning and ending of the Persian empire, we have been fully informed before. We have also had some intimations of the division of Alexander's empire.

The intention of the revelation is plainly expressed in the fourteenth verse. I am come to make thee understand, what shall befall thy people in the latter days: for yet the vision is for many days.

By the prince of the kingdom of Persia's withstanding the angel one and twenty days, is intimated, the length of time the Persian monarchy should last—One and twenty, multiplied by ten, makes the number of years of that empire for that time he remains with *the kings* of Persia; but when he is gone, the prince of Grecia shall come.

The angel cannot begin his revelation until the Persian empire is out of the way. And, after this, he says, three kings shall stand up in Persia—it should have been *over* Persia: and the fourth shall be far richer than they all.

The general construction of this passage is, that the four kings are to be immediate successors of Cyrus in the Persian

empire; and for the fourth, king Xerxes, the son of Darius, Hystaspes, is fixed upon from one single trait in his history which is, that he raised an immense army, in order to subdue the Grecians.

That Xerxes, nor any of his immediate predecessors or successors, could be this fourth king, will be manifest.

First, It is a very questionable matter whether Xerxes was the fourth successor of Cyrus; according to Josephus he must have been the third, for between Cambyfes, son and successor of Cyrus, and Darius, son of Hystaspes, he says there was no king; but that the government was in the hands of the Magi for nine months.

Second, it is allowed that Xerxes did raise an incredible army against the realm of Grecia; and that his riches must have been very great to raise and support such an army: but this army was entirely defeated by the Grecians. Xerxes lived some time after this; and, taking his whole reign together, he was less rich than his predecessors.

Xerxes came to the throne about fifty years after Cyrus. The vision, in this respect, was not long, but very short. What valuable purpose would this single touch or hint at the character of Xerxes answer, if intended for him? for not a word is said about him afterwards.

The truth, I trust, will appear to be, that by Kings are intended Kingdoms: and they will be the Macedonian empire, Rome Popular and Rome Imperial as two, and the Mahometan power considered as one empire.

Chap. xi. ver. 3. And a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will.

That Alexander is here designated, no one doubts. It is not necessary to introduce historic facts to shew how rapid his conquests were, and the amazing extent of them.

Verse 4th to 9th inclusive, give some peculiar traits of the Lagidæ and the Seleucidæ, two of the most powerful of Alexander's successors. We have before mentioned the four divisions of Alexander's empire: two of them only are of importance enough to be characterized in the angel's narrative.

Alexander died in Babylon, having lived only thirty-two years and eight months, having reigned twelve years and eight months in the whole. His posterity became extinct principally by means of Callander. His wife Statira, daughter of Darius, was murdered by another of his wives, Roxana: his natural brother Aridæus, who succeeded him in the throne, was, with his wife Eurydice, killed by the command of Olympias, mother of Alexander, after he had borne the title of king six years and

some months: and, not long after, Olympias was slain by the soldiers of Cassander.

Alexander Ægus, son of Alexander by Roxana, was joined in the title of king with Philip Arridæus. When he was about fourteen years old, he, with his mother, was murdered in the castle of Amphipolis by Cassander.

Another son of Alexander, by Barine the widow of Mneumon, named Hercules, was, with his mother, about two years afterwards, murdered by Polyspercon, instigated thereto by Cassander. Such was the miserable end of Alexander's family and posterity. After which the governors made themselves kings in their respective provinces; from which title they had obtained, as long as there was any just heir to Alexander.

Cassander reigned in Greece and the west; Lyfimachus in Thrace and the north; Ptolemy in Egypt and the south; and Seleucus in Syria and the east. The Seleucidæ and the Lagidæ were much more considerable than the other two, and at one time had nearly absorbed the other two.

The kingdom of Macedon was conquered by Lyfimachus, and annexed to Thrace; and the last was conquered by Seleucus, and the kingdom of Macedon and Thrace annexed to Syria. Those two continued distinct kingdoms, after the other two were swallowed up by the Romans, who began to progress eastward 123 years after the death of Alexander.

The Jews were sometimes subject to the Seleucidæ, and sometimes to the Lagidæ. The first is designated by the king of the north, and the last by the king of the south.

The king of the south was strong, for he had annexed Cyprus, Phœnicia, Caria, and many islands and countries, to Egypt. But Seleucus Nicator was strong above him: for he absorbed in himself three of the four divisions of Alexander's empire. All was subject to him, from the river Indus, and beyond it, to Phrygia.

Seleucus Nicator having reigned seven months after the death of Lyfimachus over the kingdom of Macedon, Thrace, and Syria, was basely murdered. His son Antiochus Soter succeeded him; to whom succeeded Antiochus Theus, son of Soter.

At the same time Ptolemy Philadelphus reigned in Egypt, after his father, the first Ptolemy Lagus. Frequent wars happened between these two kingdoms, especially between Antiochus Theus and Ptolemy Philadelphus.

Jerome reports, from the ancient historians, that Antiochus fought against Ptolemy with all the forces of Babylon and the east. At last they agreed to make peace, upon condition that

Antiochus Theus should put away his former wife, Laodice, and her two sons, and should marry Berenice, Ptolemy Philadelphus's daughter. He brought his daughter to Antiochus Theus, and with her immense treasures, so that he had the appellation of the *divy giver*. Soon after, however, he recalled his former wife Laodice, in a fit of love, with her children, to court. Laodice, fearing the fickle disposition of Antiochus, that he might not recall Berenice, caused him to be poisoned. And Berenice's children did not succeed Antiochus : for Laodice so managed the matter as to fix her elder son Seleucus Callinicus upon the throne of his ancestors. Laodice also caused Berenice to be murdered : her Egyptian attendants were many of them slain with her ; and her son was murdered at the same time.

Her father died a little before her. During his life he was exceeding fond of her ; and constantly sent her fresh supplies of the water of the Nile, thinking it better than any other water.

Ptolemy Euergetes, brother of Berenice, was the branch that sprung out of the same root. As soon as he succeeded his father, he entered into the provinces of the king of the north, that is of Seleucus Callinicus, who with his mother Laodice reigned in Syria, which now comprehended the east, the west, and the north ; and prevailed so far, as that he took Syria and Silesia, and the upper parts beyond Euphrates, and almost all Asia. A sedition in Egypt obliged him to return, but not before he had plundered the kingdom of Seleucus, taking 40,000 talents of silver, and precious vessels, and images of the gods, two thousand and five hundred ; among which were those that Cambyfes had carried from Persia into Egypt. On account of this act, the idolatrous Egyptians complimented him with the title of Euergetes, or the Benefactor. Appian informs us, that Laodice having killed Antiochus, and afterwards both Berenice and her child, Ptolemy the son of Philadelphus, to revenge these murders, invaded Syria, slew Laodice, and proceeded as far as to Babylon. And Polybius says, that Ptolemy Euergetes being greatly enraged at the treatment of his sister Berenice, invaded Syria, took the city of Seleucia, and that it was kept some time afterwards by a garrison of the kings of Egypt.

As a power is next to be introduced which will swallow up both the Seleucidæ and the Lagidæ, we are here informed of a fact which exactly corresponded with the revelation—And he shall continue more years than the king of the north. The Romans made a conquest of the kingdom of Syria many years before they did of that of Egypt.

But his sons—the last immediate antecedent is the king of the south: therefore, by *his sons*, we cannot with propriety consider that the sons of the king of the north are intended, or of Seleucus Callinicus. This however is the general construction.

But his sons shall be stirred up, and shall assemble a multitude of great forces; and one shall certainly come and overflow and pass through: then shall he return, and be stirred up, even to his fortrefs.

And the king of the south shall be moved with choler, and shall come forth and fight with him, even with the king of the north; and he shall set forth a great multitude: but the multitude shall be given into his hand. And when he hath taken away the multitude, his heart shall be lifted up; and he shall cast down many ten thousands: but he shall not be strengthened by it.

For the king shall return, and shall set forth a multitude greater than the former, and shall certainly come after certain years, with a great army, and with much riches.

And in those times there shall many stand up against the king of the south: Also the robbers of thy people shall exalt themselves to establish the vision: but they shall fall.

So the king of the north shall come and cast up a mount, and take the most fenced cities: and the arms of the south shall not withstand; neither his chosen people, neither shall there be any strength to withstand.

But he that cometh against him shall do according to his will, and none shall stand before him: and he shall stand in the glorious holy land, which by his hand shall be consumed.

He shall also set his face to enter with the strength of his whole kingdom: and upright ones with him.

Thus shall he do: and he shall give him the daughter of women, corrupting her: but she shall not stand on his side, neither be for him.

After this shall he turn his face unto the isles, and shall take many: but a prince for his own behalf shall cause the reproach offered by him to cease; without his own reproach, he shall cause it to return upon him. Then he shall turn his face towards the fort of his own land: but he shall stumble, and fall, and not be found.

As the marks and characteristics evidently introduce a new power in this passage, it can be none other than the little horn pushing eastward, and southward, and towards the pleasant land. It plainly exhibits the rise and fall of Rome Popular.

The sons of Seleucus Callinicus were Seleucus Ceraunus and Antiochus the Great. The elder succeeded the father. He

exerted himself to recover his father's dominions. Destitute of means to satisfy his army, it became disobedient; and two of the generals are charged with having poisoned their master, after a reign of two or three years. Antiochus, called the Great, succeeded his brother. The prophet's expression is peculiar, that his sons should be stirred up, and assemble a multitude of great forces. The plural number is then changed to the singular,—One should certainly come, and overflow, and pass through. Antiochus raised a great army, and re-took Seleucia; and, by means of Theodotus the Cœtolian, recovered Syria, making himself master of some places by treaty, and of others by arms. A truce succeeded, and both treated of peace, but at the same time prepared for war. Antiochus engaged the Egyptian general, and defeated him; but did not invade Egypt itself.

Ptolemy Philopater was king of Egypt at this time; having succeeded his father Ptolemy Euergetes—not long after, Antiochus, the great, succeeded to the crown of Syria.

Ptolemy, who has the character of having been very luxurious and vicious, was by the near approach of danger roused, and marched out of Egypt, with a numerous army, and encamped not far from Raphia, which is the nearest town to Egypt, from Ronocrorura: where Antiochus met him, and fought a great battle.

Antiochus's army consisted of 62,000 foot, 60,000 horse, and 102 elephants. Ptolemy's, however, obtained a complete victory: Antiochus had 10,000 slain and 4000 taken prisoners. Ptolemy lost only 1,500 slain, and 700 horse. Antiochus retreated to Antioch; and from thence dispatched ambassadors to solicit a peace. Ptolemy, instead of pursuing the blow he had given the enemy, indulged himself in all manner of vices—he had murdered his father, his mother, and his brother; and he had killed his wife, who was his sister. His luxurious life brought on a rebellion of his own subjects. Ptolemy visited the cities of Cœle Syria, and Palestine, which had submitted to him: he also visited Jerusalem, where he offered sacrifices, and was desirous of entering into the holy of holies, and left the city with great displeasure because he was prevented. After his return to Alexandria, the effects of his displeasure appeared against the Jews, who had resided there from the time of Alexander, and had enjoyed all the privileges of the most favoured citizens. Eusebius reckons 40,000, and Jerome 60,000 Jews slain at this time. This, with the disaffection of his subjects, must have weakened his kingdom very much. Peace continued between the two kingdoms

fourteen year. Before this time, Ptolemy had died of debauchery and intemperance, Antiochus had taken and slain the Rebel Archæus; and had reduced the Eastern parts of his kingdom to obedience—He had acquired great riches. Polybius says, that from the king of Bactria, and the king of India, he received so many elephants as made up his number 150:—That contrary to league, he marched his army (Ptolemy Philopater being dead) against his son, who was only four years old, with an intention to take possession of the kingdom—others confederated with him against Egypt. Besides the seditions in Egypt, Philip, king of Macedon, entered into an agreement with Antiochus, to take possession of the kingdom, to divide it, and each one to have the part that lay most contiguous to him. However, Scopas, the Egyptian general, was very successful. Antiochus being in other parts, he soon reduced Cœle Syria and Palestine to their former obedience; placed a garrison in the castle of Jerusalem, and returned to Alexandria. Josephus says the Jews submitted to Scopas by force, but to Antiochus they submitted willingly.

But Antiochus's presence soon changed the face of affairs; he undertook to recover Judea, Cœle Syria, and Palestine. He met Scopas near the sources of the river Jordan, destroyed part of his army, shut him up with 10,000 men in Sidon, and lay close siege to it. Three eminent generals were sent from Egypt to raise the siege, but to no effect. Famine obliged Scopas to surrender upon hard conditions. The Jews, beside many other cities, after this, readily submitted to Antiochus. The Jews, in solemn procession, gave him a splendid reception. Antiochus rewarded them; ordered the city to be repaired, and the dispersed Jews to return and inhabit it; he ordered supplies of cattle and provisions for sacrifices, and timber and other materials for finishing and adorning the temple; and allowed them to live according to their own laws, and exempted the Priests and Levites from taxes.

That those that returned, as well as those in the city, should be free from all tribute, for three years, and the third part of their tribute was remitted forever.

Antiochus would have seized on the kingdom of Egypt by force; but he judged it better to proceed by stratagem, he proposed a treaty of marriage, by Eucles the Rhodian, between his daughter Cleopatra, a distinguished beauty, and Ptolemy, in the seventh year of his reign, and married her to him in the 13th year. He conducted her himself to Raphia, where they were married; and gave in dowry with her Cœle Syria and Palestine. This is supposed to have been done with

a fraudulent design, that the daughter might betray the interests of her husband, into her father's hands. Ptolemy was aware of the artifices, and Cleopatra espoused the cause of her husband: She joined with her husband in an embassy to the Romans, to congratulate them on the victory they had obtained over Antiochus, and exhorted them, after they had expelled him out of Greece, to prosecute the war in Asia; assuring them, that the king and queen of Egypt would readily obey the commands of the senate.

Antiochus engaged in an unhappy war with the Romans—he fitted out a formidable fleet of one hundred large ships of war, and two hundred lesser vessels: With this fleet he subdued most of the maritime places on the coasts of Asia, Thrace and Greece: Took Samos, Eubœa, and many other islands. Some of these were cities lately restored to liberty by the Romans. Acilius, the Roman consul, defeated Antiochus at the Straights of Thermopylœ, and expelled him out of Greece—Livius and Emilius beat his fleet at sea, and Scipio finally obtained a decisive victory over him in Asia, near the city of Magnesia, at the foot of Mount Sipylus. Antiochus lost 50,000 foot and 4000 horse; and he himself escaped with difficulty. Upon this defeat, he was necessitated to sue for peace, which was granted, conditioned that he should not set foot in Europe, but quit all Asia on this side Mount Taurus, to defray the whole charges of the war; for the performance of which articles, he gave twenty hostages, one of whom was his youngest son, afterwards called Epiphanes. Thus he and his successors became tributary to the Roman republic.

He did not long survive this disgrace: he fled the night after the battle to Sardis; from thence to Apamia, and the next he came to Antioch.

He is reported to have borne his misfortune with great equanimity; and that he said he was much obliged to the Romans for easing him of much care, and confining him in a kingdom of moderate bounds.

But it is said, he lived in poverty and distress: that his necessities pushed him on to commit sacrilege. He went into the eastern provinces to collect the arrears of tribute, and to amass what treasure he could: that in attempting to plunder the rich temple of Jupiter Belus in Elymais, he, and all his attendants, were slain.

Seleucus Philopater succeeded his father, but did nothing worthy of him, or the Syrian empire; and perished ingloriously—if glory consists in fighting battles; for he never fought one. He raised an army, with an intention to cross Mount Taurus,

2nd assist Pharnaces king of Pontus; but for fear of the Romans he disbanded it.

The tribute-money he was obliged to pay the Romans distressed him. He sent Heliodorus to seize the money in the temple of Jerusalem, though at the same time he paid out of his own revenues the expences for the sacrifices and the temple service at Jerusalem. Seleucus sent his only son Demetrius as an hostage to Rome, instead of Antiochus, Seleucus's younger brother. Heliodorus embraced this opportunity to murder his master, and usurp the crown. He was disappointed in his wicked and ambitious project; and only made way for Antiochus Epiphanes, who, when Seleucus was murdered, was at Athens, in his way to Syria. Heliodorus attempted to get the crown. One party declared in favour of Ptolemy Philopater, whose mother Cleopatra was daughter of Antiochus the Great. Demetrius was the right heir to the crown, who was then an hostage at Rome. Antiochus, by his address, engaged Eumenes king of Pergamos, and Attalus his brother, in his behalf, who were jealous of the Romans, and disposed to secure a friend in the king of Syria. He ingratiated himself with the Syrians, by shewing much clemency: He sent ambassadors to the Romans, to court their favour: He paid the arrears of tribute-money, and presented them with vessels of gold weighing five hundred pounds weight: He gave the Romans the strongest assurances of his being attached to their interest, and that they might command him as a good and faithful confederate king, and that he would never be wanting in his duty.

He is charged by Polybius with low, despicable vices; as rambling about the streets in disguise, mixing with the lowest company, drinking and revelling with them to great excess. He would go about the streets with the Roman gown, soliciting votes, in imitation of the candidates for offices at Rome. Sometimes he would scatter money in the streets, and sometimes pelt his followers with stones. He would expose himself in the public baths to all manner of ridiculous and indecent gestures; upon which account Polybius called him Epimanes, or the madman.

But he had some success in arms. Heliodorus and his partizans, as well as those of Egypt, were vanquished by the forces of Eumenes and Attalus; and the arrival of Antiochus dissipated all their measures. As soon as Antiochus was seated on the throne, he removed Onias from the high-priesthood, and preferred Jason his brother to that dignity, being bribed thereto by the latter. Jason gave him 360 talents of silver for that account, and 80 more on another account. Onias, a good man, was

thus removed, and afterwards basely murdered by the king's deputy at Antioch.

Menelaus, the brother of Jason, was sent to the Syrian court by his brother, to pay the tribute-money, and to transact some other business; who embraced this opportunity to work himself into the good graces of Antiochus; and, in order to supplant his brother, offered him three hundred talents more than his brother had done for the high-priesthood, which Antiochus readily accepted, but could not put him in possession but by force of arms.

When he set out from Rome he had but few attendants, nor did he then expect the kingdom: but by the assistance of Eumenes and Attalus, he entered into possession of the upper provinces without opposition. He appointed Timarchus and Heraclides, the one governor of Babylon, and the other his treasurer, two brothers, with whom he is supposed to have had unnatural commerce. His liberality wherever he went was excessive. Josephus says, he was magnificent and munificent: and Polybius recounts various instances of his extravagant profusion. The provinces of Coele Syria and Palestine were claimed as of right belonging to Egypt. His generosity was necessary to ingratiate himself in their favour, and if possible fix them in his interest. Ptolemy Epiphanes and Cleopatra were dead; and Eulœus an eunuch, and Lencœus, who were administrators of the kingdom for young Ptolemy Philometer, demanded a restitution of these provinces,—assigning, as a reason, that in the partition made to the first Ptolemy, of Alexander's empire, they were assigned to him; that they had always remained in the possession of the kings of Egypt, till Antiochus the Great unjustly seized upon them in the minority of Ptolemy Epiphanes, the present king's father; that he again surrendered them as a dowry to his daughter Cleopatra. He made a journey to Joppa, to see the strength of the frontier towns: from thence he went to Jerusalem, and was received very honourably by Jason the high-priest, and ushered into the city by torch-light, with great rejoicings. From thence he went to Phœnicia, to fortify the cities: and he was employed some years in making preparations for war.

Antiochus, in the fifth year of his reign, marched with a powerful army against Egypt.

The two armies engaged between Pelusium and Mount Casius, and Antiochus obtained the victory. The next year he had more splendid success: he overcame the Egyptians—took Pelusium—went as far as Memphis—except Alexandria, he made himself master of all Egypt.

The writer of the first book of Maccabees says, Now when the kingdom was established before Antiochus, he thought to reign over Egypt, that he might have the dominion of two realms. Wherefore he entered into Egypt with a great multitude; with chariots, and elephants, and horsemen, and a great navy, and made war against Ptolemy king of Egypt. But Ptolemy was afraid of him, and fled; and many were wounded to death. Thus they got the strong cities in the land of Egypt, and he took the spoils thereof.

Eulœus was a very unfaithful minister: he bred up young Ptolemy in effeminacy and luxury, contrary to his natural inclination. Ptolemy Macron, governor of Cyprus, revolted, and delivered up that important island to Antiochus. As a reward of his treason, he was admitted into the number of the king's friends, and made governor of Cœle Syria and Palestine.

The Alexandrians renounced their allegiance, and took his younger brother Euergetes, or Physcon, and made him king. It is said to be a fact, that Ptolemy Philometer fell into the hands of Antiochus: but how, has never been ascertained; whether as a prisoner, or otherwise. That after Antiochus came to Memphis, they did frequently dine together. Antiochus pretended to take care of his nephew Philometer's interest, and promised to restore him to the crown; at the same time he was plotting his ruin, and was contriving means to weaken the two brothers in war against each other. Ptolemy Philometer laid the blame of the war to Eulœus, his governor; professed great obligations to his uncle; and seemed to hold the crown by his favour: but was secretly resolved to break off from Antiochus the first opportunity, and to be reconciled with his brother. And as soon as Antiochus was gone, they were reconciled by the mediation of their sister Cleopatra.

Antiochus went from Egypt to Syria, hoping probably that the two brothers would so weaken the kingdom by civil war, that it would fall an easy prey to him. Antiochus returned to Syria with much gold, silver, jewels, and the like. While in Egypt, there was a false report of his death: Jason thinking this a good opportunity to recover the high-priesthood, went to Jerusalem with a thousand men, assaulted the city, drove Menelaus into the castle, and exercised great cruelties over the citizens.

Antiochus, highly irritated, supposing the whole nation had revolted, went against Jerusalem with a large army; took the city by force of arms; slew forty thousand, took as many more, and sold them for slaves; polluted the temple and altar by swine's flesh; profaned the holy of holies by breaking into

it; took the golden vessels, &c. to the amount of eight hundred talents; restored Menelaus to the high-priesthood: and constituted one Philip, a Phrygian, governor of Judea, who was in manners a barbarian.

From Jerusalem he went in haste to Antiochia, after having placed a garrison of Macedonians in Jerusalem.

After two years Antiochus came into Egypt again; and perceiving that his artful measures with respect to the two brothers had been discovered; and that, instead of wasting the country by civil war, they had provided for their mutual safety, by making peace with each other; was so much offended, that he set about making the most vigorous preparations for war; and early in the spring marched his army through Cœle Syria, and came into Egypt. The inhabitants of Memphis submitted to him: from thence he marched against Alexandria.

The Ptolemies had supplicated the assistance of the Romans; and they sent ambassadors: one of whom, Marcus Popilius Lenas, when he had found him standing on the shore, delivered to him the decree of the senate; by which he was commanded to depart from the friends of the Romans, and to be content with his own empire. He being desirous to consult his friends, Popilius is said to have made a circle in the sand, with the stick he had in his hand, and to have circumscribed the king, and to have said, "The senate and people of Rome order that in that place you answer what is your intention." Affrighted by these words, he said, "If this pleases the senate and people of Rome, we must depart:" and presently drew off his army. But in his return he vented his malice against the Jews; he detached Apollonius with twenty-two thousand men, who, coming to Jerusalem slew great multitudes, plundered the city, and set fire to it in several places, and pulled down the walls round about it. Then they builded on an eminence, in the city of David, a strong fortress, which might command the temple: and from thence they fell on those who came to worship at the temple, and shed innocent blood on every side of the sanctuary, and defiled it; so that the temple service was deserted and omitted, the city was forsaken by the natives, and became the habitation of strangers.

After he returned to Antioch he published a decree, which obliged all persons, upon pain of death, to conform to the religion of the Greeks. The Jewish law was abrogated; the heathen worship was set up in its stead; and the temple at Jerusalem was consecrated to Jupiter Olympius. Menelaus, and other apostate Jews, were the king's chief instigators against their religion and country.

Josephus has ascribed the distress of his country to the factions among his countrymen; and to those particularly who fled to Antiochus, and besought him to invade Judea under their conduct.

I have been thus lengthy in extracting traits of the Syrian and Egyptian monarchies here, because very judicious expositors have applied them to the descriptions in the eleventh chapter of Daniel, from verse 10th to verse 32d, or 37th: so that more than one half of this chapter is applied to transactions that happened in the course of about twenty years. The impropriety of which application, on various accounts, I shall now endeavour to exhibit; observing, that no other subsequent facts relative to those monarchies are supposed to apply to any part of this prophecy. There is an interval of about seven hundred years, in which few or no traits are given of the same; and those seven hundred years filled up with the most important transactions that ever took place, with respect either to the Jewish or Christian church.

From the 10th to the 19th verse, we have characteristics of three powers—and the period of time is that from the commencement of the Romans beginning to make progress eastward, to the death of Pompey—in which is necessarily involved some of the transactions of the Syrian and Egyptian monarchies. I shall therefore attempt to give a sketch of the history of this power during that period of time, making observations as to the wars it had before been engaged in.

When a man attentively considers from what point the Roman empire arose, and to what height it arose, he is seized with astonishment, and dazzled as it were, with the lustre and greatness of the events, and still more so with the causes which contributed to form that vast and superb empire. What was Rome in her beginnings, but a confused mixture of shepherds, adventurers, men obscure and unknown for the most part, whom the ill situation of their affairs, united together in the narrow circuit of a poor and despicable city?—And yet in her infancy, under the government of Romulus, the first of her kings, Rome began to command admiration and fear, by the invincible courage of that prince, and his wise institutions, as well civil and military, as religious. The rest of the kings, almost all of a different character, but admirably suited with one another, to promote the same work by various methods, followed, all but the last, the plan chalked out by Romulus; and each adding some essential part, greatly advanced its perfection.

The progress of the Romans abroad, in these beginnings, was very slow. They struggled near two hundred and fifty

years around their mother Rome, against the neighbouring nations; who, one after another, attacking them, kept them continually in action, and expert in the art of war.

They accomplished their subjection by patience and management; not so intent to conquer by force, as to gain by mildness; seeking friends not slaves, attaching forever by a submission not forced but voluntary.

The second age of Rome, of nearly the same duration as the first, that is two hundred and fifty years, abounding with great virtues and great men, exhibits prodigies of courage, firmness, disinterestedness, and the *amor patriæ*. And after the reduction of all Italy, she saw herself in a condition to extend her arms abroad.

What a scene of victories and conquests is opened in the third and last age of the Roman commonwealth, which lasts but about two hundred years?—Here commence the Punic wars, so obstinately maintained, that each of the two jealous nations believes, that its safety depends on the destruction of the other. In the end, the Roman patience prevails, and Carthage is subdued. Her downfall was as a signal of the defeat of the rest of the nations, who, all in their turn, came under the yoke, and submitted to the Lords of the Universe.

The Romans, from the origin of their city, established as a fundamental principle of their polity, the fear of the Gods, and a veneration for religion—Hence those numerous temples, altars and sacrifices—hence those frequent vows made on pressing emergencies, and so religiously performed. The Romans were mistaken in the object, but reasoned justly as to the thing.

Cicero gives his countrymen a fine testimony on this head; we may flatter ourselves, says he, as much as we please, yet we can never believe that we excel the Spaniards in number, the Gauls in bodily strength, the Carthaginians in policy and address, the Greeks in arts and sciences. But our excellency over all nations, undeniably lies in piety, in religion, in an inward persuasion, that there are Gods who rule and govern the Universe.

Next to the Gods, the Romans paid the greatest regard to their country. This sentiment seems to have been stronger in the Romans than any other nation. They were always ready to encounter all hazards for its sake—to sacrifice their fortunes, lives, peace, glory itself, friends, parents and children. This might arise from every person's having a share in the government, and a personal interest in the property of the state, on which depended his welfare.

The love of liberty, and a republican taste, seems to have been born with Rome itself. Their notion of liberty was a state wherein a man is subject to the law only; and the law is more powerful than men. The tyrannical proceedings of Tarquin roused and raised their love of it to such a height, as to stifle in a father all sentiments of nature, and put a dagger in his hand against his own children.

But Brutus thought it his duty to seal with their blood the deliverance of his country. Such was the effect produced by that example, that the slightest suspicion of an attempt upon liberty, instantly effaced all the great qualities of a citizen, and all his past services for the state. Marcius, amidst all his glory, acquired at the siege of Corioli, was banished for that reason alone. Sp. Melius, for his largesses to the people, was, for those very largesses punished with death. Manlius Capitolinus was thrown head-long from that capitol, which he had so strongly defended, and saved from the hands of the Gauls, because he was believed to affect royalty.

The essence of a Roman was the love of liberty, and the love of his country. Add to these, the desire of glory, and a thirst of dominion; and you have a Roman compleat.

One victory led them on to another. Whoever submitted not to them, was an enemy, and especially crowned heads.

Their ambition was covered with the veil of equity, moderation, and wisdom. If the Romans were unjust in their conquests, they governed the vanquished nations with lenity.

Neither Greece, nor Asia Minor, nor Syria, nor Egypt, nor most of the other provinces were free from war, but under the Roman empire.

Two bodies divided at Rome the authority, the senate and the people. There never was in any nation a senate like that of Rome, in the virtuous times of the republic, wherein affairs were treated more maturely, or with greater foresight, or with more zeal for the public good. Mr. Bossuet observes, in his Universal History, that the Holy Spirit has not disdained to praise in the Book of Maccabees, the consummate prudence and vigorous councils of that wise assembly, where no man assumed authority, without reason, and all the members conspired together without partiality, and without jealousy, for the public welfare.

A kind of transient blindness had seized the senate, or a majority of them forgot their antient maxims, in an affair of importance. Rome and Pyrrhus were almost agreed upon a treaty of peace, dishonourable to the commonwealth. Appius Claudius, blind and infirm as he was, comes in a chair to

the senate, dispels in an instant the clouds which had darkened the understandings of that wise assembly, and breaks off a treaty which was ready to be concluded.

Every one knows the famous answer of Cineas to Pyrrhus, who asked him his thoughts of the Roman senate. He told him, when he saw that august body, he took them for so many kings, such dignity, grandeur and majesty appeared in their looks, in their discourse, and in their whole person.

Fabricius worthily supported this idea in his conversation with the same Pyrrhus, wherein the Roman, though but a private man, appeared greater than the king.

When the Roman power was considerably increased, kings, with all their pomp, were little before a single senator. What is it then that made them so respected, even by those before whom all mortals were wont to tremble? They were without attendance, without equipage, and many of them even gloried in poverty. Their great actions, their personal reputation, the fame of that body, of which they were a part, went before them, and served them instead of a train.

When Rome, grown more powerful, had carried abroad her victorious arms, having seen from their infancy, kings led captive through their streets, and other kings humbly soliciting in person, and demanding justice; and waiting at the door their good or bad fortune—such sights had infinitely exalted their souls, by placing under their feet, in a manner, the crowns of sovereigns, and the majesty of thrones.

Such was the senate to whom Rome owed all her power, and all her conquests—from among them were chosen all the generals and commanders, the great undertakings were there formed, the generous resolutions, and the important affairs of state, managed with a secrecy and wisdom, hardly to be conceived of. A debate on account of Perseus, last king of Macedonia, held in an assembly of three hundred men, remained secret four whole years, and was not known until the war was over.

There never was an empire either more flourishing or more extensive than the Roman—from the Euphrates and Tanais to Hercules's pillars and the Atlantic ocean, all the lands and all the seas were under their obedience, from the middle and centre, as it were, of the Mediterranean sea, they included the whole extent of that sea, penetrating far and wide, all the states round about, and making it the communication of their empire. It is astonishing to consider, that the nations which at present make kingdoms so considerable, all Gallia, all Spain, almost the whole island of Great-Britain, Illyria to the Da-

nube, Germany to the Elbe, Africa to the frightful and impassible deserts, Greece, Thrace, Syria, Egypt, all the kingdoms of Asia Minor, and those between the Euxine and Caspian Seas, with many others, become Roman provinces, almost all before the end of the Republic.

Rome, according to Dionysius Halicarnassensis, owed its origin to the Greeks; several colonies of whom, banished from their own country, settled in Latium; it was called Italy from Œnotius, who led a colony of Arcadians there, that is from a descendant of his, whose name was Italus, supposed to be about 1244 years before the Christian Era. But the foundation of the city of Rome is computed from the time that Romulus laid the same, that is 751 years before the Christian Era.

The first Punic or Carthaginian war was ended to the advantage of the Romans, before Christ 242.

[241] Sicily was the first that received law from the Romans. Cicero, in one of his orations against Verres, gives it great praise. She was the first, says he, of all foreign nations, that sought our amity; that adorned our empire by becoming its province; and taught our ancestors how glorious it was to command states abroad.

[237] The senate of Rome sent ambassadors to Ptolemy Energetes, son of Ptolemy Philadelphus, to offer him aid against Antiochus Theus, with whom they believed him still at war: but he had made an accommodation, which dispensed with his accepting the aid that was offered him.

[235] Rome at this time had neither enemies nor war, which had not happened for almost 440 years; and the temple of Janus was shut for a second time: a ceremony which implied a general peace. It had been shut for the first time in the reign of Numa, and will not be so for the third time till the reign of Augustus.

[230] This year commenced the war with the Illyrians. Illyricum is the same as what is now called the coasts of Dalmatia. King Pineus, lately dead, had left a young son, under the tuition of Teuta his queen. Under this administration the Illyrians exercised, by public authority, piracies throughout the Adriatic sea, and several merchants of Italy were taken. Rome sent ambassadors, Caius and Lucius Aruncanius, to remonstrate. At their first audience, they complained of the injuries their merchants had received. Teuta made answer, that for her part she would not give the Romans any cause of complaint, nor send any pirates against them: but that it was not the custom of the kings of Illyricum to prevent their subjects cruising at sea for their own advantage.

On these words, the youngest ambassador, seized with indignation, and with a liberty Roman indeed, but not proper at that time, "Amongst us, Madam (said he) one of our noblest customs is, to avenge in common the injuries done to particulars: and, with the favour of the gods, we shall act in such a manner as will soon induce you to reform the custom of the Illyrian kings."

The queen, like a haughty violent woman, was so sensibly stung with this answer, that, without regard to the law of nations, she ordered the ambassadors to be followed and killed, with part of their train: the rest were imprisoned. The pilots of the ships that had brought them from Italy, she caused to be burnt.

[229] In the spring of this year Teuta sends ambassadors to Rome, to demand peace. Peace was concluded on the following conditions: Corcyra, Pharos, Iffas, Epidamnium, and the country of the Acintanes, should continue in possession of the Romans; and that she should pay a tribute.

Posthumus was sent ambassador to the Ætoliens and Achæans, to explain the reasons of this war; and met with a good reception. This was the first time the Romans attacked Illyricum, and the first alliance made by embassy between the Greeks and Romans. The latter, at the same time, sent ambassadors to Corinth and Athens, who were very well received at both places: at Athens they were made free of the city.

[225] The victory gained over the Gauls at Telamon, is one of the most famous and complete mentioned in the Roman history. This formidable irruption of the Gauls not only threatened all Italy, but the capitol, Rome itself.

[219] War with Illyricum again breaks out this year, at the head of which is Demetrius of Pharos. He is defeated entirely by the consul Emilius, and flies to Philip king of Macedonia, where he spends the remainder of his life.

[218] The second Punic war commences: Hannibal marches his army into Italy, where he continues successful for fifteen years.

[216] The famous battle of Cannæ—Besides the consul Paulus Emilius, two questors, and 21 tribunes, and many illustrious persons perished, who had been either consuls or prætors—82 senators, who served voluntarily; and so great a number of knights, that Hannibal sent three bushels of rings, which was a badge that distinguished them from other people, to Carthage. Some make the loss to the Romans fifty thousand, others seventy thousand men. Hannibal lost four thousand Gauls, fifteen hundred Spaniards and Africans, and two hundred horse,

[214] Philip declares war against the Romans, who send an army to the coasts of Greece, where Philip is beaten near Apollonia by the prætor Valerius.

[211] An alliance was formed this year between the Ætolians and the Romans: a clause was added, by which the Elians, the Lacedæmonians, Attalus king of Pergamos, Pleurates and Scerdelidæus (the first king of Thrace, and the other of Illyricum) were left at liberty to accede to it.

The Ætolians engaged to declare war immediately against Philip, and not to make peace with him but upon condition that he should not attack the Romans or their allies; which was to be mutual.

[210] Scipio takes Carthagena in Spain by storm; obtains very considerable booty. His humanity and modesty are worthy of imitation. Among the captives were several ladies of distinction: the wife of Madonias, brother of Indibilis king of the Illyretes, came to Scipio, and with tears in her eyes conjured him to recommend to those who had the ladies in their care, to have regard to their sex and birth. Scipio not understanding her at first, assured her that he had given orders that they should not want for any thing. But the lady replied, Those conveniences are not what affect us: in the condition to which fortune has reduced us, with what ought we not to be contented? I have many other apprehensions, when I consider on one side the licentiousness of war, and on the other the youth and beauty of the princesses which you see here; for as to me, my age protects me from all fear in this respect.

She had with her the daughters of Indibilis, and several other of the same rank, in the flower of their age. Scipio then comprehending her, said, My own glory, and that of the Roman people, are concerned in not suffering that virtue, which ought always to be respected wherever we find it, should be exposed in my camp to a treatment unworthy of it: but you give me a new motive for my being more strict in the care of it, in the virtuous solicitude you shew in thinking only of the preservation of your honour, in the midst of so many other subjects of fear. He then gave the care of them to some prudent officers, and charged them that they should be treated as the mothers and wives of their particular allies and friends.

It was upon this occasion that his soldiers brought him a young lady of such perfect beauty, that she drew upon herself the eyes of every body. He desired to know who she was, and to whom she belonged? And learning that she was upon the point of being married to Allucius, prince of the Celtiberians, he sent to him to come with the parents of the young

prisoner: and being told that Allucius loved her to excess, as soon as he appeared, he took him aside, and addressed him as follows: "You and I are young, which admits of my speaking to you with more liberty. Those who brought me your future spouse, assured me, at the same time, that you loved her with extreme tenderness; and her beauty left me no room to doubt it. Upon which, reflecting, that if like you I had thoughts of making an engagement, and were not solely engrossed with the affairs of my country, I should desire that so honourable and legitimate a passion might find favour. I think myself happy, in the present conjuncture, to do you this service. She you are to marry has been amongst us as she would have been in the house of her father and mother. I have kept her for you, in order to make you a present worthy of you and me. The only gratitude I require of you for this gift, is, that you would be a friend to the Roman people; and that if you judge me a man of worth, as my father and uncle have been deemed by the states of this province, you may know that there are in Rome many who resemble us, and that there is not a people in the universe you ought more to fear as enemies, or to desire more as friends.

Allucius, full of gratitude and joy, and the parents, had brought a great sum of money for her ransom: But he restored her, and would not accept the present, until he was able no longer to resist their solicitations; he then accepted it, and ordered it to be laid at his feet—then addressing himself to Allucius, I add, says he, to the portion you are to receive from your father in law, this sum, which I desire you to accept as a marriage present.

Allucius caused this action to be engraven on a silver buckler, which he presented to Scipio. This buckler, which Scipio carried with him in his return to Rome, was lost in passing the Rhone, with part of the baggage. It continued in that river until 1665, when some fishermen found it: It was then deposited in the king of France's cabinet.

Scipio's greatness of soul appeared in the use he made of the victory: He shews an elevation of sentiment, a talent in conciliating affection, and, what is above all, virtue, wisdom, and moderation, the more admirable, as an historian observes, as Scipio was then young, unmarried, and victorious.

[210] M. Atilius and Manius Acilius were sent ambassadors to Ptolemy Philopater and Cleopatra, who reigned at that time at Alexandria. They were ordered to demand of them, that the treaty of amity and alliance, which subsisted between the commonwealth and the kings of Egypt, should be renewed,

and to present the king with a robe, and a tunic of purple, and a curule chair; and the queen with an embroidered mantle, and a kind of purple veil.

[207] Several states and kings accede to the treaty between the Romans and Ætoliens. Attalus, king of Pergamos, Pleurates and Scerdelidœus, both kings, the one of Thrace, and the other of Illyricum, accept the invitation; the Ætoliens exhorted the Spartans to do the same.

Their deputy represented, in a lively manner, the designs the kings of Macedonia always had of subverting the liberties of Greece.

The deputy from the Acarnanians expatiated upon the services that Alexander's father, and Alexander himself, had done Greece, in ruining the Persians: He dwelt upon the same and danger of suffering barbarians to enter Greece, so he called the Romans: He added, that the Spartans ought to see the storm at distance, which began to gather in the west, and would undoubtedly break out, at first upon Macedonia, and afterwards upon all Greece. Sparta joined the Ætoliens, and entered into the common treaty. She was divided into two factions—the one violent for Philip, the other against him—the latter prevailed.

Attalus, first king of Pergamos, did the Romans great service in the war against Philip. This little sovereignty had been founded about 40 years before, by Philetus, an officer highly esteemed for his valor and conduct. Lyfimachus, one of the successors of Alexander, entrusted him with the treasure he had laid up in the castle of Pergamos: After the death of Lyfimachus, he continued in possession of the treasure, and the city: At his death he left them to his nephew, Lumenes 1st. who augmented his principality with some cities that he took from the king of Syria. Attalus 1st. his cousin, of whom we now speak, succeeded him: He assumed the title of king, after having conquered the Galatians, and transmitted it to his posterity, who enjoyed it to the third generation.

The Romans and their allies engage in the war against Philip.

[205] The Ætoliens make peace with Philip: Sempronius, who had arrived shortly after this treaty, with 10,000 men, 1000 horse, and 35 ships of war, was highly displeas'd with the treaty.

The Romans and Philip make peace.

[203] Hannibal quits Italy with great grief.

[202] The battle of Zama between Scipio and Hannibal; Hannibal is defeated, 20,000 killed, and nearly as many taken prisoners.

[200] The war with Macedonia now begins.

Ptolemy Philopater, king of Egypt, had left at his death a son, only 5 years old, called Ptolemy Epiphanes. Philip and Antiochus, king of Syria, entered into a criminal league to invade his dominions. The court of Egypt, perceiving the danger of the young king, from the joining of those two princes against him, had recourse to the Romans, to implore their protection, and offered them the guardianship of the king, and the regency of his dominions, during his minority, assuring them, that the late king had so ordered it at his death. The Romans did not hesitate to accept of the guardianship of the young prince, and sent three deputies to notify the two kings of it; that if they troubled him, they should be obliged to declare war against them. Part of the Roman glory consisted in their espousing the cause of injured kings. The Romans began at this time to be considered as an asylum where oppressed nations were sure to find speedy and effectual assistance. The ambassadors of the Rhodians, king Attalus, Athens, and various other small powers in Greece, were all answered favorably by the senate. War was declared against Philip, but not without strong opposition; the senators were accused by the people of having fomented and stirred up the war.

The consul Sulpicius, to whom the province of Macedonia had fallen by lot, after having been warmly opposed by the people, summoned in the field of Mars, before the centuries proceeded to give their suffrages, addressed them as follows: "You seemed not to know, Romans, that the question, at present, is not to deliberate, whether we are to make war or peace; for Philip, in preparing to make a rude war upon you, does not leave that at your choice; but to consider whether your legions are to be transported into Macedonia, or to wait until the enemy brings his troops into Italy, &c." The war was decreed.

Whilst preparations were making for the war, ambassadors arrived from Ptolemy, king of Egypt, who declared, that the Athenians had sent, and demanded aid of their master against Philip; but without the consent of the Roman people he would not attack any state whatever. The senate thanked the king for his good disposition, and replied, that the design of the Roman people was, to protect their allies—and if they should stand in need of the king's aid, he should be informed of it; for they relied upon his good intentions. The consul Sulpicius arrives in Macedonia, and sends Centhio to the aid of Athens, who takes and plunders the city of Chalcis. Philip besieges Athens without effect; he besieges it a second time without success, and lays waste Attica. The Romans ravage the frontiers

of Macedonia, and Philip makes great preparations for war. Philip gains some small advantages over the Romans, and is afterwards defeated, and obliged to fly. The Ætolians and Athenians pass decrees against Philip.

[198] At the beginning of this year, Antiochus, king of Asia, attacked Attalus vigorously, both by sea and land. The latter sent ambassadors to Rome, who represented the extreme danger their master was in: They demanded, that the Romans would either defend him themselves, or permit him to recal his fleet and troops. The senate replied, that nothing was more reasonable than the demand of Attalus: that they could not afford him aid against Antiochus, who was their friend and ally: but that the king was at entire liberty to recal his fleet and troops: that the intention of the Roman people was not to burthen in any sort their allies; and that they should not fail to acknowledge the zealous services of Attalus: that they would employ their good offices with Antiochus, to induce him not to disturb Attalus.

Accordingly the Romans sent ambassadors to Antiochus, to remonstrate to him; that Attalus had lent them his ships and troops, which they then actually employed against Philip, their common enemy; that it would be highly agreeable to them if he would leave Attalus in tranquility: that it seemed reasonable that the kings, who were the friends and allies of the Roman people, should live in peace with each other. Upon this remonstrance, Antiochus immediately drew off his troops from the territories of Attalus.

Macedonia had fallen by lot to the consul Quintus Flaminius, which was fortunate for the Romans: for the affairs and enemies they had upon their hands did not require a general who would be for carrying every thing by force of arms, but one who knew how to employ gentle and persuasive methods. Philip could raise troops enough in Macedonia for some battles; but Greece principally enabled him to sustain a long war by various supplies: of course, till the Greeks could be separated from their alliance with Philip, the war could not be terminated by a single battle. Greece at this time was not accustomed to the Romans, and only begun to have some engagements with them: for this reason, if the general of the Romans had not been a mild and tractable man, more inclined to terminate differences by conference than by force, insinuating enough to persuade those to whom he spoke, sufficiently affable to hearken to their reasons with goodness and complacency, and always disposed to abate something of his most legitimate pretensions, Greece would not have renounced an antient engage-

ment for a foreign alliance. Quintius's actions will shew the justness of these remarks.

Philip demanded an interview, by the mediation of the people of Epirus, in order to restore peace. Quintius, without difficulty, assented. The conferences continued three days. The consul offered the king peace, and the alliance of the Romans, upon condition that he would leave the Greeks at liberty, and in subjection only to their own laws. When they examined what states were to have their liberty, the consul named the Thessalians first. Thessaly, from the time of Philip the father of Alexander the Great, had always been in subjection to the Macedonians.

The king was so much incensed by the consul's proposal, that he cried out in a rage, What harder terms could you impose upon me, if, Quintius, you had conquered me? and he immediately broke up the conference. It was then evident, and the most affected to Philip's party were obliged to own it, that the Romans were come not to make war against the Greeks, which gained them the hearts of the people.

Quintius defeats Philip, and obliges him to fly: Epirus and Thessaly submit to him. The Roman fleet, with that of Atalus and the Rhodians, take Eutria and Carystos, two of the principal cities of Eubœa: after which the three fleets advanced to the port of Corinth.

An assembly of the Achœans is held at Sicyon, where the ambassadors of the Romans and their allies, and those of Philip, have audience. After long debate, the assembly declares for the Romans.

Lucius, the consul's brother, forms the siege of Corinth, and is obliged to raise it.

Philip abandons Argos to Nabis tyrant of Sparta, who makes an alliance with the Romans, as also did the Bœotians.

[197] An engagement between Quintius and Philip, who is defeated, with the loss of 8000 killed, and 5000 taken prisoners: the Romans lost only 700. It was fought at Cynoscephalæ.

The Ætolians distinguished themselves in this battle, and in the deliberations about peace were very insolent. Alexander the Ætolian said, that if the proconsul imagined that by making a treaty with Philip he should obtain either a solid and lasting peace for the Romans, or permanent liberty for the Greeks, he deceived himself: Philip must be dethroned.

Quintius addressed Alexander, and said, You know neither the character of the Romans, my views, nor the interests of the Greeks. It is not the custom of the Romans, when they

have made war with a prince and overcome him, to ruin him entirely. Hannibal and the Carthaginians are good proof of this. As for me, it never was my design to make an irreconcilable war with Philip. I always was inclined to grant him peace, as soon as he should submit to the conditions that should be imposed on him. Yourselves, *Ætolians*, in the assemblies which have been held on this subject, never mentioned dethroning of Philip. Ought victory to inspire us with such a design? How unworthy is such a sentiment! When an enemy attacks us in arms, it is just to repel him with haughtiness and vigour: but when we have beat him down, it is the victor's duty to shew moderation, lenity, and humanity. As to the Greeks, it is of consequence to them that the kingdom of Macedonia should be less powerful than heretofore: but it is no less important to them, that it should not be entirely destroyed. It is a barrier for them against the Thracians, Illyrians and Gauls; without which, as has frequently happened, all those barbarians would not fail to make irruptions into Greece.

Philip accepted the terms of peace, and said he would execute all that the Romans and their allies had prescribed at the last interview: as to the rest, he referred it entirely to the discretion of the senate.

What induced *Flaminius* to hasten the conclusion of the peace, was the news he had received that *Antiochus* actually meditated entering Europe with an army.

Ten commissioners were sent from Rome to regulate the affairs of Greece. The terms of the treaty of peace, which they settled in conjunction with *Flaminius*, were as follows:

That all the other cities of Greece, as well in Asia as Europe, should be free, and be governed by their own laws: That Philip should evacuate those in which he had garrisons: That he should restore to the Romans all prisoners and deserters, and deliver up all his decked ships, except five feluccas and one galley, with sixteen benches of oars: That he should pay 1000 talents—half immediately, and the other half in ten years, fifty each year, by way of tribute. Among the hostages required of him, was *Demetrius*, the youngest of his two sons, who was sent to Rome.

On the publication of the peace, the Greeks receive the news of their liberty with incredible transports of joy: there could never have been a day more agreeable, or more glorious, to *Flaminius* and the Roman people.

What are all the triumphs in the world, in comparison with these cries of joy of an innumerable multitude, which come from the heart, and are the effects of a lively and warm grati-

tude? Join all the trophies to all the victories and conquests of Alexander, and what do they appear to be, when compared with this single action of humanity and justice?

The Romans never lost sight of great and extensive objects: it was good policy for them to secure the affections of the Grecians, as they had in view a war with Antiochus.

The succeeding six years treat principally of the war with Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, the care of Quintius in regulating the affairs of Greece; war with the Gauls; the military exploits of Cato in Spain; and the preparations and beginning of the war with Antiochus.

[196] When the war with Philip was terminated, the Romans assumed a new stile. In the audiences which Quintius and the ten commissioners gave to several ambassadors of kings and republics—those of Antiochus were first introduced, and upon their only giving them words, to no effect, as they had done at Rome, they were told, not in ambiguous terms, as before, when they had Philip to fear, but in the clearest and most express manner, that he must abandon the cities of Greece and Asia, which had been in possession of Philip or Ptolemy, and must leave those which are free in tranquility.—That in particular, neither his army nor himself must enter Europe.

Three of these commissioners, and a deputy from Rome, set out for the court of Antiochus, and found him at Lyfimachia, the principal city of the Thracian Chersonesus, and found him employed in rebuilding it. In the first interview, nothing but formalities and professions of mutual amity passed. But when they came to treat of things, the affairs put on a very different aspect.

Cornelius demanded that Antiochus should restore to Ptolemy all the cities usurped from him. That he should evacuate all those which had belonged to Philip, and which he had surprized, whilst Philip was at war with the Romans. That he would have the Grecian cities of Asia, to enjoy their liberty and peace. He added, that the Romans were much surprized that Antiochus had entered Europe with two numerous land and sea forces, and that he was repairing the city Lyfimachia: Enterprizes, which could have no purpose, but to attack them.

Antiochus answered all, article by article.

First, Ptolemy was going to be his son-in-law, and that he should have satisfaction, when the marriage, which was already concluded, took effect. That as to the Grecian cities, which demanded to retain their liberty, it was from him, and not from the Romans, they were to hold it. As to Lyfimachia,

he said he built it for a place of residence for his son Seleucus. That Thrace and Chersonesus, which were a part of it, were his: That they had been conquered from Lyfimachus by Seleucus Nicator, one of his ancestors; and that he came thither as to his own inheritance: As to Asia, and the cities he had taken from Philip, he did not know by what title the Romans pretended to dispute the possession of them to him. That he desired them to meddle no more in the affairs of Asia, than he did in those of Italy.

The ambassadors of Lampfacus and Smyrna were introduced, and spoke in so free a manner, as highly exasperated Antiochus, who refused the arbitration of the Romans. At the separation every thing tended to an open rupture.

[195] The commissioners, on their return to Rome, reported, that they must expect and prepare for a new war.

That Antiochus had entered Europe with a strong sea and land army.—That, upon a false report of Ptolemy's death, he had already set out to seize Egypt, without which, Greece would at this time have been the theatre of war.

Hannibal escapes from Carthage, and goes to Antiochus at Ephesus.

[193] Great preparations for war were made by the Romans and Antiochus. Ambassadors came to Rome from all the states of Greece, and a great part of Asia Minor, and from several kings. They had an immediate and favourable audience of the senate, but the whole business was referred to Quintus and the ten commissioners.

The king's ambassadors, on the proposals made to them by Quintus, declared, that they were strangely surpris'd, that their master having sent them solely to make an alliance with the Romans, they should take upon them to give him the law, and to prescribe to him what cities he should keep, and what abandon. That they might act in that manner with Philip, after having defeated him, but not with Antiochus with whom they had never been at war.

Quintus explained himself more precisely, and said, that he had two things to propose to them, without one of which, they might inform, that he must not expect the amity of the Romans. The first is, that if he would not have us intermeddle with what regards Asia, he must, on his side, absolutely renounce Europe. The second, that if he refuses to keep within the bounds of Asia, and is determin'd to extend his sway into Europe, he ought not to think it strange that the Romans believe themselves in the right to retain the friends they have already in Asia, and even to make new ones there.

Hegefanax, who spoke for the king, replied, that there was an enormous difference, between depriving Antiochus of the cities of Thrace and Chersonesus, which his ancestors had possessed in right of conquest, and excluding the Romans from entering Asia, where they had never possessed an inch of land.

Quintius adhered to his proposals, and gave his final answer, that the Romans persisted in the resolution they had taken of giving liberty to the Grecian cities of Asia, as they had done to those of Europe.

The king's ambassadors answered, that they had neither the power, nor the will, to accede to any condition, that tended to deprive Antiochus of any part of his dominions. The next day Quintius introduced all the ambassadors of Greece and Asia to the senate, and after having informed them of all that had passed on both sides, he directed each of them to tell those who sent them, that the Roman people were determined to defend their liberty against Antiochus, with the same zeal and courage as they had evidenced against Philip, and were in hopes of the same success.

The ambassadors of Antiochus conjured the senate to precipitate nothing in an affair of that importance; to give the king time to reflect: and to do so themselves on the other side, before they proceeded to a resolution, which would disturb the tranquillity of the universe.

Antiochus concert measures with Hannibal for carrying on the war, who is for carrying it into Italy.

[192] Antiochus enters Europe; he makes a speech in the assembly of the Ætolians, and assured them, that he would spare neither expence, pains, nor danger, to deliver Greece. He is declared generalissimo of the combined armies. He makes an unsuccessful attempt against Chalcis.

The Ætolians exhort the Chalcidians to surrender; Miction, one of the principal persons of Chalcis, answered,

That he could not conjecture for the deliverance of whom Antiochus had left his kingdom, and had come to Greece: That he knew no city, that had received a Roman garrison, that paid tribute to Rome, or complained of being oppressed: That as for the Chalcidians, they had no occasion for a deliverer, as they lived at peace under the protection of the Romans: That the king could not give them a greater proof of his amity, than to quit their isle and retire.

An assembly of the Achæans, in which the ambassadors of Antiochus are introduced, in the presence of the Ætolians and Quintius—the informed them, that there was an innumerable

body of cavalry passing the Hellespont, to enter Europe, consisting partly of Cuirassiers, and partly of archers, who from their horses, even flying, discharged their darts. To this cavalry, which alone was sufficient to overwhelm all Europe, he added an infantry still more numerous and formidable, Dahæ, Medes, Elycæans, and Cadusians; names unknown and terrible—he affirmed that there were not ports enough in Greece to contain his fleet; of which the right wing was composed of Tyrians and Sidonians, and the left of Aradians and the Sidetæ of Pamphylia, nations the most skilful of any in naval affairs.

That the king was inconceivably rich—that he was come from the extremity of the east, for the deliverance of Greece: and only solicited of the Achæans to remain neuter.

Archidamus, the Cætolian ambassador, seconded this address, and exhorted them to remain neuter—at length, growing warm, he abused the Romans, personally insulted Quintus.

That the Romans were indebted to the Cætolians for the victory obtained over Philip; and for the safety of their army and general.

What function had Quintus discharged in the battle?

He had seen him employed in this battle, only consulting the auspices, sacrificing victims, and making vows, as if he acted in quality of augur and priest, &c.

Quintus replied, that he well perceived whom Archidamus had sought to please, by his discourse; that, convinced as he was, of the perfect knowledge the Achæans had of the character of the Cætolians, who made all their bravery consist in words, and not in actions, he had been at no pain about their esteem; but had thought only of being of some weight with the king's ambassadors, and by their means, with the king himself, that if any could have been ignorant of the motions, which had formed the alliance between the Cætolians and Antiochus, the discourse of the ambassador had shewn them, that nothing had passed from both, but lies and boasts. That by making a parade of forces, which they had not, they mutually deceived and flushed each other with promises and empty hopes: the Cætolians on one side boldly advancing, that they, and they alone, defeated Philip, and preserved the Romans, and that they should draw over all the states of Greece to their party: and the king, on the other hand, affirming, that he was going to make innumerable armies of horse and foot march; and to cover the sea with his fleet.

This, says Quintus, puts me in mind of an entertainment given me by a friend at Chalcis, who was a very polite man,

and one that well knew how to make his guests welcome. Surprized at the quantity and variety of the dishes that were served up, we asked him where he could possibly get so much game in the month of June? This person, who was not vain-glorious, like these people, informed us, laughing, that in reality, all this seeming game, was only pork differently seasoned, and served up with different sauces. The thing is the same with respect to the king's troops, of which so much has been boasted, and whose numbers have been magnified by great names. Dahœ, Medes, Cadusians, and Elymœans, all these are but one and the same people, that is to say, Syrians: and besides, a nation of slaves, rather than soldiers; so base and servile are their souls. Cannot I represent to you, Achœans, all the motions and expeditions of this great king, who now repairs to the assembly of the Achœans, to beg an aid of provisions and money. I am amazed that people venture to tell you, that the best you can do is to remain neuter; this is a certain way: but it is to become the prey of the victor.

The Achœans declared against Antiochus, and joined the Romans.

[191] As soon as the consuls had taken possession of their office, the senate ordered them to sacrifice victims of the great kind, and to implore the gods to grant the senate and people of Rome their protection in the new war. The Auspices declared, that the entrails of those victims foretold only happy events, that this war would terminate in victory, and extend the bounds of the empire farther than they had ever before. Public prayers were decreed during two years, and solemn vows were made to celebrate the great games, in honor of Jupiter, during ten days, if the event of the war was favourable, and to make offerings in all the temples of the gods.

The consul Acilius, after having made every necessary provision, and appointed the 15th of May for the rendezvous of his troops, at Brundisium, leaves Rome.

Antiochus holds a council of war at Demetrius, where Hannibal makes a fine speech, but is followed in nothing—it is supposed Antiochus was jealous of him.

Antiochus was defeated at the Streights of Thermopilœ—he fled to Chalcis with not more than 500 men of his army, from thence he hurries away to Ephesus.

[190] Cornelius Scipio, who commanded in Greece this year, was left at liberty to carry the war into Asia. The consul, after having sounded Philip's disposition, sets out for Asia, where Antiochus is making every possible preparation, especially by sea.

Antiochus having lost a great naval battle, abandons the pass of the Hellespont to the Romans. The consul passes the same, and enters Asia.

They remained sometime on the bank of the Hellespont, because it was the time when the Salii carried the sacred shields in procession at Rome, on which days it was not allowed to travel. This respected Scipio Africanus in particular, for he was one of the Salii—when Antiochus thought the Romans had passed the Streights, he began to believe he was undone—he thought of sending ambassadors to propose conditions of peace;—all that he had heard of the character of Scipio Africanus, of his greatness of soul, generosity and clemency in regard to the conquered states, as well of Spain, as of Africa, gave him hopes, that he, satiated with glory, would make no great difficulties to peace: and rather because he had his son, who was very young; a prisoner—how, is not certainly known—but he was treated at Antiochus's court with the utmost politeness and distinction.

During this halt of the troops, Heraclides of Byzantium, ambassador from Antiochus, arrived in the camp of the Romans; being informed that Scipio Africanus was absent, he would not be introduced to the consul; as soon as he arrived, he demanded an audience, and said, that what had rendered the other negotiations of peace ineffectual between his master and the Romans, made him hope good success from this: because all the difficulties, which had cut them short, at that time, were now removed. That the king, to leave no room to complain that he was for retaining any thing in Europe, had abandoned Lysimachia. That as to Smyrna, Lampascus, and Alexandria in Troas, he was ready to cede those cities to the Romans, and every other city which they should demand, as in alliance with their commonwealth; that he consented to pay the Roman people one-half of the expences of war; that they ought to be satisfied with making Europe the boundary of their empire; that if they absolutely insisted upon adding some part of Asia to it, the king would have moderation enough to consent to it, provided the limits of it were very clearly and precisely settled.

The ambassador thought proposals so reasonable could not be rejected—but the Romans thought otherwise, and replied, as to the expences of the war, as it had been unjustly undertaken by the king, they thought in reason, that he should pay the whole; neither were they satisfied with his making his garrisons evacuate Ionia and Æolia: their view was to reinstate the liberty of all Asia, as they had of all Greece, which

could not be done, if the king did not evacuate all Asia on this side Mount Taurus.

The ambassador, very much dissatisfied, according to the orders he had received, endeavours to gain Scipio Africanus. He declared to him, above all, that the king would restore to him his son, without ransom. Little knowing the greatness of Scipio's soul, he assured him, that if he could obtain peace for Antiochus, that prince would give him whatever sums he should think fit, and divide the authority with him in the government of his dominions, reserving to himself the name of king.

Scipio answered in terms to this effect. I do not wonder that you little know Scipio, and the Romans in general, as you do not know so much as the condition of the prince who sent you to us. If you pretend that the uncertainty of success should induce us to grant you peace more readily, your master should have kept possession of Lyfimachia, to prevent us from entering the Chersonesus, or should have met us in the Hellespont, to have disputed our passage into Asia. But as he has abandoned it to us, he has received the curb and the yoke. Amongst the offers he makes me, that of restoring me my son, cannot but very sensibly affect me. As to the rest, I beg the gods, that the state of my fortune may dispense with the wants of them: at least, I shall never think them necessary, and I hope they never will be capable of tempting me. If Antiochus in return for a private favour, requires only a private acknowledgment, I shall make him sensible, that I am not ungrateful; but as a public man, he must expect nothing from me, as it is my duty to receive nothing from him: All that I can now do, is, to give him salutary council, as a good and faithful friend. Go therefore, and tell him from me, to lay down his arms, and not to refuse any of the conditions of peace proposed to him.

Antiochus sends Scipio's son to him. He, although extremely overjoyed at the sight of his son, said to the ambassadors, go and assure the king, that I am extremely sensible of his generous attention; and tell him, that at present I can give him no other proof of my gratitude, than to advise him not to think of fighting, before he knows I have arrived in the camp. Scipio had retired from camp sick.

The superiority, in point of numbers, of Antiochus's troops over those of the Romans, authorized hazarding a battle without delay; however, the authority of such a person as Scipio prevailed in his mind.—He passed the river Phrygia, and posted himself near Magnesia, at the foot of mount Sipylus, where he fortified his camp. The consul followed him thither.—An-

tiochus had 70,000 foot, 12,000 horse, and 54 elephants. The Romans had in all but 30,000 men and 16 elephants.

An engagement ensued, in which the king loses his whole army; that is, 54,000 foot and 4000 horse in the battle, and prisoners 1400; 15 elephants were taken.

The Romans lost only 300 foot and 80 horse.

Antiochus demands peace by his ambassadors, who addressed the Romans and said,—without seeking to excuse ourselves, we only ask you what we are to do, to expiate the imprudence into which Antiochus has fallen, and to induce you to forgive him, and grant him peace. You have always with generosity and greatness of soul, pardoned the kings and states you have overcome. How much more ought you to do so now, after a victory which renders you master of the universe. Laying aside all animosities against mortals, you should have no thoughts for the future, but, after the example of the gods, to pardon and do good to mankind.

Scipio answered,—Of all things which are naturally dependent on the gods, we possess only those which they have vouchsafed to bestow. As to our courage, which depends only on us, it has always been the same in whatever situation we have been. As ill fortune has never been able to depress it, prosperity is not capable of exalting it. To prove what I say, I might mention the example of your Hannibal, if I had not your own to set before you. When we had passed the Hellespont, before we had seen your camp and army, whilst the event of the war was still uncertain, you came to treat with us of peace. Now the same conditions which we then proposed to you, when things were equal on both sides, we now propose again when you are defeated, and we are victorious. You shall abandon all you possess in Europe, and in Asia, on this side of Mount Taurus: you shall give us for the charges of the war 15,000 Euboic talents, 500 down; 2500 when the senate and people of Rome shall have ratified the treaty: You shall pay the remaining 12,000 in twelve equal annual payments; it is also just that you should pay Eumenes 400 talents, and the rest of the corn which was due his father: When you have accepted these conditions, that we may rely on your executing them, you shall give us twenty hostages, which we shall choose. But the Roman people can never be assured of being at peace with a prince who keeps Hannibal at his court; we therefore, previously of all things, demand, that you deliver him up to us, as well as Thoas the Cretian, who has most contributed in exciting this war. The king, by delaying too long, will make peace when his fortune is become more precarious; if he de-

lays longer, let him know, that it is more difficult to make the fortune of kings descend from its greatest height to a middling condition, than to precipitate it from the latter to the lowest state.

The distinction between external goods, depending upon providence, and those of the soul, dependant solely upon human will, is the constant, and almost universal opinion of the Pagan world.

Cicero, by the mouth of Cotta, explains himself more strongly—All men, says he, are convinced that they hold all fortuitous and exterior goods from the gods, as well as all the conveniencies of life, but not virtue. Was there ever a man that thanked the gods that he was a good man? But the gods are thanked for riches, honour and health: Jupiter is called most good, most potent, not because he makes us just, prudent, wise, but because he affords us protection, safety, riches.

Horace expresses the same opinion, thus;

Sed satis ut orare Jovem, qui donet et aufert

Dat vitam, dat opes: æquum mi animum ipse parabo.

The ambassadors of Antiochus were ordered to accept of whatever terms the Romans might impose.

Ten commissioners are sent into Asia, who were to make in substance the following regulations: That Eumenes should be put in possession of all the countries that had been under Antiochus, on this side Mount Taurus, except Lycia and Caria; those countries included all Lycaonia, the two Phrygias, Misia, the cities of Lydia and Ionia, except those which were free at the time the battle was fought with Antiochus; that all the cities of Asia, which had paid tribute to Attalus king of Pergamos, should also pay tribute to his son Eumenes; that those which had been tributary to Antiochus, should be free and exempt from all imposts; to the Rhodians were granted, that part of Caria in the neighbourhood of their island, beyond the Meander, with the cities, towns, forts and lands extending towards Pisidia, except the places which had been free before the defeat of Antiochus.

Thus ended the war with Antiochus, which was not of long duration: cost the Romans little blood, and very much conduced to aggrandize their empire: But at the same time, the conquest contributed in another manner to the ruin of the same empire, by introducing at Rome, with the riches it brought thither, a taste for luxury and voluptuousness. It is from this victory over Antiochus, and the conquest of Asia, that Pliny dates the corruptions of the manners of the Roman common-

wealth, and of the fatal change that happened in it. Foreign riches put an end to the love of poverty, and the ancient simplicity which had been the principles of its honour and strength. Luxury, which entered Rome in triumph, with the superb spoils of Asia, brought in its train, all kinds of disorder and crimes.

Armis vicit, vitiis victus est.

The facts now related exhibit the Romans in one point of view, which is the lust of empire; and this will soon determine the fate of all the states of Greece, and occasion an almost general change throughout all the universe.

The Romans gave, on certain occasions, manifest proofs of disinterestedness and moderation; they restore liberty to all the republics and cities of Greece. But in this they did not act entirely without a regard to their interest.

Two powers divided Greece, the republics and Macedonia, and they were always at war with each other.

Macedonia gave just alarms to Rome; she therefore sought to counterpoise the Macedonian power, and to deprive Philip of the aid of Greece; this aid would have rendered him invincible by the Romans, if all Greece had joined with Philip. To prevent this union, fatal to their views, the Romans declared highly for republics, and that they would protect their liberty, which had always been disputed by the kings of Macedonia.

The bait was artfully prepared, and greedily swallowed by the Greek republics, most of whom carried their views no farther; but the most judicious and penetrating discovered the danger concealed under this lure; admonished them of the cloud gathering in the west, which would soon change into a dreadful tempest that would wreck them all. Nothing at first was more candid and equitable than the conduct of the Romans. They treated the cities with great goodness who put themselves under their protection. They rendered themselves supreme arbitors of those to whom they had restored liberty. They sent commissioners to them to hear their complaints, to examine the reasons on both sides, and to terminate the differences. Thus the senate of Rome set itself up for the supreme tribunal of the universe, judging all states and kings in the last resort.

The same kind of policy was practised towards kings; she attached to herself the weakest. The title of allies in some measure rendered them sacred, and was a protection against more powerful kings. She attacks all the great potentates, who were masters of Europe and Asia. And with what haughtiness did they not treat them, even before victory; and

afterwards, they obliged them to give them their children, and the heirs to their crowns, as hostages; made them lay down their arms; forbid them to make war or alliance without their good will and pleasure; drove them beyond mountains; left them only an empty title, a phantom of royalty, divested of its rights and advantages. Enemies to the liberty of all people, and full of contempt for kings and royal power, considering the whole universe as their prey, their insatiable ambition took in the conquest of all the world; they indiscriminately seized all provinces and kingdoms, and included all the people of the earth under their yoke.

Ambition, which always was the soul of the enterprises of the Romans, was attended with so many glorious actions, such excellent qualities and shining virtues, that, especially with such great successes, may not seem very reproachable, and may even be considered as a mark of great and noble sentiments, that rise above the pitch of vulgar souls; and which alone can conduce to the glory and augmentation of a state; at least, this is the idea the Pagans have of it. This ambition will not always be so modest and reserved. It will appear without veil or disguise; and in the latter times of the commonwealth it will rise into excesses, which will occasion its ruin, and change the form of government.

[168.] The kingdoms of Macedonia and Illyricum are reduced to Roman provinces; one half the revenues to be paid to the Romans.

The succeeding 21 years include a series of affairs, which arose from the war of the Romans with Perseus, the third punic war, and the destruction of Corinth.

From 150 years before Christ to 90, a space of 60 years, the Roman lust of empire had fully displayed itself in various directions.

[101] Mithridates so famous afterwards for his wars with the Romans, formed at this time, some great designs against some states adjoining to his dominions. But supposing that he could not put them in execution without bringing over the Romans to his interest, he sent ambassadors to Rome with large sums of money, to engage the voices of the principal senators. Saturninus, who thought this a good opportunity for attacking his enemy, went so far as to insult the ambassadors. The latter, encouraged by a number of the senators, who promised to support them with their whole credit, laid their complaints before the senate, who alone took cognizance of this kind of affairs.

The persons of ambassadors had always been extremely respected at Rome; and in cases like this, the violators had always been delivered up to the State, that had been injured. The senate, in this case, probably intimidated by the mob that surrounded their doors, acquitted him.

Mithridates, at first surnamed Eupator, and afterwards the Great, had received from his fathers a kingdom of considerable extent, as it included all the country bordering upon the Euxine sea, from the banks of the river Hays as far as Colchis. However, none of his ancestors had made themselves very famous. All that we know of those kings, which is not much, may be seen in Rollin's *Ancient History*, or in that of the Jews by Mr. Prideaux. The most remarkable fact there, in respect to Mithridates, is, that he was descended from the most illustrious origin in the universe; as it was traced back to one of the Persian noblemen who killed the Magus Smerdis. Appian expressly mentions, as the author of his race, Darius, the son of Hystaspis, who after having killed the Magus, became king of Persia; which some of the learned explain, by supposing that the kings of Pontus descend from Anabranes, or Artabazanes, the son of Darius, and elder brother of Xerxes, who having been obliged to cede the empire of the Persians to his younger brother, born after his father's accession to the throne, in order to console him, obtained a settlement on the Euxine sea.

The father of Mithridates Eupator, was also called Mithridates, with the surname of Evergetes.

That prince was the first of his race that made an alliance with the Romans. He had supplied them with some aid in the third war with Carthage. He received as a reward Phrygia Major, dismembered from the dominions of the king of Pergamos, upon which he had before some ancient pretensions: his father Pharmacis had added the city of Sinope to his dominions, an important conquest, which became the residence of the kings of Pontus, and the capital of their dominions.

Mithridates Evergetes perished in this city, by the conspiracy of some of his court, leaving two sons, the eldest of whom, our Mithridates, was in his twelfth year. His death, and the beginning of Mithridates the Great to reign, may be referred to the six hundred and twenty ninth year of Rome.

History has observed that the year of Mithridates's accession to the crown, as well as that of his birth, was signalized by the appearance of a comet, which was during seventy days, and of which the light was so great, that the whole firmament seemed on fire; for, as it is said, its magnitude (no doubt, as

cluding its tail) occupied the fourth part of the heavens; and its light effaced that of the sun itself; and when it arose or set, it required four hours, both for its total appearance or disappearance. I leave to the astrologers to judge, whether this description be not exaggerated as pretended presages of the prince's future greatness.

The situation of Mithridates in the beginning of his reign, did not denounce what he became in the sequel. Nothing seemed less terrible: a kingdom in no wise comparable to those, over which the Romans had already triumphed; an infant king, exposed to the continual plots of perfidious guardians, who spared no pains imaginable to destroy him. It is however, in this state of obscurity and weakness, that the greatest king in the world was formed. One infinitely superior to all the princes, his cotemporaries, whose exploits equal the most illustrious conquerors that had preceded him; the most formidable enemy Rome had after Hannibal; who sustained against the Romans, then in the highest degree of their power, a war of thirty years, with various success; and who, after having had the most able generals, Sylla, Lucullus, and Pompey, to deal with, in proportion as he was overcome, acquired greater forces, and became more terrible by his losses and defeats.

The bad designs of his guardians turned to his advantage: they endeavoured to make him ride a vicious horse, not broke: obliging him to run and exercise the dart and the javelin at the same time. His strength and address preserved him from all danger; and he became the best horseman in his kingdom;—they had afterwards recourse to poison, but the young prince, who distrusted them, by way of caution, used antidotes, and was the only one who contracted the habit of taking poison every day, after having prepared himself with its contrary, in such a manner, that in the extremity of his affairs, when he was for poisoning himself, he could not accomplish his death, by such means. He was the inventor of several kinds of antidotes, one of which retains his name to this day.

At length, as he apprehended his enemies would execute that with the sword which they had failed of by poison, he removed entirely from cities: and under pretext of a violent passion for hunting, he lived, if we may believe Tragus, Pompeius, and Justin, seven whole years in the forests, without even entering, not only into any city, but under any roof in the country: passing the nights in the midst of woods, often without any body knowing the place of his retreat; exercising himself in

purſuing, flying, and fighting wild beaſts; and by thoſe violent exerciſes, he acquired ſuch ſtrength of body, and vigour of conſtitution, as enabled him to undergo all fatigues, and did not abandon him even in old age.

This life was well adapted to inſpiring him with a kind of ferocity of character, that degenerated into cruelty; and the dangers to which he continually ſaw himſelf expoſed, from thoſe who had moſt reaſon to be attached to his perſon, alſo promoted that bad temper; accordingly he was cruel to excuſe. He not only, when he aſſumed the reigns of empire, put his guardians, who well deſerved it, to death, but he did not ſpare even his own mother: he alſo deprived his brother of life; his ſons, daughters and wives, experienced the like barbarity. He alſo, in conſequence of the ſame rough and laborious education, became a great eater and drinker, which according to ſome, was the reaſon why he was called Dionyſius or Bacchus. One day, at table, he propoſed a prize for the perſon who ſhould outdo the reſt in eating and drinking; and he obtained the prize—a fine triumph for a king! But it does not appear, that the pleaſures of the table made him neglect his affairs: Ambition was his ruling paſſion.

He no ſooner ſaw himſelf in quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom, than he had thought of extending its limits: his firſt exploits were againſt the Scythians, and other barbarous nations, and ſome Greek colonies that inhabited the north of the Euxine ſea; and he reduced all that coaſt as far as the Boſphorus and Palus Mæotis. Such great ſucceſſes flattered him, and made him conceive the deſign of univerſal monarchy. Strabo, a very judicious author, and perfectly informed of what related to this prince, ſays, that from thenceforth he entertained thoughts of penetrating by that way, as far as the Adriatic ſea, in order to attack the Romans: but the affairs of Aſia called him elſewhere, and preſented him more eaſy and better choſen conquerors.

In theſe wars, wherein he had to do with ſavage nations, he enured his body more and more againſt fatigues, and his mind againſt danger. His troops, accuſtomed to croſs deſerts, and vaſt uncultivated regions, and to ſuffer hunger, and the regions of cold, were become invincible, under a potent and warlike king, who generally marched on foot at their head; in conſequence, the Aſiatics muſt have been an eaſy prey to him.

But to underſtand rightly what we are to relate, we muſt call to mind what the ſtate of Aſia Minor, and of the principal powers that divided it, was at that time.

The Romans possessed Asia, properly so called; that is, the kingdom of Pergamus, which had been left them by the will of Attalus Philometor, and conquered by them from Aristonicus. Nicomedes Philopator, son of Prusias, reigned in Bythina. Paphlagonia had long had its king, whose common name was Pylemes; as it was situated between the kings of Pontus and Bythina, it had suffered much from these two powerful neighbours; and its ancient kings seemed to have been reduced very low from the time of Mithridates Evergetes. Next to Paphlagonia, along the coast of the Buxine sea, was the kingdom of Pontus. Cappadocia was under Arianthes, the son of another of that name, who died in the service of the Romans, in their war with Aristonicus. Galatia was divided between several Tetrarchs. But all these states, and the other parts of Asia Minor, without being immediately under the Roman sway, respected their generals, and in a manner received the law from them. Especially when any trouble or quarrel arose, between the princes or states of those countries, the Romans did not fail to make themselves the arbitrators of them, and their opinion was in a degree law.

Mithridates, haughty and ambitious, far from suffering patiently this subjection, had no thoughts but of substituting himself in their stead. He thought it nothing to invade the dominion of his neighbours, of whom none were capable to resist him. His aim was against the Romans; he formed a plan for driving them entirely out of Asia. He made a tour in disguise, and examined all the cities, ports, passes, and rivers.

He had a reason for war with them, already founded on their having divested him of Phrygia Major, that had been given his father in reward for services done by him, in the war with Aristonicus. The Romans pretended that it was Aquilius, who on his own authority, and for presents made him by Mithridates Evergetes, had given him that province; and they took the advantage of the infancy of his son, to deprive him of it, and to declare Phrygia a free state. And indeed Aquilius had been accused of extortion on his return from Asia. Thus the conduct of the Romans had the appearance of justice. Mithridates felt the wound, but he gave his design time to ripen.

He had pretensions upon Paphlagonia, and having made a treaty with Nicomedes, they conquered it at their common expence, and divided it between them. The Romans immediately took the alarm, and sent an embassy to order the two kings to reinstate the Paphlagonian nation in its former

condition. Mithridates answered haughtily, That country belonged to him, as it had done to his father, by right of inheritance—and, without being terrified by the menaces of the ambassadors, he at the same time seized Galatia. Nicomedes, who knew he was not so strong, pretended to obey. But having made one of his sons assume the name of Pylemenes, he placed him upon the throne of Paphlagonia, as if reviving the name of their former kings, had been re-establishing it in the same condition; thus the embassy of the Romans was eluded. It was perhaps on this occasion, that Mithridates sent the embassy to Rome, which Saturninus insulted as has been related.

The affairs of Paphlagonia had no important consequences: but the enterprizes of Mithridates upon Cappadocia, at length produced an open rupture between him and the Romans; there was no crime that he did not commit, to make himself master of that kingdom, which bordered upon his dominions; he caused the king Ariarathes, who was his brother-in-law, having married Laodice, the king of Pontus's sister, to be assassinated. He killed the eldest son of the same Ariarathes with his own hand, at an interview which he had deceitfully concerted. He dethroned his second nephew, who died in consequence of grief. And lastly, not daring to take possession of Cappadocia in his own name, he made one of his sons king, aged only eighteen, whom he caused to take the name of Ariarathes, and was for passing him for the son, or rather grand-son of him who died in the war with Aristonicus.

Nicomedes saw Mithridates aggrandize himself in this manner with a jealous eye. He used great efforts to prevent it, or at least to share in the prey. But not being able to succeed by force, he had recourse to fraud. Laodice, the king of Pontus's sister, and mother of the two last lawful kings of Cappadocia, enraged to see herself persecuted by her brother, had thrown herself into the arms of Nicomedes, and had married him. Ambition and revenge suggested to them the design of setting up a third Ariarathes, brother of the two former, to whom they pretended that the kingdom of Cappadocia belonged: and Laodice went to support the fraud with the senate. Mithridates did not give place to his enemies in points of impudence; and sent ambassadors to Rome to declare, that the king established by him, was truly of the blood-royal of Cappadocia, and descended from the ancient Ariarathes.

The senate were not deceived by these gross frauds; and, conformably to the ancient maxim of Roman policy, always intent upon weakening the kings, and gaining nations by the

gift of liberty, that had more appearance than reality in it, they declared, that Mithridates and Nicomedes should abandon, the one Cappadocia, and the other Paphlagonia, and that these two countries should be free for the future. It is not known what effect this decree of the senate had in respect to Paphlagonia. But the Cappadocians extremely surpris'd the Romans by the declaration they made, that liberty would be a burthen to them, and that the nation could not subsist without a king. The senate permitted them to keep the kind of government which suited them best. They chose for king Ariobarzanes, who was confirmed by the senate.

Sylla was commission'd to put the new king in possession of Cappadocia. It was attended with difficulty. Mithridates dar'd not openly oppose the decree of the senate; but he set one Gordius to work, who he had before employed to kill Ariarathes, his brother-in-law, and appointed guardian of his false Ariarathes. Gordius had a large party in the kingdom, with which he was so bold as to oppose Sylla; but the last had no great difficulty in expelling him: And Cappadocia, under a king, the friend and dependant of the Romans, got rid of Mithridates entirely.

The new affront which the Romans had made Mithridates suffer, exasperated him very much; but as he was no less politic than enterprising, before he openly declared himself their enemy, he resolv'd to secure himself a potent neighbouring ally. Tigranes, king of Armenia, had very much extended the dominions of his ancestors by conquest, and formed a great empire. Mithridates made him first marry his daughter Cleopatra, after which, apprehending still that a war with the Romans would terrify him, he resolv'd to embroil him with them without his perceiving it. And he sent Gordius to him, to implore his aid for his re-establishment in Cappadocia, which he pretended to belong to him; insinuating at the same time to Tigranes, the facility of dethroning a weak ill-settled king like Ariobarzanes. Tigranes tempted, sent two generals. Ariobarzanes perceiving himself unequal to the contest, secured his effects and fled to Rome.

At the same time Nicomedes Philopater happen'd to die; the inheritance of the crown occasion'd troubles in Bithynia. He left two sons; the eldest, called Nicomedes, the Romans supported. The youngest, called Socrates, Mithridates supported; and being near at hand, supplied him with such powerful aids, that Nicomedes was dethroned, and fled to Rome to make his complaints.

The Romans were then in very great perplexity. It was in the height of the war with the allies, which laid them under the impossibility for providing for the occasions of countries so remote. They however sent commissioners, at the head of whom was M. Aquilius, who had terminated the war of the slaves in Sicily, a brave warrior, but avaricious. These commissioners had orders to reinstate the kings Ariobarzanes and Nicomedes; to call in the aid of L. Cassius, pro-consul of Asia, and of Mithridates himself; for that prince had not appeared directly in these movements, of which he was the soul. The Romans probably did this to reduce him to declare himself.

Mithridates acted with great prudence. He neither contributed nor opposed the re-establishment of the princes, which was accordingly done by Aquilius and Cassius.

Mithridates, though seemingly idle, strengthened himself by a treaty with Tigranes; the purport of which was, that Mithridates should have all the cities and countries that should be conquered, and Tigranes all the men and plunder taken.

The king of Pontus brought into his interest the Gallo Grecians, the Sarmatæ, the Bastunæ, and the Scythians; from these nations he had great bodies of troops, and almost all upper Asia was armed against the Romans.

Nicomedes, pressed by Aquilius, entered the country of the king of Pontus in arms, and laid it waste as far as the city Amastris without opposition. Mithridates, true to his plan, was glad to have good cause of complaint, and to make it appear that the Romans were the aggressors.

As soon as Nicomedes retired, Mithridates, to fix the wrong upon the Romans, sent them his complaints by an ambassador, who took great care at first to dwell upon the quality of an ally of the Roman people; that Mithridates and his father had constantly maintained. He concluded, that they ought either to force the king of Bithynia to do him justice, or consent that Mithridates should do himself justice.

After which, Nicomedes's ambassadors or agents were heard; they expatiated upon the conduct of the king of Pontus, and the immense preparations he had made; that his designs had a much higher aim than Bithynia; that he meditated a blow against the Romans.

The ambassador of Mithridates persisted in demanding justice for the hostilities committed by the king of Bithynia; and consented, that the Romans should be arbitrators between them with respect to ancient differences. The Romans give an am-

biguous answer, which Mithridates took for a refusal of justice. Observing measures no longer, he sent his son Ariarathes into Cappadocia with a powerful army; and though Marcius, one of the senate's commissioners, was there, and supported Ariobarzanes, the battle was fought, and Ariarathes victorious, repossessed himself of the kingdom.

Mithridates, after having made the Romans sensible in this manner that he did not fear them, sent the same ambassador, Pelopidas, with instructions more haughty than before. He had orders to complain in the strongest terms, not of the commonwealth and senate, but of the Roman generals who were in Asia, and before whom he spoke. He pretended, that what had lately happened in Cappadocia, was the reward of their injustice to his master, whose power he magnified, and the extent of his dominions, the allies he had made, and the forces he had collected by sea and land: That it was very imprudent in them to engage their commonwealth in war with so powerful a king, whilst they were scarcely able to oppose the arms of their allies of Italy, who attacked the centre of their empire. He threatened them with laying his complaints before the senate, and to cite them to give an account of their conduct. And as Mithridates still called himself the ally of the Romans, that if justice were done him with respect to Nicomedes, he was ready to aid the Romans against the revolted Italians. If not, throw off the appearance of amity, or else let us proceed to a trial before the senate.

The Roman generals were exceedingly piqued at the haughtiness of this discourse, and the personality of it. They answered in terms equally haughty; they forbid Mithridates either to attack Nicomedes, or to intermeddle in the affairs of Cappadocia, whither they were going to reinstate Ariobarzanes: and told him to return no more, if he did not bring his master's entire submission to the laws prescribed him. As they did not rely on that submission, they assembled forces from all sides, Phrygia, Paphlagonia, and the neighbouring countries; and joining their troops with the Romans under L. Cassius proconsul of Asia; they formed three divisions of them, of which each commanded one. Cassius with one of these armies encamped on the frontiers of Bithynia and Gallo Græcia. Aquilius took upon himself to oppose the entrance of Mithridates into Bithynia: and Q. Appius marched towards Cappadocia: they had also a fleet near Byzantium, to shut up that of Mithridates in the Euxine Sea. Nicomedes, on his side, assembled an army of 50,000 men and 6000 horse.

Thus the Roman generals, without the order of the senate, undertook a war of so great importance, the consequences of which were fatal to so many nations.

The imprudence of these Roman generals was the greater, as the power and preparations of Mithridates were formidable; he had of his own forces 250,000 foot, 40,000 horse, 130 chariots armed with scythes, 300 decked ships, and 100 of a smaller size;—add to this, able generals, as Neopetolimus and Archelaus, who were brothers, Dorylaus and some others, all formed by long experience of war, and upon whom, however, Mithridates did not so much rely, but personally kept an eye upon every thing. Most of the kings of the east were in his interest. Tigranes his son-in-law supplied him with troops; the kings of Parthia, Syria, and Egypt favoured him. For his fleet, he had caused pilots to come from Egypt and Phœnicia. His generals at first gained a considerable advantage over Nicomedes in Paphlagonia; the king of Bithynia's camp was taken with immense booty and a great number of prisoners. This compleat victory was gained by the light armed foot only, supported by the horse, the phalanx not being able to share in the battle: And from thence the Roman generals began to conceive fear, seeing the less number defeat the greater; and that not from the advantage of the ground, nor by the fault of cowardice in the Bithynians, but by the ability of Mithridates's generals and the valour of his army. By this victory Paphlagonia fell to Mithridates.

Nicomedes having drawn together the remnant of his defeated army, joined Aquilius. On the approach of Mithridates's army, and in consequence of a small action, in which 100 Sarmatian horse beat 800 Bithynian horse; those troops already terrified with their former defeat, dispersed; and Aquilius, not being strong enough to resist the enemy, was entirely defeated, lost his camp, and did not think himself safe till he arrived in Pergamos.

The second victory opened the whole country to Mithridates. Cassius retired to Apamea, Nicomedes to Pergamos, Marcus to Rhodes, and Oppius to Laodicea. They shut themselves up in the cities, not being able to keep the field. At the same time, the fleet that guarded the entrance of the Luxine Sea separated; and several of Nicomedes's ships were delivered up by their commanders to Mithridates. Thus that prince being master of all the passes by land and by sea, had only to appear, and receive the submission of the states that came in emulation to pay their homage to him; for, like a wise conqueror,

he had taken care to conciliate their affections, treating all the Asiatic prisoners that fell into his hands with great lenity.

This conduct succeeded perfectly well with Mithridates; all Bithynia was reduced in a few days; from thence he entered Phrygia, which belonged to the Romans, and took up, as an happy omen, the same quarters that Alexander had done before him.

He forgot nothing that might conciliate so many new conquests to his sway; and uniting actual liberty with caresses, he granted to the cities a general remittance of all that they owed, either to the government or particulars, and an exemption from taxes for five years. The immense treasures of their ancient kings on which he seized, and the abundance of provisions and ammunition which he found laid up every where, enabled him to display magnificence and benevolence, without injuring himself.

Till his entrance into Phrygia, Mithridates had not directly attacked the Romans, but only their allies. He then took off the mask, and openly declared himself an enemy to Rome. As he undertook a war against so formidable a people, he thought it necessary to encourage his troops: and Justin has preserved the oration, which Trogus Pompeius put into his mouth on this occasion. As this discourse is extremely long, and recites abundance of facts, both ancient and modern, the most remarkable will be repeated.

Mithridates proves first to his soldiers that the Romans are not invincible, by mentioning the advantages lately gained over them by themselves; more especially the great victories of Pyrrhus, Hannibal, and the Gau's. He represented to them the actual situation of Rome, in her difficult situation with the Italian rebels, and torn in pieces by domestic divisions: He concluded from thence, that it was necessary to seize the occasion for augmenting their own at the Romans' expence; least, added he, if we continue quiet whilst they are employed, we should find more difficulty to sustain their efforts, when they are free and disengaged from all they have now upon their hands; for we are not to enquire now, whether war is to be made with them, but whether we shall take our own time or wait theirs. From thence he goes on to enumerate all the injuries pretended to be done them by the Romans, and which, in his sense, were equivalent to a declaration of war.

Phrygia and Paphlagonia taken from him by them; and Cappadocia, which he had conquered, and from which they had expelled his son; they have torn from me my conquest, says he, they who have nothing, not acquired by arms.

He concludes this detail with the insults offered him by Nicomedes; for, adds he, it is not the pretended injuries kings have done them, it is their strength and majesty they aim at. It is hence they oppressed Eumenes, dethroned his son Antiochus, and made an implacable war on the grandson of the great king Mithridates, the unfortunate Jugurtha, in whom they shewed so little respect for the memory of his grandfather, that they ignominiously exhibited him as a spoil in their triumph, and afterwards made him perish miserably in a prison. Such is the hatred they have declared for kings, undoubtedly, because their blood is not only kings whose names made them blush:—

1. Aboriginal shepherds.
2. Sabine augurs.
3. Corinthian exiles.
4. Tuscan slaves: And
5. the Superbs, the most honourable and distinguished name of them all.

They have reason to relate with pleasure, that their founder was suckled by a wolf; for that people are a people of wolves; insatiable of blood and slaughter, and always greedy to excess of riches and empire.

To this odious picture which he gave of the Romans, he opposed a magnificent display of his own high nobility, which on his father's side, he traced back to Cyrus and Darius, and by the female line*, to Seleucus Nicator, founder of the kingdom of Syria, and Alexander the Great: Of the greatness of the nations subject to him, who had never experienced the yoke of a foreign power, and his exploits against unconquerable states, as the Scythians, who, before him, had never known a victor.

He subjected Phrygia, Mysia, Asia properly so called, Lycia, Pamphylia, the coast of Ionia; and all the country, extending quite to the sea-coast, all either gave way before his arms, or courted his alliance. Appius had retired to Laodicea; he sends a herald with a promise of impunity, and Appius is immediately seized and delivered up, with his Lictors: he inflicted no ill treatment upon him; he only carried him about every where in his train, exhibiting with pride, and in derision of the Roman greatness, a captive Roman general.

Aquilius was not so mildly used: as he was at the head of the commission, and the principal author of the war, Mithridates, had a personal hatred for him: for that reason, that unfortunate general, who was first at Mitylen, having been delivered up to him, by the Lesbians, there was no kind of indignity or outrage, that the king did not make him suffer. He

* Mithridates' great grandmother was the daughter of Seleucus Callinicus, king of Syria.

was laden with chains, whipped with rods, led about every where upon an ass, and in that condition, forced to make himself known to all that saw him. On other occasions, fastened by a chain to a balternian five cubits high, he was obliged to follow that barbarian's horse on foot. Mithridates having carried him to Pergamus, caused melted gold to be poured into his mouth, to reproach his avidity and that of the Romans in general. Thus did that insatiable man pay the price of his oppression and injustices: and seemed to have been preserved from the severity of the judges, by the eloquence of Antonius, only to suffer severer punishment.

Mithridates was every where received with acclamations, more especially by the Ephesians, who hated the Romans.

It was in this progress, that Mithridates, having taken Stratonica, saw the virtuous Monimia, whom the Euripides of France has rendered so famous by his tragedy. Struck with Monimia's beauty, he sent her 15000 pieces of gold, expecting, by that unworthy gratuity, to triumph over her virtue. But she refused his present, and rejected all his solicitations: he was reduced to marry her in the most solemn manner, and to give her the title of queen, with the diadem.

The senate and people of Rome declare war against him: and Sylla is charged with it. But whilst the civil discord detained that general in Italy, Mithridates had full time to extend his conquests, and to deluge Asia with Roman blood. For it was at this time, he committed that horrid massacre, which will render his name detestable for ever.

He sent orders to all the governors of the provinces and cities, subjects to him, that on a certain day fixed, which was to be the same universally, they should put all the Romans and Italians in Asia, to the sword, men, women, children, and freedmen. The same decree ordered, that their bodies should not have burial; that their estates should be divided between those who should kill them, and the king. The manner in which this bloody order was executed, proves, as Appian observes, that the revolt of Asia, was less the effect of the fear of the arms of Mithridates, than of hatred to the Romans. The Asiatics applied themselves in murdering them, with incredible fury. They were torn out of the most sacred asylums: husbands, wives, children, murdered in presence of each other. In this slaughter perished 80,000 Romans.

The cruelties of the Asiatics to the Romans, did not long remain unpunished. Mithridates himself soon gave them cause to repent it, by the tyranny he exercised over them. And Sylla

afterwards, when victorious, treated them so as to teach them, that the Romans were to be respected even in the greatest disgraces.

The city of Rhodes, as well as the island, served as an asylum for a great number of Romans; among the rest L. Capius, pro consul of Asia. Mithridates besieges it in person, but is obliged to raise the siege; having lost many of his vessels, taken by the Rhodians, who were the first to check this torrent, which was rolling westward.

Being master of Asia, he formed the design of invading Greece, but did not go thither in person. Pergamus was a center to him, from which he governed all his vast monarchy, and directed his new enterprizes. One of his sons resided in the antient dominions of his ancestors; another was sent into Thrace and Macedonia, with an army; and several of his generals, of whom the principal was Archelaus, went by sea to Greece, and began by reducing the Cyclades, the island of Eubœa, and all the other isles in those seas, as far as the promontory of Molea—the city of Athens submitted to Mithridates: Archelaus made it a depository of arms, from whence, extending his influence on all sides, he separated Lacedœmar, Achaia, Bœtia, and several other states of Greece, from the Romans; and drew them over to the king's party—at the same time Metrophanes, another of his generals, who kept the sea with a fleet, attempted a descent in Thessaly, on the side of Demetrias; and when we remember that he had another land army, destined to enter Thrace and Macedonia, we shall conceive, that the enterprize was exceedingly well conducted.

[87. 86. 85. 84.] Sylla sets out for Greece, and marches immediately to Athens, and lays siege to it—a famine soon takes place, and the city is taken by storm, with immense slaughter of Athenians.

The Piræus is taken by Sylla, and burnt, together with the arsenals that were capable of containing every thing necessary for the equipment of 1000 ships.

Sylla marches towards Bœotia, to meet the generals of Mithridates; they meet at Chœronœa, where a bloody battle is fought; Mithridates' generals are entirely defeated: Mithridates dispatches a new army of 80,000 into Greece, which meets with the like fate at the plain of Cœrchromenus: after this, negotiations for peace commence.

Archelaus, the king's general, has an interview with Sylla: The situation of the affairs of Rome perplexed Sylla, and

Archelaus knew it; the last, therefore, proposed to him, to think no farther of Asia, but to return to Italy, whether his affairs re-called him. Sylla, whose haughty spirit was infinitely offended by such a proposal, did not shew at first what he thought of it; but invited Archelaus, in his turn, to abandon Mithridates, and make himself a king; and he offered to assist him, if he would deliver up his fleet; Archelaus cried out, that he was incapable of treason. How, resumed Sylla, you who are a Cappadocian, and a slave, or if you will, the friend of a barbarian king, do you think a crown too dearly purchased by infidelity? And having to do with a Roman general, and Sylla, dare you talk to him of treason? Are you not that Archelaus, who out of 120,000 men, scarce saved enough to secure your flight? Who since, lay hid two days in the marshes of Orchomenus, and left the plains of Bœotia covered with slain?

Sylla consented to peace on the following conditions:

That Mithridates should deliver up the fleet under the command of Archelaus, release all the prisoners he had taken, and the fugitive slaves; that he should send home the people of Chio, and all others he had transplanted into Pontus; that he should withdraw his garisons from all places, except those he possessed before the war broke out; defray all the expences of the war, and confine himself within the kingdom of his ancestors.

Mithridates agrees, and ratifies the treaty.

The occasion of the second war with Mithridates, and the events, are not very considerable. It ended 80 years before the Christian æra.

The third war of the Romans with this prince, began 74 years before the Christian æra. He had already made peace with the Romans twice, but without renouncing the design of making war upon them; nor had the Romans more pacific intentions on their side. After the war with Murena, which was the second, Mithridates took measures, that seemed to argue a design of making the peace durable; he had no written treaty either with Sylla or Murena. He sent an ambassador to Rome to demand a decree of the senate, to authorize what had been stipulated between him and the Roman generals: Ariobarzanes had also sent ambassadors to complain, that Mithridates kept possession of the greater part of Cappadocia. Sylla, who was then dictator, having heard the ambassadors of the two kings, desired that Mithridates should first evacuate Cappadocia; the king of Pontus obeyed, and sent new ambassadors to Rome; but Sylla was dead, and the Ro-

mans were so much engrossed by their intestine troubles and divisions, that the ambassadors could not have audience of the senate; they returned without any answer, at which Mithridates was not sorry.

