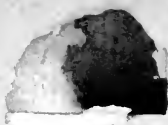


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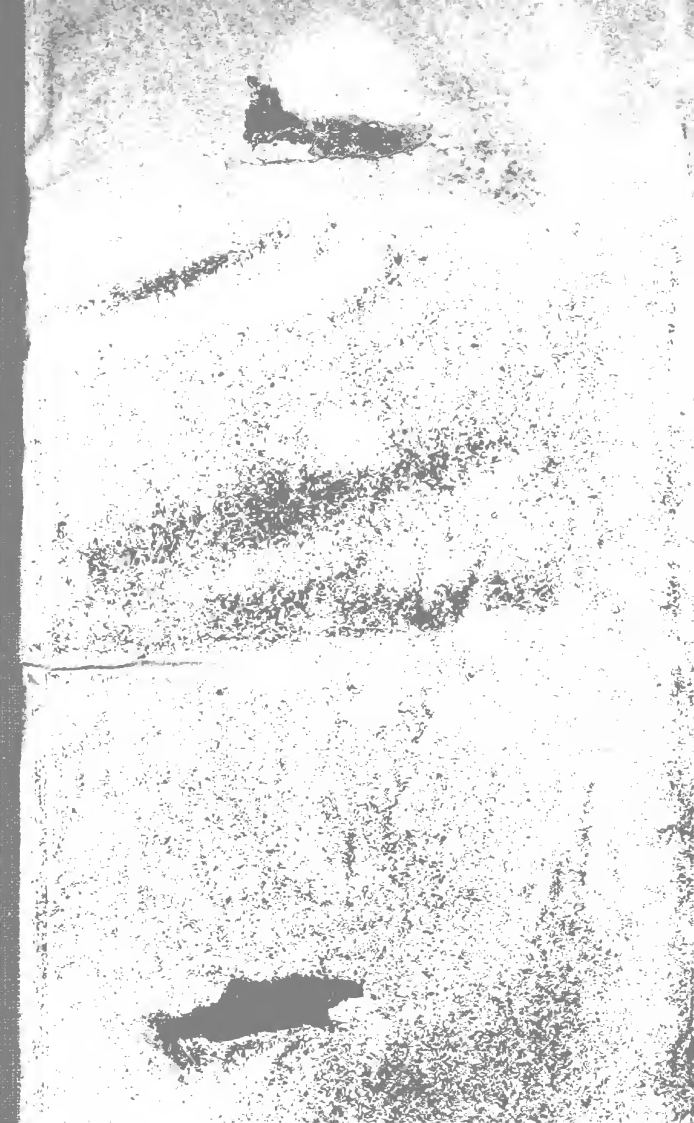


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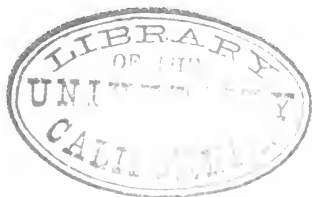
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THE TWO LATER VISIONS OF DANIEL :

HISTORICALLY EXPLAINED.

BY THE REV. T. R. BIRKS, M. A.

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AND RECTOR OF KELSHALL, HERTS.



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PREFACE.

THIS volume continues the historical exposition of Daniel's Prophecies, which was begun in the "Four Prophetic Empires." From the greater length of the two visions which are its subject, the work is less discursive than its predecessor, and more strictly confined to the actual details of the prophetic history. To complete the series, two other volumes would be needed; one, on the Vision of the Seventy Weeks and the prophetic numbers: and the other, to unfold the doctrinal and practical aspect of the visions, and especially the tenth and twelfth chapters, the opening and close of the latest prophecy. But I feel quite uncertain whether it will ever be granted me, amidst the pressure of other important subjects, to enter on this part of a complete Exposition.

From the nature of the details, of which the volume is mainly composed, it may perhaps have less interest than the former for general readers. But those who patiently read the whole will, I trust, find themselves repaid by a

more deep and lively sense than ever of the actual Providence of the Almighty in this fallen world. Why have we, in the word of God itself, so many genealogies and lists of names, the offerings of the princes, the minute record of the journeys in the wilderness, and other passages that seem dry and barren, but to teach us that we must stoop to details and individual names, if we would rightly understand the condescension of our God, and the reality of His special oversight of the children of men? Those who are soon weary of these details, must pay the cost of their own impatient spirit, by a more loose, unreal, and slippery faith. The tree of faith must throw out ten thousand little roots into the lowly soil of the prophetic history, if it is to grow and expand into that noble confidence of hope which no storms of temptation can uproot or destroy.

In the Exposition of the eighth chapter, the view here unfolded is different, I am well aware, from one which has had great currency of late years, and which refers the Little Horn to the Mahometan power. This latter opinion was once my own, and it has not been forsaken lightly, nor without close and repeated examination. However current of late, its very recent origin, for it seems hardly fifty years old, may clear me from all presumption in renouncing it. I should feel more reluctance in departing from the opinion of such writers as Mr. Faber, Mr. Frere, Dr. Keith, and Mr. Elliott, if my own conviction were not slowly and carefully formed; and Mr. Cuninghame, one of the oldest and ablest of living expositors, besides Sir Isaac

Newton, Bishop Newton, and Dr. Zouch, may serve at the very least to balance their authority, and open the way for the arguments themselves, which appear to me quite decisive against the more modern view. On the other hand, with regard to the opening of the same vision, and its reference to Cyrus, the reasoning of Mr. Faber amounts, in my judgment, to a moral demonstration.

In the last vision, and the exposition of the Wilful King, I have to make a similar apology. I am aware that, in adopting the view of Mede, I have to depart from several Protestant interpreters, including Mr. Faber, of deserved reputation. But here also, I am now fully persuaded that the old wine is better, and that the arguments which have persuaded many to renounce the earlier exposition, however plausible, are shadowy and deceptive. Every fresh inquiry has only strengthened my conviction of the unsoundness of those novel theories which have been broached within the last twenty years, and the truth of the leading maxims of our elder writers, maintained in the "Elements of Prophecy." In short, I should have felt that I was guilty of a serious offence against the truth, if, when the Church has been so vexed with diversity of expositions, I had offered crude and hasty opinions, which had not been repeatedly searched, tried, and sifted, in the use of every help of which I could avail myself, to ascertain the true meaning designed by the Spirit of God. To start new expositions, or even to choose among old ones, in debated passages, without a strict examination of

the arguments on each side, and a careful statement of the reasons for the choice, seems to me the high road to universal doubt, and a direct sin against the God of truth and holiness.

Since my former work, a volume has appeared, by a noble and learned author, whom I have the privilege to know, on "the Times of the prophet Daniel." With a very deep personal regard for that noble author, whose studies are a bright contrast to the follies which occupy too many of our peers, I am compelled to differ entirely from his views. I had prepared a chapter on the subject for the present work; but as it seemed rather foreign to the scope of the volume, I have suppressed it at present. But I feel it right to observe that I have examined closely the two difficulties, which alone give a seeming strength to his Grace's theory,—the succession of names in the Persian history, and the two covenants under Zerubbabel and Nehemiah,—and feel confident that I can meet them both with a full and complete answer. It seems to me surprising that the paradox of two Scripture Nebuchadnezzars, and a Scripture Cyrus, totally unknown to profane history, in the reign of Longimanus, contemporary with Cimon and Pericles, can ever be received by any mind, accustomed to pay the least regard to the laws of evidence. Every fresh inquiry has only increased my confidence in the usual chronology, derived from the Canon of Ptolemy, and its truth, I believe, may be almost entirely established even by Scripture evidence alone.

A chapter, near the close, has been spent in examining

the theory of Dr. Arnold in his two Sermons on Prophecy. In common with most who have read his life, I feel a deep honour and esteem for his memory. Few have appeared of late among us with so many features of true nobility of mind, adorned and beautified by the love of Christ. But truth requires the further statement, that his paradoxes are of no common order for their mischievous rashness. The Sermons in question, to which my attention was kindly drawn by an excellent dignitary of our Church, are really, when stripped of their colouring, a heap of puerile fallacies, destructive to the very nature of prophecy, as a revelation from the All-wise God, of things to come. The limits and design of this work have compelled me to pass over many other statements, equally dangerous and unsound as those I have exposed. The very first page opens with a most astounding assertion, as foolish as it is astounding, that Isa. liii. is only accommodated to the history of our Lord. The worst rationalism could scarcely go further in contradicting the Spirit of God.

This theory has led the same writer, in private letters published since his death, to revive the objections of Porphyry and Toland against Daniel's prophecies. I had prepared an answer to these also, but have forborne them, partly because few readers are likely to adopt this infidel error; and as a further reason, because a work of Hengstenberg on this subject is now advertised as under translation, and though I have not met with the original, from the learning and piety of the author I have no doubt that it will leave nothing to desire.

It was my wish also to avoid needless controversy, lest it should interfere with the general use and practical influence of the rest of the work.

The main subject of these prophecies, the Divine history of earthly kingdoms, and the mournful events of the last year, when our nation took a fearful stride in the road of apostacy from the truth, have led me to some reflections, in another chapter, on the use of these visions, to supply lessons of political wisdom. But the duty of Christian States is one of such pressing importance, and so beset with doubts and darkness in the minds of Christians themselves at the present day, that it could not possibly be unfolded here, as its momentous issues deserve. A few germs of thought were all that could be offered. Should it please God to spare me, and no duties more pressing should intervene, I purpose to treat the subject at large in a distinct work, which I shall desire to present to the Church, at once as an offering to the cause of truth, and a help, under the blessing of God, to the manifested unity of believers in these last days.

And now I commit this volume, with its many known and unknown imperfections, to the humble, serious study of thoughtful observers of God's Providence, and to the blessing of Him who is the only Giver of light and wisdom, to whom be glory in the Church by Christ Jesus, for ever and ever.

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THE TWO LATER VISIONS OF DANIEL.

INTRODUCTION.

THE two earlier visions of Daniel, unfolded in a previous work, lead us through the wide range of Providence from the time of the prophet down to the present day. The truths which they reveal, however simple in themselves, have an unspeakable grandeur and sublimity. Four great empires, as the prophecy announces by a double emblem, and history has plainly confirmed, were successively to appear in the world, and to be followed by an everlasting kingdom of righteousness. After the fall of Babylon, the overthrow of Persia, and the division and decay of the Macedonian empire, Rome, the last of these great kingdoms, obtained the supreme power, and held it in unbroken strength for nearly five hundred years. Then, as the visions had foreshewn, it was broken, and ten smaller kingdoms arose in its peculiar territory, the western countries of Europe. It was further announced that a power would arise among these divided kingdoms, small in size, but vast in its claims, assume the prophetic character, usurp authority over the whole divided

empire, and persecute the servants of God. The Roman Papacy has fulfilled all these features of the prediction, and has thus lent us a fresh proof of the Divine foreknowledge. But now, for three hundred years, this power, once irresistible, has begun to decay. It may still revive for a moment, and struggle for the victory ; but the judgment is set, and has begun to take away its dominion, to consume and destroy it unto the end. We are now living in the pause before this last conflict, which the kingdoms of the West will shortly undergo, and which, amidst tumult, strife and suffering, will bring on the dawn of the millennial glory. The Son of Man, as here announced, will then appear in the clouds of heaven. His universal empire will be established, and the saints of the Most High will take the kingdom, and possess it for ever and ever.

We are now drawing near to this eventful crisis, which will end the Fourth Empire, and usher in the kingdom of the Messiah in its manifested power and triumph. With such a prospect before us, it is our duty to gain all the light which the word of God supplies, that we may understand the present duty, and the future hopes, of the Church of Christ. The other prophecies are all given for this end. But especially the two later visions, in the eighth and eleventh of Daniel, fill up more completely the outline which was revealed in his earlier prophecies.

The first vision, that of the Great Image, had been given to Nebuchadnezzar himself, in the beginning of his reign ; and it was expounded by Daniel when he was only a youth, in his exile at the court of Babylon. Fifty years almost had passed before any further revelation was given to the holy prophet. But when the monarchy of Babylon had begun to decay, and Daniel himself had experienced the fickleness of royal favour, the vision of the Four Beasts, in the first year of Belshazzar, enlarged and confirmed the previous message. Two years later a further vision was added, to unfold more fully the course of the second and third empires,

and the events of Eastern history, in connexion with the temple and the people of Israel. The prophecy of the Seventy Weeks, fifteen years afterward, revealed the times of Messiah's first Advent, and his rejection by his own people. Last of all, after four years, a fuller account was given of the trials and conflicts through which the Jews would pass, under the Syrian and Egyptian kings ; with a brief history of later events, that would be fulfilled in the time of the end, and issue in the gathering of Israel, and the resurrection of those who are sleeping in the dust.

The two visions which occupy the eighth and eleventh chapters, like the visions of the Great Image, and of the Four Beasts, have a close and evident connexion with each other. On this account it seems better to combine them in the historical exposition. There are many interesting truths, which are suggested by each of them, rich with instruction to the Church of God. But since, from the extent and fulness of the last vision, the history alone will require considerable space, it seems better to refrain at present from a wider range of discussion. My object, then, will be to unfold the actual fulfilment of these two prophecies, chiefly from the original authorities, and to intermix no collateral topics, but those which seem essential to the main object of the work. These will be introduced amidst the historical chapters, where they seem required by the course of the exposition.

May it please Him, who is the Fountain of all wisdom, and who has given the word of prophecy to be a light to our steps amidst the darkness of the world, to bless this effort to unfold one part of His holy oracles, and to make it effectual, in its own measure, for the instruction and comfort of His people, and their preparation for His blessed and eternal kingdom !

CHAPTER I.

THE CONQUESTS OF CYRUS.

DANIEL VIII. 1—4 —“ IN THE THIRD YEAR OF THE REIGN OF KING BEL-SHAZZAR A VISION APPEARED UNTO ME, EVEN UNTO ME DANIEL, AFTER THAT WHICH APPEARED UNTO ME AT THE FIRST.

“ AND I SAW IN A VISION ; AND IT CAME TO PASS, WHEN I SAW, THAT I WAS AT SHUSHAN THE PALACE, WHICH IS IN THE PROVINCE OF ELAM ; AND I SAW IN A VISION, AND I WAS BY THE RIVER ULAL.

“ THEN I LIFTED UP MINE EYES, AND SAW, AND BEHOLD, THERE STOOD BEFORE THE RIVER A RAM WHICH HAD TWO HORNS : AND THE TWO HORNS WERE HIGH ; BUT ONE WAS HIGHER THAN THE OTHER, AND THE HIGHER CAME UP LAST.

“ I SAW THE RAM PUSHING WESTWARD, AND NORTHWARD, AND SOUTHWARD ; SO THAT NO BEASTS MIGHT STAND BEFORE HIM, NEITHER WAS THERE ANY THAT COULD DELIVER OUT OF HIS HAND ; BUT HE DID ACCORDING TO HIS WILL, AND BECAME GREAT.”

VERSE 20.—“ THE RAM WHICH THOU SAWEST, HAVING TWO HORNS, ARE THE KINGS OF MEDIA AND PERSIA.”

BEFORE entering on the detail of these later visions, it is well to inquire what internal marks are given, which may help us to determine their main object. The sacred text supplies us with several indications of this kind, which throw light upon the scope of each prophecy.

The first mark is found in the language of the visions. The two first are in Chaldee, the dialect of the chief Gentile power. In the eighth chapter the Hebrew language is resumed, and is used in all the visions that follow. It is natural to infer that, in the former prophecies, the Holy Spirit reveals the course of Gentile dominion ; and, in the latter, describes mainly the fortunes of the Jewish nation.

The view will be greatly confirmed by a closer search. For the two first visions clearly pursue the course of worldly dominion through the four Empires. On the fall of Persia, they pass westward to Greece and Rome, and the second of them is chiefly occupied with the latter times of the Roman power. But the East continued still to be the main theatre of many important changes, which affected both the nation of Israel and the Church of Christ. It would be reasonable to suppose that Daniel, a Jewish prophet, and now an exile far away to the East, would be commissioned to reveal the main events of Providence in Palestine and its border countries, no less than in Europe, from his own age down to the close of his other prophecies.

This will be further proved by a close and detailed inspection. The Vision of the eighth chapter, as the angel himself tells us, refers mainly to the Eastern Empire of Media and Persia, and to the Eastern conquests of Greece. The little horn waxes great towards the East, and the pleasant land. The main event in the vision is the removal of the daily sacrifice, and the casting down of the temple. Nearly all the terms employed have a natural application to the people of the Jews, and the land of Israel.

In the prophecy of the Seventy Weeks the same feature appears. Its occasion is the fervent prayer of Daniel for the restoration of his people, and the rebuilding of Jerusalem. Its main subject is declared to be the people of Daniel, and Zion, the holy city. Its chief events are the rebuilding of Jerusalem, with its street and rampart, the coming of Messiah, his rejection by the Jewish nation, and their judicial overthrow. The Jews are plainly the subject, and the East as plainly is the theatre, of the whole prophecy. In the last vision, again, the scene of nearly all the events is clearly expressed. They relate, almost entirely, to Syria, Egypt, Palestine, the temple of God, and the holy mountain of Israel.

Again, the range of time in the former visions natu-

rally divides itself into two parts, before and after the First Advent. In the second period the supreme power is transferred to the West, and the kingdom of God, or visible Church, is also translated from the Jews to the Gentiles. Hence, if the object of the later visions be chiefly the history of the East, they will be likely to expand the history of events before the Advent, since these were nearer to the time of the prophet, and the East was then the main theatre of Divine providence. And this is clearly true. The prophecy of the Seventy Weeks parts the whole interval of time by the coming of Messiah, and details events in the land of Israel only, from the baptism of our Saviour to the fall of Jerusalem. The two other visions unfold the events from Cyrus to the death of Antiochus, and the complete triumph of the Romans, with a fulness of detail unexampled in other prophecies.

There is another feature common to the three later in contrast with the former visions. They all make repeated allusions to the temple of God. In the eighth chapter the term translated, *the pleasant land*, will be found, by a comparison with other scriptures, to denote the temple itself. Twice, again, in that vision the sanctuary is directly named. The prophecy of the Weeks also directly mentions the temple, both in the prayer of Daniel and the message of the angel. In like manner, in chapter xi. 16, 31, 41, we have a similar allusion. Each vision appears thus to divide itself into two portions, the times of the second temple, and a period of renewed and heavier desolation. Their close also looks forward to a third era, more blessed and glorious, when the sanctuary shall be cleansed, and the holy people shall be scattered no longer; but Gentiles shall come to the light of Zion, and kings to the brightness of her rising.

We are thus led to the following conclusions. The eighth chapter unfolds, more fully than the two earlier prophecies, the course of Providence under the Second and Third Empires, perhaps also under the Fourth, but

with a special reference to the East, the land of Palestine, and the nation of Israel. The eleventh chapter expands this account into more copious details, as the Great Image was expanded in the vision of the Four Beasts. But since it is the last of all these prophecies, has also links of connexion, especially in the times it reveals, with the vision of the Four Beasts, and thus binds the whole into one harmonious system. The prophecy of the Seventy Weeks, interposed between the two others, parts their whole course into two main divisions, and reveals the wonderful transition from the first to the second period, in the solemn events connected with the First Advent of our Lord, and all the wonders that cluster around the great mystery of godliness, the incarnation of the Son of God.

Let us now return to the present vision. It was revealed to the prophet in the third year of Belshazzar. There is no solid reason to doubt that this king answers to Nabonadius in the Astronomical Canon, and his third year will be A.C. 553. The power of Babylon was then rapidly declining, and Persia, under Cyrus the Great, was rising just as rapidly upon its ruins. The First Empire, which has been already spoken of in two visions, is therefore passed by in silence, and the prophecy begins with the victorious career of Cyrus, which raised Persia to the supreme dominion.

Only two years had now passed since the date of the last vision, though there had been an interval of fifty years between the two former prophecies. One reason may have been the deeper profaneness of the empire under Belshazzar, which called for a fuller supply of these Divine consolations. When the world is darkest, then the word of prophecy commonly shines forth with the clearest light.

It is not very plain whether Daniel were actually at Shushan, and by the banks of the Ulai, or in vision only. The former view seems more probable, when we compare his other prophecies. The scene of the two first was plainly at or near Babylon, and the first of them

in the palace of the king. In chapter x., in like manner, the prophet was really by the Hiddekel, or Tigris, when the angel appeared to him. We may therefore put the same construction on the statement in this prophecy, and suppose that Daniel was really by the bank of the Ulai, or Choaspes, when the vision was revealed. For though Cyrus had begun his conquests, Susiana, close to the Tigris, was distinct from Persia Proper, and might still be under the power of Belshazzar. It is possible that its exposed position might have caused the presence of Daniel at this time, since his abilities had been prized so highly under former reigns. He was on the business of the king ; and whether that business were an embassy, or the protection of an exposed frontier, his presence at Shushan would be easily explained on either view.

The place and time of the vision were exactly suited to its main object. The first event revealed was the supremacy of the Medes and Persians ; and hence its date was a few years after the accession of Cyrus, and its scene at Shushan, the future abode of the Persian monarchs, and on the banks of the Choaspes, the royal river. The voyager who is about to sail over a wide ocean, fixes carefully the point of departure, where he loses sight of land. And so also the Holy Spirit, when he would guide the church through the dark sea of Providence by the chart of prophecy, marks out very clearly the point of time where each prophecy begins, and the nature of the earliest events which it reveals. The site of Susa is now a desert. The name of *Sus*, and a few broken fragments, are all that remain. But the word of God, revealed there to the prophet by the riverside, endures for ever, and yields an enduring light, even in these last days, to the millions of benighted sojourners in our fallen world.

The Ram is expounded by the angel to be the kings of Media and Persia. It is clear, then, that the word *kings* is not used in a personal sense. The emblem would be incongruous and monstrous, to describe two persons merely. The kings of Media and Persia, it is

plain, are the two ruling dynasties or powers, confederate in conquest, and of which Media was superior at first, and Persia after the sole reign of Cyrus. The successive rise of the two horns prefigured this successive sway of the two dynasties. But after they have once arisen, they became a permanent and historical symbol, unaffected by later changes; for the Ram itself, and not the two horns, denotes the compound Median and Persian power.

The emblems, again, in this vision are animals of sacrifice, not beasts of prey. Perhaps there may be a moral reason for this change. The two empires, in the persons of their founders, to whom the prophecy mainly alludes, were both of them favourers of the temple-worship. The captivity of the Jews was closed by a decree of Cyrus. He said "to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be built, and to the temple, Thy foundation shall be laid." Alexander also, when he entered Judea, paid reverence to the high-priest, and offered sacrifices for the service of the temple. The emblems are thus varied, to retain their harmony with the moral lessons and historical truths which they are designed to convey.

The order of the two dynasties appears in all the profane historians. Herodotus, Xenophon, and Ctesias, all agree that the Medes were superior, until the fame and victories of Cyrus turned the scale, and gave rise to a Persian dynasty. They vary, however, not a little in the details of this change. But even Scripture history alone, without foreign aid, will explain the prophecy by undesigned coincidences, at once remarkable and minute. After the fall of Belshazzar, we are told that "Darius the Mede took the kingdom;" and again, that "Darius the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes, was made king over the realm of the Chaldeans." Both at the fall of Babylon and during the reign of this Darius, the Scripture gives the Medes precedence over the Persians. But, after the accession of Cyrus, this order is constantly reversed, not only in the history of Daniel, but in those of Ezra, Nehemiah,

and Esther. The Persians, from that time, have the foremost place. Their continued pre-eminence is marked, even in the title of the last king recorded in the sacred canon, and who is called, in the book of Nehemiah, Darius the Persian. The reign of Smerdis, in Herodotus, is the history of an abortive attempt, by the Medes, to recover the throne. After his fall, the Persian supremacy continued without a change, till the final overthrow of the whole empire.

The Ram was seen "pushing westward, and northward, and southward." These words are a very clear prediction of the conquests of Cyrus, though perhaps they may include the later conquest of Egypt by his son Cambyses. The wars of Darius Hystaspes, at a still later period, to which one able commentator refers them, do not answer to the description. The vision was in the sixth or seventh year of Cyrus, when his career of victory had already begun. It must naturally, on this ground alone, be referred to these conquests, and not to others separated from them by nearly forty years. The conquests in the vision are those by which the empire became great; and this is true of those of Cyrus only. They are unbroken victories in every direction; but those of Darius were mingled with great and heavy reverses. The chief, perhaps the only, direction of the conquests of Darius was eastward; and this is the only quarter excluded in the prophecy. They were after the empire had attained the pinnacle of greatness; they were chequered by many and shameful defeats, and were much too late to form a natural commencement of the vision.

Two principal reasons have been assigned for a different view. The chronology of the vision has seemed to require a later date for its commencement. But this objection would control the plainest part of the prophecy by that which is most difficult and obscure. Almost every reader, learned or unlearned, has seen for ages that the opening of the chapter relates to Cyrus and his conquests. But the full sense of the two thou-

sand three hundred days has only been unfolded in the last century, or a little earlier, and its precise adjustment may be reasonably expected to be only the ripest fruit of patient research. It is unnatural to determine the sense of the plainest clauses by inferences drawn from one of the most obscure.

Again, the place of the Ram, before the river, has been thought to imply the previous establishment of the Persian Empire. But this would be to draw a refined and uncertain inference from an emblem, directly opposed to the plain words of the vision. If the Ram only became great in consequence of its threefold pushing, it could not have been a great and established Empire before that pushing began. And, in fact, since the Ram was first seen at rest, the most natural sense of the words, *before the river*, is *with its face to the river*. And, since the first direction of conquest is westward, this would imply that the Ram was seen on the eastern bank of Ulai. But whether its place in vision were on the one side or the other, there can be no certain conclusion drawn from it, to fix the time of the vision. For some part of the Median dominion was west of the river at the time of the prophecy; and on the other hand, Darius set out on his various expeditions from Susa, east of the river. All that the emblem can properly teach us is, that the Persian power bordered on the Ulai when this career of conquest began, and that this river would have some peculiar connexion with the rising monarchy. The rise of the second and higher horn is also spoken of, as if it occurred under the eye of the prophet, which is a further mark that it begins from the reign of Cyrus. Every reason, therefore, combines to prove that reign the true commencement of the prediction. It remains only to trace its fulfilment from the profane historians.

The Ram was seen, first of all, pushing westward, or towards the waters of the western sea. Early among the victories of Cyrus, and one of the most celebrated, was the overthrow of Cræsus and the Lydian Empire,

with the capture of Sardis on the coast of the Ægean sea. The first book of Herodotus, the father of profane history, is thus one complete comment on this first clause of the inspired prophecy. The brief notice of Solinus assigns the date. 'In the fifty-eighth Olympiad (A.C. 548—545) Cyrus entered Sardis as conqueror.' The account in Xenophon may be questionable in the details, but in its main features it agrees with Herodotus. A summary from the first book will show, more palpably, the harmony between the prophecy and the statements of heathen writers.

Bk. I. 1—95.—First origin of enmity between the Greeks and the people of Asia. Cræsus, king of Lydia, first made the Greeks in Asia tributaries. The first kings of the Lydians sprung from Atys: then the Heraclidæ, of whom Candaules was the last. Gyges slays Candaules; transfers the dominion to the Mermnadæ, sends presents to Delphi, assails Miletus and Smyrna, and takes Colophon. Ardes, son of Gyges, under whom the Cimmerians takes Sardis. Sadyattes and Alyattes, who drives the Cimmerians from Asia, and makes peace with the tyrant of Miletus. Cræsus, son of Alyattes, makes the Greeks on the continent tributary, and assails those of the islands. Solon comes to Sardis. The Medes being conquered by Cyrus, Cræsus, anxious about the power of the Persians, consults the oracles, but first makes trial of their truth; approves the Delphic, and that of Amphiaraus. The ambiguous answer of the oracles about war with the Persians. Cræsus makes an alliance with the Lacedæmonians.

71—95.—A wise Lydian dissuades Cræsus in vain from the war. The river Halys, the boundary between Cappadocia and Lydia. Cræsus purposes to wrest Cappadocia from Cyrus, and avenge Astyages the Mede, from whom Cyrus had taken his kingdom. War between Cyaxares and Alyattes broken off by an eclipse of the sun, predicted by Thales. A battle is fought between Cræsus and Cyrus, in the Pterian field, beyond the Halys, with doubtful success. Cræsus returns to Sardis, to renew the war next year. Cyrus follows him into Lydia, and after a prosperous battle, in which he opposed camels to the enemy's horse, besieges Sardis. The Lacedæmonians, when ready to succour Cræsus, learn that he is captured by Cyrus. The citadel taken by a part of the wall which seemed inaccessible. Cræsus, bound in chains, and placed on the funeral pile, remembers Solon. He is preserved, when on the point of being burnt alive. Cræsus is honoured by Cyrus, and

gives him good counsel. Memorable features of Lydia; the sepulchre of Alyattes. The Lydians first coined gold and silver. Tyrhennus, son of Atys, being their leader, they sent a colony to Umbria (Italy). Who this Cyrus was, who stripped Cræsus of his kingdom. How the Persians obtained the supreme power in Asia.

The opening book of this father of heathen history, is thus in full accordance with the sacred vision. The Ram was seen pushing westward from the banks of Ulai beyond the Halys, and to the very shore of the Ægean sea.

But it was seen also pushing northward. The northern conquests of Cyrus, in the writers now extant, have their order less clearly assigned than the rest. Herodotus passes over the intermediate events, from the fall of Sardis to the siege of Babylon. The fact of such conquests is, however, certain. Herodotus says, in general terms, that he subverted all Upper Asia, before the great event of the siege. This would include Pontus, and the Upper Armenia, with the tribes bordering on the Caspian sea. The details in Xenophon are obscure, and perhaps not very trustworthy; but they lean to the same view, for the siege of Babylon is made a final step after all the neighbouring states, which might have proved dangerous, had been subdued. In the absence of fuller accounts, we may be content with this general correspondence. The events that are clear and certain require that very order of conquest which the prophecy had foretold.

The Ram was seen, last of all, pushing southward. The four quarters ought clearly to be referred to the actual geography of Asia, rather than to the abstract parallels of science. The westward line of conquest is clearly from Persepolis or Susa, to Sardis. The north and south in the vision will be parted by this line. To the south of this line is Babylon, the last and most important conquest of the Persian king. The history of the siege in Herodotus and Xenophon, answers closely to the predictions of Jeremiah, and the narrative in

Daniel. The summary from Herodotus, will again illustrate the vision.

Bk. I. 152—216.—The Lacedæmonians refuse help to the Ionians, but charge Cyrus not to harass the Greeks. He answers contemptuously. He returns to Sardis, and brings Cræsus with him, intending to war against Babylon himself, and by his lieutenants against the Ionians. The Lydians under Pactyas, rebel, and are pardoned by the intercession of Cræsus. Mazarus assails those who had rebelled. His successor, Harpagus, besieges the Ionian cities, and first Phocœra. The Teans migrate to Thrace, and build Abdera. The other Ionians on the continent submit to the yoke.

Cyrus subdues all the Upper Asia. The size, beauty, ditch, wall, river, and temple, of Babylon. Queen Semiramis had formed the embankments of the river. Nitrocris changed its course and dug a vast lake. Her sepulchre and its inscription. Cyrus marches against Labynetus king of Babylon. He orders the river Gyndes to be cut into three hundred and sixty streams. After defeating the Babylonians and shutting them up in the city, he besieges them in vain. The Euphrates having been turned aside into the lake, he enters through the bed, and takes Babylon by surprise. He prepares an expedition against the Massagetæ.

The prophecy after these threefold conquests describes the power and greatness to which they led. “No beast could stand before him, neither could any deliver out of his hand; but he did according to his will, and became great.” The words of Herodotus and Xenophon are almost exactly the same. After recounting the victories of Cyrus, Herodotus thus introduces his last expedition.

“The Massagetæ occupy by no means the smallest portion of this vast plain, against whom Cyrus was eager to march. For there were many and great causes which elated him, and urged him on; first indeed his birth, wherein he seemed more than human; and next, his good fortune in war. *For wherever Cyrus directed his course to march, the escape of that nation was impossible.*”

The remarks of Xenophon, at the opening of the Cyropædia, are in equal harmony with the prediction.

‘Cyrus, however, we know, was obeyed willingly by those who were distant many days’ journey, or even many months, and by those who had never seen him; nay, even by those who knew that they would never see him; and yet they were willing to submit to him. So much did he surpass other kings, who have either inherited power from their parents, or acquired it themselves. For the Scythian, though he rules over very many Scythians, can obtain power over no other tribe; nay, he would be glad to secure its continuance over his own nation; and the Thracian king over the Thracians, the Illyrian over the Illyrians, and so of all other known tribes. But Cyrus, receiving the tribes of Asia, when still under their own-laws, and starting with a small body of Persians, took the command of the Medes and Hyrcanians with their own consent; and subverted the Syrians, the Assyrians, the Arabians, the Cappadocians, both the Phrygians, the Lydians, the Carians, the Phœnicians, the Babylonians; and ruled also over the Bactrians, the Indi, and the Cilicians, and in like manner over the Sacæ and Paphlagonians, and Mariandyni, and many other tribes, whose very names we can scarcely repeat. He also gained victories over the Greeks of Asia, and coming down to the sea, reduced the Cyprians and Egyptians. Over these nations, then, he bore rule; who differed in language both from him and from each other. Yet he was able to traverse so wide a tract by the reverence he inspired, *so that all were confounded, and none dared to assail him.* And indeed he subdued so many countries, that it is hard to travel over them, in whatever direction we should set out from the palace, to the east or to the west, to the north or to the south.’

At the close of the work he contrasts these victories of Cyrus with the decline and decay of the empire under later kings.

‘That the kingdom of Cyrus was the fairest and largest of all in Asia, it is its own witness. For toward the east it was bounded by the Erythræan sea, and

towards the north, by the Euxine ; to the west, by Cyprus and Egypt ; and to the south, by Ethiopia. But although it was so vast, it was governed, however, by the sole will of Cyrus : and he honoured and cherished his subjects as his own children, while they revered him as a father. But when Cyrus was dead, presently his sons broke out into factions, cities and tribes revolted, and all things went on from bad to worse.'

The greatness which the empire attained, through these victories of Cyrus, is clear from the historical books of Scripture alone, and is confirmed by the whole current of profane history. The title of the Persian monarch, among all the writers of Greece, was the Great King ; and the opening of the book of Esther forms a vivid commentary on the meaning of the phrase.

In the last vision, the word of prophecy reveals to us four successions of Cyrus on the Persian throne, and the gigantic expedition of Xerxes against the land of Greece. But in this more concise prediction, no details are given of the Persian history in the time of the empire's continued greatness. We pass on at once, after the two centuries of its undisputed supremacy, to the rise of a new empire under another conqueror, whose exploits, though more transitory than those of Cyrus, were still more rapid and wonderful, and have been still more celebrated by profane historians.

CHAPTER II.

ON ALEXANDER AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

DAN. VIII. 5—8.—AND AS I WAS CONSIDERING, BEHOLD, AN HE GOAT CAME FROM THE WEST ON THE FACE OF THE WHOLE EARTH, AND TOUCHED NOT THE GROUND: AND THE GOAT HAD A NOTABLE HORN BETWEEN HIS EYES. AND HE CAME TO THE RAM WHICH I HAD SEEN STANDING BEFORE THE RIVER, AND RAN UNTO HIM IN THE FURY OF HIS POWER. AND I SAW HIM COME CLOSE TO THE RAM, AND HE WAS MOVED WITH CHOLER AGAINST HIM, AND SMOTE THE RAM AND BRAKE HIS TWO HORNS; AND THERE WAS NO POWER IN THE RAM TO STAND BEFORE HIM, BUT HE CAST HIM DOWN TO THE GROUND, AND STAMPED UPON HIM; AND THERE WAS NONE THAT COULD DELIVER THE RAM OUT OF HIS HAND. THEREFORE THE HE-GOAT WAXED VERY GREAT; AND WHEN HE WAS STRONG THE GREAT HORN WAS BROKEN; AND FOR IT CAME UP FOUR NOTABLE ONES, TOWARD THE FOUR WINDS OF HEAVEN.

VERSE 21, 22.—AND THE ROUGH GOAT IS THE KING OF GRECIA; AND THE GREAT HORN THAT IS BETWEEN HIS EYES IS THE FIRST KING. NOW THAT BEING BROKEN, WHEREAS FOUR STOOD UP FOR IT, FOUR KINGDOMS SHALL STAND UP OUT OF THE NATION, BUT NOT IN HIS POWER.

THE fulfilment of these words in Alexander the Great is so plain, that no proof seems to be required. Perhaps only one writer has ever ventured to deny this reference; while many infidels, and even a few Christians, have maintained, from the clearness of the prophecy, that it is really spurious, and written after the event. Their view will be fully examined in another chapter, and its entire falsehood be shewn. Meanwhile a few extracts will serve to continue the historical exposition, and will add one further proof of the Divine foreknowledge.

The emblem itself has a peculiar fitness. For the

Macedonians were called *Ægeadæ*, or the goat-people, and perhaps on this account the son of Alexander was surnamed *Ægus*. The rapid course of the He-Goat, from the West, is still more descriptive of Alexander's conquests. The preface of Diodorus, in this part of his narrative, will show the rapidity of the Macedonian hero, and the extent of his dominion.

'This king, in a short time, accomplished great exploits, and by his own prudence and courage excelled in the vastness of his achievements all the kings who have been handed down to memory from the beginning of time. For in twelve years he subverted no small part of Europe, and almost the whole of Asia, and obtained such celebrity and glory, as even rivalled the fame of the ancient demigods and heroes. But it is not needful to anticipate the successful exploits of this king, since the facts, in detail, will sufficiently attest the greatness of his renown.'

After the account of his accession, A.C. 336, Diodorus reverts to the Persian history; and the moral corruption of that empire, under its latest kings, furnishes one key to the moral of its signal overthrow.

'While Philip still reigned, Ochus ruled over the Persians, and his behaviour to his subjects was cruel and violent. Since he was hated for his severity, Bagoas the Chiliarch, an eunuch, wicked and warlike in his character, took him off by poison through a certain physician, and introduced Arses, the king's youngest son, to the throne. He destroyed too the brothers of the king, who were young also, that the youth might be more dependent on him. But the young monarch being disgusted with these crimes, and showing that he designed to avenge the author of the wickedness, Bagoas anticipated his plans, and took off Arses with his children, in the third year of his reign. Now since the house of the king was desolate, and there was none of the family to receive the kingdom, he chose out one of his friends, Darius by name, and gave it to him. He was the son of Arsanes, the son of Ostances, who was

brother of Artaxerxes, king of the Persians. But the end of Bagoas was memorable. Following his murderous custom, he planned to remove Darius by poison. But his plot was betrayed, and the king calling him to himself as in friendship, and giving him the poisoned cup, compelled him to drink it. Now Darius was thought worthy of the kingdom, because he excelled all the Persians in valour. For once, when Artaxerxes made war with the Cadusians, and one of these challenged any of the Persians to single combat, no one else ventured to meet him, but Darius risked the danger, and slew the enemy. For this the king honoured him with great gifts, and he carried off among the Persians the prize of pre-eminent valour.'

It is this Darius, who is surnamed in Scripture, the Persian; whom Alexander overthrew. The rapidity of the Macedonian conquests will perhaps be best seen by extracting, from a valuable and accurate chronologer, a brief summary in order of time.

Ol. cxi. 3. A. C. 334. Alexander "in the opening of the spring marches to the Hellespont." Arr. I. 11. GRANICUS, "in the month Thargelion" (May). He had conquered Caria before the winter. After the capture of Halicarnassus, "he sends away those who had lately married, to winter in Macedonia." Arr. I. 24.

A. C. 333. Alexander had reached Gordium in the beginning of this campaign. He had reduced Lycia "already before the winter." Arr. I. And "those who were sent back to Macedonia came, and with them an army newly enrolled."

Battle of Issus, Arr. II. 112, "when Nicostratus was archon at Athens, in the month Mæmacterion," (Nov. A. C. 333.) Curtius marks the season, "when the winter was close at hand." And after the battle, "a storm of snow had fallen, and the ground was hard with the frost."

Ol. cxii. A. C. 332. Siege of Tyre begun; in the middle of winter; taken after seven months (Plut. Alex. c. 24. Diod. xvii. 46. Curt. iv. 4, 19); in the archonship of Nicetes, in Hecatombæon, or July, A. C. 332. After the capture of Gaza, Alexander "set out for Egypt." Arr. III. 1. While at Gaza the Isthmian games were held. He founds ALEXANDRIA, Arr. III. 1. and marches to the oracle of Hammon. He returns to Memphis, and remains there till spring.

A. C. 331. Alexander "when spring appeared" set out from Memphis to Phenice, and arrived at Thapsacus in the month Hecatombæon, when Aristophanes was Archon, July, A. C. 331.

ARBELA in the archonship of Aristophanes, and the month Pyanepsion, eleven days after an eclipse of the moon, Oct. 1, A. C. 331. He remained four months of the ensuing winter at Persepolis, "wishing to recruit the soldiers, for it was the season of winter." Plut. Alex. c. 37.

A. C. 330. DARIUS SLAIN (aged 50 years) "when Aristophon was archon, in the month Hecatombæon," July, A. C. 330. After his death, Alexander conquers the country bordering on the Caspian sea;—*Hyrkania*, Arr. III. 23,—the *Mardi*—and after fifteen days' halt at Zadracarta, c. 25, traverses *Parthia* and *Asia*; and marches in pursuit of Bessus through the *Zarangæi*, *Drangiana* and *Arachosia*, when it was now winter. "All these nations he reached amidst deep snow." Thence across the mountains of *Cabul*, "the Caucasian mountain," northwards, to Bactra, distant from Zadracarta, by this route, seventeen hundred and fifty miles. Along this mountain tract Alexander "marched with difficulty, in much snow and want of necessaries." "The unusual rigour of the snow killed many, and perished the feet of many others." "In a space of seventeen days the army passed the Caucasus." When they descended from the mountains, the warm season had begun.

A. C. 329. Sixth campaign of Alexander in Asia. He passes the Oxus, to *Maracanda*. "This is the royal abode of the Sogdian province." Hence he marched on to the river Tanais (Jaxartes). He founds Alexandria on the Tanais "walling it in twenty days." Arr. iv. 3. about 420 miles north of Bactra. He passes the Tanais, and engages the Scythians. After this campaign he wintered at Bactra. "He came to Zariaspa, and there remained until the depth of winter was gone by."

Ol. cxiii. A. C. 328. Seventh campaign in Asia. "He marched again to the Oxus, and resolved to pass into the Sogdian province." The whole of the campaign is employed in Sogdiana, and at the end of it Alexander winters at Nautaca, in the middle of the province, twenty-five miles from Samarcand, and two hundred and twenty north of Bactra. "He rested the army about Nautaca, since it was the depth of winter, having resolved to winter there in Sogdiana," Arr. iv. 17, 18. Early next spring, Rhoxana, daughter of Oxigartes, is captured.

A. C. 327. Eighth campaign in Asia. Alexander, "when spring was already come, set out from Bactra as against the Indians. IV. 22. When he reached the Hydaspes "it was the season of summer, when the sun is hottest after the solstice."

Defeat of PORUS, "in the month Metageinion (August). "The army remained during winter in the mountain country, and when spring began they descended the plains to Taxila."

A. C. 326. Ninth campaign. The whole autumn, winter, and spring, of the archon Hegemon, A. C. 327-6, spent in the navigation down the Indian rivers. "Having begun to sail, not many days before the setting of the Pleiads, (autumn) the whole time till summer was passed in the voyage, so that it occupied ten months." (Aristob. in Strab. xv. p. 691). Alexander reached the Indus a little before the time for sailing. He set out on his march in August, leaving Nearchus to wait for the winds. He reached *Pura* on the borders of Caramania, in two months. Nearchus began the voyage in October, "on the twentieth of Boedromion, in the eleventh of Alexander's reign."

A. C. 325. Alexander, having reached the capital of Gedrosia in October, A. C. 326, arrives in Susiana, where Nearchus met him, about Feb. A. C. 325. The whole time of the voyage from the Indus to Diridotus was 129 days.

Death of Hephæstion at Ecbatana, in the year of the archon Anticles; followed by a winter campaign against the Cossæi. Diod. xvii. 111. Arr. vii. 15. "Thence he makes an expedition against the Cossæi, and overthrew their nation, although he marched in the winter."

A. C. 324. Alexander, after the Cossæan war, approached BABYLON, "which he entered in the spring, a year before his death." Diod. xvii. 112. "And as he was entering into Babylon, ambassadors from the Greeks met him."

A. C. 323. DEATH OF ALEXANDER, probably in May or June; "in the 114th Olympiad, when Hegesias was archon. And he lived two and thirty years and about eight months; and reigned twelve years and eight months."

The journey to Babylon, and the embassies which met him there, are described by Diodorus.

'Recalling his forces, he set out from *Susa*, and passing the Tigris (Hiddekel, Dan. x. 3), encamped in the villages called Caræ. In four days more, having crossed Sitta, he came to Sambaca. After staying there seven days, he collected his forces anew, and came to Colonæ on the third day, where a Bœotian colony still reside, having been exiled in Xerxes' expedition; and they still retain the usages of their country. Waiting till the close of the day, he turned aside from the main road to view Bagistana; and after a stay of thirty days,

arrived in seven days at Ecbatana in Media. Here Hephæstion, drinking intemperately of wine, was seized with sickness and died. And the king, being greatly distressed, committed his corpse to Perdiccas, that he might convey it to Babylon, intending to honour it with a most magnificent burial.'

'At this time came ambassadors from almost the whole world, some to rejoice in his successes, some to offer him votive crowns, others to procure friendship and alliance, and many too bringing magnificent presents, and some to excuse themselves for alleged offences. Besides those from the tribes and cities of Asia and their governors, many also met him from Libya and Europe; from Libya, the Carthaginians and Liby-Phœnicians, and all who inhabit the sea-coast *as far as the pillars of Hercules*; and from Europe, the cities of the Greeks sent to him, and the Illyrians, most of those who dwell by the Adriatic, the Thracian tribes, and the neighbouring Gauls, whose race then for the first time became known to the Greeks. Alexander, having received a list of the embassies, arranged who should first receive an answer, and the rest in order. The first place was assigned to those who came about religious rites, the second to those with presents, the next to those who had disputes with border tribes, the fourth to those who came about private affairs, the fifth to those who had disputes about the return of exiles.'

In this remarkable manner had the predicted he-goat, the king of Javan, notable and eminent above all others of his nation, traversed Asia, with unexampled rapidity of conquest, from the Hellespont to the Hydaspes and Indus. He had stamped upon the Persian power, and broken it as in utter contempt; "and no one could deliver it out of his hand." He had waxen so great, that the world came, with suppliant and servile embassies, to prostrate itself at his feet. But the remaining words were to be fulfilled at once, after this crowning proof of his greatness, and of the universal ex-

tent of his fame. "When the he-goat was strong, the great horn was broken."

' His attendants caught him ; they laid him down on his couch, and tended him carefully. As the sickness gained strength, the physicians were summoned, but none of them could render him any help. Being racked with many pains and grievous suffering, he despaired of life, and took off his ring, and gave it to Perdicas. When his friends asked of him, To whom do you leave the kingdom ? he said, To the strongest. And he said further (the last words that he uttered) that all his chief friends would celebrate his funeral with great conflicts. In this manner he died, when he had reigned twelve years and seven months ; after he had achieved the greatest exploits, not only of all who ever reigned before him, but also of those who have come after him, even to our own times.'

The fulfilment of this prophecy, in the wonderful triumphs of Alexander, is still more interesting, since it seems to have been one direct link in the preservation of the Jewish people. The history in Josephus, though some have questioned its truth, seems in full agreement with the other facts which profane writers have recorded, and illustrates, in a remarkable manner, the overruling providence of God, in whose hand the hearts of kings "are like the rivers of waters, and he turneth them whithersoever he will."

' Now when Alexander was come into Syria, he took Damascus and Sidon, and besieged Tyre ; and sending letters to the high-priest of the Jews, he charged him to send him a contingent, and to supply corn for his army and to give him whatever presents were before given to Darius, and to choose the friendship of the Macedonians, for that he would not repent of his conduct. But the high-priest answered those who brought the letters, that he had taken oaths to Darius not to bear arms against him, and these he would not transgress while Darius was alive. When Alexander heard this, he was enraged, and decided not to leave Tyre, as the siege

was not nearly finished ; but threatened, when he had taken it, to march against the high-priest of the Jews, and to teach all men, by his example, towards what parties their oaths ought to be kept. Wherefore, prosecuting the siege with fresh vigour, he took Tyre, and having ordered its affairs, marched against Gaza, and besieged it.

‘ When Alexander had taken Gaza, he was eager to go up against the city of Jerusalem. And the high-priest Jaddua, when he heard, was in perplexity and fear, and was at a loss how to meet the Macedonians, since the king was enraged at his former disobedience. Having enjoined therefore supplications to the people, and himself offering sacrifices, he entreated of God to be the shield of his people, and to free them from the impending dangers. And when he slept after the sacrifice, God warned him in a dream to be of good courage, and that they should crown the city with garlands, and open its gates ; and the others in white robes, and he himself in priestly attire, should meet the king ; fearing no danger whatever, since God would provide. When he awoke from sleep, he himself rejoiced greatly, and having revealed the message to all, and done what was commanded, he awaited the king’s arrival.

‘ When he heard that he was not far distant, he went forward with the priests and the multitude, to meet him in priestly dignity, and differently from other nations, as far as a place called Sapha. Now this name, interpreted, denotes a watch-tower, for both Jerusalem and the temple can be seen from it. But when the Phoenicians and Chaldeans, who followed the king, expected such a charge as his anger made likely, that that they should plunder the city and destroy the high-priest with tortures, just the contrary came to pass. For when Alexander, at a distance, saw the multitude in white robes, and the priests standing in their linen raiment, and the high-priest in purple and golden clothing, and the mitre on his head, and over it the golden plate whereon the Name of God was written, he came

forward alone and did reverence to the Name, and was the first to embrace the high-priest. And when all the Jews around with one voice saluted Alexander, and encircled him, the kings of Syria and all the others were astonished at his conduct, and suspected that the king had lost his reason. But when Parmenio came forward alone, and inquired, why forsooth, when all did obeisance to him, he should do obeisance to the high-priest of the Jews? 'It was not him,' he answered, 'but God, to whom I did reverence, of whom he is honoured to be the high-priest; for I saw this same person in the same robes in a dream, when at Diun in Macedonia. And when I was pondering how I should conquer Asia, he charged me not to delay, but to cross over boldly; for that he would guide my army, and give me the kingdom of the Persians. So that, as I have seen no other in such robes, and see him now wearing them, I am reminded of my dream and the exhortation, and believe that, as I have made the expedition under a Divine guidance, I shall conquer Darius, and destroy the power of the Persians, and that all will prosper according to my wishes.' Having spoken thus to Parmenio, he took the high-priest by the right hand, and came into the city. And when he had gone up to the temple, he sacrificed to God under the instruction of the high-priest, and treated him and the other priests with worthy honours. *And when the book of Daniel the prophet had been read to him, in which he announced that some one of the Greeks would destroy the kingdom of the Persians, he judged that he himself was the party intended, and being delighted at it, he dismissed the people for the present; but having summoned them the next day, commanded them to ask of him whatever favours they pleased. And when the high-priest entreated that they might use their country's laws, and be free from tributes every seventh year, he granted all their desire. And when they besought him that he would permit the Jews also in Babylonia and Media to use their own laws, he promised readily to do what they required.'*

This narrative not only throws light on the prophecy, but illustrates remarkably the care of God over His chosen people. The providence of God has thus put a distinct seal on the fulfilment of these verses in Alexander, by the privileges which were thus procured from the Macedonian for the whole Jewish nation.

When the great horn was broken, four stood up for it out of the nation, but not in his power. The division and distraction of the Macedonian Empire, after Alexander's death, are noticed by many historians. The writer of the first book of Maccabees describes the change briefly,—“So Alexander reigned twelve years, and then died. And his servants bare rule every one in his place. And after his death they all put crowns upon themselves ; so did their sons after them many years, and evils were multiplied on the earth.”

The fourfold division is referred, by Jerome and Theodoret, to Ptolemy, Seleucus, Antigonus and Antipater, four chief generals who obtained power after Alexander's death. By Sir Isaac Newton and later authors, it is explained more accurately of the fourfold division after the battle of Ipsus, when Antigonus was slain, and Ptolemy, Seleucus, Lysimachus, and Cassander, shared the whole monarchy among them, and assumed also the title of kings. Amidst the complex and confused changes of that whole period, a close inquiry will reveal the strict accuracy of the description. The account of those changes by Dexippus, the most complete that we now possess, is in the following words.