He had kept himself in Exercise, by making war against different nations on the borders of Phasis and Caucasus; and with the people of the Cimerian Bosphorus, whom he had subjected, and to whom he gave his son Muhaus for a king. He took care at first not to appear, but made Tigranes act: who entered Cappadocia, took it as it were in a net, with a single sweep, ruined twelve Grecian cities, and carried off 300 000 inhabitants to people the favourite city Tigranocerta.

Nicomedes died about this time, and by will bequeathed his kingdom of Bithynia to the Romans. Mithridates had long had a design of seizing upon this kingdom: he makes more judicious preparations than in his former wars.

The consuls L. Licinius Lucullus and M. Aurelius Cotta undertake the war against the king of Pontus. Cotta goes into Bithynia, where he is defeated by Mithridates; Lucullus marches to his aid, and delivers him, but declines a battle with Mithridates; being obliged to decamp, he set down before Cyzicum, an important city, as it was one of the keys of Asia: it was situated in an island of the propontis, joined to the main land by two bridges. The king of Pontus expected it would fall an easy prey, but was disappointed; his army amounted to nearly 300 000 men; his resources of provisions failed, and famine and sickness prevailed, as Lucullus had supposed they would, for he had encouraged his soldiers, that the king's army would be defeated without drawing the sword. The citizens made an unexpected and obstinate defence: and nothing succeeded on the side of Mithridates: he was reduced at length, by necessity, to resolve on flight, which was very difficult in the presence of Lucullus and his army, who were considered as victorious: he went himself by sea to Parium, and sent two of his generals, with the remains of his army, about 30,000, to Lampfacus; there Lucullus pursued them, and near the Granicus he cut them to pieces, killed near 20,000, and took many prisoners. It is said Mithridates lost nearly 300,000 men in this unfortunate expedition. All Bithynia is reconquered, except Nicomedia, in which Mithridates shuts himself up.

Lucullus, in two battles, destroys a fleet that Mithridates was going to send to Italy. Two and thirty ships of war, with a

great number of transports, were either taken or sunk, and the three generals were made prisoners.

Lucullus prepares to pursue Mithridates, who evacuates all Bithynia, and returns to his own kingdom; but when he approached Heraclea, he met with so violent a storm, that a great number of his ships were separated and dispersed: others were sunk, which completed the ruin of his maritime forces. Lucullus pursues him into his own kingdom: The king of Pontus sends ambassadors to demand aid of the kings of Scythia, Tigranes, and of Parthia: the agent he sent to Scythia betrayed him, and went over to Lucullus. The king of Parthia refused to interfere. Tigranes only, solicited by his wife, the daughter of Mithridates, made some promises, but executed them very slowly.

Lucullus blocks up Amisus and Eupatoria, two royal cities of Mithridates, and advanced continually into the country, and came as far as Themiscyra, near the Thermoodon, the river rendered so famous by the Amazons. His soldiers murmur, and ask, Does he lead us into deserts to hunt Mithridates? He gives his reasons for allowing Mithridates to assemble new forces. What I want, says he, is, that Mithridates, seeing himself again at the head of an army, may believe himself capable of facing us, and not fly on our approach: Don't you see that there are immense deserts behind him and Mount Caucasus, whose passes and hollows may hide a thousand kings from our pursuit, who should desire to avoid fighting. Another resource of Mithridates is this, he is now at Calabria: from thence he has but a few days march for Arriving in Armenia, the king of which, Tigranes, is his son-in-law; that king, the most powerful of Asia, whose empire extends from the frontiers of Parthia as far as Palestine, seeks only an occasion for making war against us. Who can doubt, if we reduce Mithridates to extremities, that he will throw himself into the hands of his son-in-law. For these reasons Lucullus suffered the rest of the campaign to elapse without making any considerable enterprise. And Mithridates collected an army, and in the spring marched to meet Lucullus. Two actions ensue, in which the Romans are victorious: Mithridates, in great consternation, abandons his army, and escapes into Armenia. Lucullus enters his camp, and puts all to the sword who had not escaped.

The victory was compleat, and subjected all Pontus to the Romans, where he found immense treasure; in the castles he found hideous prisons, in which had been shut up, during many years, abundance of Greeks, many princes of the royal family, most of whom were supposed to be dead, who received a

kind of new life, and resurrection from the grave, by Lucullus's lenity.

Nyfa, the sister of Mithridates, and widow of Nicomedes, was one of his prisoners, which was fortunate for her; for the sisters and wives of Mithridates, who seemed very far from the danger, and were kept under guard near Pharmacia, perished miserably.

The king of Pontus, not finding his son-in law Tigranes much disposed to give him aid, thought himself irretrievably ruined, and sent the eunuch Bacchis to Phamacia, to carry a death-warrant for the princesses confined there. He had two sisters, Roxana and Statira, about 40 years of age, who had never been married. Roxana loaded her brother with imprecations, who deprived her of life, after having made her spend so much of it in a mournful prison.

The other, with heroic courage, praised her brother for saving her from the ill treatment she might have met with in captivity. Two of the king's wives perished in the same castle, Berenice and the beautiful Monimia.

Asia at this time was most grievously oppressed by the Roman tax-gatherers and usurers, which Lucullus by wise regulations redressed.

Tigranes was the most powerful king in Asia, and had been himself the artificer of his own fortune and greatness. Armenia, before and after him, never was in so exalted a situation. His father, who was of the same name, reigned only over part of Armenia: And as to himself, he passed his youth as an hostage among the Parthians; and was not set at liberty by them, without ceding a considerable part of the kingdom of his ancestors. As soon as he was seated on the throne he conquered several petty princes, his neighbours, which made him assume the pompous title king of kings. He retook from the Parthians the countries that had been ceded to them: He entered into their territories (and no enemy had ever weakened their power so much) which he filled with Greeks transplanted from Cilicia and Cappadocia. He made the Arabians, called Scænitæ, quit the deserts; and having settled them in permanent abodes, employed them for carrying on the commerce of the different parts of his vast dominions.

His fame became so great, that the Syrians, tired of the cruel divisions that perpetually revived between the princes of the house of Seleucidæ, threw themselves into his arms; and it was in the city of Antioch, the capital of the kingdom of Syria, that he gave audience to A. Claudius, who was sent to demand of him to deliver up Mithridates.

Nothing equalled the pomp and glare of his palace. He had amongst his officers several kings, whom he made serve him; and in particular, some when he was on horseback attended him on foot clad in simple tunics; and when he gave audience sitting upon his throne, they stood on each side with their hands across, to express by that attitude, that they were humble slaves, ready to suffer whatever their imperious master should please to order.

This theatrical shew made no impression on Appius; he told him in few words that he was come to carry away Mithridates as a conquered enemy, destined to adorn the triumph of Lucullus; or, in case of refusal, to declare war against Tigranes. With an assumed air of tranquility he answered the young Roman, that it was not consistent for him to abandon his father-in-law; and that if the Romans judged it proper to attack him, he should know how to defend himself.

He gave the ambassador a letter for Lucullus, containing this answer; and taking offence that the Roman general had not given him the title of the king of kings, and only that of king, he put the superscription *Lucullus*, without adding the name of general.

Hitherto he had shewn himself very cold to Mithridates; he had not seen him since he came into his kingdom; he was kept rather as a prisoner, than treated as a king. Now he changed his conduct, sent for him to court, and had frequent conferences with him. Tigranes had been on the throne about 25 years.

Lucullus reduces all Pontus to subjection, and passes the winter there. In the spring he passes the Euphrates and the Tigris, near at hand to Tigranocerta. The first that carried Tigranes the news had his head struck off. It is therefore no wonder that he was not very well informed of the movements of Lucullus, who had arrived in the centre of his dominions. At length Mithrobarzanes ventures to tell him the truth, whom he dispatches with orders to bring Lucullus's head, and to cut the rest in pieces. Mithrobarzanes engages, is defeated and killed.

Tigranes abandons Tigranocerta, and retires towards Mount Taurus to collect his forces from all parts of his dominions.

Lucullus, to induce the king to come to a general battle, besieged Tigranocerta, the beloved city of this prince, his own work and glory. He had fortified it with walls 50 cubits high, and the thickness in proportion. No expence had been spared in adorning it. It was full of riches, paintings and statues of

the greatest masters. It was also full of various nations, Greeks, Assyrians, Gordyœnians, Arabians, whose cities he had destroyed, and obliged the people to settle there.

Mithridates sent word to him by Taxiles, one of his best generals, that he should not give the Romans battle; that they were invincible in battle; but that he should destroy them by employing his numerous cavalry to cut off their provisions, than which nothing could be better judged. But when Tigranes saw a great number of different nations assembled round him, Armenians and Gordyœnians, Medes and Adiabeniens led by their kings, Arabians from the parts near the sea of Babylon, Albanians and Iberians from the coasts of the Caspian Sea, and even the free nations and Nomades or Tartars, in the neighbourhood of Araxes, who being subject to no princes, were allured by the presents and pay of the king of Armenia, that prince then refused courage; and Taxiles had nearly lost his head for continuing to oppose the design of giving battle; and Mithridates became suspected of envying him. With this thought he was for making haste, lest Mithridates should come and share part of the glory; and declared, that he was very sorry that he had only Lucullus, and not all the Roman generals together to fight.

Tigranes' army consisted of 20,000 archers and slingers, 55,000 horse, 17,000 of which were completely armed in steel armour. His infantry amounted to 150,000, and pioneers and workmen to 35,000 men.

Lucullus divided his army; left Murena with 6000 foot to continue the siege of Tigranocerta, and taking with him the rest of the infantry, which were scarcely 10,000 men, all his cavalry, and about 1000 troops armed with missile weapons, he advanced and encamped in a great plain on the bank of a river not named. Tigranes was for shewing his wit on this occasion, and said, if they are ambassadors, there are too many of them, and if soldiers, too few.

The next day Lucullus prepared to cross the river; the barbarians were to the east; but as the river made an angle to the west, where it was easiest to cross, Lucullus seemed to turn his back upon the enemy, and Tigranes began to triumph. Taxiles, said he, your invincible Romans are flying from us. Taxiles replied, I wish your majesty's good fortune may at this time produce what I always thought incredible; but I see their arms glitter; I know when they are upon a march, that they cover them with upper coats of leather: when they advance against an enemy, they have their shields and helmets uncovered, bright and shining.

Whilst he was still speaking these words, the first of the Roman eagles was seen to wheel about, followed by the whole column, in order to pass the river. Tigranes cried out astonished, these people are coming to us.

He drew up his army, and took the centre himself.

Lucullus turned suddenly on the heavy armed cavalry, who appeared on the enemy's right; and having observed that they occupied the foot of a hill, on the top of which was a space of even ground, he gave orders to the Gaulish and Thracian horse to take that heavy cavalry in the flank, whilst he gained the top of the hill. The heavy cavalry, all covered with iron, had not the courage to wait the coming up of the Romans. They fled, and in their terrible fright threw themselves into the infantry, which they beat down and put into disorder; so that, without either a wound or a drop of blood shed, that infinite number of men were dispersed and defeated. The Romans had only to kill those barbarians who could not clear themselves to fly, the ranks being so clogged up.

Tigranes had fled among the first; and seeing his son in the same condition with himself, he took off his diadem and gave it him, weeping, exhorting him to fly a different way. That diadem fell into the hands of Lucullus. Tigranes lost 100,000 foot, and nearly all his cavalry. The Romans had five killed and 100 wounded.

Mithridates meets with Tigranes, and consoles him under his loss, and they apply themselves to assembling new forces.

Tigranocerta is taken; and, except the king's treasures, the city is given up to be plundered by the troops. The Greeks are all sent home, and their expence borne by Lucullus, who, by his justice and humanity, gains the affections of the barbarians.

Tigranes sends ambassadors to the king of Parthia, offering to cede Mesopotamia, Adiabania, and that part of Armenia which the Parthians had taken formerly from him, and he had afterwards reconquered. Mithridates wrote also a letter to Sinatuices; he shows in it great ability and address; there had been wars between the kings of Parthia and Tigranes; and the present situation of the affairs of the kings of Pontus and Armenia did not invite him to join with them.

Mithridates endeavours to obviate the objections.

Tigranes, says he, now humbled, will receive the law from you, and buy your alliance with such conditions as you shall dictate. And as to my misfortunes, if fortune had deprived me of many things, she has at length taught me experience,

the best source of good council; and nothing is more desirable for a great king like you, whose affairs are in a flourishing condition, than to have an example in me, that may shew you the method of supporting yourself, and conducting your affairs with more success than I have done.

Here follows a violent invective against the Romans: of which he endeavours to prove, by reciting all their history, their insatiable ambition and unbounded avidity: to these motives he ascribes the wars made on him; of the events of which, he gives an abridgment, giving an artificial account of his defeats, which he attributes to unfortunate circumstances, treasons, and shipwrecks. From thence he proceeds to insinuate to the king of Parthia, that he is menaced with the same danger. Do you not know, says he, that the Romans, since the ocean bounded their conquests on the West, have turned their arms towards the countries inhabited by us? From the beginning they have had nothing but what has been the fruits of injustice and violence, their houses, their lands, wives, and empire: a vile mixture of wretches in their origin, without country, without relations, founded for the misfortune of the universe. Neither divine nor human laws prevent them from attacking, and destroying all that oppose them, even allies and friends, neighbouring or foreign states, the weak or the powerful: in a word, they regard all as enemies, that do not submit to the yoke of slavery, and especially kings. Arms they bear against all mankind; become great by audacity, deceit, and by making one war produce another, they must, in pursuing the same conduct, either bear down all before them, or perish themselves. The last motive is the glory he will acquire, by aiding great kings, and destroying the robbers of the universe.

The king of Parthia heard the proposals of both parties, with a resolution to remain neuter. This did not please Lucullus, and he was for carrying the war into Parthia, but his soldiers refused to go.

[68] The two kings raise a new army, and Lucullus passes Mount Taurus in quest of them: he is incommoded by the Armenians, fighting after the manner of the Parthians; in order to bring on a battle, he marches with a design to besiege Artaxata, a royal city of Tigranes, where were the wives and children of Tigranes. This movement accordingly brings on an engagement, and Lucullus gains the victory. The mutinying of his soldiers, prevents his making a complete conquest of Armenia. And Mithridates and Tigranes reinstate themselves in a great part of their dominions.

[67] Pompey is elected to succeed Lucullus. The wars of this general, with the Pirates and Mithridates, are included in the space of six years.

Gabinus proposes a law to give Pompey the command of the seas, which, as soon as it passes, lowers the price of provisions very much at Rome. In forty days, he clears all the coast of the West, and in forty-nine days more, he completes the enterprize, and settles 20,000 pirates, taken prisoners, in several countries.

These pirates had the command of all the Mediterranean; their ships amounted to 1000: above 400 cities had been taken by them: thirteen of the most famous temples in the universe had been plundered by them.

[66] Pompey was in Asia, pursuing and making, or having completely effected, a conquest of the pirates, which is, perhaps, the most shining part of his life, when he was appointed to succeed Lucullus, and take the command in the East. Probably his great success against the Pirates, which the citizens felt the immediate effects of, might have contributed to passing the law giving that command.

Mithridates was then alone, and without allies; Pompey sent to sound his disposition, and to know whether he would submit.—He swears never to make peace with Rome. A battle takes place in the night, and Mithridates is defeated: he is obliged to fly, and is resolved to abandon what he is no longer in a condition to defend: and to leave to the victor the kingdom of his ancestors: and to march round the Euxine sea, in order to gain the Bosphorus, which he effected with incredible fatigue and patience.

Pompey founded a city where he obtained the victory, and called it Nicopolis: here the son of Tigranes having revolted from his father, threw himself into the arms of Pompey. The latter passes into Armenia, and Tigranes comes to his camp, and submits at discretion. He told Pompey that he should never have behaved in the manner he had now done to any other person: but that it was not shameful to be conquered by a general, whom it would be criminal to overcome: and that it was no dishonour to submit to him, whom fortune had raised above all other mortals.

He leaves Tigranes in possession of Armenia, and fines him 6000 talents. Syria, Phœnicia, part of Cilicia, Galatia, and Sophene, are taken from him.

[65] Pompey gains victories over the A'banians, and the Iberians, who lay between the Euxine and the Caspian seas;

he penetrates far into the wilderness, and returns to Colchis: He declines going to attack the Parthians. Phraatis their king; and Pompey were afraid of each other.

[64] Pompey reduces Pontus into the form of a Roman province: he gives Armenia Minor to Dejotarus, and settled Archelaus priest of Bellonia, at Comana: this was a very great dignity. Pompey was then at Amisus, a city on the opposite side of the Euxine sea to the Bosphorus, where Mithridates was still collecting new forces. Pompey sets off for Syria, observing that famine would overcome Mithridates.

Syria had been under Tigranes about eighteen years. Lucullus drove him out of it. Antiochus Asiaticus was acknowledged by him, as the legitimate heir of the Seleucidæ, and permitted to enjoy his rights. But the favour, or justice of Lucullus, was a title to ill treatment from Pompey: he reduces it into a Roman province. Whilst Pompey was here, the differences between Tigranes and Phraatis were settled, and peace established between the Parthians and Romans.

[63] Pompey reinstates the peace of Syria, entered into a war with Aretas, king of part of Arabia, and took cognizance of a dispute between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, as to the kingdom of Judea.

Mithridates being arrived at the Bosphorus, causes his son Machaus to be killed, because he had some years before entered into a treaty with Lucullus, and become an ally of the Romans. He passes over to the Chersonesus, and makes himself master of the fort of Panticaprum, where he causes Xiphanes to be murdered. He sends an embassy to Pompey without effect: and makes new preparations, and raises abundance of men: and forms sundry enterprizes that do not succeed. He conceives serious thoughts of penetrating into Italy by land; first, by gaining the Danube through the Scythian nations, who inhabited the country from the Palus Mæotis to that river; afterwards to cross Thrace and Illyricum. But the idea alone terrified his troops; they murmur, though fear kept them to their duty. But Pharnaces his son induces them to revolt, and it becomes general. He is besieged in the city of Panticaprum, and Pharnaces is declared king. Mithridates finding himself reduced to the necessity of dying, cries out in bitter imprecations against Pharnaces, O ye gods, the avenger of fathers, if it be true that ye exist, and that there be justice in heaven, grant that Pharnaces, in his turn, may hear his sentence of death pronounced by his children.

Then having called such of his officers and guards as continued faithful to him, he praised their generosity, and ordered

them to repair to the new king. He gave poison to his wives and daughters, which soon dispatched them; but tried it on himself to none effect. He stabbed himself but slightly; he requested Bituitus to dispatch him, which he accordingly did.

On the motion of Cicero, then consul, the senate decreed feasts and thanksgivings to the gods for ten days, which had never been but six days before, on account of Mithridates' death.

Pompey, whilst in Syria, expelled a number of petty tyrants, who, during the weakness of the government of the Seleucidæ, and the domestic troubles, had settled themselves in the fortresses and castles, from which they held the countries adjacent in dependence: such of these tyrants as were rich, ransomed their lives with money. The others paid for their crimes with their heads.

The Roman general intended afterwards to carry the war against Aretas, king of the Nabathæan Arabians, who, during the divisions of Syria, had seized on Damascus: and having very lately entered Judea with a great army, had laid siege to the temple of Jerusalem. Pompey resolved to secure the tranquility of Syria, was desirous to chastise that prince. He arrived at Damascus, from which Aretas had been driven by Metellius and Lollius; where Hyrcanus and Aristobulus met him.

To reinstate Hyrcanus, Aretas had entered Judea with 50,000 men; he defeated Aristobulus, and shut him up in Jerusalem, and afterwards in the temple. The whole body of the Jewish nation went over to the conqueror. Antipater, the father of Herod the Great, of a warm and enterprising spirit, would not suffer Hyrcanus to enjoy that private ease, to which he was naturally disposed. He alarmed his fears, and persuaded him, that Aristobulus meant to put him to death. He carried him off to Aretas, which was the occasion of his attacking Judea.

Pompey is in favour of Hyrcanus, and being angry with Aristobulus, marches against Jerusalem, possesses himself of the city, and besieges the temple, and takes it. He enters the Sanctum Sanctorum, to the great affliction of the Jews.

When Pompey had regulated the affairs of Syria, he left Scaurus in Syria with two legions, and began his march to return to Italy. He soon passed Cilicia and Pontus, and arrived at Arnifus, where he received deputies from Pharnaces, with presents, and the dead body of Mithridates: he would not see the corpse, nor seem to insult the misfortune of a great king after his death. He sent it to Sinope, to be placed in the tomb

of his ancestors, with orders that his funeral should be solemnized with the utmost magnificence.

[62] He makes Ephesus the rendezvous of his troops; and whilst he waited for the fine season to embark his troops, he visited several famous islands, as Lesbos, Rhodes, &c.

He distributed rewards in money to his troops, the amount of which is almost incredible. Appian computes it at 16,000 talents, or 240 000 sterling.

It has been observed that Pompey was always unfortunate after the profanation of the temple at Jerusalem.

[55] Syria falls to Crassus, who prepares to make war upon the Parthians, which was esteemed by the people unjust. He enters Mesopotamia, and after having subdued some towns, returns and passes the winter in Syria. He plunders the temple of Hierapolis and that of Jerusalem.

He passes the river Euphrates, and re-enters Mesopotamia: Agbarus, king of Edessa, betrays Crassus; he persuades him to enter the vast plains, and boundless deserts of Mesopotamia, where heavy armed troops could not defend themselves against an innumerable cavalry.

An engagement ensues between the Romans and Parthians, and the latter are victorious. The Romans retreat by night to Canæ. Crassus is taken and killed, and it is computed that the Romans lost 20,000 killed, and 10,000 prisoners.

The Parthians came originally from Scythia, from whence they were expelled. The country they possessed lies to the south of Hyrcania, and joins to Media on the west; a small tract of ground, and very unpleasant. Their royal cities were Etesiphon on the Tigris, and Ecbatana in Media.

At the time Crassus went into the country, they had possessed themselves of nearly all the country between the river Oxus and the Euphrates. The civil war between Cæsar and Pompey soon after coming on, no farther attempts were made against the Parthians during the commonwealth of Rome.

Cæsar, after the battle of Pharsalia, and after subjecting Alexandria and Egypt, and after having finished his amours with Cleopatra, marches against Pharnaces, and gains a victory over him. At Egypt the head of Pompey was brought to him, over which, it is said, he wept.

[49] Cæsar passes the Rubicon. Though he was one of the most bold and determined of men, yet the idea of the evils he was going to bring on the world, and the dangers to which he was going to expose himself, struck him so forcibly in that critical moment, as to intimidate him in a

manner, and for a while suspend his activity. We may yet go back, says he, but if we pass over this little bridge, we put every thing to the decision of arms.

This motion of Cæsar's creates a terrible consternation at Rome. Pompey is universally reproached, and quite disconcerted. He leaves Rome, and is followed by the magistrates and the whole senate. All the magistrates of the republic were with Pompey; but all his strength was with Cæsar; he had long been the patron of all who were guilty of crimes, or deeply in debt, or debauched. He assisted those with his protection and money, whose affairs were not irremediable. He frankly told others, whose wants and crimes were such as admitted of no remedy, that they wanted a civil war.

Among so many Romans, some partizans of Cæsar, some of Pompey, it is difficult to find any partizans of the republic; and perhaps she had no other than Cato. Senier proves this idea sufficiently. If you would, says he, have a faithful representation of those times, you will see on one side the people, and all those whose bad state of affairs made a change of government necessary: on the other, the nobles, the equestrian order, all that was illustrious and respectable in Rome: in the midst, Cato, and the republic, alone, and abandoned of all. For Cato was not much more satisfied with Pompey than with Cæsar. Every thing afflicted and distressed him: his very exterior was declarative of his grief. For from the day the war began, to his death, he neither cut his hair nor beard. He carried on his person, all the marks of deep mourning and affliction. Pompey is besieged by Cæsar in Brundisium; he flies to Epirus, and leaves all Italy to Cæsar.

Cato and Cicero eventually join Pompey. Cicero, who was not possessed of very strong nerves, in one of his letters to Atticus, exclaims, O grief, we are told that Cæsar is in pursuit of Pompey, with what intention, good gods! to kill him? Ah, wretched me! And do we not all of us go and throw our bodies as a rampart before him. Your affliction, doubtless equals mine, my Atticus. We are conquered, oppressed, and reduced to perfect impotence.

Pompey made great military preparations.—Five legions he carried with him from Italy; another had been sent him from Sicily, three he raised in Crete, Macedonia, and Asia. As for auxiliary forces, all the kings and nations of Greece and the East, had furnished him with archers, slingers, and cavalry. He had taken care to provide a formidable fleet, which he had collected from Asia, and the Cyclades, Corcyra, Athens, Pontus, Bithynia, Syria, Cilicia, Picencia, and Egypt. The provi-

sions, ammunition, and money, were proportionable to the force. The zeal and affection for Pompey's cause was general, supposing it to be that of the republic and liberty. The consuls assembled the senate in Thessalonica, and declared Pompey the sole chief, and invested him with supreme authority.

[48] Cæsar passes into Greece, with 20,000 legionary soldiers and 600 horse, and makes proposals of accommodation to Pompey, which are palpably fallacious.

Cæsar makes himself master of almost all Epirus. Pompey saves Dyrrachium and his fleet, prevents Cæsar's troops from crossing the sea. His troops not arriving he goes for them in disguise. The vessel being in manifest danger, the master ordered the sailors to put back: Cæsar discovers himself; and addressing the master, "What are you afraid of? You carry Cæsar and his fortune." Pompey avoids an engagement, and Cæsar endeavours to inclose him in his lines. In Cæsar's absence Pompey forces his lines; in two actions Cæsar met with a complete defeat; and if Pompey had pursued victory, there would have been an end of Cæsar and his fortune; for his army was so panic-struck, that he could not, with all his exertions, prevent their flying, nor rally them. He says on this subject, that his adversaries would have been victorious, if their general had known how to conquer.

Cæsar advances to Pharsalia, a place he was going to immortalize, by one of the most important battles that history has recorded. Pompey pursued, and encamped near to him, with an army of 45,000 foot and 5000 horse, most of them raw and unexperienced, raised out of the effeminate nations of Asia, some Roman senators, and other gentlemen who knew very little of war.

Cæsar had an army of 22,000 foot and 1000 horse, most of them veterans. The engagement for some time was sharp on both sides; but at length victory decided in favour of Cæsar. Pompey lost 15,000 slain and 24,000 prisoners.

After the defeat of his army, Pompey, not knowing well which way to go, determined at last to go to Egypt. He had been a very considerable friend to the late king Ptolemy Auletes, and therefore he expected a kind reception from his son. Taking therefore his wife Cornelia, and his younger son Sextus with him, he steered his course towards Egypt; and as he drew near to land, sent messengers to the king desiring his protection and aid in the present distress. The king was then a minor, under the tuition of Pothynus an eunuch, and Achilles the general of the army, who taking Theodotus and some

others into the consultation, advised together what answer to send: Some were for receiving him, and others for rejecting him; but Theodotus was of opinion, that their only safe way was to dispatch him; for, should they receive him, Cæsar would revenge it; should they reject him, if he ever recovered power, he would revenge it; and therefore the only method to secure themselves from both, was to kill him; for hereby they would certainly make Cæsar their friend, and prevent the other from doing any mischief; for dead men (said he according to the proverb) never bite.

This advice prevailed; and accordingly Achilles and Septimus, a Roman commander then in the service of the king of Egypt, put it in execution. Under the pretence therefore of conducting Pompey to the king, they took him out of the ship into a boat; but as soon as they came near the shore they fell upon him and slew him, cut off his head, and cast his dead carcass on the strand. His wife and son seeing this barbarous murder, and themselves in the like danger, hoisted sail and made off, leaving this great man (who in the 59th year of his age came to this miserable end) no other funeral than what Philip, an enfranchised bondman of his, could give him, by making a funeral-pile of a boat that lay wrecked on the shore.

The foregoing extracts and dates are taken from Rollin's Roman History and Crevier's continuation.

If expositors had stated the historic facts by themselves, with the dates, and afterwards compared the sacred characteristics with those facts, it might have shortened the work of those who followed after, and were disposed to enter into an examination of the comparisons. The historic facts being generally agreed to, the sacred text certain, the comparison only would employ the inquisitive mind; but a few historic facts are collected, and then a comparison is discovered, and so on.

It is of the highest importance to see whether it cannot be made plain, that the Roman power is introduced at the verse which begins, *but his sons*; and that this power under one form of government ends, where it says, *he shall stumble and fall, and not be found*. If this should be found to be the case, it will make all the prophecy before and after plain and easy to be understood.—It will be a key to the whole.

First, It may be observed, that *one of his princes* necessarily requires Alexander for the antecedent; and he shall be strong above him, and have dominion, a great dominion, and in the end of years *they* shall join themselves together. The plural *they* shews, that two powers had been referred to before.

If *one of his princes* intended one of the princes of the king of the south, then it would be the king and his own prince join themselves together; but no historic fact warrants this idea; nor can the grammatical construction warrant it; therefore *one of his princes* intends one of Alexander's, and refers particularly to the Seleucidæ, or the kingdom of the north. It has this reference, because the northern kingdom was greatly enlarged after the death of the first prince, who was Seleucus Nicator.

Second, And he shall continue more years than the king of the north. In this place king is put for kingdom, which is a usual thing in Daniel. There is a great difficulty in adjusting the dates of the historic facts, in order to show that a southern king was thus successful, and that he lived personally longer than the unfortunate northern king. The design of the prophecy is not to point out the length of personal lives, but of kingdoms and empires. It is therefore more natural to suppose, that the expressions refer to the comparative duration of the empires, than of individuals. This opinion is more consonant to the general scope of Daniel's prophecies than the other: The end of empires he often foretels, but not that of individuals. They therefore lead us to suppose, that the prophet has finished with respect to these two kingdoms, and that the characteristics of new powers will follow, or at least of one which will put an end to the Seleucidæ and Lagidæ.

Third, *But his sons*. That Alexander is still the antecedent here cannot be doubted. They are his political sons; they enjoy in a limited territory, the same power that he enjoyed in all the earth. Kings and republics are intended, a great number of which were in being when the Romans began to progress eastward. These were not princes of Alexander, but might be called his sons in a political sense. The change from his princes to his sons is manifestly proper.

The historic facts show, that about 190 years before Christ they were stirred up, and did assemble a great number of forces. The common construction is, that by *his sons* are intended the sons of the king of the north. Seleucus Collonicus is supposed to be the father, and the sons are Seleucus Ceraunus, who succeeded his father, and did nothing at all worth mentioning; after his death Antiochus the Great succeeded his brother, and he did many exploits; and yet he lost his kingdom; he became tributary to Rome. These two last princes did nothing together jointly: The words carry this idea, his sons shall be stirred up, and *they shall assemble*; in this joint sense, the sons of Se-

leucus Callinicus never assembled forces. Antiochus the Great may, with the rest of the kings and republics, be considered as one of Alexander's sons, which were generally greatly stirred up about the time the Romans rendered Syria tributary, and somewhat before this time. One shall certainly come and overflow, and pass through. This is applied to Antiochus the Great; but no historic fact warrants the idea. The words are applicable to the Romans only. The first never overflowed his own kingdom; he did not extend its boundaries beyond what his ancestors had held; he did not subject Egypt, though he wished to do it. But the Romans answer to every part of the description; they came, they overflowed, they passed through, *Veni, vidi, vici*, as Cæsar said.

Fourth, It may with propriety be observed here, that the ablest expositors are obliged to suppose, that the kings of the north and of the south intend other kingdoms, than those of the Seleucidæ and Lagidæ, before they have gone through with the 11th chapter; there is then no impropriety in supposing that they intend other kingdoms between the 10th and the 19th verses.

There is not only no impropriety in it, but it is really necessary to make the change, because the strong and emphatic description given to the king of the north, does not agree with the Seleucidæ, and it does perfectly with the Romans: and if the king of the north does not intend the Seleucidæ, then the king of the south does not intend the Lagidæ; because the last had no wars of any consequence, but with the Seleucidæ; they had none with the Romans, for they seem to have been among the first that courted their friendship and alliance. But if the Romans are intended by the northern power, then the Carthaginians must naturally present themselves as the southern power, and were in the height of their republic, superior in strength to the Lagidæ. The Romans acquire their first fame and glory in their obstinate wars with the Carthaginians.

But *his sons shall make war*, as it might properly be rendered, and they shall assemble a multitude of great forces; *and one shall certainly come*, must intend the northern power, because it says the king of the south shall come forth and fight *with him*; there is no antecedent to *him*, but the words *one shall certainly come*; but the power is named here, *and fight with him, even with the king of the north*.

And the king of the south shall be moved with choler, and come forth and fight with him, even with the king of the north, and he shall set forth a great multitude; but the multitude shall be given into his hands.

And when he hath taken away the multitude, his heart shall be lifted up, and he shall cast down many ten thousands; but he shall not be strengthened by it. The words *by it* are not in the original.

Compare these descriptions with Hannibal's going into Italy, his killing 50 000 men in one battle, with his ravaging all Italy, and subjeeting many cities. He went with great choler, for he swore never to make peace with the Romans. His heart was elated with his successes, after he had cast down many ten thousands; but he was not strengthened: a powerful and envious faction in Carthage, prevented his having that support and aid he stood in need of: but he stirred up the Romans, or rather carried the war to the very gates of their fortrefs, and remained in Italy from the time he first entered it, which was 217 years before the christian era, to the year 203 before the same era: a period of 14 years.

For the king shall return, and set forth a multitude greater than the former, and shall certainly come after certain years with a great army, and with much riches. And in those times there shall many stand up against the king of the south: also the robbers of thy people shall exalt themselves to establish the vision, but they shall fall. Carthage was entirely demolished by the Romans 146 years before the christian era.

It is also evident from history that many did stand up against the Carthagenians in Africa, as well as elsewhere; their sun was setting, and that of the Romans was rising with great splendour. Also the robbers of thy people shall exalt themselves to establish the vision; but they shall fall.

The Romans were the robbers of the Jewish people by way of eminence; they are not here designated by the king of the north, though the robbers must intend the same thing, and it is a term that applies well to the republic of Rome, or the senate and people of Rome, which was their political and legal title. The vision was established by them, what was foretold and foretold, did actually take place: but they shall fall. It is not here the king of the north shall fall; but it is they, the senate and people of Rome. The last verse quoted seems to be a digression from the main subject contained in the verses immediately preceding and following; and seems to point out more particular in this place who we are to understand by the king of the north, that he is not an individual person, but a complex body. The Roman commonwealth was the main object of this vision, which was to bring into view the second great power that should stand up over Persia.

So the king of the north shall come and cast up a mount, and take the most fenced cities, and the arms of the south shall

not withstand. This accords with what the Romans did to Carthage; but they extended their conquests in Africa farther than Carthage. It is the arms of the south, and not of the king of the south, one individual power; they took cities and subjected kingdoms in Africa, besides that of Carthage.

“Neither his chosen people, neither shall there be any strength to withstand.”

But he that cometh against him shall do according to his own will, and none shall stand before him. And he shall stand in the glorious land, which by his hand shall be consumed.

All this is applied to a king of the north; to the robbers of thy people who exalt themselves to establish the vision. This description applies to the Roman commonwealth so manifestly and to no other power after Alexander the Great, that anything farther need not be added here.

He shall set his face to enter with the strength of his whole kingdom, and upright ones with him; thus shall he do: and there shall be given him the daughter of women corrupting her; but she shall not stand (on his side) neither be for him.

The words *upright ones*, might have been better rendered, *men of equal condition*; which exactly designates the equal state of the Roman citizens.

Pompey stood in the glorious land; he went into the sanctum sanctorum, or holy of hollies. By the hands of the Romans the pleasant land, or Judea, was consumed. Pompey laid siege to the temple, which he did not take under three months; and after having battered down the walls, he set his face to enter that place with all his strength, with men of equal condition with himself. His army was very numerous, and composed in a great measure of Romans.

“And he shall give him the daughter of women to corrupt her.” By which we may understand the injuries that would be done to the Jewish, and probably the Christian church, by the Romans. However, as it is said she shall not stand, the words *on his side*, not being in the original, we may more properly refer the passage to the Jewish church, which did not remain long: nor was she for the Roman commonwealth, but for imperial Rome.

After this shall he turn his face to the isles, and shall take many. But a prince for his own behalf shall cause the reproach offered by him to cease; without his own reproach he shall cause it to turn upon him. Then shall he turn his face towards the fort of his own land, but he shall stumble and fall, and not be found.

These descriptions so naturally represent the differences and reproaches that took place between the senate of Rome and

Cæsar; the senate, and all that was noble and illustrious in Rome, flying from it with Pompey at their head; their collecting a large army in Greece, and turning their face against their own country; the battle of Pharsala where Cæsar turned the reproach upon them, and for ever wiped away the reproach they had cast upon him; where the Roman commonwealth stumbled, fell, and was no more to be found:—So naturally do the descriptions lead us to this great event, and to no other, for none similar to it is recorded in history, that I think it is unnecessary to enlarge any farther upon them by way of comparison.

That power which exacts tribute and hostages from another power, may justly be said to stand up over it. And in this sense the Roman commonwealth stood up over Persia at first, when she subjected Antiochus the Great, whose dominion extended over Persia.

Chap. xi. ver. 20. Then shall stand up in his estate, a raiser of taxes in the glory of the kingdom; but within a few days he shall be destroyed, neither in danger, nor battle.

This individual or empire, is to succeed an individual or empire, to whom these descriptions apply. He takes the most fenced cities: and the arms of the south shall not withstand, neither his chosen people; neither shall there be any strength to withstand: he shall do according to his own will, and none shall stand before him. As the descriptions fall in after the end of Alexander's empire, or rather, after his death, it is manifest they can be applied to no one individual, but to the Roman commonwealth alone; Alexander is characterized as doing according to his own will, as also this power and the Mahometan power; but no other powers are thus described. The verie now under consideration must of necessity designate imperial Rome.

Octavius Cæsar taxed the whole world, which was the occasion of our Saviour's being born at Bethlehem. The Augustian age was the most glorious period of imperial Rome.

If the original should be rendered, "One that causeth an exactor to pass over the glory of the kingdom," as it stands in the margin of the bible; the trait may be very justly considered as having reference to the taxing of our Saviour, who to signalize the same, wrought a miracle, when Peter was ordered to catch a fish, in which he should find a piece of money, and to discharge the tax therewith. The glory of the second temple, exceeded that of the first, because Christ vied it. In either sense, the character suits imperial Rome; and especially, if an empire is intended, it can suit no other; because this alone is to its end neither in anger nor battle.

It was divided by the last will and testament of Theodosius the Great, A. D. 392.

The reader will be indebted to Mr. Gibbons' History of the Decline and fall of the Roman Empire, for the following Sketch of the Mahometan Power:—who says,

The genius of the Arabian prophet, the manners of his nation, and the spirit of his religion, involve the causes of the decline and fall of the Eastern empire; and our eyes are curiously intent on one of the most memorable revolutions, which have impressed a new and lasting character on the nations of the globe.

The life of a wandering Arab is a life of danger and distress; and though sometimes by rapine or exchange, he may acquire the fruits of industry, a private citizen in Europe is in possession of more solid and pleasing luxury than the proudest Emir, who marches in the field at the head of 10,000 horse.

Medina and Mecca are near the Red Sea, at a distance from each other of about 270 miles.

The perpetual independence of the Arabs has been a theme of praise among strangers and natives: and the acts of controversy transform this singular event into a prophecy and miracle in favor of the posterity of Ismael. Some exceptions render this mode of reasoning indiscreet. The kingdom of Yemen has successively been subdued by the Abyssinians, the Persians, the Sultans of Egypt, and the Turks; the holy cities of Mecca and Medina have repeatedly bowed under a Scythian tyrant; and the Roman province of Arabia embraced the peculiar wilderness in which Ismael and his sons must have pitched their tents, in the face of their brethren. Yet these exceptions are temporary and local; the body of the nation has escaped the yoke of the most powerful monarchs: the arms of Sesostris and Cyrus, of Pompey and Trajan, could never achieve the conquest of Arabia—the present sovereign of the Turks may exercise a shadow of jurisdiction; but his pride is reduced to solicit the friendship of a people, whom it is dangerous to provoke, and fruitless to attack.

From Mecca to the Euphrates, the Arabian tribes were confounded by the Greeks and Latins under the general appellation of *Saracens*, a name which every Christian mouth has been taught to pronounce with terror and abhorrence.

The religion of the Arabs, as well as of the Indians, consisted in the worship of the sun, the moon, and the fixed stars. The cruel practice of human sacrifices was long retained among the Arabs.

The base and plebeian origin of Mahomet is *Birth and Education of Mahomet, A. D. 569. 609.* an unskilful calumny of the Christians, who exalt, instead of degrade the character and merit of their adversary. His descent from Ismael was a national privilege or fable: but if the first steps of the pedigree are dark and doubtful, he could produce many generations of pure and genuine nobility—he sprung from the tribe of Koreish, and the family of Hashem, the most illustrious of the Arabs, the princes of Mecca. The grand-father of Mahomet was Abdol Motaleb, the son of Hashem, a wealthy and generous citizen, who relieved the distress of famine with the supplies of commerce. The kingdom of Yemen was subject to the Christian princes of Abyssinia: Their Vassal Abrahah was provoked by an insult, to avenge the honor of the cross—and the holy city was invested by a train of elephants, and an army of Africans—a treaty was proposed, and in the first audience the grand-father demanded the restitution of his cattle—And why, said Abrahah, do you not rather implore my clemency in favor of your temple, which I have threatened to destroy? Because, replied the intripid chief, the cattle is my own, the Caaba is the gods, and they will defend their house from injury and sacrilege. The Abyssinians were obliged to retreat, and the deliverance was commemorated long by the era of the elephant.

Abdol Motaleb had six daughters, and thirteen sons. His best beloved Abdallah was the most beautiful and modest of the Arabian youth. Mahomet, the only son of Abdallah and Amina, was born at Mecca four years after the death of Justinian, and two months after the defeat of the Abyssinians; whose victory would have introduced into the Caaba the Christian religion. In his early infancy he was deprived of his father, mother, and grand-father. Abu Taleb, the most respectable of his uncles, was the guide and guardian of his youth. In his 25th year, he entered into the service of Cadijah, a rich and noble widow of Mecca, who soon rewarded his fidelity with the gift of her hand and fortune. The marriage contract, in the simple stile of antiquity, recites the mutual love of Mahomet and Cadijah; describes him as the most accomplished of the tribe of Koreish—according to the tradition of his companions, Mahomet was distinguished by the beauty of his person, an outward gift which is seldom despised, except by those to whom it has been refused. Before he spoke, the orator engaged on his side the affections of a public

or private audience; they applauded his commanding presence, his majestic aspect, his piercing eye, his gracious smile, his countenance that painted every sentiment of the soul, and his gestures that enforced every expression of the tongue. His memory was capacious and retentive, his wit easy and social, his imagination sublime, his judgment clear, rapid, and decisive. With these powers of eloquence, Mahomet was a barbarian: his youth had never been instructed in the arts of reading or writing. The enemies of Mahomet have named the Jew, the Persian, and the Syrian Monk, whom they accuse of lending their secret aid to the composition of the Koran. Conversation enriches the understanding; but solitude is the school of genius, and the uniformity of a work denotes the hand of a single artist: from his earliest youth, Mahomet was addicted to religious contemplation: Each year, during the month of Ramadan, he withdrew himself from the world, and from the arms of Cadijah in the cave of Hera, three miles from Mecca; he consulted the spirits of fraud or enthusiasm, whose abode is not in the Heavens, but in the mind of the prophet. The faith which he preached under the name of Islam, to his family and nation, is compounded of an eternal truth, and a necessary fiction.

That there is only one God, and that Mahomet is the Apostle of God.

The Christians of the seventh century had insensibly relapsed into a semblance of Paganism: their public and private vows were addressed to relics and images, that disgraced the temples of the east: the throne of the Almighty was darkened by a cloud of martyrs, and saints, and angels, the objects of popular veneration—And the Collyridian heretics, who flourished in Arabia, invested the Virgin Mary with the name and honors of a goddess. The prophet of Mecca rejected the worship of idols and men, of stars and planets, on the rational principle that whatever rises must set, whatever is born must die.

In the Author of the Universe, his rational enthusiasm confessed and adored an infinite and eternal Being, without form or place, without issue or similitude, present to our most secret thoughts; existing by the necessity of his own nature, and deriving from himself, all moral and intellectual perfection. These sublime truths, thus announced in the language of the prophet, are firmly held by his disciples; and defined with metaphysical precision by the interpreters of the Koran. A philosophic Theist might subscribe the popular creed of the Mahometans. What object remains for the fancy, or even the understanding,

when we have abstracted from the unknown substance, all ideas of time, space, motion, matter, sensation and reflection? The first principle of reason and revelation, was confirmed by the voice of Mahomet: his profelytes from India to Morocco, are distinguished by the name of *Unitarians*; and the danger of idolatry has been prevented, by the interdiction of images. The doctrine of eternal decrees and absolute predestination is strictly embraced by the Mahometans: and they struggle with the common difficulties, how to reconcile the presence of God, with the freedom and responsibility of man, how to explain the permission of evil under the reign of infinite power and infinite goodness.

For the author of Christianity, the Mahometans are taught by the prophet, to entertain a high and mysterious veneration. "Verily, Christ Jesus, the son of Mary, is the apostle of God, and his word, which he conveyed to Mary, and a spirit proceeding from him, honorable in this world, and in the world to come; and one of those who approach near the presence of God." The Latin church has not disdained to borrow from the Koran the immaculate conception of his Virgin Mother.

The substance of the Koran, according to himself, or his disciples, is uncreated and eternal; subsisting in the essence of the Deity, and inscribed with a pen of light on the table of his everlasting decrees. A paper copy, in a volume of silk and gems, was brought down to the lowest Heaven, by the Angel Gabriel, who, under the Jewish œconomy, had been dispatched on the most important errands; and this trusty messenger successively revealed the chapters and verses to the Arabian prophet. Instead of a perpetual and perfect measure of the divine will, the fragments of the Koran were produced at the discretion of Mahomet: Each revelation is suited to his emergency or his passion; and all contradiction is removed by the saving maxim, that any text of scripture is modified or abrogated by a subsequent passage. The word of God and the apostle was diligently recorded, by his disciples, on palm leaves and the shoulder bones of mutton; and the pages, without order or connection, were cast into a chest, in the custody of one of his wives. Two years after the death of Mahomet, the volume was collected and published by his friend and successor, Abubeker; the books were revised by the Caliph Othman, in the 35th year of the Hegira; and the various editions of the Koran assert the miraculous privilege of an uniform and incorruptible text.

In the spirit of enthusiasm or vanity, the prophet rests the truth of his mission on the merits of his books; audaciously

challenges both men and angels to imitate the beauties of a single page, and presumes to assert, that God alone could dictate this incomparable performance.

The votaries of Mahomet are more assured than himself, of his miraculous gifts, which he said would tend to depreciate the merit of faith, and aggravate the guilt of infidelity.

They believe, or affirm, that the trees went forth to meet him ; that he was saluted by stones ; that water gushed from his fingers ; that he fed the hungry ; cured the sick, and raised the dead ; that a beam groaned to him ; that a camel complained to him ; that animate and inanimate nature were equally subject to the apostle of God.

The dream of a nocturnal journey is seriously described as a real and corporal transaction : A mysterious animal, the Borak, conveyed him from the temple of Mecca to that of Jerusalem, with his companion Gabriel : He successively ascended the seven heavens, and received and paid the salutations of the patriarchs, the prophets, and the angels, in their respective mansions.— Beyond the seventh heaven Mahomet alone was permitted to proceed ; he passed the Veil of Unity, approached within two bow shots of the throne, and felt a cold that pierced him to the heart, when his shoulder was touched by the hand of God.— After this familiar, though important, conversation, he again descended to Jerusalem, remounted the Borak, returned to Mecca, and performed in the tenth part of a night the journey of many thousand years.

According to another legend, the apostle confounded, in a national assembly, the malicious challenge of the Koreish ; his restless sword split asunder the orb of the moon ; the obedient planet stooped from her station in the sky, accomplished the seven revolutions around the Caaba, saluted Mahomet in the Arabian tongue, and suddenly, contracting her dimensions, entered at the collar, and issued forth through the sleeve of his shirt.

Prayer, fasting, and alms, are the religious duties of a Musfulman ; and he is encouraged to hope, that prayer will carry him half way to God ; fasting will bring him to the door of his palace, and alms will gain him admittance.

Without any dispensation of business, or time, or place, the devotion of the faithful is repeated at day-break, at noon, in the afternoon, in the evening, and at the first watch of the night. They indifferently pray in their chamber or in the streets—Friday in every week is set apart for public worship—the people being assembled, some respectable elder ascends the pulpit, begins with prayer, and pronounces the sermon. But

the Mahometan religion is destitute of priesthood or sacrifice ; and the independent spirit of fanaticism looks down with contempt on the ministers and slaves of superstition.

The voluntary penance of the Asiatics, the torment and glory of their lives, was odious to the prophet, who censured in his companions a rash vow of abstaining from flesh, and women, and sleep, and firmly declared, that he would suffer no monks in his religion : yet he instituted in each year a fast of thirty days ; and strenuously recommended the observance as a discipline, which purifies the soul, and subdues the body, as a salutary exercise of obedience to the will of God and his apostle. During the month of Ramadan, from the rising to the setting sun, the Mussulmen abstain from eating and drinking, and women, and baths, and perfumes ; from all nourishment that can restore his strength, from all pleasure that can gratify his senses.

The interdiction of wine, peculiar to some orders of priests or hermits, is converted by Mahomet alone into a positive and general law ; and a considerable part of the globe has abjured, at his command, the use of that salutary, though dangerous liquor. These painful restraints are, doubtless, infringed by the libertines, and eluded by the hypocrites : But the legislator cannot be accused of alluring his proselytes, by the indulgence of their sensual appetites.

The charity of the Mahometan descends to the animal creation, and the Koran repeatedly inculcates, not as a merit, but as an indispensable duty, the relief of the indigent and unfortunate : Mahomet is, perhaps, the only law-giver, who has defined the precise meaning of charity : The Mussulman does not accomplish the law, unless he bestows a tenth of his revenue ; and if his conscience accuse him of fraud, or extortion, the tenth, under the idea of restitution, is enlarged to a fifth.

The two articles of belief, and the four practical duties of Islam, are guarded by rewards and punishments ; and the faith of the Mussulman is devoutly fixed on the event of the judgment, and the last day. The prophet has not presumed to determine the moment of that awful catastrophe ; though he darkly announces the signs, both in Heaven and earth, which will precede the universal dissolution, when life shall be destroyed, and the order of creation shall be confounded in the primitive chaos. At the blast of the trumpet, new worlds will start into being ; angels, genii, and men will arise from the dead, and the human soul will again be united to the body. Mahomet relies on the omnipotence of the Creator, whose word can re-animate the breathless clay, and collect the innumerable atoms, that no longer retain their form or substance.

The intermediate state of the soul, it is hard to decide ; and those who most firmly believe her immaterial nature, are at a loss to understand how she can think or act, without the agency of the organs of sense.

The re-union of soul and body will be followed by the final judgment of mankind ; and in his copy of the Magian picture, the prophet has too faithfully represented the forms of proceeding, and even the slow and successive operations of an earthly tribunal. By his intolerant adversaries, he is upbraided, for extending even to themselves the hope of salvation, for asserting the blackest heresy ; that every man, who believes in God, and accomplishes good works, may expect in the last day a favorable sentence ; such rational indifference is ill adapted to the character of a fanatic. In the Koran, the belief of God is inseparable from that of Mahomet ; the good works are those which he has enjoined ; and the two qualifications imply the profession of Islam, to which all nations and all sects are equally invited. Their spiritual blindness, though excused by ignorance, and crowned with virtue, will be scourged with everlasting torments : and the tears which Mahomet shed over the tomb of his mother, for whom he was forbidden to pray, display a striking contrast of humanity and enthusiast. The doom of the infidels is common : the measure of their guilt and punishment is determined by the degree of evidence which they have rejected, by the magnitude of the errors which they have entertained. The eternal mansions of the Christians, the Jews, the Sabians, the Magians, and the idolators, are sunk below each other in the abyss ; and the lowest hell is reserved for the faithless hypocrites, who have assumed the mask of religion : After the greater part of mankind has been condemned for their opinions, the true believers only will be judged by their actions. The good and evil of each Mussulman will be weighed in a real or allegorical balance, and a singular mode of compensation will be allowed for the payment of injuries ; the aggressor will refund an equivalent of his own good actions, for the benefit of the person whom he has wronged ; and if he should be destitute of any moral property, the weight of his sins will be loaded with an adequate share of the demerits of the sufferer. According as the shares of guilt or virtue shall preponderate, the sentence will be pronounced, and all, without distinction, will pass over the sharp and perilous bridge of the abyss : But the innocent, treading in the footsteps of Mahomet, will gloriously enter the gates of Paradise, while the guilty will fall into the first and mildest of the seven Hells : the

term of expiation will vary from 900 to 7000 years: but the prophet has judiciously promised, that all his disciples, whatever may be their sins, shall be saved by their own faith, and his intercession, from eternal damnation. It is not surprising that superstition should act most powerfully on the fears of her votaries; since the human fancy can paint with more energy, the misery than the bliss of a future life. With the two simple elements of darkness and fire, we create a sensation of pain, which may be aggravated to an infinite degree by the idea of endless duration.

But the same idea operates with an opposite effect on the continuity of pleasure; and too much of our present enjoyment is obtained from the relief, or the comparison of evil. It is natural enough that an Arabian prophet should dwell with rapture on the groves, the fountains, and the rivers of Paradise, but instead of inspiring the blessed inhabitants, with a liberal taste for harmony and science, conversation and friendship, he idly celebrates the pearls and diamonds, the robes of silk, palaces of marble, dishes of gold, rich wines, artificial dainties, numerous attendants, and the whole train of sensual and costly luxury, which becomes insipid to the owner, even in the short period of this mortal life: seventy-two houris or black eyed girls, of resplendent beauty, blooming youth, virgin purity, and exquisite sensibility, will be created for the use of the meanest believer. A moment of pleasure will be prolonged to a thousand years, and his faculties will be increased an hundred fold, to render him worthy of his felicity. Notwithstanding a vulgar prejudice, the gates of heaven will be open to both sexes; but Mahomet has not specified the male companions of the female elect, lest he should either alarm the jealousy of their former husbands, or disturb their felicity, by the suspicion of an everlasting marriage.

This image of a carnal paradise, has provoked the indignation, perhaps the envy of the monks. They declaim against the impure religion of Mahomet; and his modest apologists are driven to the poor excuse of figures and allegories. But the sounder and more consistent party adhere without shame to the literal interpretation of the Koran. Useless would be the resurrection of the body, unless it were to be restored to the possession and exercise of its worthiest faculties. And the union of sensual and intellectual enjoyment, is requisite to complete the happiness of the double animal, the perfect man. Yet the joys of the Mahometan paradise will not be confined to the indulgence of luxury and appetite; and the prophet has expressly

declared, that all meaner happiness will be forgotten and despised by the saints and martyrs who shall be admitted to the beatitude of the divine vision.

The first and most arduous conquests of Mahomet, were those of his wife, his servant, his pupil, and his friend, since he presented himself, as a prophet, to those who were most conversant with his infirmities as a man.

Cadjah believed the words, and cherished the glory of her husband.

Zeid was tempted by the prospect of freedom.

The illustrious Ali embraced the sentiments of his cousin with the spirit of a youthful hero.

The wealth, the moderation, the veracity of Abubeker confirmed the religion of the prophet, whom he was destined to succeed.

By his persuasion, ten of the most respectable citizens of Mecca, were introduced to the private lessons of Islam: they yielded to the voice of enthusiasm, they repeated the fundamental creed, there is but one God, and Mahomet is the apostle of God. Three years were silently employed in the conversion of fourteen proselytes. For ten years, the religion which has overspread the East and the West, made but a slow and painful progress. On solemn festivals in the days of pilgrimage, he frequented the Caaba, arrested the strangers of every tribe, both in private and public converse, and urged the belief and worship of a sole deity. Conscious of his reason and of his weakness, he asserted the liberty of conscience, and disclaimed the use of religious violence, but he called the Arabs to repentance; and conjured them to remember the ancient idolaters.

The elders of the people, the uncles of the prophet, affected to despise the presumption of an orphan, the reformer of his country. The pious orations of Mahomet in the Caaba, were answered by the clamours of Abu Taleb. Citizens and pilgrims, listen not to the tempter, hearken not to his impious novelties: stand fast to the worship of Al Lata and Al Urrah.

The Koraisih frequently addressed Abu Taleb in the stile of reproach and menace. Thy nephew reviles our religion, he accuses our wise forefathers of ignorance and folly; silence him quickly, lest he kindle tumult and discord in the city. If he persevere, we shall draw our swords against him, and his adherents, and then thou wilt be responsible for the blood of thy fellow-citizens. He was supported by his family; the rest of

the tribe of Koreish engaged to renounce all intercourse with the children of Hashem, neither to buy nor sell, neither to marry nor give in marriage, till they should deliver the person of Mahomet to the justice of the gods.

The most helpless or timid of the disciples retired to Ethiopia, and the prophet withdrew himself to various places of strength, in town and country. The decree was suspended in the Caaba before the eyes of the nation. The messengers of the Koreish pursued the musulmen exiles in the heart of Africa. They besieged the prophet, and his most faithful followers.

The death of Abu Taleb abandoned Mahomet to the power of his enemies, at the same time he lost his faithful Cadjah.— Abu Sophian, the chief of the branch of Ommiyah succeeded to the principality of the republic of Mecca, a zealous votary of the idols, a mortal foe of the line of Hashem. He convened an assembly of the Koreishites, and their allies, to decide the fate of the apostle. His imprisonment might provoke the despair of his enthusiast; and the exile of an eloquent and popular fanatic, would diffuse the mischief into the province of Arabia. His death was resolved, and they agreed, that a sword from each tribe should be buried in his heart, to divide the guilt of his blood, and baffle the vengeance of the Hashemites.

An angel, or a spy, revealed this conspiracy, and *Flight*, flight was the only source of Mahomet. At the A.D. 622. dead of night, accompanied by his friend Abubeker, he silently escaped from his house; the assassins watched at the door; but they were deceived by the figure of Ali, who reposed on the bed, and was covered with the green vestment of the apostle. Three days Mahomet and his companion were concealed in the cave of Thor, at the distance of a league from Mecca. And in the close of each evening, the son and daughter of Abubeker, brought a secret supply of intelligence and food.

The diligence of the Koreishites explored every haunt about the city. They arrived at the entrance of the cavern: but the providential deceit of a spider's web, and a pigeon's nest, is supposed to convince them, that the cave was solitary and inviolate.—We are only two, said the trembling Abubeker;—There is a third, replied the prophet—it is God himself.

No sooner was the pursuit abated, than the two fugitives issued from the rock, and mounted their camels: on the road to Medina, they were overtaken by the emissaries of the Koreish. They redeemed themselves with prayers and promises. In this eventful moment, the lance of an Arab might have changed the history of the world.

The flight of the prophet from Mecca to Medina, has fixed the memorable era of the Hegira, which at the end of twelve centuries, still discriminates the lunar years of the Mahometan nation.

The Hegira was instituted by Omar the second Caliph, in imitation of the era of the martyrs of the Christians, and properly commenced sixty-eight days before the flight of Mahomet, with the first of Mohanen, or first day of the Arabian year, which coincides with Friday, July 16, 622.

Mahomet is received by a few at Medina. At first, ten Charigites and two Arosites, protest in the name of their wives, their children, and their absent brethren, that they would forever profess the creed, and observe the precepts of the Koran.

The second meeting was a political association, the first vital spark of the empire of the Saracens. Seventy-three men, and two women, held a solemn conference with Mahomet, his kinsman, and his disciples, and pledged themselves to each other by a mutual oath of fidelity. They promised, in the name of the city, that if he should be banished, they would receive him as a confederate, obey him as a leader, and defend him to the last extremity, like their wives and children. But if you are recalled by your country, they asked with a flattering anxiety, will you not abandon your new allies? All things, replied Mahomet, with a smile, are now common between us; your blood is as my blood, your ruin as my ruin. We are bound to each other by the ties of honour and interest. I am your friend, and the enemy of your foes.—But if we are killed in your service, what, exclaimed the deputies of Medina, will be our reward? PARADISE, replied the prophet.—Stretch forth thy hand; he stretched it forth; and they reiterated the oath of allegiance and fidelity.

Their treaty was ratified by the people, who unanimously embraced the profession of Islam. They rejoiced in the exile of the prophet, but they trembled for his safety, and impatiently expected his arrival. After a perilous and rapid journey, along the sea coast, he halted at Koba, two miles from the city, and made his public entry into Medina, sixteen days after his flight from Mecca.

From his establishment at Medina, Mahomet assumed the exercise of supreme civil power, and the sacerdotal office; and it was impious to appeal from a judge, whose decrees were inspired by divine wisdom. After a reign of six years, 1500 mussulmen in arms, and in the field, renewed their oath of fidelity. In the first months of his reign, he practised the lessons of

holy warfare, and displayed his white banner before the gates of Medina: the martial apostle fought in person at nine battles or sieges, and fifty enterprizes were atchieved by himself or his lieutenants.

The sword, says Mahomet, is the key of heaven and of hell. A drop of blood shed in the cause of God, a night spent in arms, is of more avail, than two months spent in prayer;—whoever falls in battle, his sins are forgiven; at the day of judgment, his wounds shall be resplendent as vermillion, and odoriferous as musk: and the loss of his limbs shall be supplied by the wings of angels and of cherubims.

The Koran inculcates in the most absolute sense, the tenets of fate, and predestination, which would extinguish both industry and virtue, if the actions of men were governed by his speculative belief; yet their influence in every age, has exalted the courage of the Saracens and the Turks.

The first battle at which the prophet was engaged, was that at Bader, A. D. 623. Medina was so situated as to intercept the trade between Mecca and Syria. Mahomet's band amounted to 313; who attacks a wealthy caravan of 1000 camels, guarded by 100 horse, and 850 foot of the Koreish; the latter fled, with the loss of 70 killed. The second battle was fought on Mount Ohud. The resentment of the public and private loss, stimulated Abu Sophian to collect a body of 3000 men, 700 of whom were armed with cuirassers, and 200 were mounted on horseback. The standard of Mahomet was upheld by 950 believers. The Koreish advanced in the form of a crescent, and the right wing of the cavalry was led by Caled, the fiercest and most successful of the Arabian warriors. The troops of Mahomet were skilfully posted on the declivity of a hill; their rear was guarded by 50 archers. The weight of their charge broke the center of the idolaters; but in the pursuit they lost the advantage of their ground: the archers deserted their station. The intrepid Caled, wheeling his cavalry on their rear, exclaimed with a loud voice, That Mahomet was slain. He was indeed wounded in the face with a javelin, two of his teeth were shattered with a stone, yet in the midst of tumult, and dismay, he reproached the infidels with the murder of a prophet; and blessed the friendly hand that conveyed him to a place of safety. Seventy martyrs died for the sins of the people. They fell, said the apostle, in pairs, each brother embracing his lifeless companion; their bodies were mangled by the inhuman females of Mecca: and the wife of Abu Sophian tasted the entrails of Hamza, the uncle of Mahomet. They

might applaud their superstition, and satiate their fury; but the mussulmen soon rallied in the field, and the Koreish wanted strength or courage to undertake the siege of Medina.

It was attacked the ensuing year by an army of 10,000 men; and this third expedition is variously named from the nations that marched under the banners of Abu Sophian, from the ditch which was drawn before the city, and a camp of 3000 Musselmen: the prudence of Mahomet declined a general engagement; the war was protracted twenty days; the confederates separated, and the Koreish no longer hoped to subvert the throne, or to check the conquests of their invincible exile.

Mahomet subdues the Jews of Arabia; with an inflexible eye, sees 700 of them buried alive.

He next besieges Chaidbar, which was the seat of the Jewish power in Arabia, which submits to his yoke. The chief of the tribe was tortured in the presence of Mahomet, to extort a confession of hidden treasure. The husbandmen were permitted, as long as it should please the conqueror, to improve their farms in equal shares, for his and their emolument.

Under the reign of Omar, the Jews of Chaidbar were transplanted to Syria, and the Caliph alledged the injunction of his dying master, that one, and the true religion, should be professed in his native land of Arabia.

Mahomet's march from Medina to Mecca, *Enters Mecca,* displayed the peaceful and solemn pomp of a pilgrimage: 70 camels chosen and bedecked for sacrifice, preceded the van. When he was within a day's march of Mecca, the Koreish opposed him, and the prophet exclaimed, they have clothed themselves with the skins of tygers. The intripid fanatic sunk into a cool and cautious politician; and he waved in the treaty, his title of apostle of God, concluded with the Koreish, and their allies, a truce of ten years—with permission to enter Mecca, and of remaining three days to accomplish the rights of the pilgrimage. By the defection of the principal people, he is reinstated at Mecca, and Abu Sophian presented him the keys of the city, and observed to him, that the son of Abdallah had acquired a mighty kingdom. The 360 idols of the Caaba were broken; and the house of God was purified and adorned. And a perpetual law was enacted, that no unbeliever should dare to set his foot on the territory of the Holy City.

The conquest of Mecca determined the faith and obedience of the Arabian tribes. *Conquest of Arabia, A. D. 629. 632.* The war of Honain derived a proper appellation from the idols whom Mahomet had vowed to destroy, and whom the confederates of Tayef had sworn to defend—4000 Pagans advanced with secrecy and speed to surprize the conqueror. The banners of Medina and Mecca were displayed by the prophet—12,000 Mussulmans entertained the rash and sinful presumption of their invincible strength. The prophet on the white mule was encompassed by the enemies: he attempted to rush against their spears in search of a glorious death: ten of his faithful companions interposed their weapons, and their breasts; three of these fell dead at his feet; O my brethren, he repeatedly cried, with sorrow and indignation, I am the son of Abdallah: I am the apostle of truth! O man stand fast in the faith! O God send down thy succour! His conduct and example restored the battle, and gained the victory. From the field of Honain, he marched to the siege of Tayef, a fortress of strength; but was not successful: after a siege of twenty-two days, he founded the retreat; but he affected to pray for the repentance and safety of the unbelieving city. The spoils of this expedition amounted to 6000 prisoners, 24,000 camels, 40 000 sheep, and 4000 ounces of silver.

He was followed by the deputies of Tayef, who dreaded the repetition of a siege. Grant us, O apostle of God! a truce of three years with the toleration of our antient worship. "Not a month, not an hour." Excuse us, at least, from the obligation of prayer: "Without prayer, religion is of no avail." They submitted in silence; their temples were demolished; and the same sentence of death was executed on all the idols of Arabia. His lieutenants on the shores of the Red sea, the ocean, and the gulf of Persia, were saluted by the acclamations of a faithful people; and the ambassadors, who knelt before the throne of Medina, were as numerous (says the Arabian proverb) as the dates that fall from the maturity of a palm tree. The nation submitted to the god and sceptre of Mahomet: the abhorrent name of tribute was abolished: the spontaneous or reluctant oblations of alms and tythes were applied to the service of religion; and 114,000 Moslems accompanied the last pilgrimage of the apostle.

When Heraclius returned in triumph from the Persian war, he entertained at Emesa, one of the ambassadors of Mahomet, who invited the princes and nations of the earth,

First war of the Mahometans on the Roman Em-

pire, A. D. 629. to the profession of Islam. On this foundation, the zeal of the Arabians has supposed the secret conversion of the Christian emperor.

The vanity of the Greeks has feigned a personal visit to the prince of Medina, who accepted from the royal bounty, a rich domain, and a secure retreat in the province of Syria: but the friendship of Heraclius and Mahomet was of short continuance. The new religion had rather inflamed, than assuaged the rapacious spirit of the Saracens; and the murder of an envoy, afforded a decent pretence for invading with 3000 soldiers, the territory of Palestine, that extends to the eastward of Jordan.

The holy banner was entrusted to Zeid; and such was the discipline or enthusiasm of the rising sect, that the noblest chiefs served without reluctance under the slave of the prophet. On the event of his decease, Jaafar and Abdallah were successively substituted to the command; and if the three should perish in the war, the troops were authorized to elect their general. The three leaders were slain in the battle of Muta, the first military action which tried the valor of the Moslems against a foreign enemy. Zeid fell like a soldier in the foremost ranks. The death of Jaafar was heroic and memorable; he lost his right hand; he shifted the standard to his left; the left was severed from his body: he embraced the standard with his bleeding stumps, until he was transfixed to the ground with fifty honorable wounds. Advance, cried Abdallah, who stepped into the vacant place, advance with confidence, either victory or paradise is our own. The lance of the Roman decided the alternative: but the falling standard was rescued by Caled; nine swords were broken in his hands, and his valor withstood and repulsed the Christians. In the nocturnal council of the camp, he was chosen to command: his skillful evolutions, the ensuing day, secured either the victory or the retreat of the Saracens; and Caled acquired the renowned appellation of *the sword of God*.

In the pulpit, Mahomet described with prophetic rapture, the crowns of the blessed martyrs: but in private he betrayed the feelings of human nature: he was surprized as he wept over the daughter of Zeid: What do I see? said the astonished votary: "You see, replied the apostle, a friend who is deploing the loss of his most faithful friend." The prophet affected to prevent the hostile preparations of Heraclius, and solemnly proclaimed war against the Romans: the Moslems were discouraged; alledging the want of money, horses, and provisions; the season of harvest, and the intolerable heat of

the summer. *Hell is much hotter*, replied the indignant prophet: he disdained to compel their service; but on his return he admonished the most guilty by an excommunication of fifty days. The desertion enhanced the merit of Abubeker, Othman, and the faithful companions who devoted their lives and fortunes; and displayed his banner at the head of 10,000 horse and 20,000 foot; painful indeed was the distress of the march: lassitude and thirst were aggravated by the scorching and pestilential winds of the desert. In the mid-way, ten days journey from Medina and Damascus, they reposed near the fountain and grove of Tabuc; beyond that place Mahomet declined the prosecution of the war; he declared himself satisfied with the peaceable intentions; he was more probably daunted by the martial array of the emperor of the east; but the active and intripid Caled spread round the terror of his name, and the prophet received the submission of the tribes and cities, from the Euphrates to Ailah, at the head of the Red sea: To his Christian subjects, Mahomet readily granted the security of their persons, the freedom of their trade, the property of their goods, and the toleration of their worship: It was for the interest of the prophet and conqueror, to propose a fair capitulation to the most powerful religion on earth.

Until the age of 53 years, the strength of Mahomet was equal to the temporal and spiritual fatigues of his mission. His epileptic fits an absurd calumny of the Greeks, would be an object of pity, rather than abhorrence. But he seriously believed that he was poisoned at Chaidbar, by the revenge of a Jewish female. During four years the health of this prophet declined; his infirmities increased; but his mortal disease was a fever of fourteen days, which deprived him by intervals of the use of reason. As soon as he was conscious of his danger, he edified his brethren by the humility of his virtue and penitence. If there be any man, said the apostle from the pulpit, whom I have unjustly scourged, I submit my own back to the lash of retaliation—Have I aspersed the reputation of a Mussulman? let him proclaim my fault in the face of the congregation—Has any one been despoiled of his goods? the little that I possess shall compensate the principal and interest of the debt.—Yes, replied a voice from the crowd, I am entitled to three drams of silver. Mahomet heard the complaint, satisfied the demand, and thanked his creditor for accusing him in this world, rather than at the day of judgment. He beheld with temperate firmness the approach of death; enfranchised his slaves, 17 men

Death of Mahomet, A. D. 632. June 7th.

and 11 women; minutely directed the order of his funeral; and moderated the lamentations of his weeping friends, on whom he bestowed the benediction of peace; until the third day before his death, he regularly performed the function of public prayer.

If the slightest credit may be afforded to the traditions of his wives and companions, he maintained in the bosom of his family, and to the last moments of his life, the dignity of an apostle, and the faith of an enthusiast—described the visits of Gabriel, who had an everlasting farewell to the earth, and expressed his lively confidence, not only of the mercy, but of the favor of the Supreme Being. In a familiar discourse, he had mentioned his special prerogative, that the angel of death was not allowed to take his soul, until he had respectfully asked the permission of the prophet. The request was granted, and Mahomet immediately fell into the agony of his dissolution; his head was reclined on Ayeshah, the best beloved of his wives; he fainted with the violence of pain: recovering his spirits, he raised his eyes towards the roof of the house, and with a steady look, though faltering voice, uttered the last broken, though articulate words, O God—pardon my sins—yes—I come—among my fellow citizens on high—and then expired.

An expedition for the conquest of Syria was stopped by this event; the army halted at the gates of Medina; the chiefs were assembled around their dying master: The city, and more especially the house of the prophet, was a scene of sorrow or silent despair: fanaticism alone could suggest a ray of hope and consolation. How can he be dead, our witness, our intercessor, our mediator with God? By God, he is not dead, like Moses and Jesus; he is wrapt in a holy trance, and speedily will return to his faithful people. The evidence of sense was disregarded, and Omar unsheathing his scymetar, threatened to strike off the heads of the infidels, who should dare to affirm that the prophet was no more. The tumult was appeased by the weight and moderation of Abubeker. Is it Mahomet, said he to Omar, and the multitude, or the God of Mahomet, that you worship? The God of Mahomet liveth forever; but the apostle was a mortal like ourselves, and according to his own prediction, he has experienced the common fate of mortality.

Of his last years, ambition was his ruling passion; and a politician will suspect, that he secretly smiled (the victorious impostor) at the enthusiasm of his youth, and the credulity of his proselites. Mahomet's decree, that in the sale of captives,

the mother should never be separated from her children, evidences a degree of unaffected humanity. Perfumes and women were his two sensual enjoyments, and his religion did not forbid them : he affirmed, that the fervor of his devotion was increased by these innocent pleasures.

The incontinence of the Arabs was regulated by the civil and religious laws of the Koran ; their incestuous alliances were blamed ; the boundless licence of polygamy was reduced to four legitimate wives or concubines ; adultery was condemned as a capital offence, and fornication, in either sex, was punished with an hundred stripes. Mahomet, in his private life, indulged the appetites of a man, and abused the claims of a prophet : a special revelation dispensed him from the laws he had imposed on his nation ; the female sex, without reserve, were abandoned to his desires : He had fifteen or seventeen wives ; eleven are enumerated, who occupied at Medina their separate apartments round the house of the apostle ; what is singular, they were all widows except Ayesha, the daughter of Abubeker, with whom he consummated matrimony when she was nine years of age : She was loved and trusted by the prophet ; but her behavior had been ambiguous and indiscreet ; in a nocturnal march, she was accidentally left behind ; and in the morning Ayesha returned to camp with a man : The temper of Mahomet was inclined to jealousy ; but a divine revelation assured him of her innocence. He chastised her accusers, and published a law of domestic peace, that no woman should be condemned, unless four male witnesses had seen her in the act of adultery.

In his adventure with Zeineb, the wife of Zeid, and with Mary, an Egyptian captive, the amorous prophet forgot the interest of his reputation : At the house of Zeid, his freedman and adopted son, he beheld in a loose undress the beauty of Zeineb, and burst forth into an ejaculation of devotion and desire. But as the filial relation had excited some doubt and scandal, the angel Gabriel descended from Heaven to ratify the deed ; to annul the adoption, and gently to reprove the apostle for distrusting the indulgence of his god.

One of his wives, Hafsa, daughter of Omar, surprized him on her own bed, in the embraces of his Egyptian captive ; she promised secrecy and forgiveness ; he swore that he would renounce the possession of Mary ; both parties forgot their engagements ; and Gabriel again descended with a chapter of the Koran, to absolve him from his oath, and to exhort him freely to enjoy his captives, without listening to the clamours of his wives. In a solitary retreat he laboured alone with Mary, 30

days, to fulfil the commands of the angel. When his love and revenge were satiated, he summoned to his presence his eleven wives, reproached their disobedience, and threatened them with a sentence of divorce both in this and the next world. He always retained an affection for the memory of Cadijah. "Was she not old?" said Ayesha, with the intolerance of a blooming beauty, "has not God given you a better in her place?" No, said Mahomet, with an effusion of honest gratitude, there never can be a better; she believed in me when men despised me; she relieved my wants when I was poor, and persecuted by the world.

In the victorious days of the Roman Republic, it had been the aim of the senate to confine their counsels and legions to a single war, and completely to suppress a first enemy, before they provoked the hostilities of a second. These timid maxims were disdained by the magnanimity or enthusiasm of the first Caliphs. With the same vigor they invaded the successors of Augustus, and those of Artaxerxes: And the rival monarchies, at the same instant, became the prey of an enemy, whom they had so long been accustomed to despise. In the ten years of the administration of Omar, the Saracens reduced to his obedience 36,000 cities or castles; destroyed 4000 churches or temples of the unbelievers, and edified 1400 Moschs for the exercise of the religion of Mahomet: One hundred years after his flight from Mecca, the arms and the reign of his successors extended from India to the Atlantic ocean, over the various and distant provinces which may be comprised under the names of 1st. Persia, 2d. Syria, 3d. Egypt, 4th. Africa, 5th. Spain.

In the first year of the first Caliph Abubeker, his lieutenant Caled, the sword of God, and the scourge of the infidels, advanced to the banks of the Euphrates, and reduced several cities. In the same year, says Elmacin, Caled fought several signal battles: an immense multitude of the infidels were slain: and spoils infinite and innumerable were acquired by the victorious Moslems. Caled was transferred to Syria, and their success was checked in a measure.

The Persian army amounted to 120,000 men, and that of the Saracens to 30,000. The latter are victorious, and the standard of the Persian monarchy was captured in the field. After this victory, the wealthy province of Irak or Assyria, submitted to the Caliph, and his conquests were firmly established by the speedy foundation of Bassora, a

Invasion of Persia,
A. D. 632.

Battle of Cadefsa,
A. D. 636.

place which ever commands the trade and navigation of the Persians. At the distance of fourscore miles from the gulf, the Euphrates unites in a broad and direct current, which is aptly styled the river of the Arabs; in the mid-way, between the junction and the mouth of these famous streams, the new settlement was planted on the western bank. The first colony was composed of 800 Moslems, but the influence of the situation soon reared a flourishing capital. Under the first Caliphs, the jurisdiction of this Arabian colony extended over the southern provinces of Persia: the city has been sanctified by the tombs of the companions and martyrs; and the vessels of Europe still frequent the ports of Bassora, as a convenient station and passage of the Indian trade.

After the defeat of Cadesia, a country intersected by rivers and canals, might have opposed an insuperable barrier to the victorious cavalry; and the walls of Ctesiphon or Madayn, which had resisted the battering rams of the Romans, would not have yielded to the darts of the Saracens; but the flying Persians were overcome by the belief, that the last day of their religion and empire was at hand: the strongest parts were abandoned by treachery or cowardice: and the king, with a part of his treasury and family, escaped to Holwan, at the foot of the Median hills. In the third month after the battle, Said, the lieutenant of Omar, passed the Tigris without opposition: the capital was taken by assault; and the disorderly resistance of the people gave a keener edge to the sabres of the Moslems, who shouted with religious transport; This is the white palace of Chosroes—this is the promise of the apostle of God. The naked robbers of the desert, were suddenly enriched, beyond the measure of their hope.

Each chamber revealed a new treasure, secreted with art, or ostentatiously displayed: the gold and silver, the various wardrobes and precious furniture surpassed (says Abulfeda) the estimate of fancy or numbers: and another historian defines the untold, and almost infinite mass, by the fabulous computation of three thousands of thousands of thousands of pieces of gold—some minute, though curious facts, represent the contrast of riches and ignorance. From the remote islands of the Indian ocean, a large provision of camphire had been imported, which is employed with a mixture of wax, to illuminate the palaces of the east—the Saracens mistaking it for salt, mingled the camphire in their bread, and were astonished at the bitterness of the taste.

The sack of Ctesiphon was followed by its desertion and gradual decay. The battles of Jalula and Nehavend, settled

the mighty conquest. After the loss of the former, Yezdegerd, prince of Persia, fled from Holwan, and concealed his shame and despair in the mountains of Farsistan, from whence Cyrushad descended with his equal and valiant companions. The courage of the nation survived that of the monarch. Among the hills to the south of Ecbatana or Hamadan, 150,000 Persians made a third and final stand for their religion and country; and the decisive battle of Nehavend was stried by the Arabs, the victory of victories.

By the reduction of Hamadan and Ispahan of Caswin, Tauris, and Rei, they gradually approached the shores of the Caspian Sea; and the orators of Mecca might applaud the success and spirit of the faithful, who had already lost sight of the northern bear, and had almost transcended the bounds of the habitable world. Again, turning towards the West, and the Roman empire, they repassed the Tigris, over the bridge of Mosul, and in the captive provinces of Armenia, and Mesopotamia, embraced their victorious brethren of the Syrian army. From the palace of Madayn, their eastern progress was not less rapid or extensive. They advanced along the Tigris, and the gulph, penetrated through the passes of the mountains into the valley of Estachar or Persepolis; and profaned the last sanctuary of the Magian empire. The grandson of Chosroes was nearly surprized among the falling columns and mutilated figures: a sad emblem of the past and present fortune of Persia: he fled with accelerated haste over the desert of Kirman, implored the aid of the warlike Segestans, and sought an humble refuge on the verge of the Turkish and Chinese power. But a victorious army is insensible of fatigue; the Arabs divided their forces in the pursuit of a timorous enemy; and the Caliph Othman promised the government of Chorasan to the first general who should enter that large and populous country, the kingdom of the antient Bactryans.—The condition was accepted; the prize was deserved: the standard of Mahomet was planted on the walls of Herat, Meron, and Balch; and the successful leader, neither halted nor reposed, till his foaming cavalry had tasted the waters of Oxus.

The governors of cities and castles obtained their separate capitulations, and the simple profession of faith established the distinction between a brother and a slave. After a noble defence, Harmozan, the prince or satrap of Ahwaz and Susa, was compelled to surrender his person, and his state to the discretion of

the Caliph and their interview exhibits a portrait of the Arabian manners.

In the presence and by the command of Omar, the gay barbarian was despoiled of silken robes, embroidered with gold, and of his tiara, bedecked with rubies and emeralds. 'Are you sensible,' said the conqueror, to his naked captive, 'are you now sensible of the judgment of God, and of the different rewards of infidelity and obedience?' 'Alas,' replied Harmozan, 'I feel them too deeply. In the days of our common ignorance, we fought with the weapons of flesh, and my nation was superior. God was then neuter. Since he has espoused your quarrel, you have subverted our kingdom and religion.' Oppressed by this painful dialogue, the Persian complained of intolerable thirst, but discovered some apprehensions lest he should be killed, whilst he was drinking a cup of water. 'Be of good courage,' said the Caliph, 'your life is safe until you have drank this water.' The crafty satrap accepted the assurance, and instantly dashed the vase against the ground.

Omar would have avenged the deceit, but his companions represented the sanctity of an oath: and the speedy conversion of Harmozan, entitled him not only to a pardon, but to a stipend of 2000 pieces of gold.

The administration of Persia was regulated by an actual survey of the people, the cattle, and the fruits of the earth; and this monument, which attests the vigilance of the Caliph, might have instructed the political philosophers of every age.

The flight of Yezdegerd had carried him beyond the Oxus, and as far as the Jaxartes, two rivers of antient and modern renown, which descend from the mountains of India, towards the Caspian Sea. He was hospitably entertained by Tarkham, prince of Fargena, a fertile province on the Jaxartes; the king of Sarmacand, with the Turkish tribes of Sogdiana and Scythia, were moved by the lamentations of the fallen monarch; and he solicited the more solid and powerful aid of the emperor of China. In a small enterprize, having an army of Turks, he returned to conquer the inheritance of his fathers. The fortunate Moslems, without unsheathing their swords, were the spectators of his ruin and death.

Death of the last king of Persia, A. D. 657.

The conquest of Transoxiana, A. D. 710.

After the fall of the Persian empire, the river Oxus divided the territories of the Saracens and the Turks. This narrow boundary was soon overleaped by the spirit of the Arabs. The governors of Chorasan ex-

tended their successive inroads; and one of their triumphs was adorned with the buskin of a Turkish queen, which she dropped in her precipitate flight, beyond the hills of Rochara; but the final conquest of Transoxiana, as well as of Spain, was reserved for the glorious reign of the inactive Walid; and the name of Catibah, the camel driver, declares the origin and merit of his successful lieutenant. While one of his colleagues displayed the first Mahometan banner on the banks of the Indus, the spacious regions between the Oxus, the Jaxartes, and the Caspian Sea, were reduced by the arms of Catibah. A tribute of two millions of pieces of gold was imposed on the infidels; their idols were burnt or broken: the Mussulman chief pronounced a sermon in the new mosque of Carizeme. The Turkish hords were driven back to the desarts: and the emperors of China solicited the friendship of the victorious Arabs. The inestimable art of transforming linen into paper, has been diffused from the manufacture of farmacand, over the western world.

No sooner had Abubeker, the first Caliph, restored the unity of faith and government, than he dispatched a circular letter to the Arabian chiefs.

Invasion of Syria. A. D. 632. In the name of the most merciful God, to the rest of the true believers. Health and happiness, and the mercy and blessing of God be upon you. I praise the most high God, and I pray for his prophet Mahomet. This is to acquaint you, that I intend to send the true believers into Syria, to take it out of the hands of the infidels. I would have you know, that the fighting for religion is an act of obedience to God.

As soon as the numbers were complete, Abubeker addressed the chiefs—Remember, said he, that you are always in the presence of God on the verge of death, in the assurance of judgment and the hope of paradise. Avoid injustice and oppression; consult with your brethren, and study to preserve the love and confidence of your troops. When you fight the battles of the Lord, acquit yourselves like men, without turning your backs; but let not your victory be stained with the blood of women or children. Destroy no palm-trees, nor burn any fields of corn. Cut down no fruit-trees, nor do any mischief to cattle, only such as you kill to eat. When you make any covenant or bargain, stand to it, and be as good as your word. As you go on, you will find some religious persons, who have retired in monasteries, and propose to themselves to serve God that way: let them alone; and neither kill them, nor destroy their monasteries. And you will find another sort of people that belong to the synagogue of Satan, who have shaven crowns; be

sure you cleave their skulls, and give them no quarter, till they either turn Musulmen, or pay tribute.

One of the fifteen provinces of Syria, was called by the Romans Arabia. It was covered with a line of forts by the vigilance of the emperors. The citizens of Gerafa, Philadelphia, and Bosra, were populous, and secure, by the solid structure of the walls. Bosra could send forth from her gates 12,000 horse. A detachment of 4000 Moslems presumed to summon and attack this fortress; they were oppressed by the Syrian numbers; they were saved by the presence of Calid with 1500 horse: he blamed the enterprize, and restored the battle. Confident in their strength, the people of Bosra threw open their gates, drew their forces into the plain, and swore to die in defence of their religion. But a religion of peace was incapable of withstanding the fanatic cry of, Fight, fight, Paradise, paradise.— With the loss of 230 men, the Arabs remained masters of the field. The ramparts of Bosra, in expectation of human or divine aid, were crowned with crosses and consecrated banners; they were betrayed by Romanus the governor, who renounced the Christian religion, and embraced the faith of Mahomet.

Siege of Damascus, A. D. 633.

The conquest of Bosra, four days journey from Damascus, encouraged the Arabs to besiege the antient capital of Syria. This place had lately been reinforced with 5000 Greeks. The defence was spirited, and the more so, as the besieged had received intelligence of speedy succour. The Arabs suspended the siege, till they had given battle to the troops of the emperor. In the retreat, Calid would have chosen the more perilous station of the rear guard, he yielded to the wish of Abu Obidah the chief; the importance of the conquest required the junction of all the Saracens on the frontiers of Syria, and Palestine. One of the circular letters which was addressed to Amron, the future conqueror of Egypt, was as follows: In the name of the most merciful God. From Calid to Amron, health and happiness. Know that thy brethren, the Moslems design to march to Aiznain, where there is an army of 70,000 Greeks, who purpose to come against us, that they may extinguish the light of God with their mouths. But God preserveth his light in spite of the infidels. As soon therefore as this letter of mine shall be delivered to thy hands, come with those that are with thee, to Aiznain, where thou shalt find us, if it please the most high God.

The summons were cheerfully obeyed; 45 000 Moslems met on the same day, on the same spot; which they ascribed to the blessing of providence.

This battle happened about four years after
The battle of Heraclius had triumphed over the Persians.
Aiznaidin, A.D. An army of 70,000 men was assembled at
 633. July 13. Hems or Emia, under his general Werden.

These troops, chiefly cavalry, might be indifferently called Syrians, Greeks, or Romans. On the plain of Aiznaidin, as Werden rode on a white mule, decorated with chains of gold, and surrounded with ensigns and standards, he was surprized by the near approach of a fierce and naked warrior, who had undertaken to view the enemy. The adventurous valour of Derar, maintained a flying fight against thirty Romans, who were detached by Werden; and after killing, or unhorsing seventeen of their number, Derar returned in safety to his applauding brethren. When his rashness was mildly censured by his general, he excused himself with the simplicity of a soldier: Nay, said Derar, I did not begin first; but they came out to take me, and I was afraid that God should see me turn my back: and, indeed, I fought in good earnest, and without doubt, God assisted me against them.

In the presence of both armies, a venerable Greek advanced with a liberal offer of peace, and the departure of the Saracens would have been purchased by a gift to each soldier, of a turban, a robe, and a piece of gold; ten robes, and 100 pieces to their leader: 100 robes and 1000 pieces to the Caliph.

A smile of indignation expressed the refusal of Caled. Ye Christian dogs, you know your option. The Koran, the tribute, or the sword. We are a people whose delight is in war, rather than in peace: and we despise your pitiful alms, since we shall be speedily masters of your wealth, your families, and your persons.

The imperial army was defeated, and the remains of it fled to Antioch, Cæiarea, or Damascus. And the death of 470 Moslems was compensated by the opinion that they had sent to hell above 50,000 infidels. The spoil was inestimable.

The Arabs return to the siege of Damascus, and after a siege of seventy days, it is taken by storm, and capitulation. At the hour of midnight, one hundred chosen deputies were admitted to the tent of Abu Obeidah. They returned with a written agreement, on the faith of a companion of Mahomet, that all hostilities should cease; that the voluntary emigrants might depart in safety, with as much as they could carry away of their effects; and that the tributary subjects should enjoy their lands and houses, with the use and possession of seven churches.

On these terms, the most respectable hostages, and the gate nearest to his camp, were delivered into his hands. But at the

same time, the opposite part of the city was taken by assault. A party of 100 Arabs had opened the eastern gate to a more inexorable foe. No quarter, cried the sanguinary Caled. No quarter to the enemies of the Lord. His trumpet sounded, and a torrent of Christian blood poured down the streets of Damascus. When he reached the church of St. Mary, he was astonished and provoked at the peaceful aspect of his companions. Abu Obeidah saluted his general. God, said he, has delivered the city into my hands, by way of surrender, and has saved the believers the trouble of fighting. And am I not, replied the indignant Caled, am I not the lieutenant of the commander of the faithful? Have I not taken the city by storm? The unbelievers shall perish by the sword.

The benevolent firmness of Abu Obeidah prevails; and Damascus is saved. A great number of them leave the city with their effects. The inflexible soul of Caled was not troubled by the spectacle of their distress; and sternly declares, that after a respite of three days, they might be pursued and treated as the enemies of the Moslems. After remaining in the city four days, he pursued the fugitives, and excepting one captive who was pardoned and dismissed, the Arabs supposed that not a Christian of either sex escaped the edge of their scymeters.

A.D. 635. From the conquest of Damascus the Saracens proceeded to Heliopolis or Baalbeck, and Emesa, which are besieged and taken.

A.D. 636. In the neighbourhood of Bosra, the springs of Mount Hermon descend in a torrent to the plains of Decapolis: and the Hieromat, a name which has been corrupted to Yermuck, is lost after a short course in the Lake Tiberias. The banks of this obscure stream were made illustrious by a long and bloody encounter, called the battle of Yermuck.

The Emperor Heraclius had from the provinces of Europe and Asia, transported by sea and land, to Antioch and Cæsarea, 80,000 men. The light troops of the army consisted of 60,000 Christian Arabs, of the tribe of Gassan. Heraclius withheld his person from the dangers of the field. But his orders were peremptory, that the fate of the province and war should be decided by a single battle.

A report of these mighty preparations was conveyed to their camp at Emesa. Caled was for retreating to the skirts of Palestine and Arabia, to wait for the succour of their friends. A speedy messenger from the throne of Medina, came with the blessings of Omar and Ali; the prayers of the widows of the prophet; and a reinforcement of 8000 Moslems. The ex-

hortation of the Saracen generals was brief and forcible—Paradise is before you, and hell fire in your rear.

Yet such was the weight of the Roman cavalry, that the right wing of the Arabs was broken, and separated from the main body of the army. Thrice they retreated in disorder, and were rallied again. 4030 Moslems were buried in the field of battle; but it was decisive against the emperor. Many thousands of the Greeks and Syrians fell by the sword. We killed of them, says Abu Obeidah to the Caliph, 150,000, and made prisoners 40,000. These numbers are probably exaggerated; but after this battle, the Roman army no longer appeared in the field.

The Saracens might at this time securely choose among the fortified towns of Syria, the first object of their attack: they consulted the Caliph, whether they should march to Cæsa-rea or Jerusalem; and the advice of Ali determined the immediate siege of the latter.

To a profane eye, Jerusalem was the first or second capital of Palestine; but after Mecca, and Medina, it was revered and visited by the devout Moslems, as the temple of the holy land, which had been sanctified by the revelation of Moses, of Jesus, and of Mahomet himself. The son of Abu Sophian was sent with 5000 Arabs, to try the first experiment of surprize or treaty; but on the eleventh day, the town was invested by the whole force of Abu Obeidah. He addressed the customary summons to the chief commanders and people of Ælia.

Health and happiness to every one that follows the right way. We require of you to testify, that there is but one God, and that Mahomet is his apostle. If you refuse this, consent to pay tribute, and be under us forthwith; otherwise I shall bring men against you, who love death better than you do the drinking of wine, or eating hog's flesh. Nor will I ever stir from you, if it please God, until I have destroyed those, that fight for you, and made slaves of your children. The siege of Jerusalem lasted four months: not a day was lost without some action, sally, or assault. The military engines incessantly played from the ramparts: and the inclemency of the winter was still more destructive to the Arabs.

The Christians yielded at length to the perseverance of the besiegers. The patriarch Sophronius appeared on the walls, and demanded a conference. After a vain attempt to dissuade the lieutenant of the Caliph from his impious enterprize, he proposed in the name of the people, a fair capitulation, with this extraordinary clause, that the articles of security should be

ratified by the authority and presence of Omar himself. The question was debated in the council of Medina; the sanctity of the place, and the advice of Ali, persuaded the Caliph to gratify the wishes of his soldiers and enemies. And the simplicity of his journey is more illustrious than the royal pageants of vanity and oppression.

The conqueror of Persia and Syria, was mounted upon a red camel, which carried, besides his person, a bag of corn, a bag of dates, a wooden dish, and a leathern bottle of water: wherever he halted, the company without distinction, was invited to partake of his homely fair: and the repast was consecrated by the prayer and exhortation of the commander of the faithful. But in his expedition, his power was exercised in the administration of justice. He reformed the licentious polygamy of the Arabs: he relieved the tributaries from extortion and cruelty; and chastised the luxury of the Saracens, by despoiling them of their rich silks, and dragging them on their faces in the dirt.

When he came in sight of Jerusalem, the Caliph cried with a loud voice, God is victorious. O Lord give us an easy conquest. And pitching his tent of course hair, calmly seated himself on the ground. After signing the capitulation, he entered the city without fear or precaution, and courteously discoursed with the patriarch concerning its religious antiquities. Sophronius bowed before his new master, and secretly muttered in the words of Daniel, 'The abomination of desolation is in the holy place.' At the hour of prayer they stood together in the church of the Resurrection, but the Caliph refused to perform his devotions, and contented himself with praying on the steps of the church of Constantine. To the patriarch he disclosed his prudent and honourable motive. Had I yielded, said Omar, to your request, the Moslems of a future age, would have insinuated the treaty, under colour of imitating my example.

By his command, the ground of the temple of Solomon was prepared for the foundation of a mosque. And during a residence of ten days, he regulated the present and future state of his Syrian conquests, and then quickly returned to the tomb of the apostle.

The Caliph formed two separate armies; Amron and Yezid were left in the camp of Palestine. Abu Obeidah and Caied, marched to the north, and took Antioch and Aleppo: not without the loss of several thousand men. They were detained before the castle of

*Conquest of
Aleppo, and
Antioch, A. D.
638.*

Aleppo a long time. Dames, of servile birth and gigantic size; proposed with thirty men only, to make an attempt on the castle. The adventurers lay in ambush at the foot of the hill. And Dames at length succeeded in his enquiries, though he was provoked by the ignorance of his Greek captives. God curse these dogs, said the illiterate Arab, what a strange barbarous language they speak. Antioch was ransomed as to her safety from plunder, at 300,000 pieces of gold. Cæsarea surrendered, and the citizens solicited their pardon with an offering of 200,000 pieces of gold. The remainder of the province, Ramlah, Ptolemais, or Achre, Sichein, or Neapolis, Gaza, Ascalon, Berytus, Sidon, Gabala, Laodicea, Apamia, Hierapolis, no longer presumed to dispute the will of the conqueror. And Syria bowed under the sceptre of the Caliphs 700 years after Pompey had despoiled the last of the Macedonian kings, which was 65 years before Christ.

Progress of the Syrian army, A.D. 639—655. Syria became the seat and support of the house of Ommiyah. And the revenue, soldiers, and ships of that powerful kingdom, were consecrated to enlarge the empire of the Caliphs.

To the north of Syria, they passed Mount Taurus, and reduced to their obedience the province of Cilicia, with its capital Tarsus, the antient monument of the Assyrian kings. Beyond a second ridge of the same mountains, they spread the flame of war, rather than the light of religion, as far as the shores of the Euxine, and the neighbourhood of Constantinople. To the East they advanced to the banks and sources of the Euphrates and Tigris, the long disputed barrier of Rome and Persia, was for ever confounded. The walls of Edesa and Amide, of Dara, and Nisibis, were levelled to the dust.

To the West the Syrian kingdom is bounded by the sea. A fleet of 1700 barks were equipped and manned by the natives of the desert. The imperial navy of the Romans fled before them, from the Pamphylian rocks to the Hellespont. The Saracens rode masters of the sea.

Invasion of Egypt, A. D. 638. At the head of only 400 Arabs, Amrou leaves Gaza, and marches for Egypt; takes Pelusium, Memphis, Babylon, and Cairo; and lays siege to Alexandria, which costs them fourteen months, and 23,000 men, before it surrendered. I have taken, said Amrou to the Caliph, the great city of the West: it is impossible for me to enumerate the variety of riches or beauty: and

I shall content myself with observing, that it contains 4000 palaces, 400 theatres, 12,000 shops for the sale of vegetable food, and 40,000 tributary Jews. The town has been subdued by force of arms, without treaty or capitulation, and the Moslems are impatient to receive the fruits of their victory.— The Caliph rejected with firmness, the idea of pillage, and directed the lieutenant to reserve the wealth for the public service, and the propagation of the faith. The inhabitants were numbered, and a tribute imposed.

The well known answer of the Caliph with respect to the Alexandrian library, was inspired by the ignorance of a fanatic. ‘If these writings of the Greeks agree with the book of God, they are useleſs; if they disagree, they are pernicious, and ought to be destroyed.’ The sentence was executed with a blind zeal.

Africa was first invaded by Abdalah, A. D. 647. The conquest of it was suspended near twenty years by dissensions, till the establishment of the house of Ommiyah, and Moawiyah became Caliph. It was finally conquered, 709.

The first descent of the Arabs into Spain, A.D. 710, July.

One hundred Arabs, and 400 Africans, passed over in four vessels from Tangier or Ceuta. The place of their descent on the opposite shore of the Streight, is marked by the name of Tarif their chief: and the date of this memorable event is fixed to the month Ramadan, of the ninety-first year of the Hegira, to the month of July, 748 years from the Spanish era of Cæsar, and 710 after the birth of Christ. The era of Cæsar, which was in legal and popular use in Spain, till the nineteenth century, begins thirty-eight years before the birth of Christ.

The conquest of Spain is effected by Musa, A.D. 714. The port of Barcelona was opened to the vessels of Syria, and the Goths were pursued beyond the Pyrenean mountains into their Gallic province of Septimania or Languedoc. Abdelaziz, chastised the insurgents of Seville, and reduced from Malaga to Valentia, the sea coast of the Mediterranean. His original treaty with Theodomir, will represent the manner and policy of the times.

‘The conditions of peace agreed and sworn between Abdelaziz, the son of Musa, the son of Nassir, and Theodomir prince of the Goths. In the name of the most merciful God, Abdelaziz makes peace on these conditions. That Theodomir shall not be disturbed in his principality; nor any injury be offered to the life and property, the wives or children, the religion and temples of the Christians. That Theodomir shall freely deliver

his seven cities Orchuela, Valentola, Alicant, Mola, Varasora, Bigena (now Bigar) Ora (or Opta) and Lorca. That he shall not assist or entertain the enemies of the Caliph, but shall faithfully communicate his knowledge of their hostile designs. That himself, and each of the Gothic nobles, shall annually pay one piece of gold, four measures of wheat, as many of barley, with a certain proportion of honey, oil and vinegar; and that each of their vassals shall be taxed at one moiety of the said imposition.

Given the fourth of Regeb in the year of the Hegira, 94.

Theodomir and his subjects, were treated with uncommon lenity; but the rate of the tribute appears to have fluctuated from a tenth to a fifth, according to the submission or obstinacy of the Christians.

Forty-six years after the flight of Mahomet from Mecca, his disciples appeared in arms under the walls of Constantinople. Moawiyah was Caliph; his preparations for the siege were adequate to the object. But the resistance was firm and effectual; six successive winters the Arabs retreated to the distance of about eighty miles; and six successive summers returned to the attack, till shipwreck and disease, sword and fire, obliged them to relinquish the enterprize, after the loss of 30,000 Moslems.

The event of the siege, both in the East and West, revived the reputation of the Roman arms, and cast a momentary shade over the glories of the Saracens. The Greek ambassador was favourably received at Damascus. A peace, or truce, of thirty years was ratified between the two empires. And a stipulation of an annual tribute, 50 horses of a noble breed, 50 slaves, and 3000 pieces of gold, degraded the majesty of the commander of the faithful.

After the revolt of Arabia and Persia, the house of Ommiyah was reduced to the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt; their distress and fear enforced their compliance with the pressing demands of the Christians. And the tribute was increased to a slave, an horse, and 1000 pieces of gold, for each of the 365 days of the solar year. But as soon as the empire was again united by the arms of Abdamelek, he discontinued the payment of the tribute, and the Greeks were not in a situation to enforce the payment.

Second siege of Constantinople,
A.D. 716--718.

The Caliph Waled sat idle on the throne of Damascus, whilst his lieutenants achieved the conquests of Transoxiana, and Spain. A third army overspread the provinces of Asia Minor, and approached the borders of the Byzantine capital.

But the attempt and disgrace of the second siege was reserved for his brother Soliman.

The most formidable of the Saracens, Moslemah the brother of the Caliph, advanced at the head of 120 000 Arabs and Persians, mostly on horses or camels; and the successful sieges of Tyana, Amorism, and Pergamos, were of sufficient duration to exercise their skill, and elevate their hopes. At the well known passage of Abydus, on the Hellespont, the Mahometan arms were transported for the first time from Asia to Europe; from thence, wheeling round the Thracian cities of the Propontis, Moslemah invested Constantinople on the land side. The navies of Syria and Egypt increased his presumption; they are said to have amounted to 1800 ships.

The fire ships of the Greeks were launched against them; the Arabs, their arms, and vessels were involved in the same flames; and no vestige of this fleet remains afterwards. The Caliph Soliman died at Chalcis, in Syria, as he was preparing to lead against Constantinople the remaining forces of the East. The brother of Moslemah was succeeded by a kinsman and an enemy; and the throne of an active and able prince was degraded by the useless and pernicious virtues of a bigot, who was so desirous of being with God, that he would not have anointed his ear (his own saying) to obtain a perfect cure of his last malady. The Caliph had only one shirt, and in an age of luxury, his annual expence was no more than two drachms, while he started and satisfied the scruples of a blind conscience. The siege was continued through the winter, by the neglect rather than by the resolution of Omar: The winter proved uncommonly rigorous, above an hundred days the ground was covered with deep snow, and the natives of the sultry climes of Egypt and Arabia lay torpid and almost frozen and lifeless in their camp.

In the spring, their distress and hopes were revived by the arrival of two numerous fleets, laden with provisions and soldiers; the first from Alexandria, of 400 vessels, the second from Africa, of 360 vessels. The Greek fire again dispersed these vessels; many of the Egyptian vessels went over to the Christian emperor. Famine and disease made dreadful havock among the troops of Moslemah: An army of Bulgarians slaughtered 22,000 Asiatics. The spirit of conquest, and even of enthusiasm, was extinct. At length, after a siege of thirteen months, the hopeless Moslemah received from the Caliph the welcome permission to retreat; and it was made with great dispatch, and without opposition.

*Invasion of France
by the Arabs, A.
D. 721.*

The decline of the French monarchy invited the attack of these fanatics.

The Goths, the Gascons, and the Franks assembled under the standard of Eudes, Duke of Aquitain : He repulsed the first

invasion of the Saracens, and Zama, lieutenant of the Caliph, lost his life and his army under the walls of Thoulouse. The ambition of his successes was stimulated by revenge : They repassed the Pyrenees with the means and the resolution of conquest. The advantageous situation, which had recommended Narbonne as the first Roman colony, was again chosen by the Moslems : They claimed the province of Septimania, or Languedoc, as a just dependance of the Spanish monarchy : The vineyards of Gascony, and the city of Bourdeaux, were possessed by the sovereign of Damascus and Samarcand ; and the south of France, from the mouth of the Garonne to that of the Rhone, assumed the manners and religion of Arabia.

*Expedition and
victories of Abde-
rame, A. D. 731.*

This veteran and daring commander adjudged to the obedience of the prophet whatever yet remained of France or of Europe. He proceeded without delay, with a formidable host, to the passage of

the Rhone, and the siege of Arles. An army of Christians attempted the relief of the city. The tombs of their leaders were yet visible in the 18th century, and many thousands of their dead bodies were carried down the rapid stream into the Mediterranean sea. He passed without opposition the Garonne and Dordogne, which unite their waters in the gulf of Bourdeaux ; but he found beyond these rivers the camp of the intrepid Eudes, who had formed a second army ; and sustained a second defeat, so fatal to the Christians, that, according to their sad confession, God alone could reckon the number of the slain. The victorious Saracen overran the province of Aquitaine, and his standards were planted before the gates of Tours and of Sens ; and his detachments overspread the kingdom of Burgundy, as far as Lyons and Besancon : A victorious line of march had been prolonged above a thousand miles, from the rock of Gibraltar to the banks of the Loir : The repetition of an equal space would have carried the Saracens to the confines of Poland, and the highlands of Scotland.

*Defeat of the Sa-
racens, by Charles
Martel, A. D. 732.*

Charles Martel was the illegitimate son of the elder Pepin, and was mayor or duke of the Franks. In a laborious administration of 24 years, he supported the dignity of the throne, and the rebels of

Germany and Gaul were successively crushed by the activity of a warrior, who, in the same campaign, could display his banner on the Elbe, the Rhine, and the shores of the ocean. In the public danger, he was summoned by the voice of his country. No sooner had he collected his forces, than he fought and found his enemies in the center of France, between Tours and Poitiers. His well conducted march was covered by a range of hills; and Abderame seems to have been surprized by his unexpected presence. The nations of Asia, Africa, and Europe advanced with equal ardour to an encounter which would change the history of the world. In the six first days of desultory combat, the Saracens maintained their advantage; but in the closer onset of the seventh day, the Orientals were oppressed with the strength and stature of the Germans, who, with stout hearts and iron hands, asserted the civil and religious freedom of their posterity.

After a bloody field, in which Abderame was slain, the Saracens, in the close of the evening, retired to their camp. In the disorder and despair of the night, the various tribes of Yemen and Damascus, of Africa and Spain, were provoked to turn their arms against each other. The remains of their host were suddenly dissolved, and each Emir consulted his own safety by a hasty retreat. The Christians lost 1500 slain in the field of battle; and it is said the Saracens lost from 350,000, to 375,000, which is probably very much exaggerated. The Arabs never resumed the conquest of Gaul. In the public distress, Charles had applied the revenues of the church to the relief of the state, and the reward of the soldiers. His merits were forgotten, and his sacrilege alone was remembered; and in an epistle to a Carlovignian prince, a Gallic synod presumes to declare, that his ancestor was damned; that on opening of his tomb, the spectators were affrighted by a smell of fire, and the aspect of a horned dragon; and a saint of the times was indulged with a pleasant vision of the soul and body of Charles Martel, burning to all eternity in the abyss of Hell.

*Elevation of the
Abassides, A. D.
749—750.*

The loss of an army was not so painful to the court of Damascus, as the rise and progress of a domestic competitor. The Caliphs of the house of Ommiyah had never been the objects of public favor, except in Syria.

The eyes and the wishes of the faithful were turned towards the line of Hashem; and the kindred of the apostle of these, the Fatimites were either rash or pusillanimous. But the descendant of Abbas, cherished with courage and discretion, the

hopes of their rising fortune ; their agents preached in the eastern provinces their indefeasible and hereditary rights. Mohammed, the son of Ali, the son of Abdallah, the son of Abbas, gave audience to the deputies of Chorasan, and accepted their free gift of 400,000 pieces of gold. After the death of Mohammed, the oath of allegiance was administered in the name of his son Ibrahim to a numerous band of votaries, who expected only a signal and a leader. And the Governor of Chorasan continued to deplore his fruitless admonitions, and the deadly slumbers of the Caliphs of Damascus, until he himself, with all his adherents, were driven from the city and palace of Meru, by the rebellious arms of Abu Moslem. This maker of kings, the author of the Call of the Abassides, was at length rewarded for his presumption of merit, with the usual gratitude of courts. Jealous of his wives, liberal of his wealth, prodigal of his blood, and of that of others, he could boast with pleasure, and probably with truth, that he had destroyed 600,000 of his enemies. And such was the intrepid gravity of his mind and countenance, that he was never known to smile, except on a day of battle.

In the visible separation of parties, the *green* was consecrated to the Fatimites :—The Ommiades were distinguished by the *white* :—and the *black*, as the most adverse, was naturally adopted by the Abassides. From the Indus to the Euphrates, the East was convulsed by the quarrel of the white and black factions. Every advantage appeared to be on the side of the white faction : the authority of established government : an army of 120,000 soldiers against a fifth part of that number : and the presence and merit of the Caliph Mervan, the 14th, and last of the house of Ommyyah. Before his accession to the throne, he had deserved, by his Georgian war, the honorable epithet of the As of Mesopotamia.

After an irretrievable defeat, the Caliph Mervan escaped to Mosul, from thence he suddenly repassed the Tigris, and pitched his last fatal camp at Busir, on the Nile, where he was slain, and the remains of the white faction were finally vanquished in Egypt. The fall of the Ommiades happened February 10th, 750.

Four score of the Ommiades, who had yielded to the faith or clemency of their foes, were invited to a banquet at Damascus : the laws of hospitality were violated by a promiscuous massacre : the board was spread over their fallen bodies, and the festivity of guests was enlivened by the music of their dying groans. By the event of the civil war, the Dynasty of the Abassides was firmly established.

Revolt of Spain,
A. D. 755.

Abdalahman, a royal youth of the house of the Ommiades, escaped alone, and after a successful struggle, he established the throne of Cordova, and was the father of the Ommiades of Spain, who reigned above 250 years from the Atlantic to the Pyrenees. He slew in battle a lieutenant of the Abassides, who had invaded his dominions, with a fleet and army. The head of Ola, in salt and camphire, was suspended by a daring messenger, before the palace of Mecca: and the Caliph Almanfor, rejoiced in his safety, that he was removed by sea and land from such a formidable adversary. Their mutual declarations of offensive war, evaporated without effect: but instead of opening a door to the conquest of Europe, Spain was severed from the trunk of the monarchy; engaged in perpetual hostilities with the East, and inclined to peace and friendship with the Christian sovereigns of Constantinople and France. The example of the Ommiades was imitated by the real or fictitious progeny of Ali, the Edrissites of Mauritania, and the more powerful Fatimites of Egypt and Africa. In the tenth century, the chair of Mahomet was disputed by three Caliphs or Commanders of the Faithful, who reigned at Bagdad; Cairoan and Cordova, excommunicated each other; and agreed only in a principle of discord, that a sectary is more odious and criminal than an unbeliever.

*Magnificence of
the Caliphs, A. D.*
750. 960.

Mecca was the patrimony of the line of Hashem, yet the Abassides were never tempted to live either in the birth-place or city of the prophet. Damascus was disgraced by the choice, and polluted by the blood of the Ommiades—and after some hesitation, Almanfor, the brother and successor of Saffah, laid the foundation of Bagdad, the imperial seat of his posterity, during a reign of 500 years. The chosen spot is on the bank of the Tigris, about 15 miles above the ruins of Modain—and such was the rapid increase of the capital, that the funeral of a popular saint might be attended by 800,000 men, and 60,000 women. In the *City of Peace*, amidst the riches of the East, the Abassides soon disdained the abstinence and frugality of the first Caliphs; and aspired to emulate the magnificence of the Persian kings.

After his wars and buildings, Almanfor left behind him in gold and silver about £.30,000,000 sterling. His son Mahadi, in a single pilgrimage to Mecca, expended 6,000,000 of dinars of gold; he distributed cisterns and caravanseras along a

measured road of 700 miles. His train of camels, laden with snow, could serve only to astonish the natives of Arabia, and to refresh the fruits and liquors of the royal banquet. His courtiers would surely praise the liberality of his grand-son Almamon, who gave away four-fifths of the income of a province, a sum of 2,400,000 gold dinars, before he drew his foot from the stirrup. At the nuptials of the same prince, a thousand pearls, of the largest size, were showered on the head of the bride, and a lottery of lands and houses, displayed the capricious bounty of fortune. The glories of the court were brightened, rather than impaired, in the decline of the empire: and a Greek ambassador might admire, or pity, the magnificence of the feeble Mostander: The Caliph's whole army, says Abulfeda, both horse and foot, was under arms, which, together, made a body of 160,000 men. His state officers, the favourite slaves, stood near him, in splendid apparel, their belts glittering with gold and gems—near them were 7,000 Eunuchs, 4,000 of them white, the remainder black. The porters and door-keepers were 700. Barges and boats, with the most superb decorations, were seen swimming upon the Tigris—nor was the palace itself, less splendid, in which were hung up 38,000 pieces of tapestry; 12,500 of which were silk, embroidered with gold; the carpets on the floor were 22,000; an hundred lions were brought out, with a keeper to each lion; among the other spectacles of rare and stupendous luxury, was a tree of gold and silver, spreading into eighteen large branches, on which, and on the lesser boughs, sat a variety of birds, made of the same precious metal, as well as the leaves of the tree: while the tree affected spontaneous motions, the several birds warbled their natural harmony.—Through this scene of magnificence, the Greek ambassador was led by the visir to the foot of the Caliph's throne.

In the bloody conflicts of the Omniades and the Abassides, the Greeks had avenged their wrongs, and enlarged their limits. But a severe retribution was exacted by Mohadi the third Caliph of the new Dynasty. Harun his second son, led an army of 95 000 Persians and Arabs, from the Tigris to the Thracian Bosphorus. The Greeks made an ignominious peace, and paid an annual tribute of 75,000 dinars of gold. Five years after this, Harun ascended the throne of his father, the most powerful and vigorous monarch of his race. Illustrious in the

West as the ally of Charlemagne; and the perpetual hero of Arabian tales.

In a reign of twenty-three years, he repeatedly visited his provinces, from Chorasán to Egypt. Nine times he performed the pilgrimage of Mecca. Eight times he invaded the territories of the Romans. As often as the Greeks failed of paying their tribute, they were made to feel their subjection. Nicephorus, when he came to the throne, was resolved to obliterate the badge of servitude; and wrote Harun, alluding to the game of chess. ‘The queen (he spoke of Irene) considered you as a rook, and herself as a pawn—that pusillanimous female consented to pay a tribute, the double of which she ought to have exacted from the barbarians. Restore the fruits of your injustice, or abide the determination of the sword.’

Harun dictated an answer of tremendous brevity. In the name of the most merciful God: Harun al Rashid, commander of the faithful, to Nicephorus, the Roman dog. I have read the letter, O thou son of an unbelieving mother; thou shalt not hear, thou shalt behold my reply.

It was written in characters of blood and fire, on the plains of Phrygia. Nicephorus repented. And the triumphant Caliph retired to his favourite place of Racca, on the Euphrates. The distance of five hundred miles, and the inclemency of the season, encouraged his adversary to violate the peace. Nicephorus was astonished by the bold and rapid march of the commander of the faithful, who repassed in the depth of winter, the snows of Mount Taurus.

Nicephorus escaped with three wounds from the field of battle, overspread with 40,000 of his subjects. The emperor was ashamed of submission; and the Caliph was resolved on victory. 135,000 regular soldiers received pay, and 300,000 persons of every denomination, marched under the black standard of the Abbassides. They swept the surface of Asia Minor far beyond Tyana and Ancyra; and invested the pontic Heracla; the ruin was compleat; the spoil was ample.

After the death of Harun, the heirs of the Caliph were engaged in civil discord, and the conqueror, the liberal Almamon, was sufficiently engaged in restoring domestic peace, and the introduction of science.

The Arabs subdued the isle of Crete, A. D. 823. And that of Sicily, A. D. 878; it was attacked, A. D. 827, but was not finally taken till 878.

*Invasion of Rome
by the Saracens,
A. D. 846.*

A fleet of Saracens, from the Appian coast, presumed to enter the mouth of the Tiber. The gates and ramparts of the city were guard-

ed by a trembling people : but the tombs and temples of St. Peter and St. Paul were left exposed in the suburbs of the Vatican and of the Ostian way. Their invisible sanctity had secured them against the Goths, the Vandals, and the Lombards; but the Arabs disdain both the Gospel and the Legend. The Christian *idols* were stripped of their costly offerings. A silver altar was torn away from the shrine of St. Peter. They plundered various places in Italy.

The choice of Leo IV. was the safety of the church and the city. This pontiff was born a Roman; the courage of the first ages of the public glowed in his breast: he stood erect amidst the ruins of his country, like one of the firm and lofty columns that rear their heads above the fragments of the Roman forum.

The first days of his reign, he consecrated to the removal of relics, to prayers and processions, and to all the solemn offices of religion. The ancient walls were repaired: fifteen towers were built or renewed: and an iron chain was drawn across the stream, to impede the ascent of an hostile navy.

But a storm soon burst upon the Arabs with redoubled violence. The Aglabite who reigned in Africa, had inherited from his father, a treasure and an army. A fleet of Arabs and Moors cast anchor before the mouth of the Tiber, sixteen miles from the city, and their appearance and numbers threatened not a transient inroad, but a serious conquest. The vigilance of Leo had formed an alliance with the vassals of the Greek empire, and Cæsarius, the son of the Neapolitan Duke, appeared with the gallies, who had before vanquished the fleet of the Saracens. The city bands in arms attended their father to Ostia, where he reviewed and blessed them. They kissed his feet, received the communion with martial devotion. The Moslems advance to the attack of the Christian gallies, which preserve their advantageous situation. The victory inclined to the side of the allies, when it was gloriously decided in their favour by a sudden tempest, which confounded the skill, and courage, of the ablest mariners.

The Africans were scattered and dashed to pieces, among the rocks and islands of an hostile shore. Those who escaped shipwreck and hunger, neither found nor deserved mercy. The sword and the gibbet reduced the dangerous multitude of captives; the remainder were usefully employed to restore the sacred edifices which they had attempted to subvert. Among the spoils of this naval victory, thirteen Arabian bows of pure and massy silver, were suspended round the altar of the fisherman of Galilee.

The Amorion war between Theophilus and Motasssem, A. D. 838.

The emperor Theophilus, was one of the most active and high spirited princes, during the middle age—he marched in person five times against the Saracens: In the last of these expeditions, he penetrated into Syria, and besieged the obscure town of Sozopetra, the casual birth place of Motasssem, son of Harun. The revolt of the Persian impostor at this time, employed the Saracens—and he could only intercede for a place, for which he felt a filial affection. Theophilus was determined to wound his pride: the place was era ed—a thousand female captives were forced away from the adjacent territory. Among these, a matron, of the house of Abbas, invoked, in an agony of despair, the name of Motasssem: and the insults of the Greeks engaged the honor of her kinsman, to avenge her indignity, and to answer her appeal. Under the reign of the two elder brothers, the inheritance of the younger had been confined to Anatolia, Armenia, Georgia, and Circassia. This frontier station had exercised his military talents. Eight battles he gained or fought against the enemies of the Koran. In this personal quarrel, the troops of Irak, Syria and Egypt were recruited from Arabia and the Turkish hords: his cavalry might be numerous, though we should deduct some myriads from the 130,000 horses of the royal stables. The expences of the armament were computed at £.4,000,000 sterling.

From Tarsus to the place of assembly, the Saracens advanced in three divisions, along the high road of Constantinople: Motasssem himself commanded the center. The father of Theophilus was a native of Amozium in Phrigia, for which he had a very great affection. This was the place fixed upon by Motasssem to retaliate a similar affront.

The armies meet and engage. The Arabs were broken; but it was by the swords of 30,000 Persians, who had obtained service and settlement in the Begzantine empire.

The Greeks were repulsed and vanquished, but it was by the arrows of the Turkish cavalry. Amozium, after fifty-five days siege, is taken, and the vow of Motasssem was accomplished with unrelenting rigour; tired, rather than fatiated, he retired to his new palace of Samara, in the neighbourhood of Bagdad. In the siege, above 70,000 Moslems had perished: their loss had been revenged by the slaughter of 30,000 Christians, and an equal number of captives, who were treated as the most atrocious criminals. In the national and religious conflict of the two empires, peace was without confidence,

and war without mercy. Quarter was seldom given in the field: those who escaped the edge of the sword, were condemned to hopeless servitude, or exquisite torture; and a Catholic emperor relates with visible satisfaction the execution of the Saracens of Crete, who were flayed alive, or plunged into caldrons of boiling oil.

To a point of honor Motassem had sacrificed a flourishing city; 200,000 lives, and the property of millions. The same Caliph descended from his horse, and dirtied his robe, to relieve the distress of a decrepid old man, who, with his laden ass, had tumbled into a ditch. On which of these actions did he reflect with the most pleasure, when he was summoned by the angel of death?

With Motassem, the eighth of the Abassides, the glory of his family, and nation expired. Motassem introduced 50,000 robust Turkish youth, from beyond the Oxus and Jaxartes, who were either taken in war, or purchased in trade, and exercised them in arms and the Mahometan faith. Their licentious conduct provoked the public indignation; and the quarrels of the soldiers and people induced the Caliph to retire from Bagdad, and establish his own residence and the camp of his barbarian favourites at Samara on the Tigris, about twelve leagues from the City of Peace. His son Motawakkel was a jealous and cruel tyrant; odious to his subjects, he cast himself on the fidelity of the strangers, who, ambitious and apprehensive, were tempted by the rich promise of a revolution.

At the instigation, or at least in the cause of his son, they burst into his apartment at the hour of supper, and the Caliph was cut into seven pieces by the same swords which he had recently distributed among the guards of his life and throne.—To this throne, yet streaming with a father's blood, Montasfer was triumphantly led: but in the reign of six months he found only the pangs of a guilty conscience. After this act of treason, the ensigns of royalty, the garment and walking staff of Mahomet, were given and torn away by the foreign mercenaries, who, in four years, created, deposed, and murdered, three commanders of the faithful. As often as the Turks were inflamed by fear or rage, or avarice, these Caliphs were dragged by the feet, exposed naked to the scorching sun, beaten with iron clubs, and compelled to purchase, by the abdication of their dignity, a short reprieve of inevitable fate.

The insolence of the Turks was at last curbed by a more firm and skilful hand—they were divided and destroyed in foreign warfare.

*Rise and progress
of the Carmathians,
A. D. 890. 951.*

While the flame of enthusiasm was damped by the business, the pleasure, and knowledge of the age, it burnt with concentrated heat in the breasts of the chosen few, the congenial spirits, who were sure of reigning either in this, or the world to come. How carefully soever the Book of Prophecy had been sealed by the apostle of Mecca, the wishes, and (if we may profane the word) the reason of fanaticism might believe, that after the successive missions of Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mahomet, the same God, in the fullness of time, would reveal a still more perfect law. In the 277th year of the Hegira, and in the neighbourhood of Cufa, an Arabian preacher of the name of Carmath, assumed the lofty and incomprehensible style of the guide, the director, the demonstration, the word, the holy ghost, the camel, the herald of the Messiah, who had conversed with him in human shape, and the representative of Mohammed, son of Ali, of St. John, baptist, and of the angel Gabriel. In his mystic volume, the prophets of the Koran were refined to a more spiritual sense: a timid persecution of the new sect by the magistrates of Cufa, assisted its progress. After a bloody conflict, they prevailed in the province of Bahrein, along the Persian gulf. The swords of Abu Said, and his son Abu Tahen, spread far and wide destruction: and these rebellious Imams in the field could muster 107,000 fanatics. The mercenaries of the Caliph were dismayed at an enemy, that neither asked or gave quarter. And the difference between them, in fortitude and patience, is expressive of the change which three centuries of prosperity had effected in the character of the Arabians: such troops were discomfited in every action. The cities of Racca and Baalbu, of Cufa and Bassora, were taken and pillaged. In a daring inroad beyond the Tigris, Abu Taher advanced to the gates of the capital, with no more than five hundred horse. The Caliph's lieutenant apprised him of his danger, and recommended a speedy flight. Your master, said the intripid Carmathian, is at the head of 30,000 soldiers—three such men as these are wanting in his host. At the same instant, turning to three of his companions, he commanded the first to plunge a dagger in his breast—the second to leap into the Tigris, and the third to cast himself head-long down a precipice—they obeyed without a murmur. Relate, continued the Imam, what you have seen—before the evening your general shall be chained among my dogs.—Before the evening the camp was surpris'd, and the menace executed.

Their rapine was sanctified by their aversion to the worship of Mecca. They robbed a caravan of pilgrims; and 20,000 devout Moslems were devoted to a death of hunger and thirst. Another year they suffered the pilgrims to proceed; but in the festival of devotion, Abu Taher stormed the holy city, and trampled on the most venerable relics of the Mahometan faith.

Thirty thousand citizens and strangers were put to the sword; the sacred precincts were polluted by the burial of 3000 dead bodies. The well of Zemzen overflowed with blood; the golden spout was forced from its place. The veil of the Caaba was divided among these impious sectaries; and the black stone, the first monument of the nation, was borne away in triumph to their capital. They were finally extirpated; but yet may be considered as the second cause of the decline and fall of the empire of the Caliphs.

The third, and most obvious cause was the

Revolt of the Provinces, A. D. 800—936. magnitude of the empire itself. A change was scarcely visible as long as the lieutenants of the Caliph, were content with their vicarious title. But in the long and hereditary exercise of power, they assumed the pride and attributes of royalty.

After the revolt of Spain from the Abassides, the first symptoms of disobedience broke out in Africa.

The independent Dynasties may be reckoned as follows:

In Africa the Aglabites, A.D. 800—941.

At Fez the Edrisites, A.D. 829—907.

In the East, the first Dynasty was that of Taherites, the posterity of the valiant Tahu, A.D. 813—872.

The last were supplanted by the Soffarides, A.D. 872—902; who subdued Persia, and threatened Bagdad, the residence of the Abassides. These were too feeble to contend, and too proud to forgive; they invited the powerful Dynasty of the Samanides, who passed the Oxus with 10,000 horse, so poor, that they had wooden stirrups, A.D. 874—999, so brave, that they vanquished the Saffarian army, eight times more numerous than their own. The victor was content with the inheritance of Transoxiana and Chorasan. Persia returned for a while to the allegiance of the Caliphs.

The provinces of Syria and Egypt were twice dismembered by their Turkish slaves of the race of Towlun and Ikshid.

The Toulonides, A.D. 868—905.

The Ikshides, A.D. 934—968.

These barbarians, in religion and manners, the countrymen of Mahomet, emerged from the bloody factions of the palace, to a provincial command, and an independent throne: their names became famous and formidable in their time. But the founders of these two potent Dynasties, confessed either in words or actions, the vanity of ambition.

The first, on his death-bed, implored the mercy of God, ignorant of the limits of his own power.

The second, in the midst of 400,000 soldiers, and 8,000 slaves, concealed from every human eye the place where he attempted to sleep. Their sons were educated in the vices of kings, and both Egypt and Syria were recovered and possessed by the Abassides about thirty years.

In the decline of their empire, Mesopotamia, with the important cities of Mosul and Aleppo, were occupied by the Arabian princes of the tribe of Hamadan, A.D. 892—1001. At the same fatal period the Persian kingdom was usurped by the Dynasty of the Bowides. Under their reign, the language and genius of Persia revived, and the Arabs, 304 years after the death of Mahomet, were deprived of the sceptre of the East.

The Bowides, A.D. 933, 1005.

Abul Fatah of the Bowides of Persia, A.D. 930. Rabi: the 20th of the Abassides and the 39th of the successors of Mahomet, was the last who deserved the title of commander of the faithful; the last who spoke to the people, or conversed with the learned; the last, who, in the expences of his household, represented the wealth and magnificence of the Caliphs. After him, the lords of the Eastern world were reduced to the most abject misery, exposed to the blows and insults of a servile condition. The revolt of the provinces circumscribed them within the walls of Bagdad. But this capital contained an innumerable multitude, vain of their past fortune, and discontented with the present. Oppressed by the demands of a treasury that had been enriched by the spoils of nations.

In each profession which allowed room for two persons, the one was a votary, the other an antagonist of Ali. A turbulent people could only be repressed by military force, and this could not be exercised. The African and the Turkish guards drew their swords against each other, and the chief commanders, the Emirs Al Omra, imprisoned or deposed their sovereigns, despair prompted them to invite the Bowides, the Sultans of Persia, who silenced the factions of Bagdad by their irresistible arms.

The civil and military powers were assumed by Moezaldowlah, who assigned to the Caliph a stipend of 60,000l. sterling: but on the fortieth day, at the audience of the ambassador of Chorasan, the Caliph was dragged from his throne, and confined in a dungeon. His palace was pillaged, his eyes put out. In the school of adversity, the luxurious Caliphs assumed the grave and abstemious virtues of the primitive times. They fasted, they prayed, and studied the Koran and the tradition of the Sonnites. They performed with zeal and knowledge the functions of their ecclesiastical character. The weakness or division of their tyrants, sometimes restored the Abassides to the sovereignty of Bagdad; but their misfortunes had been embittered by the triumph of the Fatimites, the real or spurious progeny of Ali. Arising from the extremity of Africa, these successful rivals extinguished both in Egypt and Syria, the spiritual and temporal authority of the Abassides. And the monarch of the Nile insulted the humble pontiff on the banks of the Nile.

The Eastern conquests of Nicephorus, Phocas and John Zimisces, A.D. 963—975.

A series of bloody and undecisive combats mark the excursions of the emperors from the hills of Cappadocia to the deserts of Bagdad. They conquer Cilicia. Mopsuestia, which contained 200,000 Moslems, predestined to death or slavery, was surrounded and taken by assault. Tarsus was reduced by the slow progress of famine. They invade Syria and recover Antioch as well as Aleppo; more than one hundred cities were brought back to obedience, and eighteen mosques committed to the flames. Zimisces with incredible speed, overran the once famous cities of Samosta, Edessa, Martyropolis, Amida and Nisibis, the antient limits of the empire near the Tigris.

Bagdad was in dismay; thirst and hunger guarded the desert of Mesopotamia, and the emperor satiated with glory, and laden with Oriental spoils, returned to Constantinople, and displayed in triumph the silks, the aromatics, and 300 myriads of gold and silver. Yet the powers of the East had been bent, not broken, by this transient hurricane. After the departure of the Greeks, the fugitive princes returned to their capitals, disclaimed the oath of allegiance, purified their temples, and overturned the idols of the saints and martyrs. Of these extensive conquests, Antioch with the cities of Cilicia, and the isle of Cyprus were alone restored, a permanent and useful accession to the Roman empire.

The Turks or Turkmans were seated beyond the Caspian Sea. Their Scythian empire of the sixth century was long since dissolved; but the fragments of the nation, each a powerful and independent people, were scattered over the desert, from China to the Oxus and the Danube. The colony of the Hungarians was admitted into the republic of Europe; and the thrones of Asia were occupied by the slaves and soldiers of Turkish extraction. A swarm of these northern shepherds overspread the kingdoms of Persia; their princes of the race of Seljuk, erected a splendid and solid empire from Samarcand to the confines of Greece and Egypt; and the Turks have maintained their dominion in Asia Minor, till the victorious Crescent has been placed on the dome of St. Sophia.

This prince reigned in the Eastern provinces of Persia, 1000 years after the birth of Christ; and was the greatest amongst the Turkish princes. The falling Dynasty of the Samonides was overthrown by this family. The principal source of the fame and riches of Mahmud, was the holy war which he waged with the Gentoos of Hindostan. To this country he made twelve expeditions. Never was the Mussulman hero dismayed by the inclemency of the weather, the height of the mountains, by the breadth of the rivers, the barrenness of the desert, the multitude of the enemy, or the formidable array of their elephants of war. For him the title of Sultan was first invented. His kingdom was enlarged from Transoxiana to the neighbourhood of Ispahan; and from the shores of the Caspian to the mouth of the Indus. His kingdom surpassed the limits of the conquest of Alexander. After a march of three months over the hills of Cashmir and Thibet, he reached the famous city of Kinnoge, on the upper Ganges; and in a naval combat on one of the branches of the Indus, he vanquished 4000 boats of the natives.

Dehli, Lahor, and Multan, opened their gates to him; the kingdom of Gurarat attracted his ambition, and tempted his stay. To the people he was merciful, but to the religion of Hindostan, the zealous Mussulman was cruel and inexorable. Many hundred temples or pagodas were levelled with the ground; many thousand idols were demolished. The pagoda of Sumnat was situate on the promontory of Gurarat; it was endowed with the revenue of 2000 villages: 2000 Brahmans were consecrated to the service of the deity, whom they washed every morning and evening with water from the distant Ganges. The subordinate ministers consisted of 200 musicians,

300 barbers, and 500 dancing girls, conspicuous for their birth and beauty. The sides of the temple were protected by the ocean: the narrow isthmus was fortified by a natural or artificial precipice; and the city and adjacent country was peopled by a nation of fanatics. They confessed their sins and the punishment of Kinnoge and Dehli; but if the impious stranger presumed to approach their holy precincts, he would surely be overwhelmed by a blast of the divine vengeance. By this challenge the faith of Mahmud was animated to a personal trial of the strength of this Indian deity. 50,000 of his worshippers were pierced by the spears of the Moslems; the walls were scaled, the sanctuary was profaned; and the conqueror aimed a blow of his iron mace at the head of the idol. The trembling barbarians are said to have offered 10,000,000l. sterling for his ransom; and it was urged by the wisest counsellors, that the destruction of a stone image would not change the hearts of the Gentoos; and that such a sum might be dedicated to the relief of the true believers. Your reasons, replied the Sultan, are specious and strong; but never in the eyes of posterity shall Mahmud appear as the merchant of idols. He repeated his blows, and a treasure of pearls and rubies concealed in the belly of the statue, explained in some degree the prodigal offer of the devout Brahmans. The fragments of the idol were distributed to Gazna, Mecca, and Medina.

Bagdad listened to the edifying tale, and Mahmud was saluted by the Caliph, with the title of Guardian of the fortune and faith of Mahomet. The Orientals exceed the measure of credibility in the account of millions of gold and silver, pearls, diamonds, and rubies, which he amassed together.

The tribes of Arabs, Curds, and Turkmans, in the midst of civilized nations, persevere in a wandering life, which maintains the spirit and exercise of arms. The Turkmans preserve the manners of the Scythian desert. They fight on horseback, and their courage is displayed in frequent combats with each other. The first emigration of the Eastern Turkmans, the most antient of their race, is to be ascribed to the tenth century. Mahmud had invited too many of these into his kingdom, who embraced the Mahometan faith. He was admonished of his error by a chief of the race of Seljuk, who lived at Bochara. The Sultan enquired of him, what number of men he could furnish for military service? His answer was, 200,000 horse. These Turkman shepherds were converted into robbers, and collected into an army of conquerors.

Massed the Sultan, marched in person against the Turkmans. The Gaznvide was abandoned by the cowardice or

treachery of his generals of Turkish race; and this memorable day of Zendecan founded in Persia the Dynasty of the shepherd kings.

The victorious Turkmans immediately proceeded to the choice of a king. At the age of forty-five Togrul Beg was invested with the title of Sultan, in the royal city of Nisfabir: and his virtues justified the choice. He expelled the Gaznvides from Persia. In the West he annihilated the Dynasty of the Bowides; and the sceptre of Irak passed from the Persian to the Turkish nation.

By the conquest of Aderbigan or Media, he approached the Roman confines; and sent an ambassador to demand tribute and obedience of the Emperor of Constantinople. He was a zealous Mahometan: each day he repeated the five prayers; the two first days of each week were consecrated to an extraordinary fast; and in every city a mosque was completed before he would lay the foundation of a palace.

The sublime character of the successor of the prophet was disputed by the Caliphs of Bagdad and Egypt. Togrul was called to the deliverance of the Caliph Cayem, who at Bagdad was a mere venerable phantom. He appeared, and the prince of the Bowides disappeared: the heads of the most obstinate rebels were laid at the feet of Togrul. After the chastisement of the guilty, he embarked on the Tigris, and landed at the gate of Racca, and made his public entry on horseback; at the palace gate, he respectfully dismounted, and walked on foot, preceded by his Emirs, without arms. The Caliph was seated behind his black veil; the black garment of Abbassides, was cast over his shoulders, and he held in his hand the staff of the apostle of God.

The conqueror of the East kissed the ground, stood some time in a modest posture, and was led towards the throne by the Vizir. After Togrul had seated himself upon another throne, his commission was read; which declared him the temporal lieutenant of the Vicar of the Prophet. He was successively invested with seven robes of honour, presented with seven slaves, the natives of the seven climes of Arabia. His veil was perfumed with musk; two scymeters were girded to his side, as a symbol of a double reign over the East and the West. He was prevented from prostrating himself a second time: he twice kissed the hands of the Caliph.

In a second visit to Bagdad, he rescued the Caliph from his enemies, and devoutly on foot led his mule from the prison to the palace.

The Turks invade the Roman empire, A. D. 1050.

This empire was suddenly invaded by an unknown race of barbarians, who united Scythian valor with fanaticism. The myriads of Turkish horse overspread a frontier of 600 miles, from Taurus to Arzeroum, and 130,000 Christians were a grateful sacrifice to the prophet. The impression was not lasting, the torrent soon rolled away.

Reign of Alp Arslan, A. D. 1063. 1072

The name of Alp Arslan, the valiant lion, is expressive of the popular idea of the perfection of man—And the successor of Togrul displayed the firmness and generosity of the royal animal. Togrul died childless, and Alp Arslan was his nephew. He passed the Euphrates with his Turkish cavalry, entered Cœsarea, the metropolis of Cappadocia, attracted by the wealth of the temple of St. Basil. The final conquest of Armenia and Georgia were effected by him: The Romans are defeated, A. D. 1071, and the Emperor Romanus Diogenes is made a prisoner, and treated with great lenity by Alp Arslan. The terms of liberty and peace were, a ransom of a million, an annual tribute of 360,000 pieces of gold, the marriage of the royal children, and the liberty of all the Moslems in the power of the Greeks.

Romanus subscribed this treaty, and was immediately invested with a Turkish robe of honor: But before he reached the court, he was informed, that they disclaimed allegiance to a captive. The generosity of the Sultan prepared to espouse the cause of his ally, but the death of Romanus Diogenes prevented it.

Death of Alp Arslan, A. D. 1072.

The trophies of Alp Arslan's victories were the spoils of Anatolia, from Antioch to the black sea; the fairest part of Asia was subject to his laws. He meditated the conquest of Turquestan, and for this purpose he left the Greeks. He was twenty days in getting his troops over the Oxus. Joseph, the Carizmian, defended his fortress; was taken prisoner. In the royal tent, the sultan, instead of praising his valor, reproached his obstinate folly; and the insolent reply of the rebel provoked a sentence, that he should be fastened to four stakes, and left to expire in that painful situation. At this command the desperate Carizmian, drawing a dagger, rushed towards the throne: the guards raised their battle axes; their zeal was checked by Alp Arslan, the most skilful archer of his age; he drew his bow, but his foot slipped, the arrow glanced

aside, and he received in his breast the dagger of Joseph, who was instantly cut to pieces : But the wound was mortal.

*Reign and prof-
pensity of Malek
Shah, A.D. 1072
—1092.*

son had been acknowledged as the future Sultan of the Turks. On his father's death, the inheritance was disputed by an uncle, cousin, and brother. The triple victory of Malek Shah established his own reputation, and the right of primogeniture. It would not be easy to extract a saying more pure and magnanimous than one of this Turkish prince. On the eve of a battle, he performed his devotion at Thous. As the Sultan rose from the ground, he asked his Vizir Nizam, what had been the object of his secret petition ? " That your arms may be crowned with victory," was the prudent, and, probably, the sincere, answer of the Minister. For my part, replied the generous Malek, I implored the Lord of Hosts, that he would take from me my life and crown, if my brother be more worthy than myself to reign over the Moslems. The favorable judgment of Heaven was ratified by the Caliph ; and for the first time, the sacred title of Commander of the Faithful, was communicated to a barbarian. By personal merit, and extent of empire, he was the greatest prince of his age. After the settlements of Persia and Syria, he marched at the head of innumerable troops, to achieve the conquest of Turquestan. In his passage of the Oxus, the boatmen, who had been employed in transporting his troops, complained, that their payment was assigned on the revenues of Antioch. The Sultan frowned at this preposterous choice ; but smiled at the artful flattery of his Vizir—" It was not to postpone their reward, that I selected those remote places, but to leave a memorial to posterity, that under your reign, Antioch and the Oxus were subject to the same sovereign." But this description of his limits was parsimonious. Beyond the Oxus he reduced to his obedience the cities of Bochara, Carizeme, and Sarmacand ; crushed each independent savage that attempted to oppose him. Malek passed the Sikon, or Jaxartes, the last boundary of Persian civilization : The hords of Turquestan yielded to him ; his name was inserted on the coins, and in the prayers of Cashgar, a Tartan kingdom on the extreme border of China. From the Chinese frontier, he stretched his immediate jurisdiction to the west and south, as far as the mountains of Georgia, the neighborhood of Constantinople, the holy city of Jerusalem, and the spicy groves of Arabia Fœtix. Instead of resigning himself to the luxury of the Haram, the shepherd king, both in peace and war, was in action and in the field.

By the perpetual motion of the royal camp, each province was successively blessed with his presence : Twelve times he perambulated the wide extent of his dominions, which surpassed the Asiatic reigns of Cyrus and the Caliphs. Of these expeditions, the most serious and splendid, was the pilgrimage to Mecca. The freedom and safety of the Caravans were protected by his arms. His train consisted of 47,000 horse. The language and literature of Persia revived in his reign, and his palace resounded with the songs of an hundred poets. The calendar was reformed by a general assembly of the astronomers of the east. By a law of the prophet, the Moslems are confined to the irregular course of the lunar months. In Persia, since the age of Zoroaster, the revolution of the sun has been known and celebrated as an annual festival ; but after the fall of the Magian empire, the intercalation had been neglected : The fractions of minutes and hours were multiplied into days, and the date of the spring was removed from the sign of Aries, to that of Pisces. The reign of Malek was illustrated by the Gelalœon era : And all errors, either past or future, were corrected by a computation of time, which surpasses the Julian, and approaches the accuracy of the Gregorian style. Nizam, who ruled the empire under Alp Arslan and his son, was one of the most illustrious ministers of the east, and was honored by the Caliph as an oracle of religion and science : He was trusted by the Sultan as the faithful vicegerent of his power and justice.

After an administration of 30 years, the fame of the Vizir, his wealth, and even his services, were transformed into crimes : He was overthrown by the insidious arts of a woman and a rival : And his fall was hastened by a rash declaration, that his cap and ink-horn, the badges of his office, were connected, by a divine decree, with the throne and diadem of the Sultan : At the age of 93 years, the venerable statesman was dismissed by his master, accused by his enemies, and murdered by a fanatic. The last words of Nizam attested his innocence, and the remainder of Malek's life was short and inglorious. From Isphahan, the scene of this disgraceful transaction, the Sultan moved to Bagdad, with the design of transplanting the Caliph, and of fixing his own residence in the capital of the Moslem world. The feeble successor of Mahomet obtained a respite of ten days, and before the expiration of the term, the barbarian was summoned by the angel of death. His ambassador at Constantinople had asked in marriage a Roman princess ; but the proposal was decently eluded. The daughter of the Sultan was bestowed on the Caliph Mostadi.

The greatness and the unity of the Turkish empire expired in the person of Malek Shah : His vacant throne was disputed by his brother and his four sons : And after a series of civil wars, the treaty which reconciled the surviving candidates, confirmed a lasting separation in the Persian Dynasty, the eldest and principal branch of the house of Seljuk. The three younger Dynasties were those of Kirman, of Syria, and of Roum. The first of these commanded an extensive, though obscure, dominion on the shores of the Indian Ocean. The second expelled the Arabian princes of Aleppo and Damascus ; and the third, our peculiar care, invaded the Roman provinces of Asia Minor.

The generous policy of Malek contributed to their elevation ; he allowed the princes of his blood, and even those whom he had vanquished in the field, to seek new kingdoms worthy of their ambition ; nor was he displeas'd, that they should draw away the most ardent spirits, who might have disturbed the tranquility of his reign. As the supreme head of his family and nation, the great Sultan of Persia commanded the obedience and tribute of his royal brethren. The thrones of Kerman and Nice, of Aleppo and Damascus, the Atabeks and Emirs of Syria and Mesopotamia, erected their standards under the shadow of his sceptre. And the hords of Turkmans overspread the plains of the western Asia. After the death of Malek, the bands of union and subordination were relaxed, and finally dissolved. The indulgence of the house of Seljuk invested their slaves with the inheritance of kingdoms ; and, in the oriental style, a crowd of princes arose from the dust of their feet.

A prince of the royal line, Cutulmish, the son of Izrail, the son of Seljuk, had fallen in a battle against Alp Arslan, and the humane victor had dropt a tear over his grave : His five sons, strong in arms, ambitious of power, and eager for revenge, unsheathed their scymeters against the son of Alp Arslan. The two armies expected the signal, when the Caliph, forgetful of the majesty which secluded him from vulgar eyes, interposed his venerable mediation—" Instead of shedding the blood of your brethren, your brethren in descent and faith, unite your forces in a holy war against the Greeks, the enemies of God and his apostle." They listened to his voice : the Sultan embraced his rebellious kinsmen, and the eldest, the valiant Soliman, accepted the royal standard, which gave the free conquest and hereditary command of the provinces of the Roman empire, from Arzeroum to Constantinople, and the unknown regions of the west.—

*Conquest of Asia
Minor by the Turks,
A. D. 1074—1084.*

Accompanied by his four brethren, he passed the Euphrates. The Turkish camp was soon situated in the neighbourhood of Kertaich, in Phrygia; and his flying cavalry laid waste the country, as far as the Hellespont and the black sea. Since the decline of the empire, the peninsula of Asia Minor had been exposed to the transient, though destructive, inroads of the Saracens and Persians; but the fruits of a lasting conquest were reserved for the Turkish Sultan: And his arms were introduced by the Greeks, who aspired to reign on the ruins of their country.

Since the captivity of Romanus, six years the feeble son of Eudocia had trembled under the weight of the imperial crown, until the provinces of the east and west were lost in the same month, by a double rebellion: of either chief, Nicephorus was the common name: but the surnames of Bryennius and Botoniates distinguish the European and Asiatic candidates. Their reasons, or rather their promises, were weighed in the Divan, and after some hesitation, Soliman declared himself in favor of Botoniates, opened a free passage for his troops in their march from Antioch to Nice, and joined the banner of the crescent to that of the cross. After his ally had ascended the throne of Constantinople, the Sultan was hospitably entertained in the suburb of Chrysopolis, or Scutari: And a body of 2000 Turks was transported into Europe, to whose dexterity and courage the new Emperor was indebted for the defeat and captivity of his rival Bryennius. But the conquest of Europe was dearly purchased, by the sacrifice of Asia. Constantinople was deprived of the obedience and revenue of the provinces beyond the Bosphorus and Hellespont, and the regular progress of the Turks, who fortified the passes of the rivers and mountains, left not a hope of their retreat or expulsion. The desponding cities were surrendered into the hands of the barbarians, and afterwards the Emperor Alexius, standing in need of the assistance of Soliman, confirmed by treaty the surrender.

Since the first conquests of the Caliphs, the establishment of the Turks in Anatolia, or Asia Minor, was the most deplorable loss which the church and empire had sustained. By this propagation of the Moslem faith, Soliman deserved the name of Gazi, a holy champion; and his new kingdom of the Romans, or of Roum, was added to the tables of oriental geography. It is described as extending from the Euphrates to Constantinople, from the black sea to the confines of Syria. By the choice of the Sultan, Nice, the metropolis

of Bithynia, was preserved for his palace and fortress: The seat of the Seljukian Dynasty of Roum was planted one hundred miles from Constantinople; and the divinity of Christ was denied and derided in the same temple in which it had been pronounced, by the first general synod of the Catholics. On the hard terms of tribute and servitude, the Christian Greeks might enjoy the exercise of their religion. Many thousand children were marked by the knife of circumcision, and many thousand captives were devoted to the service or pleasure of their masters. After the loss of Asia, Antioch still maintained his primitive allegiance to Christ and to Cæsar; but the solitary province was separated from all Roman aid, and surrounded on all sides by the Turks. The son of Philactus, the Governor, betrayed it, and Soliman took possession of it. The dependant cities, as far as Laodicea, and the confines of Aleppo, obeyed the example of the metropolis. From Laodicea to the Thracian Bosphorus, or arm of St. George, the conquest and reign of Soliman extended, thirty days in length, and in breadth about ten or fifteen, between the rocks of Lycia and the black sea. For a short time the Turks had no fleet, but as soon as they had constructed about 200 ships, with the assistance of the captive Greeks, Alexius began to tremble behind the walls of his capital. His plaintive letters were dispersed over Europe, to excite the compassion and assistance of the Latins.

The most interesting conquest of the Seljukian Turks, was that of Jerusalem, which soon became the theatre of nations. In their capitulation with Omar, the second Caliph after Mahomet, the inhabitants had stipulated the assurance of their religion and property; but the articles were interpreted by a master whom it was dangerous to dispute; and in the 400 years of the reigns of the Caliphs, the political climate of Jerusalem was exposed to the vicissitudes of storms and sunshines. A crowd of pilgrims continued to visit the holy sepulchre, and the adjacent sanctuaries, more especially at the festival of Easter. The Greeks, Latins, Nestorians, Jacobites, Copts, Abyssinians, Armenians, and Georgians, maintained the clergy, the chapels, and the poor of their respective congregations.

Harun al Rashid had a great esteem for Charlemagne, which was cemented by frequent intercourse of gifts and embraces.— And the Caliph, without resigning the substantial dominion, presented the Emperor with the keys of the holy sepulchre, and perhaps of the city of Jerusalem. An annual fair was instituted on Mount Calvary, under the favor of the Fatimite

Caliphs, who were much benefited thereby. Excepting the sacrilege of Hakeim, A. D. 1009, who demolished the temple of the Christian world, the church of the resurrection, and, by much prophane labor, attempted to destroy the cave in the rock, which properly constitutes the holy sepulchre, a free toleration was generally granted. After this, the appetite for pilgrimage increased astonishingly, and especially among the Franks. The roads were filled with multitudes of both sexes, and of every rank, who professed a contempt for life, so soon as they should have kissed the tomb of their redeemer.

About thirty years before the first crusade, the Archbishop of Mentz, with the Bishops of Utrecht, Bamberg, and Ratisbon, with a retinue of 7000, undertook this painful journey. The Arabs besieged them in the city Capernaum; but they were rescued by the venal protection of the Fatimite Emir.

Conquest of Jerusalem, by the Turks, A. D. 1076—1096. After the defeat of the Romans, the Fatimite Caliphs were invaded by the Turks; one of Malek Shah's lieutenants, Atsir, the Carizmian, marched into Syria at the head of a powerful army, and reduced Damascus by famine and sword. Hems, and the other cities

of the province, acknowledged the Caliph of Bagdad, and the Sultan of Persia. He advanced to the banks of the Nile, but was repulsed. In his retreat, he indulged the licence of slaughter. The Judge and Notaries of Jerusalem were invited to his camp; their execution was followed by the massacre of 3000 citizens. The Sultan Tourush, brother of Malek Shah, asserted the dominion of Syria and Palestine, and the house of Seljuk reigned about twenty years in Jerusalem; during which time, from Nice to Jerusalem, the Western countries of Asia, were a scene of foreign and domestic hostility.

The states of the Turks and Caliphs of Egypt. The first crusade did not take place till the decline of the Turkish empire. Under the manly governments of the three first Sultans, the kingdoms of Asia were united in peace and justice; and the innumerable armies, which they led in person, were equal in courage, and superior in discipline, to the barbarians of the West. But at the time of the crusade, the inheritance of Malek Shah was disputed by his four sons; their private ambition was insensible of the public danger; and in the vicissitudes of their fortune, the royal vassals were ignorant, or regardless, of the true object of their allegiance.

The twenty-eight Emirs who marched with the standard of Kerboga, were his rivals, or enemies; their hasty levies were drawn from the towns and tents of Mesopotamia and Syria; and the Turkish veterans were employed, or consumed in the civil wars, beyond the Tigris. The Caliph of Egypt embraced this opportunity of weakness and discord, to recover his antient possessions; and his Sultan Aphdal, besieged Jerusalem and Tyre, expelled the children of Ortok, and restored in Palestine the civil and ecclesiastical authority of the Fatimites. They heard with astonishment, of the vast armies of Christians, that had passed from Europe to Asia, and rejoiced in the sieges and battles that broke the power of the Turks, the adversaries of their sect, and of the monarchy. But the same Christians were the enemies of the prophet; and from the overthrow of Nice and Antioch, the motive of their enterprize, which was gradually understood, would urge them forwards to the banks of the Jordan, and perhaps, the Nile. An intercourse of epistles and embassies which rose and fell with the events of the war, was maintained between the throne of Cairo and the camp of the Latins; and their adverse pride was the result of ignorance and enthusiasm. The ministers of Egypt declared in haughty, or insinuated in a milder tone, that their sovereign, the true and lawful commander of the faithful, had rescued Jerusalem from the Turkish yoke; and that the pilgrims, if they would divide their numbers, and lay aside their arms, should find a safe and hospitable reception at the sepulchre of Jesus. In the belief of their lost condition, the Caliph Mostali, despised their arms, and imprisoned their deputies.

The conquest and victory of Antioch, prompted him to solicit those formidable champions with gifts of horses, and silk robes, of vases, and pieces of gold and silver: and in his estimate of their merit or power, the first place was assigned to Bohemond, and the second to Godfrey. In either fortune, the answer of the crusaders was uniform: they disdained to enquire into the private claims, or possessions, of the followers of Mahomet; whatsoever was his name or nation, the usurper of Jerusalem was their enemy. And instead of prescribing the mode and terms of their pilgrimage, it was only by a timely surrender of the city and province, that he could deserve their alliance, or deprecate their impending and irresistible attack.

The Turkish sovereign of the kingdom of Roum, was named Kilidge Artlan, or Soliman, of the race of Seljuck, and son of the first conqueror. But little more than his

Siege of Nice,
A.D. 1097.

name can be found in the Mahometan writers, who are dry and sulky on the subject of the first crusade. His defence merited the praise of his enemies, by whom alone he is known to posterity.

The battle of Dorylæum in Phrygia was well fought on both sides, for a whole day, and it appeared that the Franks and the Turks were the only nations entitled to the appellation of soldiers. Soliman was defeated, and evacuated the kingdom of Roum.

The rise and progress of the Ottomans, the present sovereigns of Constantinople, are connected with the most important series of modern history; but they are founded on a previous knowledge of the eruption of the Moguls and Tartars, whose rapid conquests may be compared with the primitive convulsions of nature, which have agitated and altered the surface of the globe.

After the retreat of Zingis, the Sultan Gelaleddin of Carizeme, had returned from India to the possession and defence of his Persian kingdoms; in the space of eleven years that hero fought, in person, fourteen battles. He led his cavalry in seventeen days from Teflis to Kerman, a march of 1000 miles. ~~Yet he~~ was oppressed by the jealousy of the Moslem princes, and the innumerable armies of the Moguls. And after his last defeat, Gelaleddin perished ignominiously in the mountains of Curdistán. His death dissolved a veteran and adventurous army, which included under the name of Carizmians, many Turkish hords, that had attached themselves to the Sultan's fortune. The bolder and more powerful chiefs invaded Syria, and violated the holy sepulchre of Jerusalem; the more humble engaged in the service of Aladin, Sultan of Iconium: and among these, were the obscure fathers of the Ottoman line.

At the head, or in the rear of a Carizmian army, Soliman Shah was drowned in passing the Euphrates. His son Orthogrul, became the soldier and subject of Aladin, and established at Surgut, on the banks of the Langar, a camp of four hundred tents or families, whom he governed fifty-two years, both in peace and war. He was the father of Thamar, or Athman; whose Turkish name has been melted into the appellation of the Caliph Othman. He possessed, and perhaps surpassed the ordinary virtues of a soldier. Time and place were propitious to his independence and success. The Seljukian Dynasty was no more: and the distance, and decline of the Mogul Khans,

soon freed him from the controul of a superior; he was situated on the verge of the Greek empire. The Koran justified his war against the infidels; and their political errors unlocked the pass of Mount Olympus, and invited him to descend into the plains of Bithynia.

It was on the 27th of July, 1299, that Othman first invaded the territory of Nicomedia, and the singular accuracy of the date, seems to discover the foresight of the rapid, and destructive growth of the monster. The annals of twenty-seven years of his reign, would exhibit a repetition of the same inroads.

From the conquest of Prusa, which was made by Orchan a little before his father's death, we may date the true era of the Ottoman empire.

Reign of Or-
chan, A. D.
1326—1360.

The lives and possessions of the Christians of Prusa, were redeemed by a ransom of 30,000 crowns of gold; and the city, by the labours of Orchan, assumed the aspect of a Mahometan capital: a mosque, a college, and an hospital, were erected there. He established a regular army of 25,000 Moslems; he conquers Bithynia: the ruin of the seven churches of Asia, was consummated, A. D. 1312.

In the loss of Ephesus, the Christians deplored the fall of the first angel, the extinction of the first candlestick of the Revelations. The desolation is complete, and the temple of Diana, or the church of St. Mary, will equally elude the search of the curious traveller; the Circus, and three stately theatres of Laodicea, are now peopled with wolves and foxes. Sardes is reduced to a miserable village. The God of Mahomet, without a rival, or a son, is invoked in the mosques of Thyatira and Pergamos. The populousness of Smyrna is supported by the trade of the Franks and Armenians. Philadelphia alone has been saved by prophecy or courage. At a distance from the sea, forgotten by the Emperors, encompassed on all sides by the Turks, her valiant citizens defended their religion and freedom above 400 years; and at length capitulated with the proudest of the Ottomans.

The Greeks, by their intestine divisions, were the authors of their final ruin. During the civil wars of the elder and younger Andronicus, the son of Othman, achieved, almost without resistance, the conquest of Bithynia. And the same disorders encouraged the Turkish Emirs of Lydia and Ionia, to build a fleet, and to pillage the adjacent islands, and the sea-coast of Europe.

Passage of the
Turks into Eu-
rope, A. D. 1341
—1347.

Amir the son of Aidin, concealed under a Turkish garb, the humanity and politeness of a Greek. His friendship, endeared by mutual esteem, and reciprocal services, with Cantecazune, is compared, in the vain rhetoric of the times, to the perfect union of Orestes and Pylades. On the report of the danger of his friend, who was persecuted by an ungrateful court, the prince of Ionia, assembled at Smyrna a fleet of 300 vessels, with an army of 29,000 men; sailed in the depth of winter, and cast anchor at the mouth of the Hebrus. From thence, with a chosen band of 2000 Turks, he proceeded, and rescued the Empress, who was besieged in Demotria, by the wild Bulgarians. The life or the death, of his beloved Cantecazune, was concealed by his flight into Servia; the grateful Irene, impatient to behold her deliverer, invited him into the city, and accompanied her message with rich presents. By a peculiar strain of delicacy, the gentle barbarian refused, in the absence of an unfortunate friend, to visit his wife, or taste of the luxuries of the palace; sustained in his tent the rigour of winter, and refused the hospitable gift.

In the prosecution of the civil war, the prince of Ionia twice returned to Europe, and joined his arms with those of the Emperor. He was slain with an arrow, in the attempt to arrest from the Rhodian knights, the citadel of Smyrna. Before his death, he generously recommended another ally of his own nation, not more sincere or zealous than himself, but more able to afford a prompt and powerful aid, by his situation along the Propontis, and in the front of Constantinople.

By the prospect of a more advantageous treaty, the Turkish prince of Bithynia, was detached from his engagements with Ann of Savoy; and the pride of Orchan dictated the most solemn protestations, that if he could obtain the daughter of Cantecazune, he would invariably fulfil the duties of a subject and son. Parental tenderness was silenced by the voice of ambition: the Greek clergy connived at the marriage of a princess with a circumcised sectary of Mahomet.

A body of Turkish cavalry attended the ambassadors, who disembarked from thirty vessels before his camp of Selybria. A stately pavilion was erected, in which Irene and her daughter passed the night. In the morning Theodora ascended a throne, which was surrounded with curtains of silk and gold. The troops were under arms, but the Emperor alone was on horseback. At a signal, the curtains were suddenly withdrawn to discover the bride or the victim, encircled by kneeling eunuchs, and hymeneal torches; the sound of flutes and trumpets pro-

claimed the joyful event; without the rites of the church, Theodora was delivered to her barbarous lord.

Aftwards the emperor visited his ally. The two princes partook with seeming cordiality of the pleasure of the banquet and the chase. But the friendship of Orchan was subservient to his religion and interest, and in the Genoese war, he joined the enemies of the emperor.

The reign and European conquests of Amurath 1st. A. D. 1360. 1389.

This prince subdued, without resistance, the whole province of Romania or Thrace, from the Hellespont to Mount Hæmus, and the verge of the capital. Adrianople was chosen for the royal seat of his government, and religion in Europe. Never before had Constantinople been completely surrounded, in Asia and Europe, by the same hostile force. Prudence and generosity postponed for a while the easy conquest.

And his pride was satisfied by the frequent and humble attendance of John Pallæologus, and his four sons, who followed at his summons the court and camp of the Ottomans.

He marched against the Slavonian nations, between the Danube and Adriatick, the Bulgarians, Servians, Bosnians, and Albanians, who were repeatedly broken by his destructive swords. The vizir of Amurath advised him to select the stoutest and most beautiful of the Christian youth: the advice was followed—many thousands of the Europeans were educated in religion and arms, and the new militia was consecrated and named by a celebrated Dervish—standing in the front of their ranks, he stretched the sleeve of his gown over the head of the foremost soldier, and his blessing was delivered in these words—“ Let them be called Janizaries (Yengi Cheri, or new soldiers) may their countenance be ever bright! their hand victorious! their sword keen! may their spears always hang over the heads of their enemies; and wheresoever they go, may they return with a white face.” Such was the origin of these haughty troops, the terror of the nations, and sometimes of the Sultans themselves. But the sword of his Janizaries could not defend Amurath from the dagger of despair. A Servian soldier started from a crowd of dead bodies, and Amurath was pierced in the belly with a mortal wound. He was mild in his temper, modest in his apparel, and a lover of learning and virtue: But the Moslems were scandalized at his absence from public worship; and he was corrected by the firmness of the Musli, who dared to reject his testimony in a civil cause—a mixture of servitude and freedom not unfequent in oriental history.

Reign of Bajazet
 17. *Ilderim, A. D.*
 1389. 1403. *March*
 9th.

The character of Bajazet, son and successor of Amurath, is strongly expressed in his fir-name Ilderim, or the Lightning; and he might glory in a name, which was drawn from the fiery energy of his soul, and the rapidity of his destructive march. In the fourteen years of his reign, he incessantly moved at the head of his armies, from Bourfa to Adrianople: and from the Danube to the Euphrates--he invaded with impartial ambition, the Christian and Mahometan princes of Europe and Asia. From Angora to Anafia, and Erzeroum, the northern regions of Anatolia were reduced to his obedience: he stripped of their hereditary possessions his brother Emirs of Ghermian and Caromania, of Aidin and Samkhan; and after the conquest of Iconium, the antient kingdom of the Seljukians, again revived in the Ottoman Dynasty; nor were the conquests of Bajazet less rapid and important in Europe; he passed the Danube into the heart of Moldavia. Whatever yet adhered to the Greek empire in Thrace, Macedonia and Thessaly, acknowledged a Turkish master. An obsequious bishop let him through the gates of Thermopylæ into Greece. The widow of a Spanish chief, who possessed the oracle of Delphi, obtained his favor by the sacrifice of a beautiful daughter. Whilst the monarch indulged his passions in a boundless rage of injustice and cruelty, he imposed on his soldiers the most rigid laws of abstinence and modesty--provoked by the loose and corrupt administration of justice, he collected in a house the judges and lawyers of his kingdom, who expected, that in a few moments, the fire would have been kindled to reduce them to ashes. His ministers trembled in silence; but an Ethiopian buffoon ventured to insinuate the true cause of the evil--and future venality was left without excuse, by annexing an adequate salary to the office of Cadhi. The humble title of Emir, was no longer suitable to the Ottoman greatness, and Bajazet condescended to accept a patent of Sultan, from the Caliphs of Egypt, under the yoke of the Mamalukes, a last and frivolous homage that was yielded by force to opinion, by the Turkish conquerors to the house of Abbas and the successors of the Arabian. He turned his arms against the kingdom of Hungary, the perpetual theatre of victories and defeats. In the battle of Nicopolis, he defeated a confederate army of 100,000 Christians, who had proudly boasted, that if the sky should fall, they could uphold it with their lances.

In the pride of victory, Bajazet threatened that he would besiege Buda; that he would subdue the adjacent country of Germany and Italy, and feed his horse with a bushel of oats on the altar of St. Peter, at Rome. A long and painful fit of the gout checked his victories. Bajazet at last thought of the conquest of Constantinople: but he listened to the advice of his vizir, who represented to him, that such an enterprize might unite the powers of Christendom against him. The Greeks purchased a truce of ten years, by an annual tribute of thirty thousand crowns of gold; and had to deplore the public toleration of the law of Mahomet. Bajazet enjoyed the glory of establishing a Turkish Cadhi, and founding a royal mosque in the metropolis of the Eastern church.

The truce was soon violated, and Constantinople was closely pressed by the calamities of war and famine; against such an enemy as Bajazet, prayers and resistance were alike unavailing, and the savage would have devoured his prey, if in the fatal moment he had not been overthrown by another savage stronger than himself. By the victory of Timour or Tamerlane, the fall of Constantinople was delayed about 50 years.

Bajazet is defeated, taken prisoner
by Timour, confined in an iron cage,
and dies nine months afterwards.

A. D. 1402.

July 28th.

Timour was a zealous Mussulman. Astracon, Carizeme, Delhi, Ispahan, Bagdad, Aleppo, Damascus, Bourfa, Smyrna, and a thousand other cities were sacked or burnt, or utterly destroyed in his presence and by his troops. He invaded Turkestan, Kiprak, Russia, Hindostan, Syria, Anatolia, Armenia, and Georgia, without a hope or desire of preserving these distant provinces.

The massy trunk of the Ottoman empire was bent to the ground by Timour, but no sooner did the hurricane pass away, than it again arose with fresh vigor.

Bajazet had five sons, who, for a time, spread the seeds of civil discord.

First, Mustapha. This prince fought by his father's side at Angora; and it is a question whether he was not left there among the slain, and that an impostor personated him.

Second, Isa. This prince reigned in the neighbourhood of Angora, Sinope, and the Black Sea: he was deprived of his life and province, by a jealous brother, the sovereign of Amasia.

Third, Soliman. This prince is not numbered in the list of Turkish emperors. He united for a while the thrones of Adrianople and Bourfa. After a reign of seven years and ten months, he was surprized by his brother Mousa, and slain.

Fourth, Moufa. This prince ascended the throne of Adrianople, stained with the blood of Soliman. His troops were successful against the Christians of Hungary and Morea. He fell a victim to the perfidy of his ministers, and his brother Mahomet.

Fifth, Mahomet I. A.D. 1413—1421. Before his father's captivity this prince had been entrusted with the government of Amasia. This place escaped Timour's notice; he relieved himself from the dangerous neighbourhood of Isa: but in the contests of the more powerful brethren, he observed a strict neutrality; till after the triumph of Moufa, he stood forth the avenger of the unfortunate Soliman. He obtained Anatolia by treaty, and Rumania by arms: and the soldier who presented him with the head of Moufa, was rewarded as the benefactor of his king and country. The eight years of his sole and peaceful reign, were usefully employed in banishing the vices of civil discord; and restoring on a firm basis, the fabric of the Ottoman empire. His last care was the choice of two vizirs, Bajazet, and Ibrahim, who might guide the youth of his son Amurath: and such was their union and prudence, that they concealed above forty days, the death of the Sultan, till the arrival of his successor in the palace of Bourfa.

Amurath besieges Constantinople, A. D.

Amurath II. 1422, June 10, to August 24. The strength of the walls resisted an army of 200,000 Turks; and Amurath was obliged to raise the siege after two months investiture, by a domestic revolt at Bourfa. In the vigour of his military power, he seldom engaged in a war, till he was justified by a previous provocation; the victorious Sultan was disarmed by submission, and in the observance of treaties, his word was inviolate and sacred.

In his wars with the Hungarians, they were commonly the aggressors.

Amurath twice abdicated the throne; the lord of nations submitted to fast and pray, and turn round in endless rotation with the fanatics, who mistook the giddiness of the head for the illumination of the spirit.

In the last centuries of the Greek Emperors, their friendly or hostile aspect towards the Pope, and the Latins, may be observed as the thermometer of their distress or prosperity.

When the Turks of the house of Seljuk pervaded Asia, and threatened Constantinople, we have seen at the council of Placentia, the suppliant ambassadors of Alexius, imploring the

protection of the common father of the Christians. No sooner had the arms of the French pilgrims removed the Sultan from Nice to Iconium, than the Greek princes returned, or avowed their genuine hatred and contempt for the Schismatics of the West, which precipitated the first downfall of their empire. The date of the Mogul invasion is marked in the soft and charitable language of John Vataces. After the recovery of Constantinople, the throne of the first Palæologus was encompassed by foreign and domestic enemies. As long as the sword of Charles was suspended over his head, he basely courted the favour of the Roman pontiff; and sacrificed to the present danger, his faith, his virtue, and the affection of his subjects. On the decease of Michael, the prince and the people asserted the independence of the church, and purity of the creed: the elder Andronicus, neither feared nor loved the Latins. In his last distress, pride was the safeguard of superstition; nor could he decently retract in his age, the firm and orthodox declarations of his youth. His grandson, the younger Andronicus, was less a slave in his temper and situation: and the conquest of Bithynia by the Turks, admonished him to seek a temporal and spiritual alliance with the Western princes. After a separation and silence of 50 years, a secret agent, the monk Barlaam, was dispatched to pope Benedict XII. and his artful instructions, appear to have been drawn by the masterly hand of the great Domestic.

Most holy Father, was he commissioned to say, the Emperor is not less desirous than yourself, of a union between the two churches; but in this delicate transaction he is obliged to respect his own dignity, and the prejudices of his subjects. The ways of union are twofold, force and persuasion: Of force, the inefficacy has already been tried, since the Latins have subdued the empire, without subduing the minds of the Greeks.—The method of persuasion, though slow, is sure and permanent. A deputation of thirty or forty of our doctors, would probably agree with those of the Vatican, in the love of truth and the unity of belief: but on their return, what would be the use, or recompense of such agreement? The scorn of their brethren, and the reproaches of a blind and obstinate nation. Yet, that nation is accustomed to reverence the general councils which have fixed the articles of our faith; and if they reprobate the decrees of Lyons, it is because the eastern churches were neither heard nor represented in that arbitrary meeting. For this salutary end, it will be expedient, and even necessary, that a well chosen legate should be sent into Greece, to convene the patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and

Jerusalem; and with their aid, to prepare a free and universal synod. But at this moment, continued the subtle agent, the empire is assaulted and endangered by the Turks, who have occupied four of the greatest cities of Anatolia. The Christian inhabitants have expressed a wish of returning to their allegiance, and religion; but the forces and revenues of the Emperor are insufficient for their deliverance: and the Roman legate must be accompanied by an army of Franks, to expel the infidels, and open a way to the holy sepulchre - - - - - The Turks are the common enemies of the Christian name. The Armenians, Cyprians, and Rhodians, are equally attached: and it will become the piety of the French princes, to draw their swords in the general defence of religion. Should the subjects of Andronicus be treated as the worst of Schismatics, of heretics, of pagans; a judicious policy may yet instruct the powers of the West to embrace an useful ally, to uphold a sinking empire, to guard the confines of Europe, and rather to join the Greeks against the Turks, than to expect the union of the Turkish arms with the troops and treasures of captive Greece.

The reasons, the offers, the demands of Andronicus, were eluded with cold and stately indifference. The kings of France and Naples declined the dangers and glory of a crusade. The pope refused to call a new synod to determine old articles of faith: and his regard for the obsolete claim of the Latin Emperor and clergy, engaged him to use an offensive superscription: 'To the Moderator of the Greeks, and the persons who stile themselves the Patriarchs of the Eastern Church.'

Benedict XII. was a dull peasant, perplexed with scruples, and immersed in sloth and wine: his pride might enrich with a third crown the papal tiara; but he was alike unfit for the regal and pastoral office.

After the decease of Andronicus, whilst
A.D. 1348. the Greeks were distracted by intestine war, they could not presume to agitate a general union of the Christians. But as soon as Cantecazune had subdued and pardoned his enemies, he was anxious to justify, or at least to extenuate the introduction of the Turks into Europe, and the nuptials of his daughter with a Mussulman prince.

Two officers of state, with a Latin interpreter, were sent in his name, to the Roman court, which was transplanted to Avignon on the banks of the Rhone, during a period of seventy years. They represented the hard necessity which had urged him to embrace the alliance of the miscreants; and pronounced

by his command, the specious and edifying sounds of union and crusade.

Pope Clement VI. successor to Benedict XII. received them with hospitality and honour; acknowledged the innocence of their sovereign, excused his distress, applauded his magnanimity, and displayed a clear knowledge of the state and revolutions of the Greek empire.

If Clement was ill endowed with the spirit of a priest, he possessed, however, the spirit and magnanimity of a prince, whose liberal hand distributed benefices and kingdoms with equal facility. Under his reign, Avignon was the seat of pomp and pleasure. In his youth, he had surpassed the licentiousness of a baron: and the palace, nay the bed of the pope, was adorned, or polluted, by the visits of his female favourites. The wars of France and England were adverse to the holy enterprise; but his vanity was amused by the splendid idea: and the Greek ambassadors returned with two Latin bishops, the ministers of the pontiff.

On their arrival at Constantinople, the Emperor and the Nuncios admired each others piety and eloquence, and their frequent conferences were filled with mutual praises, by which both parties were amused, and neither could be deceived.

I am delighted, said the devout Cantecazune, with the project of our holy war, which must redound to my personal glory, as well as to the public benefit of Christendom. My dominions will give a free passage to the armies of France; my troops, my galleys, my treasures, shall be consecrated to the common cause; and happy would be my fate, could I deserve and obtain, the crown of martyrdom. Words are insufficient to express the ardour with which I fight for the reunion of the scattered members of Christ. If my death could avail, I would gladly present my sword to my neck: if the spiritual phoenix could arise from my ashes, I would erect the pile, and kindle the flame with my own hands. Yet the Greek Emperor presumed to observe, that the articles of faith, which divided the two churches, had been introduced by the pride and precipitation of the Latins. He disclaimed the servile and arbitrary steps of the first Palæologus; and firmly declared, he never would submit his conscience, unless to the decrees of a free and universal synod.

The situation of the times, continued he, will not allow the Pope and myself to meet at Rome, or Constantinople; but some maritime city on the verge of the two empires, may be chosen, to unite the bishops of the East and West. The

nuncios seemed content with the proposition: and Cantecazune affects to deplore the failure of his hopes, which were soon overthrown by the death of Clement, and the different temper of his successor.

Treaty of John Palæologus with Innocent VI. A. D. 1355. Of all the Byzantine princes, John Palæologus was the first to embrace, to believe, and to obey the shepherd of the West. His mother Anne of Savoy, was baptized in the bosom of the Latin church. Her marriage with Andronicus, imposed a change of name, of apparel, and of worship; but her heart was still faithful to her country and religion. She had formed the infancy of her son; and she governed the Emperor, after his mind, or at least, his stature was enlarged to the size of a man. In the first year of his deliverance, and restoration, the Turks were still masters of the Hellespont. The son of Cantecazune was in arms at Adrianople, and Palæologus could depend neither on himself, nor on his people. By his mother's advice, and in the hope of foreign aid, he abjured the rites, both of church and state. And the act of slavery, subscribed in purple ink, and sealed with the golden bull, was privately entrusted to an Italian agent; the first article of the treaty, is the oath of fidelity and obedience to Innocent the sixth, and his successors, the supreme pontiffs of the Roman and catholic church. The Emperor promises to entertain with due reverence, their legates and nuncios; to assign a palace for their residence, and a temple for their worship; and to deliver his second son Manuel as the hostage of his faith. For these considerations, he requires a prompt succour of fifteen gallies, with 500 men at arms, and 1000 archers, to serve against his Christian and Mussulmen enemies.

The resistance of the Greeks might be easily foreseen; should he fail in the measures of persuasion or force, Palæologus declares himself unworthy to reign; transferred to the Pope all legal authority, and invests Innocent with full power to regulate the family, the government, and the marriage of his son and successor. But this treaty was neither executed nor published. The Roman gallies were as vain and imaginary as the submission of the Greeks, and it was only by secrecy, that Palæologus escaped the dishonour of this fruitless humiliation.

Visit of John Palæologus to Urban V. at Rome, A. D. 1369, Oct. 15. The tempest of the Turkish arms soon burst on his head; and after the loss of Adrianople and Romania, he was inclosed in his capital; the vassal of the haughty Amurath, with the miserable hope of being

the last devoured by the savage. In this abject state Palæologus embraced the resolution of embarking for Venice, and casting himself at the feet of the Pope. He was the first of the Byzantine princes who had ever visited the unknown regions of the West. Urban V. of a mild and virtuous character, encouraged the pilgrimage of the Greek prince.

In this suppliant visit, the Emperor of Constantinople, whose vanity was lost in his distress, gave more than could be expected of empty sounds, and formal submissions. A previous trial was imposed, and in the presence of four cardinals, he acknowledged, as a true catholic, the supremacy of the Pope, and the double procession of the Holy Ghost.

After this purification, he was introduced to a public audience in the church of St. Peter. Urban, in the midst of the cardinals, was seated on his throne; the Greek monarch, after three genuflexions, devoutly kissed the feet, the hands, and at length, the mouth, of the holy father, who celebrated high mass in his presence; allowed him to lead the bridle of his mule, and treated him with a sumptuous banquet in the Vatican.

Urban strove to rekindle the zeal of the French king, and the other powers of the West, but he found them cold in the general cause, and active only in their domestic quarrels. He returned to Constantinople, and remained inactive and slothful. And his apostasy, or conversion, devoid of any spiritual or temporal effects, was speedily forgotten by the Greeks and Latins.

Thirty years after the return of Palæologus, his son and successor Manuel, from a similar motive, but on a larger scale, again visited the countries of the West. By his ambassadors, Manuel had solicited the Latin powers, but it was thought that the presence of a distressed monarch, would draw tears and supplies from the hardest barbarians. He visits France and England, A.D. 1400. He did not offer his religion to public or private sale. On his return, which coincided with the year of the Jubilee, he passed through Italy without desiring or deserving the plenary indulgence, which abolished the guilt, or the penance of the sins of the faithful. The Roman pope was offended by his neglect; accused him of irreverence to an image of Christ; and exhorted the princes of Italy to reject and abandon the obstinate schismatic.

After his return, and the victory of Timour, Manuel reigned many years in prosperity and peace. As long as the sons of Bajazet solicited his friendship, and spared his dominions, he was satisfied with the national religion. The appearance of the Byzantine

*Indifference
of Manuel to-
wards the La-
tins, A. D.
1402—1417.*

ambassadors at the council of Constance, announces the restoration of the Turkish power, as well as of the Latin church. The conquests of the Sultans Mahomet and Amurath, reconciled the Emperor to the Vatican. And the siege of Constantinople almost tempted him to acquiesce in the double procession of the Holy Ghost.

When Martin V. ascended, without a rival, the chair of St. Peter, a friendly intercourse of letters and embassies was revived between the East and the West.

Ambition on one side, and distress on the other, dictated the same decent language of charity and peace. The artful Greek expressed a desire of marrying his six sons to Italian princes. Yet under this mask of zeal, a discerning eye will perceive, that all was insincere in the court and church of Constantinople. According to the vicissitudes of danger or repose, the Emperor advanced or retreated; alternately instructed or disavowed his ministers.

From a review of the public transactions, A.D. 1417— it will appear that the Greeks insisted on three successive measures; a succour, a council, 1425. and a final reunion: while the Latins eluded the second, and only promised the first, as a consequential and voluntary reward of the third. But we have an opportunity of unfolding the most secret intentions of Manuel, as he explained them in a private conversation without artifice or disguise. In his declining age, the Emperor had associated with him John Palæologus, the second of the name, and the eldest of his sons, on whom he devolved the greatest part of the authority and weight of government.

One day, in the presence only of Phraza the historian, his favourite chamberlain, he opened to his colleague and successor, the true principle of his negotiation with the Pope. Our last resource, said Manuel, against the Turks, is their fear of our union with the Latins, of the warlike nations of the West, who may arm for our relief and their destruction. As often as you are threatened by the miscreants, present this danger before their eyes: propose a council; consult on the means; but ever delay and avoid the convocation of an assembly, which cannot tend either to our spiritual or temporal emolument. The Latins are proud; the Greeks are obstinate: neither party will recede or retract. And the attempt of a perfect union, will confirm the schism, alienate the churches, and leave us without hope or defence, at the mercy of the barbarians.

Impatient of this salutary lesson, the royal youth arose from his seat, and departed in silence. And the wise monarch (continues Phraza) casting his eyes on me, thus resumed his discourse; My son deems himself a great and heroic prince; but alas! our miserable age does not afford scope for heroism or greatness. His daring spirit might have suited the happier times of our ancestors; but the present state requires not an emperor, but a cautious steward of the last relics of our fortune. Well do I remember the lofty expectation, which he built on our alliance with Mustapha: and much do I fear that his rash courage will urge the ruin of our house, and that even our religion may precipitate our downfall.

Manuel preserved the peace, and eluded the council till in the seventy eighth year of his age, and in the habit of a monk, he terminated his career.

He soon resumed the design of uniting the East and the West. And regardless of his father's advice, listened, as it should seem, with sincerity, to the proposal of meeting the Pope in a general council beyond the Adriatic.—

This dangerous project was encouraged by Martin V. and coldly entertained by his successor Eugenius, till after a tedious negotiation, the Emperor received a summons from a Latin assembly of a new character, the independent prelates of Basil, who filed themselves, the Representatives and Judges of the Catholic Church.

The Roman pontiff had fought and conquered in the cause of ecclesiastical freedom. But the victorious clergy were soon exposed to the tyranny of their deliverer; and his sacred character was invulnerable to those arms, which they found so keen and effectual against the civil magistrate. Their great charter, the right of election, was annihilated by appeals, evaded by trusts, or commendams, disappointed by reversionary grants, and superseded by previous and arbitrary reservations. A public auction was instituted in the court of Rome. The cardinals and favourites were enriched by the spoils of nations; and every country might complain that the most important and valuable benefices were accumulated on the heads of aliens and absentees.

During their residence at Avignon, the ambition of the Popes subsided in the meaner passions of avarice and luxury.— They rigorously imposed on the clergy the tributes of the first fruits and tenths; but they freely tolerated the impunity of vice, disorder, and corruption. These manifold scandals were aggravated by the great schism of the West, which continued

Schism, A. D.
1377—1429.

above fifty years. In the furious conflicts of Rome and Avignon, the vices of the rivals were mutually exposed, and their precarious situation, degraded their authority, relaxed their discipline, and multiplied their wants and exactions.

Council of Pisa,
A. D. 1409.

Of Constance,
A. D. 1414—
1418.

To heal the wounds, and restore the monarchy of the church, the synods of Pisa and Constance were successively convened: but these great assemblies, conscious of their strength, resolved to vindicate the privileges of the Christian aristocracy. From a personal sentence against two pontiffs, whom they rejected; and a third, their acknowledged sovereign, whom they deposed, the Fathers of Constance proceeded to examine the nature and limits of the Roman supremacy. Nor did they separate till they had established the authority, above the Pope, of a general council. It was enacted, that for the government and reformation of the Church, such assemblies should be held at regular intervals; and that each synod, before its dissolution, should appoint the time and place of its subsequent meeting.

By the influence of the Court of Rome, the next convocation at Siena, was easily eluded; but the bold and vigorous proceedings of the Council of Basil, had almost been fatal to the reigning pontiff Eugenius IV. A just suspicion of his design, prompted the Fathers to hasten the promulgation of their first decree, that the representatives of the Church militant on earth, were invested with a divine and spiritual jurisdiction over all Christians, without excepting the Pope; and that a general council, could not be dissolved, prorogued, or transferred, unless by free deliberation and consent. On the notice that Eugenius had fulminated a bull for that purpose, they ventured to summon, to admonish, to threaten, to censure the contumacious successor of St. Peter.

After many days, to allow time for appearance, they finally declared, that unless he submitted within the term of sixty days, he was suspended from the exercise of all temporal and ecclesiastical authority. And to mark their jurisdiction over the prince, as well as the priest, they assumed the government of Avignon, annulled the alienation of the sacred patrimony, and protected Rome from the imposition of new taxes. This boldness was justified, not only by the general opinion of the clergy, but by the support and power of the first monarchs in Christendom.

The Emperor Sigismund declared himself the servant and protector of the Synod: Germany and France adhered to their cause. Eugenius was driven from the Vatican, by an insurrection of the Roman people. Submission was his only choice: by a most humiliating bull, the Pope repealed his own acts, and ratified those of the Council: incorporated his Legates and Cardinals with that venerable body; and *seemed* to resign himself to the decrees of the supreme legislature. Their fame pervaded the countries of the East; and it was in their presence that Sigismund received the Ambassadors of the Turkish Sultan, who laid at his feet, twelve large vases, filled with robes of silk and pieces of gold.

The Fathers of Basil aspired to the glory of reducing the Greeks, as well as the Bohemians, within the pale of the church. And their deputies invited the Emperor, and Patriarch of Constantinople, to unite with an assembly which possessed the confidence of the Western nations; and to this, Palaeologos was not averse.

He embarks in the Pope's galleys, A.D. 1427. The Synod was transferred to Ferrara. Sigismund dissuaded the unreasonable adventure. Even the Turkish Sultan was a counsellor, whom it might be unsafe to trust, but whom it was dangerous to offend. Amurath was unskilled in the disputes, but he was apprehensive of the union of the Christians: from his own treasures he offered to relieve the wants of the Byzantine court; yet he declared, with seeming magnanimity, that Constantinople should be secure and inviolate in the absence of her sovereign. From Ferrara the Synod is transferred to Florence, where after the debates of nine months, and twenty-five sessions, they attained the advantage, and the glory, of the reunion of the Greeks.

The same year, and almost the same day, were marked by the deposition of Eugenius at Basil; and at Florence, by his reunion of the Greeks and Latins. In the former Synod, which he styled an assembly of Demons, the Pope was branded with the guilt of simony, perjury, tyranny, heresy, and schism; and declared to be incorigible in his vices; unworthy of any title, and incapable of holding any ecclesiastical office. In the other, he was revered as the true and holy Vicar of Christ; who, after a separation of six hundred years, had reconciled the Catholics of the East and West, in one fold, and under one shepherd. The act of union was subscribed by the Pope, the Emperor, and the principal members of both churches. All ideas of reformation subsided; the Popes continued to exercise and abuse their ecclesiastical despotism; nor has Rome been since disturbed by the mischiefs of a contested election.

*Eugenius forms
a league against the
Turks, A.D. 1443.*

After the departure of his Greek brethren, Eugenius had not been unmindful of their temporal interest. And his tender regard for the Byzantine empire, was animated by a just apprehension of the Turks, who approached, and might soon invade the borders of Italy. But the spirit of the crusades had impaired the strength of England and France; but Philip, Duke of Burgundy was a vain and magnificent prince; and he enjoyed, without danger, or expence, the adventurous piety of his subjects, who sailed in a gallant fleet from the coast of Flanders to the Hellespont. The maritime republics of Venice and Genoa, were less remote from the scene of action, and their hostile fleets were associated under the standard of St. Peter.

The kingdoms of Hungary and Poland, which covered, as it were, the interior pale of the Latin church, were the most nearly concerned to oppose the progress of the Turks.

Arms were the patrimony of Scythians and Sarmatians; and these nations might appear equal to the contest, could they point against the common foe those swords that were so wantonly drawn in bloody and domestic quarrels; but the same spirit was adverse to concord and obedience: A poor country, and a limited monarchy, are incapable of maintaining a standing force; and the loose bodies of Polish and Hungarian horse were not armed with the sentiments and weapons which, on some occasions, have given irresistible weight to the French chivalry: Yet on this side, the designs of the Roman Pontiff, and the eloquence of the Cardinal Julian, his legate, were promoted by the circumstance of the times; by the union of the two crowns on the head of Ladislaus, a young and ambitious soldier; by the valor of a hero, whose name was John Huniades, already popular among the Christians, and formidable to the Turks. An endless treasure of pardons and indulgences was scattered by the legate; many private warriors of France and Germany enlisted under the holy banners, and the crusade derived some strength, or at least some reputation, from the new allies, both of Europe and Asia. A fugitive despot of Servia exaggerated the distress and ardor of the Christians beyond the Danube, who would unanimously rise to vindicate their religion and liberty. The Greek emperor, with a spirit unknown to his fathers, engaged to guard the Bosphorus, and to sally from Constantinople at the head of his national and mercenary troops. The Sultan of Caramania announced the retreat of Amurath, and a powerful division, in the heart of Anatolia; and if the fleets of the west could occupy at the same moment the freights of the

Hellspont, the Ottoman would be dissevered and destroyed. Heaven and earth must rejoice in the perdition of the miscreants; and the legate, with prudent ambiguity, insilled the opinion of the invisible, perhaps the visible, aid of the Son of God, and his divine Mother.

Of the Polish and Hungarian diets, a religious war was the unanimous cry; and Ladislaus, after passing the Danube, led an army of his confederate subjects as far as Sophia, the capital of the Bulgarian kingdom.

In this expedition, they obtained two signal victories, which were justly ascribed to the valor and conduct of John Huniades. In the first, with a vanguard of ten thousand men, he surprized the Turkish camp; in the second, he vanquished and made prisoner the most renowned of their generals, who possessed the double advantage of ground and numbers. The approach of winter, and the natural and artificial obstacles of Mount Hæmus, arrested the progress of the hero, who measured a narrow interval of six days march, from the foot of the mountains, to the hostile towers of Adrianople, and the friendly capital of the Greek empire. The retreat was undisturbed, and the entrance into Buda was at once a military and religious triumph. An ecclesiastical procession was followed by the king and his warriors on foot; he nicely balanced the merits and the rewards of the two nations; and the pride of conquest was blended with the humble temper of Christianity. Thirteen bashaws, nine standards, and four thousand captives, were unquestionable trophies; and as all were willing to believe, and none were present to contradict, the crusaders multiplied with unblushing confidence, the myriads of Turks whom they left dead on the field of battle. The most solid proof, and the most salutary consequence of victory, was, a deputation from the Divan to solicit peace, to restore Servia, to ransom the prisoners, and to evacuate the Hungarian frontier. By this treaty, the rational objects of the war were obtained; the king, the despot, and Huniades himself, in the Diet of Segedin, were satisfied with public and private emolument: A truce of ten years was concluded, and the followers of Jesus and Mahomet, who swore on the Gospel and the Koran, attested the word of God as the guardian of truth, and the avenger of perfidy.

During the whole transaction, the Cardinal Legate had observed a sullen silence, unwilling to approve, and unable to oppose, the consent of the king and people. But the Diet was not dissolved before Julian was fortified by the welcome intelligence, that Anatolia was invaded by the Cara-

manian, and Thrace by the Greek Emperor. That the fleets of Genoa, Venice, and Burgundy were masters of the Hellespont; and that the allies, informed of the victory, and ignorant of the treaty, of Ladislaus, impatiently waited for the return of his victorious army. And is it thus, exclaimed the Cardinal, that you will desert their expectations, and your own fortune? It is to them, your God, and your fellow Christians, that you have pledged your faith; and that prior obligation annihilates a rash and sacrilegious oath to the enemies of Christ. His vicar on earth is the Roman Pontiff, without whose sanction, you can neither promise nor perform. In his name, I absolve your perjury, and sanctify your arms; follow my footsteps in the paths of glory and salvation; and if still ye have scruples, devolve on my head the punishment and sin. This mischievous Casuistry was seconded by his respectable character, and the levity of popular assemblies: War was resolved on the same spot where peace had so lately been sworn: And in the execution of the treaty, the Turks were assaulted by the Christians; to whom, with some reason, they might apply the epithet of infidels. The falshood of Ladislaus to his word and oath, was palliated by the religion of the times: The most perfect, or at least the most popular, excuse would have been, the success of his arms, and the deliverance of the Eastern Church. The same treaty which should have bound his conscience, had diminished his strength. On the proclamation of the peace, the French and German volunteers departed with indignant murmurs. The Poles were exhausted by distant warfare, and perhaps disgusted with foreign command; and their palatines accepted the first licence, and hastily retired to their provinces and castles.

Even Hungary was divided by faction, or restrained by a laudable scruple; and the relics of the crusade that marched in the second expedition, were reduced to an inadequate force of 20,000 men. A Wallachian chief, who joined the royal standard, remarked, that their number did not exceed the hunting retinue that sometimes attended the Sultan; and the gift of two horses of matchless speed, might admonish Ladislaus of his secret foresight of the event. But the despot of Servia, after the restoration of his country and children, was tempted by the promise of new realms; and the inexperience of the king, the enthusiasm of the legate, and the martial presumption of Huniades himself, were persuaded, that every obstacle must yield to the sword and the cross. After the passage of the Danube, two roads might lead to Constantinople and the Hellespont; the one direct, abrupt and difficult, through the moun;

tains of Hæmus; the other more tedious and secure, over a level country, and along the shores of the Euxine; in which their flanks, according to the Scythian discipline, might always be covered by a moveable fortification of waggons. The latter was judiciously preferred: The Catholics marched through the plains of Bulgaria, burning, with wanton cruelty, the churches and villages of the Christian natives. And their last station was near the sea shore; on which the defeat and death of Ladislaus have bestowed a venerable name.

It was on this fatal spot, that, instead of finding a confederate fleet to second their operations, they were alarmed by the approach of Amurath himself, who had issued from his Magnesian solitude, and transported the forces of Asia to the defence of Europe. According to some writers, the Greek Emperor had been awed, or seduced, to grant the passage of the Bosphorus; and an indelible stain of corruption is fixed on the Genoese, or Pope's nephew, the catholic admiral, whose mercenary connivance betrayed the guard of the Hellespont. From Adrianople, the Sultan advanced by hasty marches, at the head of 60,000 men: and when the Cardinal and Huniades had taken a nearer survey of the numbers, and order of the Turks, these ardent warriors proposed the tardy and impracticable measure of a retreat: the king alone was resolved to conquer or die; and his resolution had almost been crowned with a glorious and salutary victory. The princes were opposite to each other in the centre; and the beglerbegs or generals of Anatolia and Romania, commanded on the right and left, against the adverse divisions of the despot and Huniades. The Turkish wings were broke on the first onset; but the advantage was fatal: and the rash victors, in the heat of the pursuit, were carried away far beyond the annoyance of the enemy, or the support of their friends.

When Amurath beheld the flight of his squadrons, he despaired of his fortune, and that of his empire. A veteran janizary seized his horse's bridle: and he had the magnanimity to pardon and reward the soldier, who dared to perceive the terror, and arrest the flight, of his sovereign. A copy of the treaty, the monument of Christian perfidy, had been displayed in the front of the battle; and it is said, that the Sultan, in his distress, lifting his eyes and hands to heaven, implored the protection of the God of Truth; and called on the prophet Jesus himself, to avenge the impious mockery of his name and religion. With inferior numbers, and disordered ranks, the king of Hungary rushed forward in the confidence of victory, till

his career was stopped by the impenetrable phalanx of the janizaries. If we may credit the Ottoman annals, his horse was pierced by the javelin of Amurath; he fell among the spears of the infantry: and a Turkish soldier proclaimed with a loud voice, 'Hungarians, behold the head of your king.' The death of Ladislaus, was the signal of their defeat.

On his return from an intemperate pursuit, Huniades deplored his error, and the public loss. He strove to rescue the royal body, till he was overwhelmed by the tumultuous crowd of the victors and the vanquished; and the last efforts of his conduct and courage, were exerted to save the remnant of his Wallachian cavalry. 10,000 Christians were slain in the disastrous battle of Warna. The loss of the Turks more considerable in number, bore a smaller proportion to their total strength. Yet the philosophic Sultan was not ashamed to confess, that his ruin must be the consequence of a second and similar victory. At his command, a column was erected on the spot where Ladislaus had fallen; but the modest inscription, instead of accusing the rashness, recorded the valour, and bewailed the misfortune of the loss of the Hungarian youth.—The Cardinal, who performed the duties of a priest and a soldier, was lost in the defeat of Warna. The circumstances of his death are variously related.

It was by the influence of John Huniades, that Ladislaus of Poland, obtained the crown of Hungary. He won, in the same year, three victories against the Turks. Four years after the defeat of Warna, he again penetrated into the heart of Bulgaria, and in the plain of Cossova, sustained till the third day, the shock of the Ottoman army, four times more numerous than his own.

But the last, and most glorious action of his life, was the defence of Belgrade, A.D. 1456, against Mahomet the second, in person. After a siege of forty days, the Turks, who had already entered the town, were compelled to retreat; and the joyful nations celebrate Huniades and Belgrade as the bulwarks of Christendom. About a month after this great deliverance, the champion died.