“After the death of Alexander, Aridæus, his brother, of the same father and Philine the Thessalian (surnamed Philip from the love of the Macedonians to his father Philip), and Alexander, his son by Rhoxane the daughter of Oxigartes, divide the rule of the Macedonians ; then the others ruled each in their own district. Of these the leaders were Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, who obtained the kingdom of Egypt ; Seleucus Nicator, that of Syria and Cilicia as far as Babylon. Perdicas, who received from Alexander his own ring,

is appointed over the greater Phrygia ; Lysimachus obtains the right coast of Pontus ; Antigonus the lesser Phrygia, and Pamphylia, and Lycia ; Eumenes, Pamphlagonia and Cappadocia ; and Cassander, the son of Antipater, with his father, disposes the kingdom of Aridæus and Alexander Ægus among the Macedonians, and rules over Greece. All these things took place in the hundred and fourteenth Olympiad. (B.C. 324—320.) In its beginning, before Aridæus reigned, Olympias, the mother of Alexander, slew him, either being sent by Æacus, king of Epirus, or when she had fled from him into Macedonia,—for two accounts are given. Having slain him, then, and his wife, in the seventh year of his reign after Alexander, she was soon after slain by Cassander, the son of Antipater. Now she had begun to reign over the Macedonians with the two sons of Alexander, the one by Barsine, called Hercules, and Alexander, already mentioned, son of Rhoxane, daughter of Oxigartes, king of the Bactrians. These also Cassander himself slew, and having cast out Olympias unburied, proclaimed himself to the Macedonians as their king ; and after marrying the wife of king Philip, Thessalonica, and reigning nineteen years, perished with a wasting disease, by means of his three sons, Philip, Alexander, and Antipater. Philip ruled first after Cassander, and died in Elatea. Antipater, after slaying his own mother, Thessalonica, who had conspired with Alexander his brother, fled to Lysimachus, and was slain by him, though he had married his daughter. Alexander married Lysandra, daughter of Ptolemy, and was slain by Demetrius Poliorcetes, whom he had summoned to his aid against Antipater his younger brother. This Demetrius now reigned over the Macedonians, being the son of Antigonus, who had the lesser Phrygia for his portion, and had become the most powerful of the kings in Asia at that time, who also died in Phrygia, all the rival princes having confederated to overthrow him, after a reign of eighteen years. This Demetrius reigned over the Macedonians six months only after he had slain

Alexander, Cassander's son, and was driven from his kingdom by Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, and son of Æacus, a man both of valour in action, and skill in counsel. Pyrrhus, having driven out Demetrius, reigned seven months in Macedonia. But Lysimachus, the Thessalian, son of Agathocles, and one of Alexander's spearmen, who reigned over Thrace and the rest of the Chersonesus that bordered on Pontus and Macedonia, made an incursion on the latter, as an adjoining country, and succeeded Pyrrhus ; and himself reigned over the Macedonians five years and six months ; but being slain in battle by Seleucus king of Syria and Asia, who had also made prisoner Demetrius Poliorcetes, he fell from his power. It is now plain how Antigonus died who ruled Phrygia, Pamphylia and Lycia, immediately after Alexander, and how his son Demetrius, after gaining Macedonia by fraud, was driven out by Pyrrhus, and died, after being made captive by Seleucus in Cilicia ; and again, how Lysimachus, after expelling Pyrrhus, was vanquished by Seleucus : it remains to show how Seleucus also obtained the kingdom. Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, who first ruled over Egypt after Alexander forty years, joined battle at Palægazza with Demetrius, son of Antigonus, and, upon his victory, proclaimed Seleucus king of Syria and the upper regions. But Seleucus, going up as far as Babylonia, and overcoming the barbarians, reigned fifty-two years, for which reason also he was surnamed Nicanor. In the fifty-second year, then, of his reign, and the seventy-fifth of his whole life, when he had driven Lysimachus from Macedon, and was elated with the victory, he was slain by Ptolemy, called Ceraunus, when on the point of reigning over Macedon."

The summary of these changes, given by Venema, serves still more clearly to explain the words of the vision.

"New troubles presently arising after the house of Alexander was extirpated, a war sprang up between the allies, Cassander, Lysimachus, Ptolemy, and Seleu-

cus on the one side, and Antigonus and his son Demetrius on the other. After Demetrius had defeated Ptolemy with great slaughter, and taken Cyprus, Antigonus, elated with his success, first assumed the diadem, and placed it on Demetrius ; which when the allies presently imitated, six kings suddenly appeared on the scene, Antigonus, Demetrius, Ptolemy, Lysimachus, Cassander, and last, Seleucus, who had now enlarged his kingdom through the East. This was B.C. 306. The war was then renewed on both sides with greater forces ; and a decisive battle being fought at Ipsus, in Phrygia, Antigonus was vanquished and slain, and his kingdom extinguished. B.C. 301. To use the words of Plutarch, the victor kings divided among themselves the whole kingdom of Antigonus and Demetrius, like a great carcass torn to pieces, and joined it to their own provinces. *By this fourth and last division, Ptolemy retained his kingdom, and added to it Cœle Syria, Phœnice, and Judea ; Lysimachus, besides Thrace, received Bithynia and other regions on the Asiatic side of the Hellespont and Bosphorus ; Cassander obtained Macedonia and Greece ; Seleucus the rest of Asia, so that from that time he founded the Syro-Macedonian kingdom."*

The facts of history, it appears from these extracts, are in full accordance with the prophecy. When the great horn was broken, four notable horns were to rise in its stead, and out of the same nation. After the race of Alexander was extinct, which was very soon after his death, only one formal partition occurred ; and this was a four-fold partition, among four confederate and victorious kings. But the strength of Alexander's sceptre had already passed away. The new kingdoms were "not according to his power." Two of them were soon absorbed into one ; and the rest fell into rapid decay ; till Macedon, Egypt, and Syria, all sank alike beneath the domination of Rome.

CHAPTER III.

THE THREE SUCCESSORS OF CYRUS.

DANIEL XI. 1, 2.—AND I IN THE FIRST YEAR OF DARIUS THE MEDE, EVEN I STOOD TO CONFIRM AND TO STRENGTHEN HIM. AND NOW WILL I SHEW THEE THE TRUTH. BEHOLD, THERE SHALL STAND UP YET THREE KINGS IN PERSIA.

THE Prophetic History, in the vision of the eighth chapter, has now been continued to the point where the differences of interpretation appear. Before we enter on the rest, it will be more natural to complete the outline, from the later and fuller vision which closes the whole book. This is clearly a more detailed account of the events to occur in the East, and a kind of supplement to the former message. The one reveals the Persian victories of Cyrus; the other adds an account of his successors to Xerxes, when the first great defeat of the empire began. The one reveals the conquests of Alexander, and the general division of his empire; the other continues it onward through the reigns of the Syrian and Egyptian kings for more than a century and half after Alexander's death. The two combined are the most complete body of history, clearly revealed, to be found in the whole range of sacred prophecy.

The speaker, in this last vision, is the Son of God himself. His appearance exactly answers to the one in the Apocalypse, where he reveals himself to the beloved disciple, as here to the beloved prophet. His station resembles that which He held in the former vision, when He gave command to Gabriel to expound the meaning.

A full discussion of this point would belong rather to a commentary on the tenth chapter ; but there are two things which, in my judgment, may be clearly proved ; that the princes of Persia and Javan, as also Michael and Gabriel, are created angels, and that the speaker in this last vision is the Angel of the covenant, the Son of God.

The prediction begins, as before, with the actual date of the vision. Thus the dream of Nebuchadnezzar begins with the height of Babylonian power ; the vision of the four beasts, with the plucking of the eagle wings, or the empire's weakness under Belshazzar ; that of the Ram, with the early conquests of Cyrus, westward ; and the prophecy of the seventy weeks begins also, virtually, with the decree of the same monarch. So also the present vision, given only five years before the death of Cyrus, begins with the three kings his successors. The point of departure is indeed marked doubly. A clause is prefixed, which links it with the accession of Darius four years earlier. For the fall of Babylon was an era far more conspicuous than the third year of Cyrus, and would hence form a more suitable commencement for a history, that was to reach onward to the end of time.

This clause is instructive on several accounts. The short reign of Darius the Mede for two years at Babylon, and the eminence of Daniel as his first noble, have almost disappeared from profane authors. Thus Divine prophecy, even where plainest, resembles human life. It issues from a mysterious origin, and buries itself once more in deep mystery at its close, while the clear sunlight of historic evidence beams on its midway course. There is no solid ground, however, to doubt the truth of the usual view, that this Darius is the Cyaxares of Xenophon, and the uncle of Cyrus. Both from sacred and profane history we may infer that he was a mild and pacific prince, very unlike his ambitious and enterprising comrade. And hence, under the veil of Grecian romance, and portrayed by the pen of a soldier, he appears in a light almost despicable. But the judgment of God and man is often widely different ;

and in every rank that meek and quiet spirit, which man despises, is in the sight of God of great price. The present case is perhaps one example of this truth. Certainly scarce any one of the heathen kings appears to us in God's word under a more attractive light ; both from his strong personal affection for Daniel, and the deep and solemn impression made upon him by the prophet's deliverance.

There seems, then, to be a secret emphasis, commonly overlooked, in this opening clause. The Angel has just spoken of his own strong contention with the Prince of Persia. He now mentions the help he had given to Darius the Mede, as a fresh example of the same truth. In Herodotus and the Canon, and most other profane authors, this king is passed by in silence, and the reign of Cyrus dates from the fall of Babylon. The supremacy of Persia seems to have blotted out this short reign of the Mede, as if it were a tacit affront to the fame of the Persian conqueror. We must naturally conceive that all the Persians, and the army of Cyrus, with few exceptions, would desire him to assume the sovereign power. The claims of Darius, as the elder prince, and son of Astyages, would seem unable to resist such a mighty influence. But the Angel began his resistance to the Prince of Persia, by securing this short reign to the Median king. Thus the prophecies were fulfilled ; seventy years were completed before the decree of Cyrus ; Daniel himself was exalted to fresh honour ; and a bright gleam of truth, in the decree of Darius, and the rescue of the prophet, broke through the darkness of the heathen empire. The Angel may thus refer doubly to the reign of that king, as one fruit of his own supernatural power, and a pattern of his constant advocacy of the cause of God's people.

The phrase, "to strengthen him," is also very significant. The word is *mahoz*, the same which occurs in the plural, *mahuzzim*, at the close of the prophecy. Here it plainly denotes a tutelary or guardian power, exercised on behalf of Darius by the Son of God. At the

close of the vision it must bear a similar meaning. The Mahuzzim are thus tutelary powers, whether saints, angels, or demons, who are objects of great honour to the wilful king.

The prophecy itself announces the three successors of Cyrus, and a fourth, of greater riches, who would stir up all against the realm of Grecia. The key to this brief account may be found in the previous chapter. There we learn that the leading moral object, in the first part of the vision, is the conflict of Persia and Greece, and the overthrow of the former. The crisis, it was foreseen, would occur in the days of the fourth king; and the three others are specified, without any detail of their actions, to fix the place of their celebrated, but inglorious successor. We may now select from Herodotus, almost a contemporary, the chief occurrences of these reigns.

‘When Cyrus was dead, Cambyses took the kingdom, the son of Cyrus and Cassandane, daughter of Pharnaspes. On her dying before him, Cyrus himself had grieved very greatly, and commanded all over whom he ruled, to make public mourning. Cambyses, being the son of such a mother, and of Cyrus, reckoned the Ionians and Æolians slaves, inherited from his father; but marched against Egypt, taking with him others of those whom he ruled over, and also some of the Greeks who were under his command.

‘Now when Cambyses was bent on marching against Egypt, and at a loss how to effect his march across the desert, Phanes arrived, and told him many other things besides about the affairs of Amasis, but especially about the march, exhorting him to send to the King of Arabia, to secure a safe passage.

‘The invasion of Egypt is open only in this direction. For from Phœnice to the borders of the city Cadytis (Jerusalem), a city, as it appears to me, not much less than Sardis, the sea-coast harbours, as far as Ienysus, belong to the Arabian. From Ienysus again they are Syrian, as far as the Serbonian bog, near which Mount

Casius reaches into the sea ; but from the Serbonian bog, where the fame is, that Typhon is concealed, you are already in Egypt. Now the part between the city Ienysus, and Mount Casius and the Serbonian bog, being no small distance, but full three days journey, is excessively parched and desert.'

A short account of the conquest then follows, as given already, with the savage barbarity of Cambyses, in whose person the emblem of the bear, in the second vision, seems most aptly to have described the Persian kingdom. After a fruitless and destructive march against the temple of Hammon, he returned to Memphis. Soon after, he was completely phrenzied, and first ordered the death of his own brother Smerdis, whom he had sent back to Susa from Egypt ; and then slew himself, in a passion, his sister Merve, whom he had incestuously married. " And while he lingered in Egypt in his raving madness, two brothers, Magi, revolt against him ; of whom Cambyses had left one in charge of his house. This one therefore revolted, and learning that the death of Smerdis was kept secret, since few of the Persians knew him, and most of them thought him to be alive, he laid his plan accordingly. He had a brother, who, as I said, revolted along with him, resembling Smerdis the son of Cyrus very much in his appearance ; and he also himself had the name of Smerdis. Him therefore the Magus Pateizeithes led into the throne of the king. And when this was done, he sent out heralds both in other directions and into Egypt also, proclaiming to the army that henceforward they must obey Smerdis the son of Cyrus and not Cambyses ? "

While Cambyses was hastening to suppress the revolt, he died from an accidental wound by his own sword, at Ecbatana in Syria. Such was the end of the first of these three kings, a monster of cruelty and wickedness.

And now the second reign began, though of very short continuance. " The Magus, when Cambyses was dead, reigned without fear, using the title of his

namesake Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, for the seven months which still remained to complete the reign of Cambyses to eight years. In this interval he shewed many acts of kindness to all his subjects, so that when he died, all in Asia mourned him, except the Persians themselves. For the Magian, sending to every nation which he ruled over, proclaimed to them an immunity from military service and tribute for three years. This proclamation he gave as soon as he entered on his reign."

In the eighth month the fraud was discovered, and seven Persian nobles conspired together, and slew both Smerdis and his brother. One reason, among others, was their hatred of a Median ruler. Thus Gobryas mentions the indignity—"We being Persians, are ruled by the Magian, who is a Mede, and one too who has lost his ears." After some delay, it was determined to restore the monarchy, and having agreed to decide the choice by a kind of augury, the neighing of their horses at sunrise, Darius obtained the throne.

"Darius then, the son of Hystaspes, was made king ; and all in Asia were subject to him, except the Arabians ; being subverted by Cyrus first, and then by Cambyses.....He appointed twenty governments, which they call satrapies. And having arranged these, and appointed satraps, he ordained the tributes to be brought to him from every nation.....For under Cyrus, and also Cambyses, there was no fixed tribute, but they offered gifts. On account of this imposition of taxes, and other similar acts, the Persians say that Darius was a tradesman, and Cambyses a master, but Cyrus a father ; the first, because he put out all things for profit, the second, because he was stern and passionate ; and the other, because he was gentle and planned for them all manner of benefit."

It would be tedious to follow at length the acts of this reign. A summary of the account in Herodotus will give a fuller view than a few separate extracts, and will be enough to illustrate the prophecy.

Darius (justly styled *tradesman*) seeks for gain by intercepting the supply of water from certain tribes. Intaphernes is forbidden to approach the king, and when he had foully mutilated the guards, is given over to death with his sons and relations. At the intreaty of his wife, her brother and one of her sons are spared.

Polycrates, the Samian, allured to Sardis by Orætes, the prefect of Darius, ends his life by a disgraceful punishment. Democedes the physician, his companion, with others, is led away in slavery to Susa. Darius has Orætes put to death for other crimes. Democedes, on healing the king's foot, is loaded with gifts. Having cured Atossa of an ulcer, he is sent with fifteen noble Persians to spy the coasts of Greece, and having obtained leave to visit Crotona, his native place, under promise of return, breaks his engagement. Gillus, a Tarentine exile, redeems the captive Persians, whom the Cnidians strive in vain, by the king's command, to restore to their country.

The Babylonians revolt from Darius. Having before laid up provisions, and strangled most of the women, they are besieged by the king to no purpose. At last, by the deceit of Zopyrus, the king gains the city, and deprives it of its walls and gates.

Darius determines to take vengeance on the Scythians, who once for twenty-eight years had obtained the Empire of Asia. The Scythians' account of their own origin. Geography and tribes of the Scythians. Beyond the Tanais, the Sauromatæ, Budini, Thysagætæ, and Jyræ; beyond these the Agippæi. Beyond these men who are said to sleep for six months. Geography of the Earth. Africa surrounded by sea, as proved by the Phœnicians, under Necho, and the Carthaginians. The voyage of Sataspes, the Persian, was begun at Darius' command, but not completed. By the same Darius, a great part of Asia disclosed, by means of Scylax. Institutes of the Scythians.

Artabanus, brother of Darius, dissuades in vain from the war. Darius slays three sons of a noble Persian, who begged that one might be exempt from service. The king comes to the Bosphorus. Two columns reared at the bridge, one in Assyrian, the other in Greek letters. The Ionians sent with ships into the Ister, to form a bridge. Darius journeys through Thrace. Other Thracians surrender, the Getæ subdued by force. Darius crosses the Ister, and leaves the bridge in charge of the Ionians. The Scythians, dividing their forces in three parts, lead Darius about, at the distance of a day's journey, so that he can never overtake them. Darius, declining battle, prepares to return. The Scythians, by a shorter road, arrive first at the Ister, and exhort the Ionians to break down the bridge. When they have retired, Darius reaches the Ister, and by the help of Istiæus, passes over the bridge into

Thrace. Then he returns to Asia, and leaves Megabazus his general, in Europe.

Lybian expedition of the Persians. History of Cyrene. The people of Lybia. The Persians assail Barce to no effect. At length by deceit and perfidy they take the city. Pheretima rages against the Barcæi and their wives. The Persians strive in vain to seize on Cyrene; they are wasted by the Lybians. A town in Bactriana given to the captives of Barce. Pheretima dies, eaten of worms.

Megabazus, being left in Europe, subdues the Perinthians, and all Thrace. Darius makes Coes, the Lesbian, tyrant of Mitylene, and gives Myrcinus to Istiaeus, tyrant of Miletus. The Pæonians are betrayed to Darius, and led over into Asia. Megabazus demands earth and water from Amyntas, king of Macedon. The ambassadors are slain by Alexander, son of Amyntas. Darius calls Istiaeus to Sardis, and takes him along with him to Susa. Artaphernes is appointed over Sardis, Otanes over the navy. He reduces Byzantium, Chalcedon, Lemnos.

The misfortunes of Ionia from Naxos and Miletus. Naxian exiles intreat Aristagoras to restore them to their country, which he promises to do by the help of Artaphernes. Megabazus is sent with troops, and a strife arising between him and Aristagoras, the Persians return from Naxos without success. Aristagoras plans a revolt of Ionia from the Persians, Hecataeus, the historian, dissuading him. He restores liberty in appearance to the Milesians and other cities; and then goes to Sparta, to seek help against the Persians.

Cleomenes, son of Anaxandrides, king of Sparta. Aristagoras shews him in a map the road to Susa, and exhorts him to make war on the Persians, but is ordered to leave the city.

The description of the route from Sardis to Susa will throw light on the scene both of the former and the present vision.

‘ Now the road is as follows:—Everywhere there are royal stages, and excellent resting-places; and the whole passes through a safe and inhabited country. For through Lydia and Phrygia are twenty stages, and ninety-four and a half parasangs. Next comes the river Halys, at which there are gates that must be passed, and the river itself crossed, and here there is a large fortress,—crossing next into Cappadocia, and journeying to the bounds of Cilicia, there are twenty-eight

stages and one hundred and four parasangs. At these bounds you pass two sets of gates and two fortresses. After these, journeying through Cilicia, there are three stages and fifteen and a half parasangs. Now, the boundary of Cilicia and Armenia is a navigable river, of which the name is Euphrates. In Armenia are fifteen resting-places, and fifty-six and a half parasangs. Four navigable rivers flow through this province, all of which must be crossed ; the first, the Tigris, the second and the third with the same name, though the rivers are different and flow from different sources ; and the fourth has the name Gyndes, which is the river that Cyrus divided. In passing from this Armenia to Matiene, there are four stages ; and hence into the Cissian province, eleven stages and forty-two and a half parasangs to the river Choaspes, being itself also navigable for ships, upon which river Susa is built. All the stages are a hundred and eleven ; and if the royal road has been correctly numbered in parasangs, and the parasang is equal to thirty stadia, from Sardis to the Memnonian palace, will be 450 parasangs and 13,500 stadia, or a journey of ninety days."

The summary of the reign is continued as follows :—

Hippias solicits the help of the Persians against the Athenians. The Ionians with the Athenians capture Sardis, except the citadel ; the city is set on fire. The Persians defeat them in a battle at Ephesus. After the return of the Athenians, the Ionians join to them the cities of Hellespont ; and a part of Caria, Cyprus, except Amathus, revolts from the Medes, and joins the Ionians. Darius sends Istiæus to appease the tumults.

A. C. 498. The Ionian fleet and Persian forces reach Cyprus at the same time. The Ionians conquer by sea, the Persians by land. All Cyprus at length is subdued by the Persians. Their leaders, in different parts, press the war against the Ionians. The Carians, with the Milesians, are defeated again ; but afterwards inflict a great slaughter on the Persians. The cities of the Hellespont, of Ionia, and Æolia are subdued. Aristagoras in despair leaves Miletus for Myrcinus, and is slain by the Thracians, A. C. 497.

A. C. 496. Histæus sent down to Sardis, he betakes himself with Lesbian ships to Byzantium. The Persians besiege Miletus

by land and sea ; the Ionians, deserted by the Samians are slain in great numbers. Miletus is taken, as the Pythian oracle had predicted ; the inhabitants deported to the mouth of the Tigris. The Athenians fine Phrynichus for his tragedy, " the capture of Miletus." A. D. 494.

Part of the Samians, abhorring the Persian yoke, flee to Sicily and seize on Zancle. Samos and Caria are subdued. Histiaeus reduces Chius ; then meeting with the Persians on the continent, is taken alive. He is sent to Sardis, and slain by Artaphernes against the will of the king. The Chersonesus and Thrace up to Byzantium are brought under the Persian rule.

A. C. 492. Mardonius, after Ionia is reduced, seeks Europe, with a great fleet to make war on Trachin and Athens. Thasus and part of Macedon are reduced. Darius sends heralds through Greece to demand earth and water. The kings of Sparta.

A. D. 490. Datis and Artaphernes, in the place of Mardonius, invade Greece with a great navy. They storm Naxos and other of the Cyclaiades, but spare Delos. They seize on Carythus and Trachin. With Hippias for their guide they pass on to Marathon. The Athenians march against them, with Miltiades for their chief general, who was lately driven from the Chersonesus. The Plataeans alone help the Athenians. **THE BATTLE OF MARATHON.** The Persians seek the Phalerus ; but finding the city well guarded return to Asia. After the battle, the Spartan succours reach Athens, Darius prepares a new war against Greece, and against the revolted Egyptians. When about to march, he names a successor, not his eldest son, but Xerxes. Presently Xerxes succeeds on the death of Darius.

Such is the outline which Herodotus supplies to us of these three successors of Cyrus. The Canon of Ptolemy agrees in the same account, only Smerdis is omitted, as usual, because his reign was less than a year. On the other hand, Æschylus mentions the son of Cyrus or Cambyses, and Mardus, or Smerdis, in the same order ; but, if his text be genuine, inserts two names, probably of the conspirators, before Darius the third king. All the other classical authorities agree on the succession already given. It remains only to show its accordance with the sacred history.

We are told, Ezra iv. 4—6, that the enemies of the Jews, when their help had been rejected, " hired counsellors against them, to frustrate their purpose, all the

days of Cyrus, king of Persia, even until the reign of Darius, king of Persia. And in the reign of Ahasuerus, in the beginning of his reign, they wrote an accusation against the inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem. And in the reign of Artaxerxes, wrote Bishlam, Mithredath, Tabeel, and the rest of their companions, unto Artaxerxes, king of Persia." The prohibition was granted them at their request. "And when the copy of king Artaxerxes' letter was read before Rehum and Shimshai the scribe, and their companions, they went up in haste to Jerusalem unto the Jews, and made them to cease by force and power. Then ceased the work of the house of God which is at Jerusalem. So it ceased unto the second year of the reign of Darius, king of Persia."

Here we have plainly three reigns after Cyrus; and the name of the third king is the same as in Herodotus, confirmed by the Canon and other writers. We learn also from Zech. iv., that, in the fourth year of this Darius, seventy anniversary fasts were completed from the fall of the temple. Now, as the reign of Nebuchadnezzar in Scripture dates two years earlier than in the Canon, his nineteenth, when the temple was burnt, will be the seventeenth in the Canon. Twenty-six years, the remainder of his reign, two of Ilverodamus, four of Nericassolassar, seventeen of the last king of Babylon, nine of Cyrus, and eight of Cambyses, complete sixty-six years. So that the four first years of Darius Hystaspes plainly complete seventy years, as the prophet Zechariah declares.

The only occasion for doubt is the difference of the two former names. But this is of no real weight. The second of these kings has no less than four different names, even in profane writers. He is called Smerdis by Herodotus, Mardus by Æschylus, Spendadates by Ctesias, and by Justin, Oropastes. And again, both Artaxerxes Mnemon and Ochus assumed the name Artaxerxes on coming to the throne; yet the former only is usually styled by that name in classical history.

The events also in Ezra and Zechariah agree well

with the same view. The hindrance which had begun in the time of Cyrus, would be likely to become greater in the reign of a prince so fierce and brutal as Cambyses. The precise mention of "the beginning of the reign of Ahasuerus, while no such distinction occurs in the following verse, agrees well with two reigns of eight years and of seven months. For in the second of these, there would be little more than time to procure the decree, and to put it in execution, before the death of Smerdis. The work, on this view, would be hindered for fourteen years, but entirely prohibited for two years only. And this is confirmed by the words, verse 16, "Then came the same Sheshbazzar, and laid the foundation of the house of God ; and since that time even until now, hath it been in building, and it is not yet finished." This answers exactly to the nature of the interval, as determined above.

Again, the recent decree, in chapter iv., must have been notorious. Yet it is passed over in silence, in the report chapter v., and only the authority of Cyrus himself is appealed to as decisive. The history supplies us with a key to the contrast of tone. Cambyses was deservedly unpopular, and his memory detested. Smerdis, though popular in the provinces, had just been put to death as an impostor and usurper, and Darius had slain him with his own hand. His decree against the Jews would rather incline his successor to favour them. Darius Hystaspes, after obtaining the kingdom by subtlety from his fellow-conspirators, sought to strengthen his claim by marrying the daughter of Cyrus. And the Darius in Ezra, in like manner, seems to disclaim acting from his own will, and refers the whole to the previous decision and decree of Cyrus himself. There is, in this correspondence between the book of Ezra and the narrative in Herodotus, a plain and clear stamp of historical truth, which confirms the previous conclusion.

In the reign of this Darius, the third successor of Cyrus, the rebuilding of God's house was renewed, under

the exhortations of Haggai and Zechariah. Its dedication took place in his sixth year, in the month Adar, or about March A. C. 516. "And the children of Israel, which were come again out of captivity.....kept the feast of unleavened bread seven days with joy ; for the Lord had made them joyful, and turned the heart of the king of Assyria unto them, to strengthen their hands in the work of the house of God, the God of Israel."

Both in the prophecy and in the Persian history, the close of these three reigns is marked by the clearest evidence. The fourth king, who is far richer than all, and stirs up all against the realm of Grecia, plainly answers to Xerxes, the son and successor of Darius, whose expedition against Greece is the most famous event of all classical history, and hence is singled out for such distinct notice in this angelic prediction. In the previous reign, Haggai and Zechariah had begun and ceased their prophecies, and a fresh light had thus been thrown upon the hopes and future destinies of the people of God.

Let us now dwell on some of the lessons which these words supply to us ; opening, as they do, a long vista of worldly changes that reach onward to the resurrection of the just.

And first, the brevity of the announcement is most instructive, and full of a sublime grandeur. The reigns are exactly numbered, and thus become a pledge of the Divine foreknowledge, which embraced all their changes in one comprehensive glance of wisdom. But not one detail is given ; the Angel passes them by without a single remark. Yet those three reigns reach forward through fifty years of the world's history, A. C. 534—485. During that interval, one whole generation, and half of a second, were born and passed away. The events themselves were various and important. Egypt, once the first of kingdoms, was finally debased into a province, and the pride of the Pharaohs was for ever humbled in the dust. Mighty armies from Asia tra-

versed the Arabian and Lybian deserts. The nations of the East, under Darius, crossed for the first time into Europe, and the conquests of Trajan and of the Huns and Ottomans in later times, beyond the Danube, were first explored by Persian invaders. Tribute was imposed on twenty satrapies and a hundred and twenty provinces, from the shore of the Ægean sea to the Indus. Babylon, so lately the mistress of the world, revolted, was besieged and taken, and its proud walls broken down. The coasts of Asia were for the first time explored, and the Indus, now the boundary of our own empire, was navigated by the ships of Darius. "The parts of Lybia about Cyrene" were first subdued by the Persian armies. Thrace was subjugated, with Byzantium, the future seat of empire for a thousand years. Greece and Persia were brought more and more into deadly conflict. Sardis was burnt by the Ionians. Cyprus revolted and was subdued. Miletus was taken and plundered. Europe itself was invaded with mighty armies, and the battle of Marathon gave an earnest to the Persian monarchy of those heavier defeats which it was presently to endure. The history of Greece, during the same interval, was not less fertile in events of deep interest. Pythagoras flourished, and gave rise to a new school of philosophy. Tragedy first began, under Thespis and Phrynichus. Æschylus, Anaxagoras, Pindar and Sophocles were born. The naval power of Athens arose into formidable strength. The sons of Pisistratus were expelled from Athens, and the Tarquins from Rome. In short, few periods have been more fruitful in great events, and in names that have been conspicuous through all later generations. Hundreds of millions were born into this world of change, and reared from infancy to manhood. Each, with his own deep interests and emotions, a world in himself, became an actor in the eventful drama of life ; and hundreds of millions, in their turn, sank into the grave, to await the solemn voice of the archangel in the day of judgment.

With all these changes full in his view, the revealing

Angel passes them by in silence, and veils them all under one short sentence—"Behold, there stand up yet three kings in Persia." His eye of wisdom reached beyond to the most distant ages, and each separate part of the scheme of Providence, though so vast in itself as to confound human thought, is reduced at once to its due proportion in the Divine narrative. His purpose was to reveal the trials of Israel, and the delay of their final deliverance; yet not to crush the spirit of his servant with the prospect of a boundless and interminable waste of suffering and sin. Therefore He wisely and graciously contracts the whole into narrow compass. He passes quickly over events just at hand, when the voice of prophecy would be still granted to His people, and dwells chiefly on those middle ages of trial under the Syrian kings, when the last prophet would have ceased his message, and still the dawn of Messiah's presence would not have risen upon Zion. All events are measured here by their bearing on the interests, the hopes and trials of the people of God; and the conquests of Persia, the birth of Grecian poetry and philosophy, and the expiring struggle of Babylon, are equally passed by in total silence.

And yet these few words, thoughtfully considered give a dignity to the events of these reigns, beyond all which they can borrow from the skill of human historians, or from the splendor of Grecian oratory. They lift the whole out of the level of mere human perishable interests and passions, and present it to our view as one secret link, foreseen from the beginning, in the eternal counsel of God. The same spirit of prophecy has announced them, which revealed, in the previous chapter, the sacrifice of Messiah and his everlasting righteousness; and which proclaims, in the close of this same vision, the resurrection of the dead. These passing sojourners, like all the later generations of mankind, are here made to pass under a triumphal archway, whose sacred pillars are the atonement and the resurrection, infinite grace and eternal judgment. The kings and

princes, the satraps and chieftains of Persia, the poets, historians, and orators of Greece, and all the multitudes who fought at Miletus or at Marathon, are here set before us, as within the grasp of infinite wisdom, which fixed the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation, that even in the thick darkness they might feel after the Lord their Maker. How strangely deep and thrilling will the interest of this prophecy appear, when its first and latest revelations shall blend into one, and the Persians who fell in the Lybian sands or in the plains of Marathron, shall be found among the sleepers in the dust who have arisen for their final judgment! This prophecy, so wide in its range, and so wonderful in its issue, is thus like a glimpse into that Infinite Mind, with whom a thousand years are only as yesterday when it is past, or as one of the night-watches before the morning has arisen.

But the statement acquires a fresh interest, when we connect it with the prophet to whom it was revealed. Seventy years had now passed since he stood before Nebuchadnezzar, then in the height of his power, and he must now have been almost ninety years of age, and ready to be gathered to his fathers.

How empty the world must now have appeared to him, and the glory of its mightiest Empire, like the dream of a night vision! The image of gold, and its idolatrous worshippers, had all passed away for ever. The pride of Nebuchadnezzar and the revels of his grandson, had alike been buried in the silence of the grave. The captivity, so long warned of, and the deliverance so long promised, both in their turn had been fulfilled, and still a fresh waste of sin and trouble and change was now opening before him. Well might he utter, with deep emotions of pain and wonder, that earnest enquiry—"O my Lord, what shall be the end of these things?" When shall this fleeting vision of change be ended, and lasting peace, and solid and eternal felicity, dawn at length on the people of God?

The contrast, indeed, must have been strange to the

eyes of Daniel himself ; and it is still more wonderful, now that the fulfilment has enlarged the meaning of the prediction. When he stood before Nebuchadnezzar, a lonely captive, Babylon was in the height of its glory. Now that he is on the verge of eternity, and the glory of heaven is opening around him, the last struggles of the proud city and its double ruin, are passed by in silence, as unworthy of a place in this brief notice of the three Persian reigns. At that time, Persia was a despised province, and Cyrus was not yet born. Now the predicted deliverer has risen from obscurity into unexampled power, and founded an Empire wider than that of Babylon, by victories which would furnish the subject of Grecian romance and Eastern fable, and be celebrated through all future ages. And his course also was now almost ended, and five years would see the conqueror himself return to the dust. The history of the prophet resembled in its various changes the fleeting scenes which he had witnessed around him. First in Judea, he was one of the royal seed, and with the hopes which such a descent inspires ; presently, in Babylon, an orphan and an exile, and then exalted in the gate of the king. High in the favour of an earthly monarch, and honored with the visits of angels, he is once more despised and forgotten, till the dreadful hand-writing calls him from neglect and obscurity, and he is made glorious in the very hour of Belshazzar's ruin. The den of lions is succeeded by exaltation to the highest place of honour in the Persian kingdom, and the visit of an archangel from heaven. Now once more he seems deserted or disgraced ; but while earth closes against the aged prophet, heaven opens more brightly to his view, and he receives here the last and most wonderful of his visions. Who then could enter so deeply as himself into the spirit of the message, while it refuses to dwell on the detail of these reigns, and view them only as the shadows, which delay for a little time the dawning of a brighter and eternal kingdom !

But this connexion of the message with the prophet

who receives it may supply another lesson, scarcely less important. Daniel was now about to leave the world, after so long and wonderful an experience of its changes, and to enter into his rest. Yet the Son of God does not count it an useless distraction, to reveal to him, at such a time, this series of political changes in the earth. His language implies, on the contrary, that the message is a precious gift, vouchsafed to the prophet, because of his deep humility and fervent prayer. It is not a mark of a spiritual mind to neglect the Providence of God on earth, or to be indifferent to the changes of the world's kingdom. The higher the soul advances in holiness, the more intense will be its interest in the progress of the kingdom of God, and in the display of His long-suffering, His grace and righteousness, here below. There seems at first a vast and inconceivable descent, from a celestial vision so glorious, to the bare enumeration of three Persian kings. But this is really the highest attainment of heavenly wisdom, to combine reality with mystery, and to bring the most glorious truths of the unseen world, to light up the passing events of time with an interest borrowed from a coming eternity. During those three reigns, that temple was to be rebuilt, in which God incarnate would presently appear; and the conflicts of Persia and Greece were preparing the triumph of that language in which the mystery of godliness was shortly to be revealed and recorded by the Spirit of God, for the salvation of innumerable souls in every age. Like the rock, which was smitten by the rod of Moses, the meanest and most barren event of Providence, once touched with a ray of light from God's eternal counsels, becomes a fountain of living waters, to instruct and cheer the whole Church of God through countless generations. The changes of worldly politics, seen with the eye of the Atheist, are a barren and sandy wilderness;—read in the light which these prophecies supply to us, they are a bright land of promise, enriched in every part with earnest and sure tokens of the glory to be revealed.

The history of these three reigns acquires still a deeper interest, when we associate its changes with the angelic warfare which is here dimly revealed to us. The conflicts of Persia and Greece in the reign of Darius, the Ionian revolt, the Thracian conquests, the burning of Sardis, the invasion of Greece, and the victory of Marathon, are no mere arbitrary changes, but are linked inseparably with an angelic conflict in the heavenly places, and before the throne of the supreme Judge. The Princes of Persia and of Rome, the Angel of the Covenant, and Michael the chief Prince of Israel, are the parties in this sublime contention, and every crime of the rival Empires, their kings or chieftains, has its due weight in the counsels of heaven, and is pleaded on either side with all the energy of superhuman might and angelic wisdom. The cruelties of Cambyses, and of Darius himself, the growing degeneracy of the Persian chiefs, would be the causes why so heavy a blow was sent upon the Empire ; and perhaps also the favour shewn to the Jews, and the decree of that king for the rebuilding of God's house, might be the secret cause why his reign was continued so long, with such general prosperity, and the main reverses were delayed to the reign of Xerxes.

But whatever might be the special form which it assumed in this instance, the truth revealed is universal in its application. The changes of States and Empires do not arise by chance. However unsearchable may be the reasons which influence the counsels of the all-wise God, when he fixes the limits of each reign, the issue of every battle, and the bounds of every empire's power ; we are here taught that far more is revealed to the celestial spirits than our dim eyes are able to perceive. The cry of sin from every household, in each kingdom of the world, rises before the throne. Angelic advocates are there, to plead the various claims of justice or mercy, of forbearing grace, or offended and affronted holiness ; and they watch with intense and eager interest, the sentence which issues perpetually from the lips of the King

of nations. The history of the world, now such a dreary waste to the spiritual mind, because our vision is so earthly, will hereafter reveal to us all the attributes of God in ceaseless and harmonious exercise, with a brightness of holy wisdom that will dazzle and confound us. The prophet was favoured now with a glimpse of this secret glory, in connection with the fullest and clearest of all the inspired predictions. But the vision will be far brighter and more wonderful, when, according to the voice of the Angel, he shall stand in his lot in the end of the days, and awake from sleeping in the dust, to shine as the brightness of the firmament. "For now we see through a glass darkly, but then, face to face : now we know in part, but then shall we know even as we are known."

But this short clause, so trivial in appearance, assumes a still deeper interest, when we reflect on the prophecies which were given during its fulfilment, and the true character of the revealing Angel. During this interval, the same holy Messenger who prevailed to obtain this revelation for the beloved Daniel, continued His work of love by further messages to the Church of God. When the second close of the seventy years' captivity was now come, and the predicted troubles began to lour in the horizon, a fresh series of visions were given to cheer the hearts of His people, and prepare them for His own Advent in mortal flesh and in great humility. It was in the reign of Darius, so glorious in the eyes of the world, but here passed over silently as the third in order of succession, that another king was announced, whose advent was to be marked by features widely different from the proud grandeur of the world's sovereigns. He who now appeared with such dazzling brightness before the eyes of the prophet, revealed by Zechariah His own advent to His waiting people. "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion ; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem ; behold, thy king cometh unto thee ; he is just, and having salvation ; lowly and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt, the foal of an ass." The fulfil-

ment of a prophecy seemingly the most minute and insignificant, included in it the fresh announcement of other events inconceivably wonderful and glorious. In this third reign it was revealed, for the first time, that the Eternal Son of God, Jehovah of Hosts, (Zech. ii. 8.) would enter Zion in such wonderful condescension of love ; and thirty pieces of silver be weighed for his price by unbelieving sinners. But it was also revealed, that he would appear again attended by all His saints, and wonders beyond the proudest triumphs of human royalty, earthquakes, and the rending of mountains, would bear witness to His advent as the King of kings. "His feet shall stand in that day," the prophet declares to us, "on the Mount of Olives, and the Mount of Olives shall cleave in the midst thereof towards the east and towards the west, and there shall be a very great valley . . . and the Lord my God shall come, and all the saints with thee." The glory of the reign of Darius has long passed away, and all his mighty Empire crumbled into ruins and disappeared. But the prophecy then given by the Son of God remains even now a beacon of hope to the Church, and a bright glimpse into a glory still to be revealed ; when Israel shall look with agony of remorse on the pierced Saviour, and their sins be washed away for ever, in the fountain He has opened for sin and uncleanness. The succession of human monarchs will then have merged in a more glorious kingdom. "The Lord shall be king over all the earth, —there shall be one Lord, and His name shall be One." From the boundary of the conquests of Darius in the farthest India, to those of Cæsar in the remotest countries of the West, all will then be blended in one dominion of peace and righteousness, "and they shall go up from year to year to worship the king, the Lord of Hosts." The end, dimly revealed to Daniel in the close of his vision, is here more clearly unfolded in its eternal blessedness ; when the Son of God shall appear, and the exclamation of joy shall burst from the lips of an admiring universe—how great is His goodness and how great is His beauty !

CHAPTER IV.

THE EXPEDITION OF XERXES.

DAN. XI. 2.—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.

THE fulfilment of these words is plain even to a child. Xerxes was the fourth king after Cyrus the Great, and his invasion of Greece is perhaps the most conspicuous and celebrated event of all ancient history. The three last books of Herodotus and the eleventh of Diodorus, are entirely occupied with this one subject, besides the countless allusions in other classical writers. The three former kings are mentioned here by the Angel, to fix the place of the fourth, and thus to attest the Divine foreknowledge; but the invasion of Xerxes is singled out for notice, because it was the grand crisis in the long conflict of Persia and Greece, when the scale of victory began steadily to incline to the latter power, and the second began to yield to the ascendant of the third empire. An intimation of this approaching conflict had already been given in those words of the Angel, "When I go forth, the prince of Javan will come." A new power, it was thus implied, would soon stand up to dispute the Persian supremacy, and by its Advocate in heaven, and its armies on earth, break the proud sceptre which was now stretched out to thwart and hinder the work of God.

After mentioning the death of Darius, and the consultations of Xerxes on the Grecian war, to which he

was urged, according to the historian, by singular dreams, thrice repeated, with threats if he refused to obey them, he continues his narrative in these words :

‘ Xerxes therefore collected his army, searching every part of the continent. For, after the recovery of Egypt, four full years he went on preparing his forces and their provisions, and in the beginning of the fifth he marched with a mighty force. For this was by far the largest armament of all that we have known ; so that neither that of Darius against the Scythians appears any thing by its side, nor that of the Scythians when in pursuit of the Cimmerians they invaded Media, and subverted most of the upper Asia, which Darius sought to avenge ; nor that of Atrides against Ilium ; nor that of the Mysians and Teucrians before the Trojan war, who crossed into Europe by the Bosphorus, and subverted all Thrace, and penetrated over to the Ionian sea, and southward to the river Peneus.

‘ All these armies, and any other beside, are not worthy to be compared with this one of Xerxes. For what tribe of Asia did not he lead against Greece ? What stream did not fail to supply them, except the great rivers ? Some provided ships, others were marshalled on foot, and others furnished cavalry, others transports for horses which might share in the expedition. Others provided large ships for the bridges, and others both ships and provisions.’

The reception of Xerxes at Celænæ, by Pythius, who was second in riches to the king himself, further illustrates the words of the prophecy. Seven days and nights were spent in crossing the Hellespont, and the river Melas was drunk up by the army. They were then numbered by ten thousand at once, and the various tribes are recounted in order.

‘ Now those who marched were as follows. The PERSIANS, who were thus equipped : they had tiaras, as they are called, about their heads, and about their body variegated tunics, greaves on their legs, and bucklers instead of shields. Beneath, their quivers

were suspended. They had short spurs; and long bows with feathered arrows; and daggers in their girdle by their right thigh; and they had Otanes for their captain, the father of Amestris, the wife of Xerxes.'

'The Medes marched equipped in the same way; for this costume is the Median, and not Persian. But the Medes had Tigranes for their ruler, of the race of Achæmenes: and they were formerly called Arii. And the Cissians were equipped in other respects as the Persians, but instead of caps, they wore mitres, and Amaphes the son of Otanes was their captain. And the Hyrcanians had Megapanus for their captain, who after this was governor of Babylon.'

'The Assyrians, in their march, had brazen helmets on their heads, twisted in a barbarian manner, not easy to describe, and shields, and spears, and daggers, very like the Egyptians; and swords pointed with iron, and linen breastplates. These were called Syrians by the Greeks, but Assyrians by the barbarians. Amidst these were the Chaldæans, and Otaspes the son of Artachæus was their leader.'

'The Bactrians marched, equipped nearly as the Medes about the head, but with reed arrows of their country, and short spears. And the Scythian Sacæ had sharp pointed *cyrbases* about their heads, and wore loose trowsers; and carried also the arrows of their country, daggers and battle-axes. These they called Sacæ, being Amyrgean Scythians; for the Persians call all the Scythians by that name. The Bactrians and Sacæ Hystaspes led, the son of Darius and of Atossa the daughter of Cyrus.'

'The Indians had garments made of wood, and bows and arrows of reeds, the arrows tipped with iron. The Arians were equipped with Median bows, in all else as the Bactrians, and Sisamnes the son of Hydarnes was their leader. The Parthians and Chorasmians and Sogdi and Gandarii and Dadicæ marched with the same weapons and costume as the Bactrians. Artabazus led the Parthians and Chorasmians, Azanes son of

Artæus the Sogdians, and Artyphius son of Artabinus the Gandarians and Dadicæ.’

‘The Caspians marched, equipped with sisyrmae and reed bows of their country and scymitars, and Aroimardus, brother of Artyphius, was their commander. The Sarangae were conspicuous with dyed garments, and they had boots reaching to the knee, and Median bows and spears; Pherendates, son of Megabazus, was their leader. The Pactyes too had sisyrmae, and the bows and daggers of their country; and Artyntes commanded them, son of Ithamatres.’

‘The Utii and Myci and Paricanians were equipped as the Pactyes; Arsamanes, son of Darius, and Siromatres, son of Œobazus, were their leaders.’

The progress of the forces to Thermopylæ is next described, and Herodotus then attempts a summary of their total number.

‘Thus far the army was free from disaster, and its numbers were the following, as I find on reckoning up the whole. In the 1207 ships from Asia, the original crews were twenty-four myriads one thousand four hundred, reckoning two hundred to each vessel. Thirty Persians, Medes, or Sacæ, were on board of each, besides others of their respective nations, and these amount to three myriads, ten thousand two hundred and ten. I will add the crews of the fifty-oared vessels, reckoned eighty a-piece. There were, as I said before, three thousand of these vessels, and the crews will be twenty-four myriads. This was the navy from Asia, being 517,610 men. Of the infantry, there were one hundred and seventy myriads. I will add to these the Arabians with camels, and the Libyan chariots, amounting to twenty thousand. The whole amount becomes two hundred and thirty-one myriads, seven thousand six hundred and ten. This was the army brought from Asia, without the provision vessels and their crews.

‘But the army from Europe must be added in; and this must be told by conjecture. The Greeks of Thrace and the islands near Thrace, furnished 120 ships; the

crews then would amount to 24,000 men. But the infantry of the Thracians, the Psktnians and Eordi, the Bottiæans and Chalcidians, and Brugians and Pierians, the Macedonians and Perrhœbi, the Eninians and Dolopians, and Magnesians and Achæans, and those of the sea coast. I reckon that these amount to thirty myriads. The whole amount would be two hundred and sixty-four myriads, sixteen hundred and ten.'

'The number of men-of-war being so great, I imagine that their camp followers were not fewer, but rather that they were more numerous. But reckoning them only equal, the number that Xerxes, son of Darius, led to Thermopylæ, was five hundred and twenty-eight myriads, three thousand two hundred and twenty men. (5,283,220).'

Even this amazing host was not the whole force that was 'stirred up' against the realms of Grecia. Diodorus adds another feature to the description. 'Xerxes,' he says, 'wishing to subvert utterly all the Greeks, sent an embassy to the Carthaginians about acting in concert, and covenanted with them, that he would march against the Greeks who dwelt in Greece itself; but that they should at the same time prepare a mighty force, and vanquish the Greeks, who dwelt in Sicily and Italy. Pursuant to their covenant, the Carthaginians, collecting large revenues, hired mercenaries from Italy and Liguria, and also from Gaul and Iberia, and besides these they enrolled a force from all Libya and Carthage; and at length, having busied themselves three years in preparation, assembled above thirty myriads of men, and two hundred ships. But Xerxes, rivalling the zeal of the Carthaginians, surpassed them as much in all kinds of military preparation, as in the number of tribes which he commanded.'

Thus, in the words of the prediction, all were stirred up against the devoted country of Greece,—Europe, Africa, and Asia, all being combined in one enormous multitude.

The issue of this mighty invasion is not expressed in

the vision, but is clearly implied, since it passes on at once to the supremacy of Greece and the conquests of Alexander. The Persæ of Æschylus, acted within eight years, to celebrate the triumph of the Greeks, will help to convey a more vivid impression of the predicted invasion.

The play opens with the forebodings of the Persian senators, left in charge of the state, when no tidings have been received from the army, and then proceeds to recount the names and valour of the chieftains. 'No messenger and no horsemen come to the city of the Persians. They who set out, leaving Susa and Agbatana, and the Cissian fortress, some on horses, some on ships, and foot soldiers, furnishing a warlike band, even such as Amistres and Artaphranes, and Megabates and Astaspes, leaders of the Persians, kings, subjects of THE GREAT KING, have set forth, the generals of a numerous host, archers and horsemen, dreadful to behold, and terrible in battle for their warlike renown; also Artembares delighting in horses, and Masistres, and the skilful archer, Imæus, and Pharendaces, and Sosthanes the excellent horseman. Others the mighty and fruitful Nile sent forth, Susiscanes, and Egypt-bred Pegastagon, and mighty Arsames, ruler of sacred Memphis, and Ariomardus, governor of Ogygian Thebes, and the dwellers in the fens, most skilful rowers, and countless in number. There follows the throng of luxurious Lydians, and those who lead the whole tribe of the continent, whom Melangathes and brave Arcteus, kingly rulers, and the wealthy Sardis, send forth mounted on chariots, double and treble multitudes, a fearful spectacle to behold. Those also who dwell by the sacred Tmolus set out to fling the yoke of slavery over Greece; Mardon, Tharybis, skilful in the spear, and the Mysians, wielding javelins. And most wealthy Babylon sends forth confusedly a very mingled crowd, both chiefs of the navy, and others trusty in the bow; and the whole multitude of swordsmen from all Asia follow at the dreadful behest of the king. Such are the men who are

gone forth, the flower of the Persian land ; whom the whole region of Asia having reared, is now pining with intense desire, and parents and wives, gathering in silence, tremble at the long delay.'

On the arrival of the tidings, the shade of Darius is invoked to appear, and advise with them in their calamity. He utters this lamentation over the reverse of his son, in which he ascribes the disaster to Divine prophecy.

' Alas ! there has come a quick fulfilment of the oracles ; and Jove has hurled upon my son the consummation of his predictions ; but I had hoped that the gods would accomplish this only after a long delay. But when one hastes to ruin himself, the Divinity also concurs.' After a few lines he continues :

' A deed is accomplished, mighty and ever memorable, such as never alighted on this city of Susa to waste it ; since the time when Jove the king granted this honour, that one man should rule all fruitful Asia, holding a rightful sceptre. For a Mede was the first ruler of the people ; and another, his son, completed the work ; for his prudence, like a rudder, guided his zeal. And, third from him, Cyrus ruled, a prosperous hero, and secured peace for all his friends, and conquered the people of the Lydians and Phrygians, and drove out by force all Ionia ; for the Divinity envied him not, since he was of noble soul. And the son of Cyrus, fourth in order, ruled the people. And fifth, Mardus ruled, a disgrace to the country and the ancient throne. Him brave Artaphrenes slew in the palace with guile, with others his friends, to whom the task was assigned. (And sixth was Maraphis, and seventh Artaphrenes). And I also obtained the lot which I desired, and warred often with a mighty army, but never brought such an evil as this upon the state. But Xerxes my son, being a youth, has young thoughts, and remembers not my commands ; for know this well, my companion, all we who have held the supreme power, have never wrought calamities so grievous.'