Scanderberg, prince of Albania, makes a conspicuous figure at the same time, in his successful enterprizes against the Turks: his ancestors had been subjected to the Turks, and he himself had served in their armies. He revolted, and in the assembly of the states of Epirus, Scanderberg was elected general of the Turkish war: and each of the allies engaged to furnish his proportion of men and money.

His annual revenue amounted to no more than 200,000 ducats, which, exempt from the demands of luxury, were strictly appropriated to the public use. His manners were popular, but his discipline was severe; every superfluous vice was banished from his camp. The bravest adventurers of Germany and France, were allured by his fame, and retained in his service. His standing militia consisted of 8000 horse, and 7000 foot; with such unequal arms, Scanderberg resisted twenty-three years, the powers of the Ottoman empire; and two conquerors, Amurath II. and his greater son, were repeatedly baffled by a rebel, whom they pursued with seeming contempt, and implacable resentment. At the head of 60,000 horse, and 40,000 janizaries, Amurath entered Albania: he might ravage the open country, occupy the defenceless towns, convert the churches into mosques, circumcise the christian youths, and punish with death, his adult and obstinate captives; but the conquests of the Sultan were confined to the petty fortress of Stetigrade: and the garrison, invincible to his arms, was oppressed by a superstitious scruple. Amurath retired with shame and loss from the walls of Croya, the castle and residence of Scanderberg. The march, the siege, the retreat, were harassed by a vexatious, and almost invincible adversary.

In the fullness of conquest, Mahomet II. still felt at his bosom, this domestic thorn. His splendid achievements, the bashaws whom he encountered, the armies that he discomfited, and the 3000 Turks, who were slain by his own single hand; may, perhaps, be exaggerated, as the actions of great men generally are, especially in a dark age.

John Palæologus survived the Hungarian crusade about four years; the crown was placed on the head of Constantine, at Sparta, A.D. 1448, Nov. 1.

The siege of Constantinople by the Turks, attracts our attention to the person and character of the great destroyer: Mahomet II. was son of Amurath II. His first education and sentiments were those of a devout Mussulman: and as often as he conversed with an infidel, he purified his hands and face by the legal rites of ablution. Age and empire appear to have relaxed his narrow bigotry: his aspiring genius disdained to acknowledge a power above his own. And in his looser moments, he presumed, it is said, to brand the prophet of Mecca, as a robber and impostor. Yet the Sultan persevered in a discreet reverence for the doctrine and discipline of the Koran.— Under the tuition of the most skilful masters, Mahomet advanced with an eager and rapid progress in the paths of knowledge; and besides his native tongue, it is affirmed, that he un-

derstood and spoke five languages; Arabian, Persian, Chaldean or Hebrew, Latin, and Greek. The history and geography of the world, were familiar to his memory. The lives or the heroes of the East, and perhaps the West, excited his emulation. His skill in astrology supposes some rudiments of mathematical science: and a profane taste of the arts, is betrayed in his liberal invitation and reward of the painters of Italy. But the influence of religion and learning were employed without effect on his savage nature.

I will not transcribe, nor do I firmly believe the stories of the fourteen pages, whose bellies were ripped open in search of a stolen melon; or of his beauteous slave, whose head he severed from her body, to convince the janizaries that their master was not the votary of love. His passions were at once furious and inexorable. In the palace, as well as in the field, a torrent of blood was spilt on the slightest occasions. And that the noblest of the captive youth were often dishonoured by his unnatural lust. In the Albanian war, he studied the lessons, and soon surpassed the example of his father. And the conquest of two empires, twelve kingdoms, and two hundred cities, a vain and flattering account, is inscribed to his invincible sword. He was doubtless a soldier, and possibly a general. Constantinople has sealed his glory: but if we compare the means, the obstacles, and the achievements, Mahomet II. must blush to sustain a parallel with Alexander, or Timour.

Under his command, the Ottoman forces were always more numerous than their enemies; yet their progress was bounded by the Euphrates and the Adriatic. And his arms were checked by Huniades, Scanderberg, the Rhodian Knights, and by the Persian king.

In the reign of Amurath, he twice tasted
His reign, A. of royalty, and twice descended from the
D. 1451, Feb- throne: his tender age was incapable of op-
ruary 9.— posing his father's restoration. But never
1481, July 2. could he forgive the vizirs who recommended
 that salutary measure.

After his accession to the throne, the confidence of the Greek Emperor was revived, by the solemn oaths and fair assurances with which he sealed the ratification of the treaty. To all, he spoke the language of moderation and peace. Yet the neighbours of Mahomet might tremble at the severity with which a youthful monarch reformed the pomp of his fathers household: 7000 falconers were either dismissed, or enlisted among his troops.

The Mahometan, and more especially the Turkish casuists, have pronounced that no promise can bind the faithful against the interest and duty of their religion: and that the Sultan may abrogate his own treaties, and those of his predecessors. The justice and magnanimity of Amurath II. had scorned this immoral privilege: but his son, though the proudest of men, could stoop from ambition to the basest arts of dissimulation and deceit. Peace was on his lips, while war was in his heart. He incessantly sighed for the possession of Constantinople.

The fears of the Greek ambassadors were alarmed by the stern language of a vizir; but they were soothed by the courteous audience and friendly speeches of the Ottoman prince: and Mahomet assured them, that on his return he would redress the grievances, and consult the true interest of the Greeks. No sooner had he repassed the Hellespont, than he issued a mandate to suppress a certain pension due from him to the Greeks, which was the subject complained of by the ambassadors, and to expel their officers from the banks of the Strymon. His second announced, and in some degree commenced, the siege of Constantinople, which was to build a fortress on the Bosphorus, on the European side, about five miles from Constantinople.

Persuasion is the resource of the feeble: and the feeble can seldom persuade. The ambassadors of the Emperor attempted without success, to divert Mahomet from the execution of his design. I form no enterprize, says the perfidious Sultan, against the city; but the empire of Constantinople is measured by her walls. Have you forgot the distress to which my father was reduced, when you formed a league with the Hungarians, when they invaded our country by land, and the Hellespont was occupied by the French gallees? Amurath was compelled to force the passage of the Bosphorus; and your strength was not equal to your malevolence. I was then a child at Adrianople; the Moslems trembled; and for a while the Gabours insulted our disgrace. But when my father had triumphed in the field of Warna, he vowed to erect a fort on the western shore; and that vow, it is my duty to accomplish. Have ye the right, have ye the power, to controul my actions on my own ground? for that ground is my own; as far as the shores of the Bosphorus. Asia is inhabited by the Turks, and Europe is deserted by the Romans. Return, and inform your king, that the present Ottoman is far different from his predecessors; that his resolutions surpass *their* wishes; and that he performs more than *they* could resolve. Return in safety: but the next who delivers a similar message, may expect to be slayed alive.

After this declaration, Constantine, the first of the Greeks in spirit as in rank, had determined to unsheathe the sword, and to resist the establishment of the Turks on the Bosphorus. He was disarmed by the advice of his civil and ecclesiastical ministers: and waited the issue of a siege.

The winter rolled away amidst hope and fear. The wise feared, and the credulous hoped. And in the spring the work was begun, and carried on with the greatest exertion and rapidity. Constantinople had been open to the visits of commerce and curiosity: on the first alarm, the gates were shut; but the Emperor, still anxious for peace, released on the third day, his Turkish captives: and expressed, in a last message, the firm resignation of a Christian and a soldier. Since neither oaths, nor treaty, nor submission, can secure peace, pursue, said he, to Mahomet, your impious warfare. My trust is in God alone. If it should please him to mollify your heart, I shall rejoice in the happy change: if he delivers the city into your hands, I submit without a murmur to his holy will. But until the Judge of the earth shall pronounce between us, it is my duty to live and die in the defence of my people.

The Sultan's answer was hostile and decisive. His fortifications were completed, and before his departure to Constantinople, he stationed a vigilant Aga with 400 janizaries, to levy a tribute of every nation that should pass within the reach of their cannon.

The siege of Constantinople was deferred till the ensuing spring. The Greeks and the Turks passed an anxious and sleepless winter: the one by fears; the other by hopes.

Whilst Mahomet threatened the capital of the East, the Greek Emperor implored, with fervent prayers, the assistance of earth and heaven; but the invisible powers were deaf to his supplications; and Christendom beheld with indifference, the fall of Constantinople. Instead of employing in their favour the arms and treasures of Italy, Nicholas V. had foretold their approaching ruin; and his honour was engaged in the fulfilment of the prophecy.

The whole mass of the Turkish power is magnified by some, to the amount of 3 or 400,000 men; but Phranza was a more accurate judge, and he places them at 258,000. The navy of the besiegers was less formidable; that is, about 320 sail, both large and small. Constantinople was peopled with about 100,000 inhabitants. But Phranza, after the most diligent search, informed the Emperor, that the national defence was reduced to 4970 Romans, and about 2000 strangers, headed by a noble Genoese, John Justiniani. Against the powers of the

Ottoman empire, a city of the extent of thirteen, perhaps sixteen miles, was defended by a scanty garrison of seven or eight thousand men. Before his death, the emperor John Palæologus had renounced the unpopular measure of a reunion with the Latins: nor was the idea revived until the distress of his brother, Constantine, imposed a last trial of flattery and dissimulation: with the demand of temporal aid, his ambassadors were instructed to mingle the assurance of spiritual obedience: his neglect of the church was excused by the urgent cares of the state. The Vatican dispatched a legate, and the two nations in the church of St. Sophia joined in the communion of sacrifice and prayer: But the dress and language of the Latin priest, who officiated at the altar, were an object of scandal; and it was observed with horror by the Greeks, that he consecrated a cake or wafer of unleavened bread, and poured cold water into the cup of the sacrament: a custom which even observes, without a blush, that none of his countrymen, not even the emperor himself, were sincere in their external conformity: their hasty and unconditional reunion was palliated by a promise of future rivalry: but even this the worst of their excuses, was a confession of their own perjury. When they were pressed by the reproaches of their honest brethren, have patience, they whispered, until God shall have delivered the city from the Great Dragon, who seeks to devour it; you shall then perceive, whether we are truly united with the Azymites.

But patience is not the attribute of zeal: nor can the arts of a court be adapted to the freedom and violence of popular enthusiasm. From the dome of St. Sophia, the inhabitants of either sex, and of every degree, rushed in crowds to the cell of the Monk Gennadius, to consult the oracle of the church — The holy man was invisible: entranced, as it should seem, in deep meditation, or divine rapture: but he had exposed on the door of his cell, a speaking tablet; and they successively withdrew, after reading these tremendous words: “ O miserable Romans, why will ye abandon the truth? and why, instead of confiding in God, will ye put your trust in the Italians? In losing your faith, you will lose your city. Have mercy upon me, O Lord! I protest in thy presence, I am innocent of the crime. O miserable Romans, consider, pause and repent. At the same moment, you renounce the religion of your fathers, by embracing impiety, you submit to a foreign servitude. According to the advice of Gennadius, the religious virgins, as pure as angels, and as proud as dæmons, rejected the act of union, and abjured all communion with the

present and future associates of the Latins; and their example was imitated by the greatest part of the clergy and the people.

From the monastery, the devout Greeks dispersed themselves in the taverns, drank confusion to the slaves of the Pope, emptied their glasses in honor of the image of the Holy Virgin, and besought her to defend against Mahomet, the city, which she had formerly saved from Chosroes and Chagan.

In the double intoxication of zeal and wine, they valiantly exclaimed, what occasion have we for succour or union, or Latins? Far from us be the worship of the Azymites: During the winter that preceded the Turkish conquest, the nation was distracted by this epidemical phrenzy.

No sooner had the church of St. Sophia been polluted by the Latin sacrifice, than it was deserted as a Jewish synagogue, or an heathen temple, by the clergy and people: and a vast and gloomy silence prevailed in that venerable dome, which had so often smoked with a cloud of incense, blazed with innumerable lights, and resounded with the voice of prayer and thanksgiving. The Latins were the most odious of heretics and infidels—and the first minister of the empire, the great duke, was heard to declare, that he had rather behold in Constantinople the turban of Mahomet, than the Pope's tiara, or a cardinal's hat. A sentiment, so unworthy of Christians and patriots, was familiar and fatal to the Greeks. The emperor was deprived of the affection and support of his subjects.

Of the triangle, which composes the figure of Constantinople, the two sides along the sea, were made inaccessible to an enemy; the Propontis by nature, and the harbor by art; between the two waters, the basis of the triangle the land side, was protected by a double wall, and a deep ditch of the depth of one hundred feet. Against this line of fortification, which Phranza, an eye witness, prolongs to the measure of six miles, the Ottomans directed their principal attack; and the emperor, after distributing the service, and command of the most perilous stations, undertook the defence of the external wall.

In the first days of the siege, the Greek soldiers descended into the ditch, or sallied into the field; but they soon discovered that one Christian was of more value than twenty Turks: and after these bold preludes, they were prudently content to maintain their ramparts with missile weapons.

The last Constantine deserves the name of a hero: his noble band of volunteers was inspired with Roman virtue; and the

foreign auxiliaries, supported the honor of the western chivalry.

The incessant volleys of lances and arrows, were accompanied with the smoke, the sound and the fire of their musquetry and cannon. But the Turkish approaches were soon sunk in trenches. Each day added to the science of the Greeks: but their inadequate stock of gunpowder, wasted in the operations of each day: Their ordnance was not powerful either in size or number; and if they possessed some heavy cannon, they feared to plant them on the walls, lest their aged structure should be overthrown by the explosion.

The same destructive secret had been revealed to the Moslems; by whom it was employed with the superior energy of riches, zeal and despotism. The great cannon of Mahomet is an important and visible object in the history of the times; but that enormous engine, was flanked with two fellows almost of equal magnitude. The long order of the Turkish artillery was pointed against the walls; fourteen batteries thundered at once, on the most accessible places. Under a master, who counted the moments, the great cannon could be discharged only seven times in a day. The heated metal unfortunately burst, several workmen were destroyed; and the skill of an artist was admired, who bethought himself of preventing the danger, by pouring oil, after each explosion, into the mouth of the cannon.

The Turks pushed their approaches to the edge of the ditch, and endeavoured to fill the enormous chasm with innumerable fascines, hogheads, and trunks of trees. The besieged, with incredible exertion, and after a bloody conflict, cleared away, in the night, what had been flung into the ditch in the day time.

The next resource of Mahomet was to mines, but the soil was rocky, and in every attempt, he was stopped and undermined by the Christians engineers.

A wooden turret, of the largest size, was advanced on rollers: This portable magazine of ammunition and fascines, was protected by a three-fold covering of bull's hides: incessant volleys were securely discharged from the loop holes: in the front, three doors were contrived for the alternate sally and retreat of the soldiers and workmen. They ascended by a stair-case to the upper platform; and as high as the level of that platform, a scaling ladder could be raised by pulleys, to form a bridge and grapple with the adverse rampart. By these various acts of annoyance, the tower of St. Romanus was at

length overturned. After a severe struggle, the Turks were repulsed from the breach; and interrupted by darkness: but they trusted that with the return of light, they would renew the attack with fresh vigor and decisive success. Of this pause of action, this interval of hope, each moment was improved by the activity of the emperor and Justiniani, who passed the night on the spot, and urged the labour which involved the safety of the church and city. At the dawn of day, the impatient Sultan perceived with astonishment and grief, that his wooden turret had been reduced to ashes; the ditch was cleared and restored, and the tower of St. Romanus was again strong and entire. He deplored the failure of his design, and uttered a profane exclamation, that the word of the 37,000 prophets should not have compelled him to believe what he saw.

The generosity of the Christian princes was cold and tardy: but in the first apprehensions of a siege, Constantine had negotiated in the isles of the Archipelago, the Morea, and Sicily, the most indispensable supplies. As early as the beginning of April, five great ships, equipped for merchandize and war, would have sailed from the harbour of Chios, had not the wind blown obstinately from the north. One of these ships bore the Imperial flag, the remaining four belonged to the Genoese; and they were laden with wheat and barley, with wine, oil, and vegetables, and above all, with soldiers and mariners for the service of the capital.

After a tedious delay, a gentle breeze, and on the second day, a strong gale from the south, carried them through the Hellespont and the Propontis: but the city was already invested by sea and by land; and the Turkish fleet at the entrance of the Bosphorus, was stretched from shore to shore. The greatness of the spectacle was worthy of admiration. The five Christian ships continued to advance, with joyful shouts, and a full press both of sails and oars, against an hostile fleet of 300 vessels: and the rampart, the camp, the coasts of Europe and Asia, were lined with innumerable spectators, who anxiously waited the event of this momentaneous succour. At the first view, that event could not appear doubtful. In the conflict, the Imperial ship, which had been almost overpowered, was rescued by the Genoese. The Turks, in a close attack, were twice repulsed with loss. Mahomet himself sat on horseback. The passions of his soul, and even the gestures of his body, seemed to imitate the actions of the combatants; as if he had been the Lord of nature, he spurred his horse with a fearless and impotent effort into the sea. His loud reproaches,

and the clamors of the camp, urged the Ottomans to a third attack, more fatal and bloody than the two former. In the slaughter of the day, the Turks lost more than 12,000 men. They fled in disorder to the shores of Europe and Asia, whilst the Christian squadron, fearless and unhurt, steered along the Bosphorus, and securely anchored within the chain of the harbour. This was the sole and feeble attempt for the deliverance of Constantinople; though a rational and moderate armament of the maritime states might have saved the relics of the Roman name, and preserved a Christian fortress, in the heart of the Mahometan empire.

Mahomet began to meditate a retreat, but his second vizir opposed the perfidious advice of Ca'il Basha, who maintained a secret correspondence with the Byzantine court. In this perplexity, the genius of Mahomet conceived and executed a plan of a bold and marvellous cast, of transporting by land his lighter vessels, and military stores, from the Bosphorus into the higher part of the harbour: The distance is about ten miles, the ground is uneven, and was overspread with thickets; and as the road must be opened behind the suburb of Galata, their free passage or total destruction, depended on the option of the Genoese: But these selfish merchants were ambitious of the favor of being last devoured. A level way was covered with a strong and solid platform of planks; fourscore light galleys and brigantines of fifty and thirty oars, were disembarked on the Bosphorus shore: arranged successively on rollers, and drawn forwards by the power of men and pulleys. Two guides or pilots were stationed at the helm and prow of each vessel: the sails were unfurled to the winds, and the labour was cheered by song and acclamation. In the course of a single night, this Turkish fleet painfully climbed the hill, steered over the plain, and was launched from the declivity into the shallow waters of the harbour, far above the molestation of the deeper vessels of the Greeks. The real importance of this operation was magnified by the consternation, and confidence it inspired. Mahomet constructed in the narrowest part a bridge, or rather mole, of fifty cubits in breadth, and 100 in length; it was formed of casks and hogheads, joined with rafters linked with iron, and covered with a solid floor: on this floating battery he planted one of his largest cannon, whilst the fourscore galleys, with troops and scaling ladders, approached the most accessible side, which had formerly been stormed by the Latin conquerors.

After a siege of forty days, the fate of Constantinople could no longer be avoided.

The diminutive garrison was exhausted by a double attack. The fortifications which had stood for ages, against the hostile attacks of violence, were dismantled on all sides by the Ottoman cannon; many breaches were opened, and on the gate of St. Romanus, four towers had been levelled with the ground. The Greek soldiers became mutinous on account of the arrearages of pay; and Justiniani, and the great Duke, whose ambition was not extinguished by the common danger, accused each other of treachery and cowardice.

During the siege of Constantinople, the words of peace and capitulation had been sometimes pronounced; and several embassies had passed between the camp and the city. The Greek emperor was humbled by adversity, and would have yielded to any terms compatible with religion and royalty. The Turkish sovereign was desirous of sparing the blood of his soldiers; still more desirous of securing for his own use the Byzantine treasures: and he accomplished a sacred duty, in presenting to the Gabaurs, a choice of circumcision, of tribute, or of death. But his ambition grasped the capitol of the East; to the prince he offered a rich equivalent; to the people a free toleration, or a safe departure. After some fruitless treaty, he declared his resolution of finding either a throne or a grave under the walls of Constantinople: a sense of honor forbade Palæologus to resign the city into the hands of the Ottomans, and he determined to abide the last extremities of the war.—After several days preparation, he fixed on the 29th of May as the fortunate and fatal hour. On the evening of the 27th he issued his final orders, and dispersed his heralds through the camp, to proclaim the duty and the motives of this perilous attempt. The Moslems were exhorted to purify their minds by prayer, their bodies with seven ablutions, and to abstain from food until the close of the ensuing day. A crowd of Dervishes visited the tents to instil the desire of martyrdom, and the assurance of spending an immortal youth, amidst the rivers and gardens of paradise, and in the embraces of the black-eyed virgins.

Yet Mahomet trusted principally to the efficacy of temporal and visible rewards—A double pay was promised to the victorious troops—The city and buildings are mine, said Mahomet—but I resign to your valour the captives and the spoil, the treasures of gold and beauty: be rich and be happy—many are the provinces of my empire: the intrepid soldier, who first ascends the walls of Constantinople, shall be rewarded with the government of the fairest and most wealthy; and my gratitude shall accumulate his honors and fortunes, above the

measure of his own hope. Such various and potent motives displayed among the Turks a general ardour: regardless of life, and impatient of action, the camp re-echoed with the Moslem shouts, God is God—There is but one God, and Mahomet is his prophet—and the sea and land from Galata to the seven towers, were illuminated by the blaze of nocturnal fires.

Far different was the state of the Christians; who with loud and impotent complaints, deplored the guilt or the punishment of their sins—The celestial image of the virgin had been exposed in solemn procession: but their divine patroness was deaf to their entreaties: they accused the obstinacy of the emperor for refusing a timely surrender; anticipated the horrors of their state: and sighed for the repose and security of Turkish servitude: the noblest of the Greeks, and the bravest of the allies, were summoned to the palace to prepare them on the evening of the 28th, for the duties and dangers of a general assault.

The last speech of Palæologus, was the funeral oration of the Roman empire. He promised, he conjured, and he vainly attempted to inspire the hope, which was extinguished in his own mind—In this world all was comfortless and gloomy; and neither the gospel, nor the church, have proposed any conspicuous recompence to the heroes who fall in the service of their country—But the example of the prince, and the confinement of a siege, had armed those warriors with the courage of despair: and the pathetic scene is described by the feelings of the historian Phranza, who was himself present at this mournful assembly. They wept, they embraced; regardless of their families and fortunes, they devoted their lives; and each commander departing to his station, maintained all night a vigilant and anxious watch on his rampart: The emperor, and some faithful companions, entered the dome of St. Sophia, which, in a few hours, was to be converted into a mosque: and devoutly received with tears and prayers the sacrament of the Holy Communion.

He remained some moments in the palace, which resounded with cries and lamentations; solicited the pardon of all whom he might have injured: and mounted on horse-back to visit the guards, and explore the motions of the evening: The distress and fall of the last Constantine are more glorious than the long prosperity of the Byzantine Cæsars.

In the confusion of darkness, an assault may sometimes succeed; but in this great and general attack, the military judgment, and the astrological knowledge of Mahomet advised him to expect the morning: the remarkable 29th of May, A. D. 1453. At day break, without the customary signal of the

morning gun, the Turks assaulted the city by sea and by land. The foremost ranks consisted of the refuse of the host, a voluntary crowd, who fought without order or command, of the feebleness of age or childhood, of peasants and vagrants, and of all who had joined the camp, in the blind hope of plunder and martyrdom. The common impulse drove them on towards the wall; the most audacious to climb, were instantly precipitated, and not a dart, not a bullet of the Christians, was idly wasted on the accumulated throng. But their strength and ammunition were exhausted in this laborious defence. The ditch was filled with the bodies of the slain: they supported the steps of their companions, and of this devoted vanguard, the death was more serviceable than the life. Under their respective Bashaws and Sanjahs, the troops of Anatolia and Romania were successively led to the charge: their progress was various and doubtful; but after a conflict of two hours, the Greeks still maintained and improved their advantages, and the voice of the emperor was heard, encouraging his soldiers to achieve by a last effort, the deliverance of their country.

In that fatal moment, the Janizaries arose, fresh, vigorous, and invincible. The Sultan himself, on horse-back, with an iron mace in his hand, was the spectator and judge of their valour. He was surrounded by 10,000 of his domestic troops, which he reserved for decisive occasions; and the tide of battle was directed and impelled by his voice and eye: his numerous ministers of justice were posted behind the line, to urge, to restrain, and to punish, and if danger was in the front, shame and inevitable death, were in the rear of the fugitives. The cries of fear and pain were drowned in the martial music of drums, trumpets, and attaballs. From the lines, the galleys, and the bridge, the Ottoman artillery thundered on all sides; and the camp and the city, the Greeks, and the Turks, were involved in a cloud of smoke, which could be expelled only by the final deliverance, or destruction of the Roman empire.

The single combats of the heroes of history or fable, amuse our fancy, and engage our affections; the skilful evolutions of war, may inform the mind, and improve, possibly, a necessary, but pernicious science. But in the uniform and odious picture of a general assault, all is blood, and horror and confusion.

The immediate loss of Constantinople may be ascribed to the bullet or arrow that pierced the gauntlet of John Justiniani:

The sight of his blood, and the exquisite pain, appalled the courage of the chief, whose arms and councils were the firmest ramparts of the city. As he withdrew from his station in quest of a surgeon, his flight was perceived and stopped by the indefatigable emperor. "Your wound, exclaimed Palæologus, is slight; the danger is pressing; your presence is necessary; and whether will you retire?" I will retire, said the trembling Genoese, by the same road which God has opened to the Turks; and hastily passed through one of the breeches of the inner wall. By this pusillanimous act, he stained the honors of a military life, and the few days which he survived in Gata, or the isle of Chios, were embittered by his own, and the public reproaches. The first who deserved the Sultan's reward, was Hassan, the Janizary of gigantic stature and strength; with his scymeter in one hand, and his buckler in the other, he ascended the outward fortification; of the thirty Janizaries who were emulous of his valor, eighteen perished in the bold adventure. Hassan, and his twelve companions, had reached the summit: The giant was precipitated from the rampart; he rose on one knee, but was again oppressed by a shower of darts and stones: but his achievement proved that the walls might be scaled.

The walls and towers were instantly covered with a swarm of Turks; and the Greeks, now driven from the vantage ground, were overpowered by increasing multitudes.

Amidst these multitudes, the emperor, who accomplished all the duties of a general, and a soldier, was long seen, and finally lost. The nobles who fought round his person, sustained till their last breath, the honorable names of Palæologus and Cantacuzene; his mournful exclamation was heard, "Cannot there be found a Christian to cut off my head?" and his last fear was that of falling into the hands of the enemy. The prudent despair of Constantine cast away the purple: amidst the tumult, he fell by an unknown hand: and his body was buried under a mountain of the slain. After his death, resistance or order were no more: The Greeks fled towards the city, and many were pressed and stifled in the narrow pass of the gate St. Romanus. The victorious troops rushed through the breeches of the inner walls: and as they advanced in the streets, they were soon joined by their brethren, who had forced the gate Phenar on the side of the harbour. In the first heat of the pursuit, about 2000 Christians were put to the sword: but avarice soon prevailed over cruelty, and the victors acknowledge that they should soon have given quarter, if the valor of the emperor, and his chosen bands, had not prepared them for similar oppo-

sition in every part of the capital. It was thus, after a siege of fifty-three days, that Constantinople was finally subdued by the arms of Mahomet the second.

The dome of St. Sophia, the earthly heaven, as Phranza called it, the second firmament, the vehicle of the Cherubim, the throne of the glory of God, was despoiled of the oblations of ages: and the gold and the silver, the pearls and jewels, the vases and sacerdotal ornaments, were most wickedly converted to the service of mankind. After the divine images had been stripped of all that could be valuable to a profane eye, the canvass or the wood, was torn or broken, or burnt. The treatment which Christ, the Virgin, and the Saints, had sustained, from the guilty Catholic, at the time of the Latin conquest, might be imitated by the zealous Mussulman, and inflicted on the monuments of idolatry.

From the first hour of the memorable 29th of May, disorder and rapine prevailed in the city, till the eighth hour, when the Sultan passed through in triumph. At the principal door of St. Sophia he alighted from his horse, and entered the dome. By his command, the metropolis of the eastern church was converted into a mosque; the rich and portable instruments of superstition had been removed; the crosses were thrown down, and the walls, which were covered with images and Mosaic, were washed and purified, and restored to a state of naked simplicity. On the same day, or on the ensuing Friday, the crier proclaimed a public invitation in the name of God and his prophet: The Imam preached; and Mahomet II. performed the namaz of prayer and thanksgiving on the great altar, where the Christian mysteries had so lately been celebrated, before the last of the Cæsars. From St. Sophia he proceeded to the august, but desolate mansion of an hundred successors of the great Constantine. A melancholy reflection on the vicissitudes of human greatness, forced itself on his mind: and he repeated an elegant distich of Persian poetry:—
“The spider has wove his web in the Imperial palace; and the owl hath sung her watch song on the towers of Afrasiab.”

While the forests that covered Europe afforded a retreat to a few wandering savages, the inhabitants of Asia were already collected into populous cities, and reduced into extensive empires, the seat of the arts, of luxury, and despotism. The Assyrians reigned over the East till the sceptre of Ninus and Semiramis dropt from the hands of their enervated successors. The Medes and the Babylonians divided their power, and were themselves swallowed up in the monarchy of the

Perfians, whose arms could not be confined within the narrow limits of Asia. Followed, as it is said, by two millions of men, Xerxes, the descendant of Cyrus, invaded Greece. Thirty thousand soldiers, under the command of Alexander, the son of Philip, who was intrusted by the Greeks with their glory and revenge, were sufficient to subdue Persia. The princes of the house of Seleucus usurped and left the command over the East.

About the same time, that by an ignominious treaty, they resigned to the Romans, the country on this side of Mount Taurus, they were driven by the Parthians, an obscure hoind of Scythian origin, from all the provinces of Upper Asia; the formidable power of the Parthians, which spread from India to the frontiers of Syria, was in its turn subverted by Ardsair, or Artaxerxes, the founder of a new Dynasty, which, under the name of Sassanides, governed Persia till the invasion of the Mahometans.

This great revolution in favour of Artaxerxes, happened in the fourth year of Alexander Severus, 226 years after the Christian era, the fatal effects of which were soon experienced by the Romans.

After Artaxerxes had by his valour and conduct wrested the sceptre of the East from the Arsacides, the antient royal family of Parthia, there still remained the more difficult task of establishing throughout the vast extent of Persia a uniform and rigorous administration. The weak indulgence of the Arsacides, had resigned to their sons and brothers, the principal provinces, and the greatest offices of the kingdom, in the nature of hereditary possessions. The eighteen most powerful Satraps were permitted to assume the regal title; and the vain pride of the monarch was delighted with the nominal dominion over so many vassal kings. Even tribes of barbarians in their mountains, and the Greek cities of Upper Asia, within their walls, scarce by acknowledged, or seldom obeyed, any superior: and the Parthian empire exhibited under other names, a lively image of the feudal system, which has since prevailed in Europe. But the active victor, at the head of a numerous and disciplined army, visited in person, every province in Persia. A cheerful submission was rewarded with honour and riches; but the prudent Artaxerxes, suffering no person, except himself, to assume the title of king, abolished every intermediate power between the throne and the people.

His kingdom, nearly equal in extent to modern Persia, was on every side bounded by the sea, or by great rivers; by the

Euphrates, the Tigris, the Araxes, the Oxus, and the Indus, by the Caspian Sea, and the Gulph of Persia.

During the period that elapsed from the accession of Marcus to that of Alexander, the Roman empire and the Parthians were twice engaged in war; and though the whole strength of the Arsacides, contended with a part only of the forces of Rome, the event was most commonly in favour of the latter.

The generals of Marcus, Severus, and his son, erected many trophies in Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria.

The two great cities, Seleucia and Ctesiphon, were subjected to repeated calamities: Seleucia, on the western banks of the Tigris, about forty miles to the north of ancient Babylon, was the capital of the Macedonian conquests in the Upper Asia: many ages after the fall of their empire, Seleucia maintained the genuine character of a Grecian colony; arts, military virtue, and the love of freedom. The independent republic was governed by a senate of three hundred nobles. The city contained 600,000 citizens; the walls were strong, and as long as concord prevailed among the several orders of the state, they viewed with contempt the power of the Parthian. But the madness of faction was sometimes provoked to implore the dangerous aid of the common enemy, who was posted almost at the gates of the colony.

The Parthian monarch, like the Mogul sovereigns of Hindostan, delighted in the pastoral life of their Scythian ancestors; and the imperial camp was frequently pitched in the plain of Ctesiphon, on the eastern bank of the Tigris, at the distance only of three miles from Seleucia. The innumerable attendants on luxury and despotism, resorted to the court; and the little village of Ctesiphon incessantly swelled into a great city.

Under the reign of Marcus, the Roman generals penetrated as far as Ctesiphon and Seleucia: they were received as friends by the Greek colony; they attacked as enemies the seat of the Parthian kings; yet both cities experienced the same treatment. The sack and conflagration of Seleucia, with the massacre of 300,000 of its inhabitants, tarnished the glory of the Roman triumph. Seleucia, already exhausted by the neighbourhood of a too powerful rival, sunk under the fatal blow; but Ctesiphon, in about thirty-three years, had sufficiently recovered its strength to maintain an obstinate siege against the Emperor Severus. The city was, however, taken by assault: the king, who defended it in person, escaped with precipita-

tion : an hundred thousand captives, and a rich booty, rewarded the fatigues of the Roman soldiers. Notwithstanding these misfortunes, Ctesiphon succeeded to Babylon, and to Seleucia, as one of the great capitals of the East.

From these successful inroads, the Romans derived no lasting benefit; nor did they attempt to preserve such distant conquests. The reduction of the kingdom of Osrhoene was attended with more solid advantage. This little state occupied the northern and most fertile part of Mesopotamia, between the Euphrates and the Tigris. Edessa, its capital, was situated about twenty miles beyond the former of these rivers; and the inhabitants, since the time of Alexander, were a mixed race of Greeks, Arabs, Syrians, and Armenians. The feeble sovereigns of Osrhoene, placed on the dangerous verge of two contending empires, were attached from inclination to the Parthian cause; but the supreme power of Rome, exacted from them a reluctant homage, which is still attested by their medals. After the conclusion of the Parthian war under Marcus, it was judged prudent to secure some substantial pledges of their doubtful fidelity. Forts were constructed in several parts of the country, and a Roman garrison was fixed in the strong town of Nisibis. Agbarus, the last king of Edessa, was sent in chains to Rome, A.D. 216. His dominions were reduced into a Roman province, and his capital dignified with the rank of colony. And thus the Romans, about ten years before the fall of the Parthian monarchy, obtained a firm and permanent establishment beyond the Euphrates.

Artaxerxes claims the provinces of Asia. The great king, (such was the haughty stile of his embassies to the Emperor Alexander) commands the Romans to depart instantly from all the provinces of his ancestors, and yielding to the Persians the empire of Asia, to content themselves with the undisturbed possession of Europe.

This haughty mandate was delivered by four hundred of the tallest and most beautiful of the Persians. Both Alexander Severus, and Artaxerxes, collecting the military force of the Roman and Persian monarchies, resolved, in this important conquest, to lead their armies in person. War is proclaimed, A.D. 230: and if we credit what should seem the most authentic of all records, an oration, still extant, and delivered by the Emperor himself to the Senate, we must allow that the victory of Alexander Severus was not inferior to any of those formerly obtained over the Persians by Alexander the Great.

The army of the Great king, consisted of 120 000 horse, clothed in complete armour of steel: of 700 elephants, with

towers filled with archers, on their backs; and of 1800 chariots armed with scythes. This formidable host, the like of which is not to be found in Eastern history, was discomfited in a great battle. The Great king fled: and an immense booty, and the conquest of Mesopotamia, were the immediate fruits of this signal victory, which happened, A.D. 233.

After the division of the Roman empire, by Theodosius, A.D. 392, we do not find that the Eastern empire stood up over Persia. And as the prophet's express design is to inform us of three powers that should stand up over Persia, and a fourth that should be far richer than they all; the Eastern empire is necessarily omitted, and the Mahometan power is introduced, as immediately succeeding imperial Rome. And the facts appear to me to warrant this, and no other construction.

Upon the supposition that the fourth king, who was to be far richer than all the others, intends Xerxes, we may naturally enquire how it appears that he was. Darius his father, was a wise prince, and beloved by his subjects: Xerxes made no new conquests after he succeeded to the throne. The extent of the empire, was, under his reign, diminished. Do those riches consist in wisdom, number of subjects, or silver and gold? in all these respects, Darius was equal to Xerxes, and probably much superior to him.

If Xerxes raised an astonishing army soon after he came to the throne, it was because he inherited the means of doing it from his father Darius. The last had a more extended empire, more subjects, more wisdom, and as much silver and gold.— In what then, was Xerxes far richer than they all? We may justly conclude, that he was not. And therefore, that empires, and not individual kings, are to be the successors. And if so, the Mahometan power must be the successor suggested in that passage.

And in his estate shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom: but he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries.

Estate, here we suppose, intends an empire or kingdom in its extent and duration. The immediately preceding verse, intends the same things: for a man, or an individual king, to die a natural death, to come to an end without hands, is no extraordinary thing; but for an empire, or kingdom, it is. And this extraordinary event happened to imperial Rome. It was amicably divided: and this is a characteristic that strongly marks the power aimed at by the prophet.

In the passage now before us, there are several remarkable traits. 1. A vile person. 2. The honour of the kingdom is

not to be given to him. 3. He is to come in peaceably. 4. To obtain the kingdom. 5. The means by which he obtains it, that is, by flatteries.

There are several characters or persons and kingdoms, in enumerating which, no chronological order is necessary, and others that require it. We may find some personal traits, and some imperial. The person designated by the appellation of vile, we take to be Mahomet. And this character is applicable to him, either in a moral or natural sense. In a moral sense, he was the vilest and most impious, as well as successful impostor, that ever existed. His origin, at best, was but vile; especially when it is compared with, and comes to assume rank among the Cæsars, in whose estate he stands.

Mahomet was vile, in every sense of the word; Antiochus Epiphanes was not: he was a legitimate descendant of that prince of Alexander, of whom it is said, he shall have a great dominion; his birth was noble; his moral character was bad, which is no peculiar thing in royal blood. The sacred oracles scarcely ever speak favourably of the moral characters of princes.

Mahomet never arrived to the honour of that amazing extent of power, which his followers did. I make the contrast between Mahomet and Antiochus, because the latter has alone been fixed upon by the ablest expositors, as the character suiting the description. The honour of the kingdom was given to Antiochus by the Romans, who at that time set up, and put down kings as they pleased. There was no heir to take the kingdom but Antiochus Epiphanes; for Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, the true heir, was an hostage at Rome: the Romans retained him, and expressly refused to let him take possession of the kingdom. The daughter of Antiochus the Great, was queen of Egypt, and as we are told, had taken part with her husband against her own father. In her situation, few nations would have considered her as being entitled to the kingdom; it is not probable the Syrians would have listened to it. If they deliberated at all upon the subject, they could find no alternative among the royal blood, it must be Antiochus Epiphanes that they fix upon, or none. The honour of the kingdom was given to him, by the Romans and the Syrians. Mahomet assumed to govern the world on account of his prophetic office; he died before many conceded to such a character.

He is to come in peaceably. It does not appear that Mahomet had, at first, any ideas of going any farther than the mere powers of art and persuasion would carry him. He assumes

no hostile appearance whatever. He preaches, he prays, he has prophecies and visions: in none of which, does there appear to be any warlike plan.

But before Antiochus arrives at Syria; before he gets possession of the kingdom; he makes powerful alliances in order to take the kingdom, and keep it by force. And he did not obtain it peaceably, if fighting for it, and taking possession of it by arms, is otherwise than coming in peaceably.

He shall obtain it; may not mean personally of Mahomet, but his successors. Yet he obtained it in a degree; and his successors in a much greater degree. Mahomet himself obtained it by flatteries. By recurring to the historic parts, we find the Koreish, who were at first his enemies, charge him with nearly the same thing. Abu Taleb says, 'Citizens and pilgrims, listen not to the tempter, hearken not to his impious novelties.'

Mahomet and Antiochus both obtain the kingdom; but the means by which they obtain it are very different. Antiochus with an apparent and plausible right, determines at once to take it by force of arms. Mahomet, without any right, obtains it by his powers of persuasion. Flattery is always odious to a generous mind; and must proceed from a base selfish principle: and from such principles the Mahometan power arose.

And with the arms of a flood shall they be overflown from before him; and shall be broken: yea, also the prince of the covenant.

Mankind, in the sacred oracles, are often represented under the figurative expressions of flood, waters, rivers, streams, &c. The subjects of a kingdom, while within the limits of their own territories, continue in their natural channel: when they overleap the boundaries, they may with propriety be said to overflow. Though waters generally revert back to their old and natural channel, it is not always so, with respect to kingdoms that make foreign conquests. The term *overflown* here, does not mean merely inroads, but conquests: and in this sense, applies to the Mahometan power, and not to Antiochus Epiphanes. He made inroads into Egypt, and that was all. The Romans forbid him, and he retired. His kingdom was tributary to them, and he himself had been an hostage at Rome.

The arms of a flood, and overflown, contain ideas of much greater extent, than any thing in the armies of Antiochus, or his foreign successes, will warrant. If we consider him as a flood, there was always a sufficient barrier to limit its overflowing: and no nation was broken by him.

Yea, also, the Prince of the Covenant.

If Antiochus injured and destroyed for a time, the Jewish religion, Mahomet has done much more so as to the Christian religion: he derides and denies the author of salvation. I need not enlarge upon a comparison here.

And after the league made with him, he shall work deceitfully; for he shall come up, and shall become strong with a small people.

A recurrence to the historic facts will show, that the Mahometan power did operate exactly agreeably to this description: And that no facts, with respect to Antiochus, will warrant an application of the passage to him.

The league here mentioned, is considered as having reference to some agreement between Antiochus and Jason, a Jew, which matter Stackhouse represents as follows:

Not long after this, the same Heliodorus, aspiring at the crown, poisoned his master, Seleucus, in hopes of succeeding him; but Eumenes, king of Pergamus, and Antalus, his brother, obstructed his design, and placed Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes (another son of Antiochus the Great) upon the Syrian throne. No sooner was he settled in his kingdom, but, being destitute of money, and having an heavy tribute to pay to the Romans, he deposed Onias, a man of singular piety and goodness, from the high priest-hood, and, for 260 talents (which he engaged to pay yearly) sold it to his brother Jason. But as Jason had supplanted Onias, so his brother Menelaus, being sent to Antioch with his tribute money, for 300 talents more than Jason had given, purchased the priesthood, and Jason was deposed.

There appears not to be any resemblance between the historic facts and the prophet's description. There are two agreements, or bargains of sales, not properly leagues—Besides, it is not Antiochus that works deceitfully, but others. Antiochus, the history says, was settled in his kingdom, so that, after these agreements, he did not come up, and become strong with a small people. But the whole is literally true with respect to the Mahometan power.

He shall enter peaceably even upon the fattest places of the province; and he shall do that which his fathers have not done, nor his fathers fathers: he shall scatter among them the prey, and spoil, and riches: yea, he shall forecast his devices against the strong holds even for a time.

The Mahometan power, originating with a small and poor people, entered, without much opposition, into the finest provinces of Asia and Africa. Such wonderful things were never done by any of the race of Arab before: The prey, the spoil,

the riches that they scattered, are scarcely within the power of numbers.

Surely Antiochus's throwing out a few handfuls of money to the rabble that followed him, cannot comport with the extent of the ideas contained in the description. What follows, utterly precludes this passage from having any reference to any individual. And he shall forecast his devices against the strong holds even for a time. The term *time*, seems to be always used in Daniel in a prophetic sense; and in this sense, it intends 360 years. Thus long did the Mahometan power, with the Caliphs at the head of it, as God's vicegerents, or rather Mahomet's, maintain their ground. As the passage seems to have special reference to the Arabians, or the Saracen empire, we need only to refer to the history to shew, that after this time, they did not forecast any devices against the strong holds—that is, after the expiration of 360 years from the prophet Mahomet.

And he shall stir up his power and his courage against the king of the south with a great army: And the king of the south shall be stirred up to battle with a very great and mighty army; but he shall not stand; for they shall forecast devices against him.

Yea, they that feed of the portion of his meat, shall destroy him; and his army shall overflow, and many shall fall down slain.

Before this passage, we have had general characteristics of the Mahometan power—this is a particular one, and requires a chronological date, which we fix at 633, and the battle Aiznadin.

The Emperor Haraclius had punished a tyrant, and ascended his throne; and the memory of his name is perpetuated by the transient conquest and irreparable loss of the eastern provinces; after the death of Eudocia, his first wife, he disobeyed the patriarch, and violated the laws, by his second marriage with his niece Martina: And the superstition of the Greeks, beheld the judgments of Heaven in the diseases of the father, and the deformity of his offspring. But the opinion of an illegitimate birth is sufficient to distract the choice, and loosen the obedience of the people: The ambition of Martina was quickened by maternal love, and perhaps by the envy of a step-mother; and the aged husband was too feeble to withstand the acts of conjugal allurements. Constantine, in his mature age, enjoyed the title of Augustus, being the eldest son; but the weakness of his constitution required a colleague and a guardian, and he yielded with secret reluctance to the partition of the

empire. The senate was summoned to the palace, to ratify or attest the association of Heracleonas, the son of Martina : The imposition of the diadem was consecrated by the prayer and blessing of the patriarch, the senators and patricians adored the majesty of the great Emperor, and the partners of his reign ; and as soon as the doors were thrown open, they were hailed by the tumultuary, but important, voice of the soldiers. After an interval of five months, the pompous ceremonies which formed the essence of the Byzantine state, were celebrated in the Cathedral and the Hippodrome : The concord of the royal brothers was affectedly displayed, by the younger leaning on the arm of the elder ; and the name of Martina was mingled in the reluctant or venal acclamations of the people.

Heraclius survived this association about two years : his last testimony declared his two sons the equal heirs of the eastern empire, and commanded them to honor his widow Martina as their mother and their sovereign.

When Martina first appeared on the throne, with the name and attributes of royalty, she was checked by a firm, though respectful, opposition ; and the dying embers of freedom were kindled by the breath of superstitious prejudice. “ We reverence the voice of a citizen, we reverence the mother of our princes ; but to those princes alone our obedience is due ; and Constantine, the elder Emperor, is of an age to sustain, in his own hands, the weight of the sceptre. Your sex is excluded by nature from the toils of government : how could you combat, how could you answer the barbarians who, with hostile or friendly intentions, may approach the royal city ? May Heaven avert from the Roman Republic this national disgrace, which would provoke the patience of the slaves of Persia.” Martina descended from the throne with indignation, and sought a refuge in the female apartment of the palace. The reign of Constantine the third lasted only 103 days : he expired in the thirtieth year of his age ; and although his life had been a long malady, a belief was entertained, that poison had been the means, and his cruel step-mother the author of his untimely fate. Martina reaped indeed the harvest of his death, and assumed the government in the name of the surviving Emperor ; but the incestuous widow of Heraclius was universally abhorred. The jealousy of the people was awakened, and the two orphans, whom Constantine had left, became the objects of the public care. It was in vain that the son of Martina, who was no more than fifteen years of age, was taught to declare himself the guardian of his nephews ; one of whom he had presented at the baptismal font. It was in vain that he

Troze on the wood of the true Cross, to defend them against all their enemies. On his death-bed, the late emperor had dispatched a trusty servant to arm the troops and provinces of the East, in defence of his helpless children: The eloquence and liberality of Valentin had been successful, and from his camp of Chalcedon, he boldly demanded the punishment of the assassins, and the restoration of the lawful heir. At the imperious command of the enraged multitude of Constantinople, Heraclionas appeared in the pulpit with the eldest of the royal orphans. Constans alone was saluted as emperor of the Romans, and a crown of gold, which had been taken from the tomb of Heracleus, was placed on his head, with the solemn benediction of the Patriarch. The severity of the conscript fathers, was stained by the indiscriminate punishment of the innocent and guilty: Martina and Heracleonas were sentenced to the amputation, the former of her tongue, the latter of his nose. And after this cruel execution, they consumed the remainder of their days in exile and oblivion.

Constans II. after returning his thanks for the just punishment of the assassins, who had intercepted the fairest hopes of his father's reign, said before the senate, by the divine Providence, and by your righteous decree, Martina, and her incestuous progeny, have been cast headlong from the throne—But Constans retained only a jealous fear, lest the senate or people should one day invade the right of progeniture, and seat his brother Theodosius on an equal throne. By the imposition of holy orders, he was disqualified for the purple: but this ceremony, which seemed to profane the sacraments of the church, was insufficient to appease the suspicions of the tyrant; and the death of the Deacon; Theodosius alone could expiate the crime of his royal birth. His murder was avenged by the imprecations of the people, and the assassin, in the fullness of power, was driven from his capital into perpetual exile.

But if Constans could fly from his people, he could not from himself. The remorse of his conscience created a phantom, who pursued him by land and by sea, by day and by night; and the visionary Theodosius, presenting to his lips, a cup of blood, said, or seemed to say, "Drink, Brother Drink."—Odius to himself and mankind, he perished by the hands of his servants in Sicily.

The battles of Ainzadin and Yermuk; the death of so many princes, by internal conspiracy and violence, corresponds

with Daniel's descriptions. Heraclius was king of the south, before the Arabs divested him of that title. But viewing Antiochus Epiphanes, as king of the north, and Ptolemy, king of Egypt, as the king of the south, the characteristics of the prophet cannot be satisfied. There were wars and battles between the two kings; but they are not to be compared to those between the Eastern Empire and the Arabs; and farther, Ptolemy was not destroyed by domestic tyranny and violence. It is said Eulocus brought him up in effeminacy and luxury, but he was not destroyed thereby, so that the kings of the north and south, cannot intend Antiochus and Ptolemy.

And both these kings hearts shall be to do mischief, and they shall speak lies at one table; but it shall not prosper, for yet the end shall be at the time appointed.

Then shall he return into his own land with great riches; and his heart shall be against the holy covenant, and he shall do exploits, and return to his own land.

We have found that when Heraclius returned in triumph from the Persian war, he entertained at Emesa one of the ambassadors of Mahomet, who invited the princes and nations of the earth to the profession of Islam. On this foundation, the Arabians have supposed the secret conversion of the Christian Emperor; and have believed that there was a personal interview and visit to the prince of Medina, who accepted from the royal bounty, a rich domain and secure retreat in the province of Syria. But the friendship of Heraclius and Mahomet was short lived.

The same historian says, "The faculties of sense and reason are least capable of acting on themselves; the eye is most inaccessible to the sight, the soul to the thought—yet we think and ever feel, that *one will*, a sole principle of action, is essential to a rational and conscious being. When Heraclius returned from the Persian war, the orthodox hero consulted his bishops, whether the Christ, whom he adored, of one person, but of two natures, was actuated by a single or a double will. They replied in the singular, which occasioned great heat in the church. The orthodox party devised new modes of speech and argument, and interpretation: to either nature of Christ, they speciously applied a proper distinct energy: but the difference was no longer visible, when they allowed that the human and divine will, were invariably the same.

The very question itself of Heraclius, has all the appearance of being a suggestion of Mahometanism, which claims to be founded in the unity of God. I find that the Hebrew word rendered *mischief*, might have been rendered *amity*; and then

it would convey fully an idea, that both the kings hearts should be for amity and friendship; but they should speak lies, and it should not prosper. The characteristic description seems to hint at something of a private nature; a private conference: and therefore it is not probable, that the conversation itself can be produced, to shew exactly how, or what lies and falsehoods they uttered between themselves.

The conduct of Heraclius and Mahomet seem to satisfy the description given by the prophet, and the historian warrants the application of it.

If the hearts of Antiochus and Ptolemy were set on mischief; if they did speak lies to each other; we may with great propriety ask how this appears. The Egyptians made a successful application to the Romans for assistance; they do not appear to have had any extensively mischievous views. The Romans ordered Antiochus to leave their kingdom; he obeyed---and the kingdom was left in a more happy and prosperous state. And Antiochus, king of the north, was unfortunate.

What were the riches that Antiochus carried home with him, compared with what the Arabians collected and carried home with them, between the years A. D. 632 and 637? What were the exploits of Antiochus after he returned to his own land? They are of no note, compared with those of the Mahometans. He wrecked his vengeance on the Jews; but the effects of his displeasure were momentary, compared with the wonderful desolation and destruction, both in extent and duration, which were effected by the Mahometans, against the Christians.

At the time appointed, he shall return, and come towards the south; but it shall not be as the former, or as the latter.

For the ships of Chittim shall come against him; therefore he shall be grieved and return; and have indignation against the holy covenant.

The first siege of Constantinople, by the Arabs, was forty-six years after the flight of Mahomet from Mecca, A. D. 668.

675.
The second siege of the same place, commenced and ended A. D. 715. 718.

I need only refer to the history for the ill success of the Saracens, and the astonishing effect of the Greek fire-ships.

The prophet seems to be giving us events that require Chronological order in several of the foregoing verses. In the height of his primary successes, he returns laden with riches, and is against the holy covenant. At the time appointed, he

comes back, is unsuccessful, grieves, returns, and has indignation against the holy covenant.

No Christian, I apprehend, will doubt about the New Testament's being a covenant as holy as the Old Testament.

Here are three attempts by a power that is not as yet denominated king of the north; it has no real distinction. The first and latter attempts are to be successful; the second is to be unsuccessful.

Antiochus's first expedition into Egypt, which was in the fifth year of his reign, was successful; in his return he slew many Jews for a supposed affront—he did nothing in respect of their religion. Two years afterwards, he went again, and a Roman ambassador arrived without any attendance, civil, military, or naval, and ordered Antiochus out of the kingdom. Such was his dread of that people, that he instantly obeyed, and never returned more to Egypt. On his return home, he abolished the Jewish religion. The description, therefore, cannot suit Antiochus.

He did not make the repeated exertions mentioned; he does not appear to have been against the holy covenant, on his first return, but against the Jews.

The Mahometans never lost sight of their object; they were after their first successes, more bold and open, and always against the holy covenant. Their exertions were as frequent as suggested: their middle attempts were not; whereas their first and latter attempts were successful.

But if we suppose the battles of Aiznadin and Yermuk are referred to, there will be a visible likeness.

In the battle of Aiznadin, the Arabs, with the loss of about 470, are said to have slain 50 000 of the emperor's troops. The battle of Yermuk was three years afterwards. Heraclius caused to be transported by sea, and by land, from Europe and Asia, to Antioch and Cæsarea, 80 000 soldiers. This was one of the hardest fought, and most doubtful battles, the Arabs had been engaged in: the victory was several times nearly wrested from them; and they lost abundance of men. The next year after this battle, they take Jerusalem, and place the Mahometan abomination there.

In this view, the descriptions suit the Mahometans much better than Antiochus. For notwithstanding the check they meet with, it seems still to intimate, that they shall be successful; for the prophet goes on, and says,

And arms shall stand on his part, and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength, and shall take away the daily sacrifice; and they shall place the abomination that maketh desolate.

That Antiochus did not place this abomination is very certain: for our Saviour mentions it as a thing that was to take place after his time, and refers to that spoken of by Daniel.

That the Romans did not place it is evident: they pulled down and erased a city: and scattered a people, whose covenant, in all its typical rites, had been abolished. The armies of this power are spoken of as armies of desolation. They neither placed, nor set up any permanent fixed thing in Asia, that bears any resemblance to what is mentioned by Daniel.

Expositors, unable to proceed any farther with Antiochus, have endeavoured to introduce a new power with this verse. To do this, they are obliged to render the first part of the verse thus: "And after him arms shall stand up." That is to say, the Romans. As I can find no resemblance between the Romans and the characteristics given us; and as I do not think the criticism on the translation well founded, we must therefore conclude that it is a connected description of one single, but astonishing power.

And such as do wickedly against the covenant, shall he corrupt by flatteries: but the people that do know their God, shall be strong, and do exploits.

And they that understand among the people shall instruct many; yet they shall fall by the sword, and flame, and by captivity and spoil many days.

Now when they shall fall, they shall be holpen with a little help: but many shall cleave to them with flatteries.

And some of them of understanding shall fall to try them; and to purge and to make them white, even to the time of the end: because it is yet for a time appointed.

These general descriptions of the effects and operations of the Mahometan faith, which came in at first by flatteries, and continues to operate in the same way; the defection and hypocrisy of Christians; the exertions of the true sincere Christians; their receiving a little help, and suffering great afflictions many days; need no comment—the facts were so.

To the angel of the church of Sardis, it is said, thou hast a name that thou livest and art dead—be watchful, and strengthen the things which remain, that are ready to die. Thou hast a few names even in Sardis; and they shall walk with me in white, for they are worthy.

Perhaps the two descriptions may have reference to the same time and same Christians.

And the king shall do according to his will; and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every God, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of Gods; and shall

prosper till the indignation be accomplished ; for that, that is determined shall be done.

Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers nor the desire of women, nor regard any God ; for he shall magnify himself above all.

But in his estate shall he honor the God of forces, and a God whom his fathers knew not, shall he honor with gold, and with silver, and with precious stones, and with pleasant things.

Thus shall he do in the most strong holds with a strange God, whom he shall acknowledge, and increase with glory : and he shall cause them to rule over many, and shall divide the land for gain.

If any other may be said to have done according to their will, it will be equally applicable to the Mahometan power.

Tamerlane was a Mahometan, whose conquests were as rapid, and much more extensive, than Alexander's. If we leave him out of the question, it may very properly be said of the Mahometan power, that it has done according to its own will. And this phrase is only applied before to Alexander the Great, and the Romans.

Perhaps the united efforts of fancy and imagination could not devise any other God, but the God of Mahomet, to answer the description here given. It is plain, it is not the true God, and as plain, that it is not an idol God. What can it then be, but a mere phantom of the mind. Such is Mahomet's God, but of no other people, nation, tongue or language that ever existed. The power is to exalt and magnify itself above every God : so has Mahomet done more than any other power : his own vain imagination and fancy, is his God. This was not the case with the Seleucidæ, the Lagidæ, or Rome pagan or papal. And of some of these powers, it is confessed by all, that Daniel is treating.

He shall speak marvellous things against the God of Gods. This is a peculiar characteristic of Jesus Christ ; and therefore is an evidence, that the power existed after his time. The doctrine of the trinity is abominable in the opinion of a Mahometan. Mahomet set out at first with exploding this doctrine : though he seemed to allow that Christ was a prophet, yet he himself was a much greater prophet. He stripped him of all those attributes, which were essential to constitute him a Saviour. The fundamental article of faith is, that there is but one God, and Mahomet is his prophet. The Pagans spoke against Jesus Christ ; but they adhered to the Gods of their fathers : therefore this cannot be a Pagan power.

And shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished. This is as much as to say, that it shall not prosper any longer than that event. We cannot therefore construe this passage, as having any reference to the destruction of the Jews, because the great temporal power then in being, continued in a prosperous state, long after that event. This power then is to last till Christ's second advent.

Neither shall he regard any God. The Mahometans have no idol God, nor do they worship the true God. They therefore have ascribed to them this character.

Nor the desire of women.—We may naturally interpret these words to mean, that desire in women to a legitimate connexion with the male sex, which is implanted in them by nature.

Mahomet pretended to have a vision from heaven discharging him from his matrimonial obligations;—His visionary paradise provides beautiful females to gratify the senses of the male elect, but for the female elect, he has provided no partners. The Mahometans are allowed a plurality of wives; which is disregarding a law of nature: and a desire which must exist in the breast of every female, of having an undivided partner.

Though the clergy of the Greek and Latin churches abstain from matrimony: yet the laity do not. Among them, the rights of matrimony, as respects the female sex, are well guarded. The passage is much more fully satisfied by referring it to the Mahometan power than to the papal: and I doubt not a jury of females would bring their verdict in the same way.

Conjugal harmony consists in the undivided affections of the partners: and it is more rational for the female not to marry at all, than to come under obligations, which are not reciprocal. It is said, that with one or two exceptions, the Turkish Sultans do not marry at all, and yet give an unbounded licence to their passions. There is a manifest difference between forbidding to marry, and not regarding the desire of women: the first neither regards the desire of the man or the woman. The second disregards that of the woman only. Therefore it must have reference to the Mahometan power.

Perhaps the words may here have a much more noble and refined sense. We read of the desire of all nations, where Jesus Christ is manifestly intended. And the meaning here may be, that the power shall be totally opposed to Christ and his church.

It is evident, that the Mahometan does not worship the idol gods of his forefathers. The Arabian Mahometans, made war against their gods, and demolished them entirely, wherever

their power extended. Their idea of God, in some respects, may be just: so far as they consider him to be omnipotent and omniscient; but they make him a God of war, and one who delights in the effusion of human blood, for the purpose of propagating his worship. Such an imaginary God of forces they have abundantly honoured, with gold, silver, precious stones, and pleasant things.

The astonishing success of their arms must have confirmed them in their opinion, that their God is the God of forces and of armies: and as such they always appear to have considered him.

He is thus to treat and acknowledge this strange God in the strong holds: to increase him with glory, and to cause them to rule over many: which is so apparently applicable to the Mahometan power, and no other, that a mere reference to the history of the power, is a sufficient comment. The Christian's God is a true God: but many of them have pretended to honour him with strange things. The Mahometan's God is a strange God, and they honour him in the places and manner described.

And at the time of the end shall the king of the South push at him; and the king of the North shall come against him like a whirlwind, with chariots and with horsemen, and with many ships, and he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow, and pass over.

The power which has evidently been the subject of the prophecies for several verses, is now, for the first time, called the king of the North.

Bishop Newton explains as follows: And at the time of the end, that is (as Mr. Mede rightly expounds it) in the latter days of the Roman empire; shall the king of the South push at him; that is, the Saracens, who were of the Arabians, and came from the South; and under their false prophet Mahomet, make war upon the Emperor Heraclius, and with amazing rapidity, deprive him of Egypt and Syria. They were only to *push at* and sorely wound the Greek empire; but they were not to destroy and subvert it. And the king of the North, &c. that is, the Turks, who were originally of the Scythians, and came from the North, and after the Saracens, seized on Syria, and finally made themselves masters of the Greek empire.

Their ships too are said to be many; and indeed, without many ships, they could never have got possession of so many islands, or maritime countries, nor have so frequently vanquished the Venetians, who were at that time, the greatest

naval power in Europe. What fleets and armies were employed in the besieging and taking Constantinople, Negropont, Rhodes, Cyprus, Candy, and Crete.

The words, shall enter into the countries, and overflow and pass over,—give us an exact idea of their overflowing the western parts of Asia, and then passing over into Europe, and taking Constantinople.

Several unanswerable objections readily present themselves: First; at the time of the end: when the Saracens first attacked the Eastern empire; the great Roman empire had, two hundred years before, been divided; the Western branch had been destroyed about one hundred and fifty years before: and the Eastern branch was not destroyed till about eight hundred years afterwards. At the time of the end, must, therefore, have reference to some other than the time suggested.

Second. The king of the South, is that power which holds Egypt, and perhaps, Africa. The Emperor Heraclius, at the commencement of the Saracens, was in possession of Egypt; therefore he, and not the Saracens, was the king of the South.

Third. The king of the South shall push at him: not at the king of the North, say the Bishop and Mr. Mede, which is the only natural and possible construction. At him, means Heraclius, they say; who is not intended by the king of the North, or South. Two powers so far distant from each other, are not found thus connected together in these prophecies. Two powers professing the same faith, and on that very account are properly one and the same power, distinguished from all others by its faith, or creed, introduced as pushing at the distance of several hundred years, at one and the same unnamed power, is not a credible, if a supposable case.

We have found that a dismemberment of the Mahometan power took place after Timour or Tamerlane's victory over Bajazet. This empire was again united under Amurath II. A. D. 1421. The city of Constantinople was taken, A. D. 1453; thirty-two years after the re-union.

It is necessary to examine the history of these thirty-two years, to see if facts do not occur in that interval of time, respecting the king of the South pushing at the king of the North, taking the first to mean the Grecian empire, and the last the Turkish power.

For the last exertions of the eastern empire, we need only to refer the reader to the history of the attempt of the Grecians to a union of their church with the Latin church: The Hunga-

rian crusade, and the wars of Scanderberg against the Ottomans. These were in a great measure effected and brought about by the negociations of the Greeks for the safety and preservation of the Byzantine empire, but they both proved to be ineffectual.

This exposition gives a pertinent meaning to the words, "at the time of the end." It preserves a connected history, and results finally, in what Bishop Newton and Mr. Mede have stated, as its proper final result.

He shall enter into the glorious land, and many countries shall be overthrown, but these shall escape out of his hand, even Edom and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon.

He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries, and the land of Egypt shall not escape.

But he shall have power over the treasures of gold, and of silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt, and the Lybians, and Ethiopians shall be at his steps.

These descriptions are so naturally applicable to the Ottoman power, that little need be said to elucidate the same.

The Turks, after the destruction of Constantinople, and putting an end to the king of the South, took possession of Jerusalem, and have retained possession ever since. Sultan Selim, in his way to Egypt, entered into Jerusalem. Aleppo, Damascus, Gaza, and many countries fell under the yoke of the conqueror. Edom, Moab, and Ammon, are some of the people who inhabited Arabia. And the Arabians, notwithstanding the exertions of the Ottoman, have eluded their yoke, and escaped from their hands. The Ottoman empire pay annually a pension of 40 000 crowns of gold, for the safe passage of the caravans, and the pilgrims, going to Mecca. Egypt was taken by the Sultan Selim IX. and history informs us, that after the conquest of Egypt, the terror of Selim's many victories, now spreading far and wide, the kings of Africa bordering upon Cyrenia, sent their ambassadors with proffers to become his tributaries. Many places at this present day, besides Egypt, as Algiers, Tunis, &c. are part of the Ottoman empire.

But tidings out of the East and out of the North, shall trouble him; therefore he shall go forth with great fury to destroy, and utterly to make away many.

And he shall plant the tabernacle of his palaces between the seas in the glorious holy mountain: yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him.

If we may refer the words, 'tidings out of the East,' &c. to any past event, there is none so naturally presents itself, as the wonderful operations of Timour or Tamerlane. The tidings

of what he was doing must have reached the ears of Bajazet, both from the East and from the North. And it seems as if we might be justified in placing the event before the feat of the Turkish empire was fixed at Constantinople, because it is so placed in the order of the prophecy.

Bajazet went forth to meet Tamerlane with great fury, and no doubt, with an intention to make away or kill many: whether such going forth was to be successful, or not, the prophet does not inform us.

If, however, the words relate to any future event, then it must be such a one as is described in the Revelations, on pouring out of the sixth vial.

The Mahometan power has for a long time since set his foot on the greater part of the holy dust of faithful Jews and Christians. It has trod under foot the holy city nearly forty-two months. The metropolis where its power is seated, is in fact, between two seas; the Mediterranean and the Euxine. In the glorious holy mountain—may not have reference to place so much as to what is contained within the place.

The sacred ashes will arise; 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 those kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever. It will become a great mountain, and fill the whole earth.

The expressions of a glorious holy mountain, may be taken figuratively, not designating a real mountain, that is glorious and holy; but that he shall spread his pavillion over and tread under foot, that which will ultimately become such a mountain; which plainly enough points where the power is seated. Yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him.

This same power has been described as prospering till the indignation be accomplished; where indignation cannot possibly have reference to any event that took place with respect to the Jews. They are, to be sure, laid desolate, and will lay so to the appointed time; but till the end of this desolation, the indignation will not be accomplished. It is therefore manifest, that this power which has no successor pointed out, which is to come to its end without help, how is not specified, must be a power in being at the second advent of Christ, who will scatter it as the chaff of the summer threshing floor, that no place be found for it.

We have now finished in pointing out the fourth king or kingdom, which was to stand up over Persia; and to be far

richer than they all, who by his strength, through his riches, should stir up all against the realm of Grecia.

The harmony of the prophecies, with the historic facts stated, need no farther elucidation.

DANIEL—CHAP. XII.

SEVERAL of the first verses of this chapter are naturally connected with the last verse of the eleventh chapter; which brings us to the end of the Mahometan power and delusion, and consequently to the end of time, or of mankind in the flesh. This power is to continue till the indignation be fully accomplished in the flesh. And when the end has arrived, there can be none to help or deliver it from the just judgments that are to be executed upon it.

At this time, Michael the great prince, will stand up for the children of the people of God. And there will be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time. The same idea is inculcated by our Saviour, and in the Revelations, and also in several of the epistles. At this very time the people are to be delivered, that are found written in the book, and consequently they are not delivered before this time.

And many of them that slept in the dust of the earth shall awake; some to everlasting life, and some to everlasting shame and contempt.

That is, there will be many of both classes; and in them will probably be found the whole of the human race. There is a distinguished blessing for the wise; they are to shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever.

Then I Daniel, looked, and behold, there stood other two, the one on this side of the bank of the river; the other on that side of the bank of the river: And one said to the man clothed in linen, which was upon the waters of the river, how long shall it be to the end of these wonders? And I heard the man clothed in linen, which was upon the waters of the river, when he held up his right hand and his left hand, unto heaven, and swore by him that liveth for ever, that it shall be for a time, times and an half.

As we have not found that the Eastern and Western empires have been introduced, nor could they with propriety be exhibited whilst the angel was informing Daniel what powers should stand up over Persia; we therefore have good reason to suppose that the Eastern and Western empires are intended by the one on this side of the bank of the river; the other on that side of the bank of the river.

The question, How long shall it be to the end of these wonders? requires particular attention. The wonders have relation undoubtedly to temporal governments, and from the commencement of some one of which to the end, there are to be 1260 years. As the Mahometan power is the great and eminent object of the prophecy; as it is to continue to the end, it seems most natural to suppose that the question embraces this power: and if so, we easily ascertain the commencement of the power, at least within a very few years.

It is manifestly with respect to the Mahometan power that we find in the eleventh chapter of the Revelations, an angel standing upon the sea and upon the earth, and he lifts his right hand to heaven, and swears by him that liveth for ever, that time should be no longer. And in the beginning of the next chapter, we find a period of forty-two months assigned to this power.

If my construction of the *seven times* be right, it is evident that Mahomet rises up in the middle of those seven times; and therefore the question here embraces the Mahometan power, to which is assigned the last 1260 years.

We need not, therefore, perplex ourselves about the exact time when the Western church began to be, or when the papal power commenced. The Western church undoubtedly existed some time before the Mahometan power, and will probably be dissolved and broke up, before that power. It has already had full 1260 years.

The great prophetic numbers of Daniel seem to be as follow:

From the end of the Babylonish empire to Christ's second advent, 36 times 70 years, or	2520
From the era of the Macedonian empire to the same period of time	2300
To which add the time elapsed between the end of the Babylonish empire and that era	220
	<hr/> 2520

From the death of Mahomet to the end of the same period	- - -	1260
To which add from the end of the Babylonish empire to the birth of Christ	-	560
From that period to the death of Mahomet	-	630
To which add the difference between 1260 and 1335, as mentioned by Daniel	-	75
		<hr/> 2525
From the end of the Babylonish empire to the year 1794, are	- - -	2354
To which add, yet remaining of the Mahometan period,	- - -	96
And the above difference of	- - -	75
		<hr/> 2525
The five years excess are of little consequence in the two last computations. The prophetic number of 1335 may contain an excess of five years.		
From the first year of the Babylonish captivity to the end of the Mahometan power, we may compute, years,	-	2520
From the end of that empire, and that captivity, to the end of the Mahometan power, and the end of the sixth vial, there will be	- - -	2450
The period of the seventh vial, we suppose will be	- - -	70
		<hr/> 2520

But in the remarks on the Revelations we shall enter more fully into particular computations.

Review of the great Empires.

THE three first great empires that were brought into view before Daniel, are so plainly pointed out, that none have ever doubted what empires were intended by them. We have traced three more empires, and have endeavoured to make it appear, who are intended by them. He had a view of two more, which makes the whole number of the great temporal governments to be eight, and no more, to the end of the present economy.

Most expositors have been of opinion, that the four kingdoms which Daniel mentions, when he is unfolding the parts of the great image to Nebuchadnezzar, are the same that are again brought into his view, under the character of four great beasts; so that the fourth kingdom mentioned to Nebuchadnezzar, as succeeding the Grecian empire, and the fourth beast, intend the empire of the Roman commonwealth, imperial Rome, the Eastern and Western empires, after imperial Rome is divided, and also Rome papal, and its divisions into ten kingdoms.

These expositors do not consider (if they have considered of it at all) the Turkish empire as making any part of the great image. That the fourth kingdom cannot be as extensive as they suppose, is sufficiently manifest: and that the four kingdoms mentioned to Nebuchadnezzar, are four distant kingdoms, that precede the existence of any of the four beasts.

The vision of the four beasts, Daniel had in the first year of Belsazzar, the last emperor, and near the close of that empire. It is not probable that Daniel should have a vision of a beast's commencing to exist in future, which had for a long time been in existence, and was near its end. After Daniel goes through with an historic description of the Mahometan power, he says that he saw other two, one on this side of the bank of the river, and one on that side of the bank of the river: These two, with the Mahometan power, make the second, third, and fourth, of the four great beasts. The first then, must be imperial Rome; as the only one that immediately preceded them.

The great temporal powers, and the passages in Daniel relating to them, may be arranged as follow:

First—Imperial Babylon. Daniel ii. 37, 38. Thou, O king, art a king of kings: for the God of heaven hath given thee a kingdom, and power, and strength, and glory. Thou art this head of gold.

Second—Persian empire. Daniel ii. 32, 39. His breast and his arms of silver: and after thee shall arise another kingdom inferior to thee. Chap. v. 26. After that night was Belsazzar king of the Chaldeans slain. In vi. 1. Darius the Mede took the kingdom, being about three score and two years old.

Third—Grecian empire. Daniel ii. 32, 39. His belly and his thighs of brass. And another third kingdom of brass shall bare rule over all the earth. Daniel viii. xx. The ram which thou sawest, having

two horns, are the kings of Media and Persia; and the rough goat is the king of Grecia.

Fourth—Empire of the Roman commonwealth. Dan. ii. 33. 40. His legs of iron; and the fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron. Chap. viii. 9. And out of one of them came forth a little horn (that is out of the four notable ones into which Alexander's empire was divided)

which waxed exceeding great towards the South, and toward the East, and toward the pleasant land: And it waxed great, even to the host of heaven; and it cast down some of the host, and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them.

Daniel xi. 10. But his sons shall be stirred up, and shall assemble a multitude of great forces; and one shall certainly come and overflow, and pass through: then shall he return, and be stirred up, even to his fortress: And the king of the South shall be moved with choler, and shall come forth and fight with him, even with the king of the North, and he shall set forth a great multitude: But the multitude shall be given into his hand. And when he hath taken away the multitude, his heart shall be lifted up: and he shall cast down many ten thousands, but he shall not be strengthened by it. For the king of the North shall return, and shall set forth a multitude greater than the former, and shall certainly come after certain years, with a great army, and with much riches. And in those times there shall many stand up against the king of the South: also the robbers of thy people shall exalt themselves to establish the vision; but they shall fall. So the king of the North shall come, and cast up a mount, and take the most fenced cities: and the arms of the South shall not withstand: neither his chosen people, neither shall there be any strength to withstand: but he that cometh against him shall do according to his will, and none shall stand before him. And he shall stand in the glorious land, which by his hand shall be consumed; He shall also set his face to enter with the strength of his whole kingdom; and upright ones with him: thus shall he do: and he shall give him the daughter of women corrupting her; but she shall not stand, neither be for him. After this shall he turn his face to the isles, and shall take many: but a prince, for his own behalf, shall cause the reproach offered by him to cease; without his own reproach he shall cause it to turn upon him: Then he shall turn his face toward the fort of his own land; but he shall stumble and fall, and not be found.

Fifth—Imperial Rome. Daniel viii. 11. 23, 24, 25. Yea, he magnified himself even to the prince of the host, and by him the daily sacrifice was taken

away; and the place of his sanctuary was cast down. And an host was given him against the daily sacrifice, by reason of transgression, and it cast down the truth to the ground, and it practised and prospered.

And in the latter time of their kingdom, when the transgressions are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences shall stand up: And his power shall be mighty, but not by his own power, and he shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper and practise, and shall destroy the mighty and the holy people. And through his policy he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand: and he shall magnify himself in his heart, and by peace shall destroy many. He shall stand up against the prince of princes, but he shall be broken without hand.

Daniel vii. 4. The first was like a lion, and had eagle's wings: I beheld till the wings thereof were plucked: and it was lifted up from the earth, and made stand on his feet, as a man, and a man's heart was given to it.

Chap. xi. 20. Then shall stand up in his estate, a raiser of taxes in the glory of the kingdom: but within few days he shall be destroyed, neither in anger nor in battle.

Daniel vii. 5. And behold, another beast, *Sixth—Macedonian power.* a second, 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.

Daniel xi. 21, &c. And in his estate shall stand up a vile person, &c. and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished.

Daniel ii. 33. His feet part of iron, and *Eastern empire.* part of clay. Chap. vii. 6. After this I beheld, and lo, another, like a leopard, which had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl: the beast also had four heads, and dominion was given to it. Chap. xii. 5. Then I Daniel looked, and lo, there stood other two, one on this side of the bank of the river, and the other on that side of the bank of the river.

Daniel vii. 7, &c. After this I saw in *Eighth—Western empire.* the night visions, and behold a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly. And it had great iron teeth, it devoured, and break in pieces; and stamped the residue with the feet of it; and it was diverse from all the beasts that were before it; and it had ten horns. And I considered the horns, and behold there came up among them, another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots: and be-

hold in this horn were eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things. 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. As concerning the rest of the beasts, they had their dominion taken away; yet their lives were prolonged for a season and time.

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

Then I would know the truth of the fourth beast, which was diverse from all the others, exceeding dreadful, whose teeth were of iron, and his nails of brass, which devoured, break in pieces, and stamped the residue with his feet. And of the ten horns that were in his head, and of the other which came up, and before whom three fell: even of that horn that had eyes, and a mouth that spake very great things, whose look was more stout than his fellows. I beheld, and the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them, until the antient of days came, and judgment was given to the saints of the Most High, and the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom. Thus he said, the fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall be diverse from all kingdoms, and shall devour the whole earth, and tread it down, and break it in pieces.

And the ten horns out of this kingdom are ten kings that shall arise: and another shall arise after them: and he shall be diverse from the first, and he shall subdue three kings; and he shall speak great words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High, and think to change times and laws: and they shall be given into his hand, until a time and times, and the dividing of time. But the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and destroy it unto the end.

These divisions of the great empires are such as are natural, and such as are at this day found verified. The division of the Roman commonwealth and Imperial Rome into two distinct empires, is what historians do, who have no reference to these prophecies. His legs are of iron. This description fully implies two parts, and such as have no immediate connection with each other; such as the arms with the chest; and the thighs with the trunk; and yet there is a manifest propriety in designating them by the same metal, because the government was Roman in both cases. The Roman commonwealth waxed great towards the south, the east, and the pleasant land. It cast down some of the host and the stars to the ground, and

stamped upon them, which is verified in what Pompey did. The prince that succeeds this government, has several marks affixed to him, that can leave no room for doubt, he is to magnify himself even to the Prince of the Host; he is to stand up against the Prince of Princes; he is to take away the daily sacrifice, and tread down the sanctuary: he is to destroy the mighty and the holy people, when the transgressors are come to the full. His power is to be mighty, but not by his own power. He is to be broken without hand; he is to be destroyed in a few days, neither in anger nor battle. These general characteristics are so pointed, that it is impossible to misapply them, otherwise than by an arbitrary violence: there was no other power but Imperial Rome that stood up, when the transgressors were come to the full.

Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus, and Alexander, were mighty by their own power, they were the means of establishing mighty empires: the two first came to their end in anger and battle. The death of Alexander, though it put an end to one great and indivisible empire, yet it plainly exists in his princes. The Roman emperors had a great empire prepared for them. They were not therefore mighty by their own power; but by that of the Roman commonwealth. This is consonant to the opinions of the best historians.

No other power has been broken without hand, neither in anger nor battle, but Imperial Rome. The empire was amicably divided, between Arcadius and Honorius, by Theodosius the Great, A. D. 392. Imperial Rome is manifestly the power pointed out, and indisputably the fifth great empire.

There is an evident propriety in Daniel's saying, *I beheld till, that is, I saw from the beginning to the end of the empire, and when it ended, the two feet, part of iron and part of clay, began to exist: the great figurative image was then made to stand on his feet as a man: speaking figuratively, the wings were trimmed, and by their assistance, the great image was raised upon his feet, and a man's heart was given it, which is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked, who can know it? Such have been the eastern and western empires. In proportion to their light, has been the excess of their folly and wickedness. That these two must be the feet of this great image, is manifest, because Daniel says he saw other two, on each side of the bank of the river, and no two others can be found to answer to this position, because he sees these two after he has given a full description of the Mahometan power; therefore this cannot be one of them, and of course, it can be no part of the great image. Of the eastern empire, less is said, than of any of the others; it is the third of Daniel's four beasts; it is mentioned as the king of the south, in the characteristics and operations of the Mahometan power: it is designated by*

John, under the figure of the black horse ; its wickedness is described by him as follows : the rest of the men who were not killed by these plagues, yet repented not of the works of their hands, that they should not worship devils, and idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and wood, which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk ; neither repented they of their murders, nor of their sorceries, nor of their fornications, nor of their thefts.

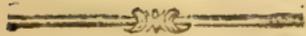
The second vial is poured out upon this power : it is poured out upon the sea, and it became as the blood of a dead man ; and every living soul died in the sea.

The Mahometan is introduced as standing in the estate of Imperial Rome, as the second of Daniel's beasts, because it is the next essential distinct and different empire, with which Imperial Rome had no connection : with the other two, it had a near and close connection : both of them stood up in order of time before the Mahometan power ; but there was a chasm in the western beast's empire—its head was wounded, and the deadly wound was healed : which designates the different changes of government in the western empire. In less than one hundred years after the division of Imperial Rome into two empires, the western emperors ceased to be ; it was divided into ten kingdoms, and the Papal power : to arrive at which, is the main and most important end of the prophecy. The beast is considered as one ; and the chasm or change is represented under the description of one of the seven heads being wounded and living again. And this head did not probably live again before the Mahometan power began to exist. And both these powers are to continue until the indignation be accomplished, not in a state of practising and prospering ; for to these, there are prefixed bounds and limits.

The parts of the image are associated, and kept together ; but that monstrous savage beast, the Mahometan power, being dissimilar in every respect from any of the parts of the image, stands by itself alone.

The general view of the great powers which Daniel has exhibited, will be of essential service in explaining the Revelations, which can only be explained by the assistance of Daniel, except by immediate revelation, so far as these powers are there introduced.

If I have been fortunate enough to give a rational explanation to the great temporal powers in the Revelations : it was not till after long reflection upon the prophecies of Daniel—before which, I had endeavoured to satisfy myself, as to the Revelations, but to little purpose, for my errors were numerous, and the system I had formed, unsatisfactory.



AN

EXAMINATION

OF THE

FIGURATIVE TERMS,

MADE USE OF IN THE

REVELATIONS,

IN ORDER TO

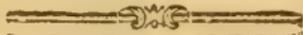
APPLY THEM TO THEIR PROPER OBJECTS;

AND TO GIVE A JUST

CHRONOLOGICAL VIEW

OF THE SAME.

“WRITE THE THINGS WHICH THOU HAST SEEN, AND THE THINGS
“ WHICH ARE, AND THE THINGS WHICH SHALL BE HEREAFTER.”
REV. i. 19.





INTRODUCTION.

THE Revelations of John, being the last book in the New Testament; and also the last message of God by his prophets to mankind, left upon sacred record, are replete with precepts, exhortations, instructions, and information for a holy life, and for perseverance in holiness. One ground of argument for continuing to be faithful to the end, is derived from the result to which he brings all things. By descriptions highly figurative, he designates, and marks out, characters and events, that were to be, and take place in the world, for that great period of time commencing with the first appearance of Christ and his kingdom, and ending with his second appearance: and also gives us a few general outlines of the succeeding period, and the commencement of the next. The metaphors, figures, and computation of time in the Revelations, are not readily comprehended. Much has been wrote by way of explanation, and by men of unquestionable abilities and integrity; and yet others of equal integrity and discernment are not fully satisfied with the explanations. Many questions may be suggested from various parts of the Revelations, that would lead to matters not fully revealed, rather tending to excite the inquisitive curiosity of man, than to afford any real satisfaction. These questions will be avoided as much as possible in the following observations on the Revelations: and an humble attempt will be made to explain the chronology of John; and to apply properly the characteristics, metaphors, and figures of the Revelations. The chronology will be found materially different from all other expositors; and new ideas will be suggested relative to the characteristics.

As eighteen hundred years nearly, have elapsed since the commencement of Christ's kingdom on earth, and we are in all probability drawing near to the close of the period of time about which the Revelations are principally employed, we have all the light we ever shall have respecting the greatest part of the Revelations.

To obtain a tolerable idea of the Revelations, much reading and attention are required.

The history of eighteen hundred years must be carefully consulted, and the remarkable events recorded therein, must be compared with John's descriptions; and such as bear the greatest resemblance, must be selected.

This resemblance will appear different in the view of fundry men, therefore uniformity in opinion is hardly to be expected.

This want of uniformity is not injurious to the honest and well-disposed.

Those who scoff at religion, and revile the sacred oracles, cherish these differences in opinion, and endeavor thereby to make the whole system a ridiculous fable.

If this be a ground of objection, it lays equally strong against all the science there is in the world, about which difference in opinion may exist: and what science is there, about which the learned have not differed as to their sentiments respecting the same.

Though the precise explanation of a metaphor or characteristic may not be obtained in all its parts, yet the general purport of it may be plain, and tend to make a cogent and suitable impression.

Some may prefer to my exposition, Mede, Newton, Lowman, or Langdon; others may be impressed as I am: and all may be benefited, if they make a right use of the information; because these expositions severally aim at displaying the prescience and providence of God. Thus far they unite in sentiments, which are of the highest importance to mankind.

That some great event will take place between this time and the close of the nineteenth or twentieth century, seems to be impressed strongly on the minds of a multitude of people. What will be the nature of this event, as to the inhabitants of the earth then in being, is a question of the highest moment.—It must be agreed, that it will either be the end of all flesh, or it will be an end of the tyrannical governments; and such light and knowledge will be introduced, as to make mankind universally virtuous and happy. It will be evident, by the expositions I have made, that the first must be the true opinion. It is a question of great consequence, what line of conduct ought a man to pursue in either case?

If the event is to be brought about by the visible display of an Almighty arm; if Jesus Christ, and the armies of Heaven, in the 19th chapter, intend realities; and that judgment is to be executed upon the beast and false prophet by him; in such case, it seems that the conduct of true Christians ought to be extremely different from what it would be, if the event was to be brought about by an arm of flesh, directed and supported by Almighty power in an invisible manner.

This latter opinion opens a wide door for fancy and imagination; and has, and still may lead to many extravagancies; because, if the event is not to be brought about in such a way, the person who may vainly flatter himself that he is executing the will of Heaven, may be found fighting against God.

In the one case, all true Christians ought to separate themselves from the beast as much as possible: but in the other, they ought to make war against him, sure of certain victory.

If on the one hand, the deliverance bears a strong resemblance to that of the Jews from the hands of Pharaoh: and on the other, to that of the obstinacy of the Jews at the time when they were finally destroyed by Vespasian and Titus: then ought true Christians to follow the advice which our Saviour gave to his disciples; when ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that the desolation thereof is nigh: then let them which are in Judea flee into the mountains; and let them which are in the midst of it, depart out: and let not them that are in the countries enter thereinto: Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled. The fulfilling of this prophecy seems to be the only one, that remains to be fulfilled, before the great event takes place. As this relates to the Mahometan power, there remains but eighty-nine years, to accomplish the 1260 years allotted to it.

I have only to request a patient and candid reading of the following sheets. They are the hasty production of one, who hopes that some abler hand will be disposed to examine them, and point out such errors as may be found in them. Or if the exposition is generally right, that they may have added to them, the testimony of learned men.

THE Revelations are naturally divided into six chapters, or parts.

The first part contains the introduction of John, and his address to the seven churches of Asia, in seven distinct sections.

The second part includes the six first seals, divided into six sections, besides the introduction, and subsequent visions.

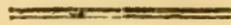
The third part begins with the opening of the seventh seal, and ends immediately before the sounding of the seventh trumpet, here are six sections, besides various articles of description.

The fourth part begins with the sounding of the seventh trumpet, and ends with the pouring out of the sixth vial: here are six sections, and a great variety of descriptive articles,

The fifth part begins with the pouring out of the seventh vial, embraces a period of 1260 years; for which time the church is nourished from the face of the serpent. It is called the Millenium, because in this period, Satan is to be bound a thousand years.

The sixth part commences, chap. xx. ver. 11. And I saw a great white throne, &c. And the first eight verses in the twenty-first chapter belong to this sixth part. With the commencement of this part the mediatorial kingdom ends; and no periods succeed.

As the seven seals may be concisely viewed in a schedule, I have subjoined two of them; the first shews the comprehensive nature of the seventh seal. In the second it is placed as a pause or rest. I have also subjoined Mr. Lowman's schedule, with sundry remarks upon it.



Seals.	Trumps.	Vials.	SCHEDULE. No. I.	
1			The Christian dispensation commences with the birth of Christ, and in the Roman empire, continues from	1
				to 1890
2			The Mahometan power commences with the death of Mahomet	630
				ends 1890

Seals.	Trumpets.	Years.		
			The Eastern empire commences	392
			ends	1453
4			The Western empire commences, to which succeeds Ecclesiastical Rome, and continues to make war forty-two months successfully, after which its decline commences	392
			ends	1652
5			Vision of the souls of the Jewish martyrs, a little before	70
6			Destruction of the Jewish nation by Vespasian	70
	1		Persecutions of the Christians, or opposition to Christ and his followers, from the order of Herod to slay the children at Bethlehem	from 1 to 322
	2		Constantine the Great	322
7	3		Bishop of Rome first appears primus inter pares at the Council of Nice	325
	4		The end of the Western empire and church for a time	476
	5		The rise of Mahomet	622
	6		The Mahometan power, with the Turks at its head	990
			This trumpet comes down to the death of the witnesses	1260
	1		The first vial commences	1260
			ends	1365
	2		The second vial commences	1365
			ends	1470
	3		The third vial commences	1470
			ends	1575
	4		The fourth vial commences	1575
			ends	1680
	7		The fifth vial commences	1680
			ends	1785
	6		The sixth vial commences	1785
			ends	1890
	7		The seventh vial commences	1890
			And the Millenium commences in glory seventy years after	1960

SCHEDULE. No. II.

Seals.	Trumpets.	Viols.		
1			The period of the present Christian economy	from 1890 to 1890
2			The Mahometan power	from 1890 to 1890
3			The Eastern Roman empire	from 392 to 1453
4			The Western empire in connexion with the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy	from 392 to 1652
5			The vision of the souls of the Jewish martyrs	70
6			The destruction of the Jewish nation by Vespasian	70
7			Rest, commences a new era.	
	1		The opposition to Christ and his followers	from 1 to 322
	2		Constantine the Great	322
	3		The Council of Nice	325
	4		The end of the Western empire and church	476
	5		The rise of Mahomet	622
	6		The Turks at the head of the Mahometan delusion	990
	7		And also to the death of the witnesses Rest. Commencement of a new era.	1260
	1		The judgments of heaven begin to be executed	1260 to 1365
	2		The character of this vial designates the end of the Eastern empire	from 1365 to 1470
	3		Against papal power in the West	from 1470 to 1575
	4		Tyranny prevails in the Western part of the world	from 1575 to 1685
	5		The banishment of the Jesuits	from 1685 to 1785
	6		The whole world deceived, and in motion,	from 1785 to 1890

Seals.	Trumpets.	Vials.		
		7	The Millenium commences: and Christ makes his second appearance	1890
			Sundry things are to be done before the Millenium is established in glory, which seem to require a space of 70 years; suppose it commences	1960

Mr. LOWMAN'S SCHEDULE.

Seals.	Trumpets.	Vials.		
1			Christ's religion prevailing against Jews and Heathens	100
2			Judgment for persecuting Christians on the Jews, by Trajan and Hadrian	138
3			Scarcity of provisions in the time of Antonines	193
4			Pestilence in the time of Maximin and Valerian	270
5			Dioclesian persecutes: it encourages to constancy	304
6			Commotions from Maximin to Constantine, who puts an end to persecution	323
	1		Blood shed by the Constantine family to Theodosius	379
	2		Italy invaded by northern nations. Alaric takes Rome	412
	3		Ravages of Italy: Imperial Rome ends. Kingdom of Goths in Italy	493
	4		Justinian wars against Goths. Ravenna erected. Rome stript of all power	568
	5		Rise of Mahomet	635
	6		Re-union of Saracen power; success till defeated by Charles Martel	750
	1		Charlemagne's family stript of the crown of France; great commotions about it.	988
	2		Crusades to recover Jerusalem from the Saracens	1190
	3		Guelph and Gibilline factions; Popes drove from Italy to France	1371

Seals.	Trumpets.	Vials.		
		4	Long wars, Italy, Germany, France, Spain; Turks take Constantinople: Pestilence	- - - 1530
		5	Reformation, notwithstanding papal opposition	- - - 1650
		6	Future, may mean invasion of Pope's dominion from the East	- - - 1850
		7	Ruin of idolatrous Rome at the end of this period	- - - 2016

The following observations upon Mr. Lowman's scheme, will, I doubt not, appear pertinent.

The peculiar situation and comprehensiveness of the seventh seal, which includes all to be revealed in the present great period of the world, as well the seventh trumpet, as also the sixth vial, seem to have escaped Mr. Lowman's notice.

That this view of the matter, affords strong evidence that the seven thunders do not belong to this period; but that they fall in under the seventh vial.

That Mr. Lowman has assigned to a period of six hundred and fifty years (for he commences after John wrote) six seals, and six trumpets, not noticing the sevenths of either.

That to the seven vials only, he assigns a period of 1266 years, counting from the sixth trumpet.

That after the year 750, and not before, the papal authority increased astonishingly in power, pride, and idolatry, even until the Reformation, which was about 750 years afterwards.

That the judgments contained in the vials, are manifestly some of them to be executed upon the papal authority; and the adherents to papal authority; or rather such, whether in the West or East, as have been idolatrous Christians.

That Mr. Lowman has employed no small part of the vengeance, contained in the vials, in building up, and not in pulling down, papal authority.

That it is evident, that the sixth trumpet reaches down to twelve or thirteen hundred years, and is a continuation of that power from whence originated the Turkish empire, which adheres to the same delusion.

That the third and the fifth trumpets have the same characteristics, which is "a star falling from heaven;" and Mr. Low-

man has properly applied the last to the rise of Mahomet, a false teacher; but has not adhered to the Metaphor, by applying it, in a manner, not similar, to the third trumpet.

That the sixth seal introduces the destruction of the Jewish church and nation; because the metaphor of the "moon," is applicable here only to the Jewish high-priest, and the Mosaic, or ceremonial law; that this metaphor is only twice to be found used afterwards in the Revelations; where it undoubtedly has reference to the church.

That the sixth trumpet introduces the power that is to put an end to the period of the Grecian churches.

That the sixth vial closes the great dramatic period, from the ascension to the second appearance of Christ.

That in Mr. Lowman's scheme there is a great want of distinct national character, which the spirit of prophecy seems to have pointed out, and adhered to. In consequence of which, the events are introduced indiscriminately, and with a kind of confusion, which may lead others, pursuing the same method, to fix upon a thousand different events, that correspond as well with the characteristic marks.

In a chronological view, the great error will appear to be, the assigning about 630 years to the trumpets, and about 1260 years to the vials: the reverse of this is most probably true.

P A R T I.

REVELATIONS—CHAP. I.

THE Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him, to shew unto his servants things which must shortly come to pass: And he sent and signified it by his angel unto his servant John; who bare record of the word of God, and of the testimony of Jesus Christ, and of all things that he saw.

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

Whether this Introduction was composed before John had wrote the Revelation, seems not to be evident; nor is it material to us to know whether it was before or after. The great end and design of publishing this Revelation, is declared to be for the information of the servants of Jesus Christ: they were given to him by God for this very purpose; and are employed about such things as must shortly come to pass. It is not intended for the benefit of any individual person: but the blessing is pronounced upon all who between the publishing of the Revelation, and the happening of the event referred to, read, hear, and keep the things which are written in the prophecy.

“John to the seven churches which are in Asia.” If John had not afterwards designated by name seven churches, we should have more readily supposed, that this address meant to include the Christian church from the writing of the Revelation to the second advent of Jesus Christ. The term “seven,” being used as an integer. Christ is said to have the seven spirits of God, seven horns, and seven eyes, which are the seven spirits of God sent forth into all the earth. It will be manifest hereafter, that John could not have reference only to seven distinct churches then existing in Asia.

This division of the world, was truly the head of the Christian religion; it commenced and flourished here for a great

length of time. The dividing the Christian church into seven parts, was for the sake of giving significant and pointed characteristics of the same, in seven distinct periods.

Grace be unto you, and peace from him, which is, and which was, and which is to come; and from the seven spirits which are before his throne: And from Jesus Christ, who is the faithful witness, and the first begotten from the dead, and the prince of the kings of the earth:

Unto him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood; and hath made us kings and priests unto God: unto him be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.

We may observe here, that this seems to be a prayer of John: and that he in the very beginning of these Revelations, establishes the divinity of Jesus Christ. The petition is for a blessing from three several characters:

1. From him, which is, and which was, and which is to come.
2. From the seven spirits before his throne.
3. From Jesus Christ.

It will be evident, as we proceed, that these are all to be found in Jesus Christ.

As these seven spirits do really, only intend the one holy and true spirit, so they do plainly indicate to us, that we are not to consider the seven churches, as seven churches distinct and independent of each other, but as one Christian church, that may very well be described in seven distinct views. The seven spirits cannot be confined to seven churches in Asia, for they are sent forth into all the earth: they are expressly said to be the seven eyes of the Lamb.

This petition therefore was made by John, in behalf of the whole Christian church, by which, it seems to be closed: for it is, unto him that loved us, and hath made us, &c. or John closes it thus, for them. These privileges belong to the whole of the true Christian church.

As the seven spirits are used figuratively, and intend only one spirit, that designates unlimited fulness; so the seven churches naturally indicate the completion of fulness in the Christian church under its present dispensation.

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

We may introduce a criticism here, the full force of which will be perceived, when we come to chap. xx. ver. 4. It re-

spects the translation: had the translators rendered this verse, as they have that referred to, it would have read, "every eye shall see him, and which have pierced him,"—making the "Pan Ophthalmos," and the "Oitines," which, agree together: this so limits the meaning, that only those who have pierced him, will see him at that time.

The words would have been rendered better here as follows: "every one who has pierced him," or, "all who have," &c. there being nothing in the original for the word *also*. And this does not refer us to one single and particular act, as the translation seems to do, as it now stands. All will see him at his second advent, good and bad; which seems to convey an idea that none see him before. John, indeed, sees him in the first chapter, and gives a particular figurative description of him; but he does not see him in glory, surrounded by the four and twenty elders, the four living creatures, the angelic host, and every creature, till he arrives at the Millenium kingdom. And at this time, it is said, all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of him.

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

Every character of Jesus Christ is important; and the attentive reader, by impressing them on his mind, and comparing them together, will readily perceive the perfect character to be incomprehensibly divine.