The rest of the fourth reign corresponded with its prophetic character, and was marked, after the climax of Persian power, by political and moral degradation. The battles of Thermopylæ and Salamis were crowned by those of Platæa and Mycale in the following year. 'Xerxes, upon the news of these two overthrows, left Sardis with the same hurry and precipitation as he had left Athens after the battle of Salamis, making all haste towards Persia, that he might get as far as possible out of the reach of the conquering enemy. But before he set out, he gave orders that all the temples of the Greek cities in Asia should be burnt and demolished, and not one was left standing except that of Diana at Ephesus.'

'The Grecian fleet, after the battle of Mycale, steered their course first to Samos, and thence to the Hellespont, to possess themselves of the bridges, but finding them broken by storms, the Peloponnesians sailed home. Xanthippus, with the Athenians and his allies the Ionians, remaining there, made himself master of Sestos and the Thracian Chersonesus, where the army was enriched with immense booty. From this time the Ionian cities in Asia, shaking off the Persian yoke, recovered their ancient liberty.'

'The Greeks, having settled their affairs at home, resolved to pursue the war, and drove the Persians out of all the Greek cities in Asia, and the neighbouring islands. With this view they equipped a powerful fleet, and sailing to Cyprus, drove the Persians out of that island. They sailed from thence to the Hellespont, and reduced the city of Byzantium, where they took several persons of note. A few years after, the Athenian fleet under Cimon, took Eion on the Strymon. Cimon then passed over to the coasts of Asia, and having driven the Persians out of the maritime cities of Asia and Lycia, sailed in quest of their fleet; and finding it at the mouth of the Eurymedon, in Pamphylia, while the army was encamped on shore, first attacked the fleet and then the army, and gained two victories

the same day, one equal to Salamis, and the other to that of Platæa.'

'Xerxes, being wholly discouraged by a continual series of heavy losses and shameful defeats, gave over all thoughts of war, and never after suffered his ships to appear on the Ægean sea, or his forces on the coasts. He gave himself entirely to luxury and ease, minding nothing but the gratifying of his lusts and vicious inclinations. This dissolute life drew upon him the contempt and hatred of his subjects, which induced Artabanus, captain of the guards, to conspire against him. He prevailed on Mithridates, one of the eunuchs, to engage in the conspiracy ; and, being let into the king's bed-chamber, murdered him while he was asleep, in the twenty-first year of his reign.'

Such was the inglorious era of the fourth king, whose reign opened with such unequalled magnificence, and preparations for universal conquest that appeared irresistible. But the hour of retribution was hastening, and the Prince of Persia had begun to quail in the heavenly places before the superior might of his celestial adversaries.

In the sacred history this reign of Xerxes, so celebrated elsewhere, seems to be passed over without notice. For though some reasons might favour the idea that he was the Ahasuerus in the book of Esther, others of greater weight seem to prove decisively that the history belongs to Artaxerxes his successor. But indeed this very silence is scarcely less instructive to us, when we reflect on it closely, than the most distinct mention of Xerxes could have been. The triumphs of the Second Empire were now past, and a Third was soon to rise into eminence, under the swift he-goat from the land of Javan.

CHAPTER V.

PTOLEMY AND SELEUCUS NICATOR.

DAN. XI. 3—5—AND A MIGHTY KING SHALL STAND UP, THAT SHALL RULE WITH GREAT DOMINION, AND DO ACCORDING TO HIS WILL. AND WHEN HE SHALL STAND UP, HIS KINGDOM SHALL BE BROKEN, AND SHALL BE DIVIDED 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 BESIDE THOSE. AND THE KING OF THE SOUTH SHALL BE STRONG, AND ONE OF THE PRINCES; AND HE SHALL BE STRONG ABOVE HIM, AND HAVE DOMINION; HIS DOMINION SHALL BE A GREAT DOMINION.

THE two first of these verses relate evidently to the great and notable horn of the he-goat in the former vision, under whom a furious onset would be made on the Persian empire, ending in its complete and speedy overthrow. In other words, they refer to Alexander, whose history has been sketched in a former chapter. But here the brief account of the division of his empire, given already, is followed by a history of the Syrian and Egyptian kings. It will be needful to enter now upon these further details of the prophecy, and to compare them with the independent evidence which may still remain to us.

We have seen already that, after the battle of Ipsus, four kings divided the monarchy among them. Ptolemy reigned in Egypt, Seleucus in Babylon, Lysimachus in Thrace and Bithynia, and Cassander in Macedon and Greece. The prophecy confines itself to the two former only, or the Syrian and Egyptian divisions, as it was between these that Judea lay. There were at first the southern and eastern portion. But as Seleucus, about twenty years later, defeated and slew Lysimachus, and

joined most of the northern division with his own, and the compound territory lay chiefly north of Palestine, the two monarchs are styled kings of the north and the south, throughout the whole prophecy.

“And the king of the south shall be great.” After the death of Alexander, when the provinces were divided among his generals, Egypt fell to the share of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus. His prudence and ability gradually increased and confirmed his power. A war between factions having arisen in Cyrene, his aid is called in. ‘Ophellas, having vanquished Thimbros, and made him prisoner, and become master of the cities, delivered them and the country to king Ptolemy. The Cyrenians then, and the surrounding cities, having lost their liberty in this way, were united to Ptolemy’s kingdom.’

Antipater, suspecting the designs of Perdiccas, formed a league with Ptolemy of mutual defence. Soon after, the remains of Alexander were brought from Babylon to Egypt. ‘And Ptolemy, in honour of Alexander, met them with his forces as far as Syria, and receiving the body, treated it with the greatest care. For he judged it best at present not to convey it to Hammon, but to deposit it in the city which he had founded, being nearly the most conspicuous in the world. He prepared therefore a shrine, both in size and ornament worthy of Alexander’s glory; where, honouring and reverencing him with heroic sacrifices and games, he received an excellent recompense, not only from men, but from the gods also. For men, on account of his liberal and noble spirit, hasted on all sides to Alexandria, and enrolled their names readily among his troops, though the royal army was ready to make war on him; and the gods, because of his virtue, and gentleness to all his friends, rescued him beyond hope from the greatest dangers.’ Accordingly, when Perdiccas invaded Egypt, to wrest it from Ptolemy, he was not only unsuccessful, but even lost his life, through his own unpopularity, and the favour of the Macedonians towards Ptolemy himself

whose power and influence became firmer and fuller than ever.

‘In Egypt, Ptolemy having unexpectedly shaken off Perdiccas, and the forces of the kings, held it, as it were, the conquest of his spear; and seeing Phœnice and Cœle Syria lying conveniently near, was very eager to become master of those cities; he sent therefore an ample force, and Nicanor, one of his friends, for general. He marched into Syria, and made captive Laomedon the satrap, and took possession of the whole country. And in like manner having gained over the cities of Phœnice, and put garrisons in them, he returned into Egypt, after a short successful expedition. Diod. xviii. 43.

‘The same summer (A.C. 31) the Cyrenians revolt from Ptolemy, and lay siege to the citadel, to expel the garrison. And when legates were sent from Alexandria, and exhorted them to desist from the siege, they put them to death, and pursue the siege with greater vigour. Irritated by these things, Ptolemy sends Agis with a land army, and also a fleet under Epænetus as admiral. Agis vigorously pursued the war, and gained the city by force, and sent the authors of the revolt in chains to Alexandria; and stripping the rest of their arms, and disposing the affairs of the city as he thought best, returned to Egypt. But Ptolemy, since the affairs of Cyrene fell out as he wished, set out to Cyprus, against those who disobeyed the kings, and slew Pygmalion, whom he found parleying with Antigonus. After this, he appointed Nicocrates, ruler of Cyprus, and gave him the cities and revenues of the exiled kings. Then sailing with his army into Upper Syria, he besieged and took Posideum and Potamos Carum, and sailed quickly into Cilicia, and took Mallus, and sold the inhabitants for slaves. He also visited the bordering country, and having filled the army with booty, sailed back to Cyprus. By such conduct he quickened the courage of his soldiers for the coming dangers.’ Diod. xix. 79.

‘And Ptolemy, having sent the captives to Egypt, gave orders to distribute them through the prefectures of the fleet. And, having buried all his own troops honourably, who died in the battle, he assailed with his forces the cities of Phœnicia, besieging some, and gaining others by persuasion. And when master of the open country, he gained over Sidon, and encamping near Tyre, invited Andronicus to give up the city, promising ample rewards and honour. But he said that he would by no means betray his faith to Antigonus and Demetrius, and reproached Ptolemy severely. And presently, being driven out of Tyre by a sedition, and captured, he expected to be punished, both for his refusal and his reproaches. Ptolemy, however, did not bear any grudge, but treated him in the opposite way; counting him one of his friends, and honouring him greatly. For this prince was exceedingly gentle and forgiving, and highly beneficent. And this especially caused his growing power and greatness, and made many wish to partake of his friendship.’ Diod. xx. 85, 86.

The extracts of Diodorus are confirmed by Justin, who continues the narrative. ‘Ptolemy, in Egypt, by wise industry, prepared great forces; he had enlarged the bounds of his empire by the acquisition of Cyrene, and had now grown so great that he had not so much cause to dread his enemies as to be dreaded by them.’ (xiii. 6.) And his death is briefly described in similar terms—‘The war being ended, Ptolemy dies with great glory, on account of his exploits.’ xvi. 2.

The greatness, then, of the king of the north after the death of Alexander, was abundantly fulfilled. But there was to be another chief, whose fame would overshadow even the reputation of Ptolemy. “One of his princes shall be great; and he will be strong above him, and have dominion; and his dominion will be a great dominion.”

These words refer to Seleucus Nicator, who founded the Syrian kingdom. He might be called one of the princes of Ptolemy, because when an exile, he served

in his army, and under his authority. - But when once restored to the satrapy of Babylon, his power continued steadily to increase till his death, and became mightier, by several degrees, than the power of Egypt. Here again, Diodorus will be sufficient guide.

In the first division of the provinces by Perdiccas, Seleucus received only the command of the allied horse, which Hephæstion and Perdiccas had successively held before. When Perdiccas was slain in Egypt, and Antipater became guardian of the kings, a new partition took place, and Seleucus received the satrapy of Babylon. His further course will appear from the following extracts.

‘ In Asia, Eumenes having the Argyraspid Macedonians, and their leader Antigonus, ventured on Babylonia, in what are called Comæ Cassim; and sent ambassadors to Seleucus and Python, claiming that they should assist the kings, and strive with him against Antigonus. Of these Python had been appointed satrap of Media, and the other of Babylonia, when the second distribution of satrapies took place in Triparadisus. But Seleucus answered that he was ready to help the king, but would never submit to obey the commands of Eumenes, whom the Macedonians in full assembly had condemned to death.’ xix. 12.

‘ When Praxibulus was archon at Athens, and Spurius Nautius and Manius Popillius consuls at Rome, Antigonus left Aspisas, one of the natives, satrap in Susiana, and himself having decided to convey all his money to the sea, prepared wagons and camels, and taking these with his forces, went on to Babylonia. Having reached Babylon after two and twenty days, Seleucus, the satrap of the country honoured Antigonus with royal presents, and entertained all his forces. But when Antigonus required an account of the revenues, he said that he owed no account for this province, which the Macedonians had given him for his services, while Alexander was alive. The variance daily increasing, Seleucus considered what had happened to

Pytho, and was very full of fear, lest Antigonus, snatching at some pretext, should endeavour to slay him. For he seemed as one in haste to remove out of his way all those who were distinguished, and who might take part in public affairs. Fearing these things, he escaped with fifty horsemen, with the purpose of betaking himself to Ptolemy, in Egypt ; who was famed for his kindness, and his benevolence and humanity towards those who fled to him. But Antigonus, when he heard, leapt for joy, and was delighted, because he was spared the effort of laying hands on one that had been his friend, and had striven zealously in his cause ; and Seleucus had condemned himself to exile, and given up the satrapy without conflict and dangers. But afterward, when the Chaldeans came to him, and warned him that if he should let Seleucus slip out of his hands, it would happen that all Asia would be subject to him, and Antigonus himself lose his life in battle against him, repenting of what he had done, he sent men to pursue him, who followed to a certain distance, and then returned unsuccessful.

‘ Seleucus then, having escaped into Egypt, received all kindness from Ptolemy, and bitterly accused Antigonus ; saying, that he had determined to drive from their satrapies all the distinguished men, and especially those who had marched with Alexander ; and gave in proof that he had taken off Pytho, and deprived Peucestes of Persia, besides what had befallen himself. For that all of them had done no wrong to him, nay, had even rendered him many and great benefits by their friendship, and yet had obtained this reward for their virtue. He disclosed also the greatness of his forces, and the abundance of his wealth, and his late successes ; whence he shewed that he was inflated with pride, and had compassed with his hopes the whole kingdom of the Macedonians. By these discourses having urged on Ptolemy to prepare for war, he sent some of his friends to Europe, to attempt by similar motives to make Cassander and Lysimachus enemies to Antigonus.’ xix. 55, 56.

‘ And while Antigonus was thus occupied (building a navy from Lebanon) having his camp near the sea shore, Seleucus came from Egypt with a hundred ships, royally adorned and sailing well. And as he sailed contemptuously by the camp, those of the allied cities, all who took part with Antigonus, were much disheartened ; for it was plain that their enemies, being masters of the sea, would ravage those who opposed them through friendship to Antigonus.’ c. 58.

‘ Ptolemy, then, sends Myrmedon the Athenian, with ten thousand soldiers, and Polycletus with a hundred ships, and Menelaus his brother, general of the whole. These, after sailing to Cyprus, and there meeting Seleucus with his fleet, held a council what they should do. They determined that Polycletus with fifty ships should sail to the Peloponnesus, and make war on Aristodemus, and Alexander, and Polysperchon ; and Myrmedon and the allies should go to Caria, and assist Cassander ; but that Seleucus and Menelaus should stay in Cyprus with Nicrocreon the king, and war against their adversaries. Their forces being thus divided, Seleucus besieged and took Cerynnia and Lapithus ; and not being able to gain over the town of Citium, besieged it with all his force. c. 62.

‘ And when Seleucus besought Ptolemy to give him soldiers to go up with him to Babylon, he readily consented, and told him that he would do every thing for him in his power, until he should recover his former satrapy.’ c. 86.

‘ But Seleucus, after the defeat of Demetrius at Gaza in Syria, receiving from Ptolemy not more than 800 foot soldiers and about 200 horsemen, set out for Babylon ; being so full of hope, that even if he had no forces at all, he would have made the journey with his friends and his own children. For he thought that the Babylonians would readily receive him on account of their former good will, and that Antigonus, with his forces withdrawn to a great distance, had given a fair opening to his own efforts. Such being his own spirit, his

friends, when they saw that very few troops were with him, and that the enemies, against whom they marched, had great armies in readiness, and rich supplies, and a multitude of confederates, were not a little disheartened. But Seleucus, seeing them cast down, cheered them, and reminded them that those who had marched with Alexander, and been promoted by him for valour, ought not to trust in forces and money, but in experience and wisdom, through which he had wrought his great exploits, celebrated by all men. He also bore himself friendly towards the soldiers, as their equal, so that all revered, and willingly took a share in his venturous enterprize.

‘When he entered Babylonia, many of the natives met him, and joining his band, said that they would do whatever he pleased. For, having been four years the satrap of the country, he had behaved well to all, procuring the good will of the populace, and had thus prepared helpers long before, whenever he should think it time to contend for the government. And Polyarchus also came over to him, with more than a thousand soldiers. But those who kept to the friendship of Antigonus, perceiving that the bent of the people could not be restrained, fled to the citadel, of which Diphilus was governor. But Seleucus, having besieged it, and soon taken it by force, brought out his servants and friends who had been there kept in prison by Antigonus after his own departure into Egypt. Having done this, he collected troops, and bought horses, which he distributed to those who could use them. And conversing as a friend with all, and cheering them with good hopes, he made them ready and forward to share all dangers along with him.’ c. 90, 91.

The next passage has an interest of another kind, as it shows almost the last stage in the desolation of Babylon.

‘Antigonus therefore, being anxious about the upper satrapies, sent his son Demetrius with five thousand

Macedonian foot-soldiers, and ten thousand mercenaries, and four thousand horsemen ; and charged him to go up as far as Babylon, and, after recovering the satrapy, to come down quickly to the sea ; Demetrius then, setting out from Damascus in Syria, did zealously what his father commanded. But Patrocles, who was appointed the commander of Babylon by Seleucus, learning that the enemies were in Mesopotamia, did not venture to await their attack, as he had only a few men with him : but he commanded the others to forsake the city, and that some of them, leaving the Euphrates, should flee into the desert, and that others, passing the Tigris, should go into Susiana, to Euteles, and the Erythrean sea. But he himself, with his own soldiers, using the defence of the rivers and ditches, kept in the satrapy, both lying in ambush for the enemies, and sending to Seleucus into Media about the state of affairs, and exhorting him to come speedily to his succour. And Demetrius, when he came to Babylon, *and found the city deserted*, endeavoured to lay siege to the citadels, and when he had taken one, gave it to the soldiers to plunder. (xix. 100.)

‘ Antigonus, hearing of the victory, and elated by the greatness of the success, assumed the diadem, and from that time used the title of king ; and granted also to Demetrius the same title and honour. But Ptolemy, not being cast down by the defeats, himself also assumed the diadem, and styled himself king in all his epistles. In like manner the other chiefs, in rivalry, proclaimed themselves kings, Seleucus, who had lately recovered the upper satrapies, and Lysimachus and Cassander, who preserved the shares assigned to them.

‘ At this time Seleucus also came from the upper satrapies, and crossed into Cappadocia with a great force, having prepared tents for his soldiers to winter. He had twenty thousand foot-soldiers and twelve thousand horsemen and horse-bowmen, four hundred and eighty elephants, and more than a hundred scythe-bearing chariots. The forces then of the kings were collected in

this manner, having all determined, in the next summer, to decide the war by their arms.' (xx. 113.)

Here the account in Diodorus closes, before the battle of Ipsus, and the later victories, which crowned the arms of Seleucus. The fragment of Dexippus briefly completes the narrative. 'Seleucus, going up to Babylon, and conquering the barbarians, reigned thirty-two years, wherefore also he was called Nicanor. In the thirty second year of his reign, having driven Lysimachus from Macedon, and being elated by the victory, he was slain by Ptolemy Ceraunus, when about to rule over the Macedonians.' The northern and eastern dominions were thus united under his power before his death, so that Appian calls him 'the greatest of the kings after Alexander.'

'Seleucus,' says Vaillant, 'was the greatest of all the successors of Alexander, both in the extent of his dominions, and the wisdom of his administration. He was the terror of his enemies by his valour, and the father of his subjects by his humanity. He possessed sixty-two satrapies or great provinces, which all agreed to celebrate his virtues. We may reckon thirty-four cities that he founded, and to which he gave Greek names, after peopling them with Macedonian colonies. He was the friend of learning, and deserved the gratitude of the Athenians, for sending back from Persia the library which Xerxes had carried away; by which he deserved the statue of brass which they reared to him in one of their porticos. In no degree elated by his grandeur, he was wont to say, that if men knew what care is involved in the affairs of government, even to write letters and answer those they receive, they would not be at the trouble to pick up the diadem, if it had fallen on the ground. As a proof of his prodigious strength, in a sacrifice made by Alexander, when the bull had escaped, he held it with his hands by the horns, and pulled it back.

'The memory of his strength and valour is perpetuated even to our days by ancient monuments. There are

existing medals, in which he is represented, his head covered with the skin of a lion, and on the reverse the emblem of a furious bull.'

' Besides the famous Antioch, on the Orontes, he had built sixteen other towns of the same name; nine Seleucias, of which one is situate on the west bank of the Tigris, opposite the present site of Bagdad; three Apameas, and one Stratonice.'

Three principal marks attest the greatness of this prince; the era which dates from his reign, and the two famous cities, Seleucia and Antioch, of which he was the founder. For the first we may consult the Benedictines.

' The second era was commonly and justly styled, the era of the Seleucidæ, or Greeks; also, the era of the Syro-Macedonians. Its beginning is in the year of Rome 442, twelve years after the death of Alexander, and 311 years and four months before the vulgar era; the epoch of the first conquests of Seleucus Nicator in that part of the East which formed afterward the vast empire of Syria. It obtained not only in the monarchy of the Seleucidæ, but among nearly all the people of the Levant, and has even continued to our day. But all who adopted it did not date it from the same month or day. The Greeks of Syria began it on the first of Gorpiaens, or Elul, which answers to our September, and this is still the practice of the catholics of Syria. The other Syrians, from the first of Hyperbeteaus, or Tisri,' which answers to our October; and they are now followed by the Nestorians and Jacobites of the East.'

' The Jews, after they were subject to the kings of Syria, also adopted the era of the Seleucidæ. They called it Tarik Dilkarnaim, or the Era of Contracts, because they used it in their purchases and civil acts. They began it from the autumnal equinox. It is only about 300 years ago, it is said, since they abandoned it for another, which they now employ. The Arabs, with whom this Era is still in use, some of them began it

with Alfragan, on the first of September ; and others, as Albategnius, on the first of October.' (L'Art. de Verif. les Dates.)

'Seleucia, on the western bank of the Tigris, about forty-five miles north of ancient Babylon, was the capital of the Macedonian conquests in Upper Asia. Many ages after the fall of their empire, Seleucia retained the genuine characters of a Greek colony ; arts, military virtue, and the love of freedom. The independent republic was governed by a senate of three hundred nobles, the people consisted of six hundred thousand citizens ; and as long as concord prevailed among the orders of the state, they viewed with contempt the power of the Parthians. . . 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 three hundred thousand of the inhabitants, tarnished the glory of the Roman triumph. Seleucia, already exhausted by the neighbourhood of too powerful a rival, sank under the fatal blow.' (Gibb. Decl. c. viii.)

Such was the end of this metropolis, by which the king of the north sought to perpetuate his greatness. At the foundation of Seleucia, the inhabitants of Babylon were compelled by him to migrate to the new city ; now the very ruins of Seleucia have perished. But still, for nearly five centuries, it was one of the noblest cities of the East, and spoke the fame and greatness of its original founder.

Another city, founded by the same prince, has been more fortunate. To immortalize his renown, he built Antioch on the Orontes, and named it from his father and son, who, both alike, were called Antiochus. 'This town quickly succeeded to Babylon in being the seat of the Syrian Empire, and Queen of the East. But Seleucus did not give it size or magnificence enough

to deserve this title. Antioch, in its splendour, was enclosed in a circuit of about two thousand paces, which compassed four towns, separated from each other by four walls, and their separate fortifications. The first was built by Seleucus ; the second by those who resorted thither when it became the capital of the empire, and were attracted by the privileges granted to its citizens ; the third by Seleucus Callinicus ; the fourth by Antiochus Epiphanes.' (Greyon. Hist. of Seleucidæ. viii. 35.)

Thus various and profound are the traces which this prince has left of his actions and greatness on the page of history, and on the face of the earth. Antioch, next to Rome, Constantinople and Alexandria, the first city of the known world, and the seat of one of the four patriarchates, owes its foundation to Seleucus, and bears indirect witness to the truth of these words, that " his dominion was a great dominion." History and geography, medals and monuments, all conspire to illustrate the words of Divine prophecy, and to assure us that the present vision was indeed noted in ' the Scripture of truth,' that secret volume of the Divine counsels, which is perpetually unrolling its mysteries amidst all the conflicts and confusion of time.

CHAPTER VI.

ANTIOCHUS THEUS AND PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS.

DAN. XI. 6—9.—AND IN THE END OF YEARS THEY SHALL JOIN THEMSELVES TOGETHER ; FOR THE KING'S DAUGHTER OF THE SOUTH SHALL COME TO THE KING OF THE NORTH TO MAKE AN AGREEMENT : BUT SHE SHALL NOT RETAIN THE POWER OF THE ARM ; NEITHER SHALL HE STAND, NOR HIS ARM : BUT SHE SHALL BE GIVEN UP, AND THEY THAT BROUGHT HER, AND HE WHOM SHE BROUGHT FORTH, AND HE THAT STRENGTHENED HER IN THESE TIMES. 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 FORTRESS OF THE KING OF THE NORTH, AND SHALL DEAL AGAINST THEM, AND SHALL PREVAIL. AND HE SHALL ALSO CARRY CAPTIVES INTO EGYPT THEIR GODS, WITH THEIR PRINCES, AND WITH THEIR PRECIOUS VESSELS OF SILVER AND OF GOLD ; SHE SHALL CONTINUE MORE YEARS THAN THE KING OF THE SOUTH. SO THE KING OF THE SOUTH SHALL COME INTO HIS KINGDOM, AND SHALL RETURN INTO HIS OWN LAND.

IN these four verses a later stage of the Syrian and Egyptian history is set before us, in the marriage of Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy Philadelphus, with Antiochus Theus, the grandson of the great Seleucus. As the prophecy contains the actions of several different monarchs, it will be convenient, first of all, to exhibit their dates, and the succession of their different reigns.

A. C.

323 Ptolemy Soter (satrap)

Oct. 312 Seleucus Nicator.

Nov. 305 (king)

Nov. 285 Ptolemy Philadelphus.

Jan. 280 Antiochus Soter.

(Jan.) 261 Antiochus Theus.

A. C.

(Nov.)	247	Ptolemy	Euergetes.	
Jan.	246	.	.	Seleucus Callinicus.
Aug.	226	.	.	Seleucus Ceraunus.
Aug.	223	.	.	Antiochus Magnus.
Nov.	222	Ptolemy	Philopator.	
Nov.	205	Ptolemy	Epiphanes.	
Oct.	187	.	.	Seleucus Philopator.
Oct.	181	Ptolemy	Philometor.	
Aug.	175	.	.	Antiochus Epiphanes.
Jan.	169	Ptolemy	Euergetes II.	
Dec.	164	.	.	Antiochus Eupator.

Of these kings the following are referred to in the prophecy, in the order of their several reigns ;—Ptolemy Soter and Seleucus Nicator, v. 5 ; Ptolemy Philadelphus, and Antiochus Theus, v. 9 ; Ptolemy Euergetes and Seleucus Callinicus, v. 7, 8 ; Seleucus Ceraunus and Antiochus Magnus, v. 10 ; Ptolemy Philopator, v. 11, 12 ; Ptolemy Epiphanes, v. 14, 17 ; Seleucus Philopator, v. 20 ; Antiochus Epiphanes, v. 21 ; and Ptolemy Philometor, v. 25. But it is time to resume the thread of the narrative.

“ In the end of years they shall join themselves together.” The phrase clearly imports some considerable interval of time. Accordingly this marriage seems to have occurred about the year A. C. 250, and nearly thirty years after the death of the first Seleucus. Antiochus Soter, the son of the great Seleucus, from whom Antioch was named, is not mentioned in the prophecy. His reign of nineteen years was marked by no event of historical importance, and he was slain in a battle with the Gauls.

Ptolemy Philadelphus, the king of the north here mentioned, reigned thirty-six years from the death of his father. Athenæus mentions the museum and library which he founded. Eusebius tells us, A. C. 276, that ‘Ptolemy set free the captive Jews in Egypt. He also sent royal presents to Jerusalem to Eleazer the high-priest, and took pains that the books of the Jews should

be translated from the Hebrew to the Greek tongue, and ordered the versions to be laid up in the Alexandrian library, which he had founded.' Vitruvius remarks : ' When the Attalian kings had founded a noble library at Pergamus for the public benefit, Ptolemy, excited by an earnest emulation, laboured to provide one of the same kind at Alexandria. And when he had accomplished this with the utmost diligence, he did not think it enough, unless he took pains for its increase by propagating the seeds of literature. Therefore, he dedicated games to the Muses and Apollo.'

The king of the north is Antiochus Theus, the grandson of Seleucus. ' When the fore-mentioned Antiochus Soter was dead, Antiochus, surnamed Deus (THE GOD,) succeeded and reigned fifteen years. He died of disease at Ephesus Ol. 133, 2, (A.C. 247,) at forty years of age. He had two sons, Seleucus, called Callinicus, and Antiochus (Hierax) ; and two daughters by Laodice, daughter of Achæus, of whom Mithridates married one, and Arathas the other. Appian thus speaks of the fact in the sacred prophecy. ' When Seleucus was dead, these received the kingdom of the Syrians in succession, son from father : Antiochus first, who was enamoured of his step-mother ; and was called Soter, because he expelled the Gauls, when they had invaded Asia from Europe. Secondly, another Antiochus who sprang from this marriage, who was styled Theus by the Milesians, because he took away their tyrant Timarchus. But this god his wife slew by poison ; for he had two, Laodice and Berenice, from love and from covenant, the latter of them the daughter of Ptolemy Philadelphus. And Laodice slew him, and with him Berenice and her infant ; and Ptolemy the son of Philadelphus, avenging these things, slew Laodice, and invaded Syria, and marched as far as Babylon.'

The account in Jerome, drawn partly from authorities which have now perished, agrees with these brief fragments of Appian and others, which still remain. Of Antiochus Theus he writes as follows : ' He waged

many wars against Ptolemy Philadelphus, the second who reigned over the Egyptians, and fought with all the powers of Babylon and the East. Ptolemy then, after many years wishing to end this troublesome conflict, gave his own daughter, named Berenice, for a wife to Antiochus, who had two sons by his former wife Laodice ; and he led her as far as Pelusium, and gave her for dowry many thousands of gold and silver ; whence he was styled Phernophorus, or the giver of dowry. But Antiochus, after some time, overcome with love, received Laodice and her sons again into the palace. And she, fearing the wavering mind of her husband, lest he should recal Berenice, slew him with poison by her attendants.'

The same marriage is mentioned by Polybius, as extracted in Athenæus (l. 2, p. 45, Casaub.). 'The second king of Egypt, called Philadelphus, having given his daughter Berenice to Antiochus the king of Syria, was careful to send her the water of the Nile, that his daughter might drink of this only, as Polybius records.'

Thus were the words of the prediction fulfilled. Berenice did not retain the power of the arm. The subtle stroke of policy was abortive. The plan which was to unite the two kingdoms by a clever expedient, in defiance of the first law of God, only aggravated the feud between them, as it usually fares with such schemes of skilful ungodliness ; she was given up, and put to death by Laodice ; and they that brought her, of whom Polyænus tells us, that 'the women about her endeavouring to defend her, died at the same time ;' and he whom she brought forth, her son, who, as Appian tells us, was slain along with her ; and he that strengthened her in those times, her husband Antiochus, who fell a victim to Laodice's jealousy and revenge. Thus the wickedness of man only fulfilled the sure counsel of God.

"But out of a branch of her roots shall one stand up in his estate." The words refer to Ptolemy Euergetes, brother of Berenice, who succeeded to the throne of Egypt two or three months before these hateful mur-

ders took place, and who presently avenged his sister's death. He is fitly called a branch from her roots, being descended from the same parents.

In the scanty remains which are left to us of this period, it seems the simplest plan to present the authorities themselves, so far as they exist. Bishop Newton has combined most of them in his Commentary.

First, Jerome gives us the following account. 'Ptolemy Euergetes came with a great army, and entered the province of the king of the north; that is, of Seleucus, surnamed Callinicus, who was reigning in Syria with his mother Laodice, and prevailed over them; and obtained such victories, that he took Syria and Cilicia, and the upper parts beyond the Euphrates, and nearly all Asia. And when he heard that a sedition was arisen in Egypt, he plundered the kingdom of Seleucus, and carried off forty thousand talents of silver, and precious vessels, and statues of the gods, two thousand five hundred, among which were those also that Cambyses had captured in Egypt and carried into Persia. In short, the race of the Egyptians, given up to idolatry, because he had brought back their gods after many years, called him Euergetes, or Benefactor.'

The very surname of this king, it thus appears, arose from the fulfilment of the prophecy in the restoration of the Egyptian idols. Polyænus says, further, that, he made himself master of all the country from Mount Taurus as far as India, without war or battle; and Justin, that 'if he had not been recalled by a domestic sedition, he would have possessed the whole kingdom of Seleucus.' Polybius, in his account of Antiochus the Great, alludes further to these conquests.

'Seleucia had been possessed by an Egyptian garrison from the time of Ptolemy Euergetes. For this prince, in resentment of the death of Berenice, had entered Syria with an army, and made himself master of this city. The situation of Seleucia, with the country round it, is as follows. The city stands very near the sea, between Cilicia and Phœnice, at the foot of a moun-

tain of uncommon height, which is called Coryphæus. This mountain on the western side is washed by the sea that divides Cyprus and Phœnice, and on the other side towards the east, it commands the country that lies round Antioch and Seleucia. The city itself being situated on the southern side of the mountain, and separated from it by a valley very deep and abrupt, winds away towards the sea, and is surrounded on almost every side by broken rocks and precipices. In the plain, between the city and the sea, are the markets and suburbs which are strongly fortified with walls. The city also is enclosed with walls of uncommon strength and beauty, and is adorned with temples and other sumptuous edifices. On the side towards the sea it can only be approached by a steep ascent of steps, which are cut close and deep into the rocks. Not far from the city is the mouth of the river Orontes; which takes its source near the Libanus and Antilibanus, and passing through the plains of Assyria, flows on to Antioch, and having cleansed that city of its filth, falls at last into the sea of Cyprus, near Seleucia.' On the accession of Antiochus the Great, Apollophanes, one of his counsellors, urges the disgrace, that '*Seleucia, the capital of the kingdom, and their sacred seat of empire,* was still suffered to remain in the hands of Ptolemy.'

The accounts in Eusebius and Justin, throw farther light on the same history.

'The elder son (of Antiochus Theus) Seleucus, surnamed Callinicus, took the kingdom Ol. 133.3 (A.C. 246) and held it till Ol. 138.2 (A.C. 227). On his death his son Seleucus Ceraunus succeeded. But while Callinicus was still alive, Antiochus Hierax his younger brother, impatient of control, obtained a helper and favourer in Alexander, who held the city of Sardis, and was brother of his mother Laodice. He employed also Gaulish auxiliaries. Presently, in a fresh battle in Cappadocia against Mithridates, twenty thousand of his troops were slain, and he himself disappeared. But Ptolemy seized on the regions of Syria with Damascus,

and besieged Orthosia, which was relieved Ol. 134.3, (A.C. 242) by the arrival of Seleucus. The brother of Seleucus, roving over Phrygia, loaded the inhabitants with tribute. While pursuing Attalus into Thrace, after a battle in Caria, he lost his own life. The next year Seleucus Callinicus came to his end.'

The decree of the Smyrnæans, in the Arundel marbles, illustrates further the reign of this Seleucus. It begins in these words :—

It has seemed good to the people by the advice of the generals. Since before now, when the king Seleucus passed over into Seleucis, and many and great dangers surrounded our city and country, the people maintained their good will and friendship towards him, neither overwhelmed by the inroad of the adversaries, nor caring for the loss of their possessions, but counting all things of less importance than to persevere in their choice, and to help his affairs, to the extent of their power, as they stood from the beginning ; wherefore also the king Seleucus, being reverent to the gods, and piously affected towards his parents, being also of noble mind, and wise to repay kindness to his benefactors, honoured our city, both for the good will of the people, and its zeal for his affairs, and because his father Antiochus Theus (THE GOD,) and his mother Stratonice Thea (THE GODDESS,) have temples among us, being honoured with worthy honours both publicly by the people, and in private by each of the citizens, and he has confirmed to the people free laws and democracy ; he has written also to the kings and rulers, and cities and tribes, claiming that they should allow the temple of the Stratonician Venus to be a sanctuary, and our city sacred and a sanctuary ; the king now having passed over into Seleucis, the generals eager to sustain the affairs of the king beneficially, have sent to the exiles in Magnesia, and the horsemen and soldiers in the open country, and have sent out from themselves one Dionysius, to exhort them to maintain their friendship and alliance with king Seleucus for ever.

A further record of the expedition of Ptolemy remains, in the *Monumentum Adulitanum*, published in 1631 by Leo Allatius at Rome. The inscription contains these words :—

Ptolemy Euergetes, having received from his father the sovereignty of Egypt, Lybia, Syria, Phenice, Cyprus, Lycia, Caria, and the Cyclades, assembled a mighty army of horse and

foot, with a great fleet, and elephants out of Troglodytica and Ethiopia, some of which had been taken by his father, and the rest by himself, and brought from thence, and trained up for war. With this great force he sailed into Asia, and having conquered all the provinces which lie on this side the Euphrates, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Ionia, the Hellespont and Thrace, he crossed that river with all the forces of the conquered countries, and the kings of those nations, and reduced Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Susia, Persia, Media, and the country as far as Bactria.

The greatness and power of the Egyptian kingdom, under the three first Ptolemies, is further alluded to in another passage of Polybius.

‘While they were masters of Cyprus, and of Cœle Syria, they lay close upon the kings of Syria, both by land and sea. Possessed also of the most considerable cities, ports, and harbours along the coast, from Pamphylia towards the Hellespont, and as far as Lysimachia, they were always able to control the powers of Asia and the islands. And even with respect to Thrace and Macedon, they were still ready to attend to all commotions, and repel every danger that might threaten them, while they held a garrison in Acros, and Maronea, and in some cities also beyond them. By this wise policy, while their power was spread wide abroad, they reigned in full security in Egypt, which was covered against all attacks by the barrier of their distant provinces. It was not therefore without good reason that they still watched over the condition of these countries with the utmost care.’

The king of the south, it is here predicted, would continue more years than the king of the north. Accordingly the death of Seleucus Callinicus occurred about August, A.C. 226, and that of Euergetes about November, A.C. 222, or rather more than four years later.

Thus, however brief and scanty the remains of this period, every feature in the prophecy is confirmed by the fragments of heathen writers. The very name of Euergetes is a memorial of the idol gods whom he re-

stored to Egypt. The cause of his expedition, as Polybius, Appian, and Justin declare, was to revenge the murder of his sister Berenice. He entered into the fortress of the king of the north, or Seleucia, the port of Antioch, 'the capital city, and sacred seat of their empire, surrounded by broken rocks and precipices, and fortified by walls of uncommon strength and beauty.' It was this same fortress, in later days, which was witness to a campaign of a very different kind, in the first missionary circuit of the great apostle. We are told that "Barnabas and Saul, being sent forth by the Holy Ghost, departed unto Seleucia." It was the same Spirit of prophecy, who gave this prediction, and afterwards hallowed this scene of heathen strife by the first great message of salvation to the heathen world. The king of the north also 'prevailed' in this expedition against Syria, and the monument just given describes the great extent of his transitory conquests. 'So the king of the south came into his own kingdom, and returned into his own land.'

These events suggest many lessons to the Christian ; but the most striking and important is the folly of the ungodly expedients of worldly policy. The marriage of Berenice with Antiochus was designed to close a tedious and doubtful war. But it was an act of iniquity, since Antiochus was married already. And it recoiled upon its authors. It led, first, to the murder of Berenice and Antiochus, then to the death of Laodice, the author of the murder, and the degradation of the Syrian kingdom ; and soon after, to calamities not less bitter and lasting on the kingdom of Egypt. How far wiser to steer by the maxims of Divine truth, than to plunge blindly and madly into acts of rebellion against the laws of God, under the vain pretence of securing union, removing irritation, and healing the breaches of a distracted kingdom ! Sooner or later, the Providence of God will confound all such schemes of ungodly policy, and cause them to recoil upon the nations which follow them, to their perpetual shame.

CHAPTER VII.

SELEUCUS CERAUNUS AND ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT.

DAN. XI. 10—13.—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.

THESE words continue the history, after the death of Seleucus Callinicus, through the first part of the reign of Antiochus the Great. Their meaning, when compared with those which go before and follow after, is very plain. The king of the south, who avenged the death of his sister, was to continue longer than the king of the north. The sons of the latter king, after their father's death, will seek to avenge the invasion of their country. One of them, surviving the other, will actually seek, after other conquests, to invade Egypt. The king of the south, whether the same monarch as before, or his successor, will resist and defeat the invasion. But his victory will not increase his strength. After some years the king of the north will return with added forces, and prevail

against his rival. It now remains to compare this prophetic outline with the facts which profane history reveals.

And first, we learn from Appian this brief account. 'After Antiochus Theus, Seleucus the son of Theus and Laodice, became king of Syria, whose surname was Callinicus; and after Seleucus, two sons of Seleucus, each of them in the order of his age, Seleucus and Antiochus. But Seleucus being weak and poor, and his army untractable, his friends conspired against him with poison, and he reigned only two years.' According to Jerome, 'when Seleucus Ceraunus, the elder brother, was slain in Phrygia in the third year of his reign, by the treachery of Nicanor and Apaturius, the army in Syria called his brother Antiochus, surnamed the Great, from Babylon to the kingdom.' And Eusebius, 'His son Alexander succeeded him, who preferred to be called Seleucus, and was styled Ceraunus by the army. He had a brother named Antiochus. And when Seleucus had ruled his father's kingdom three years, he was treacherously slain in Phrygia by one Nicanor, a Gaul. Ol. 139.1 (A. C. 224.)' Sulpicius briefly confirms the same account. Polybius also alludes to the fact in three different places of his history. 'About the same time Ptolemy also (Euergetes) died of some disease, and Ptolemy Philopator succeeded to the kingdom. Seleucus, the son of Seleucus Callinicus, who was also named Pegon, being likewise dead, his brother Antiochus reigned in Syria. For it is remarkable that as those who first obtained these kingdoms after Alexander, Seleucus, Ptolemy, and Lysimachus, all left the world in the 124th Olympiad, so the princes now mentioned died together likewise in the 139th.' (ii. 71.) 'But Seleucus being dead, and Seleucus the eldest of his sons having received the kingdom, Antiochus crossed the Taurus along with him on account of his affinity, about two years before the time now mentioned. For the young Seleucus, as soon as he came to the throne, perceiving that Attalus had rendered all the dynasty on this side of Taurus under his own power, was eager to

lend them succour. But having crossed Taurus with a great force, he was treacherously slain by Apaturius the Gaul, and Nicanor, and so lost his life.' (iv. 48.) And again, v. 5. 'Antiochus was the youngest son of Seleucus, surnamed Callinicus. As soon as his father was dead, and his elder brother succeeded to the throne in right of his birth, he retired from court and fixed his residence in Upper Asia. But some time afterwards when his brother had passed mount Taurus, and was deprived of his life by treachery, as we related before, he returned and took possession of the kingdom, leaving to Achæus the government of the country on this side of mount Taurus.

"And one shall certainly come and overflow, and pass over; and he shall return and be stirred up, even to his fortress." These words relate to the younger son of Callinicus, Antiochus the Great, who succeeded after the murder of his brother by Nicanor, and reigned, according to Appian, Eusebius, and Sulpitius, thirty-six full years. A.C. 223—187. His reign occupies ten verses of the prophecy, and is happily given us in Polybius and Josephus more fully than those of his predecessors, for whom we have only scattered fragments of history.

This first stage of his reign is described in Polybius v. 5. On his accession, he left to Achæus the government west of Taurus, and assigned Media to Molon, and Persia to Alexander, Molon's brother. These, however, in the hope of help from Achæus, and out of their dread of Hermias, the wicked minister of Antiochus, threw off their allegiance. 'Hermias had been entrusted with the supreme direction of the kingdom by Seleucus, the brother of Antiochus, when he set out to mount Taurus.' This crafty minister urged that 'the king should lay aside all thoughts of marching against Molon, and turn his arms against the king of Egypt . . . for he was persuaded that Ptolemy, a prince immersed in sloth and pleasure, might be attacked with little hazard; and he never ceased to press the king to enter Cœle Syria with an army; thinking that if this young

prince were once enclosed on every side by war, and perplexed with difficulties, he would never inquire into his former faults, or make any attempt to divest him of his power.' For this end he forged a letter from Ptolemy to Achæus, urging him to assume the royal diadem, and promising to aid him with ships and money. 'Antiochus gave full credit to this letter, and was now fixed in his design of invading Cœle Syria without delay.'

But while Antiochus, under the control of Hermias, was marching by Laodicea and Libanus into Cœle Syria, he was not only repulsed by Theodotus at Gerra, but heard of the total defeat of Xenætus his general, by Molon, who made himself master of Seleucia on the Tigris, and Babylon. Moved by these events, Antiochus adopted the advice of Epigenes, contrary to that of Hermias, and marched against the rebels. 'The king now advanced to the Euphrates, and continuing his march came to Antioch in Mygdonia, about the beginning of the winter.' After the cold was past 'they divided the army into three separate bodies, passed the Tigris in three different parts, and came to Dura, which was then besieged by one of the generals of Molon. The siege was raised on their approach. They then continued their march without delay, and on the eighth day passed the Oriscus, and arrived at Apollonia. In the battle that followed, part of Molon's troops deserted to the king, and Molon upon this killed himself with his own hands.'

'The king, elate with his success, resolved now to turn his arms against Artabazanes, who governed the Atropatians and some other neighbouring tribes, the most considerable of all the princes in strength and power. . . . He began the march with all his forces, passed beyond the Zagrus, and entered the territory of Artabazanes, which lies close to Media. This kingdom having never been subdued by Alexander, had remained entire from the destruction of the Persian Empire. But Artabazanes, being struck with terror at the approach of the king, and now far advanced in age, submitted without reserve to the conditions that were imposed on

him.' Soon after Hermias was slain by a conspiracy, with the approbation of Antiochus, who, after passing over these distant and before unconquered regions, 'directed his route back again to Syria.'

"Then shall he return, and be stirred up even to his fortress." This fortress here named, refers us naturally to the former verses, where "the king of the south" was said to "enter into the fortress of the king of the north." The latter, or rather his son and successor, after his foreign conquests, is naturally desirous to recover the citadel of his own kingdom, and stirs up his strength to remove this national disgrace. In harmony with the prediction, the history is continued as follows.

'As soon as the king arrived at home, he sent letters to Achæus, filled with reproaches, because he had dared to place the diadem on his head, and usurped the name of king; and assured him that he was well acquainted with the measures he had concerted with Ptolemy, and his rebellious projects. For while Antiochus was engaged against Artabazanes, Achæus, persuaded that he would perish in the war, or that he himself might enter Syria with an army before his return from a country so remote, marched from Lydia with his army; and when he arrived at Laodicea in Phrygia, he first assumed the diadem, and wrote letters in the royal name to all the cities. But when he was just ready to enter Lycaonia, the troops perceiving that he meant to lead them against their natural prince, fell into discontent and mutiny. Achæus therefore desisted from his project, and changing the direction of his march, pillaged the province of Pisidia, and thus regaining the confidence and favour of the troops, he returned home. But Antiochus was informed of all that was designed against him. He sent messengers therefore to reproach Achæus, and meanwhile used all diligence in preparing for the war against Ptolemy.'

As the spring approached, having drawn his forces to Apamea, he consulted with his friends, how he might best enter Cœle Syria. After many discourses, Apollo-

phanes, who was a native of Seleucia, cut short every opinion that had been proposed, and said, 'that it seemed in a high degree absurd to show such eagerness and haste to conquer Cœle Syria; while at the same time *Seleucia, the capital of the kingdom and their sacred seat of empire, was suffered to remain in the hands of Ptolemy*; that besides the dishonour that was reflected on the king, from suffering his chief city to be held by an Egyptian garrison, the place itself would afford many advantages for the conduct of the war; that while an enemy was master of it, there was a constant obstacle in the way of all their enterprises; since whenever they should advance into a distant province they would need no less pains to secure the posts at home, than for the expedition abroad; but that if they could once regain possession of this place, as their own kingdom would be secured from insult, the happy situation of the city would enable to pursue with great advantage all their other projects, both by sea and land.' These sentiments were approved by all; and it was resolved to begin the war by attempting to take Seleucia, which had been possessed by an Egyptian garrison from the time of Ptolemy Energetes. For this prince, in resentment for the death of Berenice, had entered Syria with an army, and made himself master of this city. When the affair was thus determined, the king ordered Diognetus to steer his course towards Seleucia with the fleet, and himself began his march from Apamea.'

The description of Seleucia follows, which has been already given, and the history then continues. 'Antiochus found means to gain some of the inferior officers to his party, and trusting to their assistance, he resolved immediately to attack the city on the side towards the sea, with the naval forces, and with the land army on the opposite side. He divided the troops into three bodies, and having promised crowns and great rewards to the officers and soldiers, he posted Zeuxis against the gates that led to Antioch, and Hermogenes on the side towards Dioscurium. Ardys and Diognetus

were commanded to attack the port and suburbs. The signal was given for the attack, and the troops advanced from every part with vigour. When the king was master of the suburbs, the officers who were joined to his interests ran together to Leontius, the governor, and urged him to send to Antiochus and obtain conditions from him, before the city was stormed. Leontius not suspecting their treachery, and himself also struck by their pretended consternation, sent and demanded life and safety for all within the city. The king promised that those of free condition should be safe; their number was about six thousand. He then entered the city, and not only spared the inhabitants, but permitted those who had fled to return, and restored their possessions and former rights. He also secured the port and citadel by a sufficient garrison.'

Thus the king of the North, after "passing over" to distant conquests in the East, "returned, and was stirred up "against his own fortress," which he now recovered from the king of Egypt. Still prosecuting his design of vengeance, he marched into Cœle Syria. 'About this time Theodotus and Panætulus (generals of Ptolemy) with all their friends advanced to join him, and were received with the greatest marks of favour. The king then took possession of Tyre and Ptolemais, with all the armaments and stores. Among these were forty vessels. The king left the care of this fleet to Diognetus, and having been informed that Ptolemy had retired to Memphis, and that the forces of the kingdom were drawn together at Pelusium, and the sluices all opened; he desisted from his march to Pelusium, and leading his army round the country, drew the cities over, some by gentle means, and some by force. Those that were slightly fortified surrendered at his first approach; but other that were stronger and well supplied with stores, remained firm, and forced him to employ much time and pains to reduce them by a regular siege.'

Ptolemy Philopator, 'the king of the South,' whom Antiochus assailed, unlike his father Euergetes, was a

lazy and luxurious prince. Yet even he, or at least his ministers, were 'moved with choler' by these insults and victories, and prepared for active war. Sosibius and Agathocles resolved to make the needful preparations with the greatest diligence, and meanwhile to send ambassadors to treat of peace. They sent secret orders for gathering together to Alexandria all the mercenaries in the provinces abroad, and made new levies also, with supplies of corn and other stores.'

'Among the generals, every one was appointed to the charge which seemed adapted to his talents and skill. Eurylochus the Magnesian commanded three thousand men, who were called the royal guard; Socrates of Bœotia, the Peltasts, in number two thousand; Phoxidas the Achæan, Ptolemy son of Thauseus, and Andromachus the Aspendian, the phalanx and mercenaries. The phalanx, twenty-five thousand, were commanded by Ptolemy and Andromachus, and the mercenaries, about eight thousand, by Phoxidas. Seven hundred horse, the cavalry from Africa, and the levies in the country, about three thousand, were exercised and commanded by Polycrates. Echebrates, the Thessalian, had two thousand foreign cavalry, and trained them with such skill, that they performed the greatest service in the battle. But none surpassed Cnopias of Alorus, in the management of the troops entrusted to him, who were ten thousand Cretans. There were also three thousand Africans, under Ammonius of Basle, and a phalanx of twenty thousand Egyptians, under Sosibius; with a body of Gauls and Thracians; and among these, four thousand troops, who had long been settled in the country. Such were the numbers and the nations, of whom the army of Ptolemy was composed.'

Antiochus was still occupied in the siege of Dura. A truce of four months then ensued; and he returned to winter in Seleucia, which he had so lately recovered. Negotiations were carried on through the winter, but to no effect, while each side claimed Cœle Syria as their evident right, derived from Seleucus or Ptolemy Soter in

the first division. In the spring Antiochus began a career of seeming triumph. He entered Syria, and came to Berytus (Beyrout), and having taken Botrys in his march, set fire to Calamus and Trieres. He continued his march onward, and encamped on the banks of the Danura, followed by his fleet under Diognetus. He then attacked Nicolaus, who was in a strong port between Libanus and the sea. The Egyptian forces 'fled with great precipitation. About two thousand were killed in the pursuit, and as many taken prisoners, the rest escaped to Sidon.' 'Antiochus came and encamped before Sidon : but as the city was well filled with stores and troops, he made no attempt to take it, but continued his march to Philoteria, and ordered Diognetus to sail to Tyre. The king, having gained possession of both these places, was now filled with the most flattering hopes about the final issue of the war. Having left in both a proper garrison, he came to Atabyrium, and became master of it by a stratagem. As he advanced, he took Pella, Carnus and Gephros. After this success, all the neighbouring people of Arabia urged each other to submit, and with one consent embraced his party. Full of joy and confidence, he passed through the district of Gladiatis, and made himself master of *Abila*. (Lu. iii. 1). *Gadara*, which was esteemed one of the strongest cities in that part of the country, still remained to be subdued. (Mar. v. 1.) But no sooner had the king encamped before it, than the inhabitants were struck with terror and surrendered. He then began his march to Ptolemais with all the army, designing to pass the winter in that city.'