I John, who also am your brother, and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, was in the island called Patmos, for the word of God, and for the testimony of Jesus Christ: I was in the spirit on the Lord's day, and heard behind me a great voice, as of a trumpet, saying unto me, I am Alpha and Omega, the first and the last; what thou seest write in a book, and send it unto the seven churches which are in Asia; unto Ephesus, and unto Smyrna, and unto Pergamos, and unto Thyatira, and unto Sardis, and unto Philadelphia, and unto Laodicea. And I turned to see the voice that spake with me: and being turned, I saw seven golden candlesticks; and in the midst of the seven candlesticks, one like unto the Son of man,

1. Clothed with a garment down to the foot and girt, about the paps, with a golden girdle.
2. His head and his hairs were white like wool, as white as snow; and his eyes were as a flame of fire.
3. His feet were like unto fine brass; as if they burned in a furnace,

4. And his voice was as the sound of many waters.
5. And he had in his right hand seven stars.
6. And out of his mouth went a sharp two edged sword ;
7. And his countenance was as the sun shineth in his strength ;

And when I saw him, I fell at his feet as dead ;
 And he laid his right hand upon me, saying unto me, fear not ; I am the first and the last : I am he that liveth and was dead ; and behold I am alive forevermore, Amen ; and have the keys of hell and of death :

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

The mystery of the seven stars which thou sawest in my right hand, and the seven golden candlesticks.

The seven stars are the angels of the seven churches ; and the seven candlesticks which thou sawest, are the seven churches.

The addresses to the seven churches are prefaced with some one of the foregoing characteristic descriptions of Jesus Christ.

1. Ephesus. He that holdeth the seven stars in his right hand ; and walketh in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks.
2. Smyrna. Saith the first and the last, which was dead, and is alive.
3. Pergamos. He which hath the sharp sword with two edges.
4. Thyatira. Who hath his eyes like unto a flame of fire ; and his feet are like fine brass.
5. Sardis. He that hath the seven spirits of God and the seven stars.
6. Philadelphia. He that is holy, he that is true ; he that openeth, and no man shutteth ; and shutteth, and no man openeth.
7. Laodicea. Saith the Amen. The faithful and true witness, the beginning of the creation of God.

The happy state of those who are faithful unto the end, is described as follows, and is not the peculiar privilege of these seven churches.

1. To him that overcometh, will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the Paradise of God.
2. He that overcometh, shall not be hurt of the second death.
3. To him that overcometh, will I give to eat of the hidden manna, and I will give him a white stone, and in that stone a new name written, which no man knoweth, saving he that receiveth it.

4. He that overcometh and keepeth my words unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations; and he shall rule them with a rod of iron: as the vessels of a potter shall they be broken to shivers, even as I have received of my father. And I will give him the morning star.

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

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

7. To him that overcometh, will I grant to sit down with me in my throne, even as I overcame, and am sit down with my father in his throne.

The characters of the churches are very different.

1. I know thy works, and thy labor, and thy patience, and how thou canst not bear them which are evil: and thou hast tried them which say they are apostles and are not, and hast found them liars.

And hast borne, and hast patience; and for my name's sake hast laboured, and hast not fainted.

Nevertheless, I have somewhat against thee, because thou hast left thy first love:

Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent and do the first works: or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of his place, except thou repent. But this thou hast, that thou hatest the deeds of the Nicolaitans, which I also hate.

2. I know thy works, and tribulation, and poverty; (but thou art rich) I know the blasphemy of them which say they are Jews, and are not, but are the Synagogue of Satan. Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer: for the devil shall cast some of you into prison, that ye may be tried, and ye shall have tribulation ten days; be thou faithful unto the death, and I will give thee a crown of life.

3. I know thy works, and where thou dwellest, even where Satan's seat is: and thou holdest fast my name, and hast not denied my faith, even in those days, wherein Antipas was my faithful martyr, who was slain among you, where Satan dwelleth.

But I have a few things against thee, because thou hast there them that hold the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balak to cast a stumbling block before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed to idols, and to commit fornication. So hast thou also them that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitans, which thing I hate: repent, or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will fight against them with the sword of my mouth.

4. I know thy works, and charity, and service, and faith, and thy patience, and thy works; and the last to be more than the first.

Notwithstanding, I have few things against thee, because thou suffereſt that woman Jezebel, which calleth herſelf a prophetess, to teach and to seduce my servants, to commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed unto idols. And I gave her space to repent of her fornication, and she repented not. Behold I will cast her into a bed; and them that commit adultery with her, into great tribulation, except they repent of their deeds. And I will kill her children with death: and all the churches shall know that I am he which searcheth the reins and hearts: and I will give unto every one of you according to your works. But unto you, I say, and unto the rest in Thyatira: as many as have not known this doctrine, and which have not known the depths of Satan, as they speak, I will put on you none other burthen: but that which ye have already, hold fast until I come.

5. I know thy works, that thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead: Be watchful, and strengthen the things which remain, and are ready to die: for I have not found thy works perfect before God. Remember therefore how thou hast received, and heard, and hold fast and repent: If therefore thou shalt not watch, I will come on thee as a thief, and thou shalt not know what hour I will come upon thee: thou hast a few names even in Sardis, which have not defiled their garments; and they shall walk with me in white, for they are worthy.

6. I know thy works; behold I have set before thee an open door, and no man can shut it: for thou hast a little strength, and hast kept my word, and hast not denied my name: Behold I will make them of the Synagogue of Satan, which say they are Jews and are not, but do lie: Behold I will make them to come and worship before thy feet; and to know that I have loved thee: because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I will also keep thee from the hour of temptation, that cometh upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon

the earth. Behold I come quickly; hold fast that which thou hast, that no man take thy crown.

7. I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot; I would thou wert cold or hot: so then, because thou art neither cold nor hot, I will spew thee out of my mouth.

Because thou sayest, I am rich, and increased in goods, and have need of nothing, and knowest not that thou art wretched and miserable, and poor and blind, and naked. I counsel thee to buy of me gold tried in the fire, that thou mayest be rich; and white raiment, that thou mayest be clothed; and that the shame of thy nakedness do not appear; and anoint thine eyes with eye salve, that thou mayest see:—As many as I love, I rebuke and chasten; be zealous therefore, and repent: Behold! I stand at the door and knock! If any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and sup with him, and he with me.

These characters seem to me to answer only to the state of the Christian church in different periods, and by no means to the churches in being, at the time when John wrote. To the church of Philadelphia, it is said, I come quickly; and to that of Laodicea, I stand at the door and knock, &c. With the end of these, the Millenium will commence.

P A R T II,

C H A P. IV.

THE vision in this fourth chapter, falls naturally into the period of the Millenium.

After this, I looked, and behold a door was opened in Heaven; and the first voice which I heard, was as it were, a trumpet talking with me; which said, come up hither, and I will shew thee things which must be hereafter.

This verse immediately follows the addressees to the seven churches: the words translated "after this," and "hereafter," at the beginning and end of the verse, are the same in Greek "meta tauta;" the natural import of which are, "*after these things*." If in the beginning of the verse, these words refer to the time of the vision, being in order, after what he had before seen, yet they cannot have the same reference at the close of the verse. "I will shew to thee what things must be after these things," is a literal translation. If John was, in his immediately preceding vision, carried to the end of the present dispensation, then those words may properly be considered, as having reference to the Millenium: which I flatter myself will appear more evident by what follows. The term "heaven," denotes that state.

And immediately I was in the spirit, and behold, a throne was set in heaven; and one sat on the throne: and he that sat was to look upon, like as a jasper, and a sardine stone: and there was a rainbow round about the throne, in sight like unto an emerald. And round about the throne, were four and twenty thrones; and upon the thrones, I saw four and twenty elders sitting, clothed in white raiment; and they had on their heads crowns of gold. And out of the throne proceeded lightnings, and thunderings, and voices. And there were seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, which are the seven spirits of God: and before the throne there was a sea of glass; and in

the midst of the throne, and round about the throne, were four living creatures, full of eyes before and behind: and the first living creature was like an ox: and the second living creature was like a calf: and the third living creature had a face as a man: and the fourth living creature was like a flying eagle. And the four living creatures had each of them six wings about him; and they were full of eyes within: and they rest not day and night, saying, holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come. And when these living creatures give glory, and honour, and thanks to him that sat on the throne, who liveth for ever and ever; the four and twenty Elders fall down before him that sat on the throne, and worship him that liveth for ever and ever, and cast their crowns before the throne, saying, Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honour, and power; for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are, and were created.

The above vision demands a careful consideration under several distinct heads:

1. Who is the person seated on the throne? If Jesus Christ, why is the description so manifestly different from that, which John gave of him in the first chapter.

2. Who are the four and twenty elders seated on thrones.

3. Who and what are the four living creatures? Why are there four of them, which does not seem to be a prophetic, or scripture number?

4. What is intended to be conveyed to our minds, by the descriptive characteristics of these four living creatures?

There can be no doubt as to the person seated on the throne: it is the same person who is described in the first chapter, and declares that he is Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, faith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come; the Almighty. So here, the living creatures rest not day and night, saying holy, holy, holy Lord God Almighty, which was, and which is, and which is to come. And this address is made to him that sat on the throne. For when these living creatures give glory and honour, and thanks to him, that sat on the throne, &c. the four and twenty elders fall down before him that sat on the throne, and worship him that liveth for ever and ever.

Why the description is much less particular here, than in the first chapter, may be difficult of solution. The ineffable and unspeakable glory of the personage might render it impossible to describe him.

As to the four and twenty elders, there can be no doubt, but the apostles make up twelve of them. The others will be

twelve of the most distinguished Hebrews, answering to the twelve tribes of Israel; but who, we know not particularly.— These four and twenty elders, are manifestly more exalted and distinguished than the four living creatures; they are seated on thrones and crowned, which is not the case with the living creatures; these last seem to lead the worship; and to give us a more exalted idea thereof; and of the dignity and majesty of the person, seated on the throne: crowned heads, seated on thrones round about him, join in worship, by falling on their faces, and casting their crowns before the throne.

The four living creatures manifestly intend all the faithful under the Christian dispensation collected together. All those who are Christ's at his coming; who have a part in the first resurrection, and over whom the second death has no power; for they do expressly assert, together with the four and twenty elders, chap. v. 9. for thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, out of every kindred, tongue, &c.

The number of them being four, cannot be intended as a mark of distinction among them in the heavenly kingdom: it most probably has reference to some particular state, situation, or circumstance, attending them whilst on earth, and in the flesh, such as being collected from the four winds, or four quarters of the earth: but I do not apprehend, that either of these will convey to us the true reason why there are four. The true ground of this number will appear more fully hereafter. It is sufficient to observe here, that they severally designate all the Christians, that were to be collected out of the four great temporal monarchies: and that such four were to be, and no more, is plainly made known to us by the spirit of prophecy.

The first living creature was like an ox:—A better explanation of this cannot be made than what is said of the church of Ephesus: and hast borne, and hast patience, and for my name's sake hast laboured, and hast not fainted.

The temporal government out of which these Christians are to be collected, will hereafter appear to be Imperial Rome.

The second living creature was like a calf:—This is a weak and dependant animal; and derives its nourishment and support from its mother. What is said to the church of Thyatira, seems well to apply here; thou sufferest that woman, Jezebel, which calleth herself a prophetess, to teach and seduce, &c.

The Christians designated by this animal, are such as lived under the Eastern empire. This government lasted from A.D. 392 to 1453. The laity became dependant upon their spiritual

guides: they became feeble and dependant as the animal mentioned.

The third living creature had a face as a man:—This living creature represents the faithful Christians that lived and died under the Mahometan power. The rise of the people of this empire is conveyed to us under the metaphor of locusts: and there is this singularity in the face of man, that it strikes terror and dread upon the brutal creation. It is said, Gen. ix. 2, And the fear of you, and the dread of you, shall be upon every beast of the earth, and upon every fowl of the air; upon all that moveth upon the earth, and upon all the fishes of the sea. If we take the term, “beast” here, for temporal government, or in its natural sense, it will be true either way. Mahomet at first feared the Christians, and courted their friendship: he entered into treaties with them, by which they secured to themselves their most important privileges.

The figure here aptly designates the Christians to be collected out of this empire. The church of Sardis refers us very naturally to this church, of which it is said, Thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead: and thou hast a few names even in Sardis.

The fourth living creature was like a flying eagle:—The figure here designates the Christians that will live under the last of the four great temporal monarchies; which is that commencing with the Western empire, and continued after the pope became a single head in church and in state, A.D. 1099.

Some of these Christians will be alive, and on the earth, at Christ's second advent. The flying eagle, designates the first resurrection. This is the church represented in the commencement of the Millenium, chap. xii. 14. And to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness, into her place, where she is nourished a time, times and a half time, from the face of the serpent.

And I saw in the right hand of him that sat on the throne, a book written within, and on the back side sealed with seven seals. And I saw a strong angel proclaiming with a loud voice, Who is worthy to open the book, and to loose the seals thereof? And no man in heaven, nor in earth, neither under the earth, was able to open the book, neither to look thereon. And I wept much because no man was found worthy to open and to read the book, neither to look thereon: And one of the elders saith unto me, weep not, behold the lion of the tribe of Judah, the root of David, hath prevailed to open the book, and to loose the seven seals thereof. And I beheld, and lo in the

midst of the throne, and of the four beasts, and in the midst of the elders, stood a Lamb, as it had been slain, having seven horns, and seven eyes, which are the seven spirits of God, sent forth into all the earth: and he came, and took the book out of the right hand of him that sat upon the throne. And when he had taken the book the four beasts, and four and twenty elders fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps, and golden vials, full of odours, which are the prayers of saints; and they sung a new song, saying, Thou art worthy to take the books, and open the seals thereof; for thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, out of every kindred and tongue, and people and nation; and hast made us unto our God, kings and priests, and we shall reign on earth. And I beheld, and I heard the voice of many angels round about the throne, and the living creatures and the elders; and the number of them was ten thousand times ten thousand; and thousands of thousands: saying with a loud voice, Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power and riches, and wisdom and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing.

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

And the four and twenty elders fell down and worshipped him that liveth for ever and ever.

The several articles of description here given to us, require very particular attention. The manner of worship; the persons worshipping; and those worshipped, are of no small importance to examine into.

1. There appears to be a distinction between the person sitting on the throne, and the Lamb; which last has the seven horns, and the seven spirits of God; and therefore corresponds with the description of the personage that appeared to John in the first chapter.

No attempt by John has been made to describe the person sitting upon the throne. From a careful comparison of the characters, it appears to me, there can be no essential difference between them.

2. The four living creatures, and the four and twenty elders, jointly by themselves, perform an act of worship to the Lamb.

3. Then all the angelic host, perform an act of worship to the Lamb, by themselves.

4. Every creature in heaven, on earth, under the earth, in the sea, and all that is in them, worship him that sitteth on the throne, and the Lamb.

Here the act of worship is rendered to him that sitteth on the throne, and to the Lamb.

A question naturally occurs here—which is, Who are intended by *every creature*? Is the idea meant to be conveyed this, that hereby are intended only the four living creatures, the four and twenty elders, and all the angelic host, uniting in full worship to both; to shew that the Lamb is fully entitled to be worshipped. This idea was fully conveyed to us before. He that sat on the throne had been worshipped before by the four living creatures, and the four and twenty elders: the Lamb had been worshipped separately by these: he had been worshipped by all the angelic host, who are represented as innumerable.

Therefore it does not seem to be a necessary construction, that it is an introduction of the same beings, in order to shew that the Lamb is entitled to be worshipped as well as him that sitteth on the throne; for this was fully shewn before.

It may therefore be a question, whether by the words “every creature,” are not intended some other beings than the three orders above described. The right solution of this question is as important as it is difficult.

I flatter myself that it must be granted, that the four living creatures do naturally and necessarily intend, those that will be of the number of the redeemed, between Christ's first and his second advent.

One of the peculiar circumstances attending these living creatures, and the elders, is, that they have every one of them harps, and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of the saints.

The four living creatures do not seem to join, when every creature makes the address, but they stand by, and say, Amen, to it.

It is also apparent, that the elders do not join; but after every creature has performed his act of worship, and the living creatures have said Amen; then the elders fall down and worship.

If the four living creatures, and the four and twenty elders, are not contained in the words *every creature*, we must exclude the angelic host from the same, as the description applied to these alone, is manifestly improper: and that they are not, is sufficiently evident.

The question then before us may be placed in two points of view:

1. If the vision, and the circumstances of it, do plainly refer us to the Millenium kingdom, when and where the vision will become a reality in the manner described to us, then it will undoubtedly follow, that there will be a great number there besides the redeemed.

2. If this vision has reference to the present dispensation, and exhibits to our view angels and saints actually in heaven, and the faithful on earth, as they are employed between Christ's first and second advent, then it will be necessary to reconcile several manifest difficulties and improprieties, that will be contained in such a supposed reference.

The vision was not actually true, for there can be no doubt but John will be one of the four and twenty elders, and yet at the time he wrote, he could not be one of them.

The distinguished privilege which the apostles will have of sitting on thrones, is manifestly deferred by our Saviour, to the time of his second advent. Before this event happens, departed saints are no where represented as having harps and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of saints: they are no where represented as the medium through which the prayers of the living saints ascend up before the throne of God. It will appear hereafter, that with the opening of the seventh seal, commences the particular history with respect to the present Christian dispensation; and there it is said, that an angel came and stood at the altar, having a golden censor: and there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar, which was before the throne: and the smoke of the incense, which came with the prayers of the saints, ascended up before God out of the angel's hand.

I apprehend, we may conclude with certainty, that the first view of the question, as stated, is right.

It will be noticed, that among the redeemed, represented by four living creatures, we do not suppose any of the Jewish church are comprized; that among the elders there are twelve. There can be no doubt but there will be a number of the Jewish church, upon nearly the same grade with the four living creatures. And these we must exclude from the words *every creature*. This will be more fully evident when we come to describe the persons mentioned in the seventh chapter.

The *pan ktisma*, here rendered every creature, and the *pasae ktisis* in Romans viii. 22, must intend the same persons. It is said there, that the earnest expectation of the creature, waiteth for the manifestation, or revelation (*teen apokalupsin*) of the sons of God.

That the creature subjected to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him, who hath subjected the same in hope. That the creature itself shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption, into the liberty of the glory of the children of God; for we know every creature groaneth, being burthened together until now, and not only so, but we ourselves also, who have the first fruits of the spirit, even we ourselves, groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption or sonship, the redemption of our bodies.

Our present translation has *into the glorious liberty*; but the original is, *into the liberty of the glory*; and between the two, there is a manifest difference: the first implies much more than the last.

The burthen which occasions the groaning of saints, and others, seems to be evidently mortal, perishable bodies, the deliverance from which is only at, and not before, the resurrection. The persons that Paul asserts shall be delivered, must intend the same that John designates by every creature.

It is manifest, therefore, that after the Millenium commences, after the revelation of the sons of God, there will be in that kingdom, others of the human race than the sons of God; others than the first fruits to the Lamb, over whom it is said, the second death hath no power.

Although we may certainly decide, that they will not have the same kind of bodies with the redeemed, yet it is difficult to decide with what bodies they will come; certainly not with the present kind of mortal bodies; because Paul says expressly, they shall be delivered from them.

Before we proceed to the opening of the seals contained in the sixth chapter, it will not be improper to take a general view of what we have been treating upon, in the five first chapters, all which seems to be preparatory to the opening of the seals.

On the first chapter we observe, that it is evident, that the Revelations do not commence with the resurrection of Jesus Christ. That John's commission extended to three matters:—things which he had seen; things which are; and things which shall be hereafter.

This last is not well rendered: Kai a mellei geneethai meta tauta.

The commission seems to begin with the birth of Christ, and to extend to the end of the Millenium kingdom. John's gospel contains what he had seen from the birth of Christ to his resurrection. The things which are, intend such as relate to the dispensation between his resurrection and his second advent. "The things which shall be after these things," have reference to the period of the Millenium.

Though the matters were signified to John, not by him that was dead, and is alive, but by his angel; yet John has a view of him, and describes him particularly, not as surrounded by departed saints, or by the angelic host. This description, we apprehend, has a special reference to Jesus Christ, during the period of time between his resurrection and his second coming.

We have considered the addresses to the seven churches, not as having a special and sole reference to those specified by name; but as being figurative descriptions, designed to point out the character and state of the church from period to period, till Christ's second advent.

The church of Ephesus, designates that pure republican church, from the first establishment of the Christian religion among the Greeks, and other nations, till Constantine the Great destroyed its evangelical simplicity, and made way, by general councils, for the Bishop of Rome to appear at the head of the clergy.

The character of this church, answers well to the idea we have of the church during that period: its having lost its first love, designates its declining state.

The church of Smyrna, we suppose, commences at the time of Constantine the Great; and lasts till the overthrow of the Eastern empire by the Mahometan power.

By the church of Pergamos, is intended the corrupt ecclesiastical hierarchy, established by Constantine, commencing and ending as that of Smyrna.

The churches were very highly endowed by the Emperor Constantine; they were externally rich, and probably on that account became internally poor.

The church of Smyrna is represented as being in tribulation and poverty; yet it is said she is rich. She is persecuted; yet it is intimated that the persecutions shall not be very sharp, nor of long continuance; unless we take the word *ten* integrally, then it will signify a continuance of them, as long as the church continues.

The church of Pergamos is a corrupt church; it was once firm in the faith, in the days of the martyrdom of Antipas; but it dwells in the very seat of Satan; and holds the corrupt doctrines of Balaam, and of the Nicolaitans. By the seat where she dwelt, must be intended Constantinople; the idolatry of which, and its dependencies, is pointed out after sounding the sixth trumpet, when the Mahometan power is introduced, by which it was destroyed.

It appears to me evident, that the spirit of prophecy has been thus particular in pointing out, that there was in that pe-

riod of time, an approved church, though poor and distressed : which was not the case with Constantine's churches. The history of those times shews, that many faithful Christians did then adhere to the simplicity of the gospel; and did severely censure the ambition and pride of the clergy.

The church of Thyatira, is evidently so characteristic of the Western church, with the Bishop of Rome and the clergy at the head of it, that I conclude much need not be said to enforce this idea. She had a long space for repentance, and repented not. It was about six hundred years from the end of Imperial Rome, to the pope's becoming supreme and sole in church and state.

We may note the difference of the position of these words. He that hath an ear let him hear what the spirit saith unto the churches. Before this church of Thyatira, they stand immediately before the blessing is pronounced upon him that overcometh; but here, and to every one that follows, they are placed last of all.

The church of Sardis, refers us to that small church, which was few in number, and soon died, that remained within the limits of the Mahometan jurisdiction. Though the Mahometan power treads under foot, more of the dust of true Christians and holy saints, than any power on earth, yet after its jurisdiction was established, it is not even in a judgment of charity, to be supposed, that many Christians have lived and died under that jurisdiction: but of those few, it is said, they shall walk with me in white, for they are worthy.

Philadelphia and Laodicea, stand in the same predicament as Smyrna and Pergamos; two churches in the same period, and within the limits of the same beast; the one pure, and the other false and corrupt. The period to commence these with, is A. D. 1099, when Pope Urban II. became a single head in church and state.

The church of Philadelphia must intend those who have separated from the Roman communion; in order for this, a door was set open by God himself, which shall not be shut. These two churches are those, that will be in being at Christ's second advent, at least that of Philadelphia.

It may be farther remarked, in support of the construction I have given with respect to the churches of Smyrna and Philadelphia; that it is manifest they did exist, and were cotemporary with false churches. To Smyrna it is said, "I know the blasphemy of them which say they are Jews and are not, but are the synagogue of Satan." And to Philadelphia, "I will make them of the synagogue of Satan, which say they are Jews, and

are not, but do lie; behold, I will make them to come and worship before thy feet, and to know that I have loved thee." These pretended, lying Jews, no doubt designate false and hypocritical Christians.

Thus we may consider John as having travelled all the way through the church to the Millenium kingdom: and then a door is opened in heaven, and it was said unto him, come up hither, and I will shew thee what things must be after these things.

John is accordingly introduced into heaven; placed at this astonishing distance as it respects time, he looks down from heaven, or rather looks back on time, when the seals are opened, and the mysteries in them are unfolded. In this view, how striking is the propriety of introducing one of the living creatures, at opening, severally, the four first seals. Each one knew the temporal government from which they came.

These visions, thus explained, retain all their sublimity, and must make a deep impression on the mind.

In this exalted station, we must suppose John remains, from the time he arrives there, until he has completed the Revelations.

C H A P. VI.

AND I saw when the Lamb opened one of the seals, and I heard, as it were, the voice of thunder, one of the four beasts saying, Come and see: And I saw, and behold a white horse: and he that sat on him had a bow: and a crown was given unto him, and he went forth conquering and to conquer.

And when he had opened the second seal, I heard the second beast say, Come and see: And there went out another horse that was red; and power was given to him that sat thereon, to take peace from the earth; and that they should kill one another; and there was given unto him a great sword.

And when he had opened the third seal, I heard the third beast say, Come and see: And I beheld, and lo, a black horse; and he that sat on him had a pair of balances in his hand; and I heard a voice in the midst of the four beasts, say, A measure of wheat for a penny, and three measures of barley for a penny; and see thou hurt not the oil and the wine,

And when he had opened the fourth seal, I heard the voice of the fourth beast say, Come and see: and I looked, and behold, a pale horse: and his name that sat on him, was Death, and hell followed with him; and power was given unto him over the fourth part of the earth to kill, with the sword, and with hunger, and with death, and with the beasts of the earth.

And when he had opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held, and they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth. And white robes were given unto every one of them: and it was said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little season until their fellow servants also, and their brethren that should be killed, as they were, should be fulfilled.

And I beheld when he had opened the sixth seal, and lo, there was a great earthquake; and the sun became black as sackcloth of hair; and the moon became as blood; and the stars of heaven fell unto the earth, even as a fig-tree casteth her untimely figs, when she is shaken of a mighty wind: and the heaven departed as a scroll when it is rolled together: and every mountain and island were moved out of their places; and the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men, and every bondman, and every free-man, hid themselves in the dens, and in the rocks of the mountains: and said to the mountains and rocks, fall on us, and hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb, for the great day of his wrath is come: and who shall be able to stand?

The six first seals are extremely important in this view, a right explanation of them, will have a tendency to lead to a right explanation of what follows; on the contrary, an erroneous one will lead to inextricable confusion.

S E C T I O N I.

The first seal then apparently introduces Jesus Christ at the head of his kingdom. And it designates the empire in which this kingdom had its beginning, that is, Imperial Rome. Daniel had made known, that, including Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, to the coming of our Saviour, there would be four great monarchies. Afterwards, Daniel has a vision of the four last great monarchies on earth; at the close of which, the ancient of days should sit; and the kingdom is then given to the saints of the Most High. As Daniel has particular respect to

temporal monarchies, the first beast is designated by the figure of "a lion," as by the four living creatures, John has particular respect to faithful Christians, the first of them is designated by the same figure, *a lion*. And when the first seal is opened, this living creature stands by, and says, Come and see: but the four and twenty elders are not introduced here; except John, none of them were alive at this time.

The character of the seal does not point out Imperial Rome, it is a white horse. There are other characters and marks, so plain, with respect to Imperial Rome's being the monarchy in which Christ commenced his kingdom, that it was not necessary to mention it particularly in the first seal.

As these living creatures say, Thou art worthy to take the book and open the seals thereof; for thou wast slain and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, out of every kindred, &c. and we shall reign on earth—it must impress the mind in such a manner, as to leave little, or no doubt at all, but John means by these four living creatures, the holy and just ones, that should be collected out of Daniel's four last monarchies. John sees them in vision, and for them the Revelation is expressly made, "And the Lord God of the holy prophets sent his angel to shew unto his servants, the things which must shortly be done; I Jesus have sent mine angel to testify unto you these things in the churches.

In Daniel's vision of the eight monarchies, compared with John, it is evident, Rome popular, and Rome Imperial, are counted for two. It is of importance to attend to this distinction, otherwise we may introduce confusion, in making out, and fixing upon, the characters, for these monarchies.

S E C T I O N II.

At the opening of the second seal, the second living creature says, Come and see. By the red horse, we may understand the Mahometan power, which is uniformly represented as succeeding Imperial Rome. Thus it is twice placed by Daniel; and so the description here warrants our placing it in the same order. Daniel describes it under the figure of a bear, with three ribs in its mouth, and thus they said unto it, Arise, and devour much flesh.

And in the estate of the raiser of taxes, it is to stand up and to raise itself up on one side; which corresponds only with the Mahometan power, for the other two heads of the great image, the Eastern and Western empires, came in by succession, and did not raise themselves up. The will of Theodosius di-

vided the great Roman empire, and his sons inherited the two parts without molestation.

The horse is a symbol of monarchical power, and the colour naturally designates its general disposition and character; and red, well describes the bloody and blood-thirsty character of of this power. The saints designated by the second living creature, are particularly such as may have lived under the Mahometan jurisdiction.

S E C T I O N III.

On opening the third seal, the third living creature says, Come and see. The black horse designates the Eastern empire. Daniel describes this beast as being like a leopard, having four wings on its back like a fowl, and four heads.

It is not very easy to find out any traits in the Eastern empire which are intended to be pointed out to us, under the four wings. There were four important general councils: there were four important characters which might have contributed their aid in dividing Imperial Rome—the bishops of Rome, Constantinople, Jerusalem, and Alexandria. The last I do not see any impropriety in considering as the four wings. And the seat of government, has had four different heads, which are Imperial Rome, the Eastern or Grecian empire; the Latin empire, and the Turkish empire.

By the colour of this horse, several things may be conveyed to us; it may represent a dissolution of the temporal government; a mournful state of the church: they shall prophecy clothed in sackcloth, 1260 days, as is said of the two witnesses, which undoubtedly have reference to the Christians in this empire. A pair of balances may convey the same idea as the handwriting on the wall did to Belshazzar: Mene tekem Upharsin. Belshazzar was weighed and found wanting; and Imperial Babylon was transferred to the Medes and Persians; and thus was the Eastern empire transferred to the Turks.

If my idea of the four living creatures be right, then the middle of them in the order of time, will be after the end of Imperial Rome and the Eastern empire, in which monarchies the two first have their origin and completion. The other two living creatures have not their completion till the end of the present economy; till the dissolution of the two last monarchies. The words, therefore, “I heard a voice in the midst of the living creatures, a measure of wheat for a penny, and three measures of barley for a penny, and see thou hurt not the oil and the wine,” may have reference to the Maho-

metan power, because it immediately succeeds in the place of the Eastern empire. Mahomet's maxim after he had acquired power was to the Christians, the Koran, tribute, or the sword. Mahomet II. just before he took Constantinople, offered terms of peace, which were, circumcision, tribute, or death.

The words, a measure of wheat for a penny, and three measures of barley for a penny, may designate a duty, or imposition, levied upon the Christians for such tribute. The articles mentioned being the staff of life, may include all other articles. The Christians are obliged to purchase a toleration of their religion, by a special tribute.

See thou hurt not the oil and the wine, seems to be an injunction on the Mahometan power, not to persecute or destroy the Christians. And it does not appear from history that Christians have been persecuted for their religious opinions under this power; they have enjoyed a liberty of opinion which has been denied by the papal authority, and most, if not all the governments in Europe.

The Mahometan government is unfriendly to the rights of human nature; and its own subjects of the Moslem faith, as well as Christians, suffer under it: it is a very bad government to live under: yet it is not so bad as the government of rigid Catholics, where tribute will not atone for the supposed damnable sin of heresy. The papal power holds out but two alternatives—my creed or death. The Mahometan power tolerates upon two alternatives—the Koran or tribute: if neither of these suit, slavery or death are the consequences.

S E C T I O N IV.

When the fourth seal is opened, the fourth living creature says, Come and see. The true Christians, that will be collected out of this monarchy, call upon John to come and see, the terrible beast under whom they live. This is Daniel's fourth monarchy, and includes the Western world, with the pope at the head of it. As this beast will require a very particular examination in another place, nothing farther need be added.

S E C T I O N V.

John, in what precedes, has laid before us the character of the Christian church, from period to period. He has exhibited the patriarchs and apostles; the whole body of the redeemed, an innumerable host, that are made partakers of the blessings of the gospel, as seems to be evident; who, and what they are, we are not particularly informed; and also the four last temporal monarchies. It appears, then, that the faithful

departed Jews, under the Mosaic dispensation, have not yet been introduced.

On opening the fifth seal, John saw under the altar, the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held. As the words do not intimate that these were the souls of departed Christians, we may safely conclude that they are the souls of Jews, who in their life-time, had borne testimony for the word of God under the Mosaic dispensation. They are not represented with equal dignity and glory, as the faithful, under the Christian system: providence seems constantly to make the pious and holy, a primary and sole object. The care of the faithful, is always among the first matters of importance. The judgments of heaven are not permitted to operate on the wicked, until the righteous are secured from danger and harm.

Before the final destruction of the Jewish church and nation is introduced, the Jewish saints are exhibited, and with seeming anxiety, enquire, How long? And it was answered, for a little season; and white robes were given to every one of them. That is, to all the Jewish martyrs: for the description has reference only to martyrs.

S E C T I O N VI.

The opening of the sixth seal introduces one of the severest judgments of heaven, executed on the Jewish nation; by which was accomplished, the dispersion of that people: Imperial Rome is the minister that executes this vengeance, which happened some time before the Revelations were wrote; that is, in the year of our Lord seventy; and thirty-seven years after the passion. The term *six*, will be found in three places to be very important, and seems to close the work of the week. John was ordered to write, first, things which thou has seen: second, things which are; and third, things which shall be hereafter. There is, therefore, no impropriety in supposing John records this event, which will leave no chasm between the Old and New Testament prophecies.

The end of the Jewish nation was, by the prophets, foretold, but the time when, was not. Our Saviour, when his disciples enquired of him concerning the same, only informs them, that before that generation pass away, all these things shall come to pass. John was a witness to the truth of this assertion; and he seems to begin his prophecy with the resurrection of Christ: who he denominates the first begotten from the dead. The first memorable event afterwards, was the taking of Jerusalem by Vespasian and Titus. The descriptive figures of this great

and solemn event, are an earthquake, the sun, the moon, the stars, and heaven itself departed as a scroll. The sun, moon, and stars, are extinguished. The sun designates the first civil magistrate; the moon, the church; and the stars, the priests and Levites.

These characters are so often used in these determinate senses, that a different application, is doing manifest violence to them. No other event has ever taken place on earth, from the flood to this time, to which all these descriptive figures can with the least propriety be applied. By "mountain" here, is intended princes and nobles; and by "islands," captains and mighty men.

As we have in this great event, a figure of some future, and more heavy judgment, of a similar nature: as this event is apparently by our Saviour, connected with what will take place at his second appearance; and as the spirit of prophecy did not foretell the precise time that it should happen, though it approached very near to it, so we are not to suppose, the precise time of the happening of the second event, is foretold, though we are brought as near to the knowledge of it, as is necessary and proper for us. The last part of the figurative description seems to have a particular reference to this second event.

After the victory obtained over the Jews, by Vespasian and Titus, the Roman empire was for a little time calm and undisturbed; peace and quietness generally reigned throughout the same. This we find, is to be attributed to an over-ruling providence, and not to these generals; the first of whom, Josephus vainly supposed to be the prince that the Jews expected to come about that time, whose personage and government, however glorious and excellent, the description of them were in the sacred oracles in some respects, yet it was plainly foretold, that the beauty should be marred; that he should be treated with the utmost indignity and contempt: and that he should fall a sacrifice to malicious Jews: yet they extended their ideas no farther, than a visible temporal prince and government.

The Jewish church is numbered and finished, and it requires considerable attention to find out who are intended by the 144,000, of all the tribes of Israel, save Dan; in whose stead, Menasse, the oldest son of Joseph, is placed.

Are those servants of God, who are to be sealed, Jews, or Gentiles? Are they of the good olive-tree, or are they the wild olive-tree grafted into the good one?

C H A P. VII.

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

And I saw another angel ascending from the East, having the seal of the living God; and he cried with a loud voice to the four angels, to whom it was given to hurt the earth and the sea, saying, Hurt not the earth, neither the sea, nor the trees, till we have sealed the servants of our God in their foreheads.

And I heard the number of them which were sealed, and there were sealed an hundred and forty and four thousand of all the tribes of the children of Israel.

Of the tribe of Judea, twelve thousand.

Of the tribe of Reuben, twelve thousand.

Of the tribe of Gad, twelve thousand.

Of the tribe of Aser, twelve thousand.

Of the tribe of Nephthalim, twelve thousand.

Of the tribe of Menasses, twelve thousand.

Of the tribe of Simion, twelve thousand.

Of the tribe of Levi, twelve thousand.

Of the tribe of Issacher, twelve thousand.

Of the tribe of Zebulon, twelve thousand.

Of the tribe of Joseph, twelve thousand.

Of the tribe of Benjamin, twelve thousand.

The only question of importance here, is, whether the one hundred and forty-four thousand, are Jews that lived and died under the dispensation of Moses; or whether they are Christians of all nations? That this number really intends such as they are described to be, will appear very probable.

The vision falls in immediately after the destruction of the Jewish church and nation, when the number of faithful Jews might be naturally ascertained.

These one hundred and forty-four thousand do not appear to be so distinguished and exalted, as the four living ones, who are in the throne and round about the throne; and are probably the same as Isaiah represents, chap. vi. 2. I saw the Lord sitting on a throne, high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple: above it stood the seraphim, each one had six wings, and one cried unto another and said, Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts: the whole earth is full of his glory. And,

Ezek. i. 5. where he sees four living creatures that run and returned as a flash of lightening.

It is said of the one hundred and forty-four thousand, that they go wherever the Lamb goes.

The four living creatures are not numbered; they always appear to be distinct from this number: and are all spirit and life in worship and adoration. Whereas it is remarkable, that the 144,000 never utter a syllable.

If the four living creatures do really designate the redeemed under the Christian dispensation, then there can be no doubt but the 144,000, do designate Jews under the Mosaic dispensation.

Whether the number is definite, as expressed, or indefinite, is a matter of curiosity, which if it could be satisfied, would not tend to throw any light upon the main objects of the Revelations.

Ch. vii. 9. After this I beheld, and lo a great multitude which no man could number, of all nations and kindreds, and people and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands, and cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to our God, which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb.

And all the angels stood round about the throne, and about the elders, and the four living creatures, and fell before the throne on their faces, and worshipped God, saying, Amen: Blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honour, and power, and might, be unto our God, for ever, and ever. Amen.

And one of the elders answered, saying unto me, What are these which are arrayed in white robes? And whence came they? And I said unto him, Sir, thou knowest; and he said unto me, These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb: therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple; and he that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them: they shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more: neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat: for the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters; and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes.

We are plainly told who this great multitude are: but it is necessary to examine when and where their tribulation happens

to them; and where their characters as saints is formed and finished. And we may answer generally, that it is in the state of the Millenium.

This multitude is referred to chap. v. 13, where every creature worships: they are probably referred to in chap. xv. when the song of Moses, the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb is sung: and where it is said the temple of the tabernacle of the testimony is opened in heaven, which temple no man could enter into till the seven plagues were fulfilled.

They are referred to chap. xix. where John hears the voice of a great multitude, as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunders, saying, Alleluia, &c.

And they shall bring the glory and honour of the nations into it. And there shall be no more curse; the tree of life is there, whose leaves are for the healing of the nations.

It is evident this infinite number is different from the four living creatures, and the 144,000. And we think it is evident that in those are included all the faithful under the Mosaic and Christian dispensations; the consequence, therefore, is inevitable, that this infinite number are introduced into the Millenium kingdom, where they have great tribulation; where, as our Saviour says, they are compelled to come in: that they have their Christian character formed and established there.— And it would be strange if there should be a tree there, whose leaves should be for the healing of the nations; and yet there should be no nations to heal.

There are many who hold that the Millenium state will be before any resurrection; that its subjects will be men in the flesh; that it will last about one thousand years; that in this state there will be an infinite number, who will have their Christian character formed and established. The dispute, therefore, is alone with respect to the mode and manner, and the nature of the Millenium kingdom: here we may differ widely; but probably not at all as to the infinite number that will be saved.

The field of conjecture, fancy, and wild opinion, lays altogether on the side of those, who hold sentiments similar to that abovementioned.

As to the result on my side of the question; there can be no ground for any wild or extravagant notions; because it will be Jesus Christ himself, that will visibly close the present dispensation. We have therefore only to wait patiently for the event; as nothing we can do, will hasten or procrastinate it.

As it is of great importance to form a right opinion of the nature of the Millenium kingdom, and the time when it will

commence; and as this seems to be one great object and design of the Revelations, which will be made more manifest hereafter; we request the attentive reader carefully to peruse the whole history; and then he will have a right to form his own opinion as to this kingdom.

Chap. v. 11. An infinite number of angels stand round the throne, and round the living creatures, and twenty-four elders, and ascribe worthiness to the Lamb; so in the eleventh verse of this chapter, *all* the angels stand in the same manner, and fall on their faces, and worship God. Some have construed the original so as to make the four living creatures, and the four and twenty elders, fall on their faces with the angels; but it is manifestly inconsistent with the original. It is the angels by themselves, in both places, that perform the act of worship.

And in Heb. i. 6. And again, when he bringeth in the first begotten into the world, he saith, And let all the angels of God worship him. This very act of worship seems to be performed to the first begotten from the death, on his first introduction to the Millenium kingdom, or the visible kingdom of Jesus Christ on earth.

P A R T III,

C H A P. VIII.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The first angel sounded, and there followed hail, and fire mingled with blood, and they were cast upon the earth: and the third part of trees was burnt up, and all green grass was burnt up.

And the second angel sounded, and as it were a great mountain burning with fire, was cast into the sea: and the third part of the sea became blood. And the third part of the creatures which were in the sea, and had life, died; and the third part of the ships were destroyed.

And the third angel sounded, and there fell a great star from heaven, burning as it were a lamp, and it fell upon the third part of the rivers, and upon the fountains of waters.

And the name of the star is called wormwood: and the third part of the waters became wormwood: and many men died of the waters, because they were made bitter.

And the fourth angel sounded, and the third part of the sun was smitten, and the third part of the moon, and the third part

of the stars; so as the third part of them was darkened, and the day shone not for a third part of it, and the night likewise.

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

We have observed that an injunction was laid upon the four angels, to whom it was given to hurt the earth, not to proceed until the servants of God were sealed in the foreheads. These four angels belong to the four first trumpets, which carry us to the end of Imperial Rome in Europe, or that head which was wounded.

And we shall have now opened to our view, the great drama, during the Christian dispensation in its present form.

And there was silence in heaven about the space of half an hour. As John begins his computation with the resurrection, and as half an hour in prophetic language, is seven days and an half, this may intimate, how short the time was before the opposers of Christianity began to persecute the Christians.

Seven angels are introduced, to whom are given seven trumpets; and another angel, having a golden censer, and much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar, which was before the throne, and the smoke of the incense which came with the prayers of the saints, ascended up before God out of the angel's hand. All which plainly intimates, a change from the Jewish to the Christian economy. The same angel fills the censer with fire of the altar, and casts it into the earth, and there were voices, and thunders, and lightnings, and an earthquake; which naturally intimate the effects the prayers of the Christians would have upon the blind opposers of Christianity: that they would draw forth the vengeance of the heathenish idolaters, and obstinate Jews, against the innocent Christians.

S E C T I O N I.

The first trumpet sounds:—The figure "hail," intimates number and incessant repetition. "Fire mingled with blood," ardent burning, blood-thirsty zeal. This first trumpet designates the persecutions of the Christians, for a period of 300 years, to Constantine the Great. By "trees," may be understood Christians, old and sound in the faith. And by "green grass," young converts; yet tender, and not arrived to a state of Christian manhood. During this period, attempts were made to extirpate Christianity from the face of the earth. And

history shews how nearly it seemed to have been effected: but it had a root more than human.

The Jews had the most inveterate hatred against the Christians they persecuted; and no doubt used their influence with the emperors to persecute the Christians. The seat of persecution was principally Asia; and the third part may have reference hereto.

S E C T I O N II.

The second trumpet introduces Constantine the Great. The metaphor is "a great mountain burning with fire;"—a mountain intimates an empire, or the head of an empire. He was the first Christian emperor, and Eusebius makes his splendid appearance exceed that of the brightness of burning fire.—The "sea" means a very great and extended empire. In the former trumpet, one-third of the trees and green grass were burnt up. Here the third part of the sea becomes blood: Dioclesian, the predecessor of Constantine, was one of the most violent persecutors of the Christians; and Constantine, of the Pagans; the last, as unprincipled, as the first. Christians may defend themselves: but they may not persecute: yet submission is the constant theme of the gospel.

The impolitic arrangements of the ecclesiastical hierarchy made by Constantine, placed the bishop of Rome at the head of Europe, which was then one-third part of the known world. The sea's becoming blood, indicates something very offensive and impure; and this has been the case of the church in Europe: that is, the Roman Catholic church.

S E C T I O N III.

The third trumpet opens to view the corruptious of the ecclesiastical hierarchy; this was a natural consequence of Constantine's Ecclesiastical regulations: the temporal government of Imperial Rome, was administered under the emperor, by great officers of state, allotted to certain divisions of the empire; and under these a great number of subordinate officers: The temporal divisions were also made ecclesiastical divisions: dignified clergy, and subordinate, were here introduced: and the ecclesiastical soon imbibed the spirit of the temporal government, which has continued to this day in part.

By the terms "a great star falling from Heaven, burning as it were a lamp," is intended particularly the bishop of Rome, who appeared first at the head of all the clergy, at the first general

council at Nice, assembled by Constantine. Of the first four general councils, Mr. Furneau has given the following account :

The council of Nice, held in the year of our Lord 325, consisted, we are told, of more than 300 bishops, brought together, some by the hope of gain, and others to see such a miracle of an emperor as Constantine ; who accordingly well rewarded them by his presents, as well as his entertainments ; Sabinus saith, that they were weak and illiterate men, which might be true with regard to many of them. However, it is certain, that they were very litigious and contentious ; inso-much that the emperor was obliged to interfere, to take them off from their private quarrels, and from their daily custom of presenting to him accusations against one another, before he could get them to attend to the business for which they were called together ; and when they did engage in it, their conduct was agreeable to their character ; for the party accused, having laid before them a written confession of their faith, they immediately tore it in pieces : and a great tumult arising, and those who presented the paper being cried out upon, as betrayers of the faith, were so terrified, that they all rose, except two, and were the first in condemning the sentiments and party they before espoused. With such violence were matters carried in this council ! and the unintelligible terms which they introduced into their creeds and definitions of faith, and imposed by dint of authority on others, only served to increase and perpetuate the controversies then subsisting, and fill the world with mutual rage and mutual persecutions. The consequence of which was, that the Christian religion, which, for 300 years after the ascension of our Saviour, had been spreading over a large part of Asia, Europe and Africa, without the assistance of secular power and church authority, and at the convening of the council of Nice was almost every where, through those countries, in a flourishing condition, in the space of another 300 years, or a little more, was greatly corrupted in a large part of that extent, its glory debased, and its light almost extinguished. This council, we are informed by Socrates, was on the point of decreeing the celibacy of the clergy, if they had not been diverted from it, by a spirited oration of Paphnutius, an Egyptian bishop.

The next general council of Constantinople, A. D. 381, was called to confirm the decisions of the council of Nice, which had not in the least extinguished the rage of controversy. Pre-

vious to it, the emperor wrote to the inhabitants of that city, that he would have all his subjects to be of the same religion which Peter, prince of the apostles, had from the beginning, delivered to the Romans, and which was now held by Damasus, bishop of Rome, and Peter, bishop of Alexandria. So respectable a father as Gregory Nazianzen, in a letter which he wrote to Procopius to excuse himself with the emperor for attending this council, saith, that he was desirous of avoiding all synods, because he had never seen any good effect or happy conclusion of any one of them; that they rather increased, than lessened the evils they were designed to prevent. For the love of contention, and the lust of power, were there manifested in instances innumerable. And what the good father said concerning former councils, not excepting the famous one of Nice, he found afterwards to be true of the council of Constantinople. These conveyers of the Holy Ghost, saith he, these preachers of peace to all men, grew so bitterly outrageous and clamorous against one another, in the midst of the church, bandying into parties, mutually accusing each other, leaping about as if they had been mad, under the furious impulse of a lust of power and dominion, as if they would have rent the whole world in pieces. He saith afterwards, that this was not the effect of piety, but of a contention for thrones. And he gives a strange account of their indecent behaviour, when he had just made a speech to them. These furious young men were followed by the elder, and ruled the council.

The general council of Ephesus, A. D. 431, was called on this occasion. Nestorius was of opinion, that the two natures in Christ, were not so united after their carnation, as to occasion a mutual communication of properties. He therefore objected to calling the Virgin Mary, Theotokos, the mother of God; and would have her called Christotokos, the mother of Christ. The design of the council of Ephesus was to settle this notable dispute; or rather to condemn Nestorius. When they met, Cyril, of Alexandria, the avowed enemy of Nestorius, induced the bishops present of his own party, to proceed with great precipitance and violence to the condemnation of Nestorius, before the arrival of John, bishop of Antioch, and the bishops who were with him; and that in opposition to the protest of sixty or seventy bishops, and the emperor's commissioner, whom they drove out of the assembly. And then they sent an account of what they had done, inscribed, "To Nestorius, a

second Judas." When John and his party arrived, they deposed Cyril; and Cyril and his party, in return, deposed John; thus there subsisted two councils, mutually condemning each other. To allay the storm, the emperor gave his sanction to the deposition of Nestorius, Cyril and Memnon, an active partizan of Cyril's, and they were arrested by the emperor's commission; but he was afterwards brought (some say, by the monies distributed among his courtiers by the deputies of Cyril) to alter his mind; to confirm indeed the deposition of Nestorius, whom he banished, but to restore Cyril and Memnon. Ever since Cyril and his party have been esteemed the legitimate council of Ephesus. Isidorus, of Pelusium, in a letter to Cyril, treats him very justly, as well as very freely, when he represents his conduct in this council to be that of a man pursuing only his own resentments.

The fourth general council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451, was occasioned by the extraordinary transactions of a council of Ephesus, A. D. 449, of which Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, was president; and in which the doctrine of the two natures in Christ, after the incarnation, was condemned, and the contrary doctrine of Eutyches confirmed. The menaces of the president, together with the soldiers and Monks, who surrounded the council, terrified the whole assembly; and Flavianus, bishop of Constantinople, who had condemned Eutyches, being accused by the president, and declared to be anathematized and deposed; and appealing therefore from him, and some bishops, at the same time, interposing in his behalf; the president started up, and sternly called for the emperor's commissioners, by whose command the pro-consul of Asia came in with the military, and a confused mob, with chains and clubs, and swords: and some bishops not willing to declare, and others flying away, he cried out, If any one refuse to sign, with me he hath to contend; and then he, and another bishop, carried about a blank paper, and obliged them all to sign it. After which, it was filled up with a charge of heresy against Flavianus, and the sentence of his deposition. Flavianus still excepting against the president, he and others fell furiously upon him, beating him barbarously, throwing him down, kicking and trampling upon him, insomuch, that three days after, he died of the bruises he had received in the council.

The general council of Chalcedon, I say, was called for this purpose; and after some struggle between the two contend-

ing parties, for and against Dioscorus, some crying out for the condemnation and banishment of the heretic, for Christ had deposed him; and others for his restoration to the council, to the churches; the party against him prevailed, and he was deposed, and the doctrine of the two natures which had been condemned before, was now affirmed; the fathers crying out, We believe as Pope Leo doth, anathema to the dividers and confounders; we believe as Cyril did; thus the orthodox believe, cursed be every one who doth not believe so too.

It may, perhaps, by some persons, be esteemed an act of prudence to conceal the enormities of such famous assemblies of Christian bishops, lest the honor of Christianity should suffer by exposing them: but I confess I cannot be of this opinion. Christianity can never suffer in the judgment of any impartial person, by the conduct of those turbulent and factious men, who have figured on the public theatre, in support of a political religion; while it hath numberless advocates in every age, who by their example, as well as influence, promote the interest of personal religion; exhibiting the fairest patterns of meekness, humility, contempt of the world, patience, contentment, purity, and spirituality, universal benevolence, and charity, as well as the most undissembled and fervent piety. Such men of sterling worth, such genuine Christians, who pass through the world like a gentle current, which fertilizes the whole adjacent country, appear with no eclat in history; the good effects of their virtues being diffused in silence: while the restless and ambitious, who aim at wealth and power, and bear down all before them, like resistless torrents, which desolate regions, attract observation from the changes they produce in the world. Nevertheless, those good and righteous men, who have served their generations in their particular stations, by their private virtues, will hereafter be had in everlasting remembrance, when those who have stood forth to the public, as the champions of tyranny or secular Christianity, will be covered with everlasting shame and contempt.

S E C T I O N IV.

The fourth trumpet introduces the destruction of one of the heads of the western empire. The figure is "the sun," the third part of it is smitten; this designates Europe, being one-third; Asia and Africa the other two-thirds. But we have also "the moon" and "the stars," one-third of which are smitten: and these metaphors always have reference to the church, and the ministers thereof; Rome imperial in Europe,

came to an end in Augustulus, A. D. 476, and in its stead, stood up the bishop of Rome, and his subordinate clergy.

Europe at this time had not embraced Christianity. Clovis is said to have been the first Christian prince in Europe after the western emperors, some of whom might perhaps claim, or be entitled to this appellation: he was baptized A. D. 496, as is said. This is the head that receives a deadly wound, as is stated in the 13th chapter: but it revives again in ecclesiastical Rome;—not immediately, not till many years afterwards.

C H A P. IX.

AND the fifth angel sounded, and I saw a star fall from Heaven unto the earth: and to him was given the key of the bottomless pit.

And he opened the bottomless pit; and there arose a smoke out of the pit, as the smoke of a great furnace, and the sun and the air were darkened by reason of the smoke of the pit.

And there came out of the smoke locusts upon the earth: and unto them was given power, as the scorpions of the earth have power.

And it was commanded them that they should not hurt the grass of the earth; neither any green thing, neither any tree; but only those men who have not the seal of God in their forehead.

And to them it was given that they should not kill them, but that they should be tormented five months: and their torment was as the torment of a scorpion, when he striketh a man.

And in those days shall men seek death, and shall not find it: and shall desire to die, and death shall flee from them.

And the shapes of the locusts were like unto horses prepared unto battle: and on their heads were as it were crowns like gold, and their faces were as the faces of men.

And they had hair as the hair of women, and their teeth was as the teeth of lions.

And they had breast-plates as it were breast-plates of iron: and the sound of their wings was as the sound of chariots of many horses running to battle.

And they had tails like unto scorpions, and there were stings in their tails: and their power was to hurt men five months.

And they had a king over them, which is the angel of the bottomless pit, whose name, in the Hebrew tongue, is Abaddon; but in the Greek tongue he hath his name Apollyon.

One woe is past: and behold there come two woes more hereafter.

And the sixth angel sounded, and I heard a voice from the four horns of the golden altar which is before God, saying to the sixth angel which had the trumpet, Loose the four angels which are bound in the great river Euphrates.

And the four angels were loosed, which were prepared for an hour, and a day, and a month, and a year, for to slay the third part of men.

And the number of the army of the horsemen were two hundred thousand thousand: and I heard the number of them.

And thus I saw the horses in the vision, and them that sat on them, having breast-plates of fire and of jacinth, and brimstone: and the heads of the horses were as the heads of lions: and out of their mouths issued fire, and smoke, and brimstone.

By these three were the third part of men killed, by the fire, and by the smoke, and by the brimstone, which issued out of their mouths.

For their power is in their mouth, and in their tails: for their tails were like unto scorpions, and had heads, and with them they do hurt.

And the rest of the men which were not killed by these plagues, yet repented not of the works of their hands, that they should not worship devils, and idols of gold and silver, and brass and stone, and of wood, which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk.

Neither repented they of their murders, nor of their sorceries, nor of their fornications, nor of their thefts.

S E C T I O N V.

The three following trumpets have predicated of them an affecting and solemn denunciation of wo, wo, wo, to the inhabitants of the earth, by reason of the voices of the trumpet of the three angels which are yet to sound.

The fifth trumpet exhibits "a star falling from Heaven." And this according to the figure, and the order of time, must intend the rise of Mahomet, a false teacher. Here commences Daniel's second beast, and John's red horse, or at least the foundation is laid therefore: as we have no figurative description of the destruction of the Saracen empire, we may conclude that this, and the Turkish, are reckoned only as one great empire. The Hegeira, or computation of time, among the Mahometans, commences with Mahomet's flight from Mecca,

A. D. 622. By this power, Imperial Rome in the east, is eventually to be destroyed. If we consider Mahomet as one of the most extraordinary men that has been in the world, and well worthy of particular notice in prophecy; if we farther consider the successes of this power, as being astonishingly great, we may, without impropriety, view the Saracen, as constituting or commencing the second great monarchy, in the order as John has placed them.

I have elsewhere noticed what properly falls in here, and answers to the injunction, not to hurt the grass, nor any green thing, nor any tree, which was Mahomet's courting the friendships of the Christians, and entering into advantageous treaties with them.

S E C T I O N VI.

The sixth trumpet is generally supposed to have reference to the rise of the Turks. The four angels bound in the great river Euphrates, are supposed to designate four Sultanies, or four leaders of the Othmans and Turks, for say they, there were four principal Sultanies bordering upon the Euphrates:

One at Bagdad,	founded A. D. 1055.
One at Damascus,	1079.
One at Aleppo,	1079.
One at Iconium,	1080.

This explanation however does not appear to me to be well founded. It does not seem to comport with the history of the Turks, and the characteristics of the power designated by the sixth trumpet.

The Turkish empire, say they, has its beginning in these four Sultanies, and was consolidated by Soliman. Shah Othman, grand-son of Soliman, was declared sultan, A. D. 1299.

It is manifest, from the history of the Turks, that these Sultanies were all swept away, or absorbed, between 1055 and 1299. Nor can we find a mighty combination of powers arising from these four sources. And yet this ought to be the case; according to the descriptions we ought to see four mighty powers let loose at once, if the explanation they give be the true one. The history itself seems to afford a better explanation.

It is evident that the Saracens had a prophetic period assigned to them of 360 years. And it is well established by history, that they were in a low and miserable condition about the close of the tenth century; and that in the beginning of the eleventh century, their dominion in the east was taken from them, and transferred to the Turks.

It is not necessary that we should consider these four angels as being let loose all at once, but as rising up in succession, one after another, some of them may have a short duration, and others a long one. In pursuing the angels of destruction in this way, we not only find the four, but characters suiting the copiousness of the prophetic descriptions; and also comporting with the unusual exactness of the prophetic period, which is 391 years and 15 days allotted to them. And we shall have the period of time from the fall of the Saracens to the taking of Constantinople filled up by these four angels, and we may naturally expect this to be the case.

The first angel Mah- A little before this mighty conqueror
mud, the Gaznevide, arose, the eastern empire under Nice-
A. D. 997. 1028. phorus, Phocas and John Zemisces, was
marked by the excursions of these em-
perors as far east as Bagdad.

Mahmud was one of the greatest of the Turkish princes. I refer the reader to the historic facts for an idea of the extent of his conquests, and the immense riches he amassed together,

The second angel, To Togrul Beg, the name of sultan
the Seljukian Dynasty, was first appropriated. Under him the
Togrul Beg, A. D. Turks invade the Roman empire in the
1038. east, or the eastern empire; the invasion
was sudden, and by an unknown race
of barbarians. The myriads of Turkish

horse overspread a frontier of six hundred miles. To these Turks 130,000 Christians fell a sacrifice. Togrul Beg sent an ambassador, and demanded tribute of the eastern emperor. The regal and prophetic offices, which were before united in the Caliphs, were now separated, and he received a commission, declaring him the temporal lieutenant of the vicar of the prophet. For the characters and transactions of Alp Arslan and Malek Shah, his successors, I refer to the history. The last died A. D. 1092, and with him the greatness and the unity of the Turkish empire, having lasted only 54 years, expired.

The third angel, Between the death of Malek Shah, and
Othman, A. D. the reign of Othman, there is a space
1299, 1326. of 207 years, in which the fortune of
the Turks was very various, and their
government under several heads. The

vacant throne of Malek Shah was disputed by his brother and five sons: after a series of civil war, the treaty which reconciled the surviving candidates, confirmed a lasting separation in the Persian Dynasty, the eldest and principal branch of the

house of Seljuk. The three younger Dynasties were those of Kerman, Syria, and Roum, which were desolated by the invasion of the Tartars. Zingis Khan, first emperor of the Tartars, reigned from A. D. 1206 to A. D. 1227. After this tempestuous hurricane had passed away, Othman, the son of Orthogrul, the son of Soliman Shah, makes his appearance; the Seljukian Dynasty being no more. He was situated on the verge of the Greek empire. It was on the 27th of July, 1299, that Othman first invaded the territory of Nuomedia, and the singular accuracy of the date seems to disclose the foresight of the rapid and destructive growth of the monster, says the historian. Perhaps it may also give us some insight into some of John's 1260 days. From the beginning of the reign of Othman, to the end of the reign of Bajazet, is 104 years, that is, from A. D. 1299 to 1403.

Tamerlane having defeated and taken Bajazet a prisoner, for a short time put an end to the Ottoman empire. It was again united in Mahomet, his son, forty years before the taking of Constantinople, and continues to this day, having made no conquest of any consequence since the taking of that city.

Huniades and Belgrade were celebrated as the barriers of Europe before the conquest of Constantinople.

The prophetic period of 391 years and 15 days, agrees better with this general view of the matter than any other that I am able to suggest, and gives an extent to our ideas more congenial to the copiousness of prophecy, than the explanation first suggested.

Mr. Gibbon informs us, that the seven churches in Asia Minor, fell a final sacrifice to the Turks A. D. 1312, but from the resurrection 1279 years. We cannot ascertain exactly how soon after the resurrection the gospel was established or received in Asia Minor, probably not under 19 years; therefore we see that the two witnesses had their 1260 years compleat, during which time they were to prophecy in sackcloth and ashes.

The Mahometan religion forbids the use and worship of images; but it appears that the power or persons against whom these angels are let loose, are expressly charged with worshipping devils, idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and wood, which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk. Some place is destroyed in which such idolaters are found. In Constantinople we find a completion of this description. The adoration of images was long in use in this great city. The Latins held the empire about fifty years, during which time

they made immense collections of relicks, crosses, images, &c. and sold them for great sums of money.

John does not pursue this power farther than to inform that it will be a terrible messenger of vengeance: one of the signal events to be brought about by this power, will fall under one of the vials, if not two of them. The punishment of the seven churches in Asia, and the fall of Constantinople, may be pointed out by the first and second vials. John has carried us as far as necessary into the eastern world; before he resumes the history of Europe, he anticipates two great events, or has visions of two very important matters.

If we should suppose the gross idolaters have not a reference to Christian idolaters, and this may be the case, then it seems absolutely necessary to consider the four angels in succession, and to begin with Mahmud, the Gaznevide, who was a great enemy to images, and destroyed them wherever he met with any. No ransom could redeem them from destruction. This however did not effect any repentance in the votaries.

It would favour too much of vanity to even pretend to conjecture any thing, as to what was contained in the voices of the seven thunders. But as to the period of time, when they will be uttered, it seems to me otherwise. The general purport of this account tends to convey an idea, that they belong to the Millenium.

At the close of every important era to the Christian church, John's digressions are extremely well adapted to encourage and console. John, in these two digressions, probably takes leave of his beloved Grecian churches.

The words "Thou must prophecy again before many people, and nations, and tongues, and kings," must mean one of two things; either that John was to resume his history, and prophecy more particularly, respecting the western world and papal Rome: and this prophecy, however sweet it might be in point of knowledge and information, yet is extremely bitter, as it displays in the strongest colours, the vengeance of Heaven, executed upon the wicked: or it must mean that John shall return to the earth again, when he shall not only prophecy, but administer penal justice.

The first does not appear to me to be the true construction; because he had seen before in vision, the four great monarchies, the last of which is described in language that strikes with horror. The seventh trumpet, the angel of which John had seen, includes the seven vials, which by this angel's account, in the 10th chap. carries us to the end of the present system and mystery: The little book does not seem to be any part of the book

sealed with seven seals. The position of the angel's standing, seems to embrace the two last powers on earth, after which, there will be no more wild and ferocious beasts: The solemn affirmation, that time shall be no longer, indicate strongly, that John's prophesying again, must be in some other period, beside the present.

The Greek words rendered, "time shall be no longer," some have supposed might have been rendered, "the time shall not be yet:" and the one translation expressly contradicts the other. But it appears to me, the present translation has truly conveyed the sense of the original. And instances may be produced to shew, that the words cannot be otherwise rendered. The affirmation is about time itself, therefore the article, *the*, is improper; because it necessarily makes the affirmation, not to respect time itself, but some other event. We may ask, The time of what, shall not be yet?—Instances will be produced hereafter, to shew that the present translation is right.

C H A P. X.

AND I saw another mighty angel come down from heaven, clothed with a cloud, and a rainbow was upon his head; and his face was as it were the sun; and his feet as pillars of fire. And he had in his right hand a little book open; and he sat his right foot upon the sea, and his left foot upon the earth; and cried with a loud voice, as when a lion roareth, and when he had cried, seven thunders uttered their voices: and when the seven thunders had uttered their voices, I was about to write; and I heard a voice from heaven, saying unto me, Seal up those things which the seven thunders uttered, and write them not.

And the angel which I saw stand upon the sea, and upon the earth, lifted up his hand to heaven, and swore by him that liveth for ever and ever, who created heaven, and the things that therein are, and the earth, and the things that therein are, and the sea, and the things which are therein, That there should be time no longer.

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

We may observe that this angel has several characteristic marks of Jesus Christ.

Chap. i. 7. He cometh with clouds.

iv. 3. And there was a rainbow round about the throne, in sight, like an emerald.

i. 16. And his countenance was as the sun shineth in his strength.

i. 15. And his feet like unto fine brass, as if they burned in a furnace.

The characters of Jesus Christ, and of this mighty angel, are manifestly the same.

The opening of the book with seven seals was accompanied with many important circumstances. John wept much because no one was found able either to open, or read, or to look upon the book. But the Lamb went and took the book from the right hand of him that sat on the throne; as to him it was not sealed: and as to John this little book is not sealed, though the other was.

The rainbow is one of the characteristic marks of Jesus Christ in the Millenium kingdom; for in chap. iv. ver. 3. he that sitteth on the throne, was encompassed with a rainbow.

The mind of man is extremely limited; he can foretell no future event, except where the laws of nature and experience afford him some ground for it, as is the case in calculating eclipses. If nature continues to operate as it has done, there will at certain periods of time be eclipses. That nature will continue to operate in the same manner, is beyond his scrutiny. So the grounds and reasons of many things and events that take place, and are matters of contemplation here, are entirely unknown to us. Things that are not, are beyond our reach: and as to many things that are, we view them; but it is through a glass darkly.

The book sealed with seven seals, was so, naturally; for it treats of future events. They were nearly all future at the time the Revelation was wrote. It does not treat of problematical questions, and give us the reason and ground of obscure matters.

The little book open, appears to me to contain only such things as relate to the Millenium dispensation; because the person who has it, is attended with circumstances that evidently refer us to that period: and because it is not a sealed book to John.

His standing on the sea and earth manifestly embraces the two last temporal powers that are to be. The sea designating the Mahometan or Turkish empire; and the earth, the papal

power, and European governments. The Mahometan power arose out of the *bottomless pit*. The Greek word more naturally signifies an *abyss*, an ocean. And it is expressly said of the papal power, that it arose out of the earth, chap. xiii. 11.

The seven thunders intimate several particular dispensations of providence, or great events that will happen in that period, which will be no secret when the period arrives: futurity will then be open to all that are like John.

The angel swears by him that liveth for ever and ever: if the angel designates Jesus Christ, he then swears by himself, because he could swear by none greater, That time should be no longer.

But when shall time be no more? Plainly, when the two beasts, on which he had set his feet, have lived their appointed time: the Revelations point out no ferocious beasts as successors to these: they are manifestly the two last beasts; therefore, longer than these, time shall not be.

If the two powers referred to, are the two last temporal governments, it is natural to suppose, that at the end of these, the mystery shall be finished.

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

And he said unto me, Thou must prophecy again before many people, and nations, and tongues, and kings.

Two questions of great importance naturally arise here.

1. Whether the contents of the little open book do relate to the present dispensation, or to the Millenium?

2. Whether John's prophesying again, is to be considered as referring us to the present or the future dispensation.

How great the extent of knowledge will be in the Millenium; we know not; whether it will extend with certainty to future events, and to the reason and nature of things, is difficult to determine: but as there is no seal upon the book, we may without danger suppose, that knowledge will extend thus far in the redeemed.

Among other circumstances before noticed, these two, of the books being open, and the mystery being finished; establish the

idea, that the contents of the book relate to the Millenium: and if so, John's prophesying again must be in that period. He is brought to the two last nations; he has described the Mahometan power; and has finished his prophecy respecting the same: there is but one beast left, about which he is to prophesy. Therefore, when it is said, "before many people, and nations, and tongues, and kings," the words cannot, with propriety, be limited to one single beast, which John described at the opening of the fourth seal.

If we take a view of the current strain of this chapter, it will not warrant such an idea. Jesus Christ, in the Millenium kingdom, appears with a little book open in his hand; he sets his right foot on the Mahometan empire, and his left foot on the Papal power, and swears by himself that time shall be no longer than these powers: when they have come to an end, the mystery shall be finished.

John takes the little book, and eats it, and it is immediately said to him, Thou must prophecy again. By which words, if reference be had to the present dispensation, there is no connexion between the little book, and his prophesying again: for all the prophecy we find afterwards, is derived from the book that was sealed with seven seals. John has unfolded the mysteries contained in six of the seals: he has unfolded those of the seventh seal as far as the sixth trumpet. The angel of the seventh trumpet John had seen, and knew well that he had not unfolded the mysteries contained in the seventh trumpet. If therefore, we confine the words, *thou must prophecy again*, to the present dispensation, the order will carry this meaning—"Thou must unfold the mysteries contained in the seventh trumpet: thou must prophecy again before the beast under my left foot;" and this brings the sense to no more than this—an order for John to finish what he knew he must, and had not finished.

I think we may conclude with a great degree of certainty, that the words, *thou must prophecy again*, have no reference to the seventh trumpet, but to what was contained in the little book. And as all that follows in the Revelations is derived from the seventh trumpet, we may conclude farther, that John will prophecy again in the Millenium kingdom.

There is a plain reason for the little book's containing things very unpleasant, as well as pleasant: At Christ's second coming, the judgment will commence; and the wicked will be recompensed, and the saints are represented as assessors; know ye not, that we shall judge angels and men, says Paul. We have

before observed upon the redeemed having harps and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of saints; and that we find nothing in the scriptures, to warrant the opinion that such is the case, under the present dispensation.

C H A P. XI.

AND there was given me a reed like unto a rod, and the angel stood, saying, Rise and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein. But the court which is without the temple leave out, and measure it not; for it is given unto the Gentiles. And the holy city shall they tread under foot forty and two months.

John has not hitherto given us any definitive periods of time by which we might know how long the great temporal powers would continue: the object here seems to be for this very purpose. The fifth and sixth trumpets have been employed about the Mahometan power; the sixth trumpet introduces the same power under a new organization.

It is manifest that John is pursuing that part of Imperial Rome, which remained in the East, till the Mahometan power took Constantinople, A. D. 1453. It does not seem that he comes down to this date; and perhaps no farther down than A. D. 1299, when the two last temporal powers were completely organized. This observation is made, because it is supposed, that some of the great events respecting the eastern empire, fall under the vials. And John describes the Mahometan power as in progress, and not as having executed its commission against the eastern empire.

All such as worship God in spirit and in truth, are the temple of God, and any part of space, is an altar in which they may worship. And consequently a court without the temple, must be all such as do not worship him thus. And here it appears to me to mean, more than false and hypocritical professors of Christianity; and that by the Gentiles, the Mahometans are intended, who deny the authenticity of the scriptures.

And the holy city they shall tread under foot forty-two months. Jerusalem had this name, and we may naturally suppose, the full time for her to be desolate, is here pointed out. And if we reckon from the flight of Mahomet from Mecca, A. D. 622, the completion of the forty-two months will be in 1882; or if from the taking of Jerusalem, it will end 1897.

And I will give power unto my two witnesses, and they shall prophecy a thousand two hundred and three score days, clothed in sackcloth.

These are the two olive-trees, and the two candlesticks, standing before the God of the earth. And if any man hurt them, fire proceedeth out of their mouth, and devoureth their enemies: and if any man will hurt them, he must in this manner be killed. These have power to shut heaven that it rain not in the days of their prophecy; and have power over waters to turn them to blood; and to smite the earth with all plagues, as often as they will. And when they shall have finished their testimony, the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit, shall make war against them, and shall overcome them, and kill them; and their dead bodies shall be in the streets of the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also our Lord was crucified. And they of the people, and kindreds, and tongues, and nations, shall see their dead bodies three days and an half, and shall not suffer their dead bodies to be put in graves.

And they that dwell upon earth, shall rejoice over them, and make merry, and shall send gifts one to another, because these two prophets tormented them that dwelt on the earth. And after three days and an half, the spirit of life from God entered into them, and they stood upon their feet; and great fear fell upon all which saw them. And they heard a great voice from heaven, saying unto them, Come up hither: and they ascended up to heaven in a cloud: and their enemies beheld them. And the same hour was there a great earthquake, and the tenth part of the city fell, and in the earthquake were slain of men seven thousand; and the remnant were affrighted and gave glory to the God of heaven.

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

Whatever ingenuity any may have discovered in attempting to explain who and what are intended by the two witnesses; I shall confine myself to one plain characteristic mark of them; which is, *and the two candlesticks*. The figurative words, an olive-tree, is not used elsewhere in the Revelations; but as it here intends plainly, the same as a candlestick, or something so congenial to it, that a candlestick would be none, without it, I shall adhere to the last in fixing upon the things signified. As the spirit of prophecy has explained this term, we have no right to depart from the explanation: by which is manifestly intended a visible church; and not one where there are no false members; as is evident in the characters of the seven churches. The

question will be, What two visible churches has John a reference to, by these two witnesses? The answer must be to Ephesus and Smyrna.

John is manifestly making his farewell address to the Christian churches in the East: he has introduced and described the power that was to be the minister of vengeance against them: and for their information as well as consolation, has declared that these two witnesses shall certainly have a period of 1260 years; during which period they will appear in habits of mourning. Notwithstanding there will be abundant occasion for grief and sorrow, yet they are assured of protection; that instead of their enemies prevailing against them, they will be able to command and direct the judgment of heaven, in case there should be need of it, against their enemies.

If we suppose by the two olive-trees, are intended the two Testaments, it will add strength and propriety to the description; a church without these, and these without a church, after they were promulgated, would in the first case be impossible, and in the last place, there would be a cause designed to produce an effect, and yet no effect.

The two olive-trees are thus represented, Zech. iv. I looked, and behold, a candlestick, all of gold, with a bowl upon the top of it, and his seven lamps thereon, and seven pipes to the seven lamps which are upon the top thereof. Zechariah asks, What are these, my Lord? The angel answers, This is the word of the Lord unto Zerubbabel, saying, Not by might nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts; Who art thou, O great mountain? Before Zerubbabel thou shalt become a plain; and he shall bring forth the head stone thereof with shouting, crying, Grace, grace unto it. For who hath despised the day of small things? For they shall rejoice, and shall see the plummet in the hand of Zerubbabel with those seven; they are the eyes of the Lord, which run to and fro through the whole earth.

Then he asks, What are these two olive branches, which through the two golden pipes, empty out of themselves oil into the gold? These are the two anointed ones that stand by the Lord of the whole earth.

This description, though a little different from John's in the beginning of the Revelations, yet the difference is such, as to enable us the better to explain both.

Zechariah has one golden candlestick intimating unity in the church: that is, there is but one true visible church; but he branches it out into seven lamps, answering to the seven golden candlesticks, Rev. i. 20. The seven pipes, or channels of

communication, correspond with the seven eyes, and spirits of God.

The two olive branches seem to communicate with the lamps; nay, it is expressly said so. They are said to be the two anointed ones, or, as the words might have been rendered, the two sons of oil.

We may therefore observe, that by the figurative representation of the two witnesses, something more is conveyed to us than two visible churches. That the death of the two witnesses implies something more than the destruction of two churches, which is a denial and rejection of the truth contained in the sacred oracles.

And such has manifestly been the fact: the Mahometan power not only made war against the eastern churches, but against the sacred oracles: and both may be properly represented as having been put to death by that power.

It seems natural that those deluded persons, who were thus victorious in slaying the churches and the truth itself, should rejoice over their dead bodies.

It is expressly said that the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit, is to be the minister of vengeance. This beast arose on the sounding of the fifth trumpet, and is undoubtedly the Mahometan power. Their dead bodies lay in the street of the great city, which spiritually, is called Sodom and Egypt, where also our Lord was crucified. By Sodom and Egypt, we may understand one city only, which must be Constantinople; the wickedness and idolatry of which were not surpassed by Sodom or Egypt. By the words, "where also our Lord was crucified," we are naturally directed to another city, which is Jerusalem: And the fact, and the description, accord together. But if by these words a spiritual crucifixion is intended; then the great city intends Constantinople only, and by way of eminence intends, the whole of the Ottoman empire.

The same victorious people are to see their dead bodies three days and an half, and not suffer them to be put in graves. They rejoice because these prophets tormented the earth.

In the three days and an half, there is some mystery, and it is difficult to unfold it.

I think it is manifest that hereby cannot be intended three natural days and an half. John had just before used the term *day*, signifying by it a natural year, or a year consisting of 360 days, in the 1260 days allotted to the two witnesses.

If we suppose three years and an half are intended, and that at the the end of these three and an half years the reformation commenced, and that this is designated by the spirit of life from

God entering into them, and their standing upon their feet,—the supposition is attended with difficulties.

There were many dissentients from the papal church in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, before Constantinople was taken. Although a door seems to have been opened to Luther, which no man can shut, yet many before him, and a long time before him, did express their abhorrence of the Romish church, and openly censure it. The Reformation commenced by Luther, was 77 years after the taking of Constantinople: and I do not see how we can make three days and an half signify 77 years; that is 22 years to a day.

There seems to be no connexion between the dead churches in Asia Minor, and a reformed church rising up in Germany. It seems as if they that saw them dead, three days and an half, did see them also ascend up into heaven in a cloud. And if so, reference cannot be had to the Reformation. For the Mahometans saw, or knew well that there was a visible church at Rome: and whether corrupt or pure, was immaterial to them. They viewed all the professors of Christianity as superstitious and deluded.

If the three days and half do **not** refer us to the Reformation, then they must refer us to the Millenium. And as the seventh trumpet consists of seven days, six of which will carry us to the Millenium: we may suppose that when Constantinople was taken, two and an half of the days assigned to the vials, had elapsed, and then three and an half days more will carry us to that period.

It seems manifest that the spirit of God enters into the same bodies that had been dead.

They ascend up to heaven in a cloud: The term *heaven*, undoubtedly signifies the Millenium state. A cloud seems to denote that period; "Behold, he cometh with clouds." The tenth part of the city, and seven thousand men, I should rather suppose to be used integrally, signifying the whole.

It does not seem to be a natural thing, that John should in this very particular and farewell address to the Grecian churches, terminate it for their consolation, with a piece of history, which necessarily falls in under the seventh trumpet, and is there introduced with an account of the church of Philadelphia, which has but a little strength, and is in description, far behind the churches of Ephesus and Smyrna.

That after an exalted angel is introduced, swearing, that time shall be no longer; after the period is assigned to the Maho-

metan power, and to the two witnesses, the result of all the consolation and comfort to the faithful Greek Christians is, that a weak church will rise up in the western world.

There is no circumstances attending the Reformation that correspond with a great earthquake; the tenth part of the city's falling; seven thousand men slain in the earthquake; and the remnant's being affrighted, and giving glory to the God of heaven.

I am therefore of the opinion that the Grecian churches were by this account referred to the resurrection.

Upon mature reflection, it appears to me, that by these two witnesses we are to understand the same that are comprized in the two first living creatures; and then we have hereby designated all the true Christians, that lived and died under Imperial Rome, and the eastern empire. The prophecy continues a long time, and if men are the prophets, then there must be a succession of men: and there must have been more than two in number. There is no impropriety, that I see, in supposing that men are the prophets: they are clad in mourning; they are on earth, otherwise there would be no propriety in the words, *if any man hurt them*. These two witnesses must be figurative of the true Christians for 1260 years; whom God had promised to protect against all their adversaries.

They are to be killed by the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit; and this beast can be no other than the Mahometan power.

Their dead bodies are to lie in the street of the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also our Lord was crucified. The street of the great city, may intend all the Ottoman empire, which is figuratively denominated Sodom and Egypt, on account of its wickedness: and within the limits of this empire Christ was crucified.

If, however, a city is intended, it is by way of eminence, and comprizes all before mentioned; and in this case it must mean Constantinople. And the crucifixion must be figurative as well as the name of the city. In this view, we are led to fix the event at the taking of this city by Mahomet I. but this will be found to be much too late.

And they of the people, &c. shall see their dead bodies three days and an half, and shall not suffer them to be put in graves.

Whatever length of time may be contained in the three days and an half, it is manifest that the power that kills them, is to have authority over them, or the places where they are, for that period and no longer.

After three days and an half, the spirit of life from God enters into them, and great fear falls on all them that see them.

If the prophecy is connected, and there is no change of persons, which I think must be the case, then one way of construing the meaning of three days and an half, may be, considering them as having reference to three and an half vials. Six vials are six days; two and an half had elapsed at the taking of Constantinople; and only three and an half more will complete the six. And the seventh vial is manifestly indicative of a new era, when the resurrection commences.

At this time fear will fall undoubtedly upon all who see these two witnesses. They ascend up to heaven in a cloud, and their enemies behold them; which seems to point out that in order of time, the saints will be raised before the dissolution of human nature: that is, before the beast and the false prophet are taken alive and punished. For after this event, though in the same hour, happens the great earthquake, the falling of the tenth part of the city, and the slaying of 7000 men in the earthquake, these numbers are undoubtedly to be taken integrally—and principally intend, all the wicked, at Christ's second advent, then on the earth. But a remnant remains, and gives glory to the God of heaven.

But upon mature reflection, it appears to me that the following explanation is preferable to any other that I have suggested, or seen.

1. There is undoubtedly allotted to the Mahometan power a precise period of 1260 years.

The death of Mahomet was just 630 years after the birth of Christ. After his death he was set up as an abomination; half of the period of the witnesses had then expired.

The witnesses are the churches of Ephesus and Smyrna, in succession.

2. John makes these observations in the days of the trumpets. And seven trumpets, which may be called seven days, embrace a period of 1260 years. And three days and an half, are 630 years, which will appear to be the true period for the six first vials.

The seventh trumpet or day, embraces no time; yet it is reckoned as one day. The six first trumpets, or days, have each, if we divide the time exactly between them, 210 years.

3. If we compute from the birth of Christ, 1260 years to the death of the witnesses; and add to that three days and an half, or 630 years, the whole period of the vials, it will end at A.D. 1890. And there is abundant reason to believe, that the present dispensation will end about that time.

P A R T IV,

IF we consider the Revelations as divided into two great parts; the second great division commences here.

Chap. xi. 15. And the seventh angel sounded, and there were great voices in heaven, saying, the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ: and he shall reign for ever and ever.

And the four and twenty elders which sat before God on their thrones, fell upon their faces, and worshipped God; saying, we give thee thanks, O Lord God Almighty, which art, and wast, and art to come; because thou hast taken to thee thy great power and hast reigned.

And the nations were angry, and thy wrath is come, and the time of the dead, that they should be judged: and that thou shouldest give reward to thy servants the prophets, and to the saints, and them that fear thy name, small and great: and shouldest destroy them which destroy the earth.

And the temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was seen in his temple, the ark of his Testament; and there were lightnings and voices, and thunderings, and an earthquake, and great hail.

We have observed before, that John is placed in an exalted station, and that he looks back on time, when he gives a history of the great temporal powers on earth under the present dispensation. The Millenium kingdom will be a state of light, and knowledge: there will be no mysteries then. It is probable, the happy subjects of that kingdom will see much farther into futurity than we can at present: that there will be such a communication of light, as will enable them to see from the beginning to the end thereof.

The first part of the introduction here asserts a commencement of the kingdom of Christ, which must be the beginning

of this government: notwithstanding the vials appear to be under the peculiar providence and direction of heaven; and seem to intimate a commencement of the exertion of the power of God: yet it is manifest, they cannot, in any sense, be considered as the beginning of, but only as a certain prelude to the same. There is no partition between their accomplishment and the commencement of that period.

The descriptions we have in this part of the introduction are undoubtedly such, as to convey fully to our minds, certain realities, that will take place in the beginning of that kingdom, to which we have no doubt we ought to refer them.

As we are not informed who are the beings that make the declaration, that the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and his Christ; we cannot supply the want of this information.

The four and twenty elders are only specially designated; they sit on their thrones, and fall upon their faces, and worship God. These four and twenty elders are before introduced six times, as worshipping God: Rev. iv. 10. and v. 8. 11. and 13.— Sometimes they seem to join the worship, and at others, to conclude it by themselves. But here they alone perform the act of worship.

As the seventh trumpet is considered only as one day, the matters declared by the four and twenty elders, in their act of worship, will at the close of this day, be realities. The nations will be angry and passionate towards the close of the same.

It is asserted, that the time to judge the dead is come; to reward the prophets and saints; and them that fear his name small and great: and to destroy them that destroy the earth. As it is manifest that six of the vials do complete all the previous preparations for these great events, they must therefore commence with the seventh. If the descriptions, after pouring out of the seventh vial, are to be taken figuratively, these must, of course be viewed in the same light; and that what is here declared to be a part of the seventh trumpet, or at least to take place in some part of this day, is no more than a figure; and the actually taking place of these things, will not happen in any part of this day.

When any will reason against the positive assertions of one divinely inspired, it is tantamount to reasoning against first principles, which cannot be more certain, than the truths delivered by inspiration. If it be said that they do not reason against the assertions, but merely as to the time the things will take place; then it may be observed that they are to take place in some part of the day of the sounding of the seventh trumpet;

and a denial of this, is tantamount to a denial of the whole:— for whatever is not in time, place, and circumstances, the same with what it is represented to be, is not at all the same thing.

The import of the words necessarily carry this idea, that before all the things contained in the seventh trumpet are accomplished, the judging of the dead, and the reward of the righteous will take place; and also the destruction of them that destroy the earth. Which last terms cannot, without violence, have this idea affixed to them, that the destruction means no more, than a mere change from vice to virtue: a destruction of the sinful qualities of the mind, and a revival of true religion in the same. And that passion, anger, and rage, will give place to the noble powers of reason, enlightened and instructed in divine truths, and exhibiting love in perfection: or, in other words, to true disinterested benevolence.

C H A P. XII.

AND there appeared a great wonder in heaven, a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars: and she being with child, cried, travailing in birth, and pained to be delivered.

And there appeared another wonder in heaven, and behold a great red dragon, having seven heads and ten horns, and seven crowns upon his heads; and his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth: and the dragon stood before the woman which was ready to be delivered, for to devour her child as soon as it was born.

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

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

And there was war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon; and the dragon fought, and his angels, and prevailed not, neither was there place found any more in heaven; and the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent called the devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world; he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him. And I heard a loud voice saying in heaven, Now is come sal-

vation and strength, and the kingdom of our God; and the power of his Christ; for the accuser of our brethren is cast down, which accused them before our God day and night. And they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony; and they loved not their lives unto the death. Therefore rejoice ye heavens, and ye that dwell in them: Wo to the inhabitants of the earth and the sea: For the devil is come down unto you, having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time. And when the dragon saw that he was cast unto the earth, he persecuted the woman which brought forth the man child.

This part of St. John's introduction, or prologue, is very instructive, and extremely well calculated to unfold to us the mysteries that he is preparing the way to treat upon.

The following observations naturally arise out of the same:

First. The woman clothed with the sun, and having a crown of twelve stars, naturally designates the church militant, under the Christian dispensation, with the twelve apostles. Stars are explained by the spirit of prophecy, and mean temporal bishops and spiritual teachers. The dignity and glory of this woman is far below that of the church triumphant, as represented by the four and twenty elders, and the four living creatures, in the 4th and 5th chapters. The position of the moon, indicates the exaltation of the Christian church on earth, above the Jewish church, which last is intended by the figure of the moon.

This woman designates the commencement of the Christian church on earth, and a continuation of the same, until the Millenium.

Second. The great red dragon, designates the completion and fullness of the great temporal powers on the earth, from Nebuchadnezzar inclusive, down to papal Rome, consisting really of seven great monarchies or crowned heads; and ten horns, which are ten kingdoms in Europe. The Mahometan power is left out of this image; it has already been described by itself. It is neither Pagan nor Christian. As we are sure that six of the heads of this red dragon have heretofore been pointed out to us, we can have no doubt as to which head of the dragon John will begin his future history. It is denominated *red*, probably, because all have been tyrants. This great red dragon, is the compleat image of that old serpent, called the devil and Satan.

It was the fifth head of the dragon, that stood before the woman to devour her child, as soon as it was born. Herod was made king of the Jews by this fifth head. The woman

designating the church militant, is figuratively represented, as bringing forth the man child, that is Jesus Christ, who was after the resurrection caught up unto God and to his throne.

Third. This church militant, under the figure of the woman, flies into the wilderness, where she hath a place prepared of God, that they should feed her 1260 years. As we are obliged to consider the dragon in his various component parts, so we must here the church militant. The eastern part of this church has been described to us, and the power that put an end to it, has been plainly and fully represented under the 5th and 6th trumpets.

The time therefore for this part of the church militant, to fly into the wilderness, is after imperial Rome comes to an end—for this plain reason, because we have had every thing relative to the fifth head of the dragon, as far as respects the church, pointed out to us before; and we have seen an end of this fifth head. The tail of the great image drew a third part of the stars of Heaven, which naturally designates the seventh head thereof, which is Rome ecclesiastical, or Rome papal, the last and lower part of this image. The third part of the stars plainly intimates the clergy in Europe, which was a third part of the known world; there being but three grand divisions of it, Asia, Africa, and Europe.

The time therefore to commence the 1260 days or years, must either be at, or after the end of the western emperors.

Fourth. The time when, and the effect of the war in Heaven, require particular attention, in order that we may see whether we are hereby led farther into the views of John.

We may observe, that it is not probable, that by this war, we are led back to the time when Paganism was destroyed; for when Pagan imperial Rome ceased to be, the dragon did not cease to be, nor was he then cast to the earth; which naturally intimates a great diminishing of the extent of empire.

Heaven here, manifestly intends, such as enjoy the light and privileges of the gospel. Who Michael is, we know not; but we have reason to suppose that by him, is intimated, the power of Heaven exerted in favor of them that dwell in Heaven. Michael may be a figurative representation of a powerful, faithful and good commander.

The time when this war commences, seems to be apparently, when the Pope and Charles V. made such great exertions against the reformation. And it is said to the angel of the church of Philadelphia, Behold I have set an open door before thee, which no man can shut,

The dragon prevailed in all instances against such Christians as dissented from the church of Rome, until the reformation; since which, notwithstanding, at times he has persecuted the woman very severely, yet he has diminished gradually; and of late so rapidly, as to intimate a dissolution near at hand.

This war does not intend one single pitched battle, but the various wars of the reformed, until they obtained an establishment of their rights and privileges, which seems to have been pretty well accomplished A. D. 1648, as will appear hereafter.

The effect of being cast out into the earth, is not such, as to deprive the dragon and his angels of all their power: he continues the same dragon, with less power, after this event; and persecutes the woman, that brought forth the man child.

What is uttered by the loud voice, saying, Now is come salvation, and strength, is less majestic and dignified, than the addresses, and songs of the church triumphant: It is but the dawning of that salvation and strength, which will soon usher in the triumphant song of Moses, the servant of God, and of the Lamb.

It may be very justly said of the reformed churches, that they loved not their lives unto death; that they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony. The persons overcome, are the same, of whom it is said to the church of Philadelphia, I will make them of the synagogue of Satan, which say, they are Jews, and are not, but do lie.

The reformers were reproached, vilified and accused of every thing that was bad: They were despised, and treated with the utmost contempt and severity.

In this view of the matter, this part of the introduction is an excellent index to the future history.

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

And the serpent cast out of his mouth water as a flood, after the woman; that he might cause her to be carried away of the flood: And the earth helped the woman, and the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed up the flood, which the dragon cast out of his mouth.

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

With respect to the woman, we have been treating upon, there appears to me no doubt, but the church militant is intended; but with respect to this woman, with two wings of a great eagle, it is not so evident, who and what is intended; she cannot represent the church militant, as she is protected from the face of the serpent.

First. We may enquire, whether by this woman, is intended a church on earth, before the Millenium, or second coming of Christ?

Second. Whether by her, is intended, the church triumphant at Christ's second coming?

Third, Or whether by her, is designated, a church to commence with the Millenium kingdom, the members of which are to have their characters finally fixed there; and consequently are not of the number, who are the first fruits to the Lamb?

We observe in the first place, that this woman cannot be a figure of the church triumphant, whose prerogatives and privileges are much greater, than that of being simply protected from the face of the serpent 1260 years. The members of this church enter into eternal life; the second death has no power over them.

By this church triumphant, I mean the *Tessera Zoonta*, or four having life essentially and indefinitely; (the term *Zoon*, means neither beast nor creature: the idea of essential and indefinite existence, is very proper to be fixed to it) but upon reflection, I am doubtful whether we ought to call these a church: they are the bride, the Lamb's wife.

They participate of the unsearchable riches of Christ: They have golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of the saints.

If therefore these are not a church, as I think they are not: then, if there is to be a church triumphant, this woman with eagles wings, nourished 1260 years from the face of the serpent, must be a figure thereof. And the *Pan Ktisma*, or every creature, chap. v. 13. must constitute the members thereof: And the description of the order of the worship there, shows the exalted station of the four living ones, and the four and twenty elders. The ministers of this church, and the members of the church, will be essentially different; as much so, as a true Christian before, and after his resurrection:—or as one not absent from the body; and one absent from the body, and present with Christ.

It will be observed that it is not the dragon, but the serpent, that casts out of his mouth waters as a flood, in the first place;

afterwards, it is said, that the earth opened her mouth and swallowed up the flood, which the dragon cast out of his mouth—so that the serpent and the dragon are the same being.

This appears to be the last exertion of the Anti-Christian powers against the woman, and bears no small resemblance to that of Pharoah against the children of Israel.

The dragon was wroth with the woman, but she is beyond his reach; therefore he goes to make war (it does not intimate that war is engaged in between the two parties) with the remnant of her seed, which keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ.

It would seem strange, that there should be a remnant of the seed of the church triumphant, at the same period of time, with the church, not protected from the serpent:—This cannot be the case: therefore this exertion is made after the thousand years are expired: it is not in the 20th chap. said how soon after. Here is evidently a period of 260 years over and above the 1000 years; and in some part of these 260 years, this exertion may be made by Gog and Magog. But the exertion proves abortive; and those concerned in making it, meet with condign punishment: And the woman, and the remnant of her seed, are in security and protection, even if this execution takes place, before the 1260 years are expired, which seems plainly to be the period of time assigned to the Millenium,

The combination and connection of the book with seven seals, is very beautiful; it seems to be taken from nature itself, and corresponds with the original work of creation: six days labour, and rest the seventh day. So here the same things are classed in sevens.

The seventh seal belongs to the six foregoing: but it is indicative of a new era or history: and the things contained in it, are classed under seven trumpets.

The seventh trumpet is also indicative of a new era or history; and the things contained in it, are classed under seven vials. And it is manifest, that the seventh vial is indicative of a new era; and that the spirit of prophecy did not permit John to inform us of the full contents of the seventh vial, which we suppose were designated by the voices of the seven thunders.

The introduction of John to this last great day, has brought to our view some of the things of the Millenium; and we shall find afterwards many more important things plainly suggested, respecting the same period.

This introduction does assert, that the kingdoms of this world, are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ.

That the time of the dead, that they should be judged, is come—consequently, they must be called up from the grave.

That the time is come to reward the prophets, and saints; and also them that fear his name, small and great—which last naturally designates the church triumphant. These also must be called up from their graves.

That the time is come to destroy them that destroy the earth.

Now as the seventh vial is clearly a part of the seventh trumpet, though indicative of a new era; these things may all justly and truly be asserted to happen under the seventh trumpet: They will have their commencement on the last day of the trumpet; and it will be manifest hereafter, that we have good reason to suppose, that the five first days of this trumpet have already elapsed.

We come now to a description of the last temporal power that is to be on earth: which compleats the great red dragon.

C H A P. XIII.

AND I stood upon the sand of the sea, and saw a beast rise up out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns, and upon his heads the name of blasphemy.

And the beast which I saw was like unto a leopard, and his feet were as the feet of a bear, and his mouth as the mouth of a lion: and the dragon gave him his power, and his seat, and great authority.

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

And they worshipped the dragon, which gave power unto the beast: and they worshipped the beast, saying, Who is like unto the beast? who is able to make war with him?

And there was given unto him a mouth speaking great things, and blasphemies: and power was given unto him to continue forty and two months.

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

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

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

If any man have an ear, let him hear.

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

The sea may be said to be a great immeasurable and indivisible whole: The earth is capable of mensuration and division, by metes and bounds. By the sea, is intended a very great empire; and by the earth a smaller one.

Much has been wrote about this beast, and that which succeeds it: and yet expositors have hardly satisfied themselves that they have given a true account of both together.

We have undoubtedly seen something befalling the western empire, under the fourth trumpet. We also have had the Mahometan power in different views exhibited to us, in the fifth and sixth trumpets. It is evident that this beast cannot be the last of these powers: we must therefore find a temporal power in Europe answering to the descriptions here given.

When John sees the beast arise, he stands upon the sand of the sea; that is, he is not in the sea, but upon the very edge of it. As all agree that the term sea means a great empire, and as at the time John wrote, he was in such a sea, that is, in Imperial Rome, it is evident, by John's position, that this beast arises at the division of the great Roman empire, and begins with the western emperors, A. D. 392.

It is necessary to find a government, in which the following circumstances unite:

First. The power is to be given to the beast.

Second. The chief magistrates are to lose the power; there is to be a chasm between them and some other power that is to stand up in their place.

Third. The new power that arises, is to be like a lamb, which has two horns. It must therefore be a pretended Christian power. And there must be two different kinds of government; for in Daniel, the ram has two horns in the same head, one signifying the king of Media, and the other of Persia. The he-goat has only one horn. The two horns here designate two different manners of exercising the government.

All these requisites can be found in no other place than Rome, after the year 392.

Theodosius the Great, divided his empire, and gave to one of his sons the city of Rome, and what was from thence denominated the western empire. This head received a deadly wound; the barbarous nations destroyed it. Afterwards, Rome ecclesiastical and popular, held the government for a long time, till A. D. 1099. Then the Popes came in a single and imperial head.

It will be observed, that there are few characteristic descriptions of the eleventh horn that seems to make its appearance in Daniel, after the ten horns rise up. That three of the first horns are to be plucked up by the roots before it.

As to the three horns to be plucked up, the question is, Whether they are three of the ten horns? All expositors that I have seen, suppose that they are: But the fact must be otherwise: because, after the papal power arose, first as a kind of popular, ecclesiastical, and temporal government; and second, as a monarchical government, with the pope at the head of it— It cannot be made to appear, that any three, among ten horns, have been plucked up by the roots by the papal power. And John's descriptions of the ten kings, intimates clearly the contrary, that is, that none of them will be plucked up by the papal power. As the pope is the main object aimed at by Daniel's eleventh horn, the only probable and natural construction that presents itself is, That the western Roman emperors, and the empire of Charlemagne, and the popular, ecclesiastical, and temporal government, making three distinct horns, should be taken out of the way, before the existence of the eleventh horn. Therefore the words, before him, do not mean in his presence, but before his existence.

Several expositors, and Sir Isaac Newton among the rest, have sought for, and pointed out ten horns, before the ecclesiastical hierarchy existed. This cannot be right, because they are to exist at the same time with that power. The ten horns of Daniel, and the ten kings of John, cannot be looked for previous to A. D. 700, nor later than A. D. 1099, for Daniel places the existence of the ten-horns before that of the eleventh. It must therefore be manifest, that Daniel has special reference to the pope, by his eleventh horn, as well as John by one of his horns of the lamb. And here the higher horn came up the last, as in the case of the ram.

Or by the three horns plucked up by the roots, must intend three governments that are to be dissolved some short time before the dissolution of the papal power. The dissolution of which will naturally operate to dissolve the papal power.

And I beheld another beast come up out of the earth; and he had two horns like a lamb, and he spake as a dragon.

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

And he doeth great wonders, so that he maketh fire come down from Heaven on the earth in the sight of men:

And he deceiveth them that dwell on the earth, by the means of those miracles which he had power to do in the sight of the beast : saying to them that dwell on the earth, that they should make an image to the beast which had the wound by a sword, and did live ;

And he had power to give life unto the image of the beast, that the image of the beast should both speak, and cause that as many as would not worship the image of the beast, should be killed.

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

And that no man might buy or sell, save he that hath the mark or the name of the beast, or the number of his name.

Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast : for it is the number of a man : and his number is six hundred three-score and six.

As the last part of this description seems to be designed in a particular manner to point out to us the very beast ; we will endeavour to examine it first : If the translators had omitted to translate the three Greek initial letters, it is probable there would have been more exertion of genius in finding out this mysterious cypher. I suppose it has been generally taken for granted, that those letters really signified 666. It is acknowledged they may ; and yet they may also have reference to another number, in strict conformity with the Greek. Perhaps the translation would have been better in English, as follows : Let him that hath understanding, decypher the cypher of the beast, for it is the cypher of a man beast ; and his cypher is X. E. S.

The initial X. is that of Christos, and of Xilia, 1000.

E. is that of Eulon, and stands alone for 60.

S, is that of Stauros, and stands alone for 6.

Christos.	Eulon.	Stauros.
Christ.	Wood.	Cross.
	1066.	

The whole of the above cypher exactly meets in Pope Urban II.

Henault, in his chronological abridgement of the history of France, says, " The first crusade was resolved on in the same council (that is the council of Clermont, A. D. 1099) under the pontificates of Urban II.

Until this time, the bishops preceded the cardinals. It was in this council, that for the first time, the name of pope was given to the chief of the church, to the exclusion of the bishops, who had the same before.

Godfroi Bouillion, commanded the crusade, and was made king of Jerusalem, A. D. 1099.

As John undoubtedly reckons from the resurrection, 33 years are to be deducted, which leaves 1066.

At this time, armies were denominated cross-bearers: The idolatry of the cross had arrived at an incredible height. The people were made to believe, that crucifixes uttered speeches. But I need not collect instances of the superstitious reverence, and adoration of the cross.

The crusades are justly considered as one of the most surprising instances of insatiation and misguided zeal, of any that we have an account of in history.

The pope, or the second head of the beast, commences together with the crusades.

The two horns, represent the two different kinds of government, both ecclesiastical and pretendedly evangelical. Two horns do not necessarily intimate two separate and distinct kingdoms existing at the same time, nor two different kinds of power exercised at the same time, but one and the same beast, under two essentially different forms of government in succession. This is manifestly the case in Daniel's descriptions of beasts. Here we have Rome ecclesiastically popular; and Rome ecclesiastically imperial:—but classed under one head.

In the introduction, it is manifest, that seven beasts and ten horns, make one compleat dragon. This beast arising out of the sea, having only one head, makes the full complement of heads for the dragon; therefore it is denominated as having seven heads, though it has actually but one head and ten horns crowned. It is sufficiently manifest, that the design is to shew us a connection between, and combination of seven great and powerful monarchies, exclusive of the Mahometan power. And I flatter myself it is impossible to make these out in any other way than has already been suggested, or may be more fully hereafter.

To suppose these seven heads, which are expressly said to be crowned heads, indicate seven small hills, on which it is said the city of Rome is built, is a supposition too trifling and absurd to require a serious refutation. Seven little hills, with the names of blasphemy written on them, would at least seem paradoxical; but there is a peculiar force in those words, if we consider the seven heads as seven great monarchies.

Mr. Lowman has observed, with respect to this beast, as follows:

“ A beast, Therion, signifies a wild savage beast.” In the prophecies of Daniel, beasts are known symbols of the monarchies represented in his visions: In the after parts of this prophecy, it is expressly interpreted by an angel, to mean a king, kingly authority, or government.

The rising of the beast will then signify, the rise of some new government, or dominion, the rising of a wild beast, the rise of a tyrannical government, and rising out of the sea, that it should owe its original to the commotions of the people. Seven heads are interpreted to signify seven mountains, and seven kings, chap. xvii. 9. 10. Hence we may sufficiently understand, that by this beast, was meant a Roman government, different from that in being at the time of the vision, and which was to arise after the imperial government should be passed away, as five other forms had passed before it: That some form of government in the city of Rome is signified by it, seems evident: for the seven heads are in one figurative meaning, interpreted to mean seven mountains; and it is expressly called the great city, which reigneth over the kings of the earth: *Urbs septecollis; orbis caput; and orbis terrarum domina*, are sufficient descriptions of Rome, in Roman authors, and as well understood, as if Rome had been expressly named. Upon the heads of this beast were names or inscriptions of blasphemy. This government is elsewhere described as a mystical Babylon, full of names of blasphemy, signifying, that it should establish idolatrous doctrine and worship.

The beast had also ten horns, each of them crowned, which signify ten kings, which have received no kingdom as yet, but receive power one hour (or in the same hour or same time) with the beast.

This state of Roman government then, as it was to be a new form of government, it was also to be co-temporary with ten kings, or kingdoms, which were to be so many distinct governments at the same time; and in the same period with it: But neither of them were to receive their power, till the king or form of government then in being, that is, the Imperial, should pass away, and another was to come, which was to continue a short space.

These several descriptions together, all which must be united in the kingdom of the beast, seem plainly enough to denote a new form of Roman government, after the Imperial govern-

ment should cease, and after the Exarchate of Ravenna should be suppressed, when the Roman empire should be divided into ten distinct governments or kingdoms, which can be no other than the government of Rome in the hands of the pope.

The form of government in being at the time of the vision was imperial; and after the imperial government ceased in Augustulus, Rome was no seat of government during the Exarchate of Ravenna, and had no prospect of being the seat of empire again, till this new power arose, when the Exarchate was given to the popes, and Rome became the seat of their government, and has continued so ever since.

It seems also intended by the angel's interpretation, that we should not understand this prophecy of an empire or government, in any other place than the city of Rome, though it should take the name and stile of the Roman empire, as the Greek emperors, and the German emperors, have severally done. This may give us a good reason why the city of Rome is described by its natural situation, as well as by its government; and why seven heads are interpreted to mean seven mountains, as well as seven kings.

The foregoing observations, however just in some respects, have not that precision which the descriptions evidently afford.

When it is asserted that the seven heads are seven mountains on which the woman sitteth: and also, that these seven heads are crowned heads, it is extremely unnatural to suppose, that the mountains intend the city of Rome, and that her natural situation is hereby described; the mode of explanation which I have adopted, leads us to the very seat of the beast with great certainty. The beast is to have a beginning, and is to continue to act with energy and power forty two months; and undoubtedly succeeds the imperial form of government. After its existence, one of its heads is wounded as it were to death; which cannot mean one of the little hills on which the city of Rome is built: and the deadly wound is healed: not by bringing to life the same wounded head, but by the introduction of another so as to make but one head.

With Rome Imperial, ended five great monarchies, which are called heads or mountains, and of these the spirit of prophecy had made particular mention: They were the empires of Babylon, Media and Persia, Grecia, Rome Popular and Rome Imperial. To this last succeeds the beast in question; and from the end of Imperial Rome, we may reckon for the commencement of this beast.

John, in his introduction to this second part, and in his explanations relative to the beasts, he is here treating about, manifestly computes them in lineal descent from Babylon, leaving out the Mahometan power, which he had before fully described.

Rome Imperial was the fifth : when the sixth was the first, five had fallen. The sixth seems to be an immediate successor, and must be the eastern empire. " Another is not yet come." This must designate the Mahometan power ; which arose in order of time next after the sixth head ; but is not here considered in a lineal connexion. It is an exotic, neither pagan nor Christian.

Considering, therefore, papal Rome as part of the great genealogical tree or image, from Babylon down to the same, there will be seven heads ; and this shews the propriety of designating Rome papal, by the name of her ancestor, or mother Babylon, which is expressly said to be the head of gold.

In order of time the Mahometan power is a seventh power, and papal Rome is an eighth power. But it seems unnatural to separate Rome papal from the western emperors, by inserting between them another power, which under the fifth and sixth trumpets is not designated as a beast or head, except it be merely as it respects time, and not connexion. And thus John calls the beast that was, and is not, the eighth ; in point of time, and its rising up the essential part of it, was the eighth ; but in point of connexion, and relationship, it was the seventh.

Daniel's four beasts, and John's four first seals, agree in the same temporal powers, excepting John's first, which designates Christ's kingdom, which commenced in Imperial Rome.

John has chosen for a symbol of his temporal powers, a particular species of beasts, which is a horse : and the prophet Zechariah had done the same before, so that a horse may be considered as a known symbol for a monarchy or government, taking in its whole duration.

Daniel's fourth beast, John's fourth seal, and the beast that he sees here rise out of the earth with two horns like a lamb, have reference to the same temporal powers. In the time of the western empire, and before the man of sin is individually revealed, the impostor Mahomet rises up and consequently answers to Daniel's second beast, to John's second seal, and is fully described under the fifth and sixth trumpets.

Although Daniel, in his eleventh chapter, makes an evident distinction between the Saracen and Turkish empires, which came to a single head in the Turk, last of all the great powers.

yet he connects the whole history together, and makes of both but one great power; designates the rise of it; and says it will come to an end; and in the twelfth chapter points out how long it will be to the end.

John has also made a distinction in the Mahometan power; the fifth trumpet marks out the rise of it. The Arabian Hegeira begins with the flight of Mahomet from Mecca, A. D. 622. In the year 732, Charles Martel engaged an army of Saracens between Tours and Poitiers, and slew of them more than 300,000 men. And in 772, which was exactly 150 years from Mahomet's flight, Charlemagne drove nearly all the Saracens out of Europe, which seems apparently to make the five months suggested in the fifth trumpet prophetic.

Daniel gives a season or time, which in prophetic language is 360 years, to the first exertions of this power. The change of this power, from one government and people to another, did not change its essential principles: nor did the change in the church government, from the Bishop of Rome's being only *primus inter pares*, to a single head, alter the essential principles of church government; nor is the change from the western emperors to the ecclesiastical government of Rome, to be considered as making two heads.

The observations of Mr. Lowman, are more plausible than substantial: for this beast rises out of the sea, and is a part or portion of it; which must unavoidably be the great Roman sea. It commences when that ceases to be. We must therefore conclude that it intends the western branch of the Roman empire after it was divided by the will of Theodosius, A. D. 392. The object of the prophecy is to lead us to Papal Rome: before we arrive at that, the western emperors must be taken out of the way; and this was done by the Goths and Lombards. Considering this beast, therefore, as commencing at the end of Imperial Rome, and as making but one beast; before we arrive at papal Rome, we necessarily find one of its heads, as it were, wounded to death: and we do find a head reviving again in the same city of Rome.

As the prophecy has special reference to this last reviving head, which did not exist till some time after the division of Imperial Rome; we are therefore to count the eastern empire as the sixth in order of time, and this beast the seventh in order of connexion with Nebuchadnezzar's great image; but the eighth great power in order of time, because the Mahometan power rose up before the head had revived.

By the Dragon we may suppose Imperial Rome is intended: and then there is an evident propriety in these words—the dra-

gon gave him his power, and his seat, and great authority.—

Theodosius gave one of his sons, his power, his seat, and great authority in the west. As Imperial Rome is represented in Daniel, as being broken without hands, neither in anger, nor battle, so this beast rises up neither in anger nor battle does not carve out an empire for himself, but it is given to him by the dragon. This historic fact exactly fits the beast, and none other of the great powers that we have had before us. The eastern empire is therefore to be counted as the sixth, and this as the seventh head of the great image.

The beast has power given unto him to continue forty and two months; but the original has it, to make war forty and two months: which is not intended to point out that the duration of the beast will be no more than that period: but counting from the division of Imperial Rome, A.D. 392, 1260 days, or years, brings us to A.D. 1652; since which, and even at that very time, there was a very evident decline in the papal authority: nor has the papal power had that influence over the politics of Europe since that, it had before.

The head wounded being the western imperial head, and the head revived, being the papal head, exhibits a simple and connected view of the prophecy, and the historic facts fully coincide therewith.

We may remark, that we find no prophetic description of Imperial Rome's dissolution: which is an evidence that I have rightly construed that verse in Daniel in respect to the raiser of taxes, who comes to his end neither in anger nor battle, as intending Imperial Rome. The end of every other power, except the two now in being, is plainly pointed out; and how these are to come to an end, is fully declared.

But we do not yet seem to have arrived at the full explanation of all the descriptions. The beast is apparently considered as one; though it has several distinct heads, they are all classed together and constitute generally one beast, which is ultimately divided into ten horns: that is, the western world is brought into one general view from the beginning to the ending of the same.

After one of the heads is wounded, the beast with two horns like a lamb, rises up; and says to them that dwell on the earth, that they should make an image to the beast which had a wound by a sword, and did live; and he had power to give life to the image of the beast, that the image of the beast should both speak and cause that as many as would not worship the image of the beast, should be killed.

This image of the beast must be some reality which we have not yet explained.

The first head, then, that receives a wound, which had its power and authority given to it, we take to commence at the division of the Roman empire, A. D. 392, and to end A. D. 476, when by the fourth trumpet, the church meets with a similar disaster. The sun, the moon, and the stars, cease to shine.

The next in order, that rises up, is the two horned beast, which we commence with Gregory the Great, about A. D. 595, who by his missionaries, converted a great part of the western world; and this is the first horn of the beast like a lamb.

The image then, of the beast, must be Pepin or Charlemagne, who were made emperors of the west by the ecclesiastical power in the city of Rome; and therefore we must compute for the rising up of the two horned beast, sometime before Pepin or Charlemagne; and the time of Gregory the Great, is the most distinguished era that can be found in history, between the wounding of the first head and Pepin.

There can be no truer image of the western Roman emperors, than Charlemagne, who received his title of emperor from the papal power.

John having finished the characteristic descriptions of the great powers on earth, during this last period, and having connected them with others long since dissolved, affords an occasion for attentive reflection; and a serious enquiry, Why John has exhibited to us, under one character, which is that of the great red dragon, seven great monarchies and ten horns; and why immediately after these, Mount Sion, and its exalted inhabitants, are brought into view.

C H A P. XIV.

AND I looked, and lo, a Lamb stood on the Mount Sion, and with him an hundred and forty four thousand, having his father's name written in their foreheads:

And I heard a voice from heaven, as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of a great thunder, and I heard the voice of harpers, harping with their harps.

And they sung, as it were, a new song before the throne, and before the four living ones, and the elders; and no man could learn that song but the hundred and forty and four thousand which were redeemed from the earth.

These are they which were not defiled with women; for they are virgins; these are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth:

These were redeemed from men, being the first fruits unto God and to the Lamb:

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

This seems plainly to exhibit to our view, the Millennium kingdom: but there is some mystery in the 144,000, not readily discovered, and perhaps we shall not be able to discover it. One thing is evident, that they are of the human race; but whether Jews or Gentiles is a question, not easily solved. We will endeavour to examine comparatively.

John begins with the Christian dispensation, and by the descriptions of the seven churches, passes through the period of this dispensation; immediately after which, four living ones, and four and twenty elders appear: they worship God, they worship the Lamb; they worship by themselves separately and in conjunction with the angelic host. Their addresses to the throne are plain and intelligible. They say expressly to the Lamb, For thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, out of every kindred, tongue, people, and nation. And hast made us unto our God, kings and priests, and we shall reign on the earth.

The 144,000, appear to be sealed immediately after the destruction of the Jewish church and nation, and are said to be of all the tribes of the children of Israel. After they are sealed, John says, I beheld a great multitude which no man could number, of all nations, kindreds, people, and tongues, standing before the throne and before the Lamb; which seem to intimate that the 144,000, are not of different nations, but really Jews.

When they are sealed, they say not a single word: there is no act of adoration or worship: so in this fourteenth chapter they say not a word. It is said of them, that they were redeemed from among men; but the living ones and the elders, say, Thou wast slain, and has redeemed us *by thy blood*. The anthem is performed before the throne, the four living ones, and the elders, which no man could learn but the 144,000; there is, therefore, an evident distinction and difference between the four living ones and four and twenty elders, and these 144,000: the last are not upon an equal grade with the others, who do declare, that they are made kings and priests, and that they shall reign on earth; but this is nowhere said of the 144,000.

When the fifth seal is opened, John sees under the altar, the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held. All those who live after the Christian dispensation, in their addresses, or what is said of them, give some significant marks of it. But this is not the case with respect to the souls under the altar. It is natural, therefore, to suppose they are Jews, and such as lived under the Mosaic dispensation, from before whose eyes, the veil was not removed, who had no clear sight, nor conception of the Christian dispensation.

It seems to be evident that these 144,000 are faithful Jews, who lived and died under the Mosaic economy. Their not uttering a single word, seems to imply that they are destitute of the knowledge of the Christian system.

And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue and people :

Saying with a loud voice, Fear God, and give glory to him, for the hour of his judgment is come ; and worship him that made heaven and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters.

If the hour of judgment be after the end of the gospel dispensation, we might naturally enquire here, Why the preaching of the everlasting gospel and the judgment, seem to commence together ? Has the hour of judgment reference only to temporal powers and not to individuals, or to a resurrection ? I think not. For I can find no evidence to support such an opinion. By the hour of judgment, I understand the time of the resurrection of good and bad : after which it is evident the gospel will be preached either to men in the flesh, or to such as have been brought up from their graves. And the latter seems to be most clearly supported by the Revelations.

And there followed another angel, saying, Babylon is fallen, is fallen, that great city ; because she made all nations drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication.

By Babylon, we are naturally led to understand the great red dragon with seven heads, and ten horns, and seven crowns on his heads. The living parts of this dragon, are now in Europe. When these fall, there will be an end of temporal governments. The reason why Babylon falls, is so plain as to need no comment.

And the third angel followed them, saying, with a loud voice, If any man worship the beast, and his image and receive

his mark in his forehead or in his hand, the same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture into the cup of his indignation: and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb: and the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever: And they have no rest day nor night, who worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the mark of his name.

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

And I heard a voice from Heaven, saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, from henceforth: Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them.

And I looked, and, behold, a white cloud, and upon the cloud one sat like unto the son of man, having on his head a golden crown, and in his hand a sharp sickle.

And another angel came out of the temple, crying with a loud voice to him that sat on the cloud, Thrust in thy sickle, and reap; for the time is come for thee to reap: for the harvest of the earth is ripe.

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

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

And another angel came out from the altar, which had power over fire; and cried with a loud cry to him that had the sharp sickle, saying, Thrust in thy sharp sickle, and gather the clusters of the vine of the earth; for her grapes are fully ripe.

And the angel thrust in his sickle into the earth, and gathered the vine of the earth, and cast it into the great wine press of the wrath of God.

And the wine-press was trodden without the city, and blood came out of the wine-press even unto the horse-bridles, by the space of a thousand and six hundred furlongs.

We may remark upon this chapter, that there are six called angels: And if the one like unto the son of man should be called an angel, then there are seven; but as John has not called him an angel, we may reckon only six with certainty:

There are five matters of importance mentioned:

The preaching the gospel; the hour of judgment:

The severe judgment to be executed on the worshippers of the beast:

The reaping the earth, because the harvest is ripe :

The gathering the clusters of the vine of the earth, because her grapes are fully ripe : and the vine of the earth was gathered.

There is one voice from heaven, which pronounces the blessedness of those that die in the Lord.

All these important matters so evidently refer us to the close of the Christian dispensation, and to the commencement of the Millenium, that little need be said upon them.

The reaping of the earth seems to refer us to the severing and separating the good from the bad.

And the gathering of the vine of the earth, plainly intimates the dissolution of all flesh : and the end of human nature in its present form.

The wheat will be gathered into the garner, and the chaff will be burnt with unquenchable fire.

As to the blessedness of the dead, it is grounded in this, that their works do immediately follow them : which suggests another idea, that some have died, whose works did not immediately follow them.

Whatever may be the state of the soul, between death and the resurrection, it is generally allowed that the consummation of happiness does not happen till the resurrection. Even Paul could say that he groaned within himself, waiting for the redemption of his body. The most natural construction seems to be, that this passage has reference to the resurrection. It is the dead who have at any time died in the Lord, that are blessed ; and now is the time of their reward.

C H A P. XV.

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

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

And they sung the song of Moses, the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb, saying, Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty ; just and true are all thy ways, thou King of saints.

Who shall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name? for thou only art holy: for all nations shall come and worship before thee; for thy judgments are made manifest.

And after that I looked, and, behold, the temple of the tabernacle of the testimony in Heaven was opened.

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

And one of the four living creatures gave unto the seven angels, seven golden vials full of the wrath of God, who liveth for ever and ever.

And the temple was filled with smoke from the glory of God, and from his power: and no man was able to enter into the temple, till the seven plagues of the seven angels were fulfilled.

A question naturally arises here, Who are those who have gotten the victory over the beast? &c.

This beast, we suppose, to be the same that is described on opening the fourth seal, as follows: A pale horse: And he that sat on him was death, and hell followed with him: And also the same beast that rises out of the earth, with two horns, like a lamb. Therefore those who have gotten the victory over him, constitute the church, which is described under the figure of a flying eagle.

The sea of glass may designate a state of perfect firmness, an unshaken foundation, as also clearness and purity: and also a place of safety during some extraordinary events.

The deliverance of these, and of the children of Israel, when a passage was made for them through the Red Sea, have a resemblance to each other. This is intimated by the song: The song of Moses was after the children of Israel had passed the Red Sea, and when they were in perfect security from their enemies on the opposite shore. This song also, it is evident, is performed after the victory is obtained, and when they stand on the sea of glass, having the harps of God: And this cannot be before the resurrection.

If therefore, in this situation, and at that time, they declare that all nations shall come and worship before thee; because thy judgments are made manifest: then we may rest satisfied, that the gospel dispensation will be continued in the Millenium kingdom: And this confirms the explanation we have given of the 13th ver. of chap. v. And every creature which is in Heaven, &c. who shall not fear thee, and glorify thy name: for thy judgments are made manifest—must have reference to others, than those who unite in this song; consequently to some, who

are in a situation to be operated upon by fear, which such a signal display of judgment has a tendency to excite.

It is one of the four living creatures that furnishes the seven angels with the vials of wrath; which seems naturally to refer us to the Christians, collected out of the last temporal government.

The temple of the tabernacle of the testimony in Heaven, seems to designate a place to worship in: it is fully implied, that men may enter into it after the plagues are fulfilled, though they cannot before. It will, no doubt, be visible, upon the pouring out of the seventh vial; for the pouring out of this vial is only a signal for a new era.

C H A P. XVI.

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

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

S E C T I O N I.

The descriptions in these vials are short and concise, and the vials seem to follow each other in quick succession.

It appears to be natural to postpone the commencing of the pouring out of the vial till the 1260 years allotted to the two witnesses expire. And as these years manifestly belong to the Grecian churches, there is good reason to suppose that the period of the vials commences when that has elapsed. That there is no interval of time between the closing of the sixth trumpet and the commencement of the first vial.

If we compute from the birth of Christ, the death of the witnesses happened, A. D. 1260. And the period of the vials commences, and the periods to be assigned to each, will be as follow:

The first vial—commences	A. D.	1260	years.
Ends	A. D.	1365	105
The second—commences	A. D.	1365	
Ends	A. D.	1470	105
The third—commences	A. D.	1470	
Ends	A. D.	1575	105
The fourth—commences	A. D.	1575	
Ends	A. D.	1680	105
The fifth—commences	A. D.	1680	
Ends	A. D.	1785	105
The sixth—commences	A. D.	1785	
Ends	A. D.	1890	105
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The characteristic descriptions in the vials, do not point out the beginning or the ending of the vials:—but in some part of each 105 years, we shall find something in history, corresponding with the descriptions.

The earth denotes only a part of the great Roman sea.

The Christians under the eastern emperors are charged with the greatest idolatry, and therefore must have the mark of the beast.

Between 1260 and 1365, the Christians in the eastern empire suffered a variety of misfortunes from the Turks. One in particular was a very grievous sore to them, which was circumcision; and history informs us, that thousands of them were circumcised between these two periods; and almost all Asia Minor was, sometime before 1365, reduced to the subjection of the Turks.

S E C T I O N II.

And the second angel poured out his vial upon the sea: and it became as the blood of a dead man: and every living soul died in the sea.

Sea here, may intend the seat of the eastern empire; as the earth, when the first vial was poured out, designates only the provinces of Asia Minor. And between 1365 and 1470, Constantinople was taken: And to one single event of this kind, the descriptions very evidently refer us. Death probably intends political death. And the blood of a dead man, designates that the Christians were nauseous and offensive to the Mahometans, as well as to Heaven. Constantinople was the last seat of the great Roman sea or empire.

When the characteristics of the sixth trumpet are weighed with attention, I think it must appear that John introduces the power, mentions the end of the eastern empire, which it will effect; but does not convey an idea, that it takes place actually under the sixth trumpet. But the figures here, seem to convey the idea of its end accurately.

S E C T I O N III.

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

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

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

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

We may remark, that the first trumpet plainly designates the persecuting and murdering of the innocent Christians: that the effects of the first vial are poured out upon the subjects of the beast, upon the synagogue of satan. That the second trumpet designates the rise of Constantine the Great: and that the effects of the second vial are poured out upon the very seat of empire which he established. And that the third trumpet plainly points out the commencement and corruptions of the ecclesiastical hierarchy; upon which the effects of the third vial are manifestly poured out. The rivers and fountains of waters must intend the corrupt clergy: And their becoming blood, naturally intimates that they become very offensive to others. The most remarkable and permanent instance of such an event, is the reformation, which took a lasting root soon after the year 1500.

A general council was called to meet at Trent, A. D. 1542, in order effectually to crush the heresy, which after many suspensions and intermissions, ended A. D. 1563.

The council, managed by the intrigues of the popes, confirmed their corruptions, and condemned all doctrines tending to a reformation. But it was unanimously rejected by all who maintained the necessity of a reformation.

The kingdoms of England and Scotland, Sweden and Denmark, many states of the empire and cantons of Switzerland, great numbers in France, Hungary, and Bohemia, separated entirely from the Roman communion, and renounced the papal authority.

We see plainly a door opened here, which no man has been able to shut: which corresponds with what was said to the church of Philadelphia.

This was the first permanent and effectual limitation of the popes authority: And the polemical writings for that day show how much the reformed despised the Roman clergy.

The descriptions, therefore, very naturally correspond with facts that happened between 1470 and 1575.

S E C T I O N IV.

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

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

The sun denotes the chief civil magistrate in an empire or kingdom.

Between the years 1575 and 1680, there were very many remarkable events, which were the effects of kingly authority.

We naturally begin with Mary, queen of England. She began to reign in 1553; and during the short time she reigned, she endeavoured to extirpate the reformation. The many acts of cruelty during her reign are well known.

Another memorable event, was the massacre of between 30 and 40,000 Huguenots, on St. Bartholomew's eve. The wars between Philip II. and the United Netherlands, were in this century. The period in England commenced in the blood of the Protestants, and ended in beheading Charles I.

It was a period in which the pope, assisted by the Jesuits, disturbed the peace of all Europe, more especially France.

Henry the IVth. was murdered, supposed to have been done by the influence of the Jesuits.

It is true, that if we begin with Mary, queen of England, we go back about twenty years into the third period. And if we confine ourselves strictly within 1575 and 1680, we shall find that monarchical governments were highly tyrannical in Europe during that period. The Jesuits, and Louis XIV. were great scourges to mankind.

S E C T I O N V.

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

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

The seat of the beast no doubt intends papal Rome. And that event which seems best to correspond with this vial is the banishment of the Jesuits from nearly all Europe, which might be said literally to introduce darkness into the kingdom of the beast.

The order of the Jesuits was established in 1540, under a plan of government purely monarchial. The general of the order held his office for life: the funds of the society, as well as the members of it, were under his sole sovereign disposal. When Loyola petitioned the pope in 1540 to authorize the institution of the society, he had only ten disciples, but in sixty-eight years, it increased to 10581; and in the year 1710, the order possessed twenty-four professed houses, fifty-nine houses of probation; 342 residences; 612 colleges: 200 missionaries: 150 seminaries and boarding schools, and consisted of 19,998 Jesuits.

“The Jesuits are justly considered as the authors of those pernicious effects arising from corrupt and dangerous casuistry; from extravagant tenets concerning ecclesiastical power; and from an intolerant spirit, which has been the disgrace of the church of Rome, and brought so many calamities on civil society.”

The Jesuits were banished from the different kingdoms in Europe successively; that is from Great Britain, 1604; from Venice, 1606; from Portugal, 1759; from France, 1764; and from Spain and Sicily, 1767. Pope Clement XIV. banished them from his dominions, 1773.

As the sun is the figure for a chief magistrate in a civil government, so when that sun ceases to be, the state is designated by darkness; as is apparent on opening the sixth seal, and sounding the fourth trumpet.

The banishment of the Jesuits may very justly be considered as having introduced political darkness into the seat of the beast.

The civil protestant powers of Europe were during the century successful against the papal powers, in-so great a degree as to render them incapable of making any efforts for a recovery of their former splendour.

The period of this vial is between 1680 and 1785.

S E C T I O N VI.

And the sixth angel poured out his vial upon the great river Euphrates; and the waters thereof were dried up that the way of the kings of the east might be prepared :

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

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

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

And he gathered them together, into a place called in the Hebrew tongue, Arma geddon.

The period of this vial is between 1785 and 1890.

The plain purport of this vial seems to be an universal preparation for the dissolution of human nature.

The river Euphrates intimates the greatness and extent of the real object. This river is called, by way of eminence, *the river* : and therefore may intimate the whole of the human race. The water thereof being dried up, intimates not a scarcity; but directions to so many different points, that they run not in the usual channel :—Thus Cyrus dried up the waters of this great river, when he took Babylon, by leading the waters out of their usual channel.

By the kings of the east, we may understand powers more than mortal. The morning star, and the star of the east, seem to be symbols of Jesus Christ: ‘And I will give him the morning star.’ And the star which they saw in the east went before them, till it came and stood over where the young child was. The angel ascends from the east that has the seal of the living God.

As it is manifest that the great event itself does not take place under this vial, the effects of which are only a universal and general preparation of the kings of the earth, and the whole world; the next vial plainly shews the nature of it.

There is an evident distinction between the kings of the east, and the kings of the earth and the whole world. The last are all gathered together, so that the kings of the east cannot intend any of the kings of the earth or of the world.

The dragon, the beast, and the false prophet, most probably designate but two characters. The connection of the dragon and the beast, we have explained; and this beast is the last and finishing member of the dragon.

The false prophet has not been before mentioned; but as his character, when he rises under the fifth trumpet, has the

distinguishing mark of a prophet, teacher, or bishop, we may naturally conclude the Mahometan power is intended; otherwise we have but one character under three names. The beast is evidently papal Rome, and wants no other distinguishing mark; and I conclude the false prophet as evidently designates the Mahometan power.

The spirits of devils working miracles, intimate that mankind will fall under very gross delusions, which will be permitted to operate so powerfully, as to make the preparation complete for the great event.

What objects mankind will have in view, is not intimated; but they will be such as to cause an enthusiasm as great as existed in the time of the crusades, and probably greater. No one can tell yet what will be the commotions on account of the *Rights of Kings*, and the *Rights of Man*.

The battle is that of the great day of God Almighty. The controversy will not therefore be between mortal powers.—They are gathered together in a place rendered famous for mourning and lamentation. This may be designed as a figure to point out the great lamentation that this great battle will occasion, rather than the place where it will actually happen.

The caution, Behold, I come as a thief—intimates strongly in this place, that the morning of Christ's appearance begins to dawn; and it is very near at hand.

When this sixth day of the vials has elapsed, Christ will make his appearance again on earth.

The age of the last tyrannical beast that will be on earth, must be a circumstantial evidence that we are now living under the sixth vial. Commences 1785, ends 1890.

With respect to the beast and the false prophet, more particular enquiry hereafter will be made; and perhaps it will be found, that the false prophet does not intend the Mahometan power.

P A R T V,

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

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

And the great city was divided into three parts: and the cities of the nations fell.

And great Babylon came in remembrance before God, to give unto her the cup of the wine of the fierceness of his wrath. And every island fled away, and the mountains were not found.

And there fell upon men a great hail out of heaven, every stone about the weight of a talent;

And men blasphemed God because of the plague of the hail: for the plague thereof was exceeding great.

We find the words, *It is done*, used but once before, and then by our Saviour on the cross, when he gave up the ghost. In this place there can be no doubt but they are very emphatical: we find them once more used at the end of the mediatorial kingdom.

On the opening of the sixth seal, there was a great earthquake, and every mountain and island are moved out of their place. Here is an earthquake greater than any that ever happened before, and every mountain and island flies away. In the original, it is a greater and a different kind of earthquake from any that ever happened before.

The great city is divided into three parts and the cities of the nations fall. By the great city, and great Babylon, there can be no doubt but the same thing is intended. It is that great connected city, of which Imperial Babylon is the head of gold, and papal Rome is the feet.

The two succeeding chapters will give us a full and clear account of great Babylon, and what we are to understand by the same.

This vial is poured out into the air, which term is used as a simile, or figure, to represent something in which is included all that is bad and wicked; something from which all good is excluded. It is used to designate the seat of the prince of darkness.

The devil is called the prince of the power of the air.

If the great city intends all mankind from the head of gold to the feet of iron and clay; then a division of this city into three parts corresponds with what seems to be plainly conveyed in the Revelations, which is, that there will be in the Millennium kingdom, three distinct and different classes of the human race. The redeemed and glorified: those who enjoy great privileges under a continuation of the gospel dispensation: and the reprobate wicked.

C H A P. XVII.

AND there came one of the seven angels which had the seven vials, and talked with me, saying unto me, Come hither, and I will shew unto thee the judgment of the great whore, that sitteth upon many waters; with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and the inhabitants of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication.

So he carried me away in the spirit into the wilderness; and I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet-coloured beast full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns:

And the woman was arrayed in purple, and scarlet-colour, and decked with gold and precious stone, and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand full of abominations, and filthiness of her fornication; and upon her forehead was a name written, MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS, AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH.

And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus: and when I saw her, I wondered with great admiration.

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

The beast that thou sawest was, and is not ; and shall ascend out of the bottomless pit, and go into perdition ; and they that dwell on the earth shall wonder (whose names were not written in the book of life from the foundation of the world) when they behold the beast that was, and is not, and yet is.

We have here introduced a new character, which is neither the great red dragon, nor any of the constituent members of him ; but is represented as sitting upon them all. She is called a great whore ; a woman gorgeously arrayed, Mystery, Babylon the great, the Mother of Harlots, and abominations of the earth.

All these appellations belong to this new character ; and the question is, Where is there any thing existing corresponding herewith ? What is there on earth besides temporal and ecclesiastical governments, which have all been described under the figurative term of beasts ; and this woman sits on all of them.

The angel says, he will shew the judgment of this woman : but the result is, that the beast which carrieth her goeth into perdition ; we must therefore conclude, that this woman is something inseparably attached to the beast, or she is not punished at all.

It must be evident that this woman is a figurative representation of sin and wickedness. The prophet Zechariah has personified the same. Zech. v. 7, and 8, And behold there was lifted up a talent of lead ; and this is a woman that sitteth in the midst of the epaph ; and he said this is wickedness.

The permission of the introduction of sin into the world, has always been considered as a great mystery. Whatever ingenious theories may have been devised as to the origin of evil, none have as yet been satisfactory ; and it is not probable any will till this mysterious woman is no more.

The woman is drunk with the blood of saints ; and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus : which evidences that her existence is anterior to the Christian dispensation ; the first designating such as died for the word of God and the testimony which they held, agreeably to what is said of those upon opening the fifth seal. This distinction is plainly held up to view in several instances.

Whether the beast that carries the woman is the great red dragon, or the beast that rises out of the sea, is not material ; because they are both so described as plainly to shew the same thing is intended ; all the difference is, that the dragon's seven heads are crowned, and not the ten horns ; the beast's ten horns are said to be crowned, and not his seven heads : which

cannot be considered as making an essential difference between them; but on seven heads of the beast are inscriptions of blasphemy.

The beast, therefore, that carries the woman, is evidently constituted of seven great empires, and ten small kingdoms.—The beast that thou sawest, was, and is not; which designates the head wounded.

And shall ascend out of the abyss and go into perdition:—Which is a plain intimation of the resurrection of the members and individuals constituting this beast. The last part of this beast is papal Rome, and the ten kingdoms; when these cease to be, the whole beast will be dead.

The beast that was, and is not, and yet is. These words may have reference to existence, death, and the resurrection: these all necessarily precede the judgment, which the angel says he will shew.

We must suppose that the angel shews John the full extent and duration of all these monarchies and kingdoms, that the woman is seated on them all, from the beginning to the end of their existence, after which comes the judgment.

And here is the mind which hath wisdom. The seven heads are seven mountains on which the woman sitteth. And there are seven kings; five are fallen, one is, and the other is not yet come; and when he cometh he must continue a short space.

And the beast that was, and is not, even he is the eighth, and is of the seven, and goeth into perdition:

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

These have one mind, and shall give their power and strength unto the beast: These shall make war with the Lamb; and the Lamb shall overcome them:

For he is Lord of lords, and King of kings; and they that are with him are called, and chosen, and faithful.

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

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

For God hath put into their hearts to fulfill his will, and to agree, and give their kingdom unto the beast, until the word of God shall be fulfilled.

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

Here we have a full display of Nebuchadnezzar's great image. The seven heads are seven mountains, or seven great monarchies, on which the woman sitteth: They are Babylon the head of gold; the empire of Media and Persia; the empire of Alexander the Great with his successors; the empire of the commonwealth of Rome; Imperial Rome; the Eastern empire, and the Western empire. Five are fallen, that is, the five first mentioned. One is, that is the Eastern empire; another is not yet come, that is, the Mahometan power; and the beast that was, and is not, even he is the eighth. Afterwards it is said, the beast that was, and is not, and yet is, which is the beast that John saw arise out of the sea in the thirteenth chapter, for it says, The beast that thou sawest, was, and is not, and shall ascend out of the bottomless pit, and go into perdition; it is evident that John had not a sight of any other beast than that above mentioned.

By being and not being, is plainly intended the chasm between the emperors of the West and the papal authority; and designated upon the sounding of the fourth trumpet; where one third of the sun, the moon, and the stars are smitten, and shine not. In Europe, which was one third part of the known world, Asia and Africa, being the other two thirds, the sun, the moon, and the stars shine not; which is a natural representation of the beast that was and is not.

It is worthy of remark, that this beast which John sees arise out of the sea, has united in it, all the ferocious and savage qualities of the other three. It has the mouth of a lion; by this animal Daniel describes his first beast. It has the feet of a bear; a characteristic of Daniel's second beast; and the spots of a leopard, the figure of his third beast.

In this beast there seems to be a completion of all that is bad, wanton, savage cruelty, without any generous and noble qualities. We need not wait for any farther historic facts to prove that papal power has been cruel beyond all former example. No prosperity now awaits her; but a judgment is at hand, severe in proportion to her great wickedness.

The end of this beast John had just been shewn in the judgment of the great whore.

The ten horns designate Germany, France, Spain, England, Scotland, Sweden, Denmark, Poland, Hungary, and Bohemia. The other powers in Europe have come into existence lately, and were originally included in some of those that have been

mentioned. These are a part of the beast, and without them, he is not complete.

What is the full purport of the words, These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them; is a question of importance. The literal sense appears to me to be the best construction, because with these all temporal governments end. Notwithstanding they hate the whore, and make her desolate and naked, yet they agree, and give their kingdom to the beast until the words of God are fulfilled; which will not be the case till the beast comes to an end.

Although they hate the whore, it is manifest that this hatred does not proceed from a virtuous principle. The whore is seated wherever the beast is; so that hating the beast, or that head of it which is in existence, may properly be called hating the whore: So when we are told by the angel, that he will shew the judgment of the great whore, he shows the judgment of the beast only. This mode of expression does not limit us in the idea we ought to fix to the woman; nor do these words, "The woman is that great city which ruleth over the kings of the earth," lead us to suppose that hereby is intended the city of Rome, but that great city of wickedness in which there is none that doeth good, no, not one. For the waters where the whore sitteth, are peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues; which evidently extend to all the human race.

Some expositors, eager to catch hold of every thing that has a faint resemblance to the city of Rome, have supposed this woman intends the church of Rome and the whore of Babylon, as she has been called; that this great city and the seven mountains, designate really the city of Rome and her natural situation: but in all this there is manifestly an impropriety; the woman, or this great city, sits on seven heads in succession, and not all together. She sat on the five heads that were fallen, as well as upon the two that succeeded them; but the church of Rome could not sit upon heads that were not, when she came into existence. And as the woman is represented as sitting on the heads successively, there can be no reference to seven hills on which the city of Rome is said to be built, which are permanent and immoveable, and the city stands on them all at the same time.

C H A P. XVIII.

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

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

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

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

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

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

How much she hath glorified herself and lived deliciously ; so much torment and sorrow give her.

For she saith in her heart, I sit a queen, and am no widow ; and shall see no sorrow.

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

And the kings of the earth who have committed fornication, and lived deliciously with her, shall bewail her, and lament for her, when they shall see the smoke of her burning, standing afar off, for the fear of her torment, saying, Alas, alas, that great city Babylon, that mighty city ! for in one hour is thy judgment come.

And the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her ; for no man buyeth her merchandize any more :

The merchandize of gold, and silver, and precious stones, and of pearls, and of fine linen, and purple, and silk, and scarlet, and all thyine wood, and all manner of vessels of ivory, and all manner of vessels of most precious wood, and of brass, and iron, and marble, and cinnamon, and odours, and ointments, and frankincense, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and

wheat, and beasts, and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and slaves, and souls of men.

And the fruits that thy soul lusted after, are departed from thee; and all things which were dainty and goodly, are departed from thee; and thou shalt find them no more at all.

The merchants of these things which were made rich by her, shall stand afar off, for the fear of her torment, weeping and wailing, and saying, Alas, alas, that great city, that was clothed in fine linen, and purple, and scarlet, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls; for in one hour so great riches is come to nought.

And every ship-master, and all the company in ships, and sailors, and as many as trade by sea, stood afar off, and cried when they saw the smoke of her burning, saying, What city is like unto this great city?

And they cast dust on their heads, and cried, weeping, and wailing, saying, Alas, alas, that great city wherein were made rich all that had ships in the sea, by reason of her costliness; for in one hour is she made desolate.

Rejoice over her, thou heaven, and ye holy apostles and prophets: for God hath avenged you on her.

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

And the voice of harpers and musicians, and of pipers and of trumpeters shall be heard no more at all in thee;

And no craftsman of whatsoever craft he be, shall be found any more in thee: and the sound of a millstone shall be heard no more at all in thee.

And the light of a candle shall shine no more at all in thee; and the voice of the bridegroom and of the bride shall be heard no more at all in thee.

For thy merchants were the great men of the earth; for by thy sorceries were all nations deceived.

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

The true meaning of this chapter depends entirely upon the sense we affix to the terms *Babylon the Great*. We have found that the same has been mentioned in chap. xiv. 8—xvi. 19, and xvii. 5. In these several places it has no apparent reference to papal Rome.

The sixth and seventh vials have no special and single reference to that power or city, but to the whole world; and the

nineteenth verse of the sixteenth chapter, falls in immediately after pouring out of the seventh vial.

And the great city was divided into three parts, and the cities of the nations fell; and great Babylon came into remembrance before God, &c. One of the inscriptions on the forehead of the woman, is *Babylon the Great*, so that Babylon the Great must be as extensive as the woman. But if we confine these terms to one single head of the beast, then the name does not agree with the woman in all her extent; and this is evidently an absurdity.

By these terms, it is manifest, that we ought to understand governments that have been, and are no more, as well as governments in being; that is, mankind dead and alive in the flesh.

This chapter, therefore, is a plain exhibition of the dissolution of human nature, the end of all flesh: and of the judgment of the wicked, which necessarily implies a resurrection.

The precious things and delicacies of the whole world pass away, and are no more. The judgment is represented as coming suddenly, in one hour. The enumerated articles of merchandize contain almost every desirable thing on earth; they depart and shall be found no more.

The earth itself is not represented as passing away. The kings of the earth bewail her; the merchants weep over her; and all masters of ships cry, when they see the smoke of her burning, What is like unto this great city? They cast dust on their heads, and cry, weeping and wailing, &c.

And in her was found the blood of the prophets and saints; and all that were slain upon earth; which, according to the explanation we have given, is literally true.

C H A P. XIX.

AND after these things, I heard a great voice of much people in heaven, saying, Alleluia:

Salvation and glory, and honour, and power, unto the Lord our God; for true and righteous are his judgments.

For he hath judged the great whore which did corrupt the earth with her fornication, and hath avenged the blood of his servants at her hand.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

After the pouring out of the seventh vial, John begins with describing the great events that are to take place before he introduces the personage by whom they are effected. He opens to our view the commencement of the Millenium kingdom, and exhibits a great number as rejoicing for the judgment of the great whore, as well as the four and twenty elders and four living creatures, who only say, Amen; Alleluia.

What is the true import of the bride, the Lamb's wife, requires some consideration. Perhaps in this term may be included the four and twenty elders, the four living creatures, and the 144,000.

It appears to me, these only are entitled to that happy and lovely character. And to her it is not probable that the words apply, Praise our God, all ye his servants.

It seems to be manifest, that besides the bride, there will be a great number of the human race made very happy in the event, though not of the chosen and elect, who particularly constitute the bride, between which and the Lamb, there is an inseparable indivisible interest.

Verse 11. And I saw heaven opened, and, behold, a white horse; and he that sat upon him was called Faithful and True; and in righteousness he doth judge and make war.

His eyes were as a flame of fire, and on his head were many crowns; and he had a name written that no man knew but he himself.

And he was clothed with a vesture dipped in blood, and his name is called, The Word of God.

And the armies which are in heaven followed him upon white horses, clothed in white linen, white and clean.

And out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword, that with it he should smite the nations; and he shall rule them with a rod of iron: and he treadeth the wine press of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God.

And he hath on his vesture and on his thigh a name written, KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS.

And I saw an angel standing in the sun; and he cried with a loud voice, saying to all the fowls that fly in the midst of heaven, Come and gather yourselves together unto the supper of the great God.

That ye may eat the flesh of kings, and the flesh of captains, and the flesh of mighty men, and the flesh of horses, and of them that sit on them, and the flesh of all men, both free and bond, both small and great.

And I saw the beast, and the kings of the earth, and their armies, gathered together to make war against him that sat on the horse, and against his army.

And the beast was taken, and with him the false prophet that wrought miracles before him, with which he deceived them that had received the mark of the beast, and them that worshipped his image. These both were cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone.

And the remnant were slain with the sword of him that sat upon the horse, which sword proceedeth out of his mouth: and all the fowls were filled with their flesh.

We have here the first display of power after pouring out the seventh vial. The characters are generally the same that were ascribed to Jesus Christ in John's introduction and addresses to the seven churches. The white horse is the same as was designated on opening the first seal.

It is said to the faithful, in the church of Pergamos, I will give him a white stone, and in that stone a new name written, which no man knoweth, saving he that receiveth it. So here Jesus Christ is said to have a name written which no man knew but he himself.

The beast here manifestly intends the temporal one in existence, which rose out of the earth with two horns like a lamb; and not the whole of the beast, with all its seven heads. And also the ten horns, of whom it is said, They shall make war with the Lamb, and he shall overcome them: which we see here verified.

The characters are such as evidently mark out this beast; and the false prophet, and the church of Laodicea, must intend Mahometans and papists.

Whether the hostile preparations of the beast, and the kings of the earth, intend any thing more than general and universal infidelity and contempt of the gospel dispensation, may be questioned. That these will prevail generally at Christ's second coming, is manifest from sundry passages of scripture. It seems also evident, that there will be very great and general commotions on the earth about this time.

C H A P. XX.

AND I saw an angel come down from Heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit, and a great chain in his hand.

And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the devil, and satan, and bound him a thousand years.

And cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years should be fulfilled; and after that he must be loosed a little season.

And I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them: and I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years.

But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished. This is the first resurrection.

Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection: on such the second death hath no power; But they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years.

And when the thousand years are expired, satan shall be loosed out of his prison.

And shall go out to deceive the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them together to battle; the number of whom is as the sand of the sea.

And they went up on the breadth of the earth, and compassed the camp of the saints about, and the beloved city: and fire came down from God out of Heaven and devoured them.

And the devil that deceived them was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where the beast and the false prophet are, and shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever.

And I saw a great white throne, and him that sat on it, from whose face the earth and the heavens fled away; and there was found no place for them.

And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God; and the books were opened: and another book was opened, which is the book of life: and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works.

And the sea gave up the dead which were in it; and death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them: and they were judged every man according to their works.

And death and hell were cast into the lake of fire. This is the second death.

And whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire.

C H A P. XXI.

AND I saw a new heaven and a new earth; for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away; and there was no more sea.

And I John saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of Heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.

And I heard a great voice out of Heaven, saying, Behold the tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God.

And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain: for the former things are passed away.

And he that sat upon the throne said, Behold, I make all things new. And he said unto me, Write: for these words are true and faithful.

And he said unto me, It is done. I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end: I will give unto him that is athirst of the fountain of the water of life freely.

He that overcometh shall inherit all things; and I will be his God, and he shall be my son.

But the fearful, and the unbelieving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and forcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone; which is the second death.

And there came unto me one of the seven angels, which had the seven vials full of the seven last plagues, and talked with me, saying, Come hither, I will shew thee the bride, the Lamb's wife.

And he carried me away in the spirit to a great and high mountain, and shewed me that great city, the holy Jerusalem, descending out of Heaven from God.

Having the glory of God: and her light was like unto a stone most precious, even like a jasper stone, clear as chrystal;

And had a wall great and high, and had twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels, and names written thereon, which are the names of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel.

On the east, three gates; on the north, three gates; on the south three gates; and on the west, three gates.

And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb.

And he that talked with me had a golden reed to measure the city, and the gates thereof, and the walls thereof.

And the city lieth four-square, and the length is as large as the breadth. And he measured the city with the reed, twelve thousand furlongs: the length, and the breadth, and the height of it are equal.

And he measured the wall thereof, an hundred and forty and four cubits, according to the measure of a man, that is, of the angel.

And the building of the wall of it was of jasper: and the city was pure gold, like unto clear glass.

And the foundations of the walls of the city were garnished with all manner of precious stones: The first foundation was jasper: the second, sapphire: the third, a chalcedony: the fourth, an emerald:

The fifth, sardonix: the sixth, sardius: the seventh, chrysolite: the eighth, beryl: the ninth, a top haz: the tenth, a

chryſopraſus : the eleventh, a jacinth; and the twelfth, an amethyſt.

And the twelve gates were twelve pearls; every ſeveral gate was of one pearl : and the ſtreet of the city was pure gold, as it were transparent glaſs.

And I ſaw no temple therein : for the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple of it.

And the city had no need of the ſun, neither of the moon, to ſhine in it ; for the glory of God did lighten it : and the Lamb is the light thereof.

And the nations of them which are ſaved ſhall walk in the light of it : and the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honor into it.

And the gates of it ſhall not be ſhut at all by day ; for there ſhall be no night there.

And they ſhall bring the glory and honor of the nations into it.

And there ſhall in no wiſe enter into it any thing that defileth, neither whatſoever worketh abomination, or maketh, a lie : but they which are written in the Lamb's book of life.

C H A P. XXII.

AND he ſhewed me a pure river of water of life, clear as chryſtal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb.

In the miſt of the ſtreet of it, and on either ſide of the river was there the tree of life, which bear twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month : and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations.

And there ſhall be no more curſe : but the throne of God and of the Lamb ſhall be in it ; and his ſervants ſhall ſerve him.

And they ſhall ſee his face ; and his name ſhall be in their foreheads.

And there ſhall be no night there ; and they need no candle, neither light of the ſun ; for the Lord God giveth them light, and they ſhall reign for ever and ever.

And he ſaid unto me, Theſe ſayings are faithful and true : and the Lord God of the holy prophets ſent his angel to ſhew unto his ſervants the things which muſt ſhortly be done.

Behold, I come quickly : bleſſed is he that keepeth the ſayings of the prophecy of this book.

And I John saw these things, and heard them. And when I had heard and seen, I fell down to worship before the feet of the angel which shewed me these things.

Then saith he unto me, See thou do it not: for I am thy fellow servant, and of thy brethren the prophets, and of them which keep the sayings of this book: worship God.

And he saith unto me, Seal not the sayings of the prophecy of this book: for the time is at hand.

He that is unjust, let him be unjust still: and he which is filthy, let him be filthy still: and he that is righteous, let him be righteous still: and he that is holy, let him be holy still.

And, behold, I come quickly; and my reward is with me, to give every man according as his work shall be.

I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last.

Blessed are they that do his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates into the city.

For without are dogs, and forcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie.

I Jesus have sent mine angel to testify unto you these things in the churches. I am the root and the offspring of David, and the bright and morning star.

And the Spirit and the bride say, Come. And let him that heareth say, Come. And let him that is athirst, Come. And whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely.

For I testify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book.

And if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and from the things which are written in this book.

He which testifieth these things, saith, Surely I come quickly, Amen. Even so come, Lord Jesus.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all, AMEN.

We have now brought into view, all the glories of the Millennium kingdom, as far as the spirit of prophecy has seen fit to unfold them; and the close of the present dispensation is undoubtedly the commencement of that period.

That these descriptions however glorious, refer us to that period, is evident, because in the 19th chap. viith ver. it is said, the marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made her-

self ready, and no small part of the descriptions here are employed in defining and displaying the bride the Lamb's wife, which is the great city, the holy Jerusalem. Separating the 20th chap. from the two last chapters, it exhibits something extremely gloomy.

That Jesus Christ will be thus gloriously exhibited at his second advent, is plainly made known in sundry places of scripture.

The number of thrones here are not mentioned; but they are elsewhere; and the number of the elders are so often mentioned, that there can be no doubt but the four and twenty are intended: the four living creatures are not mentioned, but they are naturally comprised under those beheaded for the witness of Jesus, &c.

When these are severally first introduced, John then sees a throne, and one sitting on it, who was to look upon like a Jasper and a Sardine stone: round this throne the elders are seated, and the four living creatures are in the midst and round about the throne—They are always in the presence of the throne. And there can be no doubt that the thrones here, are round about a throne; the appearance of which is not to be postponed for a thousand years. There cannot be a chasm, after the dissolution of all flesh, of one thousand years, when the righteous will reign alone: for it is expressly said that they live and reign with Christ: and Christ will not reign without a throne.

The dissolution of human nature makes way for all the descriptions of things and events that follow. The first operation under the 7th vial is the total destruction and punishment of the last temporal beasts which we have any account of: and no doubt John has given us an account of all that are to be.

There will be sundry great and important events take place about the same time, when this kingdom commences. The binding of Satan, the resurrection, of good and bad, the throne of Christ will appear, and judgment will commence.

There are several events mentioned that do not happen till after the thousand years are expired. The rest of the dead lived not again till after the thousand years were expired—by which may be understood such as will have a part in a second happy resurrection: This we shall examine more fully hereafter.

Satan is loosed after the thousand years, and goes out to deceive the nations; after which he is punished.

Gog and Magog encompass the holy city, and are destroyed, it is said, For without are dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie. These are no doubt the Gog and Magog, the wicked raised from the grave at the commencement of the Millenium, judged and cast out. Of Babylon the great, after she falls, it is said, she is become the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird.

There is no inconsistency that I see, in supposing the wicked are tried, condemned, and cast out, soon after the commencement of the Millenium ; but not punished, till they are deceived by satan, and influenced to make a vain attempt against the holy city.

There are some that hold, that the Millenium will be a state, in which there will be a great and universal revival of religion on earth ; and that during this state, mankind will continue as they are at present ; and that the human species will be in a state of succession and propagation.

They suppose therefore, these wild tyrannical beasts or temporal governments so often mentioned, will cease to be a long time before the second advent of Christ, which is so manifestly contrary to many plain passages of scripture, besides the revelations, that it is strange, that they should have fallen into such an error. Paul manifestly has reference to the beast with two horns like a lamb. 2. Thess. ii. 7. For the mystery of iniquity doth already work, only he who now letteth will let till he be taken out of the way : and then shall that wicked one be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming : even him whose coming is after the working of satan, with all power and signs and lying wonders.

When I had written thus far, I met with Doctor Chauncy's comments on the three last chapters in the Revelations : in which many just ideas are to be found : not in support of his Universal System, for he has surprisngly confounded and blended together periods and times, which I doubt not can be made manifest. In order to do him justice, I shall make a large extract from him ; as his opinion rectified as to Chronology, and stripped of its universality, will tend to explain my ideas, better perhaps, than what I have said myself.

“ The souls of them that were beheaded.” The literal translation is, “ the smitten with the axe.” But the version in our bibles, is more elegant ; *the beheaded* : though it ought to be observed here, that John undoubtedly intended to include all who had undergone death, for the sake of Christ, and his reli-

gion, in what way soever it was brought upon them. And it is for this reason, the generality of them, who understand the life spoken of, in the latter clause of this verse, in the literal sense, confine it to the martyrs, imagining that they will be distinguished from all other good men, by being raised from the dead a thousand years before them. But there does not appear to me a just foundation for such an opinion, from any thing here related. The grammatical order and construction of the fourth verse, upon which this opinion is built, is plainly thus: John first declares in general, that he saw thrones, and that he saw those that sat upon them, with judicial power given to them without saying particularly, who they were. He then goes on to a more particular representation of the matter: I saw, says he, the martyrs for the sake of Christ, and those who had not worshipped the beast: The martyrs for the sake of Christ, and those who had not worshipped the beast, *seem* to me plainly distinguished from each other. [Had this great critick in the Greek, consulted the original carefully, he would not have said, *seem*, but that it warrants this opinion only.] John saw not only the martyrs, but these also. But who are these, who had not worshipped the beast? plainly, all those whose names were written in the book of life. And these take in the whole number of those, who shall not be cast into the lake of fire: that is the saints universally. Besides one of the characteristics of those, who John saw living and reigning with Christ, is, that the second death hath no power over them; which is a privilege common to the saints, and not peculiar to the martyrs—Further, it is said, of these persons who shall live in the Millenium state, that they shall be priests of God, and of Christ, and shall reign with him; which is another privilege, not confined to martyrs, but extended to all the saints. Moreover it ought to be remembered, the general vision, in the first clause of this verse, of thrones, and them that sat upon them, having judicial power, is so far from being an honor appropriated to martyrs, that it is common to the saints, according to the current strain of scripture; which every where represents the happiness of good men, in the coming world, under the emblem of a crown, a crown of glory, a crown of righteousness an incorruptible crown; and when our Saviour would describe the happiness of the saints, in the future state, he does it in these words, to the man in the parable, who had made a wise improvement of his talents, Well done good and faithful servant, thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee a ruler over many things; enter thou into the joy of thy Lord: which words, upon a like occasion, are repeated in the 23d verse—so in this book of Revelation the promise to him

that overcometh, is, 'To him will I grant to sit with me on my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my father in his throne; or perhaps John may have here in view, more particularly, the honor which will be done, not to the martyrs only, but the saints in general; in their being in some sense assessors with Christ, in the judgment of the world. And if this was his thought, it may be explained by 1 Cor. vi. 2. Do ye not know, that the saints shall judge the world?

It is observable, our Saviour looking forward to the revivifcence of the saints, says to his Apostles, Ye which have followed me; even ye, in the regeneration, or the time of the saints reigning in happy life, shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. By the foregoing text, it should seem, as though all the saints would in like manner, but in a lower degree, sit upon thrones, judging the world.—Upon the whole, there is no reason to think but that the saints in general, and not the martyrs in particular, are the persons, who shall live and reign with Christ a thousand years.

“*But*” says the learned and judicious Doctor Whitby, Mr. Lowman, and many others, understand the life here spoken of, in a figurative sense, as meaning nothing more than a spiritual resurrection of the church; a general and glorious revival of the true spirit of Christianity to continue a thousand years. This would require more room, than would be proper to take up; I note, to examine what has been said to justify this departure from the letter of the apostle’s words. I shall only observe, at present, in opposition to the figurative, and in support of the literal sense of this life, and reign with Christ, that it is twice expressly called in this very passage, the first resurrection. Now, as this life and reign, according to those expositors, are subsequent to the destruction of antichrist, and immediately preceding the conflagration, general resurrection and judgment, there can be no other revival of religion, no other spiritual resurrection of a spiritually dead church. Why then is it called the first resurrection? Can there be a first, without a second? if there is a spiritual life and reign, it is the last that ever will take place in the present earth: and would, for this reason, have undoubtedly been stiled the last, not the first resurrection.—Besides, according to this scheme of interpretation, how shall we account for the rise of Gog and Magog.—The prophecy compares this rabble rout of men, to the sand of the sea for multitude; and it brings also the extraordinary power of God, to preserve the saints from being overrun by them.

Upon which, I would ask, whether it is likely, there should be such a formidable appearance of wicked men in that period of time, in which, according to these expositors, there is to

be the greatest, and most extensive revival of religion, that ever took place in the world? One would think a thousand years continuance of the spirit of christianity among both Jews and Gentiles, and in all parts of the earth, would render it impossible, that instantly, upon the expiration of this term, there should be found such swarms of wicked abandoned men, as to compose the Gog and Magog here described. It in truth exceeds all belief, especially, if it be remembered here, that the coming of the Son of Man, which according to these expositors, will be at the end of these thousand years, is compared by our Saviour, to the coming on of the flood, in the days of Noah, on account of the wickedness that would be universally prevalent.— His words are these—“ as the days of Noah were, so shall also the coming of the Son of Man be ; for as in the days that were before the flood, they were eating and drinking, and marrying, and giving in marriage, until the day that Noah entered into the Ark, and knew not until the flood came, and took them all away ; so shall also the coming of the Son of Man be.” In like manner, he says, describing the character of the time, in which he should come, shall he find faith on the earth? and the apostle speaking of this same advent of Christ, declares, That he shall then be revealed in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ ; who shall be destroyed with everlasting destruction.— It is evident from these texts, that the world will be horribly wicked at the coming of Christ, and that he will come to destroy it for its wickedness. How then can this Millenium immediately precede the coming of Christ, and for this end? can it reasonably be supposed, that the purest and best state of the world, which shall immediately precede the coming of Christ to destroy it, will be that state of the world, for which Christ comes to destroy it, for its abounding wickedness? To me, there are insuperable objections against the figurative interpretation of this life and reign with Christ.

“ The rest of the dead,” &c. If John is speaking in the foregoing verse, of literal life, as I imagine he is, he must mean by the dead here, the literally dead.

Doctor Burnet, and others, who are in the scheme of a literal resurrection of martyrs only, to reign with Christ a thousand years, suppose, that by the rest of the dead, we must understand all the wicked, and those among the saints, who were not called to lay down their lives, for the sake of Christ. But it appears to me, the wicked dead are the only persons here meant ; as also, that the life it is said they lived not till the thousand years were expired, is to be interpreted of that sort of

life, which had before been described, that is to say, of life connected with a reign with Christ, as Kings and Priests.

The unavoidable implication of which, is, that wicked men, after the completion of this one thousand years, though not before, may thus live with Christ. It may be worthy of special observation here—the supposition that wicked men may live before the expiration of this period, is not at all inconsistent with the affirmation, which here says, they lived not till after it: provided the term life is understood differently in the supposition, from what it is in the affirmation—My meaning is, there is no contradiction, not the shadow of an inconsistency, between this affirmation, namely, the wicked lived not till these thousand years were completed, meaning hereby they lived not a life of happiness, as kings and priests with Christ; and this supposition, namely, the wicked may live before these one thousand years are expired, meaning hereby, not a happy life with Christ, but a life of misery with evil angels. These two sorts of life, so obviously and essentially differ from each other, that they may respectively be affirmed and denied in the same proposition, at the same time, and of the same person—Accordingly, it is here said, that the righteous only among the dead, lived and reigned with Christ within the one thousand years; and that the rest of the dead, that is the wicked dead, did not any of them thus live and reign with Christ, till after the completion of this period. Nor does it from hence follow, that the wicked may not at the beginning of this period (as is the truth of the case) be delivered from the first death, so as to be put under circumstances of dying the second death; there is no inconsistency in this, with their not living as the righteous live in happiness with Christ, till the thousand years are expired. This scheme of interpretation, I take to be the only one, that will make this passage consistent with the other parts of the same prophecy.

“This is the first resurrection of this sort.” The great question to be decided here is, What is the true ground or reason of the epithet *first*, applied to the word resurrection? And if I may speak my mind freely, I cannot but think, the true reason has not been perceived by expositors, or any Christian writers, so far as I have been able to consult them; and to this, it may be owing, that they are so inconsistent with each other, and with themselves also. But I will briefly propose my own sentiments

And first, I would say negatively, this resurrection of the saints is not distinguished by the epithet *first*, to insinuate, as though the wicked should not be raised from the dead within

this period of a 1000 years. For it is evident, from the current strain of the New Testament books, that the punishment of the wicked, and the reward of the righteous, will commence at one and the same time: namely, at the end of the world, or the finishing of the present dispensation of the kingdom of God.

The texts to this purpose are numerous, and so explicit, as to admit of no dispute. Matt. iii. 12. Whose fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor, and gather his wheat into the garner; but he will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire. It is here evidently supposed, that the visible church, consists of both saints and sinners at present. But that the time is coming, when Christ shall make a separation between them, and that when he does this, he will punish the wicked, while he rewards the righteous. This is more fully and particularly expressed in the parable of the wheat and the tares, Matt. xiii. the conclusion of which parable is in these complicated words: Let both grow together, until the harvest; and in the time of the harvest, I will say to the reapers, gather ye together, first the tares, and bind them in bundles, to burn them: but gather the wheat into my barn. And that we might be at no loss about the meaning of these words, the explanation of them, as given by our Saviour, is this:—The good seed are the children of the kingdom; the tares are the children of the wicked one; the harvest is the end of the world; the reapers are the angels: As therefore the tares are gathered and burnt in the fire; so shall it be in the end of the world. The Son of Man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather all things that offend, and shall cast them into a furnace of fire: there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth. Then shall the righteous shine forth, as the sun in the kingdom of their father. And the explanation of the parable of the net in the same chapter, is this: So shall it be at the end of the world; the angels shall come forth, and sever the wicked from among the just, and shall cast them into a furnace of fire. The same truth is obviously suggested in the parable of the virgins; and in the parable of the man travelling into a far country: the conclusion of which is, The Lord said to him that had improved his talents, Well done, good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord: And to him that had made no improvement of his talent; cast ye the unprofitable servant into utter darkness. And it is in the most express language declared by our Saviour himself, that when he comes in the glory of his father, with the holy angels, he will say to the

righteous, come ye blessed—and to the wicked, depart ye cursed. And accordingly, both these sentences are put directly in execution. And these shall go away into everlasting punishment; but the righteous into life eternal.

And the apostle Paul, in so many words, declares, that when Christ shall be revealed from heaven, at the great day of judgment, it shall be to take vengeance on the wicked, and to be glorified in his saints; and to put it out of all doubt, that the punishment of the wicked, and the reward of the saints shall commence at the same period, he introduces the words, by saying, it is a righteous thing with God, to recompence tribulation to them that trouble you, and to them who are troubled, rest.—But it would be endless to transcribe all the passages of the New Testament, which directly lead us to think, that the wicked shall be punished at the same time, that the virtuous are rewarded. Now this being an evident scripture truth, the obvious certain consequence is, that they must at the same time also, be delivered from the power of the grave; for it is impossible their punishment should commence with the reward of the righteous, if their resurrection is postponed a thousand years.—Accordingly our Saviour seems to have put this matter out of all reasonable doubt, for as he connects the salvation of the righteous, with the damnation of the wicked, in point of time, so does he their resurrection in that observable passage:—“The hour is coming, in the which all that are in their graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth:—They that have done good to the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil to the resurrection of damnation.” It appears then, upon the whole, that at the end of the world, on the second coming of Christ, the wicked as well as the righteous shall be raised from the dead. The resurrection of the saints therefore, spoken of by John, is not called the first resurrection, merely on account of their deliverance from the power of death; for the wicked in this sense will be raised to life, as well as the righteous, within the term of one thousand years; and thus we are led to conceive of the matter in this very prophecy itself.

Secondly, But to speak more particularly and positively, the resurrection of the saints, is called the first resurrection, because it is the first general resurrection of men, that will secure them from dying any more; inflame them in immortality, and make them happy in a glorious reign with Christ in the new heaven and earth. Accordingly this seems to be the explanation of its meaning in the following verse:—For the partners in this resurrection are pronounced blessed.

And why? Not because their deliverance from death, considered simply in itself, precedes that of the wicked; for the wicked also, as we have seen, shall in this sense be delivered from death. But because the second death shall have no power over them, as it will over the wicked; and because they shall be Kings, and Priests, and reign one thousand years, with Christ, without an attempt from any quarter, to disturb their happiness; and after that, for ages of ages. It seems plain to me, that Paul had this first resurrection, which John is here speaking of, in view, when he wrote the 1 Cor. Chap. xv.

As to a second resurrection, it is true, John hath said nothing about it in plain language; but by speaking of a first, he has in the general, given us reason to hope for a second; the manner, time, and circumstances of which, though hid from us now, may hereafter be revealed. Upon the whole, by the first resurrection, John could not mean simple deliverance from death; that death which all men are subjected to in consequence of the lapse; because mankind universally bad as well as good, will be thus raised at Christ's second coming: Whereas the righteous, they who are made so in the present world, and they only, are the first among mankind who shall be so raised to life as to reign with Christ.—And their resurrection, thus to reign with him, is called the first resurrection; because the first of this kind, obviously and naturally implying, that there will be a second resurrection of the same sort; that is to say, the wicked, after the second death, being previously fitted for it, shall be raised also, to reign in glorious life, in some still future dispensation of God.

“Gog and Magog.”—Expositors have found it vastly difficult to point out the persons here described, under the character of Gog and Magog; and upon every scheme of interpretation I have met with, insuperable objections attend their rise and numbers. We have already seen the impossibility of getting together such a body of wicked men upon their plan, who give into a figurative sense of the first resurrection; and the impossibility is as great if not greater upon the scheme of Dr. Burnet, who begins the Millenium after the conflagration, but before the resurrection of the wicked. He can upon his scheme, no better account for the origin of Gog and Magog, than from the slime of the ground and the heat of the sun; as the brute creatures, he says, were generated at first; an account too romantic to deserve a serious refutation.

Perhaps the true reason of the difficulty of accounting for the rise of Gog and Magog, is owing to the mistake learned men have fallen into, with respect to the time of their ap-

pearance. They all of them place their appearance before the general resurrection and judgment ; whereas, if they gave it a date posterior to these events, and did not look for them, on this side the grave, all difficulties would at once vanish, and an easy, intelligible account might be given, both of their rise, numbers, and spirits, fitting them to engage in the attempts here described ; for, let it be observed, the multitudes that make up the collective body, signified by Gog and Magog, perfectly fall in with the scripture representation of the numbers, who in consequence of the general judgment, will be obliged to live in misery ; and where should they live but on this earth ? It is at least as reasonable to think that this earth will be their place, where they will live in torment, as any other place that can be conceived. This earth, it is true, in some other form, will be the place where the righteous are to reign in happy life ; but there is no difficulty in supposing, that the conflagration, under the all wise and powerful government of God, may operate very differently on the earth, making it in one part a hell for the wicked, and in another, a heaven for the righteous.

And upon this supposition, which has nothing harsh or hard in it, there will, at the end of the one thousand years here pointed out, be a sufficient number of men upon earth, and with dispositions exactly fitted for the attempt, they, through the influence of the devil, engage in. What then should hinder us from thinking, that these wicked men are the Gog and Magog here spoken of, especially if it be remembered, that the time of their assembling to invade the saints is posterior to the general resurrection and the judgment.

The critical reader will easily perceive, by the manner in which I have introduced the vision in verse 11. and onwards, that I look upon it as a continuation of the vision which was begun in the three first verses, but interrupted for a while, that the apostle might exhibit in one view, all he had to say upon the head of Satan's being bound and loosed. What he has offered on this head, begins with the 4th and ends with the 10th verse, and is intended to give an account of the events themselves, relating to the subject he is upon, not the order of them. This seems to be rather left with the reader to adjust, upon having carefully looked over the whole prophetic vision as here represented. Expositors have strangely taken it for granted, that it was the design of the apostle in these verses, to point out, not only the events themselves here spoken of, but the order in which they should take place, giving us to understand, that the one thousand years reign of the

saints, the rise of Gog and Magog, and their destruction, would precede in point of time, the appearing of the Son of Man, the general resurrection and judgment, and future state of retribution. Whereas, it should seem plain, that these verses were brought in for no other reason, than to comprehend in one view, the whole of what belonged to one subject. Upon which supposition, the order of events could not, in the nature of things, but be neglected, or rather anticipated, to make the account complete: And in this view of these verses, which is quite easy and natural, the whole series of the events in the vision, which is continued to the end of the Apocalypse, runs smooth, while upon any other supposition, it will be perplexed, and the events rendered incapable of a reconciliation with each other.

If the one thousand years reign of the saints, and the rise of Gog and Magog, precede the general resurrection, all the difficulties that have been mentioned, as accompanying either Dr. Burnet's scheme or the figurative one of others, will take place. Besides the life and reign of the saints spoken of in these verses, is the same life and reign with that in the paradisaic earth, described Chap. xxi. xxii. which, if it be true, makes it certain, that the events themselves in these verses, not the order of them, are what the Apostle had in view, and what we are principally to regard. The difficulties before suggested, are entirely avoided on this plan of interpretation.

“Death and the Grave.”—The common interpretation is, Death and Hades are entirely destroyed; put absolutely to an end.—First, it is not true in fact, for the wicked after they are raised from the dead shall die again, as we have repeatedly shewn; and secondly, if the total destruction of Death and Hades is the thing meant, when they are said to be cast into the fire, how comes it to pass, that total destruction is not the thing meant, when the wicked are in the same words, to be cast into the lake of fire.

It appears to me evident, beyond all reasonable dispute, that the 21st chap. is connected with the 20th, and if the state here described, is consequent upon, and the result of the general judgment, as it concerns good men, it is easy to see, that their happy existence, after the resurrection, will be upon this earth.

The paradisaic state of good men, in consequence of the general judgment, is the same life with that spoken of in the 4th and 6th v. chap. xx.

We may remark on the foregoing comments, that the commentator has not entered into the full extent of the meaning of the 4th verse.

It appears to contain, first, the martyrs for the sake of Jesus.

Second.—The martyrs for the sake of the word of God.

Third.—Every one who had not worshipped the beast.

The second class has reference to the Jews or the souls of them under the altar, that were slain for the word of God, and the testimony which they held Chap. vi. 9. Christians died for the testimony of Jesus Christ; and Jews died for the word of God.

The meaning of these words, *they lived, &c.* is collected from this argument. That we cannot account for the rise of Gog and Magog, if those words are to be taken figuratively, and as having reference to persons that have never passed through death at all. Therefore they are to be taken literally, and intend a literal and real resurrection.

The explanation of the terms *the rest of the dead* is the very hinge on which the subject in pursuit by the commentator depends; these, he says, are the wicked dead; if they are not certainly wicked dead, if they may mean some others, and that they no doubt do, will appear hereafter, then his whole system falls to the ground.

The argument is this:—all are raised at Christ's second advent, good and bad. The wicked are placed immediately in a state of second death. *This is the first resurrection*, implies, that there will be a second; the rest of the dead, that is, the wicked dead lived not again, which implies that they will live again, as there are no subjects for a second resurrection, but the wicked dead in a state of a second death; therefore the wicked dead will eventually live and reign with Christ.

Though it appears to me that those designated under the terms Gog and Magog, will be persons brought up from the grave; yet it is inconsistent to suppose these persons are really in a state of second death, when they make such great exertions against the holy City. I see no ground for such an opinion at present.

The Millenium is not a period, as respects Jesus Christ, and the Tessera Zoonta, which last have eternal life, life essentially and indefinitely: but as it respects others, who have not such life: we suppose it is plainly pointed out, that this period is 1260 years. The infinite number of persons contained in Gog and Magog, are not destroyed till after the one thousand years have expired, and probably not till near the close of the

Millenium : and as this period is the only one intimated or suggested by the Scriptures, there is apparently no space or place for Repentance and Salvation, as to those persons.

The Commentator supposes them to be the wicked dead, raised from their graves, and in a state of second death for more than a thousand years ; and while in this state of second death, they surround the beloved city, and fire comes down out of heaven and devours them—So that they die a third death. Now the utmost space of time, that can be allotted to them, is short of 260 years, and we are not sure there will be an hundred part of this time ; but even if there should be the whole time, it would seem a strange thing, that punishment in this short space, should produce an effect, which a thousand years punishment had no tendency before to produce.

I have endeavoured to consider as impartially as I am capable of, the ideas that some have adopted as to different periods and ages, suggesting that there will be such till every child of Adam is restored to a happy Immortality. It appears to me, after the most careful examination, that such Periods and Ages, are the mere offspring of fancy and imagination, in opposition to express revelation. I will not say that reason clearly contradicts the opinion. It is not however, to be presumed, that every opinion is true which is not apparently opposed to reason—There is no opposition to reason in this opinion ; that the dead shall not ever be brought from their graves. This doctrine was foolishness to the learned Greeks. Reason seems to be against it ; yet we have no doubt but the dead will live again ; and reason discovers nothing impossible, or contradictory in this article of Faith.

If it be true, that there is no opposition to reason, in the opinion, that there will be distinct periods and ages, till all, every individual, is brought to render a cheerful obedience to Christ's Government ; yet it is equally true, that an opinion, that such will not be the case, is also not opposed to reason.

As this is a matter of pure revelation, and what reason could never have discovered, every one must compare the opinion with the revelation, and see if the natural import of the words, under the revelation, will admit of the idea ; and in my mind, they have no such import.

The Jewish church had its period marked out and limited by Divine Providence. The Christian church will have a distinct, limited period, under its present economy. There will be one distinct period afterwards, immediately succeeding the Christian Dispensation ; after which, revelation, in opposition to

distinct periods and ages, holds out an idea only, of an unbounded Eternity.

The period that is to succeed the present, has generally been denominated, the Millenium, which has no definitive meaning, excepting simply a thousand years ; made technical, on account of the thousand years reign with Christ—these thousand years do evidently not intend, or include the whole of this period ; which elsewhere seems to be plainly pointed out to be a period of twelve hundred and sixty years ; where it is said, the Woman shall be nourished from the face of the Serpent, this period of time. The extent of the Mediatorial Kingdom, is plainly limited to this period. The plain import of the words of revelation carry us thus far, and no farther with respect to the same.

I have not found in any Author, one direct argument, to show that there will be periods and ages, after what is called the Millenium ; the opinion is derived indirectly, from another argument, which is the most weighty of all that I have seen adduced in favor of it.

The argument is this—That at the second coming of Christ, the good and bad, will all be brought up from their graves : this is supported by unquestionable testimony from Scripture.

That this resurrection, as it respects the righteous only, is called the first resurrection ; but if it respects the righteous and wicked collectively, still it is called the first resurrection. The word “ first ” could not, with any propriety, have been used, unless there was to have been a second. If the term “ first resurrection,” implies every individual, good and bad, there can be no members to constitute a second resurrection, but from among the wicked ; because the righteous are expressly to enter into eternal life ; but if the term, “ first resurrection ” implies good and bad, it should seem that the second resurrection would also imply good & bad, which is allowed to be absurd. Therefore, a more definitive sense, is fixed to the term “ resurrection,” which is, a life connected with reigning with Christ ; and then, the second will intend the same kind of life, and as there are no members to constitute this second resurrection, but such as have been raised, once positively wicked, and as it is not to be doubted, but there will be a second resurrection, therefore, it is concluded, that there will be, period after period, and resurrection after resurrection, till all the wicked will finally reign in happy life with Jesus Christ,

Taking the term resurrection, to mean only happy life, it may be asserted of the wicked, that they have not this life, and are dead ; death not intending non-existence ; therefore the wicked

are in one sense dead, and in another sense alive—And this is conformable to the opinions of the ablest divines.

“The rest of the dead,” then, will intend persons not in a state of non-existence, but such as were raised from their graves, positively wicked, at Christ’s second coming.

If therefore, there will be a second resurrection, consisting of members that were first raised positively wicked, there may be a third, &c.

If we allow that all the dead at Christ’s second coming, will be called from their graves; that “the first resurrection,” in the place where it is used, has the meaning they fix to the same—and that there will be a second resurrection; then the question is, where does their argument fail—The argument is plain, not perplexed with Metaphysical niceties.

Doctor Whitby, and others of his opinion, have cut the gordian knot, they have not untied it, they deny a first, and a second resurrection in reality; they make the first, a mere figure of speech, and consequently a second may be no more.

The first observation that I have to make on the foregoing arguments, is this—they make those who have part in the first resurrection; and the *oi Lotpoi* rest, residue or remainder of the dead meaning wicked dead, contain every individual of the human race:—If this be a true idea of the matter, then their arguments appear to me unanswerable.

There may be an intermediate number, between those who live and reign with Christ, and “the rest of the dead or wicked dead.”

Those who live and reign with Christ, are undoubtedly the twenty four elders and four living creatures who are entitled to the most exalted privileges: and there are visions, which as plainly designate others of the human race, happy, but in a much lower degree; and these appear to enjoy great blessings and privileges, in the Millennium kingdom. If I am asked, who, and what they are? I answer of the human race undoubtedly; who, and what they are, is not necessary to be farther known. If John’s visions are incontrovertibly so, then the weight of the argument of my opponents, is done away entirely.

Whoever reads the Revelations with attention, must acknowledge, that the 144,000 do not appear to include the whole of the happy; and that the words, “blessed is he that hath part in the first resurrection,” must refer to these and the twenty four elders and the four living creatures.

If there be such an intermediate number, then there will be members for a second resurrection, without having recourse to the positively wicked.

My opponents will have to prove, that all who will be raised at the second coming of Christ, other than the positively wicked, will be equally participators in the first resurrection, in the sense that John apparently fixes to the word, "blessed is he," &c.

If they cannot prove this, then their laboured system falls to the ground—And at present I rest satisfied, that it cannot be proved.

It will undoubtedly be confessed, that the Revelations are the most complete and particular system of prophecy as to the Church and future events, that we have on record. The passages we are now treating upon will bring universalism to a criterion; and we may call upon the advocates of this opinion, and even those of Dr. Whitby's sentiments, for they are involved in the inconsistency, to show,

First, That those described in Chap. xx. 4. include every one that will enjoy great privileges in the Millenium kingdom.

Second, That "the rest of the dead," intend every individual of the human race, except those who are described as blessed, in having part in the first resurrection. According to Dr. Whitby's plan, if these words have any meaning they must refer us to the general resurrection; and if so, then it may be fairly inferred that the second death will have power over faithful Jews and Christians who shall have died previous to their supposed Church, but not over the Members of this Church.

Third, That every individual of the human race except the reprobate wicked will be interested in one of the peculiar privileges of the first resurrection, which is, "for over such the second death hath no power,"—when this vision becomes a reality. If we commence the reality of the vision with Dr. Whitby, then the words "second death" have no plain, literal, or figurative meaning. If we commence the reality of the vision with Dr. Chauncy, then those who advocate his opinion must show that the proposition contains the truth.

Natural reason can adduce no arguments to establish any one of these propositions; and I am fully persuaded that revelation is clearly against all of them.

To shew that these propositions are not founded in revelation, it is necessary to introduce the various descriptions of those who appear to be happy in the Millenium, and to give due weight to the prophetic periods; for after having ascertained the commencement of the Millenium, and finding after

that period commences, the descriptions of the happy essentially different, it must follow that neither Whitby nor Chauncy are right.

In order to compare the passages, it is necessary to introduce them.

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

6. And in the midst of the throne, and round the throne, were four beasts full of eyes before and behind.

8. And the four beasts had each of them six wings about him, and they were full of eyes within; and they rest not day and night saying, holy, holy, holy, &c.

And when the living creatures give glory, the four and twenty elders fell down before him that sat on the throne, &c.

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

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

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

11. And I beheld, and I heard the voice of many angels round about the throne, and the beasts and the elders.

12. Saying with a loud voice, worthy is the Lamb, &c.

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

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

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

10. And they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?

11. And white robes were given unto every one of them; and it was said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little

season, until their fellow-servants also and their brethren, that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled.

Chap. vii. 4. And I heard the number of them that were sealed; and there were sealed an hundred and forty and four thousand of all the tribes of the children of Israel.

9. After this I beheld, and, lo, a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands.

14. These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.

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

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

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

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

2. And I heard a voice from Heaven, as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of a great thunder; and I heard the voice of harpers harping with their harps:

3. And they sung as it were a new song before the throne, and before the four beasts and the elders; and no man could learn that song but the hundred and forty and four thousand, which were redeemed from the earth.

4. These are they which were not defiled with women; for they are virgins. These are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth. These were redeemed from among men, being the first-fruits unto God and to the Lamb.

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

6. And I saw another angel fly in the midst of Heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue and people.

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

3. And they sing the song of Moses the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb, &c.

4. For all nations shall come and worship before thee, *for thy judgments are made manifest.*

Chap. xix. 1. And after these things I heard a great voice of much people in heaven, saying Alleluiah:

2. For he hath judged the great whore.

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

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

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

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

9. Blessed are they which are called unto the marriage supper of the Lamb.

Chap. xx. 4. And I saw thrones; and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them; and I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads; or in their hands: and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years.

6. Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection; on such the second death hath no power; but they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years.

Chap. xxi. 2. And I John saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of Heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.

3. And I heard a great voice out of Heaven, saying, Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God.

4. And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain: for the former things are passed away.

9. I will shew thee the bride, the Lamb's wife,

20. And he carried me away in the spirit to a great and high mountain, and shewed me the great city, the holy Jerusalem, descending out of Heaven from God.

24. And the nations of them which are saved shall walk in the light of it: and the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour into it.

From the foregoing descriptions we may arrange them as follows, making distinct classes.

First, The four and twenty elders and the four living creatures in Chap. iv. and the one hundred and forty-four thousand (which may include the Jewish Martyrs) in Chap. vii. but not upon equal grades.

Second, The next class is contained in Chap. v. 13. These ascribe honour, and glory, and power, to him that sitteth on the throne, and unto the Lamb, at the commencement of the Millenium: And these are much less distinguished than the twenty-four elders and four living creatures.

Third, The next class are exhibited Chap. vii. 9. at the close of the Millenium; the individuals of this great multitude are derived from the second class.

It is apparent that the twenty-four elders are more exalted than the four living creatures; that the last are more exalted than the hundred and forty-four thousand; and that these are more exalted than those included under the terms, *every creature* heard I saying, &c. As to the third class we cannot yet ascertain their grade as respects their ultimate state after the Millenium. They are to be the sons of God; God shall be with them, their God.

If the second class are most probably first exhibited at the commencement of the Millenium, then we must undoubtedly exclude herefrom, the beast and the false prophet, the devil and his angels; being creatures that Jesus Christ will not own and acknowledge;—to whom he will say, I know you not.

In different views and places we have the above orders several times exhibited: In Chap. v. 8. the twenty-four elders and four living creatures are exhibited with harps and golden vials, full of odours, which are the prayers of the saints: They seem to be the medium of worship. They sing a new song; and in Chap. xiv. a new song is sung before the throne and the elders, and the living creatures, which none could learn but the hundred and forty-four thousand. It does not mean that the elders and living creatures could not learn it; but most probably those only contained in the second class.

We have no ground from Revelation to establish an opinion upon, that all those in the second, will eventually belong to the third class.

From these observations, we may fairly conclude, that the three propositions have no foundation in the Revelations.

What the tribulation is to be in the Millenium kingdom we are not informed, yet it is said of those in the third class, who evidently are such as have their Christian character formed and established in this kingdom that, "These are they which come out of great tribulation."—We may not therefore conclude that there will be no trouble and afflictions there.

We may now consider the terms "the rest of the dead," *oi de loipoi ton Neckran*. If the preceding verse 4 is to be considered figuratively, not in any sense referring to such as have died natural deaths, then it seems plainly to follow, that the words here must be taken figuratively, and have no reference to such as have died natural deaths.

In verse 4, those designated, are said to have, or to be only such as have, a natural life, with supernatural priviledges accompanying it. In the next verse then, it ought to intend such as have natural life and no supernatural priviledges. In the first place, life does not intend natural life, but the figure consists essentially in this, that there will be extraordinary and supernatural priviledges, so that the term life, is resolveable into qualities only; and, in the second place, the term death must be resolved into the same, and intend some who shall not enjoy those special priviledges. The plain inference from the above would be, that some part of the human race would enjoy great priviledges for one thousand years; and that another part would not enjoy such priviledges till the expiration of the one thousand years; for, if life in the first place, be figurative, intending great privileges, death in the second place must be figurative, intending no privileges.

As those in verse 4 have one peculiar quality, which is, that the second death will have no power on them, it undoubtedly follows, that every individual of them will be saved. If there is then to be a period of one thousand years in which mankind continue in a state of propagating the human species, and every individual is to be saved, it would be a stronger argument in my mind to found universal salvation upon, than any I have seen.

The negative assertion that the rest of the dead lived not again, until the one thousand years were expired, amounts to a positive assertion, that they will live afterwards; and as life is made to intend in verse 4, only the enjoyment of great

privileges, there can be no reason given why it should not intend the same here, nor why all that are included in the terms should not eventually be saved. If the two verses include all the human race, then all will be saved; if verse 4 includes only those who will live natural lives in the seventh Millennium of the world, and verse 5 includes such as will live natural lives in the eighth Millennium of the world, as life in the one case is only figurative of privileges, so it ought to be in the other; therefore these last will enjoy the same privileges as the first, and there is no limitation to the periodical living and reigning with Christ, which is contrary to the plain words of prophecy.

These two verses cannot be reconciled otherwise than by supposing they in fact have reference to such as have died natural deaths, and are to be happy but at different periods of time.

If by the rest of the dead's living again, is intended to be conveyed, life with happiness, which is most probably the case, then we have a plain intimation here of a second resurrection to happiness; and the wicked dead are not here brought into view; and the time of their resurrection is to be ascertained from other passages of scripture.

The term death does not imply here natural death, or in a state of natural death; but imports a distinction between the happy in the first resurrection and second, at least as to time.

In verse 4, then, we have described all those who will be partakers in the first resurrection; and in the 5th, those that will be partakers in the second resurrection, and how long it will be before the event takes place after the first.

The two verses thus explained, give a farther and a plain and intelligent meaning to the prophecy.

The *rest or residue*, does not intend a distinction between good and bad; but a part of what was before, something of a similar nature, something that will eventually be like to it and make up the whole.

John saw the souls of those comprised under particular descriptions; to these identical souls, is annexed a life of a thousand years: to suppose that these souls intend the Church militant in a progressive state, is contrary to the nature of John's visions; it is introducing a figure that has not its like in all the scriptures. The subject is souls, the predicate is living and reigning with Christ a thousand years, and on such the second death hath no power: to change the subject, and make it mean *Church*, the members of which have not passed through a first death, and that only a partial part of the Church of Christ, that

is, such as live in the flesh after the commencement of the Millennium, such as will live at the utmost extent about seventy or eighty years, is limiting the vision, and denying what John does expressly declare, he did see.

He saw the souls of all the faithful from first to last. Besides, changing the subject so essentially, if there was even plausible grounds for it; it seems impossible to reconcile the predicate with the subject so changed: for a church, constituted of mortal beings, constantly dissolving and changing, to live and reign with Christ a thousand years; to assert that no one of its members will be subject to the power of the second death, is a predicate that the subject will not warrant. The subject is collective, the predicate is individual, comprising all its members. If, therefore, the subject is collective, constantly changing, and never identically the same, old members going off, and new members coming on, then the subject and predicate are completely at variance with each other.—The predicate asserts something of the subject which is not in any view applicable to the subject.

The construction that we have here given to the 4th, 5th, and 6th verses, will liberate us from the obstacles that some have placed in the way, against Christ's second advent, who have put that event off to a great and unknown distance of time; and have thereby totally confused and confounded the prophetic chronology—making the book with seven seals, comprehend the history of about two thousand years only, and not supposing this period carries us to the second advent of Christ, by at least one, and perhaps two thousand years.

Dr. Whitby and those of his opinion, suppose, and cannot avoid it, on their plan, that the posterity of the present dispersed and wandering Jews, will be brought in to enjoy the blessings of the gospel in a natural state, which is contrary to what Christ expressly declares will be the case: "Your house is left unto you desolate; and verily I say unto you, ye shall not see me until the time come, when ye shall say, blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord."

And in the Revelations it is said, Behold, he cometh with clouds, and every eye shall see him, and they also which pierced him, and all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of him.

The Jews and the Gentiles are no where represented as uniting in one church under the present dispensation; Paul says, blindness in part is happened unto Israel, until the fullness of the Gentiles be come in.

The first text undoubtedly refers to Christ's second advent, until which their house is to be left desolate, and when ye shall say, blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord, then ye shall see me.

The text from the Revelations asserts, that he will come, and they are employed in giving an account of what will happen until that event arrives.

When this event takes place, the fullness of the Gentiles will be come in, and not before; and consequently blindness will not until this be removed from Israel.

There is therefore no foundation for such a church as Whitby and Lowman have been obliged to have recourse to, under the present dispensation, in the scriptures.

The fullness of the Gentiles must intend the number to be sealed, and not when they shall, or that they shall universally, worship God in spirit and in truth. When the elect and chosen number of the Gentiles shall be filled up, then that blindness shall be removed, and Christ will appear.

It is plainly some great event that is to be fully accomplished with respect to the Gentiles, before the blindness is to be removed from the Jews. But upon the construction that the Millenium state, is to have its members consist of mankind in a natural state, the Gentiles must first be brought into this state, and, by general agreement, about two hundred years hence, or within that period of time. But it is evident Paul speaks of immediate privileges conferred upon, and enjoyed by the Gentiles.

It is through the fall of the Jews that salvation has come unto the Gentiles: their fall is the riches of the world; and the diminishing of them is the riches of the Gentiles: I am, he says, the Apostle of the Gentiles, I magnify mine office—because of unbelief they were broken off, and thou standest by faith.

Paul evidently connects the commencement of the enjoyment of those great privileges by the Gentiles with the fall of the Jews: and Mr. Lowman does evidently connect them, or the commencement of them, with the coming in again of the Jews, leaving a space of two thousand years, to which the terms, "until the fullness of the Gentiles be come in," have no reference: farther, this manner of construction inverts the plain account we have in the scriptures, of the order of the Jews and Gentiles being introduced into the Millenium kingdom.—If the diminishing of the Jews, be the riches of the Gentiles, how much more their fullness? which is as much as to say, the fullness of the Jews will be attended with much greater riches; and the Jews

are constantly represented by the ancient prophets as taking the lead of the Gentiles in that state; the Gentiles are represented as attaching themselves to the Jews, in going up to worship: and seven men shall lay hold on the skirt of a Jew, and shall say, come, let us go up to the house of the Lord, &c.

It must be apparent, that it is an unwarrantable matter to pass over two thousand years; all which time the Gentiles enjoyed the privileges of the gospel, and stood by faith: to suppose that in these two thousand years, there is no fullness, and that the fullness of the Gentiles spoken of, only commences after the expiration of those two thousand years.

I doubt not but it will appear to every one who reflects carefully upon this matter, that the fullness of the Gentiles here spoken of, is fully satisfied by the four living creatures in the Revelations—That they have reference to the full number that are to be sealed, or collected from among the Gentiles during the present christian dispensation which is nearly at an end.

After the pouring out of the seventh vial, there are many very important descriptions—to assign to these a proper period, and to select such parts, as are really figurative from such as are not, is no easy matter.

The seventh vial is undoubtedly indicative of a new and different period in the church. One question difficult of solution is, who are to be the constituent members of this church?

Many enthusiastic notions have been entertained with respect to the same—there is one opinion, advocated by men of sound sense, and sober reason, and this opinion must prevail with all such, as believe in one resurrection only; that the soul at death, passes into immediate happiness or misery. That when Christ next appears, it will be the time of the final judgment which is yet at a great distance.

These opinions necessarily lead us to consider these descriptions in their essential parts, as only figurative.

That the true ideas to be affixed to these descriptions are simply these:—that there will be a remarkable Spiritual Revival of the church on earth, that the Saviour, the efficient cause of this great reformation, will effect it invisibly.

All prophetic figures terminate in realities; the thing signified is no figure—a figure in speech, is the using a word which has a known appropriate meaning, in a sense entirely different therefrom.

In order to give a fair view of the arguments in favour of a figurative construction, I take the liberty of making a large extract from Mr. Lowman.

“ This description of the thrones, and of them that sat on them, is not to be understood, as if all who are afterwards said to live and reign with Christ a thousand years were to sit on these thrones.

The figurative description seems to intimate order, and government in the kingdom of Christ, that some were to have judgment given to them, or to be raised to the authority of magistrates in it—this, as all other governments, was to be made up of governors and governed; and this authority of magistracy, was given to them, that sat on the thrones: The expression seems to be an allusion to the principal court of Israel, on which the members of the Sanherim sat, or raised seats or thrones, on each hand of the Prince or President of the Assembly.

Thrones then, as seats of dignity, are to distinguish those who have the administration of government committed to them, from the rest of the people.

It is a question of importance to the true meaning of this prophecy, how we are to understand the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and who had not worshipped the beast, or which is the same, who are the persons represented as enjoying that happy state of the church.

Here interpreters differ widely in opinions; some understand by the description a literal resurrection of martyrs only. It is supposed, that all these saints and martyrs, shall at this time be really raised from the dead for a thousand years before the general resurrection.

But there are others who understand this description in a figurative sense; they suppose the prophecy intends such persons, who have the true spirit and temper of martyrs.

They who are for a literal resurrection of the Martyrs, in order to live and reign with Christ these thousand years, principally insist on the direct meaning of expressions, “ the souls of them,” &c. which they think must mean the martyrs, under heathen Roman emperors; as beheading was a Roman punishment, and as the very souls that were beheaded or died, live again in the Millennium state. They farther observe, that this is the reward promised to the martyrs, to the souls who cry for vengeance under the Altar, and who overcome by death, or resisting the enemies of Christ, and his religion unto death—They observe, this is agreeable to St. Paul, that the dead in Christ, shall rise first, that is, they who died for Christ's sake. This interpretation is confirmed they think, by the following observation, That the rest of the dead lived not again till the one thousand years were expired; and therefore this is properly a first resurrection.

This sheweth, they add, that the persons mentioned as dead and living, were once really dead—If they were not What occasion to compare them with the rest of the dead? by which are to be understood, all such Christians who are dead, or shall die, having no title to the first resurrection, as they were neither actually martyrs or confessors.

These arguments are farther supported by several conjectures, and by an application of some passages of scriptures, that are supported to favour them.

But they on the other hand, who understand this description in a figurative sense, observe that all these expressions will very well bear such an interpretation, that it will be more agreeable to the stile of prophecy, in particular to the stile of this book, which every where abounds in figurative descriptions, that all these expressions are used in the antient prophet, in a figurative meaning, and that there are unanswerable difficulties attending a literal interpretation of them.

Dr. Whitby, in a learned and judicious treatise on the Millenium, has considered the whole arguments at large, where the reader may find full satisfaction: I shall only set before him the sum of those arguments, which seem greatly to confirm the figurative interpretation.