Thus far his course was marked by unbroken success, but now a signal reverse was at hand. "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 : who shall set forth a great multitude, but the multitude shall be given into his hand."

'When the spring approached, Antiochus and Ptolemy, having completed their preparations, were ready to de-

cide the war by battle. Ptolemy began his march from Alexandria with seventy thousand foot, five thousand horse, and twenty-three elephants. Antiochus also drew together all his forces. His army was composed of five thousand light-armed troops, Daians, Carmanians, and Cilicians, under Byttacus, a Macedonian, and twenty-thousand armed as Macedonians, under Theodotus the Ætolian, who had deserted from Ptolemy. There was a phalanx of twenty thousand, commanded by Nicarchus and Theodotus the Hermionian, two thousand Agrianians and Persians, with bows and slings, a thousand Thracians under Menedemus ; five thousand Medes, Cissians, Cadusians, and Carmanians ; ten thousand from Arabia and the neighbouring countries, under Zabdiphilus, five thousand Greek mercenaries, fifteen hundred Cretans, a thousand Neocretans, a thousand Carduchi-ans, and five hundred Lydian archers. The number of the cavalry were about six thousand. Four thousand were commanded by Antipater, brother of the king, and the rest by Themison. Thus the whole army consisted of 72,000 foot and six thousand horse, with a hundred and two elephants.'

' Ptolemy, advancing to Pelusium, and waiting there for troops who had not come up, passed by Mount Casius, and arrived at Gaza. Having allowed time for the refreshment of the army, he continued his route by slow and gentle marches, and on the fifth day fixed his camp at the distance of fifty stadia from Raphia, which is situated beyond Rhinocolura, and stands nearest to Egypt of all the cities of Cœle Syria.'

' When the two armies were ranged in order, and ready to engage, the two kings, attended by their officers and friends, advanced along the line, and endeavoured to inspire their troops with courage, especially the phalanxes, in which they had placed their greatest hopes. Ptolemy was accompanied by his sister Arsinoë, and by Sosibius and Andromachus ; Antiochus, by Theodotus and Nicarchus ; for these were the generals by whom the phalanxes were commanded. They promised great

rewards to every officer apart, and to the whole army, and used not only exhortations, but prayers and entreaties, to engage them to perform their duty with alacrity and vigour. When Ptolemy, with his sister, came to the left wing of his army, and Antiochus, with his guards, had taken his station on his right, the signal was given to engage, and the elephants approaching first, began the combat.

‘The whole left wing of Ptolemy was defeated, and forced to fly. Echechrates, who commanded the right, for some time waited to observe the event of the engagement on the left. But when he saw that their elephants fled wholly from the combat, he ordered Phoxidas, who commanded the Greek mercenaries, to advance against the troops opposite him, while he himself charged the left wing of Antiochus in flank and rear, and soon caused a general route. Phoxidas also forced the Arabians and Medes to fly in great disorder. Thus Antiochus, who had gained the victory on the right was completely vanquished on the left; and the phalanxes stripped of both their wings, remained in the middle of the plain, and knew not what to expect or fear.

‘While Antiochus pursued his victory on the right, Ptolemy advanced into the centre, and showing himself to both armies, struck the enemy with terror, and inspired his own forces with alacrity and confidence. Andromachus and Sosibius, levelling the spears of their phalanxes, advanced against the enemy. The troops of Syria some time sustained the charge, but those under Nicarchus turned their backs and fled. Antiochus saw what had happened, and ran back in haste with his guards to the place of battle. But as the troops were now completely routed, he was forced to retreat to Raphia. Ptolemy having obtained by his phalanx a complete and decisive victory, and killed also, by his cavalry and mercenaries of the right wing, great numbers in the pursuit, returned again to his camp, and next day directed his march to Raphia. Antiochus retired to Gaza. He had lost in the action scarcely fewer

than ten thousand of his infantry, with more than three hundred horse. Above four thousand also were taken prisoners. On the part of Ptolemy were slain fifteen hundred foot, and seven hundred horse; but seventeen elephants were killed, and a greater number taken. Such was the end of the battle of Raphia, between these two princes for the sovereignty of Cœle Syria.'

'Antiochus directed his route again to his own kingdom. Ptolemy took possession of Raphia, and the rest of the neighbouring cities, which all seemed to strive which should be the first to receive him as their master. He was received among them with crowns, and sacrifices, altars, and every other honour that flattery could devise.'

"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."

These words describe the fruits of the victory to the king of the south. Its immediate effects would be the subjugation of many enemies, but no lasting accession of political strength. The history strictly corresponds. Thus Polybius observes, after the victory of Raphia — 'Ptolemy' having gained a victory which he scarcely had the courage to expect, and finding himself possessed of Cœle Syria, was so far from being averse to peace, that he embraced it with immoderate haste; and fled again to that repose to which his indolence and habitual vices forcibly inclined him. As soon then as the ambassadors arrived, he consented to a truce for a year, and sent away Sosibius to ratify the treaty. And when he had passed three months in Syria and Phœnice, and restored peace and order to the cities, he committed the government to Andromachus, and returned with his sister and his favourites to Alexandria."

The many ten thousands, who are cast down by the kings of the south, may thus refer, in general, to the conquest of Cœle Syria, and of the cities which strove emulously to submit themselves to the victor. But it may relate, more especially, to the Jews whom Philo-

pator oppressed. In the third book of Maccabees we read that after the battle, "being puffed up with pride and insolence, he resolved to enter into the holy place; and being hindered, returned into Egypt with bitter threats. Being grievously incensed against the Jews, he commanded that they should be assembled with all haste and put to a bitter death.' In the Chronicon of Eusebius, the number slain in the persecution is said to have been forty thousand. Thus many ten thousands were cast down, either in conquest or murderous persecution; but he was not strengthened by it. The Jews were alienated from the throne of Egypt, and prepared to revolt to his Syrian adversary. Oppression and profligacy armed even his own subjects against him; and all the fruits of the victory slipped away from his grasp. Thus we read in Justin;—"Peace being made, he eagerly sought occasions of rest, and rolling back into luxury, after slaying his wife and sister Eurydice, was caught by the charms of the courtesan Agathoclea. And thus, forgetting the majesty of his house and royal power, he spent his nights in lust, his days in revels; nor any one in the kingdom had less power than the king himself." Polybius confirms the description. "Not long after," he tells us, "Ptolemy was engaged in war against the people of his own kingdom. In arming them for the war against Antiochus he had acted wisely indeed for that emergence; but with regard to the future, the measure was attended with most pernicious consequences. For the people, elated by the victory of Raphia, began to reject with haughtiness the orders of the king; and being persuaded that they had strength enough to regain their liberty, they only waited for a leader in the attempt they had concerted, and which not long after they carried into execution."

The corrupt and profligate character of Philopator, which made his first victory really fruitless, is noted by many historians. Under the influence of his minister, Sosibius, he put to death his uncle Lysimachus, his

brother Magas, his mother Bèrenice, his wife and sister, Arsinoe, and the Spartan king Cleomenes. His crimes and incapacity seem to have caused the revolt to which Polybius alludes, and which weakened the internal strength of his kingdom ; while his cruelty to the Jews alienated their affections, and disposed them to embrace heartily the cause of Antiochus.

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

Twelve years elapsed from the battle of Raphia (A. C. 217) to the death of Philopator (A. C. 205.) During this interval, Antiochus was confirming and enlarging his power, and made no fresh attempt on Egypt, till the accession of the infant son of Philopator, Ptolemy Epiphanes. The course of his conquests may be gathered from the fragments of Polybius.

The very year after the defeat at Raphia, ‘ Antiochus, having made great preparations in the winter, when the summer approached, passed beyond Mount Taurus, entered into an alliance with Attalus, and began his war against Achæus.’ (A. C. 216) In a short time Sardis became the seat of the conflict. ‘ Sharp skirmishes passed continually round the walls of the city, and battles by night and day without intermission. But when the siege was now continued to the second year, it was ended by the contrivance of Lagoras, a Cretan.’ Soon after Achæus was betrayed by the treachery of his own followers and friends, and the citadel surrendered to Antiochus.

After his success, Antiochus marched against Arsaces into Media, and arrived at Ecbatana. ‘ This city stands on the north side of Media, and commands all that part of Asia which lies along the Mæotis and the Euxine sea. It was even from ancient times the seat of the royal residences, and seems to have exceeded very greatly all the other cities in splendour and magnificence. . . When Antiochus arrived, there were still remaining in the

temple of Diana, some pillars cased with gold, and a large quantity of silver tiles. There were also some wedges of gold, and many more of silver. These were now coined with the royal stamp, and amounted to nearly four thousand talents.'

Antiochus then advanced through the desert to Hecatompylus, and pursued Arsaces into Hyrcania. Afterwards he entered Bactria, and crossing the river Arius, defeated Euthydemus. 'In this action he distinguished himself above all that were with him; and the first squadrons of the enemy were at last broken by the king. Antiochus had a horse killed under him, and there was no action of his life in which he gained so high a reputation for courage.' Euthydemus retreated to Zarispa, and soon after entered into treaty with Antiochus, who granted him the continued possession of the province.

'After the treaty, Antiochus, having taken the elephants that belonged to Euthydemus, began his march with all his army. Passing mount Caucasus, he came into India, and renewed his alliance with the Indian king. In this place he obtained more elephants, so that his whole number was now a hundred and fifty, and having furnished his army with a new supply of corn, he again decamped; but left Androsthene's to receive the tribute which the king engaged to pay. He then traversed Arachosia, and having passed the Erymanthus, and advanced into Carmania, as the winter approached, he sent the troops into their quarters. Such was the end of his expedition into the upper provinces of Asia, which secured him the obedience, not of those provinces only, but of all the maritime cities, and of all the princes on this side of mount Taurus, and covered his own kingdom from invasion, while it gave all men the highest opinion of his courage and love of labour. For from this time, not the people of Asia alone, but those of Europe also, considered him a prince most worthy to reign.' (Pol. xi.)

Antiochus had now reduced Achæus in Lydia, and the western provinces, and subdued Media, Parthia,

Hyrkania, and Bactria, his return, 'with a great army and much riches,' was quickly followed (A. C. 205) by the death of Philopator, and the accession of his son Ptolemy Epiphanes, in the fifth year of his age. On this he renewed his designs against Egypt. Thus Justin tells us—'On the death of Philopator, king of Egypt, Antiochus the king of Syria, despising the weakness of his infant son who, though left to the expectation of the kingdom, was a prey even to his own domestics, determined to seize on Egypt.' (xxx. 1.) So also Polybius (iii. 1.) alludes to 'the commotions that were raised in Egypt, after the death of Ptolemy, by Philip and Antiochus, the wicked acts by which those princes endeavoured to share between themselves the dominions of the infant king; and the manner in which the former invaded Egypt, Samos and Caria, and the latter, Cœle Syria and Phœnice.' In another place (Bk. xv.) he reprobates their iniquity in these words:—

'It is strange to consider, that as long as Ptolemy (Philopator) lived, Philip and Antiochus were ready to support him; but no sooner was he dead, and had left an infant son, than those princes whose duty it was, by the laws of nature, to maintain the child's possession of the kingdom, combined to share his dominion between them, and to destroy the helpless orphan; nor did they even endeavour, like other tyrants, to cover their shame with the slightest pretext, but prosecuted their design with barefaced and brutal violence. We need only turn our eyes upon the treaty made between the two kings on this occasion, and we shall see, as in a glass, the strongest picture of their avowed impiety, their savage inhumanity, and their unbounded ambition. If any one, however, be disposed to censure fortune, for admitting such injustice in human affairs, let them consider that afterwards she punished both these princes as their actions deserved, and exposed them as a memorable warning; for while they were practising all the arts of treachery, and tearing away by pieces the dominions of the infant king; the Deity having

raised up the Romans against them, inflicted on them, with a most exact measure of justice, the very evils they had unjustly meditated against others. Subdued, each in his turn, they were compelled to submit to tribute, and to receive orders from the Romans.'

Such was the lesson which even a heathen historian could gather from these striking changes, and the reverses which followed close on acts of signal treachery. How much more should Christians, while they read these events, as noted before in the scripture of truth, and revealed by the Angel of the Covenant, adore the righteousness of the God of heaven, who delights to exercise judgment, justice, and loving kindness in the earth!

The further progress of Antiochus in the prosecution of this treacherous design, his temporary success, and final defeat by the Romans, will form the subject of the following chapters, and thus continue the striking development of this inspired prophecy.

CHAPTER VIII.

ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT AND THE JEWS.

DAN. XI. 14—17.—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 OWN 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 ON HIS SIDE, NEITHER BE FOR HIM.

IN these words the prophecy exhibits a later stage of the history of Antiochus, when he was brought into closer contact with the people of Israel, the secret object kept in view throughout the whole prediction.

The times which are here intended, are those which followed after the death of Ptolemy Philopator, (A.C. 205) and continued about thirteen years, till the invasion of Greece by Antiochus. (A.C. 192.) Many, as we have seen from Justin and Polybius, stood up against the infant king, who seemed left entirely defenceless. Philip and Antiochus entered into a perfidious league to share his dominions. The Jews, who had been revolted by the cruelty and pride of Philopator after the battle of

Raphia, were prepared in great numbers to swell this current of prosperous wickedness.

During the whole course of the Grecian dynasty in Syria and Egypt, the Jews suffered great calamities. The times, as perhaps implied in Dan. ix. 25, were strait and troublous ; and at the same time a perpetual blending took place, till the Greek language nearly superseded the Syriac dialect. Their troubles began under Ptolemy Soter. That prince, as Josephus tells us, (*Ant. xii. 1. 1*) 'seized upon Jerusalem, and made use of deceit and treachery ; for he came into the city on a sabbath day, as if he would offer sacrifices, and gained it without any trouble, while the Jews did not oppose him, for they did not suspect him to be their enemy ; and when he gained it, he ruled over it in a cruel manner. And when he had taken a great many captives from the mountainous parts of Judea, and from the places about Jerusalem and Samaria, and the places near mount Gerisem, he led them into Egypt, and settled them there. Nay, there were not a few other Jews who, of their own accord, went into Egypt, invited by the goodness of the soil and the liberality of Ptolemy.' Philadelphus, his successor, 'procured the law to be translated, and set free the Jews who were in slavery in Egypt, in number one hundred and twenty thousand.' The same writer tells us that 'Seleucus Nicator made the Jews citizens in the cities he built in Asia, in the lower Syria, and in the Metropolis itself, Antioch ; and gave them privileges equal to those of the Macedonians and Greeks, insomuch that those privileges continue to this very day.' But in spite of these partial favours, the wars between Syria and Egypt involved the nation continually in heavy troubles. At the time of Epiphanes' accession, many of the Jews, as we may infer from the words of Josephus, revolted from the Egyptian power.

'Now in the reign of Antiochus the Great, who ruled over all Asia, the Jews and inhabitants of Cœle Syria suffered greatly, and their land was sorely harassed.

For while he was at war with Ptolemy Philopator, and with his son Epiphanes, they were equally sufferers when he was beaten and when he beat the others. So that they were very like a ship in a storm, which is tossed by the waves on both sides. Such was their situation, midway between Antiochus' prosperity, and his change to adversity. At length, when Antiochus had beaten Ptolemy, he seized on Judea. But when Philopator was dead, his son sent out a great army under Scopas, the general of his forces, against the inhabitants of Cœle Syria, who took many of their cities, and especially our nation ; and when he fell upon them, they went over to him. This is the testimony of Polybius, in the sixteenth book of his history. " Now Scopas, the general of Ptolemy's army, went in haste to the upper parts of the country, and in the winter time overthrew the nation of the Jews." "

Thus it appears, from the combined testimony of Polybius, Justin, and Josephus, that at this time many foes combined against the young king of Egypt, and that, among these, the Jews had revolted in great numbers ; but that they fell under the power of Scopas, the Egyptian general, before Antiochus was ready to march to their aid.

" But the king of the north shall come, and cast up a mount, and take the city of munitions."

In the failure of original heathen authorities, we must here have recourse to Josephus and Jerome. The former says that, ' not long afterward, Antiochus overcame Scopas, in a battle fought at the fountains of Jordan, and destroyed a great part of his army. He also quotes the words of Polybius, that ' when Antiochus had beaten Scopas, he received Batanea and Samaria, and ABILA and GADARA.' But Jerome supplies fuller information. ' When Antiochus had defeated Scopas, he shut him up, with ten thousand of his troops, in Sidon. To set him free, Ptolemy sent famous generals, Eropus, Menocles, and Damoxenus, but they could not raise the siege ; and at length Scopas, overcome by famine,

surrendered.' It is plain how exactly this event corresponds with the statement in the prophecy, and how fully Sidon, an ancient and strong city, and at this time the key of Palestine, might be called 'the city of munitions.'

The next words admit of a little variety in their translation, and the true version must be established, before we can compare them with the history. The phrase rendered by our translators 'the goodly land' is literally, the land or country of *hatsebi*, 'the goodly ornament.' Now this last word occurs in about thirty passages. In fourteen of these it denotes the roe or gazelle; in the others, by a sense derived from the proverbial grace of that animal, beauty, or glory, or some beautiful or glorious object. In Ez. vii. 20, it is plainly used for the temple itself, as the peculiar glory of the people of Israel. The same meaning is equally plain in Dan. viii. 9, where the word stands alone. "Towards the goodly ornament," or in other words, towards the temple and sanctuary, that was afterwards cast down. It is most natural then, to retain the same meaning in the other passages of this prophet, and to render the phrase, 'the land of the goodly ornament,' or in other words, the land where the temple of God, the special scene of his presence and the glory of His people, was to be found.

Again, the word *Kalah*, translated here, to *consume*, is very often used in the sense, to *finish*, or *complete*. This appears to be its constant meaning in connexion with the tabernacle or temple of God; the completion of which is almost always described by this term. The following passages are examples of this usage. Exod. xxxix. 32; xl. 33. Numb. vii. 1. 1 Kings vi. 9, 14, 38; ix. 1. 1 Chron. xxviii. 20. 2 Chron. vii. 11; viii. 16; xxiv. 14; xxxi. 1. Now, since *hatsebi* is certainly employed to denote the temple, as the goodly delight or ornament of Israel, and this other term is so often employed in connexion with the same subject, the following appears the most natural version of the text. "He

shall stand in the country of the goodly ornament, and it (the goodly ornament) shall be perfected by his hand.' It remains to see how precisely the facts correspond with this prediction.

In the campaign of A.C. 198, Antiochus reduced all the cities of Cœle Syria. 'Scopas,' as Livy informs us (xxx. 43), the chief of the Ætoliens, had been sent by King Ptolemy from Alexandria with a great weight of gold, and had brought away to Egypt six thousand foot soldiers and horsemen, and would have left none of the Ætolian youth, unless Damocritus, by his reproofs, had retained some of the young men at home.' The next year, according to Polybius, (xvi. 18.) A.C. 198, there occurred 'the siege of Gaza, and the array of Antiochus against Scopas in Cœle Syria at Panium.' Livy continues the narrative in the following year. 'Antiochus, when in the former summer he had reduced all the cities of Ptolemy in Cœle Syria under his power, and then retired to winter quarters at Antioch, in the early spring, sent before him by land his two sons Ardys and Mithridates, with an army, and orders to meet him at Sardis, and himself set out with the fleet; intending both to gain over the cities under the rule of Ptolemy in the whole coast of Cilicia and Caria, and also to aid Philip, who was not then vanquished, both with his army and navy.'

It was about this time, A.C. 199—197, that Antiochus, to secure the favour of the Jews, conferred on them various privileges. At an earlier time, when still in the eastern provinces, he seems to have written the following letter, which gave an earnest of his good-will to the nation.

'King Antiochus to Zeuxis his Father.'

'Having been informed that a sedition is arisen in Lydia and Phrygia, I thought that matter required great care. And on advising with my friends what was fit to be done, it has been thought proper to remove two thousand families of Jews, with their effects, out

of Mesopotamia and Babylon, unto the castles and places most convenient. For I am persuaded that they will be well-disposed guardians of our possessions, from their piety towards God, and because I know that my predecessors have borne witness to them, that they are faithful, and do with alacrity what they are desired to do. I will, therefore, though it be a laborious task, that thou remove these Jews; under a promise that they shall be allowed to use their own laws. And when thou shalt have brought them to the fore-mentioned places, thou shalt give every family a place for building their houses, and a portion of land for husbandry and planting of vines; and discharge them from all taxes for the fruits for ten years, and let them have wheat for the maintenance of their servants, until they receive bread corn from the earth. Also, let a share be given to those who minister to them of the necessaries of life, that by enjoying the fruits of our humanity, they may be more willing and ready in our affairs. Take care also of that nation, as far as thou art able, that no disturbance be given them by any.'

Afterwards, when the king had gained the victory over Scopas, the Jews, according to Josephus and others, 'of their own accord, went over to him, and received him into the city of Jerusalem, and gave plentiful provision to all his army and his elephants, and readily assisted him in besieging the garrison in the citadel of Jerusalem. Wherefore Antiochus thought it just to requite their diligence and zeal in his service; and wrote to the generals of his armies and his friends, to declare the good behaviour of the Jews towards him, and the rewards he had resolved to bestow on them for their behaviour.'

The following letter of Antiochus appears to have been written soon after the prosperous campaign of the battle of Panium, and probably in the very next year.

'King Antiochus to Ptolemy, greeting.

'Since the Jews, on our first entrance in their coun-

try, showed their friendship to us, and when we came into their city received us in a splendid manner, and met us with their senate, and supplied abundant provision for our soldiers and elephants, and joined with us in capturing the Egyptian garrison in the citadel, we also have thought fit to recompense them for these things, and to retrieve their cities which have been wasted by calamities that have befallen its inhabitants, and to bring back into the city those who have been scattered abroad. And first, for their piety, we have resolved to bestow on them *a pension for their sacrifices*, of cattle for sacrifice, and wine and oil and incense, to the value of twenty thousand pieces of silver, and six sacred arbatræ of fine flour, after the measure of the country, 1460 medimni of wheat, and three hundred and seventy-five medimni of salt. And I wish these things to be paid to them, as I have written, *and that the work about the temple should be finished, both the pillars, and whatsoever else needs to be built.* And let the materials of the wood be brought down from Judea, and the other countries, and from Libanus, no custom being charged. *So also in all the other things, in which the furniture of the temple needs to be made more glorious.* And let all who are of the nation live according to their own laws, and let the senate, and the priests, the scribes of the temple, and the temple-singers, be free from the poll-tax, and the crown impost, and other tribute also. And that the city may be inhabited more quickly, I grant to those who now dwell there, or who shall come until the month Hyperberetæus immunity from taxes for three years. We also release them, in future, from the third part of the tribute, so that their loss may be repaired; and whoever, having been carried off from the city are now in slavery, restore them and their children to liberty, and order their property to be repaid.'

This letter was soon followed by a public decree of Antiochus addressed to the whole kingdom, in which further provision was made for perfecting the temple of God.

‘It shall be lawful for no stranger to enter within the circuit of the temple, which is forbidden to the Jews, except those for whom, when purified, it is customary after the laws of the country. Let no one bring into the city the flesh of horses, or mules, or of asses, wild or tame, nor of leopards, and foxes, and hares, nor of all those beasts which are forbidden to the Jews, nor shall it be lawful to bring in their skins, nor to rear any such in the city. But it is permitted to make use only of the sacrifices appointed by their forefathers, whereby they are to do honourable service to God. Whoever transgresses any of these laws, let him pay to the priests three thousand drachms of silver.’

In this manner Antiochus, when he entered the land of Judea, where the temple stood, their delight, and the desire of their eyes, made provision that the work should be perfected, and all be provided that was needful to make the sanctuary glorious. ‘He shall stand in the country of the goodly ornament, and it shall be perfected by his hand.’

The prophecy next describes his attempt to gain possession of Egypt, by means of intermarriage. The very year, which followed the victory over Scopas at Panium, the power of Macedon was broken by the Romans, in the battle with Philip at Cynoscephalæ, A.C. 197. A mightier enemy was thus arising in the west, and Antiochus was anxious to make peace with the king of Egypt, that he might strengthen himself against this more dangerous foe. After that decisive battle, his legates met the consul Quinctius at the Isthmus. ‘It was proclaimed to the king, not ambiguously as before, when Philip was safe, and the event doubtful, but openly, that he must retire from the cities of Asia which had belonged to Philip or Ptolemy. Above all, it was denounced to him, that he should not pass over, either in person, or with his forces, into Europe.’ (Liv. xxxiii. 34.) The later preparations of Antiochus, before the final conflict, may be collected from the same author.

‘The same year (A.C. 196) Antiochus, after he had

wintered at Ephesus, endeavoured to reduce all the cities of Asia under the ancient form of empire. Smyrna and Lampsacus still kept their liberty, and there was danger, if it were granted to these, that other cities would follow the example. Therefore he set out from Ephesus to besiege Smyrna, and ordered the forces from Abydos to besiege Lampsacus. In the beginning of the spring, setting out from Ephesus, he sought the Hellespont, and his land forces crossed to Madytus, a city of the Chersonesus; a navy accompanied him, and the city, shut in by his troops, surrendered. He then came to Lysimachia with all his land and sea forces.'

An interview then took place between the king and the Roman legates, which shewed that a conflict was at hand. The Romans 'thought it just that all the cities should be restored to Ptolemy which had been under his power. But as to the cities of Philip which Antiochus had seized by occasion of the Roman war, it was not to be endured that the Romans for so many years should have all the dangers and toils of the war, and Antiochus should reap its rewards. And even though they were to pass over his arrival in Asia, what was it short of open war, when he had passed into Europe with all his land and sea forces?'

'The king replied, that the Romans seemed long ago to busy themselves enough with the inquiry, what king Antiochus ought to do; but never to ask, how far they themselves were to encroach by sea and land. With Asia the Romans had nothing to do, nor was it more their business to inquire what Antiochus did in Asia, than for Antiochus what the Roman people are doing in Italy. As to Ptolemy, whose cities they complained were taken away, he was both in friendship with Ptolemy, and hoped *that shortly they would even be joined in affinity.*'

A rumour of Ptolemy's death broke off the conference. 'Antiochus thought that Egypt would be his own, if he improved the opportunity. Therefore, dismissing the Romans, and leaving his son Seleucus with

the land forces to restore Lysimachia, he sailed with all the fleet to Ephesus, and following the coast of Asia, came to Lycia : but learning at Patara that Ptolemy was alive, gave up his purpose of sailing into Egypt. Sailing then to Cyprus, he met with a storm, and returned to Seleucia. 'There he ordered the ships to be drawn ashore, and retired to winter quarters at Antioch.' At Rome, 'all their cares, after the arrival of the legates, were turned to king Antiochus. These, after an account of the war with Philip, told them that no less task remained with Antiochus. That he had passed with a great fleet and powerful army into Europe, and unless an empty hope, derived from an emptier rumour, of invading Egypt, had turned him aside, Greece would soon have been in the flames of war.'

Soon after this time, Annibal fled from Carthage, by Tyre to Antioch. 'He reached the king at Ephesus, when he was still fluctuating and uncertain about the Roman war, and the arrival of Annibal had no slight power to urge him to the contest.'

It was now that the king sought to strengthen his league with Ptolemy, before his conflict with the Romans. 'That winter (A.C. 19) king Antiochus at Raphia, in Phœnice, gave his daughter in marriage to king Ptolemy, and after returning to Antioch, passed through Cilicia over Mount Taurus, and came at the end of the winter to Ephesus.' (xxxv. 13.) Josephus adds further particulars, which throw light on the prophecy. Ant. xii. 4. 1. 'After this,' he says, 'Antiochus made a friendship and league with Ptolemy, and gave him his daughter Cleopatra in marriage, and yielded up to him Cœle Syria, Samaria, Judea, and Phœnice, by way of dowry. On the division of the tribute between the two kings, all the principal men farmed the taxes of their several countries, and collecting the appointed sum, paid the same to the two kings.' These appear to explain the 'conditions of equity' named in the sacred text. They consisted in the cession of all the disputed provinces, to this extent, that the tribute should be

shared equally between the two kings. The hope of Antiochus was doubtless, by his superior power, and the influence of Cleopatra, to obtain the real sovereignty of both kingdoms. But the project failed of success, not only through the victories of the Romans, but also through the defection of Cleopatra from her father's cause. "She shall not stand on his side, nor be for him." And thus Livy tells us presently, that 'ambassadors came from Ptolemy and *Cleopatra*, kings of Egypt, to express their joy that the consul Acelius had expelled Antiochus from Greece, and exhorting them to lead over their army into Asia.'

Thus minutely, in every point, the prophecy was fulfilled. Amidst the subtle policy of rival states, the treachery of princes, the complicated web of a thousand interests, the fickleness of female passion, and the steady course of Roman ambition, the word of God was continually accomplished, and not one jot or tittle failed from these words of the angel, this transcript from the secret writing of eternal truth in the counsels of heaven. The more we meditate on the simple narrative of the vision, and trace the steps of its fulfilment, the more deeply shall we enter into the ascription of the holy prophet. "Blessed be the name of God for ever, for wisdom and might are his. He removeth kings and setteth up kings ; he knoweth what is in the darkness, and the light dwelleth with Him !"

CHAPTER IX.

ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT AND THE ROMANS.

DAN. XI. 18, 19.—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. THEN HE SHALL TURN HIS FACE TOWARD THE FORT OF HIS OWN LAND : BUT HE SHALL STUMBLE AND FALL, AND NOT BE FOUND.

THESE words complete the prophetic history of Antiochus the Great. In striking contrast with his early victories, they exhibit the total reverse he endured in his conflict with the Romans ; and form thus a link of transition from the times of the Third, to those of the Fourth Empire, which were to be still more eventful to the Church of God.

The books of Livy, which are still extant, supply us with a full comment on these verses, without the need, as in other parts, of recurring to brief fragments of various authors.

The war was introduced by a conference between ten Roman legates and two from the king, at Rome. Quinctius, in the name of the Romans, said ‘ There were two conditions apart from which they might tell the king, that there could be no friendship with the Roman people. The first, that if he wishes us to care nothing about the cities of Asia, he himself shall abstain from the whole of Europe. The other, that if he does not keep within the bounds of Asia, but passes over into

Europe, it shall be lawful for the Romans to maintain their present alliance with the cities in Asia, and to form new ones.' Hegesianax replied, that 'it was unworthy to listen to such terms, that Antioch should be excluded from the cities of Thrace and the Chersonesus ; which his ancestor Seleucus, when king Lysimachus had been conquered and slain in war, had won with much glory, and left to his successors ; and which Antiochus with equal honour had partly recovered from the Thracians, and partly when deserted, as Lysimachia, had colonized anew, and built them at great expense when destroyed by decay and conflagration. In what were the claims alike, that Antiochus should be driven from a possession thus obtained and thus recovered, and the Romans abstain from Asia which was never theirs ? That Antiochus sought the friendship of the Romans, but one which should be honourable, not disgraceful.' Quinctius replied, 'Since your appeal is to honour, which should be the only motive, or at least the highest, with the foremost people of the world and so great a king, which is more honourable, to desire that all the cities of Greece every where should be free, or slaves and tributary ? If Antiochus thinks it honourable to reclaim for slavery the cities his ancestor gained by right of war, but his grandfather and father never used as their own ; the Roman people also think it befits their faith and constancy, not to desert the cause they have undertaken, the liberty of the Greeks. As they have freed Greece from Philip, so they intend to free the cities in Asia, which bear the Grecian name, from Antiochus. For colonies were not sent into Æolia and Ionia to be royal slaves, but to extend their race, and propagate an ancient tribe through the earth.' Sulpitius added, 'Choose one of these two conditions, or forbear to treat of friendship.' Menippus rejoined, 'We have neither will nor power to promise any thing by which the kingdom of Antiochus shall be diminished.'

Towards the close of the next year, (A.C. 192) actual hostilities began. 'The Romans being intent on pre-

paring for a new war, Antiochus also was not backward. Three cities detained him, Smyrna, Alexandria in Troas, and Lampsacus, which up to that day he could neither subdue nor allure by treaty, and yet was not willing to leave them in his rear, passing over into Europe.' . . . 'He determined to delay his march into Greece no longer. Before he weighed anchor, he went to Ilium from the sea, and sacrificed to Minerva. Then, returning to the fleet, he set out with forty decked and sixty open ships, and two hundred transports, followed with all the provision of war. He first seized on the *island* of Imbrus; thence he passed over to *Sciathus*; and gathering the ships that were scattered on the sea, touched first at Pteleum on the continent. There Eurylochus, chief of the Magnesians, and their other leaders, met him from Demetrius. He then reviewed his forces, ten thousand foot soldiers, and five hundred horsemen, with six elephants; scarcely enough to occupy Greece if empty, far less to sustain a Roman war.' (xxxv. 43.) 'Antiochus brought his army to Aulis, and partly by his own persuasions, partly by those of the Ætoliens, procured that the gates of Chalcis should be opened to him. Since the king held the chief city of Eubœa, the other towns of the island did not refuse his sway; and he thought that he had made a fair beginning of the war, when *so large an island*, and so many cities, conveniently situate, had come under his power.' (c. 51.)

'In the following winter, Antiochus, who was still at Chalcis, solicited some of the states of Greece by legates, and others came to him of their own accord, as the Epirots and Eleans. But the advice of Annibal was neglected, and the whole war was conducted with a weak and idle ostentation, unworthy of the king's reputation, and totally unsuited to the enemy with whom he had to contend. Instead of securing at any cost, the alliance of Philip, Antiochus sent two thousand troops to bury the Macedonians who had fallen at Cynoscephalæ; and by this act, which seemed like a studied insult to the Macedonian king, threw him into a hasty alliance with

the Romans. After taking Pheræ, Scotussa, Pellinæum, Perrhœbia, Mallœa, Cyretiæ, and Pharsalus, and a fruitless attempt on Larissa, the king retired to Demetrius and Chalcis. There he celebrated his marriage with the daughter of Cleoptolemus, a Chalcidian. Forgetting what two weighty affairs he had undertaken together, a Roman war and the liberation of Greece, neglecting the care of every thing, he spent the rest of the winter in feasting and the pleasures that follow wine, and when fatigued with these, he slept. The same luxury seized on the prefects of the king and the soldiers; none of them wore arms, or kept his station or watch, or fulfilled any one duty of the soldier. So that in the beginning of spring, when he had come through Phocis to Chæronea, where the army were ordered to assemble, he easily perceived that the soldiers had not passed the winter under stricter discipline than their leader.'

The arrival of the Romans quickly changed the face of affairs. 'Manius Acilius, the Consul, crossed the sea with twenty thousand foot soldiers, two thousand horses, and fifteen elephants, and ordered chosen tribunes to lead the infantry to Larissa. He himself with the cavalry came to Philip at Limnæa.' Mallæa, Phæstus, Cyretræ, had already been recovered by Philip and Marcus Boebius. On the arrival of Acilius, Pieria, Metropolis, Pharsalus, Scotussa and Pheræ, and the garrisons of Antiochus in them, surrendered. Antiochus, while this was done, was in Chalcis; and now, perceiving that he had obtained nothing from Greece, but pleasant winter quarters at Chalcis, and dishonourable nuptials, accused the vain promises of Thoas and the Ætoliens, and began to admire Annibal, not only as a man of great prudence and renown, but as almost a prophet of every thing that had occurred. That sloth might not thoroughly ruin his rash attempt, he sent messengers into Ætolia, that they should assemble with all their youth. He himself led thither about ten thousand foot soldiers,

of those who had come afterwards out of Asia, and five hundred horses. And when these assembled in fewer numbers than ever before, and the chiefs only came with a few followers, and said that they had done every thing to summon all from their cities, but could not prevail by authority, or favour, or command, over their dislike to the service ; deserted on every side by his own subjects who lingered in Asia, and by his allies, who fulfilled none of the hopes by which they had invited him, he retired to the pass of Thermopylæ. This is the only military way by which armies can pass, if they are not hindered ; a place memorable by the death rather than the battle, of the Lacedæmonians against the Persians.’

The speech which Livy ascribes to the Consul Acilnis, is very significant of the issue of the conflict. ‘You ought to keep well in your mind, that you do not fight merely for the liberty of Greece, though that would be a noble exploit after it has been freed before from Philip, to free it now from Antiochus and the Ætolians ; nor will that be your whole reward which is now in the camp of the king ; but all the stores which are daily expected from Ephesus, will be your prey. Next you will open Asia and Syria, and all the richest kingdoms towards the rising of the sun to the Roman Empire. What will then hinder us, but that we may bound our empire, from Gades to the Erythræan sea, by the ocean which shuts in the world with its embrace, and all mankind venerate the Roman name, like that of the divinities ?’

The battle ensued on the following day. The Romans assaulted the camp of Antiochus, and might have been repelled, had not a detachment under Marcus Porcius driven the Ætolians from the heights and appeared on a hill which commanded the entrenchment. ‘The Macedonians and others, who were in the royal camp, at first thought that they were Ætolians coming to their aid. But as soon as the standards and arms shewed their mistake, such a panic seized them all, that they

flung down their weapons and fled. The entrenchments delayed them, and the narrowness of the pass, through which they had to retire, and most of all the elephants, which were placed hindmost, which the foot soldiers could scarcely pass, and the horsemen not at all, since their horses were terrified, and caused more tumult than even in battle. The plunder of the camp delayed the Romans a little time, yet they pursued the enemy the same day to Scarphia. The king did not stop in his hasty flight until he reached Elatia, and there first collecting the remnant left from the route and the battle, with a small troop of half armed soldiers, betook himself to Chalcis. The Roman horse did not overtake the king himself at Elatia, but crushed a great part of the army, either loitering through weariness, or scattered through ignorance of the roads and want of leaders. No one escaped of the whole army, but five hundred who were about the king; a small number, even out of ten thousand whom, following Polybius, we have said that the king brought with him into Greece. What if we were to believe Valerius of Antium, who writes that there were sixty thousand in the royal army, that forty thousand fell, and five thousand were taken, with two hundred and thirty standards? xxxv. 19.

Antiochus, on the approach of the Consul, retired to Tenus, and then passed over to Ephesus. There he stayed for a time, 'quite secure about the Roman war, as if the Romans would not cross over into Asia; a security which most of his friends increased, either through ignorance or flattery. Annibal alone, whose authority then stood very high with the king, said that he rather wondered the Romans were not already in Asia, than doubted whether they would come. That it was nearer to pass from Greece into Asia, than from Italy into Greece, and the Roman arms were no less powerful by sea than by land. Therefore Antiochus should cease to delude himself by the vain hope of peace. He must soon contend with the Romans in Asia, and for Asia, by sea and land, and either deprive them

of the empire, who aimed at the whole world, or lose his own kingdom.'

This prediction of military and political foresight speedily proved to be true. 'The Consul, who had Greece appointed for his province, beside the two legions he received from Manius Acilius, received in addition, of Roman citizens three thousand foot and a hundred horse of Latin allies five thousand and two hundred horse ; and it was added, that when he reached his province, if it seemed for the benefit of the republic, he should cross over into Asia.' 'Legates came from Ptolemy and Cleopatra, to congratulate the senate that Acilius the Consul had driven Antiochus out of Greece, and to exhort them to pass over into Asia.' 'That all was full of alarm, not only in Asia, but in Syria ; and the kings of Egypt were ready to do whatever the senate should determine.' A second battle took place in Asia soon after, near Thyatira. Its issue was equally disastrous to the king. 'Antiochus turned his horse to flight. The Romans, conquerors in both wings, made their way through heaps of bodies to plunder the camp. The horsemen of Eumenes, and all the rest of the cavalry, pursued and slaughtered the enemy through the whole plain. In the camp too there was a great slaughter, almost more than in the battle. For those who fled first bent their course hither, and through confidence in their numbers, those who were thus sheltered fought more obstinately at the trench ; so that when at length the Romans forced their way, their anger caused a heavier carnage. About fifty thousand foot are said to have been slain that day, and four thousand horse ; fourteen hundred were made prisoners, and fifteen elephants with their rulers. Some of the Romans were wounded, but there fell not more than three hundred foot and twenty-four horsemen, and five and twenty of the army of Eumenes. The victors, after plundering the camp of the enemy, returned with great spoil to their own ; and the next day stripped the bodies of the slain, and secured the captives. Antiochus fled with

a few, and more gathering in his flight, came almost at midnight with a small company to Sardis. And when he heard that Seleucus his son, and some of his friends had reached Apamea, he himself set out thither in the fourth watch with his wife and daughter.'

Antiochus, after this total defeat, sent ambassadors to obtain peace. Their plea shews of itself the vast results which issued from the Roman victory. 'You have always,' he said, 'used magnanimity to conquered kings and people. How much more should you deal gently in this victory, which has made you *lords of the whole world!* For now, laying aside contests against all mortal men, you ought, no less than the gods, to consult for and spare the whole human race.' The conditions of peace, though stern in themselves, wore an appearance of moderation from the greatness of the king's defeat. 'The same terms,' Africanus answered in the name of the Roman deputies, 'which we offered before we crossed the Hellespont, we offer now as conquerors to the conquered. Abstain from Europe, and retire from all Asia on this side of Mount Taurus. Next, for the expenses of the war you shall pay fifteen thousand Eubœan talents; five hundred at once, two thousand five hundred when the Roman senate and people have confirmed the peace, and then a thousand talents for twelve years. You shall also pay Eumenes four hundred talents, and the rest of the coin which was due to his father. To be sure of your performance, it will be some pledge, if you shall give twenty hostages of our choice; but we shall never be sure that there is peace with the Roman people, where Annibal shall stay. We demand him before all things. The king will make peace in worse plight, because he makes it later than was in his power. If he now delays, let him know that the majesty of kings is harder to bring down half way from its eminence, than to complete its fall.' The treaty was soon afterwards ratified on these terms. The words of the prediction were thus amply fulfilled, and the reproach which Antiochus had cast on the Romans, and

his contempt of their power, in invading Greece with such a feeble army, was turned upon himself, in the loss of his provinces, the ruin of his troops, and the tribute imposed on his kingdom.

“Then shall he turn his face towards the forts of his own country, and he shall stumble and fall, and not be found.”

The end of this king, the Angel here predicts, would be as obscure and ignominious, as the opening of his reign had been successful and renowned. Not only the event, but even the manner in which it is made known to us, corresponds. The death of Antiochus is only mentioned by Livy in a kind of parenthesis, and briefly alluded to in other writers. The fragments of Diodorus illustrate this and the previous verses.

‘Antiochus, perceiving that the Romans had crossed into Asia, sent a message to Heraclides the Byzantian, about a peace, and gave back one half of the expense, and surrendered Lampsacus, Smyrna and Alexandria, about which the war seemed to have arisen. For these cities, first of all the Greeks in Asia, sent an embassy to the senate entreating for their liberty.’

‘Antiochus promised Publius Scipio, the chief of the senate, to release his son without ransom, whom he had made prisoner, when he was staying at Eubœa; and also a great amount of money if he would help him to procure peace. But Scipio replied, that he should bear gratitude to the king for the ransom of his son, and did not need the money; and in return for this benefit, counselled him not to array his forces against the Romans, having once made trial of their valour.’

‘The king abandoning the war, sent messengers to the Consul, claiming that he should be pardoned for his faults, and entreating for peace on any terms. The Consul, maintaining the Roman moderation, and induced by his brother Publius, granted peace on these terms; that the king should resign Europe to the Romans, and Asia on this side Taurus, with the cities and tribes therein, and give up his elephants and large

vessels, and repay the expenses of the war, counted at eighteen thousand Eubœan talents, and give up Annibal the Carthaginian, Thoas the Ætolian, and some others, and twenty hostages at the choice of the Romans. He accepted every condition in his desire for peace, and was freed from the war.'

'Antiochus being at a loss for money, and hearing that in Elymais, the temple of Belus had much silver and gold from the offerings, determined to plunder it. Having come then to Elymais, and charged the inhabitants with beginning the war against him, he plundered the temple, and having gathered a great sum of money very soon endured the fitting vengeance from the gods.'

Cicero, in his oration for Deiotarus, mentions a doubtful anecdote of Antiochus after his defeat. 'The great Antiochus, king of Asia, when, after the victory of Scipio, he was commanded to reign only as far as Taurus, and had lost all the nearer Asia which is now our province, was wont to say, that the Roman people had done him a kindness, because he was now freed from excessive ease, and had more moderate boundaries for his kingdom.' His necessity, however, and real distress, seem to be implied in the account of Diodorus, which is confirmed in substance by Eusebius and Justin. The former tells us, that 'having gone to Susa and the upper satrapies, and entered into conflict with the Elymæans, he was slain by violence, and left two sons, Seleucus and Antiochus.' The account in Justin is a little fuller. 'Meanwhile, in Syria, king Antiochus, being loaded with heavy tribute after his defeat by the Romans, whether urged by want of money, or impelled by avarice, and flattering himself that under the plan of necessity from the tribute, he might with a fairer excuse commit sacrilege, assailed with an army by night the temple of Elymæan Jove. But the fact being discovered, there was a concourse of the inhabitants, and he was slain with all his forces.'

Such was the issue of this varied and eventful reign. The monarch, who had unjustly and deceitfully assailed

the infant king of Egypt, was himself stripped of his dominions, and compelled to pay a disgraceful tribute, the badge of his dependence. And when he turned his face from the west, the scene of his disgrace, to Antioch, Susa and Elymnes, the forts of his own land, he stumbled in the very act of attempted sacrilege, was defeated by a handful of his own subjects, and was not found—scarcely even a trace being left of the manner and circumstances of his fall. From the time of his defeat and ignominious peace, the heathen historian scarcely deigns to bestow one passing sentence on the closing history of this once triumphant and haughty king. What a double lesson of the vanity and instability of all human greatness, and of the unfailing truth and faithfulness of the word of God? Kings may stumble and fall and not be found, and the mightiest Empires, which have filled the world with their fame, may pass away; but these true sayings of God are sure and faithful, and eternity will only unfold, with growing clearness, the wisdom of those deep and hidden counsels of the Most High, which are here revealed.

CHAPTER X.

SELEUCUS PHILOPATOR AND ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES.

DAN. XI. 20—30.—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. 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. 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. AND AFTER THE LEAGUE MADE WITH HIM HE SHALL WORK DECEITFULLY : FOR HE SHALL COME UP, AND SHALL BECOME STRONG WITH A SMALL PEOPLE. HE SHALL ENTER PEACEABLY EVEN UPON THE FATTEST PLACES OF THE PROVINCE : AND HE SHALL DO THAT WHICH HIS FATHERS HAVE NOT DONE, NOR HIS FATHERS' FATHERS ; HE SHALL SCATTER AMONG THEM THE PREY, AND SPOIL, AND RICHES : YEA, AND HE SHALL FORECAST HIS DEVICES AGAINST THE STRONGHOLDS, EVEN FOR A TIME. 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. 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 LAND WITH GREAT RICHES ; AND HIS HEART SHALL BE AGAINST THE HOLY COVENANT ; AND HE SHALL DO EXPLOITS, AND RETURN TO HIS OWN LAND. AT THE TIME APPOINTED HE SHALL RETURN, AND COME TOWARD THE SOUTH : BUT IT SHALL NOT BE AS THE FORMER, OR AS THE LATTER. FOR THE SHIPS OF CHITTIM SHALL COME AGAINST HIM : THEREFORE HE SHALL BE GRIEVED, AND RETURN, AND HAVE INDIGNATION AGAINST THE HOLY COVENANT : SO SHALL HE DO ; HE SHALL EVEN RETURN, AND HAVE INTELLIGENCE WITH THEM THAT FORSAKE THE HOLY COVENANT.

In these eleven verses, the prophecy sets before us the history of the two sons and successors of Antiochus the

Great, Seleucus Philopator, and Antiochus Epiphanes. The first of these reigns was idle and inglorious, and is very briefly described by its main feature, the payment of the Roman subsidy. The other was marked by several warlike expeditions, and many political changes. Partly on this account, and still more from the bad eminence of Antiochus through his severe persecution of the Jews, his reign is predicted with a greater fulness of detail than that of any other king. The accounts of this prince in heathen writers and Josephus, though tolerably full, are so broken and fragmentary in the parts which alone have reached us, as to occasion some difficulty in the exact explanation of the vision. The fulfilment however, of all its main features is striking and conspicuous. I shall endeavour to follow closely the order of the text, and to illustrate its truth, as far as possible, in the very words of the original authorities.

“Then shall stand up in his estate a raiser of taxes in the glory of the kingdom.’ The marginal reading seems here preferable. “There shall stand up in his estate one that maketh an exactor to pass over the glory of the kingdom.” The words refer to Seleucus Philopator, the eldest surviving son of Antiochus the Great, who came to the throne on his father’s death, and occupied it twelve years, A.C. 187—175. His father had left the kingdom burdened with a subsidy of 12,000 talents, to be paid to the Romans, in twelve annual instalments, for the expenses of the war. It is probable, from the immediate payment of 3000 talents, to which Antiochus was further compelled, and the short interval before his death, that this annual tribute only began with the accession of Seleucus. At least it appears from the first embassy of Antiochus Epiphanes, in Livy, that it was only fully discharged after the death of Seleucus. His whole reign then, probably, began and ended with the twelve years of actual payment. There is thus a strict historical truth in the description given of him in the text—one that

causeth an exactor to pass over; since the one feature which distinguished this reign was this heavy annual impost paid to the Romans. The exactor passed over the glory of the kingdom. This was doubly true, in the abstract, and in the concrete. It was the greatest humiliation and dishonour to a kingdom, once so famous and powerful, that it should not only lose some of its fairest provinces, but also have the ignominy of a yearly tribute to its conquerors. And in the collection of this tribute, the need of the monarch, or the rapacity of his servants, led them to pillage and despoil the buildings and temples, which formed the glory of the Syrian empire, as appeared most of all in the sacrilegious design against the temple of Jerusalem.

All the brief notices of this king agree with the prophetic description. Thus Jerome. 'He performed nothing worthy of the empire of Syria or of his father, and perished ingloriously without fighting any battles.' And Appian. 'He reigned twelve years, at once idly and feebly, on account of his father's calamity.' So again Diodorus. 'Seleucus, having collected a considerable force, led it on to cross the Taurus, with a view to assist Pharnaces; but calling to mind the treaty his father had made with the Romans, by which this was unlawful, he abandoned his design.' In full accordance with these notes of character, Josephus mentions (*Ant.* xii. 4, 11), that in this reign Hyrcanus seized on the parts beyond Jordan, 'and ruled over them seven years, all the time that Seleucus was king of Syria. But when he was dead, his brother Antiochus, called Epiphanes, took the kingdom: and Hyrcanus, fearing to be brought to punishment, slew himself with his own hand.' The same truth appears from the passage of Livy, where he mentions the death of Seleucus, and the accession of Antiochus. Four coins of Seleucus are now extant, and part of a Delian inscription on the marriage of his daughter Laodice with Perseus, the last king of Macedon.

The most interesting fact, however, left on record in

connexion with this reign, is the attempt to rob the temple of Jerusalem, mentioned in the second book of Maccabees, and which, according to that writer, was signally prevented by a miraculous apparition.

‘The king chose out Heliodorus his treasurer, and commanded him to bring the money. So Heliodorus took his journey, under pretence of visiting the cities of Cœle Syria and Phœnice, but really to fulfil the king’s purpose. And when he was come to Jerusalem, and was courteously received by the high priest, he told him what account had been given of the money, and declared wherefore he came, and asked if these things were so indeed. Then the high priest told him, that there was much money laid up for the relief of widows and fatherless children, the sum whereof was four hundred talents of silver, and two hundred of gold ; and that it was impossible such wrong should be done to those who had intrusted it to the holiness of the place, and the inviolable majesty of the temple, honoured through all the world. But Heliodorus, because of the king’s command, said, that in anywise it must be brought into the king’s treasury.

‘Now as he was there present himself with his guard about the treasury, the Lord of spirits and the Prince of all power, caused a great apparition, so that all who presumed to come in with him were astonished at the power of God, and fainted, and were sore afraid. For there appeared unto them a horse with a terrible rider, and adorning with a very fair covering, and he was fiercely, and smote at Heliodorus with his prefect, and it seemed that the rider had complete harness of gold. Moreover two other young men appeared before him, notable in strength, and excellent in beauty, who stood on each side, and scourged him continually with many sore stripes. And Heliodorus fell suddenly to the ground, and was compassed with great darkness, and they took him up, and put him into a litter.