It is observed in the first place, that all these expressions may very well be understood in a figurative sense. The souls of them, &c. may easily, according to the manner of prophetic language, signify persons of like spirit and temper with them, of like faith, patience, constancy and zeal. John the Baptist was Elias, because he came in the spirit of Elias. This is Elias, says our Saviour, which was for to come: And St. Luke, speaking of John preparing the way for the appearance of the Messiah, thus explains it: And he shall go before him, in the power and spirit of Elias. Thus, a state of the church, in which a spirit of the ancient martyrs and confessors, and the purity of those times shall return, may be described as a church of martyrs, a church so nearly resembling them in temper, constancy, and zeal.

It is a very easy and natural figure, as well as a very common one in the book of prophecy, to describe persons by the names of such, whose tempers and characters they imitate and follow.—Thus, the names of Sodom, Egypt, and Babylon, are so often ascribed to Rome, on account she nearly resembled them in corruption, pride, and cruelty.

The other expressions of resurrection, of living and reigning, were used before in ancient prophecy, to signify the restoration of the church from a low and afflicted state. Thus,

the prophet Hosea, exhorting to return unto the Lord, for he hath torn, and he will heal; he hath smitten and he will bind us up: He adds, after two days will he revive us, or make us live again: On the third day will he raise us up, as from the dead, and we shall live in his sight.—Hosea, vi. 1, 2.

In this prophecy, when the two witnesses were slain, and their dead bodies lay in the streets of the great city, the spirit of life from God, entered into them, and they stood on their feet; or, they are represented under the figure of being raised from the dead.

It is moreover observable, that, as all these expressions may be understood in a figurative sense, agreeable to the language of prophecy, so it is more agreeable to understand them so in a book of Revelations, delivered throughout in such a stile: Every part of these prophecies is so to be understood; the book, the seals, the trumpets, the beasts, the witnesses, the dragon, and old serpent; and why not the revelation of the martyrs and confessors.

It is also very material, that these very expressions seem to be taken from some passages in scripture, in which they are plainly used in a figurative sense, and must be so interpreted. There is a remarkable prophecy of Ezekiel, Chap. xxxvii. 3, concerning the restoration of Judah and her return out of captivity; and he said unto me, son of man, can these bones live? and I answered, O Lord God, thou knowest: It follows verse 5. Thus saith the Lord God unto these bones, Behold I will cause breath to enter into you, that is, a spirit of life, or living spirit, and ye shall live; and so I prophesied as he commanded me, says Ezekiel verse 10, and the breath or spirit of life came into them, and they lived and stood upon their feet.

The meaning of these figurative expressions are thus explained, verse 11, 12. Then he said unto me, son of man, these bones are, or signify, the whole house of Israel: Behold they say our bones are dried, and our hope is lost; we are cut off for our parts; therefore, prophecy and say unto them: Thus saith the Lord God, Behold O my people, I will open your graves, and cause you to come up out of your graves, and bring you into the land of Israel; or, I will bring you out of your captivity, and into the enjoyment of your country, liberties, laws, and religion.

It is farther to be observed, how fully the description of the conversion of the Jews answers to the Millenium of St. John, who useth the very words by which their prophets had

foretold their conversion, as Dr. Whitby has shewn at large.

Now, as this happy state of the church may well be understood of the fullest accomplishment of the prophecies which speak of the conversion of the Jews, and receiving them again into the church, which St. Paul calls, life from the dead, this interpretation will be the most easy and proper, as most agreeable to the sense in which they are used in the ancient prophecies upon the like occasions.

Yet farther, a literal and proper resurrection of the martyrs and confessors, who suffered in the heathen Roman Empire, and reign of the beast, is attended with many difficulties; so great as to render that interpretation very doubtful and improbable.

Dr. Whitby has remarked, that a proper and literal resurrection is never in the whole New Testament expressed, or represented to us, by the living of the soul, but by the living, raising, and resurrection of the dead, the raising the bodies of the saints, of them that slept in the dust, or in the graves or sepulchres.

The same learned author further observes, This doctrine seems not well consistent with the happy state of souls departed, or with the high prerogative supposed to belong to the souls of martyrs.—That this doctrine does not agree with the accurate description of the resurrection in the holy scriptures; for in all those descriptions, there is no mention made of a first and a second resurrection, or that one of them is to be one thousand years after the other. They represent the resurrection to be performed in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye; they represent at that time, that the dead in Christ shall rise first; but then, also, we which are alive, and remain, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air; and so we shall be ever with the Lord.

The scriptures speak constantly of the resurrection of all saints, as of a resurrection not to a temporal life on earth, but to an eternal life in Heaven. Nor finally, does the doctrine of a literal resurrection well agree, our author observes, with the genius of Christian faith, or with the nature of Christian hope, or with the freedom and temper of spirit it requires from the professors of Christianity, who are taught not to set their affections on things on earth, but on things above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God.

To these observations of Dr. Whitby, let me add one or two observations which the prophecy itself seems to point out to us.

And first, this prophecy seems to suppose such inhabitants of the earth during the Millenium, as were the inhabitants of the earth when the beast was destroyed, or men in the usual state of natural succession; not persons raised out of the grave, or fetched from the separate state of departed souls.

Here is no intimation, that all good and faithful Christians are to be slain at this time, together with the beast and his followers, to make room for martyrs, and persons who died some hundred of years before, to inhabit the earth in their room: Besides, they are represented in this state of Millenium, as liable to be misled by the deceitful acts of Satan and the terrors of persecution, for which reason the safety and security of the church in this period, is represented, by laying a restraint on Satan, that he should not deceive the nations, or shutting him up in the bottomless pit, that he should deceive the nations no more till the end of one thousand years should be fulfilled. The inhabitants of the earth are then supposed in the prophecy, capable of being deceived, and in danger of it, if the power of Satan had not been so fully restrained. The order of the prophecy seems further to confirm this observation; for when the one thousand years shall be expired, Satan must after that, be bound for a little season, and he shall make so bad use of that little time, as to deceive many, so far to deceive them, as to gather a very great number of them together, to attack the saints and the beloved city. Must the new enemies of Christ and his religion, be some of the old persecutors, raised from the dead; or some of the martyrs, after their resurrection, seduced by Satan into his party? Or must they be, as the prophecy seems plainly enough to suppose, such a succession of men as now inhabit the earth.

The prophecy itself gives us occasion to make this farther observation, that this prophecy places the general resurrection after the one thousand years are expired; after Satan shall have made a new attempt against truth and righteousness, and with very great numbers, as the sand of the sea; and after they shall be utterly destroyed by fire coming down from God.

Now the prophecy describes this resurrection which is to follow the Millenium and defeat of the last attempts of the enemies of truth, as a general resurrection, of all persons, without any exceptions, without the least intimation of a considerable resurrection above one thousand years before, as this resurrection of the martyrs must have been, if meant literally. I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God; and the dead were judged out of those things that were written in the books according to their works. They who were judged, were the

dead then raised to life: then the dead were all raised, small and great.

It should seem, then, that a literal and proper resurrection of martyrs, to live on earth one thousand years before the general resurrection and judgment, is not a necessary sense of this prophecy, nor so natural and probable a sense as the figurative. It should seem the literal sense is liable to many difficulties, and hardly reconcileable to the other descriptions of the same prophecy, and to the other passages of scripture.

But the figurative interpretation, viz, that this prophecy should mean an happy state of the church on earth, will answer the whole design of the prophecy, and appears the easier and more probable meaning of the words.

The church in peace, free from persecution, and all deceitful arts of Satan and wicked men, enlarged with the conversion of the Jews and fulness of the Gentiles, serving God as a kingdom of priests, in purity of Christian worship, and enjoying all the blessings of protection and divine Grace, may well be expressed by living and reigning with Christ.

This short description will then allow a liberty to every one of applying to this happy state of the church, whatever other prophecies he shall find relating to the peaceful and prosperous state of the church, in the last times.

If we take care to apply them in an easy and natural sense, agreeable to the true meaning of this prophecy, and true nature of the peace, purity and happiness of the church, designed by it, we shall rectify the mistakes and prevent the dangerous errors, that some may have fallen into, by indulging too far an unreasonable fancy, and unguarded imagination; and the true Millenium will be very far from an unreasonable doctrine, or a dangerous enthusiasm."

I have been thus lengthy in extracting from Mr. Lowman, because I suppose the arguments are the best, that can be produced in favor of the opinion, especially as he had the advantage of improving upon the observations of the learned Dr. Whitby.

It appears to me, notwithstanding their great fondness for ease and natural sense, that not one well founded argument is adduced by them: by the same mode of reasoning, if allowed to be good, all that is contained in the Bible, might be proved to be figurative.

That there are some realities in the scriptures described in plain unfigurative language, is a truth believed by many.

As the descriptive articles after pouring out of the 7th vial, are numerous, and relate to matters that will take place in the Millenium kingdom, that is, at, and after Christ's second coming, if these are all figurative, and it cannot be otherwise upon these learned men's construction, then we may lay aside all attempts, as the Jews did, to compute by scripture, and demand, where is the promise of his coming : for since the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were.

It is said, that a figurative interpretation, which is, that this prophecy or description in the 4th verse, should mean an happy state of the church on earth, well answers the whole design of the prophecy.

The arguments to support this opinion, are—

First.—By many positive assertions in three pages, that the description is to be taken figuratively, which is an evidence that the opinion is not easily supported; when men of sense are driven to this shift, it shows that their argument labours.

Second.—“ John the Baptist was Elias, because he came in the power and spirit of Elias.”

If this be a fact, it only shows that one person had two names; in what then consists the figure ?

The resurrection has two meanings, a literal and a figurative ; because John the Baptist was Elias, therefore the meaning of the resurrection in the place referred to is figurative ; therefore the souls of them that lived and reigned with Christ, who had lived under the beast and had not worshipped him, intend some that never lived under the beast at all.

It is plainly implied, that their souls, whoever they may be, did actually live under the beast.

The beastre ferred to, is that with seven heads and ten horns, because we find none other that distinguishes his subjects and voteries by marks. It is granted this beast will be entirely destroyed before this happy state of the church takes place, which is to continue a thousand years.

Therefore, if we are to understand any other than such as had lived under this beast, it is very strange that he should be introduced in this place. It must strike every candid mind with unanswerable force, that the *obitines*, or every one who had not worshipped the beast, must have reference to such as had an opportunity to do it.

The third argument is drawn from the second, which is the similarity between John and Elias ; rather is a consequence of it. A state of the church, in which the spirit of the antient martyrs and confessors and the purity of those times shall return, or maybe described as a church of martyrs ; a church so nearly

resembling them in temper, constancy and zeal. If there be any weight in this observation, I confess I cannot see it. There is no doubt but the martyrs had a good spirit and disposition; and if such a church should be, as is suggested, the members of it would have the same. The question is, what similarity is there between the state and circumstances of the martyrs on earth, who did not reign with Christ, as some of the Apostles do plainly say, and a church living and reigning with Christ; what similarity is there between reigning and not reigning? I see none at all; and yet this is the very likeness that ought to be pointed out.

All good beings resemble each other in some manner in temper and disposition, and finding out such a likeness, is little or nothing to the purpose.—A church of Angels, if I may be allowed thus to express myself, would, in this single respect, resemble good Jews or good Christians under their respective dispensations.

John saw persons faithful witnesses of Jesus Christ, against whom the powers of darkness prevailed—the consequence of their faithfulness is death; here then is no resemblance between the two churches.

It is not only the faithful martyrs of Jesus Christ, but also faithful martyrs for the word of God: the souls that John saw under the Altar, on opening the 5th seal, who were slain for the word of God and the testimony which they held, and these were manifestly Jews that were faithful to the word of God under the Moasic economy; these martyrs witnessed their faithfulness, and received death from the hands of wicked men.

It is not only these, but all such who though they did not die martyrs, yet did not worship the beast, neither his image—they were faithful to the death; but not called upon to witness their faithfulness by martyrdom. The extent of this beast and his image may be as great as the seven tyrannical monarchies, and then the *aitines*, or, *every one who*, will be equally extensive, and will intend all the true worshippers of God who came peaceably to their end.

The pure exalted and protected church contended for, is to resemble Jewish martyrs, Christian martyrs, and every true worshipper of God that did not die as a martyr; this at least makes a very confused resemblance.

The life is connected with reigning, and here all resemblance fails. The Jewish, the Christian martyrs and the true worshippers do not resemble this church in this respect, nor does this church resemble them.

It is therefore manifest, that in the essential parts of the descriptions there is no resemblance whatever between the church contended for, and the Jewish and Christian churches on earth.

Fourth argument—It is a very easy and natural figure, as well as very common in this book of prophecy, to describe persons by the names of such, whose tempers and characters they imitate and follow : thus the names of Sodom, Egypt and Babylon, are so often ascribed to Rome, on account she nearly resembles them in corruption, pride and cruelty.

The same thing is again used here, similarity of temper ; and no attempts made to reconcile the positive dissimilarity of quality. If we argue by comparison, such comparison ought to hold good in every respect—no precedents are allowed to be good, unless they are exactly similar in all their circumstances. If Babylon, Sodom, Egypt and Rome, were all alike in wickedness, and the last is denominated by the three first, yet this has no tendency to reconcile negative qualities in the members of churches living under two different dispensations.

If the two following positions are plainly founded in scripture, which I doubt not will appear to be the case, then we may, without hesitation, believe, that Mr. Lowman's ideas of the Millenium are not well founded.

The first is, that there is a time for rewarding the saints, other than that at their deaths, individually.

The second is, that this commences at the time of pouring out the seventh vial, or Christ's second advent.

In order to establish the first position, the following texts of scripture are adduced :

John xiv. 3.—And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again and receive you unto myself.

1. E. Cor. xv.—This chapter requires an attentive perusal : It clearly conveys this idea, that we have no hope but what is founded in the resurrection. Verses 44, 45, 46, ought to have been translated thus:—It is sown a *psukikal* body, it is raised a spiritual body : Then it is said, the spiritual is not first but the *psukikal*, afterwards that which is spiritual.

As there is no English adjective that conveys the true idea of the original *psukikos*, it is necessary to make an English word of the original.

Eph. iv. 30.—And grieve not the holy spirit of God whereby ye are sealed unto the day of redemption : And Paul in the Romans represents the whole creation as groaning for the adoption, which he explains to be the redemption of our bodies.

Philip iii. 11, 12.—The whole hope and pursuit of the apostle is to attain to the resurrection of the dead.

i. Thes. i. 10.—And to wait for his son from Heaven, whom he raised from the dead.

Col. iii. 3, 4.—For ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God; when Christ who is our life shall appear, then shall ye also appear with him in glory.

i E. Thes. iii. 13.—To the end he may establish your hearts unblameable in holiness before God, even our Father, at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ with all his holy ones.

Chap. v. 23.—And I pray God your whole spirit and soul and body, be presented blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.

2 Thes. i. 7.—And to you who are troubled, rest with us *when* the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven, when he shall come to be glorified in his saints.

ii. 1.—Now we beseech you brethren by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and our gathering together unto him, that ye be not soon shaken in mind, as that the day of Christ is at hand.

i Tim. vi. 14.—That thou keep this commandment without spot, unrebukable, until the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ, which in his time he shall shew who is the blessed and only potentate the Kings of Kings and Lord of Lords, who only hath immortality, dwelling in that light which no man can approach unto, whom no man hath seen or can see.

2 Tim. i. 10.—And hath brought light and immortality to light through the gospel.

iv. 8.—Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give me at that day; and not to me only, but unto all them that love his appearing.

Tit. ii. 13.—Looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Heb. ix. 2.—And unto them that look for him without sin unto salvation.

x. 37.—For yet a little while and he that shall come will come, and will not tarry.

xi. 39.—And these all having obtained a good report through faith received not the promise; God having provided some better thing for us, that they without us should not be made perfect.

i Peter, i. 4.—To an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled and that fadeth not away; reserved in heaven for us, who are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation,

ready to be revealed in the last time. Verse seventh, That the trial of your faith, &c. at the appearing of Jesus Christ.

I need not make any farther extracts from scripture, to show that there is a time for rewarding the saints, and to show that this period of time is precisely limited to the second coming of Jesus Christ. The above extracts show farther, that the reward will not be confined to the martyrs or confessors but will be extended to all the faithful. Therefore Dr. Whitby, and Mr. Lowman's criticisms upon the words, "the souls of them that were beheaded, and which had not, making the relative, "which," agree with "souls" and confining the whole verse to such only as were actually beheaded or died martyrs or confessors, do not correspond with other passages of scripture; but the original should be translated thus: the souls of the beheaded, and every one who had not, &c. This includes all the faithful under the gospel.

The second position is fully established by the extracts from Dr. Chauncy.

A figurative interpretation, such as Dr. Whitby and Mr. Lowman contend for, is attended with unanswerable difficulties, because it expressly contradicts the prophetic chronology of scripture.

They observe first, that all these expressions may very well be understood in a figurative sense; that all these expressions are used in the ancient prophets in such a sense. By the words "all these expressions," are intended particularly, "the souls of them that were beheaded," &c. These expressions are not to be found any where else, thus connected; and this they acknowledge, though the contrary is first asserted.

Because the Old Testament described a certain person by the name of Elias, and the New Testament calls the same person John, therefore John is a figurative being, or Elias is a figurative being; for it is adduced to shew a figure, where I confess I see none at all.

It is said, a pure living church, which never suffered martyrdom or persecution, may be called a church of martyrs, because it resembles them in temper, &c. and yet here is the essential characteristic of the figure wanting.

Rome is said to be called by the names of Sodom, Egypt, and Babylon; which by the way I take not to be true, for Sodom and Egypt designate Constantinople. Therefore the words in question, intend something essentially different from their natural meaning.

The other expressions it is said, of a resurrection of living and reigning, were used before in ancient prophecy, to signify

the restoration of the church from a low and afflicted state. Yet the texts adduced to support this opinion, are at least questionable, and I think most evidently have a different meaning from what is affixed to them.

It is said, every part of these prophecies are to be understood figuratively : the books, the seals, the trumpets, &c. and why not the resurrection of the martyrs and confessors ? here is a strange assertion, and consequently a strange question. Is Jesus Christ so gloriously displayed, and the marriage supper, a figure ? Is the fall of Rome a figure ? Is the purity and righteousness with which the saints are clothed, a figure ?

As much seems to be made of the idea, that only martyrs and confessors are to be interested in this resurrection, and the original conveys quite another idea ; I beg leave to introduce it : *Kai tas pseukas ton pepelikismenon dia teen marturian Jesou, kai dia, ton logon tou theou, kai oitines, ou prosekunesan to therio, &c.* Beza renders these words in Latin thus :—*Et enimas eorum, qui securi percussi sunt, propter testimonium Jesu et propter sermonem Dei, quique non adorarunt bestiam.*

Tas pseukas is the accusative plural and feminine ; *oitines* is the nominative plural, and masculine ; so that it cannot agree with, or relate to *tas pseukas*.

Dr. Whitby has remarked, that a proper and literal resurrection is never in the whole New Testament expressed or represented to us by the living of the soul, but by the living, raising, &c. of the dead ; the raising the bodies of the saints.

Upon Mr. Locke's authority I doubt not I may affirm, that the raising of the bodies of the saints is not to be found in the New Testament, when the raising of the dead is mentioned ; and I think we have in Acts something similar to the soul's living again. Acts ii. 31. That his soul was not left in hell, neither did his flesh see corruption.

This same learned author thinks this doctrine not consistent with the happy state of souls departed : that it does not agree with the accurate description of the resurrection in the scriptures, no mention being there made of a first and a second resurrection, one a thousand years after the other. They describe the bodies at the resurrection, as fit to live in Heaven, and not on this earth.

Here are three objections : If the text is to be understood literally, it may make against the opinion, that the righteous at death immediately enter into glory.

This opinion is by some, mightily cherished and made a cardinal point in their creeds ; but in the eye of a Christian philosopher, it must be of very little moment. The certainty

of future happy existence, is of more importance to him than the time when; but, as all allow that the resurrection life will be exceedingly different from what life was before, we may safely conclude, that the tenets of the Church will receive no harm, if the text is taken literally: Living and reigning is essentially different from living without reigning.

The second objection does not comport with the respect that is due to scripture testimony. The testimony of one divinely inspired, is as valid as that of a thousand. It is not the number of witnesses to the same point, that makes the scriptures credible: If the credibility should be rated in proportion to the number of witnesses to the same thing, then the greater part of the Revelations would not be credible at all, or very little credit would be due to them. However, as this is not the rule by which we ought to be governed, in believing the scriptures, and as the learned and accurate Doctor has not been able to shew, that the literal construction would be opposed to any other account we have of the resurrection, we may safely receive it in this sense.

I am incapable of perceiving any propriety in the third objection.

Mr. Lowman sums up the whole, and upon three premises makes this conclusion: That this prophecy should mean a happy state of the church on earth, mankind being in their present natural state.

The first premise is, this prophecy seems to suppose such inhabitants of the earth during the Millenium, as were the inhabitants of the earth, when the beast was destroyed, or men in the usual state of natural succession, not persons raised out of the grave, or fetched from the separate state of departed souls.

The inhabitants of the earth are represented as capable of being deceived by the deceitful arts of Satan; therefore is he shut up, that he should deceive them no more, till the 1000 years are expired; after this, he is loosed, and deceives them.

This seems to place the virtue of the Millenium state on a strange footing. It is owing not to inherent goodness, but to a negative cause.

In Rev. chap. xiv. we have an account of two angels, with sharp sickles, the effects of which are very differently described—the first thrusts in his sickle on the earth, and the earth is reaped.

The second angel is ordered to thrust in his sickle, and gather the cluster of the vine of the earth, for her grapes are fully ripe. He thrusts in his sickle, and gathers the vine of the

earth, and casts it into the great wine press of the wrath of God: and the wine-press was trodden without the city, &c.

The effects are represented very differently; and whether any of the present inhabitants of the earth will continue in their present natural state, over the period of the seventh vial, stands in need of a better reason, to show that it will be so, than that of a mere capacity to be deceived; for other beings than mankind in the flesh, are capable of being deceived.

Daniel, speaking of this period, says, And at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book: and many of them that slept in the dust of the earth, shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to everlasting shame and contempt.

Zach. xii. 10. And I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and supplication, and they shall look on me whom they have pierced: and they shall mourn for him as one mourneth for his only son, and shall be in bitterness for him, as one that is in bitterness for his first-born. In that day, there shall be a great mourning in Jerusalem, as the mourning of Haddadrimon, in the valley of Megeddon: and the land shall mourn every family apart, &c.

Math. xxiii. 38. Behold, your house is left to you desolate; for I say unto you, Ye shall not see me henceforth, till ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.

Math. xxiv. 30. And then shall appear the sign of the Son of Man in Heaven; and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn; and they shall see the Son of Man coming in the clouds, with power and great glory.

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

If these passages do apply to the Millenium, or the state next succeeding the present dispensation, and that they do is incontrovertible, then Mr. Lowman's first premise has no foundation to rest upon; unless there shall then be a mixture of the human race; some in a natural state; and some raised from the dead.

The third premise, on which the conclusion is founded, is, that the general resurrection is placed after the 1000 years are expired, without any intimation of so considerable a resurrection of martyrs 1000 years before, if meant literally.

Strange indeed is this observation. The text intimates, nay asserts, That there will be a first resurrection; and an attempt

is made to prove, that it intimates something figurative, not real. If the text does not more than intimate it, Why is such an exertion of learning necessary, in order to affix a figurative sense to it?

Mr. Lowman's own observation, on the nature of some of the visions in the Revelations, is very just, which is, that they do not intimate order, and succession, as to time; consequently the vision of the general resurrection, though placed after the vision of the 1000 years, and the destruction of Gog and Magog, may have its commencement at the second Advent of Christ; and this is plainly asserted in various passages of scripture. In this view, therefore, his objection against a literal meaning, has no weight.

The weight of the objection seem to consist partly in this: It is difficult for us to conceive who will make up the constituent members of the Millenium kingdom, unless we take them to be natural men; and as they are capable of being deceived, therefore they will be natural men. If no other beings but mankind in a natural state, are capable of being deceived, the consequence is good. But this not being the case, the consequence is bad.

An opinion, founded expressly in the limitedness of our own capacity, should not be made the basis of an inference that contradicts sundry plain passages of scripture.

The Jews reasoned in a similar manner in the time of our Saviour: They appear to have known very well, that the Saviour was to have come about that time; they depended on Daniel's prophecy. But say they, this Prince, is to be for the Jews only—his government is to be splendid and glorious. The Jews will then subdue all their enemies; the pretended King of the Jews, not having these concomitant circumstances, and the Jews not being considered as the only constituent members of his kingdom, as he and his disciples declare. Therefore, though the time seems to be arrived for his appearance, we will not believe in this man, but wait for one, who shall have every concomitant circumstance, agreeably to our opinions of the matter.

Is it reasonable to suspend the exposition of plain passages of scripture, until we have clear ideas of the precise number, as well as particular kind of persons that are intended by the rest of the dead; and who, and what kind of nations they are, whether natural men, or men raised from the grave, who, after the 1000 years, Satan is to deceive in the four quarters of the earth, Gog and Magog, the number of whom is as the sand of the sea?

The plain fact is, that other scriptures are not simply suspended, but contradicted. The passage in question is first explained metaphorically; and other passages are made to speak the same language.

An ingenious mind may suggest many things with respect to the Millenium kingdom, which cannot be solved at present. It would be strange, however, to argue from hence, that such a kingdom will not be; and essentially different from all that had ever been before. We are informed generally of the glorious state of this kingdom; but as to many of the particulars relative to it, we are uninformed.

It will be a great and important period of time; and as Divine Providence has been pleased to unfold some things respecting the same, we ought to examine them, at this time, with the greatest attention. To the inquisitive mind, there will still be many important queries, that cannot be resolved.

It is said, that out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword, that with it he should smite the nations; and he shall rule them with a rod of iron; and the remnant were slain with the sword which proceeded out of his mouth.

To smite and to rule, seem to convey a different idea, from killing and slaying. If all are slain at Christ's second coming, then there can be no nations to be deceived, unless they be brought from the grave. If the saints are to be kings and priests on earth, who are to be the subjects and hearers? The saints are represented as being all equal, judgment is given unto them, Know ye not, says Paul, that we shall judge angels and men?

John saw the souls of the beheaded, and they lived again. If the souls had always been alive, it is said, this phraseology cannot be proper, otherwise than in a figurative sense.

It may be remarked here, that it seems to have been the general opinion of the Grecian churches, planted by Paul and John, that the soul and body slept together, at death.

The contrary doctrine, as well as a thousand others, infinitely more abominable, may be traced to the Romish clergy. The invention of purgatory, and immediate damnation after death, had like to have put the papists in possession of the whole world. The wicked clergy always attended death-beds: at this critical moment, thousands have been so terrified, as to induce them, for the sake of their own salvation, to bequeath their estates to the church; and to leave their families entirely destitute.

It is not improbable, that the tenth chap. Rev. refers to the Millenium kingdom: It is apparent, that John's visions, bring

to view very distant events. All the important events, previous to the seventh vial, are plainly foretold—the little book, is no part of that sealed with seven seals, which manifestly carries us through the present dispensation. If the seven thunders fall in within this period, they must be made up of smaller particulars; by the evident experience of nearly 1800 years: which hardly seems to consist, with the dignity of the introduction, nor with the fulness of the scripture prophecy, as it respects the present dispensation.

What was uttered by the seven thunders, is sealed up, but to be opened hereafter undoubtedly: the information implies this; and that the gospel will be preached in that period, which succeeds the seventh vial.

The angels standing on the sea, and on the earth, naturally intimates the Turkish and the Western world, or Europe; and also the end of them, which are undoubtedly the last of the four great beasts.

The angel is clothed with a cloud and a rainbow, probably referring to the covenant made with Noah, after the flood: Gen. ix. 9. I establish my covenant with you, and your seed after you, and with every living creature that is with you, of the fowl, of the cattle, and of every beast of the earth. And I will establish my covenant with you; neither shall all flesh be cut off any more by the waters of a flood; neither shall there be any more a flood to destroy the earth. And God said, this is the token of the covenant which I make between me and you, for perpetual generations. I do set my bow in the clouds; and it shall be for a token of a covenant between me and the earth; and I will remember my covenant, which is between me and you, and every creature of all flesh; and the bow shall be in the cloud; and I will look upon it, that I may remember the everlasting covenant, which I have established between me and all flesh that is upon the earth.

To this passage we may add that of Romans iii. For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us: for the earnest expectations of the creature waiteth for the manifestations of the sons of God; for the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope, because the creature also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God; for we know that the whole creation groaneth and travelleth in pain together until now; and not only they, but ourselves also, who have the first fruits

of the spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption, to wit, the *redemption of our bodies*.

The word *uiothesian*, translated adoption, more properly signifies sonship; and this is fixed to the resurrection, so that before it there is no adoption or sonship.

To this period, we may refer Acts iii. 21. whom the Heavens must receive until the times of the restitution of all things, which God hath spoken of by the mouths of all his prophets, since the world began. And what Paul says of the Jews; What shall the receiving of them be, but life from the dead; and also, Even have these also, now not believed, that through your mercy they may also obtain mercy; for God hath concluded them all in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all. O! the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God.

The doctrine it is said, which implies as much as that the soul did not enter into immediate glory after the dissolution of the body, seems not well consistent with the happy state of souls departed; with the high prerogatives supposed to belong to the souls of martyrs, and with the accurate description of the resurrection, &c. by the words "seems not well," if they have any force in them, is meant to be conveyed, that "it is not consistent at all, or, "is entirely inconsistent with."

If it is merely difficult to reconcile it, and yet reason points out no evident contradiction in it, then the remark has little weight in it. If it implies a manifest contradiction, then the objection is unanswerable.

Let us suppose a learned Jew addressed the apostle thus:— "You urge us to believe that the man Jesus, who was born among us, and whom you own to have crucified, is the very Prince that we looked for; that he is greater than our father Abraham, than Moses and David, that he is to rule our church and nation in righteousness, and to protect us from all our enemies. Now this not only seems not consistent, but is entirely inconsistent with the reiterated promises in the holy writings, that our church and nation shall be built up and established, and made immortal by him whom we expect: That the glory and splendour of our nation will pervade the whole world; that he will never leave nor forsake us; that of the increase of his government and peace there will be no end.

"Therefore it is a plain and palpable contradiction even to suppose that this dead man should be him whom we look for. We acknowledge the time is fully arrived, for us to expect him: That our holy writings are the word of God and truth itself; yet we will believe in no man, until all the exter-

nal and visible glory attend him, agreeably to our own opinions of this matter, which we find shall attend him in the express letter of our holy writings."

The Jews in this way of false reasoning, believing fully the time was come for their deliverer to appear, made one false saviour after another; and being disappointed in all, at last gave up the truth of the prophecy, and said, cursed be he that numbereth the times.

I need not point out the great similarity between the arguments of the Christian and the Jew. There will be this difference eventually, at the close of the Christian period the mystery will be cleared up, which was not the case at the close of the Jewish economy.

As I have endeavoured to show, that the members of the Millenium kingdom will not be natural men, in a state of propagation, and that this present world will be the place of that kingdom; and as it has been observed that the saints, or redeemed from the earth will not be locally confined, to the earth; that they will ascend, and descend, and go wherever Christ goes; or as Ezekiel expresses it, the living creatures ran and returned as a flash of lightning; and, as it is elsewhere expressed, he maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire:—so it may be necessary to remark, that this is evidently not the privilege of all the Milleniums. The subjects of this kingdom, whoever they may be, will be confined to the earth.

In this kingdom, truth will prevail: the idea of it will be clear and inestimable; there will be a foundation and bottom, on which they will securely rest.

A judicious writer has said, that there is not in human nature, a more wonderful phenomenon in the whole theory of it, nor a more intricate speculation, than these shiftings, turnings, windings and evasions of an artful man.

But the writer has not reached the full description of our original; an intelligent being, governed by no rules of reason, or wisdom, is truly a bottomless pit. The amazing extent of the mathematician's art cannot fathom it; the astronomers pervading mind cannot reach its height; the moralist and the politician know not how nor where to find him; such an one, is not within the compass of human calculation: he is an incommensurable second quality, and is a shadow without substance.

Such beings will not be in the Millenium kingdom: here all will be subject to accurate calculation; moral truth will be as demonstrable, as mathematical now is.

It will be proper to examine accurately, to see if we can find out the extent of this kingdom on earth; whether it will be limited to any particular part of it.

Gen. xii. 1.—Now the Lord had said unto Abraham, get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy fathers house, unto a land that I will shew thee: and I will make of thee a great nation; and in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed.

Gen. xv. 5.—Look now towards heaven, and tell the stars if thou be able to number them; and he said unto him, so shall thy seed be.

In the same day the Lord made a covenant with Abraham, saying; unto thy seed have I given this land, from the river of Egypt, unto the great river, the river Euphrates.

Chap. xvii. 6.—And I will make thee exceeding fruitful, and will make nations of thee, and kings shall come out of thee; and I will give unto thee and thy seed after thee, the land wherein thou art a stranger, all the land of Canaan for an everlasting possession.

Chap. xxii. 17.—I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven and as the sand which is upon the sea shore; and thy seed shall possess the gate of his enemy.

Chap. xxvi. 2.—God said to Isaac, I will make thy seed to multiply as the stars of heaven, and will give unto thy seed, all these countries.

Chap. xxxv. 12.—God said to Jacob, be fruitful and multiply; a nation and a company of nations shall be of thee, and kings shall come out of thy loins, and the land which I gave unto Abraham and Isaac, to thee will I give it, and thy seed after thee will I give the land.

Gen. xxxvii. 9.—Joseph dreamed a dream more: behold the sun and the moon, and the eleven stars, made obeisance to me; and his father rebuked him, and said, shall I, and thy mother, and thy brethren, indeed come to bow down ourselves to thee to the earth.

Acts, vii. 5.—And he gave him none inheritance in it, no not so much as to set his foot on: yet he promised that he would give it to him for a possession and to his seed after him.

Gal. iv. 22.—For it is written, that Abraham had two sons, the one by a bond maid, the other by a free woman, but he who was of the bond woman was born after the flesh; but he of the free woman was by promise; which things are an allegory; for these are the two covenants, the one from the Mount Sinai, which gendereth to bondage, which is Agar: for this Agar is Mount Sinai in Arabia, and answereth to Jerusalem, that now is, and is in bondage with her children; but Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all: for it is written, rejoice thou barren that bearest not; break forth and

cry thou that travellest not, for the desolate hath more children than she which hath an husband. Now we biethren as Isaac was, are the children of the promise.

Heb. xi. 35.—Others were tortured not, accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a *better resurrection*, and these all having obtained a good report through faith, received not the promise : God having provided some better thing for us, that they without us should not be made perfect.

Isaiah, lxvi. 8.—Who hath heard such a thing? Who hath seen such a thing? Shall the earth be made to bring forth in one day? or shall a nation be born at once; for as soon as Zion travelled, she brought forth her children.

Zech. ix. 9.—Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion: behold thy king cometh unto thee: he is just, and having salvation, lowly and riding upon an ass, &c.

I have sent forth thy prisoners out of the pit, wherein is no water; turn you to the strong hold ye prisoners of hope; when I have bent Judah for my bow, filled the bow with Ephraim, and raised up thy sons, O Zion, against thy sons O Greece, and made thee as the sword of a mighty man.

Ezekiel, xxxiv. 24.—I will set up one shepherd over them, and he shall feed them even my servant David.

Hosea, iii. 4.—Afterward shall the children of Israel return and seek the Lord their God, and David their King.

Jeremiah, xxx. 9.—They shall serve the Lord their God, and David their King whom I will raise up unto them.

Isaiah, vi.—There shall be a tenth in it, when it returned after it hath been broused or pruned, as a teil tree, and as an oak, whose stem or stock is in them after they have cast off their leaves; so the holy seed shall be the stem or the stock thereof.

Rom. ix. 6.—For they are not all Israel, which are of Israel, neither because they are the seed of Abraham, are they all children: but in Isaac shall thy seed be called: that is, they which are the children of the flesh, these are not the children of God, but the children of the promise are counted for the seed.

Heb. xi. 13.—These all died in faith, not having received the promises, but having seen them afar off, and were persuaded of them and embraced them; and confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth: Now they desire a better country, that is an heavenly God hath prepared for them a city. By faith Abraham when he was tried, offered up Isaac; accounting that God was able to raise him up even from the dead, from whence also he received him *in a figure*.

From the foregoing passages the following remarks may be made.

That the extent of country contained in the promise, is marked out on the earth, and that it does not include the whole earth.

That this heavenly Jerusalem will come into existence at once, that till it so comes into existence, it is constantly represented as barren.

That there was in the view of the faithful Jews, a comparative resurrection; and their object was not immediate glory, but a *better resurrection*.

That Abraham extended his ideas to the resurrection, and Isaac was a descriptive figure of it, for the children of the promise: therefore, those in the resurrection, that will be brought into this city, will then realize this promise and not before; for Paul does not hesitate to affirm, that the faithful Jews had not, in his day, inherited the promise.

That God is able to exhibit a city, as glorious as Mount Zion is described to be, even in this world, and to make the nations of the earth come and worship there, will not be questioned.

And what manner of absurdity is there in this idea; is it inconsistent with the high notions any entertain of the exalted privileges of martyrs? it is not the place that makes heaven, but it is God and the Redeemer.

If miracles are to be wrought in favour of the church, as there must be, even upon Dr. Whitby's and Mr. Lowman's plan, it seems most consistent with the current strain of scripture, that they should be wrought in the way of raising the dead—Dr. Whitby says, it is not conformable to scripture, to speak of the souls living, signifying thereby the resurrection. I may also say, it is the usual and only way, the Greek term, "*nechron*," is almost always used; now I may assert, this term always means the soul; as well as the Doctor, that it always means the body: It really means neither in itself; that which is sown will be raised, and that is *psœukikon soma*; it is not the body alone, nor is it the soul alone, but it is both together.

It is said the term resurrection, may very well signify a renovated state of the church, a great revival of true religion; but when was the church in this world not a stranger, and in the wilderness, and what sort of a figure does such a construction make the term, "reward," stand for;—to reward the departed saints, is to shew abundant mercy to the living; nay, much

more abundant, than they enjoyed on earth, for the apostle Paul himself had a thorn in the flesh; the term *reward* looses all its propriety; it is as much as to say, the time to reward the saints is come; but I don't mean the saints, who have fought the good fight, kept the faith and finished their course, and for whom a crown of glory is laid up; it is not the time to reward these, but others, who have done none of these things; it is time to reward those who are entitled to no reward, by an abundant effusion of mercy and grace, such as was never experienced before in the church on earth.

When therefore it is said, that there are bodies celestial and terrestrial, reference is had to the resurrection; as it is in the natural world, so it will be in the resurrection; like will produce like. If there is to be a church made up of earthly members, such as described by Mr. Lowman, I think we may be sure that John has taken notice of it, and that we shall find the members of it described by some of the various classes which he presents to our view; and if none of these correspond with his system, we may fairly conclude that the Millennium will be different in its nature, and constituted of different subjects from men in a state of nature.

First then, We may observe, that the four and twenty elders are undoubtedly the most exalted of all the human race, and that among these there will be none of the subjects of Mr. Lowman's Millennium state. These are no doubt individuals, and the number is neither more nor less than expressed.

Second. The Tessera Zoonta, or the four living hosts, have such descriptive characters given of them as to make it certain, that by them are designated all the faithful Christians that have lived under the temporal tyrannical beasts: therefore none of Mr. Lowman's Millennium subjects can be comprised in these; for they are not to live under any tyrannical beast.

Third. Can they be comprised under the words, And every creature which is in heaven and on earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, heard I saying, Blessing and honour, and glory, and power, be unto him that sitteth on the throne, and unto the Lamb, for ever and ever; and the four living hosts said, Amen. These visions so evidently relate to a period after the resurrection, when the apostles (and patriarchs will be seated on thrones, that hereby cannot be designated the subjects of an earthly kingdom and church.

Fourth. It will not be contended, that the souls under the altar have reference to the members of such a church.

Fifth. If the Members of such a church are any where to be found, it is probably in the seventh chapter.

There is not a single characteristic of the one hundred and forty-four thousand which are there sealed, which can induce us to believe that these are members of such a church. It seems evident that this sealing takes place after the natural death of the one hundred and forty-four thousand, and that hereby are really designated Jews. But, let us suppose that these are really Jews, that they are sealed before natural death, and that hereby are designated such as will be introduced, into an earthly and temporal church of that nation, and that the infinite multitude that are immediately afterwards described, of all nations, tongues, and languages, intend the Gentiles. Here then is that union of Jews and Gentiles, so often spoken of by the prophets and apostles; and, to corroborate the idea, let us suggest, that it is not fit, in a judgment of charity, to suppose that the whole tribe of Dan did not afford one virtuous Jew, therefore the sealing cannot refer to Jews that have died natural deaths; but must have reference to the time when the Jews are again called in, at which time it is a very possible thing that there should not be one of the tribe of Dan living.

To this supposition it may be objected, that these one hundred and forty-four thousand must be Jews, that lived and died under the Mosaic dispensation, and were faithful even to death; otherwise we have no account nor descriptive characters of those faithful Jews.

There is not a single description in this, nor in chapter 14, to lead us to suppose that they had any knowledge of Christianity. The Jews in the Millenium kingdom will be saved by the gospel, and not the Mosaic dispensation; and it is said expressly of the innumerable multitude, that John sees immediately after these one hundred and forty-four thousand, that they have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.

We may therefore, with a good degree of certainty, conclude, that these one hundred and forty-four thousand are faithful Jews, that lived and died under the Mosaic dispensation; and perhaps it is not more strange that a tribe should be lost entirely, than that one of the twelve apostles should be.

These one hundred and forty-four thousand go wheresoever the Lamb goeth; and this perhaps suggests an idea of limitation, as to the extent of their going.

It does not seem necessary for Christ to exhibit himself any where as a Lamb, but when a sacrifice and atonement are ne-

cessary. In the Millenium kingdom such a character will be necessary. We may therefore suppose that the idea intended to be conveyed is, that they will not go beyond the limits of the Millenium kingdom, and are therefore a grade below the Tesseræ Zoonta.

If there is any special and particular description of the persons who have their Christian character formed and established in the Millenium kingdom, we find it from verse 9, of chap. vii. to the end.

After this I beheld a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands, and cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to our God, which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb.

And all the angels stood round about the throne, and about the elders, and the four living creatures; and fell before the throne on their faces, and worshipped God, saying, Amen. Blessing and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honour, and power, and might, be unto our God, for ever and ever, Amen.

And one of the elders answered, saying unto me, What are these which are arrayed in white robes? And whence came they? And I said unto him, Sir, thou knowest; and he said unto me, these are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb; therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple; and he that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them; they shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more, neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat; for the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of water; and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes.

Here are undoubtedly the members of the very church which Mr. Lowman supposes will be constituted of natural men; but the view we have of them here, is after they have finished their Christian character, and have entered into happiness.

The placing of this infinite multitude immediately after the faithful Jews, is an evidence of a cotemporary existence with them, or of some essential connection, or that they are in some sense posterior to them. They are to consist of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues. There is no construction that Mr. Lowman and his followers can give to these words, but such as shall be in being at the time of the commencement of his church, which he supposed would be

about two hundred years hence ; and at that time it will be impossible to ascertain how many nations, kindreds, people, and tongues, have ceased to be entirely. The number will be very great. There can be no good reason for limiting these words so strictly, because it is abundantly and repeatedly inculcated, that all nations shall be blessed in him.

The short ejaculatory address is to God alone, which shews, that the mediatorial kingdom is closed ; and the act of worship of all the angels shews the same thing : It is the most singular of all in the Revelations : It begins with the very word which closes all other acts of worship that is, Amen. This is also addressed to God alone. The exalted station of the four and twenty elders, and the four living hosts, is manifest, for all the angels stand round about the throne, and about the elders, and the four living hosts ; and all the angels fall before the throne on their faces ; but not the elders, nor the four living hosts ; they perform no act of worship.

In order to fix our attention more seriously upon this infinite multitude ; in order to excite our curiosity about them, as though they were a new and singular body, not brought into view before, as if it were a very strange thing from what place, world, or economical system they came, since all the faithful Christians and Jews under their respective economies, have been exhibited, and do accompany these in distinct and separate bodies : I say, in order to enforce a critical examination of them, one of the elders asks John, What are these which are arrayed in white robes, and whence came they ? You have seen all the faithful Christians and Jews under their respective temporary dispensations ; and as there are supposed to be but two classes in the world, good and bad, and here is an infinite multitude that are neither faithful Christians nor faithful Jews, there must be some mystery in this number.—Tell me who and whence they are ? John, without saying whether he does or does not know who and whence they are, Answers, Sir, 'Thou knowest.

And he said unto me, these are they which came out of great tribulation. This single description sufficiently shows that these do not belong to such a church and economy as Dr. Whitby and Mr. Lowman have supposed will be in the Millenium ; a church possessing the purest spirit and temper of the martyrs, and none of their sorrows and afflictions ; protected from the face of the serpent, and from all her enemies. Whatever protection these may have afforded to them, whatever security, yet they come out of great tribulation and distress ; and this must have happened under that very economy, where the

Christian character was formed and finished, and no wild tyrannical beast, no savage monsters in human shape, are the occasion of this tribulation. It must then have arisen from the nature of government, and a prompt dispensation of justice in some manner or other for delinquency. There will be no mystery under this dispensation; the government will be perfectly just, and therefore severe in case of transgression or omission, as it is represented by Isaiah.

This is the only description of the economy from whence they came: All that follows respects their happy state after their full deliverance from it, into the joys of Heaven; and this infinite multitude must be designated by the words, "And the rest of the dead lived not again till the thousand years had expired;" for the life spoken of immediately before, was a happy life; a life connected with reigning with Jesus Christ: We may therefore conclude, that the life after the thousand years is to be a happy life; not a life connected with reigning in the manner of the first life spoken of. The wicked are not raised to life, but to damnation, to a second death.

We find the one hundred and forty-four thousand once more only introduced in Chap. 14. The place where they stand, Mount Sion, has always been a glorious place in the eyes of the Jews; and here an infinite multitude seem to accompany them; and there can be no doubt but we have there exhibited the commencement of the Millenium.

Upon the supposition of Mr. Lowman, we may ask two questions:

First, Why we have no characteristic description of such a church in the Revelations, as it is manifested there is none.

Second, Why we have no account of the station or grade of those who are to be delivered into everlasting joy, out of this peculiar and particular dispensation; for John seems to pursue all the happy to their ultimate resort.

If my construction of the four living hosts be right, the finally happy ought either to be included in these, or they ought to make a fifth living host: That they cannot be included in the four living hosts is evident, because these lived under tyrannical beasts; and there is no fifth host. Where shall we find their place in Heaven? There are none appear there equal to the twenty-four elders and the four living hosts. Why should the happy members of such a glorious church be many grades below these. They cannot be the souls under the altar who are the Jewish martyrs: They cannot be the infinite multitude of all nations, kindreds, people and tongues, because these are manifestly upon a lower grade in heaven than those

abovementioned; and no good reason can be given why the happy members of such a supposed glorious church should not be upon an equal grade with the four living hosts.

As those above described, appear to include every individual of the human race that will ultimately be happy, we cannot find any place in Heaven for the blessed members of this supposed church: We must therefore conclude, that such a church exists in the imagination only; that in reality, it never will exist.

On the separate existence of the soul between death and the resurrection, I have more than expressed doubts.

It is a question in which I feel no way interested abstractedly, from the prophecies. If these require that we should take one side of the question rather than the other, then it is our duty to take the side of the question which will render their explanation the most natural and probable.

As I look upon the period of the resurrection to be near at hand; that it probably will be some time before two hundred years hence: In this view the question is of very little consequence, and every day lessens rapidly the weight of the objection to the soul's sleeping, derived from the distance of the reward.

If my construction of the Revelations does not necessarily require a decision upon this question, I should rather wish to let it lay dormant. The candid Dr. Watts allows, that both sides of the question may be held without impeaching the principles of Christianity. I have carefully perused what he has wrote professedly upon the question, and must candidly acknowledge, that upon his own statement, and the objections that he has suggested, may be raised, and the fourteen which he hath stated and answered, the weight of argument appears to me to be against his opinion, which is, that the soul exists in a separate state between death and the resurrection.

Whether Enoch and Elijah, Moses and Elias are in Heaven, is more than I know; if there, they may be there miraculously, and out of the ordinary course of nature. From the resurrection of Christ, with which we suppose the Revelations commence, to the second Advent, we do not by the Revelations find where or what the departed saints are employed about. The earth and its inhabitants, are subjects of these Revelations during that period; but I find nothing that looks like a description of the departed Christians in that period of time, neither place, grade, nor employment, until we arrive at the Millenium, excepting the souls of the Jewish martyrs under the altar. The place where they are, under

the altar, and the question they ask, and the answer given, seem to indicate that this was a vision only, rather than a reality; but, if it is supposed, that what John saw was a reality, it gives us no exalted idea of their state. They seem to be in a confined place, whether they are employed about any thing is not mentioned. They are anxious to know how long it will be to some future great event, which no doubt is the commencement of the Millenium. They are to rest till that period; and if the souls of departed Christians do exist in a separate state it must be similar; and in this view it will not militate again the explanations I have made, or at least I do not perceive how it does at present.

The literal meaning of the words, "the souls of them that were beheaded," is, first to consider the term *soul* as used by a way of eminence for the whole man, so we find Moses frequently used the word; or second, if soul intends singly the intellectual principle in man, it was connected with something, by destroying of which, its mode and manner of existence would be destroyed; the expression plainly amounts to this, And I saw the souls of the men that were beheaded, and they, that is the men lived, &c. Now in which ever sense we take the meaning of the words, it amounts to the same thing, and does not involve in it the question of the state of the soul between death and the resurrection: the resurrection is undoubtedly referred to, because it is said to be the first resurrection. If the resurrection be intended, then it is certain that John did not see the souls separate from the bodies, for they are to accompany each other,—the soul and body of man having existed together, and ceasing to exist together; and afterwards uniting again in existence, which we doubt not will be the fact; how can we deduce herefrom any thing at all with respect to the state of the soul between death and the resurrection? the phraseology in Matthew, xxvii. § 2. forms a contrast with what is here said—*kai polla somata ton kekoimeron agion egerthe*, and many bodies of the sleeping holy, were raised; those words were not intended to convey an idea of the resurrection: consequently that part of man which is least eminent, is chosen to describe the fact. I acknowledge I do not see what the words *sleeping holy*, can have reference to but intellectual souls, because they have no reference to bodies.

If the plain meaning of John's words be, that he saw the faithful servants of God after they were raised from the dead, then one argument of Dr. Whitby, has no weight in it, which is this; the soul's living, implies, that it had not lived: the Doctor limits the sense of the soul, and intends thereby singly, the intel-

Actual principle, and if in this limited sense, it was said, I saw the souls, and they lived; it would seem to imply that they had not lived: but in the sense I have put upon the words such implication is not involved.

Many judicious expositors take the words in a figurative sense; but I think from their own arguments, the kind of figure is indirect and uncommon.

They seem to agree that the primary meaning of the words is according to my construction. The secondary meaning by which they become figurative, is the pure apostolic church of Christ, the members of which are long since dead; but this church cannot be intended: therefore a second figurative sense is made from the first figurative sense, and the words mean, according to the second figurative sense, a great revival of pure religion; a church in spirit, not in circumstances and situation, resembling another church. The true meaning, according to these expositors, is a figurative import of a figurative import, of words which have really no literal meaning.

It is said the book with seven seals, is not to be taken literally; but figuratively.—John says he saw a book with seven seals; Is there any thing incredible in this? I dare not say he did not see such a book, and if I did, the literal is the true sense.

A trumpet is used to give a signal for some considerable event; in this sense it is used in the revelations, but if the word is used figuratively, then it intends some other thing; and we may ask what the sense is, for the expositors have not told us.

A beast is said to be a figurative term: a term ceases to be figurative when the meaning of it is explained, and it is constantly used agreeably to the explanation.

The term *beast*, stands for a kingdom: when we explain in what sense we make use of a term, if it is not according to the common acception, yet if we adhere to that sense, we are not called figurative writers.

The term *witnesses*, is said to be figurative; if faithful Christians are figurative beings, then the term may have a figurative sense.

These expositors endeavor to establish the sense of the passage, by finding out a similarity or likeness.

The literal meaning of the passage being, the dead raised with glorious bodies; we may examine how the apostles viewed their own situation in the flesh, compared with what they were to be in the resurrection.

I think this is the first comparison that they seem to make—**and from this comparison**, they endeavor to establish a likeness between the apostolic church in the flesh, and their supposed church.

Now the apostles do constantly make a great and unknown difference between their state in the flesh, and in the resurrection; they say it doth not yet appear what we shall be: eye hath not seen, and ear hath not heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive: we see through a glass darkly: we see in part, we know in part. The most distinguishing attribute of the Deity is omniscience or infinite wisdom: with respect to knowledge and wisdom (for the comparison can only be made as to the intellectual principle—there will be no likeness between the bodies) there will be an essential difference; so great and inconceivable that the apostles themselves plainly intimate, that there is no comparative likeness. If therefore, there be no comparative likeness between the apostles in the resurrection, and in the flesh, and we aim only at discovering a similarity between the apostles in the flesh, and the members of the supposed church, then we do not make the passage itself a ground work of the comparison, but we, perhaps inattentively, assume a ground for the comparison which has no relation to, or connection with the passage.

We may also observe, that sundry passages of the antient prophets have a direct reference to the Millenium, and that many of those which are adduced to prove a figurative reference are in our favor; thus Hosea, vi. 1, 2. The prophet exhorts to return to the Lord, for he hath torn, and he will heal, he hath smitten, and he will bind up; after two days will he receive us, or make us live again; on the third day will he raise us up as from the dead, and we shall live in his sight.

The two days no doubt signify the periods of the Jewish and Christian dispensations, and is an evidence that the two periods, called two days, will be the same as to length of time: If the two days have not this signification it is incumbent on them to shew what their meaning is, for in them is contained the essence or mystery of the prophecy. If they have the meaning I put upon them, then the passage is a direct prophecy in our favor. The same observations apply with respect to the witnesses, which is adduced to show, that the main passage under our consideration has a figurative meaning: If the three days and an half, intend 630 years, as I have explained them, then this passage is a direct evidence in our favor, and is as directly opposed to a figurative sense; it also proves that 1260 years, and 630 years, make together the period of the Christian dispensation.

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE DESCRIPTIONS,

AFTER POURING OUT THE 7TH VIAL.

TO enter fully into the spirit and sublimity of these descriptions, does not belong to mortal man!—They are glorious and terrible, beyond our comprehension.

Some of them are so manifestly blended with an eternal duration, that we must suppose, that at the commencement of the Millenium, the restitution of all things will take place. That the things to be moved, spoken of by Paul, will be moved; that some of those things which are to remain forever, may be introduced: that notwithstanding an eternal duration commences with some, it does not with all that are ultimately to be happy; it will be the happy case of those only, who are designated by the bride, the Lamb's wife; the connection with these will, at this time, become indissoluble and eternal: as some of these descriptions belong to time, and some to eternity, when the Millenium ends all will belong to the last. To adjust and arrange in a connected view, all that belongs to the same subject in these descriptions will be an arduous and difficult task. But the attempt is necessary because some have supposed the descriptions belong to periods, so essentially different, as to make the greater part of them an incomprehensible figure.

From the 16th chap. ver. 17, to the 20th chap. ver. 3. inclusive, all the descriptions must be considered as having reference to things that must take place before the commencement of the Millenium kingdom in full glory; and all relate to temporal things, that is, things under the present dispensation, excepting Babylon when she becomes the hold of every foul spirit, and satan who is bound a thousand years; and also Jesus Christ, the bride and the guests.

When the seventh vial is poured out, seven particular and distinct denunciations immediately follow; the first only intimates that something of high consequence is finished, and there are but six judgments.

First. A great voice came out of the temple of heaven, from the throne, saying, IT IS DONE.

Second. Voices, thunders and lightnings, and a great earthquake, such as was not since men were upon earth.

Third. The great city is divided into three parts.

Fourth. The cities of the nations fell.

Fifth. Great Babylon comes into remembrance before God, to give unto her the cup of the wine of the fierceness of his wrath.

Sixth. Every island flies away, and the mountains are not found.

Seventh. A great hail out of heaven, falls on men, and they blaspheme God, because of the hail.

These descriptions refer to judgments that are to be executed between the pouring out of the seventh vial, and the commencement of the reigning with Christ a thousand years, which we call the beginning of the Millenium in glory.

As it is a very usual thing for John to bring first to view objects most distant from us, and probably the nearest to him (for he seems to trace the account back from the Millenium, whilst we naturally trace it up to that state) I think we have good reason for supposing here, that we ought to invert the order of the judgments, and then the sixth judgment will be the first in order of time, to mankind.

Whether the seven thunders do not belong to these seven descriptions may be a question; if they do, their period will not be a long one; and I see no impropriety in supposing that they have this relation. The events will be great and distinguished; perhaps they may belong to the closing of the present system, in which futurity is always concealed from us, and they contained something that was not then permitted to be revealed. The Millenium state has no sealed book, as to those who then commence to be eternally happy. But whether those seven thunders have reference to these descriptions, or to the Millenium state, is not material; because we know not their contents. We may, I think, place the last judgment first, and consider them severally afterwards, in this order.

First. Hail under the first trumpet, undoubtedly denotes persecutions, not wars of one empire against another; the subjects of the same empire are divided in their opinions: differ-

ance of opinion is the source of these severe and bitter persecutions.

The last beast is multifarious, it consists of eleven horns : different political opinions among the governing and the governed, may be a source of greater persecution, than that which took place under the first trumpet. However great and severe these persecutions may be, they do not produce any repentance ; as we suppose this judgment is immediately connected with the sixth vial ; and as some appearances in the world seem to indicate a commencement of it, it will be proper to adduce some arguments for inverting the order of the judgments, and also to make a few observations with respect to the probable periods of closing the vials.

As to the first we observe, that in the 14th chap. before the angels begin to pour out the vials, there are seven distinct exhibitions to John ; and it is apparent here, that John reckons back to us.

First. He sees a lamb standing on Mount Zion, and with him an hundred and forty four thousand, having his father's name written in their foreheads.

Second. He sees an angel flying in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach ; declaring that the hour of his judgment is come. These two descriptions commence together with the Millenium, or rather some little time after.

Third. Another angel declares, that great Babylon is fallen, and this event precedes the Millenium, or its full and glorious establishment.

Fourth. A third angel follows them, saying with a loud voice, if any man worship the beast, or his image, and receive his mark in his forehead or in his hand, he shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, and they shall be tormented in fire and brimstone, in the presence of the holy angels and of the lamb, and the smoke of their torment ascendeth forever and ever, and they have no rest day or night.

Fifth. A voice from heaven commands John to write : blessed are the dead who die in the Lord : henceforth, yea, saith the spirit, that they may rest from their labors, and their works do follow them. The sense of which is plainly—all the dead that died in the Lord are blessed because the resurrection is at hand. The original by no means conveys this idea, that those who die after a certain period will be particularly blessed, but has reference to all that die in the Lord.

The first part of the sentence designates no time when they die; the last designates particularly the period when all who die in the Lord will enter into rest and be happy.

Sixth. John sees a white cloud, and upon the cloud one sitting like to the Son of Man, having upon his head a golden crown, and in his hand a sharp sickle. Another angel came out of the temple, and cried with a loud voice to him that sat upon the cloud: Thrust in thy sickle and reap; for the hour to reap is come; the harvest of the earth is fully ripe: and he that sat on the cloud cast in his sickle upon the earth, and the earth was reaped.

Seventh. And another angel came out of the temple of Heaven, he also having a sharp sickle; and another angel came from the altar, having power over fire; and he cried with a loud voice to him that had the sharp sickle, saying, Thrust in thy sharp sickle, and gather the clusters of the vine of the earth, for her grapes are fully ripe: And the angel cast his sickle into the earth, and gathered the vine of the earth, and cast it into the great wine-press of the wrath of God; and the wine-press was trod without the city.

Eighth. John sees as it were a sea of glass, mingled with fire; and them that had gotten the victory over the beast, and over his image, and over his mark, and over the number of his name, standing upon the sea of glass, having the harps of God; and they sung the song of Moses the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb.

The first and the eighth of these descriptions afford different views of the two churches, which unite in one glorious body, though they are manifestly of different grades. The first description exhibits only the faithful Jews. The eighth description exhibits the faithful Jews and the faithful Christians. And there is some mystery attending these, and several circumstances that are necessary to be adjusted, which adjustment I think may be made from sundry descriptions, and will tend to afford us clear ideas as to the faithful Jews and Christians.

The first description exhibits the 144,000 as being able to learn a song which no man could learn but themselves which are redeemed from the earth. John hears a voice from heaven as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of a great thunder; and he hears the voice of harpers harping with their harps, and they sung, as it were, a new song before the throne, and before the four living hosts and the elders.

As this song is sung before the living hosts, and the elders, as well as before the throne, these two bodies do not join in the song; and the circumstance of the song's being performed be-

fore them, shews, that they are of a higher grade than the 144,000. *No man could learn the song*, does not intend the elders and the living hosts, for we find, chap. v. ver. 8. that when the lamb had taken the book, the four living hosts and the elders fell down before the lamb, having every one of them harps, and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of saints. And they sung a new song—As it must be apparent, that the idea meant to be conveyed, is not that the elders and living hosts could not learn the song; it, therefore, follows, that the 144,000 at this time perform this song before the throne and the elders and living hosts.

The circumstances and characteristics of the eighth description, give us an idea of a coalition between the faithful Jews and the faithful Christians; and it takes place on a sea of glass, mingled with fire, and probably before the full establishment of the Millenium in glory. The characters here, are those that have gotten the victory over the beast, and over his image, and over his mark, and over the number of his name: These four characters refer to something that is Anti-Christian; and they may refer us to the four great monarchies that existed after the establishment of Christianity, because this victorious band undoubtedly includes all true Christians; they are the church represented in Chapter xii. To whom is given two wings of a great eagle, which overcomes the dragon by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony, who loved not their lives unto the death. They sing the song of Moses the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb. It seems natural, therefore, to suppose, that the performers or singers are faithful Jews and faithful Christians; the one hundred and forty-four thousand, the elders, and the living hosts. It is said of the one hundred and forty-four thousand, These were redeemed from among men, being the first fruits unto God, and to the Lamb, which is a proper characteristic of the faithful Jewish church. They are the elder brother or sister.

As it is apparent that the elders and living hosts do sing, that the one hundred and forty-four thousand do sing, and that no other man can learn the song, therefore, it must follow, that they are the performers of this divine anthem.

The first of these descriptions has in part been exhibited before, so that it cannot be altogether new; and we may omit reckoning it as one, and then the exhibitions will be seven.

The two first of these descriptions begin with the Millenium in glory; the third precedes it. The fourth has operated as a caution to Christians, ever since it has been written. The worshipping of the beast has reference to those who are in a

situation to worship him ; and an awful penalty is annexed to such worship.

The fifth precedes the Millenium : They who are dead are said to be blessed ; and this blessedness arises from their being just about to enter into that rest which yet remains to the people of God.

The sixth and seventh, manifestly precede the Millenium ; and I think the eighth also, which represents the safety and security of the happy for a short space of time. They are brought up from their graves before the dissolution of human nature, and before the city prepared for them is ready ; and in this interval they are represented as standing on a sea of glass.

It is upon the whole apparent, that here John reckons back from the Millenium, and some of these judgments are the same as those described after pouring out the seventh vial.

The closing of the 6th vial, is to be ascertained from a careful observation of the occurrences in the world, compared with the characteristic descriptions as well as from computations evidently founded in prophecy. The period of that vial is the sixth and great day of preparation for the most glorious as well as the most awful event that ever did or will take place in this lower world ; during which, deception is to operate on mankind beyond all former experience. They may be zealously in pursuit of that perfection in human things which does not belong to the lot of humanity.

I have in my remarks on Daniel stated, that commencing with the Babylonish captivity, seventy years, thirty seven times repeated, or 2590 years, seem to be the full period of the Jewish desolations ; and from the end of that captivity only thirty-six seventies, or 2520 years ; from which also to the taking of Jerusalem by Vespasian, were eighth and an half seventies, or 595 years. That Christ was born about the middle of the eighth seventy, that he expired at the close of it ; and that the Jews were destroyed about the middle of the ninth seventy : That the birth of our Saviour seems to interrupt the regular course of the seventies, and to commence them anew in the middle of a current one, and commencing a new era with his birth ; his death happened in the middle, and the end of the Jewish nation at the close of a new seventy. But upon mature consideration, I am satisfied, that the regular series of seventy years was not interrupted. From comparing sundry chronological periods together in Josephus, it is manifest, that he made the period of time from the first year of Nebuchadnezzar to the second year of Vespasian, when the Jews

were destroyed 730 years, nearly all the modern chronological tables allow only 676 years to the same period, so that there is a difference of 54 years. Josephus has made the period 36 years too long; and others twenty-four years too short.

Josephus commences the 70 years captivity with the 17th year of Nebuchadnezzar, which is 17 years too late. The period from the first of Cyrus to the second of Vespasian, he makes 643 years, which is probably thirteen years too long. Adjusting these differences from the first of Nebuchadnezzar to the second of Vespasian, will be 700 years, and from the first of Cyrus to the same period will be 630 years.

From the first of Cyrus to the birth of Christ	70	
From the birth of Christ to his death	8	560
The witnesses begin their prophecy immediately after the death of Christ, and continue during the time of six trumpets	- 0½	35
To the six vials we allot	18	1260
After the pouring out of the seventh vial, sundry judgments are to be executed on mankind, in the flesh, for which we allow	9	630
	- 0½	35

36 2520 years

By this computation the sixth vial would not end till the common year of our Lord 1925.

If we compute to, and from the birth of our Saviour, it will be as follows:—

From first of Cyrus to Christ	8	560
The period for six trumpets	18	1260
The period for six vials	9	630
From the pouring out of the 7th vial to the full establishment of the Millenium in glory	1	70

36 2520

By this computation, the 6th vial will end in the common year of our Lord 1890.

I think there can be no doubt but a period of 18 seventies, or 1260 years, is assigned to the trumpets, during which time the two witnesses prophecy; and if so it is manifest, that we cannot assign more than half the period to the vials. If

we cannot make the years quadrate exactly, it is not strange nor very material: The ground work of the computation seems to be well established, and the general complexion of all that has past, seems to corroborate the same.

I know of no other *data* in scripture, for computing to the final end of human nature in the flesh, but, from the cutting down the great tree, or the end of imperial Babylon, 2520 years: From the commencement of Alexander the great, 2300 days, to the cleansing of the sanctuary; and from the Mahometan's taking Jerusalem, A. D. 637, who are to tread it under foot 1260 years. If we compute to and from the birth of Christ, and not his death, these periods will all end about A. D. 1890.

And the space of 70 years from Christ's second Advent, to the full establishment of the Millenium in glory, seems to correspond with the latter part of Chap. xii. of Daniel, where we find over and above 1260 years, 75 years: At the end of which we may suppose, the Millenium state is fully arranged and established. Though Christ's operations in person, commence before this time, as a warrior and the supreme head of a great kingdom, the war seems to be against men in the flesh. The 6th vial closes the Christian dispensation, as the death of Christ did the Jewish, sometime before the nation were utterly destroyed. The personal appearance of Christ will close the present dispensation, and a new era will commence sometime before the dissolution of all flesh, as is manifestly the case by the descriptions, after pouring out the 7th vial. In one hundred and sixty-six years from this year 1794, the 2520 years will expire; and I see no objection to considering that the second Advent of Christ will happen 70 years before the completion of the 2520 years, or about 96 years from this time.

As I have observed before, it seems apparent, that the ministers of vengeance employed to execute the judgments contained in the two first vials, are the Ottomans; and that the objects of the vengeance are the Grecian Christians, and the eastern empire. That the descriptions of the third vial naturally refer us to the reformation, against which the church of Rome exerted all her natural power and strength, and summoned to her assistance all the powers of darkness; and those of the fourth vial, to wars between temporal powers, principally stirred up by the Roman Catholics, against Protestant powers. The history of the reformation, and the wars in consequence thereof, fall in between 1470 and 1680. The fifth vial is poured out on the throne of the beast, which intends the Pope

and Roman Catholic powers, and his kingdom was darkened. This description I have supposed, refers us to the banishment of the Jesuits; but perhaps something further may be intended; darkness is opposed to light: Light essentially designates the pure doctrines of the gospel, and darkness is their opposite. Now, if we suppose the banishment of the Jesuits was the occasion of darkness, we annex to them the idea of light, which is an incongruous idea: They did not possess gospel, nor true political light. We may suppose the characteristic marks a lasting separation between Protestant and Roman Catholic powers: What little evangelical light then existed, was with the protestant powers, its opposite was with the Roman Catholic powers. This lasting separation did not take place before 1680; nor until the monarchical wars were over; which had in a great measure for their object, the rights of Papacy on one side, and the destruction of them on the other. If we then take darkness to intend the opposite of evangelical light; and I think this is a natural idea; the characteristic corresponds with the period of time between 1680 and 1785. The banishment of the Jesuits may have been the occasion of lukewarmness in the Roman Catholics, whereby the character of the Laodicean church becomes applicable to them.

Second. John's sixth characteristic is, Every island flies away, and the mountains are not found. That island and mountain mean the same thing here that they do when the sixth seals is opened, cannot be doubted, and there they mean men great and honorable; men of eminent station—a foreign kingdom at this time exhibits the characteristics of these two descriptions. I would not, however, pretend to determine, that these two descriptive judgments have commenced—It may be the case, and if so, future events will shortly shew in what light they are to be considered; yet I think these islands and mountains are not to be moved by mortal man so as not to be found.

Third. Great Babylon comes into remembrance before God.

The terms, Great Babylon, may have the following ideas in them—First, as God gave all the human race to Nebuchadnezzar, all the descendants, in any succeeding time or place existing in the flesh at the same time, will constitute part of great Babylon, and the whole will consist of all mankind from great imperial Babylon, to the end of time.

Second. Babylon denotes the place of confinement of the wicked, and probably the wicked themselves after the resurrection, so that we have Babylon in the flesh, and not in the flesh; the great and universal city of wickedness in this world,

in which there is none that doth good, no not one and the great city of the wicked in the next world.

The terms great Babylon, are used here in the first of the senses.

Fourth. The cities of the nations fell, and this is a natural consequence of remembering great Babylon, and giving unto her the cup of the wine of the fierceness of his wrath. The falling of the cities do not mean utter destruction; perhaps it may as places of civil polity.

Fifth. The great city is divided into three parts; after mankind have embrewed their hands in the plentiful effusion of each others blood, after kings and nobles are no more to be found, after the cities of the nations as places of civil polity are no more; the great city is divided into three parts; it is not the great city of Babylon which denotes a wicked city, for all are not Babylon, who are of Babylon. The great city here means the things contained, and not the things containing, as when our Saviour took the cup and blessed it; the meaning is, he blessed what the cup contained. This great city can intend nothing else as I see, but all the human race dead and alive:— Its being divided into three parts, intends, First, The twenty-four elders and four living hosts and 144.000. Second, Those who are blessed by being called to the marriage supper of the lamb. And Third, The reprobate wicked: and this last class we may naturally suppose, consists principally, if not altogether, of such as have lived under the Christian system, where the rewards are on either hand eternal.

I know not of any other construction that can, even with plausibility, be given to those words. The previous descriptions carry us to the very time, when by sundry passages of scripture, we are informed the resurrection will take place; that is, just before the final exit of mankind in the flesh.

Sixth. The voices, thunders, lightning and great earthquake, mark out the end of all flesh, as they did under the sixth seal, the end of the Jewish nation.

Seventh. A great voice out of the temple of heaven, from the throne proclaims, IT IS DONE,—and the seventh vial naturally designates the closing of the present economy.

In this order, the six judgments appear to be harmonious, and naturally follow each other.

The persecutions of the Christians under the first trumpet, are designated by hail and fire mingled with blood. Mankind are the agents, and they may be of the first of these judgments. The angry and discordant passions may all be let loose, and may be the cause of a complicated scene of misery and bloodshed,

which no tongue can describe ; and the effects of it will produce no repentance—Men will blaspheme God because of the great plague of the hail.

All the 17th chap. is employed in giving farther descriptions, to enable us to form more accurate ideas with respect to Great Babylon. The judgment which John is shewn of the great whore that sitteth on many waters, is more particularly pointed out in the 18th chap. which has reference to temporal things ; but the actual punishment is exhibited at the cloie of the 19th chap. The 17th chap. points our view to the extent of the object, and the 18th to the extent of the judgment, which is so evidently of a temporal nature, or rather has reference to things of such a nature, that we may be sure, that the final judgment of the wicked is not hereby intended : we have in these two chapters, three matters which require a critical examination.

First. The new and singular character of a woman.

Second. The connection this woman has with all the great savage beasts.

Third. The judgment inflicted not expressly on the woman nor on the seven heads and ten horns, but on Babylon the great, and ultimately on the beast and false prophet.

With respect to the character of the woman, there can be no doubt but sin and wickedness are thereby intended. There always appears to be a difference and distinction held up to view, between the martyrs under the Mosaic and Christian dispensation ; and here this woman is drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus ; two distinct kinds of martyrs, which is one mark of the long continued duration of the woman. The angel shews John the mystery of the woman that sits upon the scarlet coloured beast, full of the names of blasphemy, having the seven heads and ten horns. This beast can be no other than the great image that Nebuchadnezzar saw ; and as the woman sits on this beast, and on every head of it, as well the seven heads, as the ten horns ; it is impossible that any thing else can be intended, but sin and wickedness ; it is something that is co-extensive and co-temporary with all the heads and horns ; therefore it must be a quality attached to them all ; and there is none other, that I can conceive of, answering to the character of the woman, but a sinful and wicked nature in man.

With respect to the beast having seven heads, and ten horns, the explanation already given is sufficient, without adding any thing more here ; some have supposed that by the seven mountains are designated not only the seven hills on which the city

of Rome is said to be built, but also seven forms of government under which the Romans lived. The idea of connecting the woman with these only, is so absurd, that it needs no comment.

I will not say, that there is no reference to the church of Rome, in these descriptions, for the ten horns shall hate the whore, and shall make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh and burn her with fire: yet it may be a doubtful point, whether they do. And another construction may be given to these words which appears to me more agreeable to the general tenor of the descriptions; mankind will hate, burn, and destroy each other; which will have a tendency to destroy the whore, according to my construction of her; the hatred to the church of Rome is certainly diminished, and from the present complexion of the general sentiment, it is more moderate and likely to continue so, than it has been some centuries past; it is true, that the Roman Catholic clergy have lately suffered very heavy calamities, in France, but perhaps they participate no more of the bad qualities of the Mysterious woman than those who have been the instruments of inflicting those calamities.

If the Roman Catholic clergy are great sinners, I do not know that, in a judgment of charity, we ought to conclude that their opponents are great saints; as the ten horns are a part of the great beast, and are not described as being more virtuous than the other parts of the same; what ever may be the cause of this hatred, it is certain that it cannot arise from a virtuous principle: it must have its origin in vicious motives. The great city will become a house divided against itself, and cannot stand; one part of the house will participate of the bad qualities of the figurative woman as well as the other, and the hatred will tend to her utter destruction; for God hath put into their hearts to fulfil his will, and to agree and give their kingdom unto the beast, until the words of God shall be fulfilled.

And the woman which thou sawest is that great city, which ruleth over the kings of the earth; as this woman is drunk with the blood of saints, and of the martyrs of Jesus, it cannot intend the city of Rome, but the great and universal city of wickedness.

The earth is lightened with the glory of the angel that comes down from heaven, and proclaims with a strong voice, Babylon the great is fallen! is fallen! and notwithstanding she is fallen, she still exists and becomes the habitation of Devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, and cage of every unclean and hateful bird. The mode and manner of her existence

is changed, and her new flock of odious and hateful inhabitants must be brought from their graves.—Nebuchadnezzar carried part of the vessels of the house of God into the land of Shinar, to the house of *his God*; and in Zech. v. Wickedness is designated by a woman; and two other women with the wind in their wings, lift up the Ephah containing the woman or wickedness, between the earth and the heaven, and the prophets ask where they are going to carry her; the answer is, to build it an house in the land of Shinar: and it shall be established and set there upon her own base. The two descriptions designate, that Shinar and Babylon are the same countries. The extent of her wickedness is described by *all nations* having drunk of the wine of the wrath of her fornication; the kings of the earth have committed fornication with her, and the merchants of the earth have waxed rich through the abundance of her delicacies.

All the people of God are to come out of her, lest they partake of her sins and plagues: the proportion of her punishment, is to be double, according to her works: The proportion of her torment and sorrow are to be according to the extent of her ideal glory and delicacy; she thinks she is a queen, that she is no widow, and that she shall see no sorrow.

But her plagues shall come in one day, death, mourning and famine, and she shall be utterly burned with fire: which intends Babylon, that exists in the flesh. In the description of her rich and various merchandize are included the choicest productions of every clime—the destruction is full and universal.—Neither light of candle, nor voice of bridegroom or bride, are to be any more in her; but in her is found the blood of prophets and saints, and of all slain upon the earth. Great Babylon here, must intend the great city of mankind, and cannot, with any propriety, be applied to the city of Rome alone.

The kings of the earth are described as lamenting, when they see the smoke of her burning: The merchants of the earth weep over her: All seamen when they see the smoke of her burning, make grievous lamentations: This is the day of God, spoken of by Peter, wherein the Heavens being on fire, shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat.

After this signal display of the wrath of Heaven, John hears a great voice of much people in Heaven, saying, Alleluia! For true and righteous are his judgments; for he hath judged the great whore. The judgment here can have reference only to that which will be inflicted on mankind in the flesh, at

Christ's second coming. As the objects of punishment here are not the wicked dead called up from their graves, when therefore it is said, And her smoke rose up for ever and ever, we may well understand the irrevocable and irreversible decree of Heaven. After John has described the nature and extent of the judgment and the objects to be judged, he proceeds to point out the servants of God, great and small, the highest as well as the lowest orders, and perhaps may have reference to men that died in full stature, and to the tender infant; and that the marriage of the Lamb is come, and his bride hath made herself ready; and afterwards descends into sundry particulars with respect to the objects of punishment. And it is apparent from sundry passages of scripture, That we are to consider them as placed in just order of time: before the great and terrible event takes place, the good are separated from the bad. The first resurrection precedes in point of time, the universal conflagration; and they who have a part in this resurrection, will constitute the bride, the Lamb's wife. At this period of time they are represented as standing upon a sea of glass, clear and firm as crystal. John is twice commanded to write, first, Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord; and second, Blessed are they which are called unto the marriage supper of the Lamb. Here are bridegroom, bride, and guests. If the bride and the guests intend the same persons, there can be no propriety in this extremely pleasing and lovely figure. A personage of the most distinguished and exalted rank, and a bride of the most elegant and beautiful form, taken from the lowest order; a rose extracted from the midst of briars and thorns, and exalted by her bridegroom, on the highest pinnacle of honour and dignity; could such a scene be acted without any guests? The very guests here are blessed; and yet who would not infinitely prefer being the bride to the guests. We may then allow, that there are essentially but two classes of mankind, the bride, and the guests, who are called and are blessed as one, and those who compose neither of these bodies, as the other.

The next exhibition is the white horse, the first and the last; the first seal and the last vial. The personage that sits on him is faithful and true: he judges righteously, and makes war. His eyes are as a flame of fire; on his head are many crowns, and he has a name written that no man knows but himself. I should suppose that the bride would know his name, therefore, that *no man* here does not intend her; though it may the guests. His vesture is dipped in blood, and his name is called THE WORD OF GOD. The armies in

Heaven follow him upon white horses, clothed in fine linen, white and clean: And hereby, no doubt, we are to understand the persons designated by the bride.

Out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword, that with it he should smite the nations; and he shall rule them with a rod of iron; and he treadeth the wine-press of the fierceness and wrath of God Almighty. The government that will be in the Millenium, is here exhibited, severe yet just. And this government is exercised after the dissolution of human nature, after the light of the candle and the voice of the bridegroom and bride cease to be. Although he has a name that no man knows but himself, yet he has a name written on his thigh, and on his vesture, KING OF KINGS AND LORD OF LORDS. These are comprehensible terms; and thus far the subjects of the Millenium may comprehend his character, as lord and master; but the bride comprehends his character probably in all its extent.

The next subject of consideration is, human nature, kings, captains, mighty men, horses, and them that sit on them, free and bond, small and great. The flesh of all these is represented as becoming food for fowls, and as the supper of the great God. The kings and their armies are gathered together, against him that sits on the horse, and against his army. The beast was taken, and with him the false prophet, that wrought miracles before him, with which he deceived them that had the mark of the beast, and them that worshipped his image. This last description leads us to contemplate the ten horns and the papal church, for these the severest judgments are prepared. They are both cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone. It seems then, that the punishment is to be different, for the flesh of those which are burnt alive cannot become food for fowls, whereas the flesh of many others is to be such. The angel tells John that he will shew him the judgment of the great whore, and the last description is no doubt the judgment, which, through a variety of descriptions, he has now opened to our view. There is a remnant that do not seem to have so severe a penalty inflicted on them. They are slain, but it is by the sword that proceeded out of his mouth, and all the fowls of Heaven are filled with their flesh. The means therefore employed in the dissolution of all flesh, are different; and the effects will be more severe upon some than others. The last part of great Babylon is brought into view, and her punishment particularly marked out: As her wickedness has been the most distinguish-

ed and unexampled, so is her punishment; she has a double portion given to her.

The false prophet is described as having deceived them that had the mark of the beast, and them that worshiped his image. This some may suppose can hardly intend Papal Rome, or the corrupt clergy; for Papal Rome is the beast, or a part of the beast; and it is not probable that the idea meant to be conveyed, is, that the beast deceives himself: The deception operates upon persons that had previously had the mark of the beast, and who worshiped his image. In this view, the false prophet must intend the Mahometan delusion, which operated a deception even upon those who had the mark of the beast.

The words, *image of the beast*, are frequently used, and the term *image*, signifies the exact representation of a thing, but not the thing itself. There seems to be three characters, the beast, the image of the beast, and the false prophet; and to these severally, we are to annex distinct ideas. The first beast that John sees arise out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns, designates generally the western world or Europe, commencing at the time of the division of imperial Rome, A. D. 392, and ending with the present economy. That the subsequent characters designate only changes in government, the general beast continuing the same. The beast in one view, commenced and ended with the western Roman Emperors.

The second beast, which has the semblance of a religious character, stands next in order, after the first general beast has its head wounded, and intimates a change in the government; and causes the earth to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed: the beast continues to be the first beast after the deadly wound was healed.

The second beast has power to give life unto the image of the beast. That the image of the beast should both speak and cause, that as many as would not worship the image of the beast should be killed.

We have undoubtedly here three characters, but only one general beast, and the descriptive changes point out the western Roman Emperors, the Roman ecclesiastical government, and Charlemagne, intended by the image of the beast, to whom the ecclesiastical head gave life and speech, and caused him to be worshipped. The original is, he had given to him, to give spirit to the image of the beast, that the image of the beast should speak, and should cause.

The description in Chap. xix, 20, is, and the beast was taken, and with him the false prophet that wrought miracles before

him, with which he deceived them that had the mark of the beast, and them that worshipped his image.

In Chap, xiii. the ecclesiastical head does great wonders, so that he maketh fire come down from Heaven in the sight of men, and deceiveth them that dwell on the earth, by those miracles which he had power to do in the sight of the beast.

It is therefore apparent, that the ecclesiastical head in Chap. xiii. and the false prophet in Chap. xix. are one and the same character.

The Christian religion, what little there may be now existing, is confined to the European world, within the limits of the jurisdiction of the beast and the false prophet. The attentive reader will make his own reflections on the severe punishment inflicted on these two characters in particular. In the European world I include America, not finding any particular prophetic descriptions relative to the same.

The next description before the Millenium commencing in glory, is, of an angel having the key of the bottomless pit. He takes hold of the dragon, that old serpent, called the devil, and satan, and binds him a thousand years; shuts him up, and sets a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years are fulfilled, after which he is loosed a little season.

Whatever may be the full purport of this passage, this much at least is evident, that the powers of darkness are under strict confinement; and the church is nourished from the face of the serpent, and that for a period of 1260 years. It was a key that opened the bottomless pit or abyfs, and it is a key that shuts it: The one in the hands of Mahomet, and the other in the hands of an angel. The nations which are to be deceived no more cannot be men in the flesh, because we have a positive assertion before this, that the light of a candle, and the voice of the bridegroom and bride shall be no more. The Greek passage here, will shew the impropriety of the rendering Bishop Newton has made of the words, *o kronos ouk estai eti*, the time shall not be yet. Here the words are, *ina me planesse ta ethna eti*; and the rendering of them agreeable to the Bishop, would be, that he should not deceive the nations yet; which is manifestly improper; when our Saviour says, The end is not yet, *all oupo esti to telos*, are the words.

Upon a strict investigation, I think it must appear, that all the descriptions after pouring out the 7th vial, to the end of v. 3, chapter 20, have reference to temporal things, and temporal punishment, except great Babylon, where she becomes the

hold of every foul spirit, and the bridegroom, bride and guests ; but with the temporal dissolution of the beast and false prophet, is connected the final doom of many.

There are three sets of descriptions that follow ; though in some measure connected and blended together, yet it is necessary to consider them under distinct heads ; and considering them thus, we shall have exhibited the sixth and last part of the Revelations. The sixth part is so connected, as not well to admit of a head.

FIRST SET OF DESCRIPTIONS.

WE commence these with Chap. xx. 4. to verse 11. inclusive. John Begins with the resurrection of the saints, exhibits a few matters that take place in the period of the Millenium, carries us through this period, and brings to our view a throne that belongs to the next state, which succeeds the Millenium. The matters exhibited are :—

1. The resurrection of the saints, with their peculiar endowments and privileges.
2. That the rest of the dead live again, after the thousand years are finished.
3. That after the thousand years are expired, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison, and go out to deceive the nations, Gog and Magog, to gather them together to battle.
4. They make an attempt against the beloved city ; and fire comes down from God out of Heaven, and devours them.
5. The punishment of the devil, and no doubt his angels with him.
6. John sees a great white throne, and him that sat on it, from whose face the earth and the Heavens fled away, and no place was found for them.

These several particulars, evidently carry us from the beginning to the ending of the period of the Millenium, which is 1260 years, and exhibit the commencement of the succeeding state. There is no intimation here of what the saints are employed about during the whole period. The number of thrones are so frequently mentioned, that there can be no doubt but there will be here four and twenty ; and they will also be placed around another throne, as they are exhibited in Chap. iv. and those who sit on them, as also the four living hosts, will, every one of them, have harps and golden vials, full of odours, which are the prayers of the saints, as they are exhibited in Chap. v. The judgment seems to be given only

to them that sit on the throne; and as these are the most exalted, so there can be no doubt but that they will be the most highly endowed with special immunities. It is impossible to determine with any precision how far and to what the judgment will extend, except the objects of it, who, according to Paul, are to be men and angels. After the thousand years, the rest live, that is all that are to obtain the great prize of eternal life, who we suppose, are the innumerable multitude mentioned in Chap. vii. The rest of the dead intends no more nor less than the full number that will be ultimately happy. Their resurrection life commences in a manner similar to the first resurrection, which is at or a little before the dissolution of human nature, and the punishment of the beasts and the false prophet. The second is at, or a little before the destruction of Gog and Magog, and the punishing of the devil; under the sixth vial, preparation is made for the battle of the great day of God Almighty; and here Gog and Magog are gathered together, to battle: it is a great deception in both cases, that urges them on to battle. There the promoters of deception are unclean spirits, and the spirits of devils; here it is the devil himself. It will be observed, that John frequently introduces the most distant events first; and here the destruction of Gog and Magog, in which terms are included, all the finally wicked of the human race; and of the devil and his angels, as well as the time for the second resurrection, are described before many other events, which precede and prepare the way for these great events. We have not after this, a single account of Gog and Magog, nor of the devil. There is no period of time allotted them, nor any exhibition of them after this; and in this state we must leave them, not daring to decide positively, whether they do or do not exist, in eternal misery, or whether they cease to be; and not being able to form a sure and certain opinion, that cessation of existence will take place, the motive, to a rational mind, must be as strong as if he were sure eternal existence in misery would be the case. When two evils are presented to our view; we endeavour to avoid that which is the greatest. Here are two evils, both in a sense infinite. A particular course of conduct will certainly expose us to one or the other of these events: It will then be a rational and wise part for us to avoid such a course of conduct, from a consideration of the greatest possible evil; and even to conclude, that the greatest possible evil will be the result, because the conclusion can work no injury to us, whereas a different one might. Many persons may possibly contemplate annihilation without any painful sen-

fation ; but thus they cannot contemplate eternal misery. The great white throne is introduced, and comes into view, after the mediatorial kingdom is at an end. The government designated by the white horse, has executed all to be executed by the same.

SECOND SET OF DESCRIPTIONS.

THESE descriptions begin Chap. xx. 12. and run to Chap. xxi. 8. inclusive. They begin with the Millenium, and terminate in the state succeeding it.

1. We have an exhibition of the general resurrection.
2. The books are opened, and another book was opened, which is the book of life ; and they were judged every man according to his works.
3. Death and hell, and whatsoever was not found written in the book of life, were cast into the lake of fire, which is the second death.
4. John sees a new heaven and a new earth, the first being passed away, and there was no more sea.
5. He sees the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God, out of Heaven, as a bride adorned for her husband.
6. The tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, their God, and wipe away all tears ; there shall be no more death, sorrow, crying, nor pain ; for the former things are passed away. And he that sat upon the throne, said, Behold I make all things new : And he said unto me write, for these words are true and faithful : And he said unto me, It is done. I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end. I will give unto him that is a-thirst, of the fountain of the water of life freely. He that overcometh shall inherit all things ; and I will be to him a God, and he shall be to me a son ; but the fearful and unbelieving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and forcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death.

We have before adduced sundry arguments, to shew, that the general resurrection will take place at Christ's second Advent. From the number of the dead here, we may certainly exclude those, who have part in the first resurrection ; but not the rest of the dead, who lived not again till the thousand years had expired. All those make their appearance here, and those included in the terms Gog and Magog.— There would be no propriety in supposing that the four and

twenty elders, the four living hosts, and the one hundred and forty-four thousand, are among the number of those dead. This is neither the first nor the second resurrection, in the sense this word is used, when it is said, that *this is the first resurrection*. It is more properly the restitution of all things, which God hath spoken by the mouth of all the holy prophets; and if we may exclude the three bodies abovementioned, from the number of the dead here intended, then it follows, that the book of life has no reference to them: It is a book of life opened in the Millenium state, in which will be recorded, all who in that state become entitled to an eternal happy life: Otherwise it would seem, that those who live and reign with Christ, would be judges in their own cause, if this book of life has reference to the faithful under the Mosaic and Christian dispensations. There can be no doubt but the indissoluble connection, designated by a marriage, has been consummated before these books are opened; and if so, this book of life cannot respect them; and our Saviour says, that they that believe in him come not into judgment, but are passed from death to life. Those who are seated on thrones, to whom judgment is given, will, when these books are opened, find sufficient employ for the exercise of their judiciary power, when the actions of every man will be as perceptible to them, as what we read in a book is to us. To them the hearts and actions of all will be laid open; that is, of all those who are not interested in the first resurrection.

The casting of death and hell into the lake, &c. evidently refer us to the close of the mediatorial kingdom, when all authority shall be put down, and every enemy shall be subdued, death being the last enemy to be subdued.

The new heavens and the new earth, and the holy city, the new Jerusalem, are manifestly to be deferred to the state succeeding the Millenium, as also the privilege of being the sons of God, a privilege that is super-eminently conferred on those in the first resurrection: All tears are to be wiped away, &c. If we believe the little book which John found so bitter, refers to the Millenium; if we believe those that come out of great tribulation in Chap. vii. refers to the same, or that they come out of the same, then it is evident, that the happiness here described, exists not, till the mediatorial kingdom is at an end. If we believe that death is the last enemy to be subdued before the mediatorial kingdom is delivered up, and that this delivery takes place immediately afterwards, then we must defer these descriptions to a state posterior to the Millenium. And he said unto me, **IT IS DONE.** These emphatical and

important words, were spoken by our Saviour upon the cross. They were uttered on pouring out the seventh vial; and here they no doubt denote some great and extraordinary event, nothing short of closing the mediatorial kingdom; for it is immediately added, I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end. This repeated character of Jesus Christ, will be fully and completely established, when the mediatorial kingdom ends, and not before; for I do not see that we can with propriety say, that Christ is first or last, only as to his relation to this lower creation. By him all things were first made, and by him such as are to have an end, will have an end. As to Christ personally, he has neither beginning nor ending. The promise to him that overcometh, that he shall inherit all things, and be a Son of God, has an especial reference to a victory to be gained in the Millenium state: for, to the faithful Christians, the promise is, that they shall be kings and priests, and that they shall reign with Christ on earth.

The execution of the punishment against the fearful and unbelieving, &c. will actually take place in the Millenium state, and it is a caution to Christians under the present economy.

THE THIRD SET OF DESCRIPTIONS.

THESE descriptions begin chap. xxi. 9. and run through all the remainder of the prophetic and descriptive parts of the Revelations.

One of the seven angels, having the seven vials filled with the seven last plagues, informs John, that he will shew the bride of the Lamb, the woman, or the wife; and John is carried in spirit to a great and high mountain, to the top of Mount Pisgah, and he shewed me the great city, the holy Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God. This city belongs to the Millenium state, and cannot be the same that John had seen before, as will appear manifest from a comparison; and the manner and order of John's seeing it, are sufficiently indicative that the two cities are distinct and different.

The first, John had actually seen, but not till there was a new heaven and earth; the first being passed away, and the mountains with them.

This city is prepared for those exhibited in chap. xx. verse 4. This city has the glory of God; that city has God himself. The light of the city is like a stone most precious, even like a Jasper stone, clear as crystal; such a compari-

son does not correspond with the other city where God dwells.

This city has walls great and high, twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels, and names written thereon, which are the names of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel : on the east three gates, on the north three gates, on the south three gates, and on the west three gates. The wall of the city has twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb.

This city, from its characteristics, must exist before the mediatorial kingdom comes to an end.

And he that talked with me had a golden reed to measure the city, and the gates thereof, and the walls thereof, and the city lieth four square ; and the length is as large as the breadth ; and he measured the city with the reed, twelve thousand furlongs. The length and the breadth and height of it are equal ; and he measured the wall thereof, an hundred forty and four cubits, according to the measure of the man, that is the angel ; and the building of the wall of it was of Jasper, and the city was pure gold, like unto clear glass ; and the foundations of the wall of the city were garnished with all manner of precious stones : The first foundation was Jasper ; the second, Sapphire ; the third, a Chalcedony ; the fourth, an Emerald ; the fifth, Sardonyx ; the sixth, Sardius ; the seventh, Chrysolite ; the eighth, Beryl ; the ninth, a Topaz ; the tenth, a Chrysoprasus ; the eleventh, a Jacinth ; and the twelfth, an Amethyst ; and the twelve gates were twelve Pearls ; every several gate was of one Pearl ; and the street of the city was pure gold, as it were transparent glass.

This beautiful city is, no doubt, that beloved city, which Gog and Magog encompass about ; and therefore cannot be the city in which God dwells ; a city, to which we can prescribe neither form nor measurement ; a city in which there will be no mediator, no dayman, between God and his Sons.

In this city there is no temple, for the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple of it : it has no need of the Sun, neither of the Moon, to shine in it ; for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof. These descriptions exhibit this city, as existing in the most glorious period of the Messiah's kingdom :—The nations of them which are saved, walk in the light of it ; and the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honor into it.—These descriptions cannot be applied to the first city, where all are the sons of God ; where they walk not in the light of the city, but in the light of God himself ; and the gates of it shall not be shut at all by day, for there shall be no night there ; and they shall bring the glory and honor of

the nations into it; and there shall in no wise enter into it, any thing that defileth; neither whatsoever worketh abomination, or maketh a lie; but they which are written in the Lamb's book of life.

This city exists before the extermination of death, sorrow, crying, and pain; and before the destruction of Gog and Magog.

And he shewed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God, and of the Lamb; in the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river was there the tree of life, which bear twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month; and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations; and there shall be no more curse, but the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it; and his servants shall serve him, and they shall see his face; and his name shall be in their foreheads; and there shall be no night there, and they need no candle, neither light of the sun; for the Lord God giveth them light, and they shall reign for ever and ever.

Blessed are they that do his commandments, that they may have a right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates into the city: for without are dogs, and forcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie.

The characteristic descriptions of the two cities, afford sufficient ground for comparison, and the comparison warrants the opinion, that the two cities are distinct and different, that the last belongs to the Millenium state, and the first, to the state succeeding it.

It is highly incumbent upon those who fall in with the sentiments of Dr. Whitby, to state precisely the concomitant circumstances, that must attend their supposed church, and to see if they can make them in any shape or manner whatever, correspond with the characteristic description here given of the Millenium state; and if they cannot, I think they will not hesitate to conclude, that they have not had a right opinion of these prophecies.

The last city, has a river of water of life, and on either side the tree of life; the leaves of which are for the healing of the nations: The first city exhibits no nations to be healed, all tears, sorrow, and pain are done away.

As to the last city, there shall be no more curse, and this no doubt has reference to that which was denounced upon the ground, after Adam's transgressions, and is altogether inapplicable to that city in which God dwells.—In the one city, there

will be servants, in the other sons only. In the last, they shall see his face, and his name shall be in their foreheads, referring to the 144,000, and to the Jews, from before whose face the veil was not taken away; they shall reign forever, not with Christ as a Mediator and Judge (if the words imply eternal duration) because these characters of Christ will end with the Millenium, and God will be all in all.

These great and wonderful things, John says he not only heard, but saw: That the Lord God of the holy prophets sent his angel, to shew unto his servants, the things which must shortly be done: I Jesus have sent my angel to testify unto you, these things in the churches, that is, all the churches during the present economy.

Blessed are they that do his commandments, that they may have a right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates into the city: for without are dogs, and forcerers, whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth, and maketh a lie.

From entering into this city, the reprobate wicked will be utterly debarred; but whether the Millenians who are upon trial, will be debarred this privilege, may be a question: As the gates are never shut, it is most probable, that they will have free access.

As I have observed, that when the beast and false prophet are taken alive, and cast into a lake burning with fire and brimstone, this may indicate a temporary punishment, and final dissolution of the flesh; and, as this opinion may be essentially wrong, I am induced to examine it by way of analogy.

The current testimony of the New Testament, seems to be, that those who reject the gospel, will receive an irrevocable sentence, at the second Advent of Christ.

As I think it is manifest, that those who have part in the first resurrection, do not come into judgment, when the dead, great and small, stand before God to be judged; it may possibly be the case, that the wicked Christians are not among these dead. Christ will say to the first, Come ye blessed; and to the second, Go ye cursed. As the rewards are constantly held up on either hand, as being eternal, and the first come under no formal judicial trial, so the second may pass into immediate misery, without any formal trial.

It is apparent, this punishment commences at, or a little before the binding of satan a thousand years; and that after the thousand years, when the devil is punished, it is said, And the devil who deceived them, was cast into the lake of fire and

brimstone, where the beast and the false prophet *are*; and they shall be tormented, &c. It is confessed, that there is no word in the original, for the important word *are*: But whether we read it with, or without the word, it seems manifestly to amount to the same thing, because of the plural number immediately following; and *they* are tormented: so that it is manifest, that those comprised under the terms, *the beast and the false prophet*, have existed in a place of torment above a thousand years; and this is the most extreme prospect we have of them; they never are brought into our view again; and as day and night are altogether inapplicable in the Millenium kingdom, the natural import of them to us here are, to express continued duration; and if no other idea can be affixed to them, we have no right to limit the idea.

We may state another argument, not with respect to endless misery, and reason from analogy.

If the wicked at Christ's second Advent, are not permitted to enter the glorious city, provided for those, who have a part in the first resurrection, as is evidently the case, then we may with good reason infer, that Gog and Magog, and the devil, that is, all who are comprised under these terms, will never be permitted to enter that city, which succeeds; in which God himself dwells: a city so glorious, that John does not even attempt to give any descriptions of it, as a city.