‘Thus him that lately came with a great train, and with all his guard into the treasury, they carried out,

unable to help himself with his weapons ; and manifestly they acknowledged the power of God. And when the king asked Heliodorus who might be a fit man to send again to Jerusalem, he said,—If thou hast any enemy or traitor, send him thither, and thou shalt receive him well scourged, if he escape with his life ; for there* doubtless is an especial power of God. For he that dwelleth in heaven hath his eye on that place, and defendeth it, and he beateth and destroyeth them that come to hurt it.' (2 Macc. iii. 7—13, 24—40).

“ But within a few days he shall be destroyed, neither in anger nor in battle.”

The few days, here mentioned, may either refer to the whole reign of Seleucus, compared with that of his father, as it was less than one-third of it in length, and utterly inglorious ; or perhaps to the time from the close of these exactions to his death. The tribute was not fully paid when Antiochus his brother took the kingdom. The mission of Heliodorus to Jerusalem was probably one part of a systematic collection of revenues for this payment through the whole kingdom, and the murder of Seleucus appears to have occurred very shortly after his return. He was to fall “neither in anger, nor in battle.” Accordingly, not long after this attempted sacrilege, Heliodorus, with a hope of obtaining the kingdom, slew Seleucus in cool and deliberate treachery. Thus the supplement to Livy, in agreement with Appian and other writers.

‘ At that time (A.C. 175) Antiochus, the son of Antiochus the Great who had long been hostage at Rome, on the death of Seleucus his brother, seized on the kingdom of Syria. For Seleucus, whom the Greeks call Philopator, when he had received Syria with its strength much broken by his father’s losses, after an idle reign of twelve years, ennobled by no great actions, recalled this younger brother, and sent his son Demetrius in his stead, according to the conditions of the treaty, which required the hostages to be changed in this way. But Antiochus had scarcely reached Athens, when Seleucus

died through the treachery of Heliodorus, one of his chief officers of state.' (xli. 19. Supp.)

Thus fell this prince, after an inglorious reign, by the very hand which had been the instrument of his own crime. But the murderer did not reap the expected fruit of his wickedness, and seems to have perished soon after, when Antiochus had seized on the throne.

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

These words are a clear and exact description of Antiochus Epiphanes, the brother of Seleucus, who next succeeded to the kingdom. He was at Athens, on his return to Syria, when Seleucus fell by the treachery of Heliodorus; and as the lawful heir, Demetrius, was newly become a hostage at Rome in his stead, he thought the opportunity favourable to defraud him of the inheritance, and secure to himself the kingdom. The honour of the kingdom was not given to him. He did not succeed, by universal consent, as the rightful heir. Heliodorus sought to gain the kingdom for himself. Another party, as Jerome tells us, were in favour of Ptolemy, the nephew of the late king, being the son of Cleopatra, daughter of Antiochus the Great, and sister of Seleucus. Demetrius, also, the son of Seleucus, was plainly the lawful heir.

“But he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries.” He flattered Eumenes, the king of Pergamus, and Attalus his brother, who both assisted him to secure the kingdom. He flattered the Syrians, as Jerome informs us, by a pretended clemency, and, as many writers teach us, by strange and low arts of popular subserviency; while the pride of the Romans was soothed by a humiliating embassy, in which he entreated them to lay on him their commands, and promised to observe them. In Livy we have an account of his first accession and embassy to the Romans, in these words:—

‘ But when Heliodorus was aiming at the kingdom, Eumenes and Attalus expelled him, and brought Antiochus into the possession of it, who, as they thought, would value them highly, after he was bound to them by so great a kindness. For now already, on account of some slight causes of offence, they viewed the Romans with suspicion. Antiochus, having obtained the kingdom through their help, was received with such joy of the people, that they gave him the surname of Epiphanes, or the Illustrious, because when aliens from the royal race had seized on the kingdom, he had claimed on his friends as an assertor of his paternal claims. Nor was he wanting in talents or vigour of mind for the affairs of war ; but he was so depraved and senseless in the whole course of his manners and life, that very soon, by a change of his surname, instead of Epiphanes the Illustrious, they called him Epimanes, the Madman.’ His embassy to the Romans, after his accession, shows at once the dependent and feeble state of the Syrian kingdom, and the flatteries which he used to secure possession.

‘ At the same time ambassadors came from Antiochus the king, of whom Apollonius, the leader, having been introduced to the senate, excused the king with many and just reasons, because he had paid the tribute later than the time appointed. “ That he had brought the whole of it along with him, lest any other cause of complaint, beside the time, should arise. That he also brought a present, vessels of gold, to the weight of five hundred pounds. That the king besought them to renew with himself the league and covenant made with his father, and that the Roman people would lay such commands on him as were fit to be laid on a good and faithful king, their ally.” That he would neglect no duty of friendship. Such were the merits of the senate towards him, when he was at Rome, such the kindness of the youth, as that by all ranks he had been treated rather like a king than an hostage. A favourable answer was given, and Atilius the proctor was commanded to renew

the league with Antiochus which had been made with his father.'

Such were some of the courtly flatteries by which Antiochus obtained the throne, to the exclusion of the lawful heir. His conduct on his first accession, as reported by Livy, Diodorus, and others, while it illustrates further his flatteries to the Syrian populace, throws the fullest light on the epithet by which the Holy Spirit has briefly described him, 'a vile person.'

'Often leaving the palace without the knowledge of his attendants, and with only one or two companions, he walked through the city crowned with roses, and with a robe inwoven with gold. Sometimes he flung stones which he carried under his sleeve at those whom he met with ; sometimes, on the contrary, he used to scatter coins among the populace and to shout aloud—Let him take them to whom fortune gives them.—At other times he used to go through the workshops of the goldsmiths, gravers and other workmen, and talk ambitiously about every one's trade. Sometimes he mixed freely in discourse in public, with every one whom he met of the lowest ranks ; sometimes he used to ramble through the taverns, and indulge in drinking with strangers of the basest kind. If he learned by chance that any young men were holding a seasonable feast, he at once came unexpectedly with a cup and symphony, to revel and indulge with them, so that most of them startled by the novelty of the thing, took to flight, and the rest were silent with fear. In the public baths also, it is well known that he was accustomed to bathe with the crowd. Then, when he was still using the most costly ointments, one of the populace is reported to have said to him—You are happy, O king ; you smell of the most precious ointments. Delighted with the speech, he answered—I will now make you so happy, that you shall confess yourself to be satisfied, and immediately ordered an urn of the noblest ointment to be poured on his head ; so that as the pavement swam with it, the others fell on the slippery ground, and the king himself amidst shouts

of laughter. Afterwards, assuming a gown instead of the royal robe, he went round the forum, as he had seen the candidates do at Rome, saluting each one of the people, taking them by the hand, and begging, now the ædileship, and now the tribuneship of the people. Having at length gained the magistracy by the votes of the people, sitting in an ivory chair after the Roman custom, he administered justice, and decided the most trivial causes ; and so little did he adhere to any form, wandering through every kind of life, that neither he, himself, nor others, could tell certainly what kind of person he was.

‘ He often did not speak to his friends, and smiled familiarly on those whom he scarcely knew ; he amused himself and others by unequal munificence ; to some who were honoured and esteemed themselves highly, he gave puerile presents, as morsels of meat, and playthings, and enriched others who expected nothing. He seemed, therefore, to some, as one who did not know his own meaning ; some thought that he was merely in sport, and others that he was unquestionably mad. In two great matters, however, his mind was truly royal, in presents to cities, and in the worship of the gods. He promised the Megapolitans in Arcadia, that he would surround their city with a wall, and gave them the greater part of the money. He determined to build a magnificent theatre of marble at Tegea. At Cyzicum he gave to the Prytany, where those to whom the honour belongs are fed at the public expense, the golden vessels for one table. To the Rhodians, though no one gift was remarkable, he gave presents of all kinds, as their use might require. Of his munificence toward the gods, even the temple of Olympian Jove at Athens, the only one begun in the world answering to the greatness of the divinity, may be a witness. But he also adorned Delos with noble altars, and abundance of statues ; and at Antioch he promised a magnificent temple of Capitolian Jove, having layers of gold over the whole of its walls, and many other temples

in other places ; but because the time of his reign was very short, he did not complete them. He surpassed also the former kings in the magnificence of his shows of every kind ; the others, after the Greek custom, and with a multitude of Greek artificers. The gladiators only, a Roman custom, he exhibited at first more to the alarm than the delight of men unused to such a spectacle ; afterwards, by frequent repetition, sometimes with wounds only, sometimes even to extremity, he made the spectacle familiar and grateful to the eyes, and inflamed many of the youth with the love of arms. So that he who at first was accustomed to hire gladiators, at a great price, from Rome, at length easily procured voluntary ones from his own kingdom, who offered themselves to the contest for a slight reward. However, he showed the same depravity and levity of mind in giving the spectacles, as in the rest of his life ; so that nothing seemed more magnificent than the celebration of the games, and nothing more vile and contemptible than the king himself. This appeared often on other occasions, but especially in those games which, in emulation of the magnificence of Paulus, in his games to celebrate the victory over Perseus, he celebrated at Antioch, at an immense cost, and no less to his own disgrace.'

Thus, even in the eyes of a heathen historian, the character of Antiochus was vile and contemptible, and how much more so in the sight of heaven ! The partial praise bestowed on him, when tried by a true standard, is merely an aggravation of the charge. His only virtues, as here described, were an ostentatious and costly support of foul idolatry, and the depraved taste which led him to cultivate the appetite for blood among his people by the shows of gladiators. The words of the prophecy describe, with equal clearness, his surreptitious entrance on the kingdom, defrauding the natural heir, and the low and flattering arts which he employed to court popularity and secure the favour of the vulgar. Every other author who speaks of this

prince, bears the same testimony to his luxury and vileness.

In Appian we have a brief summary of the reign in these words. ‘ Antiochus reigned not twelve full years ; in which he subdued Artaxias the Armenian, and marched into Egypt against the sixth Ptolemy, who was then an orphan, and against his brother. And as he was encamped near Alexandria, Popillius the Roman legate came, bringing a tablet with this writing—that Antiochus make no war on the Ptolemies. And when he had read it, and said that he would consult about it, Popillius drew a circle round him with a rod, and said to him—Consult there. Being then struck with fear, he decamped, and burnt the temple of Eleusinian Venus, and afterwards pined away and died, leaving a son only seven years old, Antiochus Eupator.’

Porphyrus, as quoted in Eusebius, gives a similar outline of the Egyptian reigns, which throws light on the history of Antiochus, and the course of the predicted war.

‘ After Epiphanes, his two sons, the Ptolemies, received the kingdom, both the elder, surnamed Philometor, and the younger, called Euergetes the Second ; and the years of both are reckoned four and sixty. For we have reckoned them in one sum, because from their quarrels and alternate reigns, there is a confusion of their times. Philometor first reigned eleven years alone. But when Antiochus marched into Egypt, and stripped him of the diadem, the Alexandrians committed the government to the younger Ptolemy ; and afterwards driving out Antiochus, rescued Philometor ; so that year was reckoned the twelfth of Philometor, and first of Euergetes. They then agreed till the seventeenth year, and the eighteenth again belongs to Philometor only. For the Romans restored the elder brother when he had been ejected by the younger ; and he ruled over Egypt, resigning Lybia to his brother, for eighteen years alone. And when he had died in Syria, for he was master of those places also, Euergetes was called

from Cyrene, and proclaimed king, and reckoned his years from the date of his first accession, so that reigning twenty-five years after the death of his brother, he seemed to assign himself fifty-four.'

The details of each separate campaign of Antiochus are rather difficult to trace, from the scanty nature of the records that have come down to us. Yet enough has been left to illustrate the outline of the prophecy.

"And the arms of the flood shall be overflowed from before him ; yea, also the prince of the covenant."

In one of the prophets the figure occurs—"Egypt riseth up wholly, like a flood." The inundation of the Nile would supply a natural and striking emblem for the overflow of the forces of Egypt, when invading any foreign country. The arms of the flood may thus be viewed as probably equivalent here to "the arms of Egypt." The words will refer, therefore, to the first campaign of Antiochus against Egypt, placed by the best chronologers, A.C. 171, in the fourth year of his reign.

It is plain that, on the accession of Antiochus, Palestine was in the power of the Syrian kings. Though Cœle Syria and Phenice are said to have been ceded by Antiochus the Great as the dowry of Cleopatra, it would seem that this amounted really to nothing more than a nominal share of the sovereignty, and a division of the revenues, for throughout the reign of Seleucus they were subject to Syria. The aggression does not appear to have been entirely on the part of Antiochus. We may infer, from a fragment of Diodorus (Tom. ix. p. 414), that the "arms of the flood" or of Egypt, were first in the field.

Ptolemy, king of Egypt, knowing that his ancestors had held Cœle Syria, made great preparations, intending to reclaim it. For he hoped that as it had been lost by an unjust war, he might justly reclaim it by the same laws of arms. Antiochus, perceiving this, sent ambassadors to Rome, and charged them to declare to the senate, that Ptolemy was attempting to make war

on him unjustly. The other in his turn sent persons to excuse himself, and explain to the senate, that Antiochus held Cœle Syria contrary to all right, since it belonged to Ptolemy from his forefathers.'

In spite of these Egyptian preparations, as for aggressive warfare, the arms of the flood were overflowed from before him. Thus Jerome relates. 'Antiochus was uncle of Philometor, who was the son of his own sister Cleopatra. And when, after the death of Cleopatra, Eulæus the eunuch who had brought up Philometor, and Lenæus, ruled over Egypt, and sought to recover Syria, which Antiochus had seized on by fraud; a battle took place between the uncle and the boy Ptolemy, and when the conflict was joined between Pelusium and Mount Casius, the captains of Ptolemy were defeated.'

So again Diodorus. 'The guardians of the young Ptolemy, Eulæus the eunuch, and Lenæus the Syrian, used every art and contrivance. The eunuch embraced martial conflicts, and the Cœle Syrian ventured to renew the war about Syria, though Antiochus was inferior to no one in forces and other warlike provisions. But, what was the strangest of all, though they were perfectly ignorant of the contests of war, and had neither any skilful counsellor, nor able general, they rushed into a business so weighty. Wherefore they quickly reaped the due punishment of their folly, and so far as lay in them, utterly subverted the whole kingdom.' And Polybius, after mention of the Egyptian defeat. 'All laid the blame of these events on Eulæus; but alleging the youth of Ptolemy, and how nearly he was akin to Antiochus, they accused also the passion of that king.' (xxviii. 17.)

The same invasion is alluded to by Livy. (xlii. 29.) 'Antiochus was threatening the kingdom of Egypt, since he despised the boyhood of the king and the sloth of his guardians, and thought that he should have a cause of war in the dispute about Cœle Syria, and might carry it on without any hindrance, as the Romans

were now busied in the war with Macedon. Yet he made every promise in the fairest way, both himself to the legates, and by his ambassadors to the senate. Ptolemy, from his youth, was still in the power of others. His guardians prepared for a war with Antiochus, to vindicate their right to Cœle Syria, and also promised the Romans every help for the war with Macedon.'

The anecdote in Diodorus appears to refer to the battle between Mount Casius and Pelusium in this first invasion.

'Antiochus, when he had it now in his power to slay the routed Egyptians, rode up and cried out to his troops not to kill them, but to take them alive. He quickly reaped the fruits of his prudent forbearance, both in the capture of Pelusium, and afterwards in the conquest of Egypt, to which this act of humanity greatly contributed.'

We may perhaps infer from this fragment, in harmony with hints in other authors, that the result of the first campaign was mainly the capture of Pelusium, the key of Egypt, and that the main conquest was in the following year.

The prince of the covenant, it is predicted, would also be overthrown. This was fulfilled in the deposition of Onias the high priest; and afterwards of Jason, as recorded by the writer of the second book of Maccabees.

'After the death of Seleucus, when Antiochus Epiphanes took the kingdom, Jason the brother of Onias laboured underhand to be high priest. And he promised to the king by intercession, three hundred and three-score talents of silver, and of another revenue eighty talents. Besides this, he promised to assign one hundred and fifty talents more, if he might have licence to set up a place of exercise for training up the youth in the fashions of the heathen, and to write to them of Jerusalem by the name of Antiochians. Which the king granted; and when he had gotten the rules, he brought his own nation to the Greek fashion.'

‘ Three years after, Jason sent Menelaus, the brother of Simon, to bear the money to the king, and to put him in mind of certain necessary matters. But when he came to the presence of the king, he magnified him for the glorious appearance of his power, and got the priesthood to himself, offering three hundred talents of silver more than Jason. So he came with the royal mandate, bringing nothing worthy of the high priesthood, but the fury of a cruel tyrant, and the rage of a savage beast. Thus Jason who had undermined his own brother, being undermined by another, was compelled to flee into the country of the Ammonites.’

‘ Now Menelaus, supposing the time convenient, stole some vessels of gold out of the temple, and gave some of them to Andronicus, and some he sold to Tyre and the cities round about. And when Onias knew it, he reproved him, and withdrew into the sanctuary of Daphne, near Antioch. Wherefore Menelaus prayed Andronicus to get Onias into his hands ; and he, being persuaded, came to Onias in deceit, and gave him his right hand with oaths, and persuaded him to come forth from the sanctuary ; whom he shut up forthwith without regard to justice. For which cause not the Jews only, but many other nations, took great indignation, and were much grieved for the unjust murder.’

Thus it appears that Onias first, and then Jason, were removed from the high priesthood by the arbitrary decree of Antiochus against the will of the people, and the deposition of Onias, a just and holy man, was soon followed by his hateful murder. The prince of the covenant, like the forces of Egypt, was overthrown by the vile person.

“ And after the league made with him he shall work deceitfully, &c.”

The word here used, is the same which occurs in the sixth verse. “ And in the end of years they shall join themselves together.” It seems here also, as in the former case, to denote a league or treaty, between the kings of Syria and Egypt. As no complete history

of Antiochus has come down to us, it is more difficult to trace the exact course of events at the time of his second campaign. It is clear, however, that after his first victory he contented himself with the capture of Pelusium, and retired to Syria. When he was at Tyre on his return, an embassy came to him from the Jews against Menelaus, as recorded in 2 Macc. iv. 44—50. It is highly probable, from the following passage of Diodorus, that a league had been made with him at this time, and that Ptolemy had made great concessions, to secure his retreat from Pelusium. It occurs immediately after the mention of the forbearance of Antiochus, and therefore seems naturally to refer to this interval between the two campaigns. For it results from the notes of time given by Porphyry, that Euergetes was appointed king in the middle of A.C. 170, and hence the league in question must have been earlier, and followed after the first campaign.

‘ But we cannot pass over without notice, the ignoble disposition of Ptolemy. For that when he was out of danger, and so far distant from the enemies, he should then, as of his own accord, resign a very great and most opulent kingdom, how can we fail to ascribe it to a thoroughly effeminate soul? Now if that of Ptolemy were such by nature, we might justly blame it; but since by his later actions, nature has sufficiently cleared herself, shewing that he was a king inferior to none in constancy and activity, it is necessary to ascribe the blame of his cowardice and ignoble conduct at this time to the eunuch and his training: who, from childhood keeping the youth in luxury and womanish pursuits, corrupted his force of mind.’

It appears, from the subsequent history, that the interval must have been employed in corrupting the Egyptian ministers, or some of the chief officers. For though no direct record of their treachery remains, to confirm the prophecy, the facts of the campaign, and the historical character of those ministers, conspire to establish the truth of the prophetic explanation. Jerome

following Porphyry, gives the following notices of the campaign.

‘Antiochus fought again against Ptolemy Philometor, the son of his sister, in the eleventh year of his reign, who hearing of his approach, gathered together many thousand people.’

‘Moreover, Antiochus, sparing the youth, and feigning friendship, went up to Memphis, and there receiving the kingdom after the custom of the Egyptians, and saying that he was consulting for the affairs of the youth, with a small army subdued all Egypt to himself. Thus writes Porphyry, following Sutorius. ‘Antiochus made a peace with Ptolemy, and entered the feast with him, and plotted wiles; yet it availed him nothing, because he could not obtain the kingdom, but was driven out by Ptolemy’s soldiers.’

To this second campaign, the passage in 1 Macc. i. 16—19, chiefly refers, as it was immediately followed by his cruelties at Jerusalem.

‘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 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 Egypt, and he took the spoils thereof.’

The prophecy ascribes the success of Antiochus to the treachery of Ptolemy’s servants. Accordingly we learn from Diodorus and Polybius, that Eulæus and Lenæus, his two chief ministers, were universally charged with the blame of his reverses. Ptolemy Macron also, son of Dorymenes, the governor of Cyprus, at this time revolted from the king of Egypt. 2 Macc. x. 12—14. Upon this defection he was in high favour with Antiochus, as appears from the use that Menelaus made of his intercession.

‘Now when the king came to Tyre, three men sent

from the sanhedrim pleaded the cause before him. But Menelaus, being now convicted, promised Ptolemy, son of Dorymenes, much money, if he would pacify the king. Whereon Ptolemy, taking the king aside, brought him to another mind, so that he discharged Menelaus ; and those poor men who, had they told their cause even before Scythæus, would have been judged innocent, he condemned to death.'

Afterwards this Ptolemy was appointed governor of Cœle Syria and Phenice, in reward for his desertion : (2 Macc. viii. 8,) but on the death of Antiochus he fell into disgrace, and being upbraided with his former perfidy, poisoned himself in despair.

Thus, at the time of the second campaign, all seemed to conspire against the young Ptolemy. After he came into the hands of Antiochus, the Alexandrians revolted, and made his younger brother their king, while Cyprus had previously been transferred by the treachery of Macron, and the invader took possession of nearly all Egypt.

It was at this time, when Philometor was in the power of Antiochus, and his younger brother was made king at Alexandria, that the following verse was fulfilled. The exposition of Bishop Newton is confirmed by the dim light which history still supplies to us of this short interval. 'Antiochus pretended to take care of his nephew Philometor's interest, and promised to restore him the crown, at the very time he was plotting his ruin, and was contriving means to weaken the two brothers in a war against each other, that the conqueror, wearied and exhausted, might fall an easier prey. On the other side, Philometor laid the blame of the war on his governor Eulæus, professed great obligations to his uncle, and seemed to hold the crown by his favour, at the same time that he was resolved to take the first opportunity of breaking the league with him, and of being reconciled to his brother ; and accordingly, as soon as Antiochus was withdrawn, he made proposals, and by the mediation of their sister, Cleopatra, a peace was

made between the brothers, who agreed to reign jointly in Egypt and Alexandria. But still this artifice and dissimulation did not prosper on either side. For neither did Antiochus obtain the kingdom, nor did Philometor utterly exclude him, and prevent his returning with an army, as each expected by the measures he had taken ; for these wars were not to have an end till the time appointed, which was not yet come.’

“Then shall he return into his land with great riches, and his heart shall be against the holy covenant ; and he shall practise, and return to his own land.”

At the close of this second campaign, after great success in Egypt, Antiochus returned to Syria ; and on his way, plundered the temple of Jerusalem. Thus Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 5. 2.)

‘Antiochus came with great force to Pelusium, and circumvented Ptolemy Philometor by treachery, and seized upon Egypt. He then came to the places about Memphis, and when he had taken them, he made haste to Alexandria, in hopes of taking it by siege, and subduing Ptolemy (Euergetes), who reigned there. Returning out of Egypt, for fear of the Romans, he made an expedition against the city Jerusalem, and when he was there, in the 143d year of the Seleucidæ, he took the city without fighting, the inhabitants opening their gates to him. And when he had possession, he slew many of the opposite party, and when he had plundered it of much money, he returned to Antioch.’

In this extract are two slight errors, as from the dates of Josephus himself, it is plain that the capture two years later, was on the forced return of Antiochus for fear of the Romans, and it is proved by other authorities, that the city was taken by force. The writer of the book of Maccabees is more exact. (*1 Mac.* i. 20—30.)

‘And after that Antiochus had smitten Egypt, he returned again in the 143d year (Sept.—Dec. A.C. 170), and went up against Israel and Jerusalem with a great multitude ; and entered proudly into the sanctuary, and took away the golden altar, and the candlestick of

light, and all the vessels thereof. And the table of the shew-bread, and the pouring vessels, and the vials, and the censers of gold, and the vial and the crowns, and the golden ornaments before the temple, all of which he pulled off. He took also the silver and the gold, and the precious vessels; also he took the hidden treasures which he found. And when he had taken all away, he went into his own land, having made a great massacre, and spoken very proudly. Therefore there was great mourning in Israel, in every place, so that the princes and elders mourned, the virgins and the young men were made feeble, and the beauty of women were changed. Every bridegroom took up lamentation, and she that sat in the marriage-chamber was in heaviness. The land also was moved for the inhabitants thereof, and all the house of Jacob was covered with confusion.'

In this manner, with treasures plundered from Egypt and Judea and from the holy city, the king of the north returned with great riches to his own land. His heart was against the holy covenant, and all its sacred vessels were profaned, and given to the hand of the spoiler, and the land of the covenant was filled with mourning, and desolate.

“At the time appointed he shall return, and come towards the south.” The further progress of Antiochus may be partly traced by two passages of Livy, which introduce the narrative of his final repulse by the Romans. His partial success in the third campaign, A.C. 169, appears from the complaint of Ptolemy's ambassadors at Rome in the following year.

‘The ambassadors of Alexandria, from Ptolemy and Cleopatra, the kings (Euergetes and his sister) were now summoned. They entered the senate-house in sordid apparel, their beard and hair neglected, with boughs of olive, and fell on their faces; and their words were even more pitiful than their appearance. Antiochus, king of Syria, who had been hostage at Rome, under the fair pretext of restoring the elder Ptolemy to the kingdom, was now waging war with the

younger brother, who then occupied Alexandria. He had been victor in a sea-fight at Pelusium ; and a bridge having been built hastily over the Nile, he had crossed with his army, and terrified Alexandria itself with a siege, and seemed very near seizing on that most opulent kingdom. The ambassadors in their complaint, implored the senate to lend their aid to an allied kingdom and sovereigns. That such were the merits of the Roman people toward Antiochus, such its authority with all kings and nations, that if they would send legates and declare that it did not please the senate, war should be made on kings their allies, he would straightway depart from the walls of Alexandria, and lead away the army into Syria. But if they delayed to do this, very soon Ptolemy and Cleopatra, driven from their kingdom, would come to Rome ; with some disgrace to the Roman people, because they had lent them no aid in their utmost danger. The Fathers, moved by the prayers of the Alexandrians, immediately sent C. Popilius Lænas, C. Decimius and C. Hostilius, as legates, to put an end to the war between the kings. They were told to see Antiochus first, and then Ptolemy, and to announce that unless they ceased from war, whichever were the cause, he would no longer be accounted an ally or a friend.' (Liv. xlv. 19).

The same author, in another passage, describes the further course of Antiochus in the following year. (A.C.168.)

‘ While these things were transacted, Antiochus had left Alexandria, after a fruitless attempt on its walls ; and having seized on all the rest of Egypt, and left the elder Ptolemy at Memphis, to whom he pretended that the kingdom must be sought by its own forces, that he might presently assail the victor, led back his army into Syria. But Ptolemy, not being ignorant of his purpose, while he kept his younger brother terrified with the fear of a siege, thought that he might be received at Alexandria, by the help of his sister, and his brother’s friends not being adverse, and did not cease from sending first to his sister, and then to his brother

and his friends, till he had made peace with them. It had made him suspect Antiochus, that while all the rest of Egypt had been resigned to him, a strong garrison had been left at Pelusium. It was plain that he kept hold of the door of Egypt, that he might bring an army whenever he pleased. These things were prudently observed by the elder brother, and received with assent by the younger, and his partizans: their sister greatly helped the reconciliation, not only by her advice, but by entreaties. Therefore a peace was made with general consent, and he was received into Alexandria, and even without opposition from the multitude; who, in the war, had been distressed by want of all things, not only during the siege, but after the army had left the walls, because nothing was imported from Egypt. When it was natural that Antiochus should be rejoiced at this change,—if he had led his army into Egypt for the sake of restoring his nephew, the specious pretext he had used with all the states of Asia and Greece, in receiving their embassies or answering their letters—he was so offended, that he prepared for war with fiercer hostility against the two brothers, than before against one. He at once sent his fleet to Cyprus; and he himself in the early spring, seeking Egypt with his army, came into Coele Syria. Near Rhinocolura, when the ambassadors of Ptolemy rendered thanks, because by his help he had recovered his paternal kingdom, and intreated that he would sustain what was his own gift, and rather say what he wished to be done, than, turning from an ally into an enemy, deal with arms and violence, he answered, that he would not recal his fleet, nor lead back his army, unless Ptolemy should yield to him all Cyprus, and Pelusium, and the district around the Pelusian mouth of the Nile. He also assigned a day, before which he was to receive an answer to these conditions 'of peace.' (xlv. 11).

“But it shall not be as the former, nor as the latter. For ships of Chittim shall come against him; therefore he shall be grieved and return.”

Hitherto the subtle policy of this ambitious and wicked prince had been attended, if not with entire success, at least with partial victory, and gave flattering hopes of a still fuller triumph. The kingdom of Egypt, after these long distractions, seemed ready to yield to his arms. But now the word of prophecy was again to be fulfilled. Just in the crisis of his ambitious scheme, a mightier power stepped in, and snatched from him the expected prey.

‘After the day assigned for the truce was past, the maritime prefects who accompanied the land army sailing in by the Pelusium mouth of the Nile, he himself entered Egypt by the deserts of Arabia, and being received by those who dwelt about Memphis and by the other Egyptians, in part willingly, and in part through fear, he came down to Alexandria by moderate marches. When he had crossed the river at Leusine, which is four miles from Alexandria, the Roman legates met with him. And when he saluted them as they arrived, and offered Popillius his right hand, Popillius gave him the tablets that contained the message of the senate, and bade him read it first of all. When he had read them through, and said that he would consider with the advice of his friends, what he ought to do, Popillius, with his usual severity of mind, drew a circle round the king with the staff which he bore in his hand, and said,—Before you quit this circle, tell me what answer I shall carry back to the senate. When he had hesitated a moment, struck mute by so imperious a command,—I will do, he said, what the senate thinks right. Then, at length, Popillius held out his right hand to the king, as a friend and ally. At the end of the day, when Antiochus had retired from Egypt, the legates confirmed by their influence the concord of the brothers, between whom the peace was even now hardly sealed, and then sailed to Cyprus, and sent back from thence the fleet of Antiochus, which had already defeated the Egyptian navy. That embassy was celebrated among the nations, because without any doubt Egypt had been

snatched from Antiochus when he already held it, and his paternal kingdom was restored to the race of Ptolemy. . . . Popillius and the embassy which had been sent to Antiochus, returned to Rome. He reported that the controversies between the kings were settled, and that the army was led back from Egypt into Syria.'

The grief and vexation of Antiochus, when thus suddenly disappointed of his prey, may be readily conceived. His feelings would be embittered, not only by the imperious tone of the legate, and the public humiliation he had endured, but by the continued necessity of stifling his indignation, and using the language of contentment and almost of gratitude. 'Afterwards,' Livy continues, 'there came the ambassadors of the kings. Those of Antiochus brought the message—That a peace, which pleased the senate, seemed to the king more delightful than any victory, and that he had obeyed the commands of the Roman legates, not otherwise than the dominion of the gods. They then congratulated them on their victory (over Perseus) in which the king would have assisted with all his power, if any orders had been given him. The ambassadors of Ptolemy gave thanks in the common name of the king and of Cleopatra. That they owed more to the Roman senate and people than to their own parents, or to the immortal gods themselves; since by them they had been set free from a most miserable siege, and recovered their paternal kingdom when it was almost lost. The senate answered, that Antiochus had acted rightly and well, in obeying the legates, and that this was pleasing to the Roman senate and people. To the kings of Egypt, Ptolemy and Cleopatra, that if any thing good or beneficial had happened through their means, the senate were highly pleased, and would bestow their pains, that they might always reckon the greatest safeguard of their kingdom to be in the fidelity of the Roman people.'

Such was the tone of humble submission which Antiochus and the kings of Egypt were now fain to assume in the presence of the Roman power. The vexation

and pride which were thus violently pent up within the breast of the monarch, and dared not loose themselves against his chief and most dreaded enemy, found another and safer outlet, where they flowed soon with redoubled bitterness and rage. "He shall be grieved, and return, and his heart shall be against the holy covenant." 'He led back his forces into Syria,' as Polybius relates, 'grieved and groaning, but thought it expedient at present to yield to the times.' But his grief and anger were too great to be entirely shut up within his bosom. Policy and fear dictated a humble and almost slavish embassy to the Romans. But his passions found another vent. 'He had indignation against the holy covenant.' Accordingly, the next event which history records is the profanation of the temple, and a cruel persecution of the Jewish nation, who were feebler adversaries, and seemed unable to resist his power.

'And after two years fully expired (A. C. 168) the king sent his chief collector of tribute unto the cities of Judea, who came to Jerusalem with a great multitude: and spake peaceable words, but in deceit; for when they had given him credence, he fell suddenly on the city and smote it sore and destroyed much people of Israel. And when he had taken the spoils of the city, he set it on fire and pulled down the houses and walls of it on every side. And the women and children they took captive, and possessed the castle. Then builded they the city of David with strong towers, and made it a stronghold. And they put therein a sinful nation, wicked men, and fortified themselves therein. . . . Thus they shed innocent blood on every side of the sanctuary and defiled it. Insomuch that the inhabitants of Jerusalem fled because of them; whereupon the city was made a habitation of strangers, and became strange to those that were born in her, and her own children left her.'

Such was the indignation of this wicked prince against the holy covenant, when the ships from Chittim had come against him, and compelled him to retire from

Egypt. But the history has now brought us to that point of time, where double care is needed to fix the true reference of the prophecy, and where it will be necessary for this end, to revert to the former vision.

The sole difficulty in tracing any part of this remarkable prediction, arises from the loss of many ancient histories, so that the fragments which remain are very imperfect, and each author only illustrates a part of the whole series. Thus Jerome observes,—‘To understand the last parts of Daniel, many histories of the Greeks are necessary, namely, those of Sutorius, Callinicus, Diodorus, Hieronymus, Polybius, Posidonius, Claudius, and Andronicus Alypius, whom also Porphyry professes to have followed; that of Josephus also, and those whom Josephus names, and especially of our own Livy, Pompeius Trogus, and Justin, who relate the whole history of this latest portion.’

To the same effect, Bishop Newton justly observes,—‘There is not so complete and regular a series of these kings, there is not so concise and comprehensive an account of their affairs to be found in any other of those times. The prophecy is really more perfect than any history. No one historian hath related so many circumstances, and in such exact order as the prophet hath foretold them. So that it was necessary to have recourse to several authors, Greek and Roman, Jewish and Christian; and to collect here something from one, and there something from another, thus to explain and illustrate the great variety of particulars contained in the prophecy. We have been particularly obliged to Porphyry and Jerome, who made use of the same authors for different purposes, and enjoyed the advantage of having those histories entire which have since, either in whole or in part, been destroyed. They had not only Polybius, Diodorus, Livy, and Trogus Pompeius and Justin, some parts of whose works are now remaining; but likewise Sutorius, Callinicus, Hieronymus, Posidonius, Claudius, and Andronicus Alypius, historians

who wrote of those times, and whose works have since entirely perished.'

This partial difficulty, however, to which Prideaux also alludes in his connexion, (Pt. ii. Bk. iii. ad. fin.) relates more to the trouble required for a connected exposition, than to the real evidence of the fulfilment. If any one continuous history of these wars and alliances were now extant, the correspondence between the prophecy and the events would be easier to trace. But now, when it results from the careful collation of separate fragments, gathered from eight or ten authors, Polybius, Diodorus, Appian, Josephus, Justin and Trogus Pompeius, the writers of the two books of Maccabees, Livy, Porphyry and Dexippus, with medals and inscriptions; and in several of them, from incidental allusions, or brief and passing statements, where the leading object of the history is quite different; the moral evidence becomes far more striking to every ingenuous mind. I have now brought together the greater part of these historical allusions in the words of the original authorities. The result of the whole comparison must be a deep and full conviction that no human history ever furnished a more accurate transcript of the events of Providence, than has been here supplied to the holy Daniel, nearly four hundred years before their occurrence, by the sacred Spirit of God. How impressive is the lesson which is thus taught us, of the all-seeing wisdom and controlling Providence of the Most High, to whom all his works are known from the beginning, and who can overrule the most perplexed and tortuous policy of abandoned and wicked men, to the fulfilment of His own sure and everlasting counsels!

CHAPTER XI.

ON THE PRECURSIVE FULFILMENT OF PROPHECY.

THE DESOLATION OF ANTIOCHUS.

THE vision of the Ram and He Goat, in its earlier portion, is so clear and plain, that scarcely any doubt has ever arisen upon its true meaning. Here Infidels themselves agree both with Jews and Christians, in the strict correspondence of events with the prophecy, and differ only by maintaining that the visions were a forgery of later times. With the later part of the vision the case is different. The true application of the Little Horn of the He Goat has been a subject of much dispute, and different opinions are held even to the present hour. This contrast between the clearness of the first part in each vision, and the fancied obscurity of the rest, has itself been turned into a plausible objection to the genuineness of the whole, and has been made by Porphyry and his followers the main ground of their blasphemous reproach against this portion of the word of God, as if it were merely a Jewish forgery of later times. Our present object must be simply to fix the true meaning of the Little Horn ; and either to reconcile opposing theories, or at least to explain the cause of their divergence ; and, in spite of these variations, to establish the accuracy and faithfulness of the inspired prediction.

There are four chief varieties of opinion with regard to the meaning of the Little Horn. Nearly all writers, Jewish as well as Christian, down to modern times, have supposed that it describes to us the character and persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes; though several maintain that there is a further reference to the Antichrist predicted in the New Testament. Sir Isaac Newton, who has been followed by Bishop Newton, Dr. Zouch, Mr. Cuninghame, and others, view it as a description of the Roman power in the East, or Græco Roman Empire. A view still more prevalent of late, though very recent in its origin, refers it to the spiritual Empire of Mahomet, while one or two writers modify this interpretation, by restricting it to the Turkish power. Finally, there have been of late a few authors, who claim for it an undivided application to a future Infidel Antichrist, hereafter to arise in the last times.

The cause of this variety of judgment is easily explained. The Little Horn is clearly some power which was to arise after the division of the Macedonian Empire, of which the East would be the main theatre, and which would be marked by active hostility to the truth of God, and either to the Jewish nation or the Church of Christ. These are the main and prominent features of the inspired description; the rest are secondary and subordinate. Now there are doubtless several powers, from Antiochus Epiphanes onward, which answer to this general outline, and have thus a kind of moral unity among themselves. Whether the emblem be directly referred to one or other of these, the spirit and scope of the prophecy will include the rest; since its chief object is to prepare the Church of God for the dominance of an apostate and persecuting power in the regions of the East, and to confirm its hopes by the promise of a final deliverance.

The view which claims our first notice, both from its long prevalence, and from the order of time, is that which refers the Little Horn to Antiochus Epiphanes.

For nearly seventeen centuries, this opinion was held by almost every Christian expositor, as well as by many among the Jews. The clear fact that at least eleven verses of the last vision are occupied with the history of that prince, adds a further weight to this interpretation. Two distinct questions, however, will arise ; whether the vision receives its true and proper fulfilment in Antiochus ; and if otherwise, whether we may safely admit a double application, first to Antiochus himself, and then to some later and more formidable power.

We have first to inquire whether the emblem of the Little Horn finds its full and proper counterpart in the person of Antiochus. However general this opinion may have been, and though it is maintained, even now, by a few learned advocates, there are strong and decisive reasons, in my opinion, which forbid us to receive it for the truth. Some of these reasons are forcibly stated by Sir Isaac Newton in the following passage :—

‘ The last horn is by some taken for Antiochus Epiphanes, but not very judiciously. . . . This horn was at first a little one, and waxed exceeding great, but so did not Antiochus. His kingdom on the contrary was weak and tributary to the Romans, and he did not enlarge it. The horn was a king of fierce countenance, destroyed wonderfully, prospered and practised ; that is, he prospered in his practices against the holy people ; but Antiochus was frightened out of Egypt by a mere message of the Romans, and afterwards routed and baffled by the Jews. The horn was mighty by another’s power, Antiochus by his own. The horn stood up against the Prince of the host of heaven, the Prince of princes ; and this is the character, not of Antiochus, but of Antichrist. The horn cast down the sanctuary to the ground, and so did not Antiochus : he left it standing. The sanctuary and host were to be trampled under foot until two thousand three hundred days, and in Daniel’s prophecies days are put for years. But the profanation in the reign of Antiochus did not last so many natural

days. They were to last until the time of the end, till the last end of the indignation against the Jews ; and this indignation is not yet at an end. They were to last until the sanctuary which had been cast down, should be cleansed ; and the sanctuary is not yet cleansed.'

There are, in fact, five main points of distinction between this prophetic emblem, and the history of Antiochus. And first the little horn, though small in its first rise, was to wax exceeding great. But Antiochus continued, from first to last, tributary and dependent. His suppliant, and almost slavish embassies to the senate, at the beginning and near the close of his reign, have been quoted before. Even in the height of his power he never rivalled the greatness of his more distinguished predecessors. One word of the Roman legate, Popilius, frightened him into obedience, and made him resign a kingdom already in his grasp. His conduct on that occasion was an exact contrast to the character of the little horn, a king fierce of countenance.

Secondly, though the sacrifice was taken away, the place of the sanctuary was never, in his reign, cast down. One half of the prediction, in its central part, thus remained unfulfilled.

Thirdly, the vision was to be until the time of the end, in the last end of the indignation, and for many days. Now, even in the widest sense of this phrase, *the time of the end*, it must be limited to the Christian dispensation. The last end of the indignation seems to refer, not less plainly, to the second era of the Jewish dispersion, when the captivity of Babylon was succeeded by another, more lasting and severe. Again, since the former visions, both of them reach through the times of the Fourth Empire, and this prophecy is declared, with a marked emphasis, to be for many days, it is against all reason to suppose that it terminates sooner than the others by an interval of two thousand years.

Fourthly, the little horn was to understand dark sentences, and to destroy wonderfully. But Antiochus,

though vain-glorious in the highest degree, has left few traces of profound policy, and his conquests were as transitory as they were limited in extent. Seleucus Nicator, Ptolemy Lagus, and Antiochus the Great ; not to mention Cyrus, Alexander, or the Romans, were far more conspicuous for their achievements and greatness.

Finally, the time does not agree. Many attempts have been made to fit the 2,300 days with the profanation by Antiochus, but with no real success. The actual desolation lasted just three years ; while the period here announced, if literal days, would be nearly six years and a half ; and there is no other natural limit that can be assigned to the period than the cleansing of the sanctuary, or restoration of the daily sacrifice.

The general analogy of these prophecies would furnish other reasons ; but those which have been now offered, appear of themselves to be decisive ; and require us to look for some power, mightier and more formidable than Antiochus, in whom the emblem shall be completely fulfilled.

A second inquiry still remains. The long prevalence in the Church, both before and after the birth of our Lord, of that view which applies the emblem to Antiochus, and the many actual features of close resemblance, may lead us to suspect that this application was really designed by the Spirit of God. This requires us, to examine first, whether any prophecy may admit of a double sense ; next, whether this be possible in a chronological prophecy ; and finally, whether there are reasons to justify such an interpretation of the Little Horn.

Some writers have denied strenuously that any prophecy of Scripture has a double sense, and denounce the principle, as fatal to all clear and definite exposition. Others, on the contrary, both admit the fact, and see in it a further proof of Divine fulness and wisdom in the inspired predictions. Several decisive examples, indeed, may be given. The very first prophecy of Scripture, the sentence on the serpent, has been fulfilled

in the animal creation down to the present day : but its full application is to Satan, the real tempter, and to his final overthrow by Messiah, the Son of the Virgin. The promise to Abraham, "To thy seed will I give this land," had a primary fulfilment in the conquests of Joshua. Yet in the New Testament it is clearly referred to the spiritual seed of Abraham, and to a nobler inheritance in the world to come. The words of Hosea vi. 1, have plainly an historical sense, and refer backward to the Exodus of Israel. But the Holy Spirit, by St. Matthew, reveals in them a prophecy of our Saviour's abode in Egypt, and return to Judea. So also the seventy-second Psalm is called a prayer for Solomon, and relates directly to his reign ; but the words of our Lord himself may clearly be applied to it—a greater than Solomon is here. These examples, to which many others might be added, are enough to prove the existence of a double sense, in some prophecies, to reasonable and thoughtful minds.

Some of the reasons which may account for this mode of revelation are very plain. There is a close analogy between the world of nature and the kingdom of grace, so that natural changes may often yield the most expressive language, to describe others of a moral or spiritual kind. Again, the providence of God, in the long conflict of good and evil, ever enlarges, and unfolds itself more and more, so that partial victories of truth and holiness are only the harbingers of others more full and complete. It is very natural, then, that predictions of greater and more distant events should also embrace others inferior in dignity, but nearer at hand, and which would therefore occupy a larger space in the eye of the prophet. For the Holy Spirit, when using the sacred penmen to convey his messages, never supersedes the laws of human thought, but has respect always to the place and time from which the prophet surveys the future, and thus blends the reality and specialty of a human message with the breadth and fulness which must belong to all the words of God. The great advantage of bre-

vity also, where the inspired volume was to be accessible to all Christians, and still to embrace so vast a range of truth, would be a further motive for revealing future events in this condensed form.

There are some, however, who grant the double fulfilment of many predictions, but deny that the principle can be admitted in chronological prophecies. One distinguished writer has even numbered this among the fundamental canons of interpretation. The reason assigned is, that such prophecies are an anticipated history, and that as no event in history can be double, no link of such prophecy can admit of a twofold application.

This objection on abstract grounds is clearly untenable and fallacious. For other prophecies too are anticipated history ; and the objection, if decisive in one case, must be decisive in all. The true question is, not whether an event of history can occur double, but whether two distinct events may not be predicted in one and the same passage. There is nothing in the nature of a connected or chronological prophecy to render this impossible. With one single restriction, the double sense might occur in these prophecies, no less than in others of a discursive nature. The restriction needed is only this, that either fulfilment shall hold the same place with regard to the rest of the prediction, as if it stood alone. In other words, the double fulfilment must follow all the events which fulfil the earlier parts of the vision, and be completed before the fulfilment of the rest begins. Only let this law be observed, and a double or even treble fulfilment will do no violence to the order or connexion of the prophecy. The danger of ambiguity is the only practical difficulty that would still remain.

But however possible this double sense may be in the abstract, even in chronological visions, the frequent adoption of such a style of prophecy, it must be owned, would be very embarrassing, and might defeat the very purpose for which the message was given. But when

the principle is applied sparingly, and to one part only, which stands out prominently from the rest, the objection is almost entirely removed. No abstract reason can decide whether such cases do or do not exist ; the fact can only be determined, in each case, by a direct and careful inquiry.

There is even one reason, *à priori*, why it is probable that the Holy Spirit might sometimes adopt this mode of prophetic revelation. Let us suppose that there are two events, one of them nearer and less important, the other more remote and on a larger scale, but which have otherwise a close resemblance. These events might be predicted in various ways. Either might be separately announced, or both in succession, by those features which distinguish it from the other ; or one prediction might be given, with features common to both events, so that either of them would satisfy its terms. Or lastly, the prediction might be given in such a form, as exactly to describe the more distant event, and yet so few elements of contrast be introduced, that nearer event also might seem to be accurately described on a hasty view, or with a looser acceptation of terms. In the first case, one event will be entirely passed by, and the other described by those features which are not the most important. In the second case, the prediction will be tedious and diffuse ; and in the third, it would seem ambiguous and uncertain. So that the last alternative might perhaps appear to the Divine wisdom the most suitable, and the prophecy will then have, first, a precursive, and then a true or proper fulfilment. One clear practical advantage will flow from this style of prediction. The partial fulfilment, occurring soon after the time of the prophecy, will be a support to the faith of the Church, and an evidence of the Divine foresight until the time for the fuller accomplishment is arrived. The exact fulfilment in later events, will only be rendered more striking by this partial and precursive application, and by the marks of that Divine foresight, which provided for the weakness of our faith during

ages of delay. As a finder, attached to a larger telescope, assists the eye of the observer, so this germinant and preparatory fulfilment will guide our eye more steadily along the magnificent stream of Divine Providence to the final consummation.

To establish such a double sense, in any particular prophecy, three conditions are requisite. First, that the supposed fulfilment agree with the course, the scope, and the order of the vision. Secondly, that its resemblance be so close to the terms of the prophecy, as to leave a natural impression on those who saw the events, that it was really designed. And thirdly, that this impression, and the resemblance to which it owes its birth, shall have been the express design of the revealing Spirit of God.

All these conditions appear to be satisfied in the interpretation which refers the Little Horn to Antiochus Epiphanes. It is the emblem which concludes the vision, where a double fulfilment would be least unnatural, and least open to the charge of ambiguity. The interpretation was nearly universal for seventeen or eighteen centuries, and received both by Jewish and Christian expositors, with scarcely a doubt of its truth. The events agree perfectly with the order of the vision; for Antiochus appeared, as the prophecy declares of the Little Horn, in the latter time of the four Grecian kingdoms. Finally, the Spirit of God has chosen out such features in this description as will apply mainly to the Syrian king. The differences are chiefly such as might either be easily overlooked, or removed by a lax construction of the terms, while there is a striking resemblance in the broader features of the prophecy. Antiochus arose in one of the four Grecian kingdoms, and in the latter time, when their dominion was just ready to expire. His power was so far increased, that from a fugitive, an exile and hostage, he became one of the most formidable oppressors of the Jewish people. His persecution of the truth was bitter and unrelenting. He took away the daily sacrifice, and magnified himself

against the God of Israel, and against the promise of Messiah, the Prince of princes. But his persecutions lasted only a few short years, as the vision, at first sight, seems to imply in the case of the Little Horn. His death was also sudden and calamitous. When to these features we add the place occupied by the emblem in the vision, the clear fact that Antiochus is predicted in the later prophecy, and the universal conviction, for ages, that Antiochus was really designed, with the moral importance to the Jews of such a warning, to sustain them in that hour of trial; the conclusion seems inevitable, that the Holy Spirit, in this emblem, designed to include the Syrian persecutor, although the words may require a fuller and wider application.

Let us now trace this precursive fulfilment of the emblem in the history of Antiochus. We shall then feel no surprise that Jews and Christians, for so many ages, have regarded him as the sole and direct object of the prediction.

The Little Horn was to arise from a horn of the he-goat, or one of the four divided Macedonian kingdoms. So Antiochus arose from the stock of the Syrian kings. His surname was given him, 'quod, cum alieni a stirpa regiâ regnum invaderent, ipse *avite ditionis* assertor exortus suis illuxisset;' because when aliens from the royal race, had seized on the kingdom, he had dawned on his friends as the maintainer of his ancestral power. Syria was one of the four kingdoms in the first royal division, and its boundaries were nearly the same at this time as when Seleucus received his share after the battle of Ipsus.

The horn was to appear in the latter time of the Grecian kingdoms, when the transgressors were come to the full. Here also, as Mede has observed, there is a punctual correspondence. "For when was this latter end of the Grecian kingdom to be taken notice of, but when they should see that kingdom begin to be given to another people, or when the fourth kingdom, the Roman state, should begin to encroach on the third?"

This Roman encroachment was at length accomplished, when Æmilius the consul having quite vanquished Perseus, king of Macedon, all Greece came under the Roman obedience, one hundred and sixty-six years before the birth of Christ. Which no sooner was come to pass, but the very self-same year, within three months after, Antiochus set up the abomination of desolation in the temple of Jerusalem." The history of Antiochus, then, both in time and place, completely agrees with the vision.

The horn was small at the first, but soon waxed great. Antiochus was at first a hostage at Rome, with no prospect of succeeding to the kingdom. But the murder of his brother Seleucus by Heliodorus, and the absence at Rome of his nephew Demetrius, the lawful successor, paved his way to the throne of Syria, where he soon became the most formidable, in his own day, of all the Eastern kings.

The three directions of conquest were equally fulfilled. He waxed great towards the south, for he invaded Egypt, and almost entirely subdued it; towards the East, for he subdued Artaxias the Armenian, and recovered the upper provinces as far as Elymais; and towards the pleasant land, or temple, for he profaned the sanctuary, and cruelly oppressed the people of Israel.

The other leading features of the Little Horn, are its profanation of the temple, and bitter persecution of the faithful Jews, and its sudden and calamitous ruin. It remains to trace these in the history of Antiochus, and thus to continue the prophetic narrative from the point of time which we have reached in the later vision. Our materials will be drawn chiefly from the books of Maccabees, and the history of Josephus. The account of this last writer is as follows:—

‘ Now after two years, in the hundredth and forty-fifth year, on the twenty-fifth day of the month Chisleu (A.C. 168, Dec.) in the hundred and fifty-third Olympiad the king came up to Jerusalem, and pretending peace, got possession of the city by treachery; at which time he did not even spare those who admitted him, on ac-

count of the riches of the temple ; but, led by his covetous inclination, in order to plunder its wealth, broke the league which he had made. So he left the temple bare, and took away the golden candlesticks and the golden altar and table, and the altar of burnt offering ; and did not abstain even from the veils of fine linen and scarlet. He also emptied it of its secret treasures, and left none remaining ; and by these means he cast the Jews into great lamentation, for he forbade them to offer the daily sacrifices unto God, according to the law. And when he had pillaged the whole city, he slew some of the inhabitants, and others he carried away captive, with their wives and children, of whom the whole number amounted to ten thousand. He also burnt down the finest buildings, and when he had overthrown the walls, he built the citadel in the lower city ; for the site of it was high and overlooked the temple. And for this reason he fortified it with high walls and towers, and put into it a garrison of Macedonians. There dwelt however, also, in that citadel, the impious and wicked rabble of the Jews, from whom the citizens underwent many and sore calamities. And when the king had built an idol altar even on the altar of God, he slew swine upon it, an offering contrary alike to the law and customs of the Jewish worship. He also compelled them to forsake the service of their own God, and to adore those whom he took to be gods, and made them build temples and idol altars in every city and village, and offer swine upon them every day. He commanded them further, not to circumcise their sons, and threatened to punish any one who should be found to have transgressed these injunctions : he also appointed overseers, who should compel them to do what he had commanded. And indeed, many Jews, some willingly, and others through fear of punishment, complied with his commands ; but those who were most distinguished, and of the noblest spirit, disregarded him, and paid more respect to the customs of their country than to the punishment he threatened to the disobedient ; on which

account they were slain every day with misery and bitter torments. For they were scourged, and their bodies torn with wounds, and then, while they were still alive and breathed, they were crucified; but their wives and the sons whom they had circumcised, by the special orders of the king, were strangled, and hanged about the necks of their fathers who had been crucified. And if any sacred book or law were discovered, it was destroyed, and the poor creatures with whom they were found, perished also miserably.' (Ant. xii. 54.)

This desolation of the temple, like that which occurred later under the Romans, appears to have been announced by remarkable signs and prodigies, as we learn from the second book of Maccabees. (vi. 4.)

'About the same time Antiochus prepared his second march into Egypt. And then it happened, that through all the city, for the space almost of forty days, there were seen horsemen running in the air, in cloth of gold, and armed with lances, like a band of soldiers; and troops of horsemen in array, encountering one another, with shields and lances, and drawing of swords, and casting of darts, and glittering of golden ornaments and armour of all sorts. Wherefore every one prayed that this apparition might turn to good.'

The first act of profanation is mentioned in both the books of Maccabees.

'And after that Antiochus had smitten Egypt, he returned again in the hundred and forty-third year, and went up against Israel and Jerusalem with a great multitude, and entered proudly into the sanctuary, and took away the golden altar, and the candlestick of light, and the vessels thereof; and the table of the shewbread, and the pouring vessels, and the vials, and the censers of gold, and the veil, and the crowns, and the golden ornaments that were before the temple. He took also the silver and the gold, and the precious vessels, also he took the hidden treasures which he found.'

'And when he had taken all away, he went into his own land, having made a great massacre and spoken

very proudly : therefore there was great mourning in Israel.' 1 Macc. i. 20—25.

' Now when this was brought to the king's ear, he thought that Judea had revolted. Whereupon removing out of Egypt with a furious mind, he took the city by force of arms, and commanded his men of war not to spare such as they met, and to slay such as went upon the houses. Thus there was killing of young and old, slaying of men, and women, and children, of virgins and infants. And within three days there were destroyed fourscore thousand, of whom forty thousand were slain in the conflict, and no fewer sold than slain. Yet he was not content with this, but presumed to go into the most holy temple, Menelaus, that traitor to the laws and his own country, being his guide. And taking the holy vessels with polluted hands, and with profane hands pulling down the things dedicated by other kings to the glory and honour of the place, he gave them away. And so haughty was Antiochus in mind, that he considered not the Lord was angry for a while with the sins of them that dwelt in the city ; else had this man, as soon as he had come, been scourged and put back from his presumption, as Heliodorus was, whom Seleucus the king sent to view the treasury. . . . So when Antiochus had carried out of the temple eighteen thousand talents, he departed in all haste to Antioch, weening in his pride to make the land navigable, and the sea passable on foot, so great was the haughtiness of his mind.' (2 Macc. v. 11—21.)

Two years later that further profanation ensued, when the daily sacrifice ceased, and the heavy persecution against the Jews began. The account in the first of Maccabees has been partly quoted before, and is continued as follows.

' Moreover king Antiochus wrote to his whole kingdom, that all should be one people, and every one leave his own laws ; so all the heathen agreed to the commandment of the king. Yea, many also of the Jews consented to his religion, and sacrificed unto idols, and pro-

faned the sabbath. For the king sent letters by messengers unto Jerusalem and the cities of Judea, that they should follow the strange laws of the land. And he forbade burnt offerings, and sacrifice, and drink offerings, in the temple ; and that they should profane the sabbaths and festival days, and pollute the sanctuary and holy place, set up altars and groves, and idol-temples, and sacrifice swine's flesh and unclean beasts. That they should also leave their children uncircumcised, and make their souls abominable with all uncleanness, to the end they might forget the Law and change the ordinances. And that whosoever would not do after the commandment of the king, should die.'

'In the same manner he wrote to his whole kingdom, and appointed overseers over all the people, and commanded the cities of Judah to sacrifice, city by city. Then many of the people were gathered unto them, every one that forsook the law, and so they committed evils in the land ; and drove the Israelites into secret places, wheresoever they could flee for succour.'

'Now the fifteenth day of the month Casleu, in the hundred and forty-fifth year, they set up *the abomination of desolation* on the altar, and builded idol altars throughout the cities of Judah on every side, and burnt incense at the doors of their houses and in their streets. And when they had rent in pieces the books of the law which they found, they burnt them with fire. Thus did they by their authority to the Israelites every month, as many as were found in the cities.'

'Now the five and twentieth day of the month they did sacrifice upon the idol altar, which was upon the altar of God : at which time, according to the commandment, they put to death certain women, who had caused their children to be circumcised, and hanged the infants about their necks, and rifled their houses, and slew them that circumcised them. Howbeit many in Israel were fully resolved not to eat any unclean thing, and chose rather to die that they might not be defiled with meats, nor profane the holy covenant : so then they

died, and there was very great wrath upon Israel.' 1 Macc. i. 41—54.

A similar account of the persecution is given in the second book.

' He sent also Apollonius, with an army of two and twenty thousand, commanding him to slay all those that were in their best age, and to sell the women and younger sort : who, coming to Jerusalem, and pretending peace, did forbear till the holy day of the sabbath, when he commanded his men to arm themselves. And so he slew all them that were gone to celebrate the sabbath, and running through the city with weapons, slew great multitudes. But Judas Maccabeus, with nine others, withdrew into the wilderness, and lived on the mountains after the manner of wild beasts with his company, who fed on herbs continually, lest they should be partakers of the pollution.

' Not long after, the king sent an old man of Athens to compel the Jews to depart from the laws of their fathers, and not to live after the laws of God ; and to pollute also the temple of Jerusalem, and call it the temple of Jupiter Olympius ; and that in Gerizim, of Jupiter the defender of strangers, as they who dwelt there desired.

' The coming in of this mischief was sore and grievous to the people. For the temple was filled with riot and revelling by the Gentiles, who dallied with harlots in the circuit of the holy places, and brought in things that were not lawful. The altar also was filled with profane things, neither was it lawful for a man to keep sabbath-days or ancient feasts, or at all to profess himself to be a Jew. And in the day of the king's birth, every month they were brought by constraint to eat of the sacrifices ; and when the feast of Bacchus was kept, the Jews were compelled to go in procession to Bacchus, carrying ivy. Moreover there went out a decree to the neighbouring cities of the heathen, by the suggestion of Ptolemy (Macron) against the Jews, that they should observe the same fashions, and be partakers of their

sacrifices. And whoso would not conform themselves to the manners of the Gentiles should be put to death. Then might a man have seen the present misery. For there were two women brought, who had circumcised their children, whom when they had led openly round about the city, the babes hanging at their breasts, they cast them down headlong from the wall. And others, that had run together into caves hard by, to keep the sabbath-day secretly, being discovered to Philip, were all burnt together, because they forbore to help themselves, for the honour of the most sacred day.' 2 Macc. v. 24 ; vii. 11.

A host was given to the Little Horn against the daily sacrifice by reason of transgression. Such was the confession of those who endured this persecution. 'For we suffer because of our sins. And though the living Lord be angry with us a little time for our chastening and correction, yet shall He be as one again with his servants. But I, as my brethren, offer up my body and life for the laws of our fathers, beseeching God that he would speedily be merciful unto our nation ; and that thus by torments and plagues thou mayest confess that He only is God, and that in me and in my brethren the wrath of the Almighty, which is justly brought on all our nation, may cease.' (vii. 32—38.)

Thus did Antiochus practise and prosper, and destroy the mighty and the people of the holy ones. By his policy craft seemed for a little time to prosper in his hand. He destroyed many in peace, or secure tranquillity, when his forces came to Jerusalem with words of peace, and barbarously slaughtered many ten thousands of the inhabitants. He stood up against the God of Israel, and against the Son of God, the Prince of princes, when he sought to abolish both the law and the prophets, and to blend the Jews entirely with the heathen. An host was given him against the daily sacrifice by reason of transgression, and he cast down the truth to the ground, till the faithful had to take refuge "in deserts and mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth." The prayer

of the Maccabee, when he began the task of rescuing his people, gives a lively picture of the desolation.

‘Then Judas Maccabeus, and they that were with him, went secretly into the towns, and called their kinsfolk together, and all such as continued in the Jews’ religion, and assembled about six thousand men. And they called upon the Lord, that he would look down upon the people that was trodden down of all ; and pity the temple profaned of ungodly men ; and that he would have compassion upon the city sorely defaced, and ready to be made even with the ground, and hear the blood that cried unto him, and remember the wicked slaughter of harmless infants, and the blasphemies against his name, and that he would show his hatred against the wicked.’

The prophecy declares further, that after an appointed time of desolation the sanctuary would be cleansed, and the cruel persecutor “be broken without hand,” or, as the words import, ‘without any human succour.’ These particulars also were fulfilled in the later history of Antiochus.

The cleansing of the sanctuary is thus described in Josephus and the books of Maccabees.

‘When the generals of Antiochus had been beaten so often, Judas assembled the people together, and told them, that after so many victories, which God had given them, they ought to go up to Jerusalem, and purify the temple, and offer the appointed sacrifices. And when they were come to Jerusalem, and found the temple deserted, the gates burnt down, and plants growing of their own accord in the temple, on account of its being deserted, they began to lament, and were quite confounded at the sight. So he chose out some of his soldiers, and gave them orders to fight against the guards in the citadel, until he should have purified the temple. When therefore he had carefully cleansed it, and brought in new vessels, the candlestick, the table, and the incense-altar, which were of gold, he hung up the vails at the gates, and added doors. He also took down

the altar, and built a new one of stone, which he gathered together, and not of such as were hewn with iron tools. So on the five and twentieth day of the month Casleu, which the Macedonians call Apellæus (Dec. A.C. 168), they lighted the lamps on the candlestick, and burnt incense on the golden altar, and laid the loaves on the table, and offered burnt offerings on the altar. These things were done on the very same day on which the divine worship had ceased, and been perverted to a profane use, after three years; for the temple was made desolate by Antiochus, and three years it so continued. And this desolation came to pass according to the prophecy of Daniel, which was given 408 years before (A.C. 573). For he declared that the Macedonians would dissolve that worship.' (Ant. xii. 7. 6).

So also the writers of the Maccabees.

'Now Maccabeus and his company, the Lord guiding them, recovered the temple and the city. But the altars which the heathen had built in the open streets, and also the chapels, they pulled down. And having cleansed the temple, they made another altar, and striking stones, they took fire out of them, and offered a sacrifice after two years, and set forth incense and lights and shew-bread. When that was done, they fell down, and besought the Lord that they might come no more into such troubles, but if they sinned any more against him, that He himself would chasten them in mercy, that they might not be delivered unto the blasphemous and barbarous heathen. Now on the same day that strangers profaned the temple, the very same day it was cleansed again, even the five and twentieth day of the same month, Casleu. And they kept eight days with gladness, as in the feast of the tabernacles, remembering that not long before they had held the feast of tabernacles, when they wandered in the mountains and dens like beasts. Therefore they bare branches, and goodly boughs, and palms also, and sang psalms unto Him who had given them good success in cleansing His

place. They ordained also by a common statute and decree, that every year those days should be kept of the whole nation of the Jews.' 2 Macc. x. 1—8.

The description of this joyful event in the former book is still more lively and impressive.

'Then said Judas and his brethren, "Behold our enemies are discomfited: let us go up to cleanse and dedicate the sanctuary." Upon this all the host assembled themselves together, and went up unto Mount Zion. And when they saw the sanctuary desolate, the altar profaned, and shrubs growing in the court as in a forest, or one of the mountains, and the priests' chambers, pulled down; they rent their clothes, and made great lamentation, and cast dust on their heads; and fell down flat on their faces to the ground, and blew an alarm with the trumpets, and cried toward heaven. Then Judas appointed certain men to fight against those in the fortress, until he had cleansed the sanctuary. So he chose priests of blameless conversation, such as had pleasure in the law; who cleansed the sanctuary, and bore out the defiled stones into an unclean place. And when they had consulted what to do with the altar of burnt-offering, which was profaned, they thought it best to pull it down, lest it should be a reproach to them, because the heathen had defiled it. Wherefore they pulled it down, and laid up the stones in a convenient place, until there should come a prophet to show what should be done with them. Then they took whole stones, according to the law, and built a new altar, and made up the sanctuary, and the things within the temple, and hallowed the courts. They made also new holy vessels, and brought into the temple the candlestick, and the altar of burnt offering, and of incense, and the table. And upon the altar they burned incense, and the lamps upon the table they lighted, to give light in the temple. Furthermore, they set the loaves on the table, and spread out the vails, and finished all the works. Now on the five and twentieth day of the ninth month, which is Casleu, in the

hundred and forty-eighth year, they rose up betimes in the morning, and offered sacrifice according to the law upon the new altar of burnt offering which they had made. Look, at what time, and what day the heathen profaned it, even in the same was it dedicated with songs, and citherns, and harps, and cymbals. Then all the people fell upon their faces, worshipping and praising the God of heaven, who had prospered them. And so they kept the dedication of the altar eight days, and offered burnt offerings with gladness, and sacrificed the sacrifice of deliverance and praise. They decked also the forefront of the temple with crowns of gold, and with shields, and the gates and chambers they renewed, and hanged doors on them. Thus was there very great gladness among the people, because the reproach of the heathen was put away. Moreover Judas and his brethren, with the whole congregation, ordained that the days of the dedication of the altar should be kept in their season for eight days from year to year, from the five and twentieth of Casleu, with mirth and gladness.' 1 Macc. iv. 36—59.

Three things are worthy of especial notice in these narratives. First, Josephus declares without hesitation, that these events happened in fulfilment of the words of Daniel the prophet; and both from the date which he assigns to the prophecy, and the mention of the Macedonians, it is clear that he refers to the prophecy of the eighth, and not to that in the eleventh chapter. Secondly, the terms repeatedly employed by the writers of the two books of Maccabees, the abomination of desolation, and the cleansing of the sanctuary, especially the former phrase, show how familiarly the book of Daniel was known, to which there is an evident allusion. And further, the feast of dedication, thus appointed to commemorate this great deliverance, is the same which our Lord honoured with His own presence. It was virtually the command of Judas and his companions that he obeyed; because that command, though human in form, and given by a civil leader in

sacred things, was in itself right, reasonable, and holy. "It was in Jerusalem, the feast of dedication, and it was winter ; and Jesus walked in the temple in Solomon's porch." John x. 22, 23. And since the Son of God honoured this feast with His own presence ; it is highly probable that the Spirit of God should have honoured the deliverance itself with some distinct mention in the word of prophecy.

The end of Antiochus equally resembles the predicted ruin of the Little Horn. It is related by Josephus, and in the two books of the Maccabees, nearly in the same manner. It will be enough to extract one account only.

'About that time came Antiochus with dishonour out of the country of Persia. For he had entered the city called Persepolis, and went about to rob the temple and hold the city ; but the multitude running to defend themselves, with their weapons put them to flight ; so that Antiochus, being defeated by the inhabitants, retired with shame.

'Now when he came to Ecbatane, news was brought him of what had befallen Nicanor and Timotheus. Then, swelling with anger, he thought to avenge upon the Jews the disgrace done to him by those who had made him flee. Therefore commanded he his chariots to drive without ceasing, and dispatch the journey, the judgment of God now following him. For he had spoken proudly, that he would come to Jerusalem, and make it the common burying-place of the Jews. But the Lord Almighty, the God of Israel, smote him with an incurable and unseen plague, for as soon as he had spoken these words, an incurable pain of the bowels came upon him, and sore torment in the inward parts. Howbeit he was still filled with pride, breathing out fire in his rage against the Jews, and commanding to hasten the journey ; but it came to pass, that he fell down from his chariot, so that all the members of his body were much pained. And thus he that thought he might command the waves of the sea, so proud was he be-

yond the condition of man, was now cast on the ground, and carried in a litter, showing forth the manifest power of God. So that the worms rose up out of his body, and while he lived in sorrow and pain, his flesh fell away, and the stench was noisome to all his army. And the man that thought, a little before, he could reach to the stars of heaven, no one could endure to carry for the intolerable stench. And when he himself could not abide it, he said, "It is meet to be subject unto God, and that mortal man should not think proudly of himself, as if he were God." This wicked person vowed also to the Lord, who now no more would have mercy on him, that he would set at liberty the holy city; and as touching the Jews, whom he had counted unworthy even of burial, and cast out to the fowls and wild beasts, he would make them equal to the citizens of Athens. And the holy temple, which he had spoiled, he would garnish with goodly gifts, and restore the holy vessels, with many more, and out of his own revenue defray the charges belonging to the sacrifices. But for all this his pains would not cease, for the just judgment of God was come upon him. Thus the murderer and blasphemer, having suffered most grievously, as he had intreated other men, died a miserable death in a strange country in the mountains.' 2 Macc. ix. 1—28.

From a review of the whole history of this wicked king, it seems to result plainly that in his person there was a precursive fulfilment of the emblem of the little horn. The Jews themselves, in the very time of those heavy afflictions, seem clearly to have understood that he was the object of the prophecy, and both when the abomination of desolation was set up, and when the sanctuary was cleansed with mirth and gladness, these predictions occupied the memories, and cheered and sustained the hearts of the faithful servants of God. It was scarcely possible that they should fail, at such a time, to apply the emblem to this Syrian persecutor; and since the Holy Spirit would not minister comfort by delusion, it was His purpose that it should

be so applied. The prophecy may have internal marks, which require some fuller and later event to satisfy its terms ; but the features of resemblance with Antiochus are also too striking to be overlooked by any thoughtful mind, and much more, by the actual sufferers from his cruelty. And hence we may safely conclude that, as the Son of God honoured the feast of the dedication by his own attendance at Jerusalem, so too the Holy Spirit, in this vision, designed to predict that deliverance of the Jews, as well as the bitter persecutions of Antiochus, when the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the sanctuary profaned by the heathen. The prophetic history of the third Empire will thus close with that joyful feast of mercy, and foreshadow another deliverance still more glorious, when the fourth Empire shall have run its course, and the sanctuary of God shall be cleansed for ever.

CHAPTER XII.

THE PROPER FULFILMENT OF THE LITTLE HORN.

THE events which have fulfilled the two later visions of Daniel, in a great part of their course, are very plain. From the first conquests of Cyrus to the division of Alexander's kingdom ; and again, from the date of the last prophecy just before the death of Cyrus, to the retreat of Antiochus from Egypt, the meaning of these chapters scarcely admits of a dispute, and all the testimony of heathen history proves the accuracy of their predictions. The meaning, however, of the Little Horn, which closes the former vision, and of the fifteen last verses of the other, is open to more debate, and requires greater care to ascertain it on sure grounds. I have endeavoured to prove, in the last chapter, that parts of a chronological prophecy may admit of a double fulfilment, one precursive, the other full and complete. I have also shewn, I think, by conclusive evidence, that the history of Antiochus does not fully satisfy the emblem of the Little Horn, but that it has all the features required in an improper and precursive fulfilment ; that the resemblance is strong, the differences both subordinate, and such might easily be overlooked, and that the facts of the persecution and the history of interpretation, shew that the prophecy was really designed to be a warning of his cruelty, and to supply comfort under those heavy trials to the people of God. The prophetic history is thus continued, in unbroken course,

from the early victories of Cyrus to the cleansing of the sanctuary, and the feast of its dedication by the Maccabean heroes.

We have now to enquire what is the true and full reference of this striking emblem, and what further enemy, mightier and more lasting than Antiochus, it was designed to reveal. Some writers have referred it to the Papacy, others to the Turkish power, and others to some future Antichrist. Not to perplex the reader with needless discussion, it will be sufficient here to compare together the two expositions, which are most plausible, and have had more currency in the Church. The first, of which Sir Isaac Newton appears to be the author, applies the emblem to the Eastern Empire of Rome. The second, of still later origin, but perhaps more prevalent at this time, interprets the symbol to denote the spiritual Empire of Mahomet, or the great Apostasy of the East.

There are several particulars in which either of these powers would answer to the description. A horn in these visions is constantly used for a dynasty, rather than for a single person, and such was the Caliphate, and the Eastern Roman Empire. The little horn was to rule in the East, and over the land of Israel; and accordingly Palestine was a prey successively to the armies of Pompey, and the hosts of the Saracens. The vision was to be for many days, and on either hypothesis it would range over nearly two thousand years. The predicted king was to be of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences, politic, subtle, and crafty. Such was very much the character both of the Romans, and of the Arabian prophet and his successors. The Romans desolated the Jewish sanctuary; and the Mahometan triumphs have been, for ages, a desolating scourge to the figurative sanctuary, the visible Church of God. Where so many features are common to both, and the moral resemblance is so great, there is less cause for surprize that each, in turn, should have been taken for the true fulfilment. I shall first

examine the reasons which have been given for the later application to the Mahometan Empire ; and then the opposite arguments, which compel me to renounce that interpretation, and with Sir Isaac and Bishop Newton, Dr. Zouch and Mr. Cuninghame, to apply the emblem to the Roman power.

The chief reason which has led many to refer the emblem to Mahomet and his spiritual Empire, is the symmetry which it seems to establish between the two visions of the seventh and eighth chapters. If the former Little Horn be applied to the Papacy in the West, it seems natural to apply the other to Mahometanism in the East, a spiritual delusion of still wider prevalence. Such views of abstract symmetry, however, may soon mislead us, from the complexity of God's providence, and the various points of sight in which an observer may be placed. The parallel here, for instance, however strong it may seem at first sight, fails entirely in one main feature. The Papacy grew up at once, and without interval, on the division of the Fourth Empire. On the contrary, eight hundred years had elapsed from the fall of the Grecian kingdoms before the rise of the Saracens. The appeal to general analogy, where there is one point of such broad and total contrast, may be only deceptive. Instead of relying on a general resemblance, that diminishes on a closer view, the words of the vision must be narrowly examined, before we can decide safely on their true meaning.

The sameness of the emblem in the two visions, has been thought a still more decisive argument, and a clear proof that the Mahometan Empire is designed. The two Little Horns it is argued, are homogeneous. Hence, if the first of them denotes a spiritual Empire, so too must the second. But the former little horn denotes the Papacy. Hence the horn of the He Goat must denote an ecclesiastical, and not a merely civil power, to arise in the East. In other words, it must be referred to the Empire of Islam, and not of the Romans.

This reason, on closer inspection, will appear unsound.

For the two horns are homogeneous in part only ; in part they are heterogeneous. Each is a little horn, grafted on the body of an Empire, and which afterward obtains the supreme power. But there are several points in which the two symbols differ. The little horn of chap. vii., has eyes and a mouth :—no such features are specified in the other. The little horn of chap. viii. on the other hand, waxes exceeding great :—no such change of size is predicted in the earlier vision concerning the horn of the fourth beast, though it obtains dominion over the other kings.

What feature is it then, in the first little horn, which betokens its spiritual character ? Clearly the mouth of the prophet, and the eyes of a seer, ascribed to it in the vision. If these occur in the other emblem, consistency will require us to refer it to some ecclesiastical power. If they do not occur, the same consistency must require an opposite interpretation.

Now, in fact, these features do not occur in the later emblem. And hence the alleged argument, when strictly examined, disproves the interpretation it is brought to establish. The two little horns are heterogeneous on that very point where they have been assumed to be homogeneous. We may infer, with more justice, that since the eyes and mouth of a man are not specified in the second little horn, it relates to a civil, and not a spiritual power.

The same general argument, from the homogeneous nature of the emblems of prophecy, has been applied in another form, to disprove the application of the Little Horn to the Romans, and thus to confirm indirectly its application to the Mahometan Empire. When the Persians conquered Babylon, or Alexander the Persians, the emblem used is the overthrow of one animal or beast of prey by another. So too the Roman conquests have been described in the former vision. The silent growth of the little horn on the body of the goat is a very different symbol, and therefore cannot fitly represent the course of Roman triumphs in the East.

To this objection a double answer may be given. And first, it applies just as forcibly to the Mahometan as to the Roman conquests. The Saracen power assailed the Eastern Empire from without, and subdued it by a course of direct and open aggression. It was not the internal growth of a spiritual empire, by the arts of religious fraud, or the zeal of false teachers within; it was simply and entirely, in all its early stages, and up to the fall of Constantinople, the victory of the sword. If the symbol here employed is unfit to denote one event, it must be equally unfit to denote the other; for the Mahometan conquests were more rapid, and bore on their face clearer marks of open defiance. The objection, if really valid, must be fatal alike to both interpretations.

But here also more exact enquiry will remove the seeming difficulty. The Roman conquests in the East did not, in point of fact, resemble the overthrow of Babylon by Persia, of Darius by Alexander, or their own conquests over the Western kingdoms. They prevailed more by policy and alliance than by direct warfare. Their course was one of insidious, persevering, stealthy aggression, in which they used, at every step, the aid of those very powers which they presently subverted. The vision clearly regards Macedon, Thrace, Syria, and Egypt, as the joint components of the He Goat, or Third Empire. When the first Empire was overthrown by the second, or the second by the third, the conquest was direct and immediate. But when the Romans passed over into Greece, the Macedonian Empire was divided into several notable kingdoms, besides minor states and cities, constantly at war with each other. The future masters of the East appeared on the scene of their triumphs, not as enemies, but as liberators and friends. It was by alliance with the smaller states of Greece that they overthrew the king of Macedon; and their first step, after the triumph over Philip, was to proclaim the freedom of the whole country. In the same manner, by specious alliances with other Grecian states, they

subdued in succession the Macedonians and the Spartans, the Ætolians, and the Achæans. It was as the allies of Philip, the Rhodians, and Eumenes, and liberators of the Greek cities in Asia, that they warred with Antiochus the Great, and stripped him of nearly half his dominions. It was as the friends of Ptolemy that they expelled Epiphanes from Egypt. The same policy continued through all their later conquests, which, in every stage, were the victory of one part of the Third Empire, warring against another, till the ascendancy of the Romans was gradually established over the whole. The emblem therefore, which described the rapid victories of Alexander, would have been quite unsuitable for these Roman encroachments, while the symbol here employed corresponds exactly with their real nature.

There is no reason, then, from the law of homogeneous interpretation, why the prophecy should be referred to the Mahometan, rather than to the Roman power. That very feature which fixes upon the first little horn an ecclesiastical or spiritual character, is absent in the second vision; and the growth of the Mahometan empire, even more than of the Eastern dominion of Rome, was by direct military conquest. Even on the very grounds alleged for the former application of the text, the latter interpretation has a superior claim. It remains to consider next, in detail, the features of the vision, and to discover what is the power to which they fully apply.

First of all, the Little Horn arises while the divided kingdoms of the Macedonian empire are still in being, and succeeds to their dominion. The Law of Continuity thus requires us to refer it to the next main power, which obtained rule in the East after the decline of these Macedonian kingdoms. And this was plainly the dominion of Rome.

This view is confirmed by the words of the angel, where he expounds the emblem. The Little Horn was to arise in "the latter time" of the Macedonian king-

doms. The word, even in the Hebrew, is clearly descriptive of time, not of place. In the latter sense it is scarcely ever used, and never in Daniel ; and besides the clause would then be out of its natural order. The word denotes also the latest part of any time, and not some other period, after the event has completely expired. The horn, therefore, must have arisen before the Grecian kingdoms were overthrown, a mark which excludes every power but Antiochus and the Romans.

The direction of conquest, ascribed to the Little Horn, is another test of the same kind. It waxes great towards the south, and the east, and *the pleasant delight*, or temple of Jerusalem. So also the Roman power, when once engrafted on the kingdom of Greece by its victory over Philip, extended itself southward to Upper Egypt, and eastward to the Euphrates and Tigris. But the Mahometan power, after being engrafted on the province of Egypt, which was its first entrance within the Third Empire, extended to the north and the west, to Pontus, and Spain, not less than eastward toward India ; and the south was the only direction where it made no progress. This feature, therefore, does not apply to the Saracen conquests, but only to those of the Græco-Roman Empire. The Saracens spread northward, westward, and eastward, but not southward ; the Romans, to the south, and the east, and the pleasant land.

Thirdly, the Little Horn was to cast down the sanctuary, and take away the daily sacrifice. Both of these characters met in the Romans, when Titus sacked Jerusalem, and one stone of the temple was not left upon another. At the time when Mahomet arose, the literal sanctuary had long been in ruins : and even the figurative temple of the Christian Church had been already defiled by superstitions and idolatries, which spread earlier in the East than in the West. Either in the letter, or figuratively, the Mahometan triumphs will not answer to the description, for they only continued a desolation already begun.

But the words in the vision, on every rule of sound

interpretation, must be referred to the Jewish temple, and its sacrifices. The term *hatsebi*, in the previous verse, had been already used by Ezekiel as a distinctive name for that temple. It is here joined with two other local directions of conquest, the south, and the east, and must therefore be used in a local and literal sense. But if the Little Horn is said to wax great towards the literal temple, it is a manifest violence to deny that the literal temple is the sanctuary which he would cast down. Again, the repeated mission of the angel Gabriel shows that the present is very closely connected with the following vision. Now there the sanctuary undoubtedly means the Jewish temple; it ought therefore to be taken here in the same sense. That there are symbols used in the vision, is no proof whatever that the sanctuary is figurative. For then the three directions of conquest must all be symbolical together, which is absurd. Nothing is more common than for literal clauses or objects to be mingled with symbols in the same vision. And again, when we reflect on the views of Daniel himself, and of the Jews to whom the prophecy was addressed, and observe also its connexion with the following chapter, and with the words of our Lord on the Mount of Olives, together with the general conviction of Jews and Christians in all former ages, the conclusion seems inevitable, that a desolation of the Jewish sanctuary is the real object of the prophecy. This is one further reason why the Little Horn must denote the Roman, and not the Mahometan empire.

The title of this horn, a king of fierce countenance, lends a further presumption in favour of the same view. Scripture prophecy is its own constant interpreter. Now the phrase occurs in one other passage only. Deut. xxviii. 49, 50. And there it is clearly the Romans who are described by the same epithet, "a nation of fierce countenance." The words, thus applied, form a link to unite the latest prophecy of Moses with these ampler visions of the beloved Daniel; but, on every other

view of their meaning, this beautiful harmony of mutual reference entirely disappears.

The connexion of the present with the former vision is another indication of the meaning. The fourth beast, which succeeds to the third, was to devour the whole earth, and break it in pieces. The Little Horn, arising in the latter time of the third empire, must hence either be included within those times, like Antiochus, or be some form of that power which was to rule over the whole earth when the third empire fell. Now since the Little Horn waxes "exceeding great," a stronger term than the prophecy applies to Alexander, and still is mighty "not by its own power," its characters are in exact harmony with the above conclusion, and imply that it is a dominion borrowed from the fourth, and engrafted on the third empire.

The prophecy of the Seventy Weeks will lend us another argument. The "people of the prince that shall come," it is quite evident, are the Romans, by whom the Jewish temple was destroyed. But since the same angel is the messenger in both visions, (a point, to which the Spirit draws our special attention,) the meaning of the phrase is most simply explained by this narrative of the Little Horn. A king of fierce countenance, the angel Gabriel has already taught the prophet, will cast down the place of the sanctuary, and destroy the people of the holy ones. He now declares afresh, when the Messiah shall be cut off, the people of the prince that shall come will destroy the city and the sanctuary. Can any allusion be more distinct and clear? Surely it is plain that the same prince and people are announced in the two visions, and the prophet himself could never have supposed, for a moment, that the desolation of the sanctuary, which had been announced fifteen years before, would be nearly six hundred years later in its fulfilment. The Little Horn, then, must be an emblem of the Roman power.

The general scope of the prophecy favours this interpretation. Its main object, evidently, was to warn the

Jews of troubles to come upon their nation, even after the close of the captivity of Babylon. On the eve of that great deliverance, they were still to rejoice with trembling. Fresh sins would arise; and fresh enemies, on account of those sins, would be raised up to scourge them. Besides the time of wrath which was now almost ended, there was still a *future time*, or *latter end*, of God's indignation against them. But the Romans, from Pompey onwards, far more signally than the Caliphs in later times, have been the appointed instruments to execute the anger of God against Israel. The depression of the Jews was completed, and their degradation was most bitter and severe, before the Saracen empire arose. How unnatural, then, would it be for the prophecy to overleap the main instrument of their desolation, and to speak only of a later power, which bore a secondary part in the indignation against Israel.

Another argument, to confirm and seal all the rest, may be drawn from the orderly and progressive development of sacred prophecy, viewed as a whole. When we view the history of the world ecclesiastically, or with reference to the visible constitution of the Church of God, and the economy of redemption, the leading divisions are the Patriarchal, the Levitical, and the Gospel dispensations. These are parted from each other by two short and eventful periods, the forty years in the wilderness, from the Exodus to the entrance into Canaan, and the period of the same length from our Lord's baptism, or Crucifixion, to the fall of Jerusalem, and abolition of the whole Jewish polity. In the earlier prophets, as Moses and Isaiah, the second is commonly blended with the former desolation, and its distinct nature appears, if at all, very dimly. With the visions of Daniel a fuller revelation of the Divine counsels evidently begins. The two first, in Chaldee, reveal the political history of the world in its main outlines, or the course of the four Gentile kingdoms. The three later, in Hebrew, have plainly a closer connexion with the land of promise and the chosen people. The grand transition

from the Jewish synagogue to the Gentile church, had at that time been nowhere revealed in a chronological or definite form. It is most natural to expect that this great era of change, from the Jewish to the Gentile dispensation, would be first revealed, and then those events which subdivide the new dispensation thereupon to succeed, and which were to last for ages. This law of natural propriety, if we accept the application of the Little Horn to the Romans, has been fully observed; if we apply the emblem to Mahomet and his successors, it will have been completely violated. The prophet will have been hurried into the midway changes of the Gentile dispensation, before any hint of the Jewish desolation, and the total change of the Church's visible economy, has been given.

It may be replied, it is true, that the Papacy, an ecclesiastical power almost as modern as the Saracen empire, has been already predicted in the former vision. But the answer to this remark is plain. The main aspect of both the former visions is that of political history. The Little Horn appears there, chiefly as the distinctive political mark of a later stage in the course of the fourth empire. Though spiritual features appear, the political features predominate in the description. Here, on the contrary, the sacrifices, the temple, and the chosen people, are the express object of the vision, and those from which it derives its name. And therefore, so far as we can safely argue from the laws of symmetry, we may infer that ecclesiastical changes in the times of the Gospel would not be predicted, till that grand and decisive revolution had been first announced, by which the whole Jewish polity would be overthrown, and a fresh dispensation opened, to run parallel with the ruin of the holy sanctuary of God.

There are still one or two further difficulties to be removed, before the mind can rest with full and entire confidence in the truth of this interpretation. How can the same power be denoted by the fourth beast, and by a little horn of the he-goat? Or how can the one empire

of Rome, a single and compacted dominion, be parted into two powers, and described by two such different emblems? Is it not harsh and incongruous to separate the provinces of Rome which lay within the range of Macedonian kingdoms, and then to style this fragment a little horn?

The first objection applies just as powerfully to the other exposition, which refers the emblem to the Mahometan power. The spiritual domain of the Arabian prophet reached far beyond the limits of the Greek empire. Its birthplace lay beyond them, in Arabia. Its conquests were far wider, including Libya, Mauritania, and Spain, in the West, and the Babylonian, Persian, and Indian provinces, in the East. A difficulty which applies with greater force to this modern exposition, can never be a reason why the emblem should be referred to the Mahometan, rather than to the Roman power.

Again, the difficulty has its main source in the complexity of the actual changes, and in the nature of the events themselves. The Roman dominion in the East had two principal stages, one before, and the other after, the division of the Empire. Now the emblem which describes one of these stages will appear imperfect when applied to the other. Yet still the dominion itself, in all its main features, was one and the same, both before and after that separation.

There are three facts, also, which remove the apparent harshness, and justify the use of a distinct emblem, like the little horn of the he-goat, to describe this Eastern dominion of Rome. And first, out of the sixteen centuries from Æmilius Paulus, who subdued Persius, to Constantine Palæologus, there are not less than eleven in which the Græco-Roman Empire was evidently a distinct and separate power. The longer continuance of this separate state would be a reason why the emblem might be adapted to the later form, rather than to the other period, when the whole Empire seemed one united body.

Again, even during the four centuries from Pompey, who completed these Eastern conquests, to Valens, when the Empire was divided, the distinction, though less apparent, was deep and real. The separation afterwards could not have been so decisive and lasting, unless the rent had previously existed. An extract from Gibbon will bear witness to this fact, and thus will serve to vindicate the propriety of the explanation here offered.

‘ The ancient dialects of Italy, the Sabine, the Etruscan, and the Venetian, sank into oblivion ; but, in the provinces, the East was less docile than the West, to the voice of its victorious preceptors. This obvious difference marked the two portions of the Empire with a distinction of colours which, though it was in some degree concealed during the meridian splendour of prosperity, became gradually more visible, as the shades of night descended on the Roman world. The western countries were civilized by the same hands that subdued them. The language of Virgil and Cicero, though with some inevitable mixture of corruption, was so universally adopted in Africa, Spain, Gaul, Britain, and Pannonia, that the faint traces of the Punic or Celtic idioms, were preserved only in the mountains, or among peasants. Education and study insensibly inspired the natives of those countries with the sentiments of Romans, and Italy gave fashions as well as laws, to her Latin provinces. The situation of the Greeks was very different from that of the Barbarians. The former had long since been civilized and corrupted. They had too much taste to relinquish their language, and too much vanity to adopt any foreign institution. Still preserving the prejudices, after they had lost the virtues, of their ancestors, they affected to despise the unpolished manners of their Roman conquerors, while they were compelled to respect their superior wisdom and power. Nor was the influence of the Grecian language and sentiments confined to that once celebrated country. Their empire, by the progress of colonies and conquest, had been diffused from the Hadriatic to the Euphrates and

the Nile. Asia was covered with Greek cities, and the long reign of the Macedonian kings had introduced a silent revolution into Syria and Egypt. Such was the general division of the Roman Empire, into the Latin and Greek languages.'

The distinction, therefore, between the Eastern and Western Empire of Rome, was a deep historical fact, even before it appeared outwardly in their visible separation. This will help further to explain why a separate emblem might be used for that Roman power in the East, which was a foreign graft upon the Grecian Empire.

This union also of the little horn with some other power, from which its strength is derived, is intimated in the vision itself. It was to be mighty, but not by its own power. Its political strength, in the era of its triumphs, would be derived from a foreign source, beyond its own proper and immediate sphere. No other explanation of the phrase appears more simple and natural than this, which Sir Isaac Newton has proposed, in accordance with his own interpretation.

One further objection may still be raised. The little horn was to be "broken without hand." This is often explained to denote a miraculous overthrow, and the absence of all human agents, or at least, of the conscious efforts of man. How can this be reconciled with the fall of the Eastern Empire, which was the direct result of a Turkish invasion?

This objection lies equally against the other exposition. Prophecy, combined with Providence, seems to imply that the fall of the Mahometan power will be gradual, not miraculous, a silent wasting and decay. But the phrase, when examined closely, seems to require a different explanation. The words really mean 'in defectu roboris,' in the failure of hands. They denote, not a miraculous overthrow by supernatural power, but a helpless fall, where there is no human deliverer to avert the blow. The phrase answers exactly to the words of the last vision—"He shall come to his

end, and none shall help him." Such is the constant sense of the word in other passages, confirmed here also by several of the best versions. Thus the sole remaining difficulty is removed. No power ever more signally answered the words of the prediction, in the manner of its fall, than the Eastern Empire. The help of saints in heaven, and kings and republics upon earth, of its own subjects, and of the Western powers, though implored with sedulous prayers and entreaties, all failed in the day of its calamity. Utter helplessness was the feature most conspicuous in the history of its ruin ; and even those whom its overthrow filled with terror, refused to lend it their aid in the hour of its judgment.

Such appears to be the result of a careful enquiry into the nature of the emblem, and the scope of the whole vision. The Little Horn, in a lower and precursive sense, was fulfilled in the history of Antiochus, and gave warning to the Jews, in the time of the Maccabees, of the cruelty and profaneness of that Syrian king. In its full and proper sense, it denotes the power of Rome, grafted upon the Grecian Empire, which by stealthy and gradual steps obtained dominion over the whole ; a power, which arose in the latter time of the Macedonian kingdoms, stretched its dominion southward to Egypt, eastward toward the Tigris, and towards the land of Israel, cast down the sanctuary of God, and prospered for ages in persecution of the truth ; till at length, wasted away by the mighty hand of God, it sank in utter and helpless ruin. It remains now to trace out, from the page of history, the details of the fulfilment, and thus to confirm, still further, the justice of the interpretation.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE EASTERN EMPIRE OF ROME.

DAN. VIII. 9—12.—AND OUT OF ONE OF THEM CAME FORTH A LITTLE HORN, WHICH WAXED EXCEEDING GREAT, TOWARD THE SOUTH, AND TOWARD THE EAST, AND TOWARD THE PLEASANT LAND. AND IT WAXED GREAT, EVEN TO THE HOST OF HEAVEN; AND IT CAST DOWN SOME OF THE HOST AND OF THE STARS TO THE GROUND, AND STAMPED UPON THEM. YEA, HE MAGNIFIED HIMSELF EVEN TO THE PRINCE OF THE HOST, AND BY HIM THE DAILY SACRIFICE WAS TAKEN AWAY, AND THE PLACE OF HIS SANCTUARY WAS CAST DOWN. AND AN HOST WAS GIVEN HIM AGAINST THE DAILY SACRIFICE BY REASON OF TRANSGRESSION, AND IT CAST DOWN THE TRUTH TO THE GROUND; AND IT PRACTISED AND PROSPERED.

23—25.—AND IN THE LATTER TIME OF THEIR KINGDOM, WHEN THE TRANSGRESSORS ARE COME TO THE FULL, A KING OF FIERCE COUNTENANCE, AND UNDERSTANDING DARK SENTENCES, SHALL STAND UP. AND HIS POWER SHALL BE MIGHTY, BUT NOT BY HIS OWN POWER: AND HE SHALL DESTROY WONDERFULLY, AND SHALL PROSPER, AND PRACTISE, AND SHALL DESTROY THE MIGHTY AND THE HOLY PEOPLE. AND THROUGH HIS POLICY ALSO HE SHALL CAUSE CRAFT TO PROSPER IN HIS HAND; AND HE SHALL MAGNIFY HIMSELF IN HIS HEART, AND BY PEACE SHALL DESTROY MANY: HE SHALL ALSO STAND UP AGAINST THE PRINCE OF PRINCES; BUT HE SHALL BE BROKEN WITHOUT HAND.

THE Little Horn of the He Goat, as I have now shewn, has a precursive and subordinate application to Antiochus, confirmed by the fact that the Jews were comforted and sustained by it under his severe persecutions; but it has its true and proper fulfilment in the Eastern dominion of Rome. This view will be established more fully, by a direct appeal to the events of Roman history. The importance of the emblem, and the different interpretation adopted by several able expositors, will require a double fulness of historical

evidence, to complete the proof that this prophecy has indeed been fulfilled in the Roman power, and in that alone. The Inquiry of Dr. Zouch, who has maintained this view with much learning, will supply part of the materials, and further evidence be derived from original authorities. Instead of attempting a full and unbroken outline of the Roman conquests, it will be more convenient to compare each separate clause of the prediction with some of the facts by which they have been fulfilled.

I. The Little Horn, in the first place, was to arise out of one of the divided Macedonian kingdoms, and in the latter end of their dominion. There is thus a double mark, of place and of time, to fix the application. The word here translated, *the latter time*, occurs in sixty-one passages, and in fifty of these it is a mark of time. It also requires or admits the same sense in every instance, namely, the closing part of the season or period to which it is referred. No other meaning therefore, is admissible in this passage. This one mark excludes every power but Antiochus or the Romans from being the true fulfilment of the emblem.

After the death of Lysimachus, the four divided kingdoms had merged into three, by the union of the eastern and northern divisions. Of these three, Syria and Egypt, as we have seen already, have their wars and alliances fully predicted in the eleventh chapter. The Macedonian horn, however, was first in order of time, and gave name to the whole monarchy of the he-goat. It was from this first or primary horn that the Roman power arose. Through Greece the ambitious republic began its inroads on the whole territory of the East.

The first entrance of the Romans among the Grecian states, like the modern conquest of Algeria, was occasioned by the robberies of pirates. 'The Illyrians had become of late a considerable nation, and were a party in the quarrels of the Macedonians and Greeks. Having convenient harbours, they carried on a piratical war with most of their neighbours, and in particular, com-

mitted depredations on the traders of Italy, which it concerned the Romans, as sovereigns of the country, to prevent. They accordingly sent deputies to complain of these practices, to demand reparation for past injuries, and security from such attempts for the future. The Illyrians were then under the government of Teuta, the widow of the late king, and guardian for her son. She answered, that in her kingdom no public commission had ever been granted to make war on the Italians; but that the sea being open, no one could answer for what was transacted there, and that it was not the custom of kings to debar their subjects from what they could seize by their valour. To this one of the deputies replied, that his country was ever governed by different maxims, that they restrained the crimes of private persons by the authority of the State, and should in this case find a way to reform the practice of kings. The queen was incensed, and resenting his words as an insult to herself, gave orders to waylay and assassinate the deputy on his return to Rome.'

'In revenge for this barbarous outrage and former injuries, the Romans made war on the queen of Illyricum, (A. C. 219.) obliged her to make reparation for the injury done by her traders, to evacuate all the towns on the coast, to restrain her subjects in the use of armed ships, and to forbid them to navigate the Italian sea with more than two vessels in company.

'Being desirous of having their conduct in this matter approved of by the nations of that continent, they sent a copy of the treaty, with an exposition of the motives which induced them to cross the Hadriatic, to be read in the assembly of the Achæan league. They soon after made a like communication at Athens, and at Corinth; where, in consideration of their services against the Illyrians, then reputed the common enemies of civilized nations, they had an honorary place assigned them at the Isthmian games; and in this manner made their first appearance in the councils of Greece.' (Ferg. Rom. Rep.)

Here we see the first and feeble step in the germination of the little horn, this new graft on the Greek or Macedonian kingdom. It consisted in a few towns on the coast of Illyricum, and an honorary place at the Isthmian games. Eleven years later (A. C. 201) the Ætoliæ, when they met Philip and the Achæans at Rhuim, said that war could not be hindered, 'unless the Achæans restored Pylos to the Messenians, and Atintania, (a small district of Illyricum) were restored to the Romans, and the Ardyæans to Scordilædus and Pleuratus.' (Liv. xxvii. 30.) Thus we see how insignificant was the place the Romans now held, yet still a place, in the Greek confederation. The little horn was exceeding small; and no suspicion of its portentous growth within fifty years seems to have haunted the wise Athenians, or the valiant Achæans, when they hailed the passage of the Romans beyond the Adriatic with such marks of joy.

During the next forty years the germination of this new power amidst the territory of the Macedonian kingdom went on, with a gradual, but sure and steady progress. A few brief extracts from the *Fasti Hellenici* will be enough to shew the steps of its growth and advancement.

A. C. 215. Treaty of Philip with Hannibal.

A. C. 213. "In this summer the war with Philip was agitated. The death of Aratus."

A. C. 211. "A treaty with the Ætoliæ (Liv. xxvi. 24.) after the surrender of Capua: Their defection was announced to Philip while he wintered at Pella." c. 25.

A. C. 208. "This summer Philip succoured the Achæans. As he was coming down into Greece, the Ætoliæ met him at Lamea, under Pyrrheas. They had also auxiliaries from Attalus, and one thousand troops sent by Sulpitius from the Roman fleet. After the campaign Attalus and Sulpitius wintered at Ægina."

A. C. 207. In the beginning of the summer, Attalus and Sulpitius passed to Lemnos. They take Oreum. When they were consulting about putting an end to the war, the legates of Ptolemy and the Rhodians were present. (xxviii. 7.)

A. C. 205. "Sempronius named the conditions of peace, that the Parthinians, Dimallum, Bargullum and Eugenium should

belong to the Romans. Atintania should be yielded to Macedon, if Philip on sending legates, should procure the assent of the senate. When peace was made on these terms, on the part of the king, there subscribed to the treaty, Prusias, king of Bithynia, the Achæans, Bœotians, Thessalians, Acarnanians and Epirots; on that of the Romans, the people of Ilium, king Attalus, Pleuratus, Nabis, the Eleans, Messenians and Athenians. A truce was made for two months, till the treaty should be confirmed by the people."

A. C. 200. "War was renewed with king Philip. Sulpitius wintered at Apollonia."

A. C. 199. "The Ætolians, and Damocritus their prætor, are reconciled to the Romans." The next year "Flamininus besieges Elatia, and forms a league with the Achæans. In the winter a truce for two months. Philip makes an alliance with Nabis. Antiochus the Great conquers Cœle Syria.

A. C. 197. Battle of Cynoscephalæ. "Truce of four months, and then a peace."

'The Romans had passed into the country as the protectors of Athens, and were now satisfied with the title of Deliverers of Greece; and, under pretence of setting the republics of that quarter free, detached them from the Macedonian monarchy.

'They obliged the king to withdraw his garrisons from every fortress in Greece, and to leave every Grecian city to the enjoyment of its own laws. To secure the effects of the treaty, they obliged him to surrender all his ships of war, except one galley. They made him reduce his ordinary force to five hundred men, and forbade him the use of elephants. By this treaty the Romans not only weakened their enemy, but acquired great accessions of reputation and confidence. They announced themselves the protectors of all free nations; and in this character took an ascendant, which by degrees might rise into sovereignty and formal dominion. To give the greater solemnity to the gift of liberty, they had this act of munificence proclaimed at the Isthmian games at Corinth; and in return, were extolled by the flatterers of their power, or the dupes of their policy, as the common restorers of freedom to mankind. Under pretence of observing the motions of Antiochus, the

Romans, although they had professed an intention to evacuate the Greek cities, still kept possession of Demetrius, a convenient sea-port in Thessaly, and of Chalcis in Eubæa ; and Flamininus, under the pretext of restraining the violence of Nabis, tyrant of Lacedæmon, still remained with an army in the Peloponnesus.'

A. C. 196. Greece declared free by Titus Quinctius at the Isthmian games (Liv. xxxiii. 2. Pol. xviii. 27, 29.) The next year the senate decree war against Nabis. Peace granted to the tyrant. Liberation of Argos, publicly proclaimed at the Nemæan games.

A. C. 192. Antiochus in Greece ; he occupies Chalcis. Next year, Acilius the consul defeats Antiochus, at Thermopylæ. The king winters in Phrygia.

A. C. 190. Scipio in Asia. Defeat of Antiochus. Eumenes, the king of Pergamos, and the republic of Rhodes, who had distinguished themselves by zeal in the war, were the chief gainers in the treaty. "The Greek cities tributary to Eumenes were to continue so, but those which had been tributary to Antiochus were set free."

A. C. 189. Fulvius besieges Ambracia, and grants peace to the Ætolians on their submission. The next year disputes occur between the Lacedæmonians and Achæans. "This tumult brought the consul into the Peloponnesus. At his bidding a council was called at Elis, and the Lacedæmonians were invited to plead their cause. Then there arose a great altercation, to which the consul put an end by one simple command, that they should abstain from war, until they had sent legates to the senate at Rome."