The beauty and excellency of the first, are made familiar and easy to be conceived of, by being constituted of the richest works of nature. The city of God cannot be described by such things.—The analogy to me affords an unanswerable argument; that the wicked never will, in any happy sense, dwell with God.

It may be objected, that Babylon the great, has two ideas affixed to it; first, signifying mankind in the flesh; and secondly, mankind after death, not in the flesh, that is, the wicked part of them; now, as to the first, there is a full and complete end and extermination of great Babylon; and may we not conclude, therefore, that there will be in the second sense, especially as it is said, *I make all things new*—that there is no more pain nor sorrow, and that all judgment is committed to Christ, who does not deliver up his kingdom till he has executed judgment, in all its extent. If carnate Babylon is completely annihilated, why should it not be the case with incarnate Babylon? If in one shape, God is so angry with and opposed to sin, as to put an end to it forever, why not in another? so that he may be all in all; that is all things in all beings. It is evident, that between Christ's second coming, and the end, God is not all

things, in all beings, and that after the end, he is such ; and this negative can only have reference to the wicked in whom he is not in all, for God is not in their thoughts : farther, as it is certainly the case, that, notwithstanding night and day, do mean continued duration, yet they mean limited duration, because they will have an end. If therefore, the punishment of the wickedest of all beings, as to duration, is expressed by terms that are without question limited and definite, what right have we to conclude, that the punishment will be unlimited and indefinite ? carnate Babylon passed through a gradation of punishment, before final extermination, and why should not the same be the case with the other.—After the destruction of great Babylon, we find John represents to us good beings and bad beings : but after the destruction of Gog and Magog, and the devil, we find no more mention at all of evil beings : after the commencement of that new era, they are no more to be found, than mankind in the flesh are to be found in the Millenium kingdom.

We have not time or room to enter into a discussion of these questions here; but we may conclude with great propriety, Great and marvelous are thy works, Lord God Almighty, just and true are all thy ways, O, thou King of Saints! Who shall not fear thee and glorify thy name ? for thou only art holy.

The passages that refer us to the punishment of the wicked are Chap. xiv. 9. 10. 11. Chap. xix. 12. Chap. xx. 10. and 14. 15.

The first of these passages seems to extend no farther than to the despisers of the Christian system, and not to the whole of the human race. It is, if any man worship the beast or his image, and receive his mark in his forehead or in his hand, even he shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, that is poured out without mixture, in the cup of his wrath ; and he shall be tormented in fire and brimstone, in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb, and the smoke of their torment ascended for ever and ever ; and they have no rest day or night, who worshipped the beast, and his image, and whoever received the mark of his name. Here is the penalty which we find executed, Chap. xix. 20. And the beast was taken, and with him the false prophet, that wrought miracles in his sight, whereby he deceived them that received the mark of the beast, and them that worshipped his image. These two were cast alive, or these two living, were cast into a lake of fire, burning with brimstone. The Greek is *zontes oi duo*, and as Tessera Zonta, are, I think, well rendered by "four living hosts," so I think these words may be "these two living hosts."

The next class that are punished, are Gog and Magog, towards the close of the Millenium; and whoever are comprised under these terms, it seems rational to exclude those comprised under the terms of the beast and the false prophet: As there are two books, one of life and the other not of life in the Millenium state, we may naturally suppose, that Gog and Magog comprise all the persons, who, in the Millenium state, will belong to that book, which is not a book of life; persons that had an opportunity, but did not secure the prize; for in that state every man is to be judged according to his work: As there is not the least gleam of light, with respect to the wicked, after the Millenium, as the very city succeeding it, has only God in it as supreme, and no Lamb, we may certainly conclude, that here the mediatorial kingdom is at an end; consequently those comprised under the terms, the beast, and the false prophet, having no privileges in the Millenium, can never, after that state, enjoy any, no more than Gog and Magog, and the devil. One of the concomitant circumstances of the first resurrection to eternal life and happiness, is the final adjudication and punishment of a certain part of mankind; and one of the concomitant circumstances that will attend the second resurrection of the same kind, when the rest of the dead live again, will be the final adjudication and punishment of all comprised under the terms Gog and Magog, the rest of the dead clearly intending no more than will finally be introduced to eternal happiness. The assumption, that the rest of the dead intends all the wicked dead, and the inference, that as the rest of the dead live again, meaning a happy life, therefore, that all the wicked dead will finally be introduced to happiness, is bold and unwarranted. It contradicts the general complexion of the present gospel dispensation, and is evidently incompatible with John's visions; who not only heard, but saw the things who elsewhere, and probably after he wrote the Revelations declares, that there is a sin unto death, and a sin not unto death.

John has clearly guided our view to the last city of all, in which God alone dwells; after which there will be no variableness nor shadow of change. He has described the immediately preceding city, in which is the glory of God, as well as his throne, and that of the Lamb; kings and nations, and all that are to be saved, bring their glory and honour into this city, whose gates are never shut: yet we clearly perceive a great multitude, who are never permitted to enter here. Dare any then to conclude, that any one of them will be permitted to enter into the next city, in the immediate presence of

God alone? The descriptions of John afford no ground for, but are unanswerably opposed to such a conclusion. Therefore universal salvation must be viewed, as the baseless fabric of a vision; but John's visions were not such.

ON THE MILLENIUM STATE.

THE exhibitions of the persons, who are to be introduced into this state, are numerous; and I do not see that any well founded objection, can be raised against considering the visions of them, in the light I have placed them. Whatever may be the state of the Christian dead, between Christ's death and his second Advent, cannot be ascertained from the Revelations; unless we suppose, the total silence about them, and the plain meaning of the words, Henceforth, yea, saith the spirit, that they may rest from their labours, and their works do follow them, indicate a state of profound sleep. It is evident we have no vision of them; and John surveyed not only this temporal state, but also the heavenly. In the Millennium state, there will be the following four distinct orders:—

First. The twenty-four elders.

Second. The four living hosts; that is all the faithful Christians.

Third. The one hundred and forty-four thousand who are the faithful Jews; and this number probably includes the Jewish martyrs, as the four living hosts do the Christian martyrs.

Fourth. All those who are placed in a state of probation and trial.

There is a fifth order, which is, the reprobate wicked: What connection they have with the Millennium state, is not clear. In the very commencement of that state they seem to be, and are undoubtedly doomed to misery. To these orders Paul has probably reference, when he says, Every man in his own order. With certainty and regularity will the orders be introduced in the Millennium state. When Paul says, he was caught up into the third heavens, it appears to me, the idea we ought to affix to it, is, that he was introduced to that heaven, which succeeds the Millennium: The present dispensation of the gospel is the first, and the lowest heaven; the Millennium is the second, and the succeeding state the third.

The term heaven, aptly applies to all these states.

The present dispensation belongs properly to the holy spirit.

The second will belong to Christ, and the third to God alone; and a higher heaven than this cannot be conceived of. Here Paul heard things ineffable; and John describes the happy here, negatively, and not positively.

Let any one read Chap. xii. with attention, and I think he cannot escape noticing the Millenium church.

The first church described, is the Christian exalted above the Jewish church. The great image of Nebuchadnezzar is described in complete and terrible glory. The church changes her place of abode, which had always been in Asia, to Europe: It is nourished here 1260 years. Wars and persecutions take place: The church is not overcome: The devil and his angels are cast down to the earth; and then comes salvation and power, and the kingdom of God, and the power of his Christ; for he that accused the brethren day and night, is cast out. He is overcome by the blood of the Lamb, and the word of their testimony, who loved not their lives to death. The heavenly inhabitants rejoice; but to the inhabitants of the earth and sea, there is woe, because the devil has come down, having great wrath, knowing that he has but a short time. He persecutes the woman that brought forth the man child.

The short time, and the persecution of the woman, may refer us to what takes place after pouring out the sixth vial. However, I think, we are more naturally referred to the fifth trumpet, when a star falls from Heaven, which commences the three emphatical woes against the inhabitants of the earth; and 1260 years is in a prophetic view a short time. The western world, and church, were persecuted by the Mahometans. The conflicts were severe, and finally, the Mahometans were driven from a great part of it.

The dragon persecutes the woman or church; and to her are given two wings of a great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness, into her place, where she is nourished a time, times, and half a time, from the face of the serpent. The first church, without any wings, flies into the wilderness, and is nourished there, not from the face of the serpent, 1260 years. Here is another church immediately succeeding that, furnished with wings, changes the place of abode, flies into the wilderness, and is nourished 1260 years from the face of the serpent. This, therefore, may be a probationary church in the Millenium, because the period assigned to the first church, carries us to that state. The wilderness does not express an idea of the ultimate place of resort of the church, that is, of her genuine members; and the Millenium is evidently not so; but as this

church overcomes by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony. It includes faithful Christians and faithful Jews ; and these comprise all the genuine members of these two churches ; and the eagle's wings have reference to the resurrection : It cannot therefore be a probationary church in the Millenium. The serpent casts water out of his mouth, as a river, after the woman, in order to swallow her up. The earth helps the woman, and the earth opens her mouth, and swallows up the water, which the dragon casts out of his mouth ; and the dragon is angry with the woman, and goes to make war with the remainder of her seed, that keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ. After the faithful Christians and Jews are delivered into the Millenium, designated here as a Church, there is no more attempt of the dragon against her : but there is a remainder of her seed, which is a pure and genuine seed, against whom he makes an attempt ; that is, after the thousand years are expired, when the nations under the characters of Gog and Magog are again to be deceived, and to surround the camp of the holy and the beloved city ; and fire out of Heaven destroys them.

The remainder of her seed must intend the faithful Millenians. The question is, Whether these have their probationary state in the flesh or not ? As the event of attempting to persecute and destroy them, happens after the first resurrection, the remainder of the seed, cannot have their state of probation in the flesh ; if the first resurrection is accompanied with the restitution of all things, or the resurrection of all the human race, which the scriptures constantly inculcate, " The rest of her seed," and " the rest of the dead that live not again till the thousand years are expired," have reference to the same class of the human race. And the woman with the wings of an eagle, and those described in Chap. xx. 4. have also reference to the same class of the human race. These have their Christian character formed and established whilst in the flesh, the others after the restitution of all things.

THE STATE THAT SUCCEEDS THE MILLENIUM.

THE glory of this state is so far beyond the comprehension of mortal man, that very little is said of it positively ; but negatively there are sundry things said—John sees a great white

throne, and him that sat upon it, from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away; he sees a new heaven and a new earth; for the first heaven, and the first earth were passed away; *kai e thalassa ouk estin eti*, according to Bishop Newton, the sea is not yet; but according to the plain meaning, and there was no more sea; or, and the sea was no farther; & this conveys an idea, that the sea will continue through the Millenium state, for I take the term, *sea*, to be real, and not figurative here. He sees the holy city, the new Jerusalem, descending from God out of heaven, prepared or made ready, as a bride adorned for her husband; the tabernacle of God is with men, and they shall dwell with him, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, their God; and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes, *kai o thanatos ouk estai eti*,—there shall be no more death, nor pain, nor crying, *oude ponos ouk estai iti*, nor pain shall be any more or farther. And he that sat upon the throne, said, Behold I make all things new; and he said *write*, for these words are true and faithful. He that overcometh, shall inherit all things; and I will be to him a God and he shall be to me a son. The person speaking here, is undoubtedly Jesus Christ—after the Millenium, he no more exhibits himself as Christ, or a Lamb, but as God alone.

In the Millenium it is natural to suppose that there will be no perishable bodies, such as mankind have at present: therefore, after the commencement of that state, the term death, does not carry with it the same idea, that we now affix to it, as it respects men in the flesh—it means a state of punishment, and is called the second death.

If then this is all the kind of death, that there will be in the Millenium; if at the close of that state, it is said there shall be no more death; the inference will then seem to be plainly, from these premises, that the state of punishment will be at an end: and that annihilation will be the final issue of the wicked; for if death means a state of punishment, and I think there can be no doubt of this, then if that state designated by death, is endless; it seems impossible, or at least very difficult, to find out the true meaning of those words, 'There shall be no more death.—That they have some pertinent meaning, there can be no doubt: and that they cannot refer to the happy and faithful Millenists is evident: It is true, they come out of a state of tribulation, but they wash themselves, and make themselves white in the blood of the Lamb.

Under the present dispensation men are subject to pain and death; but the righteous come not into judgement: they pass

from death to life—not at death, but from the state of the dead, and we may reasonably suppose the privileges of the faithful Millenists, will be as great. The words *ou te ponos ouk estai eti,* seem not only to corroborate the idea, but to carry it full as far, if not farther; *ponos* is translated *pain*, but it is universally expressive of evil; sin, transgression, is repeatedly and perhaps always used in this sense in the New Testament—at least to express that pain which is connected with evil. The inference seems to be made from death being no more; that all sorrow, crying and pain shall cease to be. The first things have passed away; sin and death are among the first things, and the last will never cease to be, during the existence of the other; at the very close of the Millenium, we find a great number of wicked beings, whose annihilation only can put a complete end to sin and death.

These observations are submitted for the consideration of the learned; if any other reasonable construction of the term *death*, can be devised, then endless misery may be; if not I think must be given up.

CHRONOLOGY.

I HAVE already made many observations under this head, but I have not attempted to point out the year, month and day, of the glorious and terrible event. I do not find that the spirit of prophecy was so exact with the Jews of old.— Though Mr. Ferguson the Astronomer, has astronomically proved, that it was 490 years from the issuing of the commission to Ezra, to the death of Christ; yet it appears to me the purport of the prophecy was to give the Jews sufficient previous notice of the birth of Christ, and not to point their view to his death; that the calculations upon that prophecy in one view must have ended, about fifty six years before the birth of Christ; that afterwards, they were to be constantly looking out for their king. The old world had 120 years notice, before the flood came; the Jews had nearly the same, before their final dissolution: As this last event is much greater, and more important, than either of the other, so we have more abundant prophecies respecting it. All the vials are momentos; none of them seem to point out one particular event, except the second; the characteristics are such, as to answer to the whole period of the vial.

The sixth is undoubtedly such. The complexion of a considerable part of the world, if it does not warrant the opinion fully, it seems strongly to indicate, that it has commenced to operate. Seventy years before the Jewish destruction, Christ made his appearance, and perhaps it may be so long before the full establishment of the Millennium, that he will make his second appearance, and if so, it will be about one hundred years hence, and during this period of one hundred years, the world will be full of confusion and trouble: deception will operate upon all parties—inflicted and moved by the great deceiver of mankind. We are plainly told that God will permit mankind to be wonderfully deceived, and this deception is necessary, and operates the close of the sixth vial.

If we should begin the computation of the period of the Christian dispensation with the birth of Christ, and allow the period to be 1890 years, we are, according to Ferguson's account of his birth, 92 years from the Millenium. If we calculate from the rise of Mahomet, and apply to this power the words, The court that is without, is given unto the Gentiles, and they shall tread under foot the holy city 42 months, it wants only 88 years to complete it. If we calculate from the crucifixion, it will be half a seventy more; if from the destruction of the Jewish nation, one whole seventy more.

From some of these periods, there can be no doubt but we are to calculate; and the first of them will give the Christian dispensation exactly the same period that the Jewish church had, from the law of circumcision given to Abraham, to the birth of Christ, that is, 1890 years. And if we are not certain from which of these periods we ought to calculate, surely, as wise men, we ought to assume that which will expire the first; and if it should not happen to be the true period, it can do us no injury to begin the watch at an early hour. It may be a question, whether we are to begin at the birth or crucifixion of Christ; but not whether we are to begin at the destruction of the Jewish nation by Vespasian: Before John begins with the operations under the Christian dispensation, he exhibits the punishment of the Jewish nation for their wickedness—before he begins the operations of the Millenium in glory, he exhibits the punishment of Great Babylon in the flesh; and also the reprobate wicked: Before he exhibits the glory of the state succeeding the Millenium, he points our view to the punishment of Gog, Magog, and the Devil; in whom is probably included his angels; as the beast and the false prophet cannot be two individuals of the human race, so it is rational to suppose, that the devil is put by way of eminence, and stands for himself and all his angels. The punishing of the Jewish nation happens after the complete abolition of the Mosaic economy, as that of the beast and the false prophet does, after the end of the Christian dispensation: And from analogy we may suppose, that the punishment of Gog, Magog, and the Devil will happen after the end of the Millenium as a probationary state.

Several of the prophetic descriptions of Daniel and John, unite in the same characters, as Daniel's four beasts, and John's three horses. John's first horse introduces a new character; and Daniel's first beast was in being at the time John wrote: Therefore he does not describe this beast, but introduces a cha-

raiser of more importance, who we are sure commenced to be, under that beast. Daniel has more prophetic periods with respect to temporal powers, than John. Their commencing and ending, seem to be marked out with precision, so as to exhibit the length of time men are to continue in the flesh. With respect to the church, John has many more prophetic visions than Daniel; but none of them seem to lead us so precisely to an end, unless we suppose the forty-two months abovementioned mark out at their end, the resurrection. Daniel's great periods end, A. D. 1960, or 166 years hence: And their seems to be some ground for supposing, that he passed beyond the Christian dispensation 75 years; and if so, by his account there remains only 91 years to complete the sixth vial.

From the law of circumcision to the birth of Christ,

were,	-	-	-	-	1890 years
				to his death,	1923
				to the end of the Jews,	1960

In every view, the length of the Christian dispensation seems to be about the same period of time.

There can be no doubt, but that we must compute the 2520 years from the death of Nebuchadnezzar, the great, or from the end of the Babylonish Empire. To compute from the death of Nebuchadnezzar, apparently corresponds better with the regular series of seventy years, as a measure, than from the other period. Eight seventies, or 560 years, reach down to the birth of Christ. Nine seventies, or 630 years, to the destruction of Jerusalem by Vespasian. But, if the Babylonish captivity is generally placed about thirty years too late by the moderns, and there is good reason for supposing this to be the case, then, from the commencement of that captivity, to the destruction of the Jews, was ten seventies, or 700 years. Let the 2520 years commence when they may, it is evident, that there must be 220 years from that time to the commencement of the 2300 days or years, so mentioned, probably, because neither 70 nor 7 will measure them exactly—and these 2300 days, undoubtedly commence, either with, or a little before Alexander the great. Mr. Ferguson places his death 323 years before the Christian era; he reigned twelve years and eight months; and consequently commenced to reign in the year 336 years before the Christian era.

It seems scarcely possible to reconcile many difficulties, unless we date the commencement of Nebuchadnezzar's reign 24 years sooner than is usually done, and 630 years before the birth of Christ; and upon this supposition, the computation would be as follows:

From the first of Nebuchadnezzar to the first of Cyrus, one	-	70
From the first of Cyrus, to Alexander,	-	220
From Alexander to the birth of Christ,	-	336
		<hr/>
		626
	deficiency	4
		<hr/>
		630

If we place the first of Nebuchadnezzar, with which Daniel seems to commence the seventy years captivity, at about 600 years before Christ as is commonly done, and the commencement of Alexander the great at 336, then there will be left for the whole duration of the Persian monarchy, only 200 years, that is, to the death of Darius Codomannus, which was about six years after Alexander succeeded his father. There is no way can be devised to give a due space to the Persian empire, but by carrying farther back the commencement of the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, and in this respect, Josephus, as well as the Canon Ptolemaicus are evidences that cannot easily be got rid of.

Josephus always computes the seventy years captivity from the burning of the temple; which he says was in the 17th year of Nebuchadnezzar: consequently from the first of Nebuchadnezzar, to the first of Cyrus, is according to him, 87 years. But by Daniel it seems most probable, that the seventy years commence with, or one year before the first of Nebuchadnezzar, (or Daniel gives no account of the second and third invasions of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar—Daniel was introduced to explain this king's first dream, in the second year of his reign.

According to an established custom, Daniel must have been set apart three years before he could be introduced into the king's presence: and if Daniel really accomplished the three years; then the Babylonish captivity commenced one year before the first of Nebuchadnezzar, and Josephus, for the sake of fixing upon a signal event, has commenced the seventy years captivity seventeen years too late.

Josephus makes the duration of the Persian monarchy from the first of Cyrus, to the death of Darius Cadomannus 246 years, and the Canon Ptolemaicus 236 years.

If we allow that the birth of Christ was four years earlier than the Dyonisian era, and follow the Canon Ptolemaicus, the computation will be—

From the Babylonish captivity to the first of Cyrus,	70
From the first of Cyrus to the death of Darius Cadomannus,	236
From the death of Darius to the birth of Christ,	326
	<hr/>
	632

From this statement we have to adjust the 220 years, that is, the difference between the commencement of the 2520 years, and the 2300 days; the first of which periods commences with the first of Cyrus. And if we allow to the Persian empire 236 years, then the 2300 days must commence 16 years before the end of that empire, and 342 years before the birth of Christ. The year 342 before Christ, and the battle of Chæro-neæ, mark the commencement of the progress of the Macedonian Empire. Philip having destroyed the liberties of Greece, meditated an invasion of Persia, which death prevented him from executing. The very birth and coming into existence, of great powers, is noticed by the spirit of prophecy. The angel says, he remained twenty-one days with the Kings of Persia, which designates the permanency of that Empire for a limited time, and probably intends 210 years. Before the end of that Empire, the Macedonians, under Philip their King, began their progress; and the Persians, by the will of Heaven, are left a prey to them. The computation for the 220 years, will be as follows:—

From the first Nebuchadnezzar, to the first of Cyrus,	70
From first Cyrus to the commencement of the Macedonians,	220
From thence to the birth of Christ,	342
	<hr/>
	632

Between the first of Cyrus and the Macedonians,	220
From thence to the birth of Christ,	340
The period for six trumpets and six vials,	1890
The period for the seventh vial	70
	<hr/>
	2520

From the first of Nebuchadnezzar, to the rise of Mahomet, is about 1260 years, which is half of 2520; there is therefore 1260 years allowed for the continuance of this power.

From the division of the Roman Empire, A. D. 392, there is allowed to the western branch of the Empire, 1260 years, to make war, which does not designate the whole duration of

the power. The period ended 1652; and it marks the decline of the Roman Catholic powers.

From the rising up of the western church, which must have commenced about 630, she has a period of 1260 years, to be nourished in the wilderness, and this period must end about 1890.

Having gained better information as to the commencement of the seventy years captivity, and of Nebuchadnezzar, it will afford ground for making better calculations on Daniel's seventy weeks.

Daniel has recorded several things which were realities, and not visions, as being thrown into the den of lions. These have relation to time, and were recorded after the events happened; following these, Daniel has recorded visions, which he says, he had a considerable time before these events; from which circumstances, we may make this important inference, that the visions so recorded, having happened before, and being recorded after certain events, the subject matter of the vision has reference to things that are to be placed, and to take place after those certain other events: therefore, the chapters of Daniel, instead of being misplaced and out of order, as some have supposed, are arranged with wisdom. The question of consequence is not, when the vision happened, but what it has reference to.

The seventy weeks are to commence with the issuing of a certain commandment; and it is a matter of enquiry, whether Cyrus in his first year issued this commandment, or whether it was issued by some future king. The Babylonish captivity of seventy years, ended with the first of Cyrus; but it does not follow from thence, that the seventy weeks then commence. It is rather probable, contrary to what I have supposed to be the case before, that they do not, because the prophecy seems to look forward to a more future and distant command. The subject of the vision is not taken up by Daniel, till after the end of the Babylonish captivity. He commences with saying, in the first year of Darius, he understood by books, the number of years, whereof the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah the prophet, that he would accomplish seventy years in the desolations of Jerusalem.

The command given by Cyrus, seems to extend no farther, than re-building the temple, and renewing or restoring the temple service. The command given to Ezra, extends to civil as well as religious polity, by which the Jews were again esta-

blished as a nation: Cyrus's command extended to a restoration and building again of the temple; and Artaxerxes' to a restoration, and building up again of Jerusalem. The computation will be as follows:—

From first Nebuchadnezzar, to first Cyrus	70	
To the commission given to Ezra, -	1	70
To the birth of Christ, - -	7	490
To the destruction of the Jews, -	1	70
	10	700

The very same Hebrew word, which, in Chap. ix. is sometimes translated *seventy*, and sometimes *weeks*, is used six times. In the second verse it is translated *seventy*, and here there can be no doubt, but it is rightly rendered. In the 24th verse, the same Hebrew word is twice used, and they stand together: One is rendered *seventy*, the other *weeks*. In verse 25, it is used twice, and in both places rendered *weeks*. In verse 26, it is once used, and rendered *weeks*. It is twice rendered *seventy*, and four times *weeks*; and herein it seems to me, that the translator has rather expounded, and given his opinion of the prophecy, than translated. The word unquestionably, in the original, intends *seventy*, and rendering the word thus, the prophecy may be easily comprehended.

Verse 24. Seventy *seventy*, or naturally, according to the Hebrew idiom, many *seventies*, are determined upon thy people, &c.

Verse 25. Know therefore and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment, to restore and to build Jerusalem again unto Messiah the Prince, shall be *seventy weeks*; and of the *seventy*, three-score and two, the street shall be built again, and the walls, even in troublous times.

Verse 26. And after the which *seventy*, three-score and two, Messiah shall be cut off.

The Hebrew word in verse 26, has a prefix, which signifies demonstration, relation, or interrogation. There can be no doubt, but it is used here, relatively; and has relation to the very same words, used immediately before, in verse 25.

From the best information we can obtain, there were about seventy years between the first of Cyrus and the seventh of Artaxerxes, and the commencement of his reign must be anti-dated, as much as we have anti-dated that of Nebuchadnezzar; and then sixty-two weeks, or 434 years will measure the space of time between the seventh of Artaxerxes, when Ezra re-

ceived his commission to restore and build Jerusalem, and the taking of it by Pompey.

From the issuing of the commandment, to the birth of Christ, was 490 years; and 484 years the Jews, notwithstanding they were in great trouble, continued to be a nation, and to govern themselves by their own laws.

According to the present translation of *seven weeks*, and *sixty and two weeks*, the words have no meaning that I can find. I cannot discover what the seven weeks have reference to, and consequently I have not any plain idea of the sixty-two weeks.

According to the common chronology, Pompey took Jerusalem sixty years before the Dyonisian era of Christ's birth, which is upon good grounds, supposed, if not fully proved, to be four years too late. Therefore, that event happened eight weeks, or fifty-six years before the birth of Christ.

The Hebrew words, *sboe odnin*, are four times used in Chapter iv. of Daniel, verse 16, 23, 25, and 32, and are uniformly translated *seven times*, where *sboe* indisputably means *seven* and not *week*. *Sboe* is always in the Hebrew, an adjective, and *sboo* a *week*, is always a substantive, and are no more used indiscriminately the one for the other, than *seven*, and *weeks*, are in English: *Seven*, in English, does not signify *weeks*, nor does *weeks* signify simply *seven*, but *seven days*.

The Hebrew words, *od oden uodnin*, *upeleg oden*, are found in Chap. vii. 25. and are translated, *Until a time and times*, and the dividing of time; where if *odnin* be in the dual number, as I take it to be, the Hebrew, is more explicit and certain than the English. *Odnin* means precisely *two times*; and the idea is, one time, two times, and half a-time, or three times and an half, which are 1260 years.

In Chap. xii. 7, the same ideas are expressed, but the words are not the same: They are *lmud*, *muodim whezi*, and are translated, *For a-time, times, and an half*; and the ideas to be annexed to them are, three times and an half, or 1260 years.— These are evidently the last 1260 years, and are undoubtedly to commence with the rise of Mahomet, who appears in the middle of the great period of *seven times*.

There are no signal and distinguished events that mark the exact rise of the western church and of the Papal power: It is evident from history, that as early as A. D. 630, they made no small figure, and if we commence both as early as the rise of Mahomet, we cannot err; for to commence them after the rise of Mahomet, and to assign to them 1260 years, we evidently destroy the series of computation, which Daniel has given to us. If we commence the western church, which has

a period of 1260 years assigned to it, before the rise of Mahomet, we cannot err; for it did undoubtedly exist in the west before that time; and then the 1260 years will elapse, before the Mahometan period; and there may be no ecclesiastical hierarchy for nearly the whole period of the sixth vial; and if not, it must arise from a disorganization of the civil governments in Europe; the ecclesiastical polity being intimately connected with, and making an essential part of the civil polity. The dissolution of the last (so strong are the ties) can alone dissolve the first; and we see this verified in that very kingdom, which seems to succeed imperial Rome in the west, which gave life to, and received life from the Papal power—the Papal power as such, has no where assigned to it a period of 1260 years; nor has the head that lives, and succeeds the head that was wounded in Chapter xiii. of the Revelations: In conjunction with that head, it makes war forty-two months, which expired about A. D. 1650, and neither the Papal power nor the French monarchy have since that period, made war successfully, notwithstanding Charles II. and James II. of England, favoured the Papists and Jesuits with all their power and credit. England, from the time of Oliver Cromwell, to the American war, a period of 125 years, balanced all the powers of Europe, in whatsoever scale she cast her weight, and acted with vigour and energy, that scale preponderated.

But, to return. In Chapter ix. of Daniel, the Hebrew word *Sboim*, is six times used. Verse 2. *Sboim sue*, translated *seventy years*. The word *sboim*, undoubtedly means seventy here. Verse 24, *sboim, sboim*, translated *seventy weeks*;—which of the words stands for *seventy* and which for *weeks*? The Hebrew Bible I have, has no points or vowels; and it is generally agreed, that they were not originally in use. I venture to say, that the translation should have been *seventies seventies*, or according to the Hebrew idiom *many seventies*, which gives us a measure for the Hebrew nation and her desolations. Verse 25, *sboim sboe*, translated seven weeks, which I should render *seventies, seven*. *Ujsboim sim usnim*, translated, and sixty-two weeks, which I should render, and the *seventies*, or, and of the *seventies*, sixty and two, and then the verse would read,—Know therefore and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and build Jerusalem again, unto Messiah the Prince, there shall be *seventies, seven*; and of the *seventies*, three-score and two, the street shall be built again, and the wall, even in troublous times. Verse 26. *Ushri esboim sim usnim*, translated, and “after the sixty-two weeks,” which I should render, and after the *seventies*, three score and two;

which does not give the precise time of the Messiah's death; but the two precise ideas meant to be conveyed, are, how long from a certain epoch it should be to the birth of the Messiah, and how long it should be from the same epoch to that power, which was to cut off the Messiah, and to destroy finally the Jewish nation.

Verse 27. *Sbuo ahd, whzi hebio*, translated, "for one week, and in the middle of the week," which I should render one week, and half the week, the verse would then read:—And he shall confirm the covenant with many, one week; and half the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease. This week consisted of seventy years, that is from Christ's birth to his death, and from the passion the Jewish nation had half a week, or thirty-five years; but the sacrifice had been done away by the death of Christ.

We have therefore, in this prophecy, several important matters.

First. A certain measure of seventy years for the Jewish nation and their desolations.

Second. From a certain epoch, to the birth of Christ, were to be 490 years.

Third. From the same epoch the Jews were to continue a nation 434 years, tho' subject to various disasters and hardships, till subjugated by the Romans, about 56 years before the birth of Christ.

Fourth. That the words, After the which seventy-three score and two, Messiah shall be cut off, refer us to the power that was to be the Minister of this wickedness, and not to the precise time it should happen.

Fifth. And he shall confirm the covenant with many, one week:—here week signifies seventy years: in the middle of which, Christ was cut off; and the last half of the week, the sacrifice and the oblation ceased; from Christ's birth to the end of the Jewish nation, there is no doubt but the covenant was confirmed with many Jews.

The periods of time marked out and allotted to mankind in the flesh by Divine Providence, are undoubtedly regular and subject to some certain measure; we find that from the law of circumcision given to Abraham, to the birth of Christ, there were according to Stakehouse's chronological tables, 1893 years; the birth of Christ, being placed three or four years too late by the Dyonisian era, the period is evidently 1890 years. Mr. Ferguson has proved, that the birth of Christ is placed too late; but whether three or four years too late is not very evident.

The period therefore from the law of circumcision, to the birth of Christ, is evidently 1890 years, but from the date of the same law, to the Babylonish captivity, the period is 1260 years; from thence to the birth of Christ, 630 years; and we suppose that from the birth of Christ, to the end of the present economy, will be a period of 1890 years; 1260 years of which are allotted to the two witnesses, and 630 years to the six vials.

From the law of circumcision, to Nebuchadnezzar, 1260 years.

From Nebuchadnezzar to Mahomet, 1260 years.

From Mahomet to the end of the present economy 1260 years.

The period previous to Nebuchadnezzar, has no antecedent prophecies respecting it; with him the prophecies of futurity begin, and mark out not only temporal powers that should be afterwards, but also the periods of time.

From Nebuchadnezzar to Christ were 630 years.

From Christ to Mahomet's beginning to make war out of the limits of his own country were 630 years.

From that time to the death of the witnesses, 630 years.

From thence to the end of the 6th vial, 630 years.

These periods are all clearly deducible from prophecy: the three first have been accomplished—the last is indisputably founded in prophecy; for the death of the witnesses is in the middle of the period of the Mahometan power; therefore this power, which is undoubtedly one of the last of the temporal powers, can only have 630 years after that event, and these 630 years are the period allotted to the first six vials.

We have assumed, that instead of Nebuchadnezzar's beginning six hundred and six years before the Christian era to reign, that he began to reign 630 years before that era; that the Jewish measure of 70 years, requires this date: That to place it at 606, makes Cyrus about 40 years old at the death of Nebuchadnezzar, which is an incredible matter; that it contradicts all antient chronology as to the duration of the Persian empire; that the prophecies of Daniel afford us more accurate chronology, than profane histories; that the Jewish measure being 70, if we compute back from the birth of Christ, to the 7th of Artaxerxes, when Ezra received his commission, it must be 490 years, to Cyrus 560 years, and to Nebuchadnezzar, 630 years.

To the Mahometan power with the Caliphs at its head, Daniel assigns a *time*, or 360 years, and from the taking of Jerusalem to Mahmud the Gaznevide, was exactly 360 years.

The power described in the 5th trumpet, is prepared for five months, from the flight of Mahomet from Mecca, 622 to Charlemagne's driving all the Saracens nearly out of Europe, A. D. 772, was exactly five months or 150 years.

The powers described in the 6th trumpet, are prepared for a year, a month, a day, and an hour, or 391 years, and 15 days. These powers undoubtedly succeed the Saracens and Caliphs, therefore these powers must commence to operate about A. D. 997, and must continue to operate to A. D. 1388.

But as at this time we find a very extraordinary power in full operation, killing and destroying all that stand in his way, it seems naturally to carry the prophetic periods to the end of this power, which only requires that we should consider the fifteen days as so many years.

THE BIRTH OF JESUS CHRIST.

		1
<i>Ephesus.</i> —A Church so genuine and pure as not to be distinguished into visible and invisible, and lasted from the first establishment of Christianity to the division of the Roman empire,	From	1
	To	392
<i>Smyrna.</i> —After the division of the Roman empire, the eastern Church is distinguished, and may be denominated by visible and invisible: Smyrna designates the last and lasted to the full period of 1260 years,	From	392
	To	1260
<i>Pergamos.</i> —A visible church and corrupt ecclesiastical hierarchy at the same time with Smyrna,	From	392
	To	1453
<i>Thyatira.</i> —This church commences in the west after the division of the Roman empire, and continues till the Pope becomes a single head in church and state,	From	392
	To	1099
<i>Sardis.</i> —This church by its characteristics must fall within the Mahometan jurisdiction,	From	630
	To	1890
<i>Philadelphia.</i> —This church is similar to that of Smyrna, a pure invisible church, and commences when the Pope became a single head in church and state,	From	1099
	To	1890

- Laodicea.*—This church, in some sense similar to that of Pergamos, is more wicked and intolerant Papal Rome, From 1099
To 1890
- The church of Ephesus embraces all Imperial Rome, and furnishes the first living host.
- The churches of Smyrna and Pergamos, belong to the eastern empire, and furnish the second living host.
- The church of Sardis is under the Mahometan jurisdiction, and furnishes the third living host.
- The churches of Thyatira, Philadelphia, and Laodicea, embrace the western world after the division of Imperial Rome, and furnish the fourth living host.
- Rev. iv. 2.—A throne is set in heaven—here commences an exhibition of the Millenium: this throne may not be set till 70 years after Christ's second advent; if we assume Daniel's computation it will be 1960
- The four living hosts, and the twenty four elders and every creature join in worship to God and the Lamb, 1960
- Rev. vi. 2.—I saw, and behold a white horse: an exhibition of Christ's kingdom commencing with his birth, 1
- Rev. iii. 4. And there went out another horse that was red: as the white horse is symbolical of a long continued empire, it is more natural to explain these horses as intending empires, and not individual emperors. The red horse designates the Mahometan power, and continues From 622
To 1890
- Rev. iii. And I beheld, and lo, a black horse. This designates the eastern empire, From 392
To 1453
- I looked, and behold, a pale horse. This designates the western empire, more especially the papal power, and the final destruction of the same, From 392
To 1890
- I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God. This is a vision of the Jewish martyrs, and may be placed at or a little after the resurrection of Christ, 33

The sixth seal has reference to the destruction of the Jewish nation by Vespasian,	70
Rev. vii. The vision of the sealing of the 144,000 faithful Jews happens immediately after the Jewish nation is destroyed,	70
But they do not make their appearance till	1960
John beholds a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations ; out of the <i>pan ktisma</i> , or every creature, who are exhibited at the commencement of the Millenium, this present great number is formed; and they refer us to the close of the Millenium, after the mediatorial kingdom has ended,	3150
The seventh seal embraces that period of time commencing with Christ's birth, and ending with his second advent in glory, after which the book has no seals,	
From	1
To	1890
The first trumpet exhibits the persecution of Christianity ; as this began with Herod the great, we may suppose this trumpet embraces the period of time from the birth of Christ to Constantine,	
From	1
To	322
The second trumpet introduces Constantine the great, and intimates the unhappy consequences that will result from his ecclesiastical arrangements,	322
The third trumpet exhibits the bishop of Rome, at the head of the corrupt clergy, at the council of Nice,	325
The fourth trumpet designates the end of the western Roman emperors, the church also is represented as being nearly extinguished,	476
The fifth trumpet points us to the rise of Mahomet,	622
The sixth trumpet exhibits four powers in succession; and for varying here from the explanation given of these powers, I refer to the Appendix.	
1st. Angel. Mahmud, the Gaznevide, he reigned	
From	997
To	1028
2d. Angel. The Seljukian Dynasty, Togrulbeg, Alp, Arslan, Malekshah,	
From	1038
To	1092

3d. Angel. Zingis Khan, first emperor of the Moguls and Tartars,	From	1206
	To	1227
4th. Angel. Tamerlane,	From	1370
	To	1405

To these four angels a period is allotted of an hour, a day, a month and a year; if we allow the term *hour*, to be doubly prophetic, the period will be 406 years, and

From	997
To	1403

John is ordered not to measure the court without the temple; it is to be trodden under foot 42 months by the Gentiles. We suppose this has reference to the full period of the Mahometan delusion. The Holy City intends Jerusalem, so that we may commence this period when this power took that city,

Ends	637
	1897

The two witnesses we suppose intend the first two living creatures or hosts, designated by the churches of Ephesus and Smyrna, who lived under two different empires or governments; the beginning and ending of their prophecy is not clearly marked: Christ himself was a distinguished witness; we therefore commence with his birth; and as this is John's farewell address to the Grecian churches, he informs them how long it will be before their deliverance into the Millenium state, under the terms, *three days and an half*, which is just half the period of the seven trumpets or 630 years; that is,

From	1260
To	1890

John sees a woman, clothed, with the Sun and Moon under her feet; she flies into the wilderness where she is fed 1260 days. John having finished his history of the Grecian churches, begins with the birth of Christ, and naturally leads us to the western church, which commenced sometime after the division of imperial Rome, and after the end of the western Roman emperors; for when these cease to be, the church also seems to be extinguished,

From	630
To	1890

A second woman appears with the wings of a great Eagle. This woman we suppose designates the Millenium church, she immediately succeeds the

- Another woman, and is nourished from the face of the serpent 1260 days, From 1890
To 3150
- John sees a beast rise up out of the sea. This beast commences with the division of the Roman empire ; the beast seems to be a general one with several heads : the first head commenced, 392
Ended, 476
- One of the ecclesiastical heads we suppose rose about 630
Ended, 1099
- The other ecclesiastical head commenced 1099
How long it will continue is not certain, not exceeding 1890
- The image of the beast designates Charlemagne, 800
- The rising up of the ten horns is after the first ecclesiastical head and before the second, according to Daniel ; for out of the ten, or after the ten horns, another horn arises, which we suppose designates the Pope as a single head, or the second horn of the beast like a lamb.
- When John says, five are fallen, it means great empires ; it does not comport with Daniel or John, to suppose that mere changes in one head are hereby intended. The five were the Babylonish, Medo, Persian and Macedonian empires, Rome popular, and Rome imperial ; one is—that is, the eastern empire ; one is not yet come, that is the Mahometan power, and the beast which thou sawest. The first head of this beast or the western Roman emperors, are of little consequence, the main and most important head aimed at was the ecclesiastical, and most probably the Pope, as a single head, which in order of time was the eighth.
- Rev. xiv. In this chapter John has a variety of visions, some of which he had seen before. They are an anticipation of those things which are to happen after the completion of the sixth vial.
- First. John sees a Lamb stand on the mount Zion, and with him 144,000, having his fathers name written in their foreheads. These are faithful Jews introduced into the Millenium after 1890
The *pan ktisma*, or, every creature, accompany these.
- Second. An angel flies in the midst of Heaven hav-

- ing the everlasting gospel to preach, declaring that the hour of his judgment is come. 1890
- Third. Another angel proclaims, that Babylon the great city is fallen ; for all nations have drank of the wine of the wrath of her fornication. 1890
- Fourth. A third angel follows them, saying with a loud voice, if any man worship the beast or his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand, even he shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God.
- The objects of punishment and the punishment itself are here marked out. 1890
- Fifth. John hears a voice from Heaven, saying unto him, write, blessed are the dead who die in the Lord.
- This has reference to the resurrection. 1890
- Sixth. John sees a white cloud, and upon the cloud one sitting like the son of man, having upon his head a golden crown, and in his hand a sharp sickle : and another angel came out of the temple and cried with a loud voice to him that sat upon the cloud, thrust in thy sickle and reap, for the time for thee to reap is come, for the harvest of the earth is ripe ; and he thrust in his sickle.
- The work of this angel seems to be, to separate the good from the bad, and to bind the tares in bundles that they may be burnt. 1890
- Seventh. Another angel came out from the temple in Heaven, he also having a sharp sickle ; and another angel came out from the tabernacle, having power over fire, and he cried with a loud voice to him that had the sickle, saying, thrust in thy sharp sickle, and gather the clusters of the vine of the earth, for her grapes are fully ripe ; and he thrust in his sickle, &c. This designates the end of all flesh, which will take place some short time after. 1890
- Eighth.—Before the seven angels, having the seven last plagues, in which is filled up the wrath of God, begin to operate, John sees the triumphant Christians, who sing the song of Moses, the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb. 1890
- I have placed the above visions severally, at 1890, though they may not all fall in under seventy years from that time.

The characteristic descriptions in the vials, being many of them general, do not precisely mark the beginning or the ending of the vials: some may mark out a particular event; others may be general characteristics, embracing the whole period of a vial.

The first vial commences at the death of the witnesses, and lasts - - - From 1260
To 1365

In this period of 105 years, we find that Othman rises up, who is a severe scourge to the Christians.

The second vial seems only to mark out one distinguished event, which is the destruction of the eastern empire, and the taking of Constantinople, - - - From 1365
To 1470

The third vial contains general characteristics, and operates upon Papal Rome and her clergy: this designates the effects of the reformation, From 1470
To 1575.

The fourth vial has also general characteristics, which designate the tyranny and cruelty of temporal powers, - - - From 1575
To 1680

The fifth vial is poured out upon the seat of the beast: We suppose Rome is eminently the seat of the beast, and the effects of banishing the Jesuits answers to the description, - - - From 1680
To 1780

The sixth vial is poured out upon the great river Euphrates:—Here are a combination of events,—general deception, and the whole world in motion, - - - From 1785
To 1890

The seventh vial is poured out into the air, which vial, we suppose, indicates a new era: After the pouring out of this vial, many signal judgments are to befall mankind; and previous to the destruction of Great Babylon, or all mankind in the flesh; as they fall within the period of the Millennium, and we have no sure data to calculate upon, that they will be executed instantaneously, we may assume that they will commence - - - 1890
And end 1960

Which last seems to be Daniel's ultimate period for
the Millenium's commencing in glory.

The Millenium, we suppose, commences	-	1890
	And ends,	3150
The next period commences,	-	3150
	And never ends.	

It is not properly a period, because this word implies, not
only beginning, but ending.

In computation it is necessary to mark out periods pre-
cisely, but it is necessary to remark, that chronology is ex-
tremely confused, especially from Nebuchadnezzar to the end
of the Persian empire; and the common year of our Lord,
1890, may vary several years from the true prophetic year
1890.

A P P E N D I X.

THE following extracts ought to have had a place in the historic facts relative to the Mahometan power; but they did not impress my mind with the weight that they do at present, till the book was nearly printed; They are adduced to show, that the two last angels of the four, under the sixth trumpet, are most probably Zingis Khan and Tamerlane: In order that the reader may be enabled to judge for himself, a sketch of the history of these two mighty conquerors are here introduced,

Zingis Khan,
first Emperor of the
Moguls and Tar-
tars. A. D. 1206.
1227.

From the spacious highlands, between China, Siberia, and the Caspian sea, the tide of emigration and war has been repeatedly poured. These ancient seats of the Huns and Turks, were occupied in the twelfth century, by many pastoral tribes of the same descent, and similar manners, which were united and led to conquest, by the formidable Zingis. In a state of society, in which policy is rude, and valour is universal, the ascendant of one man must be founded on his power and resolution to punish his enemies, and to reward his friends. Zingis pledged himself to divide with his followers, the sweets and the bitters of life. After his first victory, he placed seventy chaldrons on the fire, and seventy of the most guilty rebels were cast headlong into the boiling water.

The sphere of his attraction was continually enlarged, by the ruin of the proud and the submission of the prudent; and the boldest chieftains might tremble, when they beheld, enchased in silver, the skull of the Khan of the Karaites, who under the name of Prester John, had corresponded with the Roman Pontiff and the Princes of Europe. It was from a naked prophet, who could ascend to Heaven on a white horse,

that he accepted the title of Zingis, *the most great*, and a divine right to the conquest and dominion of the earth. In a general diet, he was proclaimed Great Khan, or Emperor of the Moguls and Tartars. The religion of Zingis attracts our notice. The Catholic Inquisitors of Europe, who defended nonsense by cruelty, might have been confounded by the example of a barbarian, who anticipated the lessons of philosophy, and established by his laws, a system of pure Theism and perfect toleration. His first and only article of faith was, the existence of one God, the author of all good, who fills by his presence, the Heavens and the earth, which he has created by his power. The Tartars and the Moguls were addicted to the idols of their peculiar tribes, and many of them had been converted by the foreign missionaries, to the religion of Moses, of Mahomet, and of Christ. These various systems, in freedom and concord, were taught and practised within the precincts of the same camp, and the Bonze, the Imam, the Rabbi, the Nestorian, and the Latin Priest, enjoyed the same honourable exemption from servitude and from tribute.

The arms of Zingis and his Lieutenants successively reduced the hords of the desert, between the wall of China and the Volga; and the Mogul Emperor became the master of the pastoral world, the

Lord of many millions of shepherds and soldiers, who felt their united strength, and were impatient to rush on the mild and wealthy climates of the south. The Court of Pekin was astonished by an embassy from its former vassal, who in the tone of king of nations, exacted the tribute of obedience which he had solemnly paid, and who affected to treat the *Son of Heaven* as the most contemptible of mankind. An haughty answer disguised their secret apprehensions; and their fears were soon justified by the march of innumerable squadrons, who pierced on all sides, the feeble rampart of the great wall. Ninety cities were stormed or starved by the Moguls; ten only escaped. His invasion was supported by the revolt of 100,000 Khitans, who guarded the frontier. His retreat was purchased at an immense price, and a Princess of China.

In his second expedition, he compelled the Chinese Emperor to retire beyond the yellow river. The siege of Pekin was long and laborious: The inhabitants were reduced by famine, to decimate and devour their fellow-citizens: When their ammunition was spent, they discharged ingots of gold and silver from their engines; but the Moguls introduced a mine to the center of the capitol; and the conflagration of the palace

burnt above thirty days. China was desolated by Tartar war and domestic faction, and the five northern provinces were added to the Empire of Zingis.

Of Carizme Transoxiana, and Persia, A. D. 1218. 1224.

In the west, he touched the dominions of Mohammed Sultan of Carizme, who reigned from the Persian gulph to the borders of India and Turkutan. Zingis wished to establish a friendly and commercial intercourse with the most powerful of the Moslem Princes.

A rash and inhuman deed provoked and justified the Tartar arms, in the invasion of the Southern Asia. A caravan of three Ambassadors, and one hundred and fifty merchants, was arrested and murdered at Otrar, by the command of Mahommed; nor was it till after a demand and a denial of justice, till he had prayed and fasted three nights on a mountain, that the Mogul Emperor appealed to the judgment of God and the sword. Our European battles, says a philosophic writer, are petty skirmishes, if compared to the numbers that have fought and fallen in the fields of Asia, 700,000 Moguls and Tartars are said to have marched under the standard of Zingis and his four sons. In the vast plains that extend to the north of the Sihon or Jaxartes, they were encountered by 400,000 soldiers of the Sultan, and in the first battle, which was suspended by the night, 160,000 Carizmians were slain. Mahommed was astonished by the number and valour of his enemies. He withdrew from the scene of danger, and distributed his troops in the frontier towns; trusting that the barbarians, invincible in the field, would be repelled by the length and difficulty of so many regular sieges; but the prudence of Zingis had formed a body of Chinese engineers, skilled in the mechanic arts, informed, perhaps, of the secret of gunpowder, and capable, under his discipline, of attacking a foreign country with more vigour and success, than they had defended their own. The Persian historians will relate the sieges and reduction of Otrar, Cogende, Bochara, Samarcand, Carizme, Herat, Merou, Nisabour, Balch, and Candahar; and the conquest of the rich and populous countries of Transoxiana, Carizme, and Chorasan. The destructive hostilities of Attila, and the Huns, have long since been elucidated by the example of Zingis, and the Moguls: From the Caspian to the Indus, they ruined a tract of many hundred miles, which was adorned with the habitations and labours of mankind, and that five centuries have not been sufficient to repair the ravages of

four years. Incumbered with the spoils of Asia, he slowly measured back his footsteps, betrayed some pity for the misery of the vanquished, and declared his intention of rebuilding the cities which had been swept away by the tempest of his arms. After he had repassed the Oxus and Jaxartes, he was joined by two Generals, whom he had detached with 30,000 horse, to subdue the western provinces of Persia. They had trampled on the nations which opposed their passage, penetrated through the gates of Derbend, traversed the Volga, and the desert; and accomplished the circuit of the Caspian Sea, by an expedition which had never been attempted, and has never been repeated. The return of Zingis was signalized by the overthrow of the rebellious or independent kingdoms of Tartary, and he died in the fullness of years and glory, A. D. 1227, with his last breath exhorting his sons to achieve the conquest of the Chinese Empire:

*Conquest of the
Moguls under the
successors of Zingis,
A. D. 1227. 1295.*

In the sixty-eight years of the four first successors of Zingis, the Mogul subdued almost all Asia, and a large portion of Europe: A sketch of the progress of their arms will be exhibited, first, in the east; second, in the south; third, in the west; and fourth, in the north.

*Of the Northern
Empire of China,
A. D. 1234.*

Before the invasion of Zingis, China was divided into two Empires. The Northern Empire, which had been dismembered by Zingis, was finally subdued seven years after his death. After the loss of Pekin, the Emperor had fixed his residence at Kaifong, a city many leagues in circumference, and which contained, according to the Chinese annals, 1,400,000 families: He escaped from them only with seven horsemen, and made his last stand in a third capital, till at length the hopeless monarch, protesting his innocence, and accusing his fortune, ascended a funeral pile, and ordered his attendants to set fire to it, as soon as he had stabbed himself. The Chinese seldom dared to meet their victors in the field, and their passive courage presented an endless succession of cities to storm, and of millions to slaughter. In the attack and defence of places, the engines of antiquity, and the Greek fire were alternately employed: The use of gun-powder in canon and bombs, appears as a familiar practice; and the sieges were conducted by the Mahometans and the Franks, who had been liberally invited into the service of the Emperor Cublai. After passing the great river, the troops and artillery were conveyed along a series of canals, till

they invested the royal residence of Hamcheu, in the country of silk, the most delicious climate in China. The Emperor, a defenceless youth, surrendered his person and sceptre: yet the war (now stiled a rebellion) was still maintained in the southern provinces, from Hamcheu to Canton; and the obstinate remnant of independence and hostility, was transported from the land to the sea; but when the fleet of Song was surrounded and oppressed by a superior armament, their last champion leaped into the waves with his infant Emperor in his arms. "It is more glorious, he cried, to die a Prince than to live a slave." An hundred thousand Chinese imitated his example, and the whole empire, from Tonkin to the great wall, submitted to the dominion of Cublai. His boundless ambition aspired at the conquest of Japan: His fleet was twice shipwrecked, and the lives of 100,000 Moguls and Chinese were sacrificed in the fruitless expedition. But the circumjacent kingdoms, Corea, Tonkin, Cochinchina, Pegu, Bengal, and Thibet, were reduced in different degrees of tribute and obedience, by the effort or terror of his arms. He explored the Indian Ocean with a fleet of a thousand ships: They sailed in sixty-eight days, most probably to the Island of Borneo, under the equinoctial line.

The conquest of Hindostan by the Moguls, was reserved in a later period for the House of Timour; but that of Iran or Persia, was achieved by Holagou Khan, the grandson of Zingis, the brother and the lieutenant of the two successive Emperors, Mangou and Cublai. I shall not enumerate the crowd of Sultans, Emirs, and Attabecks, whom he trampled in the dust.

The extinction of the Abasides cannot be indifferent to the spectators of their greatness and decline. Since the fall of their Seljukian tyrants, the Caliphs had recovered their lawful dominion of Bagdad, and the Arabian Irak; but this city was distracted by theological factions, and the Commander of the Faithful was lost in a Haram of seven hundred concubines. The invasion of the Moguls, he encountered, with feeble arms and haughty embassies. "On the divine decree," said the Caliph Mostasssem, "is founded the throne of the sons of Abbas; and their foes shall surely be destroyed in this world and in the next. Who is this Holagou, that dares to rise against him? If he be desirous of peace, let him instantly depart from the sacred territory; and perhaps he may obtain from our clemency the pardon of his fault." But when Holagou touched the phantom, it instantly vanished: After a siege of two

months, Bagdad was stormed and sacked by the Moguls, and their savage commander pronounced the death of the Caliph Motassem, the last of the temporal successors of Mahomet, whose kinsmen of the race of Abbas had reigned in Asia above 500 years. Whatever might be the designs of the conqueror, the holy cities of Mecca and Medina were protected by the Arabian desert; but the Moguls spread beyond the Tigris and Euphrates, and threatened to join the Franks in the deliverance of Jerusalem. Egypt was lost, had she been defended only by her feeble offspring; but the Mamalukes had breathed in their infancy the keenness of the Scythian air; equal in valour, superior in discipline, they met the Moguls in many a well fought field, and drove back the stream of hostility to the eastward of the Euphrates. But it overflowed with resistless violence the kingdoms of Armenia and Anatolia, of which the former was possessed by the Christians, and the latter by the Turks. The Sultans of Iconium opposed some resistance to the Mogul arms, till Azzadin sought a refuge among the Greeks at Constantinople; and his feeble successors, the last of the Seljukian Dynasty, were finally extirpated by the Khans of Persia.

No sooner had Oestai subverted the Northern Empire of China, than he resolved to visit with his arms, the most remote countries of the west. Fifteen hundred thousand Moguls and Tartars were inscribed on the military roll: Of these the Great Khan selected a third, which he entrusted to the command of his nephew Batou, the son of Tuli, who reigned over his father's conquests to the north of the Caspian Sea. After a festival of forty days, Batou set forward on this great expedition, and such was the speed and ardour of his innumerable squadrons, that in less than six years, they had measured a line of ninety degrees of longitude, a fourth part of the circumference of the globe. The great rivers of Asia and Europe, the Volga and Kama, the Don and Borysthenes, the Vistula, and Danube, they either swam with their horses, or traversed in leather boats, which followed the camp. By the first victories of Batou, the remains of national freedom were eradicated in the immense plains of Turkestan and Kipzak. In his rapid progress, he over-ran the kingdoms as they are now stiled of Astracan and Cazan; and the troops which he dispatched towards Mount Caucasus, explored the most secret recesses of Georgia and Circassia. The civil discord of the Great Dukes of Russia, betrayed their country to the Tar-

Of Kipzak, Russia, Poland, and Hungary, A. D. 1235. 1245.

tars. They spread from Livonia to the Black Sea, and both Moscow and Kiow, the modern and the ancient capitals, were reduced to ashes. From the permanent conquest of Russia, they made a deadly, though transient inroad into the heart of Poland, and as far as the borders of Germany. The cities of Lublin and Cracow were obliterated: They approached the shores of the Baltic; and in the battle of Lignitz, they defeated the Dukes of Silesia, the Polish Palatines, and the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, and filled nine sacks with the right ears of the slain. From Lignitz, the extreme point of their western march, they turned aside to the invasion of Hungary, and the presence or spirit of Batou, inspired the host of 500,000 men. The Carpathian Hills could not be long impervious to their divided columns: The whole country north of the Danube was lost in a day, and depopulated in a summer; and the ruins of the cities and churches were overspread with the bones of the natives.

In the winter, the Tartars passed the Danube on the ice, and advanced to Strigonium, a German colony, and the metropolis of the kingdom. Thirty engines were planted against the walls: The ditches were filled with sacks of earth and dead bodies; and after a promiscuous slaughter, three hundred noble matrons were slain in the presence of the Khan. Of all the cities and fortresses of Hungary, three alone survived the Tartar invasion. The Latin world was darkened by this savage cloud of hostility: A Russian fugitive carried the alarm to Sweden, and the remote nations of the Baltic, and the ocean trembled at the approach of the Tartars, whom their fear and ignorance were inclined to separate from the human species. The Roman Pontiff attempted to convert these invincible Pagans by a mission of Franciscan and Dominican Friars, but he was astonished by the reply of the Khan: That the sons of God and of Zingis were invested with a divine power to subdue or extirpate the nations; and that the Pope would be involved in the universal destruction, unless he visited in person, and as a suppliant, the royal hord. The Emperor Frederick II. embraced a more generous mode of defence, and his letters to the Kings of France and England, and the Princes of Germany, represented the common danger, and urged them to arm their vassals in this just and rational crusade. The Tartars themselves were awed by the fame and valour of the Franks. The town of Newstadt, in Austria, was bravely defended, and on the appearance of a German army the siege was raised. After wasting the adjacent kingdoms of Servia, Bosnia, and Bulgaria, Batou retreated from the

Danube to the Volga, to enjoy the rewards of victory in the palace of Serai, which started at his command from the midst of the desert. Even the poor and frozen regions of the north, attracted the arms of the Moguls; Sheibani Khan, the brother of the great Batou, led a hord of 15,000 families into the wilds of Siberia, and his descendants reigned at Tobolskoy, above three centuries, till the Russian conquest.

While China, Syria, and Poland, were invaded at the same time by the Moguls and Tartars, the authors of the mighty mischief were content with the knowledge and declaration, that their word was the sword of death. Like the first Caliphs, the first successors of Zingis seldom appeared in person at the head of their victorious armies. On the Banks of the Onon and Seilinga, the royal or golden hord exhibited the contrast of simplicity and greatness, of roasted sheep and mares milk, which composed their banquets, and of a distribution in one day, of five hundred waggons of gold and silver.

The Ambassadors and Princes of Europe and Asia, were compelled to undertake this distant and laborious pilgrimage; and the life and reign of the Great Dukes of Russia, the Kings of Georgia and Armenia, the Sultans of Iconium, and the Emirs of Persia, were decided by the frown or smile of the Great Khan: Wealth produced a change of manners: Their superfluous treasures were cast into fountains, and basons, and statues of massy silver; and the artists of China and Paris vied with each other in the service of the Great Khan.

In this shipwreck of nations, some surprize may be excited by the escape of the Roman Empire.—The voluntary retreat of Batou from the Danube, was insulted by the vain triumphs of the Franks and Greeks; and in a second expedition death surprised him in full march to attack the capital of the Cæsars.

The decline of the Moguls, A. D. 1304, gave free scope to the rise and progress of the Ottoman Empire.

The conquest and monarchy of the world, was the first object of the ambition of Tamerlane. To live in the memory and esteem of future ages, was the second wish of his magnanimous spirit: All the civil and military transactions of his reign were diligently recorded in the journals of his secretaries: The authentic narrative was revised by the persons best informed of each particular transaction; and it is believed in the empire and family of Tamerlane, that the monarch himself, composed the Commentaries of his Life and the Institutions of his Government.

In the eyes of the Moguls, who held the indefeasible succession of the House of Zingis, he was doubtless a rebel subject; yet in the ascent of some generations, the branch of Tamerlane is confounded, at least by the females, with the imperial stem. His birth was cast on one of those periods of anarchy, which announce the fall of the Asiatic Dynasties, and open a new field to adventurous ambition. From the twelfth year of his age, Tamerlane had entered the field of action: In the twenty-fifth, he stood the deliverer of his country: At the age of thirty-four, he was invested with imperial command; and while the Emir Tamerlane, reigned over Zagatai and the east, a nominal Rhan served as a private officer in the armies of his servant. A fertile kingdom, five hundred miles in length, and in breadth, might have satisfied the ambition of a subject; but Tamerlane aspired to the dominion of the world; and before his death, Zagatai was one of the twenty-seven crowns which he had placed on his head. Without expatiating on the victories of thirty-five campaigns, we may briefly represent his conquests of Persia, Tartary, India, and his Ottoman war.

As soon as he had re-united to the patrimony of Zagatai, the independent countries of Carizme and Candahar, he turned his eyes towards Persia; from the Oxus to the Tigris, that extensive country was left without a lawful sovereign, since the death of Aboufaid, the last of the descendants of the great Holacou. Peace and justice had been banished from the land above forty years, and the Mogul invader, might seem to listen to the cries of an oppressed people: Their petty tyrants might have opposed him with confederate arms: They separately stood and successively fell: Ibrahim, Prince of Shirwin, or Albania, kissed the footstool of the imperial throne. Shah Mansour, Prince of Fars, or proper Persia, was one of the least powerful, but most dangerous of his enemies, in a battle, under the walls of Shinar, he broke, with three or four thousand soldiers, the main body of 30,000 horse, where the emperor fought in person: No more than fourteen or fifteen persons remained near the standard of Tamerlane: He stood firm as a rock, and received on his helmet two weighty strokes of a sycetar: The Moguls rallied: The head of Mansour was thrown at his feet, and he declared his esteem of the valour of a foe, by extirpating all the males of so intrepid a race. From Shinar his troops advanced to the Persian gulph, and the richness and weakness of Ormuz were displayed in an annual gift of 600,000 dinars of gold. Bagdad was no longer the city of peace, the seat of the Caliphs.

The whole course of the Tigris and Euphrates, from the mouth to the sources of those rivers, was reduced to his obedience: He entered Edeffa, and the Turkmans of the black sheep were chastised for the sacrilegious pillage of a caravan of Mecca. In the mountains of Georgia, the native Christians still braved the laws and the sword of Mahomet: By three expeditions, he obtained the merit of a holy war, and the Prince of Teflis became his profelyte and friend.

Of Turkestan. A just relation might be urged for the invasion of Turkestan or the eastern Tartary. The dignity of Tamerlane could not endure the impunity of Geres: He passed the Sihoon, subdued the kingdom of the Cashgars, and marched seven times into the heart of their country. His most distant camp was two months journey, or four hundred and eighty leagues to the north east of Samarcand, and his enemies who traversed the river Irtysh, engraved in the forests of Siberia, a rude memorial of the exploits. The conquests of Kipzah or western Tartary, was founded on the double motive of aiding the distressed, and chastising the ungrateful. Toctamish a fugitive Prince, was entertained and protected in his court; the ambassadors of Auruf Khan were dismissed with a haughty denial, and followed on the same day with the armies of Zagatai; and their successes established Toctamish in the Mogul empire of the north; but after a reign of ten years, the new Khan forgot the merit and strength of his benefactor, the base usurper, as he deemed him of the sacred rights of the house of Zingis; through the gates of Derbend, he entered Persia at the head of 90 000 horse, with the innumerable forces of Kipzak Bulgeria, Circassia, he passed the Sihoon, burnt the palaces of Tamerlane, and compelled him, amidst the winter snows, to contend for Samarcand and his life. After a mild expostulation, and a glorious victory, the emperor resolved on revenge; and by the east and the west of the Caspian, and the Volga, he twice invaded Kipzak with such mighty powers, that thirteen miles were measured from his right to his left wing. In a march of five months, they rarely beheld the footsteps of man, and their daily subsistence was often trusted to the fortune of the chace. At length the armies encountered each other; but the treachery of the standard bearer, who in the heat of action, reversed the imperial standard of Kipzak, determined the victory of the Zagatais. Toctamish fled to the Christian Duke of Lithuania, again returned to the Volga, and after fifteen battles with a domestic rival, at last perished in the wilds of Siberia. The pursuit of a flying enemy carried Tamerlane into the tributary provinces of Russia: a duke of the

reigning family was made prisoner amidst the ruins of his Capital; Moscow trembled at the approach of the Tartar, but ambition and prudence called him to the south: The desolate country was exhausted, and the Mogul soldiers were enriched with immense spoil of furs, linen, of Antioch, and of ingots of gold and silver. On the banks of the Don he received an humble deputation from the consuls and merchants of Egypt, Venice, Genoa, Catalonia and Biscay, who occupied the commerce and city of Tana, or Ozoph at the mouth of the river. They offered their gifts, admired his magnificence, and trusted his royal word: but the peaceful visit of the Emir, who explored the state of the magazines, and the harbor was speedily followed by the destructive presence of the Tartars. The city was reduced to ashes; the Moslems were pillaged and dismissed, but all the Christians, who had not fled to their ships, were condemned either to death or slavery: revenge prompted him to burn the city of Serai, as well as Astracher, the monuments of rising civilization, and his vanity proclaimed, that he had penetrated to the region of perpetual day light; a strange phenomenon, which authorised his Mahometan Doctors to dispense with the obligation of evening prayer.

Of Hindostan,
A. D. 1398, 1399.

When Tamerlane first proposed to his Princes and Emirs, the invasion of India or Hindostan, he was answered by a murmur of discontent. "The rivers! and the mountains, and desert! and the soldiers clad in armour! and the Elephants, destroyers of men!" But the displeasure of the emperor was more dreadful than all these terrors; and his superior reason was convinced, that an enterprise of such tremendous aspect was safe and easy in execution. He was informed by his spies of the weakness and anarchy of Hindostan: the Soubahs of the provinces had erected the standard of rebellion, and the perpetual infancy of the sultan Mahood, was despised even in the Haram of Delhi. The Mogul army moved in three grand divisions, and Tamerlane observes, with pleasure, that the ninety two squadrons of a thousand horse, fortunately corresponded with the ninety two names or epithets of the prophet Mahomet, between the Jihoon and the Indus, they crossed one of the ridges of mountains, which are stiled by the Arabian Geographers, the Stony Girdles of the Earth: the Highland robbers were subdued, or extirpated; but great numbers of men and horses perished in the snow; the emperor himself was let down a precipice, on a

portable scaffold ; the ropes were one hundred and fifty cubits in length ; and before he could reach the bottom, this dangerous operation was five times repeated. Tamerlane crossed the Indus at the ordinary passage of Attok, and successively traversed in the footsteps of Alexander ; the Pungab, or five rivers, that fall into the master stream, from Attok to Delhi, the high road measures no more than six hundred miles : but the two conquerors deviated to the south east, and the motive of Tamerlane was to join his grand son, who had achieved the conquest of Moultan ; on the eastern bank of the Hyphalis the Macedonian Hero halted and wept ; the Mogul entered the desert, reduced the fortrefs of Batnir and stood in arms before the gates of Delhi, a great and flourishing city, which had subsisted three centuries under the dominion of the Mahometan kings. The siege of the castle might have been a work of time ; but he tempted, by the appearance of weakness, the Sultan Mahmoud and his vizir to descend into the plain with 10,000 Cuirassers, 40,000 foot guards, and 120 elephants, whose tusks were said to have been armed with sharp and poisoned daggers. Tamerlane used some precautions, but the event taught the Moguls to smile at their own fears ; Tamerlane made his triumphal entry into the capital of Hindostan : the licence of a general pillage and massacre polluted the festival of his victory. He resolved to purify his soldiers in the blood of the Gentoos, who still surpass in the number of ten to one, the Moslems. In this pious design he advanced one hundred miles to the north east of Delhi, passed the Ganges, and fought several battles by land and water, and penetrated to the famous rock of Campole, the statue of the cow, that seems to discharge the mighty river, whose source is far distant amongst the mountains of Thibet. His return was along the skirts of the northern hills ; nor could this rapid campaign of one year, justify the strange foresight of his Emirs, that their children in a warm climate, would degenerate into a race of Hindoos.

It was on the banks of the Ganges

His wars against that he was informed, by his speedy messengers, of the disturbances which had arisen on the confines of Georgia and Anatolia, of the revolt of the Christians, and the ambitious designs of Sultan Bajazet. His vigour of body and mind was not impaired by sixty three years, and innumerable fatigues : And after enjoying some tranquil months in the palace of Samarcand, he proclaimed a new expedition of seven years into the western countries of Asia. To the soldiers who had served in the Indian war, he granted the choice of remaining at home, or following their prince ; but

Sultan Bajazet, A. D. 1400, Sept. 1st.

the troops of all the provinces and kingdoms of Persia were commanded to assemble at Isfahan, and wait the arrival of the imperial standard. It was first directed against the Christians of Georgia, who were strong only in their rocks, their castles, and the winter season: but these obstacles were overcome by the zeal and perseverance of Tamerlane: the rebels submitted to the tribute of the koran; and if both religions boasted of their martyrs, the name is more justly due to the Christian prisoners, who were offered the choice of abjuration or death. On his descent from the hills, the emperor gave audience to the first ambassadors of Bajazet, and opened the hostile correspondence of complaints and menaces, which fermented two years before the final explosion. Tamerlane was impatient of an equal, and Bajazet was ignorant of a superior. The first epistle of the Mogul must have provoked the Turkish Sultan, whose family and nation he affected to despise—"Dost thou not know, that the greatest part of Asia is subject to our arms and our laws? That our invincible forces extend from one sea to the other? That the potentates of the earth form a line before our gate, and that we have compelled fortune herself to watch over the prosperity of our empire? What is the foundation of thy insolence and folly? Thou hast fought some battles in the woods of Anatolia; thou hast obtained some victories over the Christians of Europe; thy sword was blessed by the apostle of God, and thy obedience to the precept of the koran, in waging war against the infidels, is the sole consideration that prevents us from destroying thy country, the frontier of the Moslem world; be wise in time; reflect, repent and avert the thunder of our vengeance, which is yet suspended over thy head; thou art no more than a pismire.

In his replies, Bajazet poured forth the indignation of a soul, which was deeply stung by such unusual contempt. After retorting the basest reproaches on the thief and rebel of the desert, the Ottoman recapitulates his boasted victories in Iran, Touran, and the Indies; and labours to prove that Tamerlane had never triumphed, unless by his own perfidy and the vices of his foes.

"If I fly from thy arms," said he, "may my wives be thrice divorced from my bed; but if thou hast not courage to meet me in the field, may't thou again receive thy wives after they have thrice endured the embraces of a stranger." Any violation by word or deed of the secrecy of the Haram, is an unpardonable offence among the Turkish nations; and the political quarrels of the two monarchs were embittered by private and personal resentment. In his first expedition, Tamer-

lane was satisfied with the siege and destruction of Sebaste, a strong city on the borders of Anatolia; and he revenged the indiscretion of the Ottoman, on a garrison of 4000 Armenians, who were buried alive for the brave and faithful discharge of their duty. As a Mussulman, he seemed to respect the pious occupation of Bajazet, who was still engaged in the blockade of Constantinople; and after this satisfactory lesson, the Mogul conqueror checked his pursuit, and turned aside to the invasion of Syria and Egypt.

The military republic of the Mamalukes still reigned in Egypt and Syria, but the Dynasty of the Turks was overthrown by that of the Circassians; and their favourite Barkok, from a slave and a prisoner, was raised and restored to the throne. In the midst of rebellion and discord, he braved the menaces, corresponded with the enemies, and detained the Ambassadors of the Mogul, who patiently expected his decease, to revenge the crimes of the father on the feeble reign of his son Farage. The Syrian Emirs were assembled at Aleppo, to repel the invasion: They confided in the fame and the discipline of the Mamalukes, in the temper of their swords and lances, of the purest steel of Damascus, and in the strength of their walled cities, and in the populousness of 60,000 villages; and instead of sustaining a siege, they threw open their gates, and arrayed their forces in the plain; but these forces were not cemented by virtue and union; and some powerful Emirs had been seduced to desert, or betray their more loyal companions. Tamerlane's front was covered with a line of Indian elephants, whose turrets were filled with archers and Greek fire: The rapid evolutions of his cavalry completed the dismay and disorder: The Syrian crowds fell back on each other: Many thousands were stifled, or slaughtered in the entrance of the great street: The Moguls entered with the fugitives; and after a short defence the impregnable citadel of Aleppo was surrendered by cowardice or treachery. Among the suppliants, Tamerlane distinguished the Doctors of the Law, whom he invited to the dangerous honour of a personal conference: The Mogul Prince was a zealous Mussulman; but the Persian schools had taught him to revere the memory of Ali and Hosain, and he imbibed a deep prejudice against the Syrians, as the enemies of the sons of the daughter of the apostle of God. To these Doctors he proposed a captious question, which the casuists of Bochara, Samarcand, and Herat, were incapable of resolving: "Who are the true martyrs, those who are slain on my side, or the side of my enemies?" But he was silenced or satisfied by the dexterity of one of the

Cadhis of Aleppo, who replied in the words of Mahomet himself, that the motive, not the ensign constitutes the martyr; and that the Moslems of either party who fight only for the glory of God, may deserve that sacred appellation. The true succession of the Caliphs, was a controversy of a still more delicate nature, and the frankness of a Doctor, too honest for his situation, provoked the Emperor to exclaim, "Ye are as false as those of Damascus: Moawiyah was an usurper, Yezid a tyrant, and Ali alone, is the lawful successor of the prophet." A prudent explanation restored his tranquility, and he passed to a more familiar topic of conversation. "What is your age," said he to the Cadhi? "Fifty years." "It would be the age of my oldest son." You see me here (continued Tamerlane) a poor lame decrepit mortal; yet by my arm has the Almighty been pleased to subdue the kingdoms of Iran, Touran, and the Indies. I am not a man of blood, and God is my witness, that in all my wars, I have never been the aggressor, and that my enemies have always been the authors of their own calamity. During this peaceful conversation, the streets of Aleppo streamed with blood, and re-echoed with the cries of mothers and children, with the shrieks of violated virgins: The rich plunder that was abandoned to his soldiers might stimulate their avarice, but their cruelty was enforced by the peremptory command of producing an adequate number of heads, which according to his custom, were curiously piled in columns and pyramids. His march from Aleppo to Damascus, was marked with destruction: The inhabitants of the last place defended their walls, and Tamerlane consented to raise the siege if they would adorn his retreat with a ransom; but no sooner had he introduced himself into the city, under colour of a truce, than he perfidiously violated the treaty, imposed a contribution of ten millions of gold, and animated his troops to chastise the posterity of those Syrians, who had executed or approved the murder of the grandson of Mahomet. A family which had given honourable burial to the head of Hosein, and a colony of artificers, whom he sent to labour at Samarcand, were alone reserved in the general massacre; and after a period of seven centuries, Damascus was reduced to ashes, because a Tartar was moved by religious zeal to avenge the blood of an Arab. The losses and fatigues of the campaign, obliged Tamerlane to renounce the conquest of Palestine and Egypt; but in his return to the Euphrates, he delivered Aleppo to the flames. On the ruins of Bagdad he erected a pyramid of 90,000 heads; again visited Georgia; encamped on the Banks of the Araxes, and proclaimed his resolu-

tion of marching against the Ottoman Emperor; conscious of the importance of the war, he collected his forces from every province; 800,000 men were enrolled on his military list.

During this division of the Mogul arms, *Invasions of Anato-* Bajazet had two years to collect his forces; *lia, A. D. 1402.* they consisted of 400,000 horse and foot, whose merit and fidelity were of an unequal complexion. We may discriminate the Janizaries, who have been gradually raised to an establishment of 40,000 men, a national cavalry, the Spahis of the modern times: 20,000 Cuirassiers of Europe, clad in black and impenetrable armour; the troops of Anatolia, whose Princes had taken refuge in the camp of Tamerlane, and a colony of Tartars, whom he had driven from Kipzak, and to whom Bajazet had assigned a settlement in the plains of Adrianople. The fearless confidence of the Sultan, urged him to meet his antagonist; and, as if he had chosen that spot for revenge, he displayed his banner, near the ruins of the unfortunate Suvas. In the meanwhile, Tamerlane moved from the Araxes, through the countries of Armenia and Anatolia; firm in his plan of fighting in the heart of the Ottoman kingdom, he avoided their camp, dextrously inclined to the left, occupied Cefarea, traversed the salt desert and the river Halys, and invested Angora; while Bajazet, immobile and ignorant in his posts compared the Tartar swiftness to the crawling of a snail: He returned on the wings of indignation to the relief of Angora; and as both Generals were impatient for action, the plains round that city were the scene of a memorable battle, which has immortalized the glory of Tamerlane, and the shame of Bajazet. After his capture, and the defeat of the Ottoman powers, the kingdom of Anatolia submitted to the conqueror, who planted his standard at Kiathia, and dispersed on all sides the ministers of rapine and destruction. The spoils of the palace at Bourfa, and of the city, were immense, notwithstanding Soliman, the son of Bajazet, had escaped from thence to Europe with the royal treasure. Nice shared the same fate: Smyrna, defended by the courage and zeal of the Rhodian Knights, alone deserved the presence of the Emperor himself: After an obstinate siege the place was taken by storm, and all that breathed was put to the sword; and the heads of the Christian heroes were launched from the engines, on board of two caracks, or great ships of Europe, that rode at anchor in the harbour. Tamerlane in fourteen days, reduced a fortress, which had sustained seven years siege of Bajazet, from the Irtysh and the Volga, to the Persian gulph, and from the Ganges to Damascus and the Archipelago. Asia

was in the hands of Tamerlane : His armies were invincible, his ambition was boundless, and his zeal might aspire to conquer and convert the Christian kingdoms of the west, which already trembled at his name. He touched the utmost verge of the land ; but an insuperable, though narrow sea rolled between the two continents of Asia and Europe ; and the Lord of myriads of horse, was not master of a single galley.

The Sultan of Egypt submitted, and the honours of the prayer and the coin, attested at Cairo, the supremacy of Tamerlane. He in his camp before Smyrna, meditates an invasion of the Chinese Empire, urged thereto by national honour and religious zeal. The torrents which he had shed of Mussulman blood, could be expiated only by an equal destruction of Infidels ; and as he now stood at the gates of Paradise, he might best secure his glorious entrance, by demolishing the idols of China. Before he evacuated Anatolia, he dispatched beyond the Sihoon, a numerous army, or rather colony, of his old and his new subjects, to open the road, to subdue the Pagan Calmucks and Mungals, and to found cities and magazines in the desert ; and by the diligence of his lieutenant, he soon received a perfect map and description of the unknown regions, from the source of the Irifh to the wall of China. During the preparations, the Emperor achieved the final conquest of Georgia, passed on to the Banks of the Araxes, appeased the troubles of Persia, and slowly returned to his capital, after a campaign of four years and nine months.

On the throne of Samarcand, he displayed in a short repose, his magnificence and power, gave audience to the Ambassadors of Egypt, Arabia, and India, Tartary, Russia, and Spain, the last of which presented a suit of tapestry, which eclipsed the pencils of the Oriental Artists. The marriage of six of the Emperor's grandsons was celebrated in the gardens of Canighul, decorated with innumerable tents and pavilions, with the luxury of a great city, and the spoils of a victorious camp. The plain was spread with pyramids of meat, and vases of every liquor, to which thousands were courteously invited : The orders of the state, and the nations of the earth, were marshalled at the royal banquet. The public joy was testified by illuminations and masquerades : The trades of Samarcand passed in review, and every trade was emulous to execute some quaint device ; some marvellous pageant, with the materials of their peculiar art. But he was soon awakened to the cares of the government : The standard was unfurled for the invasion of

His triumph at Samarcand, A. D. 1404.

China : With an innumerable army he marches for Peking, six months journey, for a caravan from Samarcand. He pitched his last camp at Otran, 300 miles distant from Samarcand, where he was summoned by the angel of death, A. D. 1405, April 1, in the 70th year of his age, and thirty-five years after he had ascended the throne of Zagatai. His designs were lost, and his armies were disbanded.

The fame of Tamerlane has pervaded the east and the west : His posterity is still invested with the imperial title. The following observations may induce us to conclude, that the Mogul Emperor was the scourge, and not the benefactor of mankind. If some partial disorders, some local oppressions, were healed by the sword of Tamerlane, the remedy was far more pernicious than the disease. The ground which had been occupied by flourishing cities, was often marked by his abominable trophies, by columns or pyramids of human heads. Perhaps his conscience would have been started, if a philosopher had dared to number the millions of victims whom he had sacrificed to the establishment of peace and order. His most destructive conquests were merely inroads, for he took little or no care to preserve them.

SECTION SIXTH, OR SIXTH TRUMPET.

TO the first exertions of the Mahometans with the Caliphs at their head, Daniel evidently assigns a period of 360 years ; and John, probably having reference to their successful exertions against the Christians in Europe, mentions a period of five months, or 150 years ; for, from the rising up of Mahomet, to Charlemagne's driving nearly all the Saracens out of Europe, was 150 years. The characters of the sixth trumpet, direct our eyes eastward. The river Euphrates, lying to the eastward of Judea : The word here is no doubt used figuratively, and by way of eminence, designates, generally, the inhabitants of Asia. The angels of this trumpet rise up in the east, and they no doubt rise up in succession one after another, because a long period is assigned to them. These powers succeed the Saracens with the Caliphs at their head. From the taking of Jerusalem by the Mahometans, to Mahmud the Gaznevide, was just 360 years ; and here the power of the Saracens ends, that is A. D. 997. Some power ought to commence here, according to the prophecies, different from that of the Saracens. I think we may therefore conclude, that

Mahmud is the first angel. He rises up in the right quarter of the world, and annihilates the power of the Caliphs. The three other angels we suppose are, Togrul Beg, Zingis Khan, and Tamerlane. These powers, and no other, fully satisfy the ideas of an innumerable host, and also of the uncommon destruction of the human race in Asia; for we suppose *the third part* has reference to Asia. The armies were principally to be horsemen, and so were the armies of these astonishing powers. They are prepared for an hour, and a day, and a month, and a year, that is, in prophetic language, 391 years and fifteen days. From Mahmud the Gaznevide, to the death of Bajazet, after which Tamerlane, the fourth angel, did little or nothing against the human race, that is, from A. D. 997, to 1403, are 406 years, exceeding the above period fifteen years; and it is very probable the mystery lays in the term *hour*. One day is used for one year, consisting of 360 natural days; and one prophetic hour is the twenty-fourth part of 360 days, that is fifteen days: Now, if we allow that the term *hour* is used in a doubly prophetic sense, that is, if we allow that the fifteen days intend fifteen years, then 391 years and fifteen years, make the exact period of 406 years. When the historic facts of these four powers are compared with the prophetic descriptions, I think there can be no doubt but the four powers mentioned, must be those pointed out in this sixth trumpet. That the period of time when they ought to appear, must be from about A. D. 1000, to 1400. The effects of their desolating power was to be experienced by the grossest idolaters, more than by Christians; but no happy effect was to be produced thereby, they were to continue to worship idols of gold and silver, and brass, and wood, and stone; and such has been, and continues to be the case with respect to the eastern parts of Asia. By these three, was the third part of men killed, by fire, smoke, and brimstone. If these words, as some suppose, have reference to the pernicious article of gun-powder, many historians do attest, that Zingis Khan made use of this article. The articles of gun-powder and the Greek fire, were familiar to some of these powers. I think it must be apparent, that it is doing manifest injustice to this prophecy, to confine the explanation of it, to the operations of the Turks against the Grecian Christians, and the taking of Constantinople by Mahomet II. because other historic facts alone, seem to satisfy and comport with the extent of the descriptions. The construction now given, carries us considerably beyond the 1260 years allotted to the two witnesses, but the plagues to be brought on mankind by

These four angels, are no part of the plagues contained in the vials, and there is no impropriety in supposing, that the effects of the first vial begin to operate, before the commission of the four angels is fully executed; and they are manifestly designed as a scourge to wicked Christians, and seem apparently to commence with or about the time of Othman, A. D. 1299, With him commences a steady, stable power, interrupted only once, for a short time, by Tamerlane; a power that has always set its face against the Christians, and has made them experience its desolating vengeance. If this power be not included in the four angels, and it seems not to be, for its period has already much exceeded the prophetic period of the four angels: Then we have a good ground for commencing the vials with the Ottoman power, which has been a great scourge to the Christians, and made a conquest of that seat of imperial Rome, where the Emperors first made profession of Christianity.

In the beginning of Chap. viii. it is said, There was silence in Heaven about the space of half an hour; and this half hour may mean seven years and an half; for we find it was about seven years and an half from the passion, when Herod Agrippa began to persecute the church; caused James to be beheaded, and cast Peter into prison. Heaven there, means the present gospel dispensation; and silence designates the unmolested state of the apostles, and the half hour refers to its continuance.

We find the terms *one hour*, used Chap. xvi. 12. but they receive power as kings, one hour with the beast. If the beast here intends, as it most probably does, that which had two horns, the last of which horns came into existence A. D. 1099, then the term *hour* here, will have the same prophetic extent that it seems apparently to have in the other two cases.

It is well known what confusion and bloodshed were occasioned between the Emperors of Germany more especially, and the Popes, on account of the right of investitures. The rights of monarchy were undefined, and the Popes grasped at unlimited power. The rights that the Popes claimed in the dominions of monarchs, created *imperium in imperio*. The power of the monarch and the power of the beast is a joint power within the same jurisdiction. The contests about investitures existed above fifty years, and were brought to a termination A. D. 1116, when Henry V. of Germany, entered Italy with a large army, took the city of Rome, and the Pope also. In the year 1122, the rights of each were more precisely defined, and have remained nearly on the same footing

ever since, in Germany. *The Constitutions of Clarendon*, give us a just idea of the prerogatives claimed by the clergy in England; these were designed to bring the clergy under the jurisdiction of the civil courts.

We may add a few remarks here on Chap. xi. 13. And in the same hour there was a great earthquake, and the tenth part of the city fell, and the names of 7000 men were slain in the earthquake.

The term *hour*, is not used in a prophetic sense, at least there appears to be no ground for giving it such a construction. The slaying of the names of men, is a peculiar phraseology: Eminent and distinguished men in state or church, are men of name and note; and as the term *seven* applies to the several heads of Nebuchadnezzar's great image, the passage, as well as the period of time when the transaction takes place, intimates the final destruction of temporal governments; and the Greek word *dekaton*, may signify something different from a *tenth part*, and most probably has reference to the division of the western empire into ten kingdoms. These are the ultimate parts of the city, which signifies here, not place, but great political associations of men.

The whole passage plainly intends a final end to Nebuchadnezzar's great image, in all its parts, which are seven heads and ten horns.

We have the English word *decade*, which signifies the number or sum of *ten*, and not the tenth part of a thing: We have also the decades of Livy, not signifying the tenth part of Livy. When all the circumstances attending the witnesses, the time of their death, the period of time they remain dead are considered, there can be no doubt, that if the translation had been, *the decade of the city fell*, it would have conveyed the true idea. The ten horns are not the whole of the city, therefore, if one of these should fall, it cannot be said that a tenth part of the city fell. There seems to be a propriety in saying, the names of 7000 were slain, because the idea is not, that men were actually slain, but that the remembrance of seven great empires shall be now utterly extinguished: The great image constituted of them, and on which their several names were written, is now entirely abolished.

We ought to make a farther observation as to the four angels that are let loose. Those who consider them as the four Sultanies of Bagdad, Damascus, Aleppo, and Iconium, united in Othman, have the historic facts against them; for the Sultany of Bagdad has never been united in the Othoman Dynasty, nor can I from the historic facts gather any thing to war-

rant the idea, that those of Damascus and Aleppo were united in the person of Othman. We may therefore make this inference, that as some have commenced the letting loose of the four angels at the rising up of Othman, and have calculated 491 years from that period, for the end of the Ottoman exertions, that it is from A. D. 1299, to A. D. 1790, or from Tog-rul Beg, have nothing that I see in these prophecies to warrant the computation. The Ottoman empire is to continue till the indignation be accomplished.

Perhaps it will be found upon careful comparison, that some of the figurative terms are not so accurately defined as they might have been; yet I think the expositions are generally right; two or three instances occur which only serve to confirm the general expositions I have given. The first of Daniel's four beasts has wings accompanying it; as we find Isaiah, Zechariah and John make wings an appendage of the true Church, we ought to fix to them here the idea of a Church, and they naturally indicate the change in imperial Rome from Pagan to Christian; at the very time of this change the two feet of the great image were formed: Constantine founded Constantinople, which became one of the feet, and the city of Rome was the other.

The second beast has three ribs in the mouth of it—which were the kingdoms of Egypt, Judea, and Syria, or of the Seleucidæ, subdued by the Caliphs, Mahomet's successors. A part of John's description of the red horse, which we suppose to be the same with this beast, is, that they kill one another. Asia has been deluged with Mahometan blood, shed by Mahometans. Daniel's third beast has four wings and four heads. The bishop of Alexandria was at the head of the clergy of Egypt: The bishop of Jerusalem, of those of the kingdom of Judea: The bishops of Antioch and Constantinople had jurisdictions as extensive: The four wings are circumstances attached to the eastern empire, and the four heads intend Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria, which were the heads of great kingdoms.

It appears to me to be evident, that the wings and the feet of Daniel's first beast necessarily refer us to imperial Rome; and the similarity of a lion can be found in no other empire. The beast itself was not this king of animals; but there was something within the limits and jurisdiction of the beast to which this figure aptly applies, which must be Jesus Christ, the lion of the tribe of Judah: this characteristic manifestly belongs to our Saviour and his genuine followers in imperial Rome; the first of the living hosts, it is expressly said, was like a lion, and John in

his first seal describes not Daniel's first beast at all ; but selects the most prominent feature within his jurisdiction ; so that Daniel's first beast and John's first seal are harmonious in their essential parts, and refer us to the same period of time.

With respect to dividing the Revelations into six parts, which does not seem to correspond with the constant adherence to the number *seven*, I can only observe, that I did not perceive one part which upon mature reflection, appears to me to be independent and distinct, and that is the first vision John had of Jesus Christ in the first chapter : There appears to me now to be good reason for making this vision the first part of the Revelations ; and therefore that part which I have denominated as the first includes two parts, consequently the Revelations naturally divide themselves into seven parts, the last part which I have called the sixth, is the seventh, a day of eternal rest.

The passage in Zenophon, which has induced the moderns to allow to Cyrus a reign of seven years only, not meeting with it in season, is the reason why the remark is made upon it here, which, if well founded, establishes the assumption that I have ventured upon, that Cyrus began to reign at least twenty one years sooner than the moderns allow.

Zenophon states, that Cyrus, after taking of Babylon, and having regulated all matters there, prepared for his return to Persia : On his way he arrives in Media, and visits his uncle Cyaxeres, and informs him that he had selected a house and palace for him in Babylon ; that if he should come there he might possess it as his own. Cyrus having made many presents to Cyaxares, the last makes a present of his daughter to Cyrus ; she crowns him : Cyaxares says, I deliver her to you as a wife ; she is my daughter, and your father married the daughter of my father, of whom you are born ; with this child, when you was a boy, and with us, you played as a nurse. She being asked whom she would marry, answered, Cyrus ; then Cyaxeres says, I give by way of dowry all Media, for I have no male offspring. Cyrus answers, indeed, Cyaxares I approve of your daughter, and her descent ; but in this, I shall abide the sentence of my father and mother. He proceeds to Persia, makes a short stay ; returns to Cyaxares, and agreeably to the sentence of his father and mother, marries the daughter of Cyaxares, and proceeds immediately to Babylon, where he regulates the manner of administering the government in the distant provinces that had been subdued.

One year afterwards, Cyrus collects a large army at Babylon, and undertook that expedition, in which, he is said to have subjected all nations to himself, from the entrance into Syria to

the red sea. Afterwards he makes an expedition into Egypt and subdues it; and the limits of his empire were terminated in the east, by the red sea; north by the Euxine; west by Cyprus and Egypt, and south by Ethiopia. Seven months in the year he resided at Babylon; three at Susa, and two at Ecbatana; then follows the passage in question: *outo de tou aionos prokechorekotos, mala de presbutes en o kuros aphikneitai eis perjas to ebdomon epi tees autou arches*: it goes on and says his father and mother had been dead long since: that he offered sacrifices according to the custom of Persia; that being asleep in the royal palace, he saw a dream of this kind; some one seemed to approach him in a form more than human, which said to him, prepare thyself, O Cyrus! for now you are to go to the Gods: Being awaked, he perceived his end at hand; he immediately sacrifices to Jupiter, to the sun, to the gods on the tops of the mountains, a custom of Persia, and makes the following prayer: "O! father Jupiter, thou sun, and all ye gods, accept these sacrifices, with which I put an end to many distinguished actions. I give you thanks, that ye have admonished me in sacrifices and heavenly signs, and also by auguries and various other ways, what were, and what were not to be done. I give you abundant thanks, that I have experienced, your care, and now I beseech you, that ye bestow on my children, my wife, my friends, and my country, felicity; for myself I ask that ye will grant me an end, such as ye have granted the periods of my life to be." He then calls around him his children and his friends, and makes the celebrated dying speech which Zenophon has preserved; in which brotherly love is strongly recommended to Cambyfes and Tanaoxares, his two sons.

Upon the Greek passage I have quoted, Hutchinson makes the following remarks:

To Ebdoman, &c.

Gabrielus ex vetust. exempl. adfert *to Ebdomon eda epi, &c.* nec male. Veteres quidam interpretes cum parum locum hunc acceperint, venterintque adeo *to Ebdomon, septimo anno*, insignes quosdam temporum et annalium scriptores (nominatim torniellum ad An. M. 3494, Petavium de Dr. Temp. l. 10. c. 15. Predeauxium ad An 530) in errorem induxerunt. Hi enim, nostro cyrop, l. 8 auctore citato adfirmant Cyrum anno imperii sui septimo occubuisse. At certe Zenophontem a Petavio saltem attentius lectum esse oportuit, priusquam ad auctoritatem ejus in historia, fidemque imminuendam fuerat aggressus. *To Ebdomon*, Græcis idem est, quod Latinis *septimum*; similiter *to triton*, *to tetarton*, *to pempton*, sonant, tertium quartum

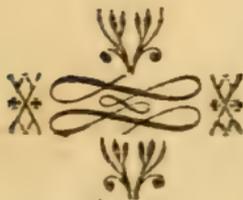
quintum, quare docti illi viri perperam ex hoc loco (neque enim alium, opinor, ullum ad sententiam suam trahere poterunt) Zenophontem septem annos Babylonici regni Cyro tribui, colligerunt.

From this passage alone, says Hutchinson, these learned interpreters collect the idea, that Cyrus reigned only seven years King of Babylon; but he thinks this idea is to be collected from it, that it was the seventh time that Cyrus came to Persia after he began to reign. The true idea however, seems to be this, to consider *aion*, as the antecedent of *to ebdomon*; and we are sure that *aion* was used by the Greeks for a periodical revolution. The most noted among the Greeks was the Olympiad, seven of which make 28 years, and Zenophon's account requires, that we should allow of, at least this period of time to Cyrus after he began to reign; and we may render the passage, In this manner time passed away; or, The period of time being farther advanced, it being now completely seven, since he began to reign, and Cyrus being very old came to Persia.

A sentence in the prayer of Cyrus, confirms the construction; that I have given, which is, *emoi de oion per aiona dedokate, toiauteen kui teleuteen dounai*; but for myself, such as thro' the periods of my life ye have granted, such an end also grant to me.

If the passage before quoted be that which is brought forward to diminish all faith in antient history, as Hutchinson suggests, we may see on what a precarious and slight foundation learned men sometimes establish their opinions: Perhaps this may be applicable to myself, not as a learned man. Whether I have raised opinions upon a slender foundation, is a question that I cheerfully submit to others to determine.

T H E E N D.



E R R A T A.

Page. Line.

- 39 1 **F**OR Shefback, r. *Sheshback*.
- 58 9 from bottom, for driven, read *diverse*.
- 62 14 from top, for Zerxes, r. *Xerxes*.
- 66 13 from top, for r, r. *or*.
- 83 18 from top, after *ambassadors*, add, to *Antiochus*.
- 100 14 from bottom, for motions, r. *motives*.
- 108 13 from bottom, for Pharmacis, r. *Pharnaces*.
- 120 21 from top, for Lacedemor, r. *Lacedemon*.
for Boetia, r. *Boetia*.
- 121 14 from top, for flight, r. *flight*.
- 127 9 from bottom, for Sinatruices, read *Sinatruces*.
- 122 8 from top for Mahaus, r. *Machaus*.
- 132 8 from top, for 240,000l. r. 2,400,000l. *sterling*.
16 from bottom, for Etiphon, r. *Ctesiphon*.
- 181 5 from top, for slayed, r. *slayed*.
- 185 18 from top, for Nile, r. *Tigris*.
- 186 11 from bottom, for Dehli, r. *Delhi*.
10 from bottom, for Gurarat, r. *Guzarat*.
- 190 10 from bottom, for Sikon, r. *Sihon*.
- 191 19 from top, for Gelalæon, r. *Gelalæan*.
- 197 8 from bottom, for Langar, r. *Sangar*.
- 199 for Canticazune, r. *Cantacuzene*.
- 209 14 from bottom, for phraza, r. *phranza*.
- 221 22 from top, for Constantinople, r. *Adrianople*.
- 236 4 from top, for or, r. *of*.
- 237 12 from top, for parts, r. *facts*.
- 247 15 from top, for Heraleonas, r. *Heracleonas*.
25 from top, for progeniture, r. *primogeniture*.
30 from top, dele semicolon after deacon.
- 255 15 from top, for distant, r. *distinct*.
- 296 13 from top, for Judea, r. *Juda*.
- 300 4 from top, for four, r. *seven*.
- 309 16 from bottom, r. *Soliman Shah*.
- 312 and 13, r. which by this angel's account carries us to the
end of the mysteries contained in the book sealed with
seven seals.
- 325 18 from top, for six, r. *four*.
- 331 22 from top, for execution, r. *exertion*.
- 377 17 from top, for complicated r. *emphatical*.
- 395 4 from top, for seven, r. *ten*.
- 400 11 from top, for acts, r. *arts*.

E R R A T A.

Page. Line.

- 402 last line, delete, *or*.
 404 11 from top, for used, r. *urged*.
 405 12 from top, for presented, r. *preserved*.
 414 7 from bottom, for *second quantity*, r. *first quantity*.
 425 22 from top, for *I*, r. *he*.
 467 14 from bottom, for whezi, r. uhezi, the same p. 469.
 488 16 for enemies, r. *armies*.
 491 4 for division, r. *diversion*.