A. C. 187, Achæan embassies to Rome and Egypt.

A. C. 172. Eumenes and Attalus come to Rome. Preparations for war with Perseus.

A. C. 168. The battle of Pydna, June 22. Overthrow of the Macedonian kingdom. The Illyrian war ended in thirty days.

The next year, Æmilius makes a progress through Greece, and settles the affairs of Macedonia ; and after the destruction of seventy towns in Epirus, returns into Italy. More than a thousand of the principal Achæans sent to Rome. Embassy of the Rhodians.

These extracts, though brief, exhibit the ceaseless course of Roman encroachments in Greece and Asia, and the pleas of friendship and alliance under which they were perpetually carried on. At first they were

content with a few sea-coast towns of Illyricum, of little note—'Dimallum, Bargulum, and Eugenium'—and a seat of honour in the public games. But very soon they wielded the whole power of Greece and Macedonia; and exalted or deposed, exiled or restored, both kings and people at their own pleasure.

This Little Horn waxed great towards the south, and towards the east, and toward the pleasant delight, or temple of Jerusalem. A few extracts, as before, will illustrate this further progress.

A. C. 157. Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, comes to Rome. "Having been driven from his kingdom by the policy and forces of Demetrius, king of Syria, he was afterwards restored by the senate."

A. C. 144. Embassy of Scipio Africanus into Egypt.

A. C. 131. War with Aristonicus in Asia. "Aristonicus, after the death of Attalus Philometor, went into the midland region, and gathered quickly a multitude of slaves and needy men. He did not however continue long, but soon the cities sent a force against him, and Nicomedes the Bithynian succoured them, and the Cappadocian kings. Then there came five legates of the Romans, and after these an army, and the consul Publius Crassus; and after this Marcus Perperna, who ended the war and took Aristonicus prisoner. Then Manius Acilius coming with ten legates, arranged the province under its present form." (Strabo xiv. p. 646.)

A. C. 96. Ptolemy, king of Cyrene, dies, and leaves the Roman senate his heir.

A. C. 92. Sylla is sent to Cappadocia, and receives the ambassadors of Arsaces, king of Parthia; the first public transaction between Rome and the Parthians.

A. C. 88. Mithridates seizes upon Asia.

A. C. 86. Athens is stormed by Sylla.

A. C. 84. "Sylla, having quickly ended the war with Mithridates, and in less than three years slain 160,000 men, returned, after recovering to the Romans, Greece and Macedonia, Ionia and Asia, and many other tribes, on which Mithridates had seized." (App. Av. i. 76.)

A. C. 75. Servilius subdues the Isaurians. The next year Nicomedes, king of Bithynia dies, and makes the Roman people his heir.

A. C. 69. Lucullus passes the Euphrates; Siege of Tigranocerta. Defeat of Tigranes. Lucullus takes Tigranocerta. Next year he

besieges Nisibis, and "using every mode of attack, in a short time he takes the city." Quintus Metellus conducts the war in Crete.

A. C. 66. Pompey ends the Mithridatic war. He defeats Mithridates, and Tigranes surrenders. He winters on the banks of the Cynus.

A. C. 64. Pompey winters in Syria. Next year Mithridates dies, and Jerusalem is taken by Pompey, after a siege of three months. "Cneius Pompey vanquished the Jews and took their temple in Jerusalem, which till that time was inviolate. (Liv. Ep. 102.)" The birth of Augustus.

Thus exactly did the progress of the Romans answer to the words of the vision. They waxed exceeding great toward the south, in Cyrene and Egypt, towards the east, on the banks of the Euphrates and to the walls of Nisibis, and toward the pleasant delight, or the holy and once inviolable temple at Jerusalem. Engrafting themselves, by stealth and crafty policy, on the stock of the Grecian commonwealth, or the first of the divided horns of the he-goat, they gradually rose to a power even greater than that of Cyrus and Alexander themselves. The gradation in the prophecy is observable. The ram became great; and the he-goat, after his victories, waxed very great; but the Little Horn, with an emphasis still higher, is said to have waxed exceeding great. The empire of Cyrus was surpassed in extent by that of Alexander; and the Macedonian, in his turn, yielded the palm to the superior energy, firmness, and deep-rooted greatness of the Roman conquerors, who engrafted a new dominion on the old stock of the Grecian states and institutions.

II. The Little Horn was to be "a king of fierce countenance." Long before the time of Daniel, the Holy Spirit, by Moses, had given the same prophetic character of the Romans, as "a nation of a fierce countenance." Deut. xxxiii. 50. The remarks of Dr. Zouch on this feature of the Roman character seem scarcely to require any addition.

'This great nation could not have been more happily described. Their fortitude, or rather ferocity of temper,

seems to have distinguished them from every other people. The countenance is not unfrequently the index of the heart. A people of fierce countenance implies an austere and resolute temper. Sprung originally from a wild rabble of robbers and assassins, they commenced their empire with acts of rapine and violence. The success of their arms was enforced by the severity of discipline, and their internal safety confirmed by the authority of the censors, which Valerius calls 'the censorial brow' (*ensorium supercilium*). A Roman consul, preceded by twelve lictors, with rods and axes, the instruments of severe justice, may well be termed a king of fierce countenance.'

'The Roman virtue has ever been exhibited to our view as rigid and untractable, and graced with no alluring charms. A Roman hero is scarce ever susceptible of tenderness and compassion. All commiseration is extinguished in the love of his country, and the lust of acquiring universal empire.'

'The valour of Horatius Cocles has been the subject of general encomium. This illustrious soldier sustained singly the attacks of a victorious army, eager to enter the gates of Rome. How striking is the language of the historian. "Rolling his fierce eyes on every side upon the Etrurian chiefs, now he challenged them one by one, now he reproached all of them together."

'Nor was the ardour of Scævola less applauded, when, disappointed in his purpose of destroying Porsena, with an undaunted aspect he thrust his right hand into the fire which was burning on the altar.

'Appius Claudius, when brought to trial, discovered an equal firmness. He changed neither his dress, nor his language, nor his looks. "*Idem habitus oris, eadem contumacia in vultu; adeo ut magna pars plebis Appium non minus reum timeret quam consulem timuerat.*"

'A war broke out, A.U.C. 412, between the Romans and the Samnites. After a long engagement, the latter were defeated. This they attributed to the fierce looks of the Romans. 'The Samnites being asked, What

cause impelled them to flee? answered, That the eyes of the Romans seemed to them to burn, their countenances maddened, and their aspect full of rage, whence more terror had come upon them than from any other cause.* ‘Can a people of fierce countenance be more graphically delineated than in these words?’

‘After the defeat of the Roman army on the Allia, Brennus, the leader of the Gauls, marched with his troops to Rome. They found it abandoned by almost all its inhabitants. Advancing into the Forum, they were seized with astonishment and reverence at the sight of the aged senators, seated on their curule chairs, and dressed in their pontifical, consular, and triumphal robes. As if ready to worship, they beheld the heroes in the vestibule of the temple, besides a more than human dignity in their habits and dress, like gods, in the grave majesty which they bore on their countenance.’

A Cimbrian soldier, who undertook to put Marius to death, oiled awe-struck from his countenance. The story is beautifully related in Plutarch. The lustre of Marius’ eyes, naturally vivid, now kindling into lightning (*φλογα*) by his emotion, while he exclaimed,—Darest thou kill Caius Marius?—and glaring with greater effect in a dungeon, frightened the barbarian so much, that he thought he saw and heard a god.

The same Marius, when sinking under the weight of years, came to Cinna’s camp. He walked slowly, and like a man oppressed with misfortunes. But, through the disguise of that doleful countenance, something so fierce was discerned in his visage, that he moved terror rather than compassion. (Vertot II. 199.)

‘Plutarch thus describes Coriolanus. ‘For he was (as Cato requires a soldier to be) dreadful to meet, not only for the strokes of his hand, but in the tone of his voice, and the look of his countenance.’

‘The rigid virtue of Cato of Utica is almost proverbial.

* Liv. viii. 3. “Oculos sibi Romanorum ardere visos, vesanosque vultus, et furentia ora; inde plus quam ex alia terroris ortum.”

His countenance, like his mind, was rough and turbulent. Thus Horace speaks of him. 'But if one, with fierce countenance, and naked foot and scanty gown, should copy Cato, would he represent Cato's virtue and manners?' The fierce looks of Catiline are noticed by Sallust. He died, as he had lived, 'retaining in his looks the fierceness of his mind, which he had while alive.' So Florus describes some of the Roman soldiers, 'Omnium in manibus enses, et relictæ in vultibus minæ.' Their swords were still in all their hands; and the threats still survived in their countenances.'

'Horace, in several places, has drawn this national portrait of the Roman soldiery.—"The countenance of the Marsian foot-soldier, fierce against the bloody enemy."'

'When C. Popilius Lænas, the Roman legate, met Antiochus Epiphanes, the stern dignity with which he demanded an immediate answer, covered the king with confusion. 'Senatus faciem attulerat Popilius, auctoritatem republicæ. Non legatum locutum, sed ipsum curiam ante oculos positam videres.' Popilius had brought the countenance of the senate, the authority of the state. It seemed that it was not a legate that spoke, but the senate that stood before his eyes.

'The Macedonian nobility were entertained by Æmilius the conqueror of their king, and expressed their surprise at his politeness. He answered, "That it belonged to the same character to preside well over a battle array and a feast; to make the one as dreadful as possible to the enemies, and the other as pleasant as possible to the guests."'

Thus it appears that the various incidents of Roman history, when combined with the broader outlines of their national conduct, and the pride and fierceness so often manifested towards their foes and allies, prove abundantly the justice of the prophetic description, as applied to this nation. Their grand distinction, in the sight of all other people, was their military fierce-

ness, and even their national physiognomy bore the deep marks of this unbending and stern severity.

III. The predicted king is described by a further mark, "understanding dark sentences." The word has been sometimes explained in its active sense, "teaching dark sentences." But the common version is much more agreeable so the usage of Scripture, as there is hardly one passage in five where this participle has a causative meaning. Here the whole context shows that it refers to subtle policy, the crafty intrigue of clever, but unscrupulous statesmen. This feature was eminently seen in the whole history of the Romans, and is marked by all the best historians. Thus one of them describes their policy in these words. 'It was their maxim to spare the obsequious, and to crush the proud; an artful profession, by which, under the pretence of generosity or magnanimity, they stated themselves to be the sovereign nation. Under this presumptuous maxim their friendship was to be obtained by submission alone; and was fatal, no less than their enmity, to those who embraced it. The title of ally was, for the most part, no more than a specious name, under which they disguised their dominion, and availed themselves of the strength and resources of other nations, with the least possible alarm to their jealousy.' (Ferg. Rep. I. 3. p. 85.)

'The Romans were in general the umpires in the differences of nations, gave audience in all their complaints, and interposed with their forces as well as their authority. They kept a vigilant eye on the conduct and policy of all the different powers with which they were at any time likely to be embroiled. Their commissioners took informations, formed plans, and made their reports for the final decision of the senate. The senate itself, though, from its numbers, and the emulation of its members, likely to embarrass affairs by debate, delay, and the rash publication of all its designs, in reality possessed all the advantages of decision, secrecy, and dispatch. This numerous assembly appear

to have maintained, for a long period, one series of uniform and consistent designs, and kept their intentions so secret, that they were known, for the most part, only by their execution. The king of Pergamus made a journey to Rome, to excite the Romans to a war with his rival, the king of Macedon. He preferred his complaints to the senate, and prevailed on that body to resolve on the war, but no part of the transaction was public, until after the king of Macedon was a prisoner at Rome.'

'During the respite from war, the Romans balanced the kingdoms of Pergamus, Bithynia, and Cappadocia against each other, in such a manner as to be able, at pleasure, to oppress any of those powers that should be formidable to their interest. They made the kingdom of Syria devolve on a minor, the son of Antiochus, and under pretence of this minority, sent a legate to take charge of the kingdom.'

'Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, who ought to have succeeded his father in the monarchy of Syria, being then an hostage at Rome, had been supplanted by his younger brother, the father of the minor who was now acknowledged by the Romans. Upon an insult being offered to their commissioner at Antioch, Demetrius urged his claim on the senate; but these crafty usurpers, notwithstanding the offence they had received, preferred their advantage with a minor king, to the precarious interest or gratitude of an active and spirited prince, and accordingly denied his request.'

'As patrons of the kingdom of Egypt, they promoted the division of that country between the two brothers, who shared its sovereignty, and were rivals for the sole possession of the throne.'

'As the Achæan league was dissolved on having incurred the resentment of the Romans, so the unhappy remnant of the Spartan republic perished in having accepted their protection. The enmity or friendship of the Romans being equally fatal, these and every other state of Greece, from this time forward, ceased to be

numbered among nations ; having fallen the prey to a power, whose force nothing could equal, but the ability and cunning by which it was exerted. Such is the comment we are tempted to make on the policy with which, about fifty years earlier, Flaminius, to detach the Grecian cities from Philip, proclaimed with so much ostentation, at the Isthmus at Corinth, their independence and the free exercise of their own laws. That people, when they meant to ingratiate themselves, surpassed every state in generosity to their allies. They thus gained entire confidence, and taught nations, otherwise able to maintain their own independence, to rely on that very power from which they had most to fear for their liberty ; and in the end, under some pretence of ingratitude or affront, stripped of every right those very states which had most plentifully shared in their bounty.' (Ferg. ii. 1. p. 273.)

The phrase then of the text, "understanding dark sentences," alludes, as it has been justly observed, to 'their sagacity in discovering the designs of their enemies, and their detection of the parties and interests that prevailed in the councils of different princes ; in short, their consummate skill in the intricacies of political intrigue. This extensive power was not derived from accidental conquests, or the impulse of momentary ambition ; it must be attributed to a cautious foresight, a vigour of mind, and a firmness of design, which made them superior to all difficulty and danger. The contrivances of crafty statesmen may very justly be called enigmas, or dark sentences. In the art of unravelling their covert machinations consisted that peculiar address, which formed one part of the character of the Roman people. With eagle glance they penetrated the views of ambitious monarchs, and thus secured to themselves the empire of the world. Their arms were victorious, but their victories were ensured only by the prudence with which they conducted themselves on every occasion. This policy acquired them influence even in countries where they possessed no real power.'

But the phrase will also apply, with almost equal propriety, to the assiduous culture of the arts of divination by the Roman state. Perhaps in no country was so high an importance ever attached to this pretended science, which was formally enrolled, by the College of Augurs, among their foremost national institutions. 'A class of men was set apart among them, whose chief employment was to excel in that art, which boasts to ascertain *a priori*, the good or bad success of any designs. No election of officers, no military enterprize, was undertaken without a strict and rigid observance of various rites, derived from Etruria. In vain were wise men chosen to fill the departments of government ; in vain did the General form in his tent a noble plan, unless the Haruspex, or Augur, pronounced a happy concurrence of favourable omens. Well might they be said to understand dark sentences, who could translate the growl of thunder, or the croaking of a raven, into intelligible language, and interpret the meaning of a chicken, when he pecked his corn in this or that manner, or refused to eat at all. . . . When the very being of a nation seems to depend upon such a science, as was the case at Rome, the people pretending to consummate skill in this science may be declared to *understand dark sentences*. It was among the Romans chiefly that matters of the greatest importance depended on them.'

'Cicero has remarked that the Romans surpassed all other nations in piety and religion. But what was this religion ? Chiefly, their attention to the occult science of divination, to omens, prodigies, spectres, dreams, visions, auguries, and oracles. Sometimes this was childishly ridiculous, as when a Dictator was named for the sole purpose of driving a nail into a post ; sometimes madly expensive ; as when they decreed a *ver sacrum*, or devoted to the altar the entire produce of their flocks for a whole season. At others, it was inhumanly cruel. Thus on the report of a prophecy that the Greeks and Gauls were to possess the city, they buried alive a man and woman of each of these nations

in the Forum Boarium, as if by this barbarous act they could accomplish or elude the prediction.'

'No less singular was the reverence paid to the Sibylline oracles. These enigmatical books, if we may believe Cicero, were composed with such dextrous artifice, that, however the event terminated, the prediction might seem to be accomplished. The magistrates to whose care they were consigned affected an extraordinary degree of wisdom in their explication. These dark oracles were often accommodated to serve political designs. They were preserved with religious solicitude, and carefully consulted in times of danger; nor did their authority cease before the end of the fourth century.'

Thus, in whatever sense we explain the words, whether as denoting the acuteness with which the Romans conducted their politics, or the skill which they pretended to have in exploring the events of futurity, they may emphatically be styled, a people understanding dark sentences.' (Zouch. i. p. 100—119.)

It may be objected perhaps, to the latter construction of the phrase, that this pretended science was false and ambiguous, and a proof rather of the weakness than the depth, of the Roman understanding. But the objection has no real force. However absurd, in the abstract, these pretended arts of divination, in the hands of the Roman senate and leaders they were builded up into a deep and subtle engine of state policy, by which they could work mightily upon the citizens and soldiery. They were the powerful cement of superstition, by which they bound together the fabric of ambitious greatness. The very absurdity of the system, when tested by abstract truth alone, may only increase its graphic power, as a counterpart of the prophetic description. It was in truth a more various, refined, complicated, solemn scheme of state jugglery than has almost ever been witnessed in the history of the world.

IV. The Little Horn, it is further prophesied, would be mighty, but not by his own power. These words will admit of several interpretations; but in every

sense which they can naturally bear, they are fulfilled in the Eastern conquests of Rome.

And first, the words may denote conquests obtained by the help of allies, in contrast to those which are the result of a nation's own efforts, without foreign support. Such was the case remarkably in all the Eastern progress of the Romans. They vanquished Philip of Macedon by the aid of the Ætolians and Rhodians. They defeated Antiochus and the Ætolians, by the alliance of Philip, of the Rhodians, and the Achæans. Eumenes, king of Pergamus, and the Rhodians, as well as Philip, befriended them in their first invasion of Asia Minor. Their victories over Mithridates were also procured by the help of Asiatic allies. 'Caius Longinus, Manius Aquillius, and Caius Oppius were, in different characters, stationed in the province of Asia, and took under their protection every power that was likely to oppose the progress of Mithridates. Thus Montesquieu remarks, that 'they made soldiers of the several people they conquered, and considered the vanquished only as so many instruments of future triumph.' The army of Vespasian and Titus, by which Jerusalem was overthrown, was composed mainly of auxiliary troops, from Greece, Syria, Egypt and Arabia.

But the words may be explained in another sense. The Eastern power of Rome was a foreign graft on the old stock of the Grecian monarchies. This Eastern kingdom was distinct from the Latin Empire in its language, habits, institutions, and whole historical being. It was a mighty dominion, but not by its own power. So long as its connexion remained firm with the provinces of the West, the Roman horn in Asia and Greece continued strong and mighty. When that connexion was severed, and the Eastern Empire was left to its own resources, it began to decline, with a steady and sure progress of decay. Its vast dominion dwindled at length into one solitary and beleaguered city, and it sank, a helpless victim, beneath the hand of the spoiler.

V. The Little Horn was to arise "when the trans-

gressors came to the full." It was to be a scourge upon national guilt, either in the four Grecian kingdoms, or in the chosen people of God. The context in the twenty-third verse seems to require the former application ; in the twelfth and thirteenth verses it clearly relates to the transgression of the Jews themselves. The prophet knew that their present captivity, the fruit of their sin, was quickly to come to an end : but the vision reveals to him a fresh course of guilt, which would bring on fresh judgments. It is a violence which the words do not allow, to refer this fulness of transgression to the Gentile Church, a body which did not exist till nearly six hundred years after the date of the prophecy, and when the sceptre of all the four kingdoms of the he-goat had passed away. That they were eminently fulfilled in the moral state of the Grecian kingdoms and of Judea, when the Romans began to prevail in the East, is proved by all the records of history.

The war of Rome with Macedon began under the reign of Philip. The personal character of that monarch is thus described by Livy, on occasion of the king's presence in Achaia. A. C. 208.

' He would, doubtless, have thereby awakened their hopes of freedom, if he had not made all things foul and hateful by his intolerable lust. For he wandered day and night with one or two companions, through married houses ; and, entering under private roofs, was the more unbridled in proportion to his condescension ; and, after offering others an empty show of liberty, turned the whole to his own personal licence. He did not even gratify all his desires by bribes and blandishments, but used force in his profligacy, and it was dangerous to husbands and parents to interpose barriers to royal lust by inconvenient severity. The wife of Aratus, a chief of the Achæans, was carried off into Macedonia, under the hope of a royal marriage. Amidst such acts of profligacy were celebrated the Nemæan games.'

The war was closed in the reign of Perseus. That king came to the throne by the murder of his own bro-

ther, the victim of his perfidious falsehood, and indeed of his father also, whose death was hastened by grief on the discovery of the crime. His character is thus described in few words, by the same historian.

‘After Perseus had obtained the kingdom of Macedonia by fraud and wickedness, his cruelty, universally hateful, towards his own countrymen, his senseless avarice amidst immense riches, and his heedless folly in forming and executing his plans, plunged him into ruin.’

The characters of Antiochus Epiphanes, in Syria, and of the later Ptolemies in Egypt, especially Ptolemy Philopator, and Ptolemy Physcon, have already been described. Of Philopator Justin tells us, (xxx. 1,) that ‘the kingdom was obtained by parricide, and to the murder of both parents he added that of his brother also.’ To complete his crime, he lived in incest with his own sister Arsinoë or Cleopatra, and afterwards, at the entreaty of the courtesan Agathoclea, put her to death.

After the deposition of Onias, on the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes, the degradation of the Jews was equally deplorable. Jason and Menelaus, his successors in the office, rivalled each other in treachery, cruelty, and profaneness. The nation at large shared very deeply in the guilt of their rulers; and their history, except for the brief period of the Maccabees, becomes a succession of revolting crimes. The transgressors, however, came completely to the full, when the gospel of Messiah was rejected, and the state fell under the Roman armies.

VI. “He shall destroy wonderfully.” ‘Rome,’ as Dr. Zouch has observed, ‘was the source of perpetual wars.’ Mithridates said of them—‘These conquerors of mankind seem to be really descendants of a wolf, such is their rapacity, such their insatiable avidity.’ Lactantius has ridiculed them for enrolling among the gods their fortunate commanders, who founded their only claim to immortality on their success in pillaging provinces and laying waste cities. ‘Forsooth the more

men they have afflicted, plundered and slain, the more noble and renowned they deem themselves. He who has slain innumerable thousands, flooded plains, and polluted rivers with blood, is admitted, not only to the temples, but to the skies.'

'Their cruelty excites our indignation. According to Polybius, when they took a city by storm, they massacred all the inhabitants, without regard to age, sex, or condition ; and extended their resentment to the brutes themselves. The law which permitted a triumph was singularly cruel. It was enacted that no one should triumph, who had not slain five thousand in one battle. (Val. Max. II. viii. 1.) The dreadful carnage which followed their odious proscriptions, the savage slaughter of their noblest and most virtuous citizens, can inspire no other sentiments than those of horror and aversion.'

The words in the vision appear, however, to refer chiefly to military conquest, and the destruction of social independence and liberty, even more than of human life. In this view, they were fully verified in the eastern progress of Rome. Never, in the history of the world, was there a career of conquest, so steadfast, so long continued, and so complete. One state after another sunk beneath the victorious ascendant of Rome, till the infant colony on the banks of the Tiber had extended its reign to the Euphrates, the Tigris, and the Nile. And these conquests were not bloodless. The carnage with which they were attended was answerable to their own greatness. In the battle with Antiochus the Great, in Asia, fifty-four thousand men are reported to have been slain, and many other victories of the Romans were attended with an equal destruction. The words especially are appropriate in the mouth of a Jewish prophet, when we remember the vast multitudes of that nation who were destroyed, from the days of Pompey to those of Adrian, by the Roman armies.

VIII. "And he shall prosper, and shall practise."

'The treaties which the Romans made with foreign nations were introduced with the words—*quod bonum,*

faustum, felixque sit populo Romano. And what nation was ever so successful? Even temporary defeats inspired them with fresh vigour. Like the fabulous hydra, they recovered their strength after the most violent attacks upon it; and though for a short time sunk in calamity, exerted their powers with redoubled efforts. They seem to have been thoroughly sensible of their own good fortune. Hence we meet with the following inscriptions on their coins—*FELICITAS IMPERII; FELICITAS ORBIS; FELICITAS POPULI ROMANI; FELICITAS PUBLICA; FELICITAS PERPETUA; ROMA FELIX; ROMA VICTRIX; ROMA ÆTERNA; ÆTERNITATI IMPERII.* And this good fortune principally attended them in their Eastern conquests. They were near five hundred years in reducing Italy; it did not cost them above half that time to subdue all the countries round the Mediterranean.

‘Plutarch has written an entire treatise on the Fortune of the Romans. Here Virtue and Fortune are said to have contended to which of them the power of the Romans should be ascribed, and the dispute is decided in favour of the latter. According to his allegory, Fortune, having abandoned the Persians and Assyrians, flew swiftly into Macedonia. She then changed her course, traversed Syria and Egypt, and thence visited Carthage; when quitting Africa, she came into Italy, crossed the Tiber, and advanced to the Palatine Hill. There she laid aside her wings, put off her sandals, and threw away her globe, as if resolved to fix her habitation in that place. The kings of Rome admired and revered her, *ᾱς πρωτοπολῑν και τιθη̄νην και φερεπολῑν της Ρω̄μη̄ς*—as the chief guardian, the nurse, and the protectress of Rome.’ Several Roman coins, now extant, have on the reverse the figure of Fortune seated, with the inscription—*FORTUNÆ MANENTI.*

But the Little Horn was to ‘practise’ also, or perform great works. ‘The splendid actions of the Romans,’ the same author justly observes, ‘have commanded the admiration of all ages. So long as the volume of history

is read, they will be viewed with astonishment. By a felicity peculiar to themselves, they are the only people recorded, in whom the odium of their cruelties is almost extinguished by the brilliancy of their achievements.'

The phrase may be referred also, without violence, to works and monuments of art, the outward signs of national industry, impressed visibly on the face of the world. In no state have these practical signs of power and greatness been so abundant as in the Roman empire. The East, no less than the countries of the West, is filled with Roman works and colonies. The structure of Herodes Atticus, as mentioned by Gibbon, are one instance out of many, that the efforts of Roman citizens rivalled the magnificence of kings. At Athens he constructed a stadium six hundred feet in length, of white marble, dedicated a theatre of unparalleled magnificence to the memory of his wife Regilla, and restored the Odeum of Pericles to its ancient beauty. Besides these, he built a temple to Neptune in the Isthmus, a theatre at Corinth, a stadium at Delphi, a bath at Thermopylæ, and an aqueduct at Canusium. 'The people of Epirus, Thessaly, Eubœa, Bœotia, and Peloponnesus, experienced his favours; and many inscriptions of the cities of Greece and Asia gratefully style Herodes their patron and benefactor.'

The same practical character extended through all the Eastern dominion of Rome. They practised as well as prospered. 'The provinces of the East,' Gibbon has observed, 'present the contrast of Roman magnificence with Turkish barbarism. The ruins of antiquity, scattered over uncultivated fields, and ascribed by ignorance to the power of magic, scarcely afford a shelter to the oppressed peasant or wandering Arab. Under the reign of the Cæsars, the proper Asia alone contained five hundred populous cities, enriched with all the gifts of nature, and adorned with all the refinements of art. Eleven cities of Asia once disputed the honour of dedicating a temple to Tiberius, and their respective claims were examined by the senate. Four of them were immediately

rejected as unequal to the burden, and among these was Laodicea, whose splendour is still displayed in its ruins. Yet it had received, a little before the contest, a legacy of above 400,000 pounds by the testament of a generous citizen. If such was the poverty of Laodicea, what must have been the wealth of those whose claim appeared preferable, and particularly of Pergamus, of Smyrna, and of Ephesus, who so long disputed for the titular primacy of Asia? All these cities were connected with each other and with the capital, by the public highways, which traversed the provinces, and were terminated only by the frontiers of the empire. They ran in a direct line from city to city, with very little respect to the obstacles of nature, and of private property. Mountains were perforated, and bold arches were thrown over the broadest and most rapid streams. Such was their solid construction, that their firmness has not entirely yielded to the effort of fifteen centuries.'

Thus, whether we consider their exploits in war, or their diligent prosecution of public works, that adorn a peaceful state, the Romans practised and prospered, beyond the example of former powers, through the whole extent of their Eastern possessions. The Little Horn, which had firmly grafted itself on the Macedonian kingdom, left deep traces on every side of its unwearied energy and triumphant success, and even centuries of misrule and Tartar desolation have been unable to obliterate these lasting memorials of the conquerors of the East.

IX. "And through his policy also he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand." These words were fully verified in the history of Roman conquests. Under the show of friendship they lulled the suspicions of bordering states, till a favourable occasion arose to bring them in subjection. 'All Asia,' said Mithridates, 'expects me as its deliverer; so great is the hatred which the rapacity of the pro-consuls, the confiscations of the revenue officers, and the quirks and cavils of the

judicial proceedings, have excited against the Romans.

‘The depredations of the provincial governors in Achaia, Lycia, Pisidia, Phrygia, Cilicia, and the islands of the Ægean sea, rendered the Roman name justly odious throughout the East. Houses, cities, and temples were pillaged; the inhabitants were stripped of their wealth, and the most exquisite works of art; their gold and silver vases of inestimable value, their statues, their gods, and the very monuments of the dead, were not spared. At one single time, five hundred statues were brought to Rome from the temple of Apollo at Delphi. If fraud and rapine ever reigned on earth, and were made to prosper, it was under the auspices of such men as Verres and Dolabella. The remark of Cicero is abundantly confirmed by history—“All people mourn; all kingdoms at length expostulate with us for our avarice and injuries. There is no place within the ocean so distant or so concealed, as that the lust and iniquity of our countrymen have not overrun it in these times.”’ (In Verr. v. Zouch. i. p. 125.)

X. *And he shall magnify himself in his heart.* This feature was eminently fulfilled in the Romans. National pride was conspicuous in every part of their public conduct.

‘Flushed with victory, her commanders saw their ambitious hopes terminated in the magnificence of a triumph. Their insolence upon these occasions was so much dreaded, that the wretched captive frequently preferred a voluntary death to the humiliation of being led in chains to adorn the procession of the conqueror. Of this we have instances in Annibal, Mithridates, and Cleopatra. Juvenal has severely censured the vain ostentation of the Roman hero (x. 34), enthroned in his triumphal car, gorgeously robed, crowned with laurel, and thus literally *magnifying himself in his heart*. Rome, as Rollin observes, had nothing more magnificent and majestic than this pompous ceremony. But the sight of the captives, the mournful objects of

compassion, if these victors had been capable of any, effaced all its lustre. What inhuman pleasure! what barbarous joy!"

'The most arrogant titles were conferred on her emperors. To the Divine Julius. To the Eternal Prince, always, everywhere to be revered, Augustus; To the Prosperous, Unconquered; Unconquerable and Perpetual, Ever August; The Restorer of the World; To the Triumphal Lord of the whole world: the Salvation of the Human Race.'

'Her poets, orators, and historians, seldom lose an opportunity of exulting in her universal empire. Thus Claudian speaks of her—

Quâ nihil in terris complectatur altius æther
 Armorum legumque parens, quæ fundit in omnes
 Imperium.

'And Martial—

Terrarum dea, gentiumque Roma
 Cui par est nihil et nihil secundum.

'Her citizens held themselves equal to kings and princes. They confounded their dominion with the extent of the earth. Cicero terms her—the home of virtue, of empire, of dignity, the abode of glory, the light of the whole world. By one of her historians she is called, the city destined for the habitation of gods and men. So Eumenes, king of Pergamus, when he addressed the Romans, artfully soothed them by placing them on a level with the divinities—'That one cause of his coming to Rome was the desire of visiting those gods and men, to whose kindness he owed his fortune.' (Liv. xlii. 11; Zouch. i. p. 128.)

XI. *And by peace shall destroy many.* These words seem to denote victories and conquests, the fruit of negligence and prosperous ease in the vanquished people. And this was the character of the Roman triumphs in the East, with only few exceptions. Thus the decisive victory which expelled Antiochus from Greece was the result of his negligent security, who had spent the previous winter at Chalcis in luxury, and indolence, with

all the pomp of royal nuptials. When that king had retired into Asia, he scarcely suspected that the Romans would prosecute their victory further, till they were ready to cross the Hellespont. And it may be observed, in general, that it was the luxurious indolence into which the nations of the East had sunk, and their want of suspicion or foresight, which brought them in succession under this foreign yoke, and fastened it upon the neck of all the Eastern kingdoms.

There are three further marks, by which the course of the Little Horn is described, and which still remain to be examined.

XII. *He shall destroy the mighty, and the people of the holy ones.* This feature seems to be the same which appears in the vision itself. "It waxed great, even to the host of heaven; and it cast some of the host and of the stars down to the ground, and stamped upon them." The host of heaven, in this passage, has been sometimes referred to the ministers and priests of the Jewish or of the Christian church. There is, however, no mark in the prophecy, to prove that the emblem belongs to ecclesiastical rulers. It is repeatedly used, in Scripture, as an emblem of civil rulers and princes, who exercise authority on earth, as visible, though often unconscious deputies of the Most High. Hence it seems naturally to refer, in this place, to the kings and rulers of the East, whose proud titles were successively humbled and laid low by the triumphs of the Little Horn.

The word *mighty* will thus be the angel's interpretation of the symbolical stars in the vision. Many of the Eastern kings, after their death, and some of them even before, received Divine honours. The emblem probably refers to these proud assumptions, and is a prediction of their overthrow by the mighty usurper. The fall of the king of Babylon, after his claim to Divine greatness, is denoted in Isaiah by this very emblem of a falling star. And so also, when the Roman supremacy began to reach over the East, it cast down the oldest

and proudest dynasties that stood in its way, and practically annulled the ostentatious titles of the Eastern kings. The mighty Macedonians, whose arms had subdued the world, the proud and victorious Antiochus, and his son, who assumed the blasphemous surname, Illustrious God, quailed before a superior might. The 'illustrious God' himself, in a suppliant embassy, entreats the favour of his masters, and tells them, that 'he has obeyed the voice of their legates, no less than he would the dominion of the gods.' Thus were the mighty destroyed, and the figurative stars of heaven cast down to the ground, through the whole firmament of power in the Eastern empire.

The people of the holy ones may be explained, with almost equal propriety, of the Jewish nation at large, or of the true Church of God, whether before or after the Advent of Messiah. In either sense alike, it was fulfilled by the Roman power. The destruction of Jerusalem, the slaughter of more than a million of Jews, and the persecutions of the early Church, the blood of the martyrs shed throughout all the Eastern empire, combine to justify the application of the prophecy, and to prove its entire fulfilment.

XIII. *And by him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary cast down.* It has been shewn, already, that these words ought to be referred to the Jewish sacrifice and the temple at Jerusalem. They form one of the clearest marks, to fix the true application of the prophecy. Neither of them will apply to the Mahometan victories, and one only to the history of Antiochus. In the triumphs of the Romans both parts were completely fulfilled. During the last siege of Jerusalem by Titus, the daily sacrifice ceased; and the cessation, unlike every former example, has now lasted for nearly eighteen hundred years. The place of the sanctuary too, which Antiochus had left standing, was completely thrown down, and a heathen temple to Jupiter was erected, not long after, upon the ruined site of the temple of God.

It is scarcely possible, indeed, to place ourselves in the position of the beloved seer, and not to be convinced that the desolation by the Romans is here pourtrayed. For what was his actual position, and what was the future course of Divine Providence? He was then at Babylon, or Susa, an exile from Palestine, where the daily sacrifice had ceased, and the temple was in ruins. But he knew that a redemption was at hand, when his people would be restored, renew the sacrifices, and rebuild the temple. A partial interruption of the sacrifices, for a few years, was then to occur under Antiochus, but the temple might not fall, till the Lord himself, in human flesh, had honoured it with his presence. After the rejection of Messiah there was to be a long blank in the history of his people. The daily sacrifice was to cease, the temple to be desolate, and his people to become exiles once more, for about seventeen hundred years. Writing under the influence of that Spirit, who sees the end from the beginning, and yet moulds his revelations according to the human channel by which they are conveyed, how could the eye of the prophet overlook this grand transition, the very key of Divine Providence for ages, and rest merely on secondary events, which are far inferior to it in dignity, or do not answer, with any accuracy, to its terms? In the rise of Mahometanism there was no sacrifice, and no temple standing at Jerusalem. Even the figurative sacrifice of a spiritual worship, which Daniel himself would never understand by those terms, was almost unaffected by the Saracen scourge. The unsealed Christians were its object, and the faithful worshippers in spirit and truth scarcely felt its power. But the desolation by the Romans answers in every respect to the words of the prophecy, and ushered in, as the angel implies of the predicted judgment, the long indignation against Israel in the latter days.

XIV. *He magnified himself even against the Prince of the host. He shall stand up against the Prince of princes*
It is plain that the same character of the Little Horn

is implied in these words of the vision and in the angel's interpretation. We have thus a further proof, by comparing the two phrases, that the *stars*, or *host of heaven*, cast down by the Little Horn, really denote *princes*; or, in this case, rulers of the Eastern kingdoms, cast down from their lordly eminence by the mightier power of Rome. But the aspiring arrogance of their conqueror was to rise still higher, and exalt itself against the son of God, who is Prince of the kings of the earth, the King of kings, and Lord of lords.

The prophecy had thus a clear and exact fulfilment in the condemnation of our blessed Lord by Pilate, the Roman governor. Other evil powers have indirectly stood up against the Prince of princes; this power alone has directly usurped sovereignty over the Son of God in His own person. At the very time when it is declared of the Lord Jesus that the Father had given all things into his hand, this adversary steps in, with a claim of superior authority and dominion, and sentences him to a shameful and accursed death. No event could more exactly satisfy the terms of the prediction. The word, to stand up, is often used in a forensic meaning, when two parties implead each other before a judge; once or twice, for the exercise of the judicial office itself. In either sense, it will apply to the condemnation of our Lord. The very same phrase is employed, where the Son of God, by the prophet Isaiah, predicts his own trial before the Roman tribunal, "He is near that justifieth me, who will contend with me? let us stand together: who is mine adversary? let him come near to me." The king truly magnified himself against the Prince of the host, when Pilate, with offended dignity, made that address to our Lord;—"Speakest thou not unto me? knowest thou not that I have power to crucify them, and have power to release thee?" And not less remarkable are the words, in which the Prince of the host rebukes the vain-glorious and ignorant pride of His adversary. "Thou couldst have no power at all against me, unless it had been given thee from above;

therefore he that delivered me unto thee hath the greater sin."

But while the prophecy is most directly fulfilled in the person of our Lord, there is no need to confine it to this event only. We have his own warrant for a wider extension of it in those solemn words, "He that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth Him that sent me." "Inasmuch as ye did it to one of the least of these my brethren, ye did it unto me." In this wider sense, every act of persecution against the brethren of Christ, the members of His mystical body, is really, though less conspicuously, to stand up against the Prince of princes. In the persecutions of heathen Rome against the Eastern Christians of the first ages, and perhaps also in the later cruelties exercised on the Paulicians by idolatrous emperors, we have a continued fulfilment of the words of the vision; and the moral warfare was continued, with unabated violence, though under a varied form, against the Prince of princes, and the King of kings.

XV. The last feature, in this description of the little horn, consists in the nature of his fall. *He shall be broken without hand.* These words are often explained to denote a miraculous and sudden overthrow. In this view, they would be alike inconsistent with the history of the Eastern Empire of Rome, or the actual circumstances of gradual decay in the Mahometan power. But this construction seems due only to an oversight of the true sense of the terms, as confirmed by the usage of Scripture in other times. Thus we read in Prov. xiv. 28—"In the want of people is the destruction of the prince." And again, xxvi. 20—"In the want, *or* absence of wood, the fire goeth out." When compared with these and similar texts, the words will clearly denote, as Dathe and Montanus explain them—*without human help, or in the failure of hands.* They will thus agree exactly in meaning with the words of the last vision—"he shall come to his end, and *none shall help him.*" The little horn, after rising to such a height of power

and arrogance, is to prove utterly helpless and desolate in the hour of its fall. From within or from without, no succour shall be found, but signal marks shall be seen, in its overthrow, that it is under the sentence of God, and therefore, in His righteous judgment, deserted by man.

And surely there never was a power, in the history of the world, whose fall bore such marked and visible signs of utter helplessness as the Eastern Empire of Rome. When we view its historical pretensions, as the proud queen of nations, and compare them with its hopeless decline and final ruin, we may say with literal truth, it was broken by the want of hands. Its subjects had no hands to fight; its provinces were rent away; its very friends refused to lend it their succour, and the feeble victim was marked out for the knife of sacrifice, long before it received the fatal blow. Let us hear a few extracts from the historian of its fall.

‘At every step, as we sink deeper in the decline and fall of the Eastern Empire, the annals of each succeeding reign impose a more ungrateful and melancholy task. Those annals must continue to repeat a tedious and uniform tale of weakness and misery. From the time of Heraclius, the Byzantine theatre is contracted and darkened: the line of empire which had been defined by the laws of Justinian and the arms of Belisarius, recedes on all sides from our view; the Roman name is reduced to a narrow corner of Europe, to the lonely suburbs of Constantinople; and the fate of the Greek Empire has been compared to that of the Rhine, which loses itself in the sand, before its waters can mingle with the ocean. On the throne, in the camp, in the schools, we search with fruitless diligence the names and characters that may deserve to be rescued from oblivion.’ (Gibb. c. xlviii.)

‘The Greeks of Constantinople held *in their lifeless hands* the riches of their fathers, without inheriting their spirit: they read, they praised, they compiled; but their languid souls seemed alike incapable of thought

and action. In the revolution of ten centuries, not a single discovery was made to exalt the dignity or promote the happiness of mankind. Not a single idea has been added to the speculations of antiquity, and a succession of patient disciples became in their turn the dogmatic teachers of the next generation. When the Empire of the Cæsars was reduced, at first to the East, and at last to Greece and Constantinople, the Byzantine subjects were degraded to an abject and languid temper, the natural effect of their insulated and solitary state. Whatever authority could enact was accomplished, at least in theory, in the camps and marches, the exercises and evolutions, the edicts and books, of the Byzantine monarch. But neither authority nor art could frame the most important machine, the soldier himself. A cold hand and a loquacious tongue was the vulgar description of the nation : the author of the *Tactics* was besieged in his own capital ; and the last of the barbarians who trembled at the name of the Saracens or Franks, could proudly exhibit the medals of gold or silver, which they had extorted from the feeble sovereign of Constantinople.' (cc. liii.)

As we draw nearer to the time of the final overthrow, the marks of growing helplessness stand out in clearer relief on the page of history.

' While Mahomet threatened the capital of the East, the Greek Emperor implored with fervent prayers, the assistance of earth and heaven. But the invisible powers were deaf to his supplications ; and Christendom beheld with indifference the fall of Constantinople. Some states were too weak, and others too remote ; by some the danger was considered imaginary, by others inevitable ; the Western princes were involved in their endless and domestic quarrels, and the Roman Pontiff was exasperated by the falsehood or obstinacy of the Greeks. Nicholas the Fifth had foretold their approaching ruin, and his honour was engaged in the accomplishment of his prophecy. Perhaps he was softened by the last extremity of their distress ; but his com-

passion was tardy, his efforts were faint and unavailing, and Constantinople had fallen before the squadrons of Genoa and Venice could sail from their harbours. Even the princes of the Morea and of the Greek islands affected a cold neutrality ; and the Genoese colony of Galata negotiated a separate treaty. A plebeian crowd, and some Byzantine nobles, basely withdrew from the danger of their country ; and the avarice of the rich denied the Emperor, and reserved for the Turks, the secret treasures which might have raised in their defence whole armies of mercenaries. The indigent and solitary prince prepared to sustain his formidable adversary, but his strength was inadequate to the contest. The Greek places on the Black Sea surrendered on the first summons. . . . In her last decay, Constantinople was still peopled with more than an hundred thousand inhabitants ; but these numbers are found in the accounts, not of war, but of captivity ; and they mostly consisted of mechanics, priests, and women, and of men devoid of that spirit which even women have sometimes exerted for the common safety. The man who dares not expose his life in defence of his children and his property, *has lost in society the first and most active energies of nature.* By the Emperor's command, a particular enquiry had been made through the streets and houses, how many of the citizens, or even of the monks, were able and willing to bear arms for their country. The lists were entrusted to Phranza, and, after a diligent addition, he informed his master, with grief and surprize, that the national defence was reduced to *four thousand nine hundred and seventy Romans.* Between Constantine and his faithful minister, this comfortless secret was preserved. . . . Europe and Asia were open to the besiegers, but the strength of the Greeks must sustain a daily decrease ; nor could they indulge the expectation of any foreign succour or supply. . . . The Emperor was deprived of the affection and support of his subjects ; and their native cowardice was sanctified by resignation to the divine decree, or the

visionary hope of a miraculous deliverance.' (Gibb. lxxviii.)

It is difficult to conceive how the fall of a State could be marked by more conspicuous features of helpless abandonment than these extracts reveal. The Empire, which once seemed justly to claim, with the name of Rome, the supreme dominion of the world, and boasted of its unbroken descent from the conquerors of the East and the West; the power which had once cast down the figurative stars of heaven, and magnified itself above the Prince of princes, was now persecuted, with none to hinder. The Emperors, in person, became plaintive suppliants for aid in the courts of the Western nations, but no succour could be found. The provinces, though ruled by their own kinsmen, refused their aid in the hour of distress. The citizens themselves, under the double influence of national cowardice and religious rancour and delusion, stood aloof from the defence of the state. Except a scanty remnant of four or five thousand, no hands were found, throughout the whole Roman Empire, that proud and empty title which they still retained to the last, to wield the weapons of war against the enemy. It was broken without hand. Saints and angels in heaven, and citizens and foreigners on earth, were all appealed to for their succour, but in vain. The hour of judgment was come, and the long period of military triumph and heathen grandeur, and then of dark and idolatrous superstition, was to be followed at last by the stroke of Divine vengeance, the day of visitation for the sins of ages, and for the forgotten crimes of former generations.

It is now time to close with a brief review of these various characters, which meet in the vision of the prophet, and have been fulfilled in the Eastern Empire of Rome. The graft of the Roman power on the Third Empire, began, like the power of the little horn, in the latter times of the Greek kingdoms of Macedon, Syria, and Egypt, and when the wickedness of their rulers, as well as of the Jewish high priests and people, was

almost full. It was small at first, consisting in a few Illyrian towns, and a honorary place in the Grecian councils. But it soon waxed exceeding great, beyond the examples of Cyrus and Alexander, till it reached the Nile in the south, the Tigris in the East, and became absolute sovereign over the pleasant land of Israel, and the temple at Jerusalem. The princes of the East, who in their pride had assumed the glorious titles of Divinity, as gods upon earth and stars of heaven, were cast down and trampled in the dust by its victorious legions. It was a power fierce of countenance, eminent for deep and subtle policy, and its wonderful sagacity caused craft to prosper in its hand. It was mighty, but not by its own power ; because its victories were due to the skilful use of allied forces, and to the strength borrowed from the kingdoms of the West. It stood up against the Prince of princes, when He appeared on earth ; and, with impious presumption, condemned him as a criminal, and nailed him to the cross ; and it continued long to persecute Him in the person of his followers. It took away the daily sacrifice, and cast down the sanctuary of God to the ground ; and thus brought in a new era of the Divine dispensations, and began the long desolation of the holy people, which has now lasted for eighteen hundred years. And finally, after it had gathered on itself every other feature of the prediction, it sank beneath the stroke of God into helpless weakness, and perished miserably, without one friendly hand to shield it in the hour of its utter ruin.

CHAPTER XIV.

ON THE ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION.

DAN. XI. 31—35.—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. AND SUCH AS DO WICKEDLY AGAINST THE COVENANT SHALL BE CORRUPT BY FLATTERIES; BUT THE PEOPLE THAT DO KNOW THEIR GOD SHALL BE STRONG AND DO EXPLOITS. AND THEY THAT UNDERSTAND AMONG THE PEOPLE SHALL INSTRUCT MANY; YET THEY SHALL FALL BY THE SWORD, AND BY FLAME, BY CAPTIVITY, AND BY SPOIL, MANY DAYS. 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 UNDERSTANDNIG 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.

THE vision of the eighth chapter, to the end of the eighth, and that of the eleventh chapter, to the end of the nineteenth verse, are so clear and perspicuous, that scarcely a doubt has ever arisen as to their true meaning. Infidels indeed, from Porphyry onward, have charged them with being written after the events; but scarcely any one has been blind or perverse enough to deny that they refer to the events of Persian and Syrian history, from Cyrus to Antiochus the Great, and have been accurately fulfilled in every part. The fulfilment also of the verses xi. 20—30, in Seleucus and Antiochus Epiphanes, with two or three exceptions, has been universally allowed. The last part, however, of each vision, has received a greater variety of interpretation.

This fancied contrast, between the clearness of one part and the obscurity of the other, has even given birth to that infidel hypothesis, which dates the whole prophecy in the time of the Maccabees. Even at the first glance, however, it will be plain to any candid mind, that the contrast is not at all of such a nature as this hypothesis would require. The objectors themselves cannot agree where the supposed transition occurs. No line can be drawn, with brightness on the one side, and darkness on the other. On the contrary, it is disputed, even now, which part relates to Antiochus, and which to some later adversary. The obscurity, so far as real, arises plainly from that law of prophecy, by which more distant events are grouped together like hills in the perspective of a natural landscape ; and from the purpose of God, expressly announced in these visions themselves, that the later part, which refers to the Christian dispensation, should continue veiled till a distant period of time. So that this very objection, when calmly weighed, and compared with these warnings of the Holy Spirit, becomes a fresh witness to the Divine truth and wisdom of the whole prophecy.

In the three last chapters I have endeavoured to ascertain the meaning of the Little Horn, which closes the vision of the Morning and Evening ; and have shewn, by copious evidence, that it had a precursive reference to Antiochus Epiphanes ; but that its full and proper application is to the Eastern dominion of Rome. The vision becomes thus one continuous and connected prophecy from the rise of the Persian Empire to the fall of Constantinople ; and reaches onward, through that long desolation, to the future cleansing of the Jewish sanctuary in times near at hand. It includes thus, in its ample course, the rise and victories of Cyrus, the greatness of the Persian monarchy, the rapid triumphs of Alexander, the fourfold division of his kingdom, the reign of Antiochus, and the Maccabean persecutions, the Eastern triumphs of Rome, the crucifixion of our Lord, the Prince of princes, the destruction of Jerusa-

lem and the Jewish sanctuary, and the helpless overthrow of the Eastern Empire.

Let us now return to the last vision, which has already unfolded the main events, from the reign of Cyrus to the return of Antiochus Epiphanes from Egypt at the mandate of the Romans. 'Thus far,' as Bishop Newton observes, 'commentators are in the main agreed, and few or none have deviated much out of the common road; but hereafter they pursue so many different paths, that it is not always easy to know whom it is best and safest to follow. Some, as Porphyry among the ancients, and Grotius among the moderns, contend that the whole was accomplished in Antiochus Epiphanes. Others, as Jerome and most of the fathers, consider Antiochus as the type of Antichrist, just as, in the seventy-second Psalm, Solomon is a type of Christ, and many things are said of the one which are only applicable to the other. Some again understand what remains partly of the tyranny of Antiochus, and partly of the great apostasy of the latter days. Others apply it wholly to the invasion and tyranny of the Romans, and the subsequent corruption in the Church, and alterations in the empire.' (xvii. part II.)

Since the time of Bishop Newton, these varieties have perhaps increased rather than diminished, and double care is therefore needed in the interpretation. The varieties, however, all lie between two extremes, of which one refers the whole to Antiochus, and the other reserves it entirely for these last times, before the restoration of Israel. The interpretations, though numerous, melt into each other, by slight variations, and later writers generally incline to defer the fulfilment also to a later period. It may help the reader to understand the subject more clearly, if we classify the views which have been adopted by able or popular writers.

The portion, of which the meaning has been disputed, if we include the widest varieties, extends from verse 20 to the close of the chapter. It consists of four parts,

each distinct in itself, and which occupy respectively eleven, five, four, and six verses. The various interpretations may then be classified as below.*

The first and last of these expositions, which are the widest apart, have really a common foundation. Both of them assume that one person only is described through the whole of these twenty-six verses. This assumption Porphyry and Grotius have combined with the evident truth that the vile person denotes Antiochus; and thus have referred the whole to that Syrian persecutor. Others have combined it with the fact, no less evident in the prophecy, that its close reaches to the final gathering of Israel, and hence break off the prophecy violently at the twentieth verse, or earlier, and transport the whole into our own days, or a time still future. Now that all the varieties have been set full in our view, we may proceed with more confidence to ascertain the true meaning.

1. And first, *the Vision, down to the nineteenth verse, has been evidently fulfilled in the Persian, Syrian, and Egyptian kings. A.C. 534—187.* This has been amply proved, by direct evidence, in the previous chapters. It results also from the express words of the text, which prove that the prophecy begins with Cyrus and his three next successors, that it continues with Alexander and the division of his kingdom, and the reign of those

* Porphyry and Grotius	} Antiochus	Antiochus	Antiochus	Antiochus
Jerome and Theodoret	} Antiochus	Antiochus	{ Antichrist, or Man of Sin.	
Luther	} Antiochus	Antiochus	The Papacy	The Papacy.
Mede	} Antiochus	Antiochus	{ Rome Pagan and Papal	{ Saracens and Turks.
Sir I. Newton	} Antiochus	Pagan Rome	Eastern Empire	{ Saracens and Turks.
Bp. Newton & Dr. Keith	} Antiochus	Pagan Rome	Papacy	{ Saracens and Turks.
Mr. Cuninghame	} Antiochus	Pagan Rome	Papacy	Future ?
Mr. Faber	} Antiochus	{ Pagan and Papal Rome }	Infidel France	Future.
Mr. Habershon	} Antiochus	{ Pagan and Papal Rome }	Napoleon	Future.
Mr. Frere	} Napoleon	Napoleon	Napoleon	Future.
Mr. Burgh & Dr. Todd	} } All future.	All future.		

princes who ruled first after the division of his empire. Only two writers, at most, seem ever to have denied this truth ; while on the other hand, many infidels have been led, from the clearness of the prediction, to deny the genuineness of the whole prophecy. Of these two forms of incredulity, the latter is indeed the less unreasonable.

2. *There is no internal proof that the rest of the prophecy all belongs to one and the same person.* This is the assumption in which Porphyry and Grotius agree with the opposite extreme of interpretation. Doubtless the words of this part of the vision, taken alone, would not render such an application impossible, as they do in the former part, where there is so clear and plain a succession of many kings. So far as grammar alone can guide us, the whole might be referred to the vile person, (v. 20.) But then, on the other hand, there is no *proof* that the whole refers to him. The *king* (v. 36) is mentioned by a distinct title, and after an implied season of delay. Again, in the former part of the chapter, which events have clearly expounded, there are several transitions from one person to another of which no express mark appears. The kings of the north and south, in the fifth verse, are Ptolemy Soter and Seleucus Nicator ; in the sixth, Ptolemy Philadelphus, and Antiochus Theus. So again, the king of the south in verse 9, is Ptolemy Euergetes ; in verse 11, his successor, Ptolemy Philopator. The same transition occurs, verse 14, to the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes. The assumption, therefore, on which both of these extreme views depend, that all the twenty-six verses (xi. 20—45), relate to one person, is clearly unproved ; and is even opposed to the analogy of those parts of which the fulfilment is beyond all controversy.

3. *The raiser of taxes, and the vile person (verses 20, 21), are clearly Seleucus and Antiochus Epiphanes.* This is proved by the accurate correspondence with the events in each case, and by the manifest violence done to the prophecy, when a sudden break of 2000 years is interposed, where the marks of close connexion are so palpa-

bly evident. After the fall of Antiochus the Great, the raiser of taxes is to rise up in his estate ; and this was true only of Seleucus Philopator, his son and successor, whose attempted pillage of the temple is recorded in the second book of Maccabees. The only excuse for such a violent leap as some propose is the transition from Xerxes to Alexander (xi. 4, 5), an interval of one hundred and fifty years. But there is a vast difference between a century and half, and two thousand years. The first is only one sixteenth part of the range of the prophecy, the other would be nearly five times the actual extent of the whole. Besides, the invasion of Xerxes was the direct cause of those Grecian hostilities which came to their height in the campaigns of Alexander, and the intermediate events were only the gradual ripening of that reaction of vengeance. The vision also is in this part an evident comment on the earlier prophecy, which is really continuous, for the Ram continued its dominion until it was assailed by the He-Goat from the West.

The verses themselves equally exclude this immense hiatus, whether we place it at the fifth, as one writer has done, or at the twentieth, or twenty-first verse. The first supposition is so preposterous, and involves so many absurdities, that it is needless to dwell on it further. The mention, again, of a few days, in verse 20, would be most unnatural, if the prophecy had just overleapt two thousand years without notice. Such notes of time would be merely delusive, for the words seem to refer just as much to the interval from the end of the former reign, as from this king's accession. The contrast between the king who receives the glory of the kingdom, and the vile person, to whom the honour of that kingdom is not given, equally implies that these are immediate successors, or at the least that there is only a very short interval between them. Thus every reason concurs to establish the application of these verses to the two Syrian kings.

4. *The passage (xi. 21—30) relates throughout to Antiochus Epiphanes.* For the connexion of the parts is so

close, that no transition is here possible. In verse 29, there is a distinct reference to the two former successful campaigns, mentioned in verses 22, 25. The events of history, also, fully answer to the prediction; and especially the repulse of Antiochus by the Roman legates, by its exact correspondence with the words of the text, is a decisive proof of the true application, and one of the most remarkable examples of the Divine foreknowledge.

5. *The close of the prophecy reaches to the future restoration of the Jews.*

This axiom admits of many proofs. At the opening of the vision we are told, that "the thing was true, but the time appointed was long." The angel repeats this notice to the prophet. "I am come to make thee understand what shall befall thy people in the latter days; for yet the vision is for many days." The same truth is implied in either statement, that the prophecy, though it began with Cyrus, would extend to a very distant age.

At the close of the vision the marks of time are still more decisive. "When he shall have finished scattering the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished." But the Jews are manifestly still scattered, and hence the prophecy has not yet run its course. The last event recorded is the resurrection of many sleepers in the dust; clearly parallel with Rev. xx. 4, and therefore, whether literal or figurative, a time certainly future. The last verse, again, of the whole book seems to assure us, that, when the days of this prophecy shall be fulfilled, the holy prophet himself will be standing in his lot in the glory of the resurrection.

The inquiry is now brought within a narrower compass. There are three parts of the prophecy, of which the meaning has to be determined; and which describe the abomination of desolation, the wilful king, and the events to occur in the time of the end. The limits which include them are the last return of Antiochus from Egypt, and the future and final restoration of Israel. The first of these three divisions will form the subject of the present and the following chapter.

Three different views have been taken of the event here predicted, or THE ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION. Jerome and Theodoret, who are followed by Luther, Mede, Prideaux, Halifax, and Chandler, refer it to Antiochus, whom several of them regard also as a type of Antichrist. Several Jewish writers in the time of Jerome, who are followed by Sir Isaac and Bishop Newton, Cuninghame, Faber, and Keith, refer it exclusively to the days of Titus and the fall of Jerusalem. A third opinion, held by a few recent writers, applies it to a brief desolation in the time of a future infidel Antichrist.

This last construction of the passage evidently labours under two great, and indeed insuperable objections. First, it requires a sudden hiatus of two thousand years, at a point where there are scarcely any marks even of a transition. And secondly, it supposes that the profanation of a third temple, to be reared in the last times, is here announced, before any notice has been given of the doom of that second temple, in which our Lord himself appeared. The words of our Lord, Matt. xxiv. 15. when compared with Luke xxi. 20, are a further disproof of this interpretation.

The words in question must therefore be referred either to Antiochus or to the Romans. Weighty reasons may be urged for either exposition. The defeat of Antiochus was a clear mark of the Roman supremacy, as already established, and therefore would be no unnatural place for a transition from the third to the fourth empire. Our Lord himself clearly refers this phrase, *the abomination of desolation*, to the events which attended the fall of Jerusalem by the Roman armies. And, thirdly, since there is a proved transition from Antiochus to the last times, it will be most gradual and easy, if we suppose it to begin at this verse. A fourth reason, which some have added, is plainly unfounded,—that the words, *to stand up*, are applied only to the rise of a distinct empire.

But however weighty these arguments, which have

led most recent expositors to refer the verse entirely to the Romans, it cannot be denied that the view of earlier writers has also strong presumptions in its favour. The former verse has just mentioned the indignation of Antiochus against the holy covenant, and his intelligence with the apostates who forsake it. It seems a natural inference that the pollution of the sanctuary, in the next verse, was the result of this confederacy of evil. The historical connexion is immediate and close, between the repulse of Antiochus from Egypt, and the desecration of the Jewish temple by his forces. The fact that this crime was not committed by Antiochus in person, but by a part of his forces, is in equal harmony with the words of the text. And further, the words of the narrative in the book of Maccabees seem to imply that this passage was referred, at the time, to that very persecution. The words of the next verse, *he shall corrupt with flatteries*, appear to be more naturally applied to Antiochus than to the Romans. So that the early writers of the Church, who argued justly against Porphyry that the close of the chapter referred to Antichrist, and not to Antiochus, still expounded these verses of the Maccabean persecution.

To sum up the whole, the first of the three disputed portions has had a clear fulfilment in Antiochus, and no other Scripture proves that such events were to have place in the history of the Christian Antichrist. The third portion of the text (xi. 36—45) has never been fulfilled in Antiochus, but answers closely to several other passages that refer expressly to the predicted Antichrist. The middle portion has a more doubtful character. The Fathers, and all the earlier expositors, as Luther and Mede, while they believe that the Wilful King is the Antichrist of the New Testament, still apply these verses to the Syrian oppressor. Newton, and most other later commentators, while they see a clear prediction of Antiochus in the passage xi. 20—30, refer the verses that follow to the Roman desolations. The history in Maccabees, and the prophecy of our Lord, lend

an equal support to these opposite interpretations. It seems a conclusion almost inevitable, that these verses, like the emblem of the Little Horn, have in truth a double reference, and that in them the real transition occurs from Antiochus to the Roman power, and its Antichristian warfare against the Church of God.

There are many, however, who shrink from such a double exposition, as in its own nature ambiguous and uncertain. An able living commentator has even assumed, as a first principle, that it can have no place in these chronological prophecies. It seems desirable, then, briefly to state once more the warrant we have for receiving it, and the laws which define its nature, and secure it from the risk of introducing perplexity and confusion into the word of God.

And first, that many discursive prophecies have a double sense, must be plain to every thoughtful and judicious reader. Some event, nearer in time, and lower in dignity, is often made the earnest and vehicle of a higher truth. The Spirit of God thus leads onward the thoughts of his people, more gently, to the distant wonders of His Providence. His mercies and judgments, like the larva of the insect, seem commonly to pass through a dim and imperfect stage, before they appear full grown, in their exact form and perfect brightness. So clear is this fact, that a late author has rushed to the other extreme, and has reared a hasty theory of prophetic exposition on one single postulate, that this is the uniform and constant nature of all the Divine prophecies.

But if this be true elsewhere, there is no reason whatever for rejecting it as impossible in a chronological prophecy. If this be anticipated history, so are all prophecies, even those where a double sense is allowed. If it be a history that needs to observe a definite law of order and connexion of parts, this too is quite consistent with the double sense here maintained. Only let the two events occupy in common the same place with regard to the rest of the prophecy, and no law of order or suc-

cession of parts in the vision can possibly be disturbed by such an extension of its meaning. And if it be clear that this double sense occurs repeatedly in other prophecies, it cannot justly surprize us, if it be found to occur also in these chronological visions.

Three reasons may be assigned why the Holy Spirit may sometimes choose to adopt this peculiar method of revealing future events—the need of brevity, the avoidance of seeming tautology, and the close and varied analogies which run through the whole course of Providence. From these analogies it must result that many series of events will arise, which bear some strong resemblance to each other in their main features. Such events must either be predicted with all their minute characters of distinction from each other, and with an apparent tautology from their general resemblance, or else they must be predicted mainly by those features which are common to both, and then a double interpretation of the prophecy will at once ensue. If no distinctive features enter into the prediction, then it will strictly have a double sense, and each of these will be equally real and exact. But prophecy is given for practical ends of warning, encouragement, and instruction. Viewing it in this light, it will be enough to establish a double sense, if even those events, which fulfil it more imperfectly, correspond in so many points, and differ in so few, and these reconcileable by such an usual license in the use of terms, that those who compare them with the prediction before any further fulfilment, would naturally, and of course, regard them as the true object of the inspired message. For prophecy is not written merely for the learned, or for a few critics, but for the church at large. If it is so framed, that to the faithful at large, it reads like a message to warn them of particular events, it is a safe conclusion that those events, at least inclusively, were designed in the message.

In the passage before us this view is confirmed by the authority of all the early writers. With one consent, they regard Antiochus, in these visions, as a type of the

predicted Antichrist. Yet when they pursue the exposition in its details, they really abandon the reference to Antichrist, in the first part of the narrative, xi. 20—30, and equally renounce the fulfilment of the last part, xi. 36—45, in Antiochus himself. Thus Theodoret writes on verse 37. “The following words disprove their madness, who think that these things were spoken of Antiochus. These things by no means agree with Antiochus, but with the archetype himself of Antiochus, of whom Antiochus being an image and type, strove to surpass all former kings in impiety.’ And on verse 35, ‘Having spoken these things of Antiochus Epiphanes, he passes on from the type to the antitype: but Antichrist is the archetype of Antiochus, and Antiochus is an image of Antichrist. For as Antiochus compelled the Jews to do impiety, and break the law, so the man of sin, the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself against all that is called God, or worshipped, and sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God—will strain every effort to deceive the godly, and use every kind of punishment against the disciples of godliness.’ Yet Theodoret plainly views this part as referring to Antichrist also; for he says afterwards on xii. 12, ‘the abomination of desolation is Antichrist himself, and the taking away of the daily sacrifice, the order of the Church’s worship dissipated and destroyed by his fury and madness.’ When to this authority, which has been rejected without any solid reason, we add the double evidence of the statement in Maccabees, and the prophecy of our Lord, the proof appears complete, that these five verses were designed by the Holy Spirit to bear a double application; first to the trials of the Maccabean persecution, and then to later times.

Nor is the objection from the supposed danger of ambiguity of any real weight. A double interpretation, under the restrictions already given, is no less precise and definite than any other, and only serves to illustrate with fuller evidence the wisdom and foreknowledge of God. On the other hand, if the double sense be re-

jected on abstract grounds, clearly erroneous and insufficient ; then, wherever it does exist, a real perplexity must arise. One of the two rival expositions must be forcibly rejected, and, in proportion to its own clearness and currency, will weaken our confidence in that which is received. But where both are received, under the limits already prescribed, each tends to confirm the other, and to fill up the distinct outline of Providence revealed in the sacred visions.

Let us now trace briefly the fulfilment of these verses, first in the times of Antiochus, and then in their later application to the Roman Empire and the Christian Church.

And from him arms shall stand up ; and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength.

Immediately after the repulse of Antiochus from Egypt, on his way to Antioch, he detached 22,000 troops under Apollonius, to ravage and lay waste Jerusalem. His wrath, on account of the humiliation he had received, was all turned against the Jews, and he had intelligence with an apostate party among them, and Menelaus, the wicked priest at their head, in concert with whom he carried on his later persecutions. ‘They polluted the sanctuary of strength.’ So 2 Macc. v. 24—26. ‘He sent that detestable chief Apollonius with two and twenty thousand, commanding him to slay all those that were in their best age, and to sell the women and younger sort ; who coming to Jerusalem and pretending peace, did forbear till the holy sabbath, when he commanded his men to arm themselves. And so he slew all them that were celebrating the sabbath, and running through the city with weapons slew great multitudes.’ ‘Thus they shed innocent blood on every side of the sanctuary, and defiled it, insomuch that the inhabitants of Jerusalem fled because of them, and the city was made an habitation of strangers.’ 1 Macc. i. 37, 38.

And shall take away the daily sacrifice.

‘The king sent messengers by letters unto Jerusalem

and the cities of Judah, that they should follow the strange laws of the land; and forbad burnt-offerings, and sacrifice, and drink-offerings, in the temple, and that they should profane the sabbaths and festival days, and pollute the sanctuary and holy people.' 1 Macc. i. 44—46.

And shall place the abomination that maketh desolate.

'Now the fifteenth day of the month Casleu, in the hundred and forty-fifth year, THEY SET UP THE ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION upon the altar, and builded idol altars throughout the cities of Judah on every side. . . . Now the five and twentieth day of the month they did sacrifice upon the idol altar, which was before the altar of God.' 1 Macc. i. 54, 55, 59.

'And they polluted also the temple of Jerusalem, and called it the temple of Jupiter Olympius. The coming in of this mischief was sore and grievous to the people; for the temple was filled with riot and revelling by the Gentiles. . . . the altar also was filled with profane things which the law forbiddeth.' 2 Macc. vi. 2—5.

And such as do wickedly against the covenant shall be corrupt with flatteries.

'And they builded the city of David with a great and strong wall, and with mighty towers, and made it a stronghold for them. And they put therein a sinful nation, wicked men, and fortified themselves therein. Yea, many of the Israelites consented to his religion, and sacrificed unto idols, and profaned the sabbath. . . . Then many of the people were gathered unto them, every one that forsook the law, and so they committed evils in the land, and drove the Israelites into secret places.' 1 Macc. i. 33—53.

But the people that do know their God shall be strong and do exploits.

These words answer exactly to the exploits of the Maccabees in this time of deep affliction. They were men who knew the God of Israel, and their exploits exceeded all the noblest examples in heathen warfare.

'Then Judas Maccabeus, and they that were with

him, called their kinsfolk together, and all such as continued in the Jews' religion, and assembled about six thousand men. And he came at unawares, and burnt up towns and cities, and put to flight no small number of his enemies, insomuch that the report of his manliness was spread every where. . . . When he had made them bold with these words, and ready to die for the laws of the country, he divided his army into four parts. And by the help of the Almighty, they slew above nine thousand of their enemies, and put all to flight and pursued them far . . . and yielded exceeding praise and thanks to the Lord who had preserved them that day, which was the beginning of mercy distilling upon them.' 2 Macc. viii. 1—27.

'So he gat his people great honour, and put on a breastplate as a giant, and put his warlike armour about him, and made battles, protecting the host with his sword. In his acts he was like a lion, and as a lion's whelp roaring for his prey. For he pursued the wicked, and sought them out, and burnt up those that vexed his people. Wherefore the wicked shrank for fear of him, and all the workers of iniquity were troubled, and salvation prospered in his hand. . . . So that he was renowned unto the ends of the earth, and received unto him such as were ready to perish.' 1 Macc. iii. 3—9.

And they that understand among the people shall instruct many.

These words appear to relate to the same time as the former, when the champions of Israel first arose. Thus Mattathias said, when he retired into the wilderness—'Whosoever is zealous of the law and maintaineth the covenant, let him follow me. And *many* that sought after justice and judgment went down into the wilderness to dwell there, because afflictions increased sore upon them. Then came there unto him a company of Chasidians, who were mighty men of Israel, all such as were voluntarily devoted to the law. And all they

that fled for persecution joined themselves unto them, and they were a stay unto them.'

The dying words of Mattathias (1 Macc. ii. 49—64.) are one beautiful specimen of these instructions by the faithful men of understanding in these days of trial. So again, iii. 48, 'They laid open the book of the law,' and followed its sacred directions before their conflict with the enemy. Before the battle with Nicanor, Judas 'appointed Eleazar to read the whole book, and gave them the watch-word, *the help of God.*' Nor must we overlook the mute, but powerful instruction, of those whom the Apostle singles out, to complete the cloud of witnesses, who instruct the whole church by their holy example. 'Others were tortured, not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better resurrection.' (Heb. xi. 35. 2 Macc. vi. 18—31 ; vii.)

Yet they shall fall by sword, and by flame, by captivity and by spoil, many days.

During the whole desolation under Antiochus, these various afflictions came upon the faithful Jews. They fell by the sword. The enemies shed innocent blood on every side of the sanctuary. 1 Macc. i. 37. 'Running through the city with weapons they slew great multitudes.' 'There was killing of young and old, making away of men, women and children, slaying of women and infants.' They fell also by flame. The seven sons and their mother, in 2 Macc. vii. were tortured with burning fire. A thousand of the Jews who had hid themselves in the caves 'being discovered to Philip, were all burnt together, because they forbore to help themselves, for the honour of the most sacred day.' (2 Macc. vi. 11. 1 Macc. ii. 33—38.) They fell by captivity and spoil. At the first assault of Antiochus on Jerusalem, there were destroyed fourscore thousand, whereof forty thousand were slain in conflict, and no fewer sold than slain.' 'Apollonius was ordered to slay all those who were in their prime, and to sell the women and younger sort.' 2 Macc. v. 14, 24. Afterwards Nicanor 'undertook to make so much money of the captive Jews, as

should defray the tribute of 2000 talents, which the king was to pay the Romans. Wherefore he sent to the cities on the sea-coast, proclaiming a sale of the captive Jews, and promising that they should have four-score and ten bodies for one talent.' So in the lamentation of Mattathias—'Her infants are slain in the streets, and her young men with the sword of the enemy. What nation hath not had a part in her kingdom, and gotten of her spoils?' When Lysias invaded Judea, 'the merchants of the country, hearing the fame of them, took very much gold and silver, and came into the camp to buy the children of Israel for slaves.'

Such were the multiplied calamities under which the people of Daniel groaned at this time, and which lasted for a considerable interval, called here by an indefinite term, *days*; and which may be viewed as extending over three or four years.

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

These words may be referred to the victory of Judas over Lysias, the cleansing of the temple, and the letter of Antiochus in his last mortal sickness, which occurred in quick succession. These were a little help to the afflicted Maccabees, and assuaged the first bitterness and intensity of the persecution. But many cleave to them with flatteries. This was fulfilled in the conduct of multitudes of apostate Jews upon the success of Judas, and in the treaty made by Lysias and Antiochus Eupator, immediately on the death of Antiochus Euphanes.

And some of them of understanding shall fall, to try them, and purify them, and make them white, even to the time of the end.

Such was the death of Eleazar, the brother of Judas (1 Macc. vi. 43—46); of those who perished with famine in Jerusalem (verse 54); of the Chasidians who made peace with Alcimus, threescore of whom were treacherously slain in one day (vii. 16, 17); of the others who were slain by Alcimus and Bacchides (v. 19—23); of

Judas, and those who were slain with him, in battle (1 Macc. ix. 17, 18); of those who perished in the affliction after his death (verse 24—27); and of Jonathan, and those who were treacherously slain at Ptolemais. This last event was the end of the Jewish persecution; for Simon, who succeeded him, in the first year of his government, obtained the freedom of his nation from tribute to the Macedonians. And hence they began to reckon by a new era, in their contracts and records, “in the first year of Simon, the benefactor and monarch of the Jews.”

Thus almost every word of these verses had an exact and punctual fulfilment in the twenty-five years of the Maccabean persecution. The Jews, at the time, as the use of the phrase in Maccabees may prove to us, referred them to these very events. And since the earlier part of the reign of Antiochus, which affected the Jews very slightly in comparison, is here recorded at length, and the very object of the whole is to make known what should befall the people of Daniel in the latter days, the conclusion is plain, that the desolation of the temple by that king, and the miseries of the Jews under his reign, are really predicted in this remarkable passage. The harmony is thus maintained also, with the vision of the eighth chapter, and the continuity of each prophecy is preserved unbroken and complete.

But this interpretation, however fully confirmed by the history, does not exhaust the meaning of these verses. The part which precedes them relates clearly to Antiochus; that which follows, as clearly, not to Antiochus, but some later Antichristian power. The transition must therefore be made in the present passage. The Jews, in the time of the Maccabees, and all the earlier writers of the church, down to Luther and Mede in modern days, have expounded it in reference to Antiochus. But they all with one consent, regard Antiochus as a type of Antichrist, and yet the double application is possible in these verses only. We have also the direct warrant of our blessed Lord for connect-

ing the abomination of desolation with the fall of Jerusalem ; and accordingly, most later commentators, from Newton onwards, have applied these verses to the Romans and the Church of Christ. The afflictions of the Maccabees were indeed a brief rehearsal of a longer series of changes, which serve, in this prophecy, to conduct us into a fresh dispensation, and down to the rise of a more dangerous and powerful persecutor than Antiochus, to prevail afterwards in the latter days.

CHAPTER XV.

THE ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION.

‘PROPHETIC history,’ Lord Bacon has observed, ‘consists of two parts, the prophecy itself and its fulfilment. Therefore its nature ought to be such, that every prophecy of Scripture be joined with a true account of events which have fulfilled it ; and this through all ages of the world, both to confirm our faith, and also to train us by experience in the interpretation of those prophecies which are yet to be fulfilled. But herein we must allow that latitude which is agreeable and usual unto Divine prophecies, that their fulfilment may be both continuous and definite. For they answer to the nature of their Author, with whom one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day. And though their full and entire completion be commonly fixed to some certain age, yet they have meanwhile steps of fulfilment through various ages of the world. This work is wanting ; but it is so weighty, that it should be treated with great wisdom, sobriety, and gravity, or altogether declined.’

These remarks apply, in some measure, to the verses now under examination. For these answer exactly, it has been already shown, to the troubles of the Jews under Antiochus. But they correspond also with no less accuracy, on a wider scale, to the whole course of Providence towards the Jews and the Christian Church, from the time of the Maccabees far into the present dispensation. Our Lord, in His own prophecy, seems

to lead us by the hand to their wider meaning, when he refers the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel, to the ruin then impending over Jerusalem.

The very place which these verses occupy may prove, of itself, that they form a transition from Antiochus to the time of the end. And what were the leading events of that interval, which bear directly on the Church of God? Clearly these—the gradual encroachments of the Romans in Judea, till at length they destroyed the city and temple, and brought on the desolation which has now brooded for ages over Jerusalem; the ministry of our blessed Lord; the bold and zealous preaching of the Apostles, the spread of the Gospel through the Roman empire, the bitterness of the Pagan persecutions; the triumph of the faith when the whole empire nominally received it; the rapid corruption of the visible Church, renewed troubles and persecutions, and the growth of an apostate tyranny, without example in the history of the world. All these, except our Lord's personal ministry, which had been just revealed in a separate prophecy, seem here distinctly pourtrayed to us in their natural order, and in colours of light. Let us trace once more, in order, the words of the text and their fulfilment.

And from him arms shall stand up. These words serve to describe very accurately the character and course of the Romans, from the days of Antiochus to the conquest of Judea. Arms (*brachia*) are used throughout these prophecies to denote military forces or power. They are said to stand up, when they manifest themselves in vigorous action. After the defeat of Antiochus the Great by the Romans, and the repulse of Epiphanes himself by their ambassadors in the ships from Chittim, which have been already announced, it is natural that their formidable power should be next predicted. The word rendered, *on his part*, may, as in verse 23, denote simply a succession in time. And even if it be thought to require a still closer connexion between Antiochus and the *arms* here mentioned, this existed in the

case of the Romans, no less really than in that of Apollonius and his forces, who ravaged Jerusalem. The Romans not only received tribute from Antiochus, but were virtually his successors in the kingdom. His son Eupator was only a child of nine years on his accession, and the Romans claimed to exercise a guardianship over him. Thus when Eupator, just after the death of his father, made a covenant with the Jews, we read, that "the Romans also sent unto them a letter in these words:—Quintius Memmius and Titus Manlius, ambassadors of the Romans, to the people of the Jews, greeting. Whatsoever Lysias, the king's cousin, hath granted, therewith we also are well pleased. But on such things as he reserved to the king, when ye have advised thereon, send one forthwith, that we may speak what is profitable for you; for we are going to Antioch." In this manner the Roman arms stood up *from* Antiochus, as they crept stealthily into the management of his kingdom after his death, and began to usurp superiority over the Jewish nation.

When the Maccabean troubles had ceased, on the accession of Simon, a fresh step in advance was made, and the patronage and friendship of the Romans began to pave the way for an open assumption of full sovereignty. The embassy of Simon, which he sent with a present of a shield of gold, met with a gracious reception. In return, Lucius the consul addressed letters to Ptolemy, king of Egypt, Demetrius king of Syria, Attalus, Ariarathes and Arsaces, the kings of Pergamus, Cappadocia and Armenia, "also to the Lacedæmonians, Delos, Myndus, Sicyon, Caria and Samos, Pamphylia and Lycia, Halicarnassus, Rhodes, Phaselis and Cos, Side and Aradus, Gortyna and Cnidus, Cyprus and Cyrene." In these letters, they were charged to abstain from meddling with the Jews, and also to restore deserters from Judea to be duly punished by the high-priest. Here was a fresh mark of their growing ascendancy over all the countries of the East, and a further step to their entire subjugation of the chosen people.

And they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength. In the time of Antiochus, the sanctuary was first polluted, by the blood which he and his generals shed through the city, and by his own intrusion, under the guidance of Menelaus, into the holy place. The daily sacrifice was then taken away, when Acra was fortified so as to overlook the temple. Last of all, but soon after, the abomination of desolation was set up, when the image of Jupiter Olympius was erected by the king's command on the altar of God. It is natural, then, to expect a similar order of succession, if the prophecy be fulfilled anew in the Roman power.

Such are the facts which history sets before us. The first pollution of the sanctuary of strength by the Romans, took place on the siege and capture of Jerusalem by Pompey the Great. The account is given us in Josephus. (Ant. xiii. 4. 2, 4). 'But Pompey fixed his camp within, on the north side of the temple, where it was most practicable. And when the bank was sufficiently raised, and the ditch filled up, he brought his engines from Tyre, and placing them on the banks, he battered the temple with stones hurled against it. . . And now all was full of slaughter; some of the Jews being slain by the Romans, and some by one another: nay, some there were who threw themselves down precipices, and set fire to their houses and burnt them, as not able to endure their miseries. Of the Jews there fell twelve thousand; of the Romans, very few. And no small enormities were committed about the temple itself, which in former ages had been inaccessible, and seen by none; for Pompey went into it, and not a few of them that were with him, and saw all that was unlawful for any to see but the high priest.'

This first act of pollution, however, was transitory, and quickly repaired. It arose from the mere wantonness of power, and not from the malice of persevering impiety and hatred. "There were in the temple the golden table and the holy candlestick, and the vessels and spices, and two thousand talents of sacred money.

Yet did Pompey touch none of these, from his regard to religion. The next day he gave orders to those who had charge of the temple to cleanse it, and bring the offerings, which the law required, to God."

But however transient the pollution itself, the freedom of the Jews was lost, and the Roman yoke was fixed on their neck, to prepare the way for heavier judgments. 'For now,' Josephus observes, 'we lost our liberty, and became subject to the Romans, and they exacted of us in a little time above ten thousand talents.'

The next signal act of Roman profanation was under Crassus. On his expedition to Parthia, which proved, as in punishment for his sacrilege, so signally disastrous, 'he came into Judea, and carried off the money in the temple, which Pompey had left, and was disposed to spoil it of all the gold belonging to it, which was eight thousand talents. He also took a beam of solid beaten gold, weighing three hundred minæ, of two pounds and a half. It was the priest, Eleazar, who had the custody of the veil of the temple, which hung down from this beam, who gave it him, as a ransom for the whole; but not until he had given his oath that he would remove nothing else out of the temple, but be satisfied with this only. Yet Crassus took away this beam, on condition of touching nothing else that belonged to the temple, and then brake his oath, and carried away all the gold that was in the temple.' (Ant. xiv. 7. 1).

A further pollution of the sanctuary by the Romans took place on the accession of Herod, A.C. 38, when Sosius took the city by storm. 'The first wall was taken in forty days, the second in fifteen more, when some of the cloisters about the temple were burnt. And when the outer court of the temple, and the lower city were taken, the Jews fled into the inner court of the temple and the upper city: but fearing lest the Romans should hinder them from offering their daily sacrifices, they sent an embassy, and desired that they

would only permit them to bring in beasts for sacrifice. And now all parts were full of those who were slain by the rage of the Romans ; and as they were flying to the temple for shelter, there was no pity taken of infants or the aged, nor did they spare those of the weaker sex, and none restrained their hand from slaughter." (Ant. xiv. 16. 3).

In the same list of Roman acts of pollution, committed against the sanctuary, we may place also the slaughter in the temple by Archelaus, on the first Pass-over after Herod's death ; for both he and his father were little more than deputies of the Romans. The cruelties of Sabinus, during his absence, are another open instance of the same kind. 'The soldiers were prevailed upon, and leapt out into the temple, and fought a terrible battle with the Jews ; in which, while there were none over their heads to distress them, they were too hard for them by their skill in war, but when once many of the Jews had climbed to the top of the cloisters, and threw their darts downward, many of the soldiers were destroyed. Since then they were sorely afflicted, they set fire to the cloisters, works to be admired both for their size and costliness. At last, some of the Jews being destroyed and others dispersed through their terror, the soldiers fell upon the treasure of God, which was now deserted, and plundered about four hundred talents.' (Wars ii. 3. 2).

In this manner, from the victory of Pompey to the very eve of Jerusalem's fall, the Romans polluted the sanctuary of strength, and gave a foretaste of the still heavier calamities, shortly to come on those rejectors of Messiah, who had desired a murderer to be granted them, and had crucified the Lord of glory.

And they shall take away the daily sacrifice.

The cessation of the daily sacrifice in the Roman siege of Jerusalem, A.C. 70, is too well known to require many testimonies. It is mentioned, as follows, by Josephus :—

' And now Titus gave orders to his soldiers to dig up

the foundations of the tower of Antonia, and make him a ready passage for his army to come up. And he himself had Josephus brought to him, for he had been informed, that on that very day, which was the seventeenth day of Panemus, *the sacrifice called the daily sacrifice, had failed*, and not been offered to God, for want of men to offer it, and the people were grievously troubled on this account.' (Wars vi. 2. 1).

From this time forward the words of Hosea have been fulfilled for ages. "The children of Israel shall abide many days without a king and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image and without an ephod, and without teraphim." This event, with the total destruction of the temple which presently followed, were indeed a signal era in the history of the Church; the final close of the Jewish, and the full introduction of the Gentile dispensation. It forms therefore a fit commencement of the historical transition from the period of Daniel, and the second temple, to the new and mysterious history of Gospel times, which occupies the close of his latest prophecy.

And they shall place the abomination that maketh desolate.

These words acquire a deep and peculiar interest, from the reference which our Lord has made to them in His own prophecy, and the special note by which the Spirit of God fixes our attention on this part of the message. "When ye shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in a holy place (let him that readeth understand); then let them which be in Judea flee to the mountains." These words of our Saviour are commonly referred, and with much reason, to the times of Vespasian. But since it has been maintained that they refer solely to some future event, a few remarks are needed to prove their true application, and shew their connexion with the present verse.

Now the words of our Lord form the answer to a definite inquiry, made just before by the disciples. They

ask when that temple on which they were gazing with a fond admiration, and which their hopes had connected with all the glory of Messiah's kingdom, was to be overthrown and destroyed. Of the fact itself they had just been assured by our Lord, and it filled them with deep sorrow. They now inquire the time, 'when these things should be.' Whatever else may be added to their question, this was their first and immediate object. Our Lord's answer corresponds, and gives them a sign when the desolation would be close at hand. And as this was the first practical object of the prophecy, the Holy Spirit fixes the attention of the early Christians on this part of our Saviour's warning, and inserts the direction in two of the gospels—" *whoso readeth, let him understand.*"

Secondly, since the phrase, which our Lord adopts from the prophecy, was rather obscure as He applied it, its meaning is gradually explained in the two later Evangelists. It is clear that the passages Matt. xxiv., Mark xiv. and Luke xxi., are three records of the same discourse. It is equally plain that the fifteenth, fourteenth, and twentieth verses respectively, in the three gospels, correspond with each other. And thus the phrase in St. Matthew, "standing in a holy place" is explained in St. Mark, by the words "standing where it ought not;" and still more clearly by the description in St. Luke—"when ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies." *The holy place*, by emphasis, would be the inner court of the temple. The words used by our Lord, as the article is wanting, admit, and in this place require, a wider sense. But as this might be overlooked, and thus the warning be too late to be useful, the later gospels have expounded it; so that the early Christians might be warned in time, when first the idol-standards of the Romans stood in the holy precincts around Jerusalem, and thus be spared from the impending judgment.

The meaning, then, of our Saviour's words in St. Matthew, doubly expounded by the later gospels, and by the practical deliverance of the Jewish church, is

clear and certain. The abomination of desolation refers to the Roman armies with their idol-standards. As idols they were abominable ; as the direct agents and signals of long lasting ruin, they were an abomination that maketh desolate. They stood (*εν τοπω αγιω*) on holy ground, or where they ought not, when Cestius made his first attack on the city, as Josephus describes.

‘ On the fourth day, the thirtieth of Tisri, when he had put his army in array, he brought it into the city. . . . But when Cestius was come into the city, he set the part called Bezetha on fire, after which he came into the upper city, and pitched his camp against the royal palace. . . . And after five days, he took a great many of his choicest men, and the archers, and attempted to break into the temple at the northern quarter ; but the Jews beat them off from the cloisters. . . . So the soldiers undermined the wall, and got all things ready for setting fire to the gate of the temple.’

The words of Christ, it thus appears, have been fulfilled in the Roman siege of Jerusalem, and relate to that momentous crisis of Providence, which completely separates the old from the new dispensation. But the prophecy of our Lord, as He himself tells us, is only the exposition of an earlier prediction of Daniel. And that the reference is eminently to the present passage xi. 31, appears evident at once, because it is here only that the phrase occurs. The other passages, viii. 13 ; ix. 26, 27, resemble it closely ; and two, if not three of them, really belong to the same event ; but the strict verbal correspondence is found in this vision only. And hence we may regard the discourse of our Saviour as a clear warrant for applying the text before us to the desolation of Jerusalem by the Roman armies.

And, here also, we may distinguish three or four stages in the fulfilment. The first was when the Roman forces, under Cestius, assailed the temple, and endeavoured to set fire to the gate of the sanctuary. The second, when Titus pitched his camp on the Mount of Olives, the very spot where the prophecy was uttered,

and which had been rendered holy by the presence and the words of One greater than the temple. The third was after the capture of the city, which Josephus records as follows.

‘ And now the Romans, upon the flight of the seditious into the city, and upon the burning of the holy house itself, and of all the buildings round about, BROUGHT THEIR ENSIGNS INTO THE TEMPLE, and set them over against its eastern gate, AND THERE DID THEY OFFER SACRIFICES TO THEM, and there did they make Titus Emperor with the greatest acclamations of joy.’ (Wars vi. 6, 1.)

A still further stage in the same desolating abomination took place in the time of Adrian, after the revolt of Barchochebas, when a temple was built and consecrated to Jupiter Capitolinus, on the very site of the sanctuary of God. Nor is there any need to exclude from our interpretation those later acts of the Roman power, which carried still higher the offence against the Divine holiness, and set up the desolating abomination of public idol-worship within the visible church, the true, and after the fall of Jerusalem, the only earthly temple of the living God.

And such as do wickedly against the covenant shall he corrupt with flatteries.

In the application of this whole passage to the Romans, the change of number seems at first to be a slight difficulty. But this may be easily removed, and perhaps may justify us in asserting a minute correspondence with the event. When first the Roman pollution of the sanctuary began, under Pompey, the government was still by two consuls, and *arms* would thus be an emblem strictly appropriate to describe its nature. But when the abomination of desolation was set up, and the predicted flatteries were fulfilled, the government was become a monarchy, and Judea reduced to a Roman province. Or the words may be explained distributively, by a frequent idiom, as they are translated by some writers who refer the passage solely to Antiochus—

'each one of them shall deal corruptly with flatteries.' Of these flatteries the Gospels and Acts afford us many examples, and they lasted until the final ruin of the city. We see, in Josephus himself, a Jew corrupted by these Roman flatteries, who could reject the true Messiah, and gravely assert that Vespasian fulfilled the national prophecies of a Deliverer to arise in the holy land. The language of the chief priests to Pilate, the promise of Pilate to release whom they would, the address of Tertullus to Felix, and the wish of Felix and Festus to do pleasure to the Jews, are further examples of these hollow flatteries, which soon brought on a bitter destruction.

But the people that do know their God shall be strong, and do exploits.

We need not look beyond the Acts and the Epistles for evidence of the fulfilment of these words, during the forty years from the baptism of John to the fall of Jerusalem. The disciples, who knew their God, even the God and Father of the Lord Jesus, were indeed strong in the Lord and in the power of his might, and did exploits in the midst of hatred and persecution. Of these triumphs wrought by Christian warriors, the apostle has twice and three times given us the description in his own person, 1 Cor. iv. 9—13 ; 2 Cor. xi. 23—29 ; 2 Tim. iii. 10—12, and the history might be enlarged without end. While Roman flatteries were prompting that servile speech of politic dissemblers—We have no king but Cesar—the servants of Christ were “bold in their God to preach the gospel of God with much contention.” No sufferings could damp their ardour, no danger abate their zeal ; they were willing not only to be bound, and to suffer joyfully the spoiling of their goods, but to die also for the name of the Lord Jesus.

And they that understand among the people shall instruct many.

The former clause is naturally explained of the faithful witness of the apostles and first disciples among the Jews ; these words are an equally exact description of

their message to the idolatrous Gentiles. They who had the true knowledge of Messiah among the Jewish people, or in other words, the apostles and first Jewish Christians, instructed many. Their voice to their unbelieving countrymen was loud and clear. "It was necessary that the word of God should first be preached to you. But seeing ye put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of eternal life, lo ! we turn to the Gentiles." "Be it known unto you, that the salvation of God is sent unto the Gentiles, and that they will hear it." So that, very soon, one of the foremost of this glorious company could affirm with truth—*From Jerusalem round about unto Illyricum I have fully preached the Gospel of Christ.* Never before had the truth of God been spread abroad on so wide a scale, or so many immortal souls been instructed in that knowledge which makes wise unto salvation. And indeed if we inquire what was the main feature of history for two whole centuries from the fall of Jerusalem, it was the ceaseless diffusion of saving truth among the multitudes of the Roman Empire. Thus Pliny, in his celebrated letter to Trajan, A.D. 110, tells us that the temples of the gods were already deserted, and none could be found to buy the victims for sacrifice. The daily sacrifice might have been taken away from the Levitical sanctuary, but a nobler sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, through the labours of the first messengers of Christ, was fast rising to the God of heaven throughout all the cities of the Roman world.

Yet they shall fall by sword, by flame, and by captivity, and by spoil, many days.

These words describe to us vividly the Pagan persecutions. Although the truths of the gospel spread rapidly, and many received them, the kingdom of darkness was not invaded so rudely, and shaken to its foundations, without a bitter and desperate opposition from the powers of hell. Many converts were beheaded with the Roman axe ; many were tortured, like Polycarp, by the burning flame. Many suffered the spoiling of their goods, and took it joyfully for Christ's sake ; and the

devil cast many into prison, and sent upon them a fiery tribulation. From the reign of Nero, A.D. 66, to the abdication of Diocletian at the close of the last and heaviest persecution, A.D. 313, the furnace was almost perpetually kindled against the servants of God; and no words could describe, more accurately than this verse, the general state of the Church for two hundred and fifty years.

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

‘The Church,’ Bishop Newton well observes, ‘had now laboured under long and severe persecutions from the civil power. The last was begun by Diocletian; it raged, though not at all times equally, ten years; and was suppressed by Constantine, the first Roman Emperor who made open profession of Christianity; and then the church was no longer persecuted, but protected and favoured by the state. But still this is called only a little help; because, though it added much to the temporal prosperity, it contributed little to the spiritual graces and virtues of Christians. It enlarged their revenues and increased their endowments, but proved the fatal means of corrupting the doctrine, and relaxing the discipline of the Church. It was attended with this peculiar disadvantage, that “many cleave to them with flatteries.” Eusebius, a cotemporary writer, reckons that one prevailing vice of the time was “the dissimulation and hypocrisy of men who fraudulently entered into the church, and borrowed the name of Christian without the reality.” It is also called a little help, because even the temporal peace and prosperity of the church lasted but a little while. The spirit of persecution presently revived.’ (Diss. xiv. part 2.)

“And some of them of understanding shall fall, to try them, and to purify them, and to make them white, even to the time of the end; because it is yet for a time appointed.”

Here a season of renewed persecution is announced, but with two distinctive features, in contrast with the former. It is partial, as to its objects, and it is of longer

continuance. Some only of them of understanding will be thus afflicted with open persecution, and this period of affliction will continue even to the time of the end. Both features meet in the later persecutions of the faithful, since the nominal conversion of the Roman Empire. Real Christians have been found since, partly sheltered from open violence by an outward communion with the dominant church, in which they have still retained the vitals of the faith ; partly cast out as heretics, and witnessing in sackcloth against the prevailing forms of idolatrous corruption. This chequered and mingled state of the church began soon after the days of Constantine, and it has continued down even to our own times, which may be called, with a peculiar emphasis, the time of the end.

Such is the simple exposition of these verses which the broad facts of history supply. The events which occurred in the time of the Maccabees reappeared in the same order, but on a larger scale, in the desolations of Judea, the triumphs of the gospel, and the deep affliction of the true and valiant champions of the Lord. The thing was true, but the time appointed was long. Age after age, as it slowly passed away, only continued to reveal the sententious fulness, as well as the detailed accuracy of this holy prophecy ; and even those parts of it which were sealed unto the time of the end, when they once began to unfold, were seen to be rich with all the mysteries of Divine wisdom, and pregnant with truths that deeply affected the whole Church of Christ, even to the very end of the world. Amidst all the designed obscurity, which was to rest for a season on the latest part of the message, and the complex variety of the predicted changes, it was yet *for a time appointed*. Every step in this mighty scheme of Providence, like the covenant of our salvation, was ordered in all things and sure ; and through sword and flame, through captivity and spoil, the Church of God marches onward, with sure step and incessant progress, to its final victory in the resurrection of the just.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE WILFUL KING.

DAN. XI. 36—39.

THIS Prophecy is one of deep interest, and needs to be approached with peculiar caution. There is none which should remind us more strongly of the need of Divine wisdom, to interpret it rightly, and fix its true meaning. The words are imperfectly translated, and obscure in themselves. Even their grammatical force has often been disputed, and still more, their historical reference. Some have referred the whole to Antiochus, others to an infidel king yet to arise, others to democratic infidelity in the Roman empire, and others to the Popedom, or the Christian Greek empire. Most divines, whether Fathers, Protestants, or Roman Catholics, believe that the same power or person is designed as in the Little Horn and the Man of Sin. But a few able writers maintain an opposite view, and while they refer those emblems or titles to the Papacy, apply this prophecy and the Antichrist of St. John to an infidel power of the last days.

Where so many Protestants agree with the Romish interpreters, in applying the words to a heathen or infidel, an opposite view must lie, at first, under a strong suspicion of obstinate prejudice. I was myself once a convert to those arguments which have been urged for the application to a power openly infidel and blasphemous. A closer search, however, has compelled

me to recur, in substance, to the interpretation of Mede, though since abandoned by several of his followers. And I hope to prove, in this chapter, that the strict rules of scriptural induction, confirmed by the voice of history, fix these words to the idolatrous apostasy of the Church in the latter days.

To pursue this inquiry aright, we must advance with cautious steps, from the removal of false impressions, to the establishment of true maxims of exposition ; from the outlines which are most clear and evident, to those which, at first sight, are ambiguous and obscure.

I. First, the Wilful King is not Antiochus Epiphanes. It is true that not only Porphyry, but several learned Christian divines, have maintained this opinion. But, however great the ingenuity and research which have been employed in its behalf, the interpretation does violence to the plainest truths. It is clear that the description (xii. 1—3) was not fulfilled in the time of the Maccabees. The prophecy ends with a resurrection from the dust, and the end of all the Jewish dispersion. It was to be, eminently, for many days. It is to last until the indignation against Israel be accomplished. Daniel himself must be found standing in his lot in the end of the days of this vision. St. Peter clearly alludes to the description in chapter xii., when he declares “ it was revealed that not unto themselves, but unto us, the prophets did minister the things now preached ”—or, in other words, that the times referred to in the question of Daniel lie within the Christian dispensation. With all these clear marks to fix the close of the vision far beyond the days of Antiochus, and even in times still future, those only can rest satisfied in the view of Porphyry, in whom a cumbrous learning has entirely stifled all simplicity of faith. Next to the historical reference in the early part of the prophecy, its most conspicuous feature is the future application of the closing verses, in the promised time of the Jewish restoration.

II. Next, there is no proof that the Wilful King denotes one individual person. This has been often

affirmed, but without any solid reason. Three different pleas for it have been alleged. First, that the prophecy is free from symbols, and hence the word *king* may not bear a symbolical sense. Secondly, that the object is to describe a personal Antichrist of the last times, in contrast to the two former visions, and that this explains why it begins with a history of individual kings. Thirdly, that since all the rest of the vision treats of individuals, a solitary exception cannot be allowed without gross inconsistency, and an open violence to the text.

The first of these arguments rests on a palpable error. The absence of symbols is no reason why the word *king* should be confined to a single person. The official sense is not a symbol, but occurs both in the explanation of symbols, and in other passages also. It is frequent in those human writings, with which symbols have nothing to do. Its use depends on a cause entirely different. In a history of minute details, personal actions or features will have to be described, and the term will be used, naturally, in a personal and restricted sense. In a broad outline of national changes, or in maxims of law and policy that endure for ages, relations merely personal, like hedgerows in the distant landscape, will often disappear, and then the word must resume its wider meaning. The unity of the king is defined, in this latter case, not by the birth or death of a person, but by the sameness of the office. He becomes a perpetual person ; the king never dies. Hence the warrant for such an use of the word, in prophecy, depends on the wide range of the prediction, and not on the presence or absence of prophetic symbols.

Again, it is a mere assumption that the chief aim of this whole vision is to predict one remarkable person, an infidel king, whether Napoleon, or some one who is still to arise, and that this is the secret reason why so many individuals are described. Its object has been clearly stated—to make known what would befall the people of Daniel in the latter days. This purpose may be equally

fulfilled by a prediction of individual monarchs, or of long-lasting powers. Nay, in reality, the description of a power that would afflict Israel for ages must attain this end more fully, than to pass over century after century without notice, and predict one persecutor only, to arise in the last times. Nothing can be more delusive than to frame a purpose for the vision, of which it says not a word, and then to make this our only key to its interpretation. Here there is a very plain reason why the first part should unfold the history of individual kings. It was the design of God to reveal the fortunes of the Jews, in times near at hand, with great fulness of detail, but the events of distant ages with more reserve. The last part of the vision was to be sealed until the time of the end. The same motive of Divine wisdom that explains why individuals are recorded, in all the former part, must render it unlikely that they should appear in the close of the prophecy. The space of time which has to be traversed in a few verses must require either the adoption of a more brief and comprehensive style, or a total departure from the simplest laws of historical narrative.

The argument, drawn from the uniform character of the rest of the chapter, is thus anticipated and overthrown. But there is a further reply which may be offered, drawn simply from observation of the text. The prince who turns back the reproach of Antiochus, was the Roman consul, viewed *officially*, and no one individual person. Instead of personal reproach, Antiochus had offered much personal flattery, and two or three different consuls took part in his overthrow. The insult was offered to the nation, and it was nationally repelled.

The titles used throughout the vision, King of the North, and King of the South, illustrate the same law of official unity. Several changes really occur in each dynasty, which are lost and concealed under these permanent titles. So apparent is this tendency to view the whole dynasty as *one*, wherever no personal relation, such as birth or death, requires notice, as to have

led one writer to maintain the absurd paradox, that only one king of the north, and one king of the south, is intended throughout the whole prophecy.

III. The general theatre of the vision, which is the East, is no safe test by which to ascertain the Wilful King. It is clear that the whole prophecy, down to the thirtieth verse, has its scene laid in Asia, and the countries around Judea. It is equally clear that the same features occur in its last verses. But it would be a hasty and unsound conclusion, that the Wilful King must be looked for in the East only.

The express design of the vision, as the angel himself tells us, is to reveal to Daniel the future lot of his people. Now for six centuries the Jews were mainly, though not entirely, confined to the East, and the land of Israel. In the last days they will be gathered once more from their second dispersion, and dwell in the land of their fathers. From this it will naturally result that all the early part of the vision, and also its close, have their scene laid in the countries of the East.

For seventeen centuries, however, since the fall of Jerusalem, the Jews have been exiles from Palestine. The West, even more than the East, has been the scene of their sufferings. The Gentile Church also, which has succeeded for a time to so many of their privileges, has been seated chiefly in the West. To infer, then, that the whole prophecy must relate to the East, because this is plainly true of its earliest and latest portions, would be quite illusive. While the Jews were to be found only in Palestine and Asia, this would also naturally be the scene of the vision ; but, during the ages when they are dispersed both in the East and the West, the same latitude must be given to the prophecy, or it will fail to answer its revealed purpose. A false unity would otherwise be introduced, and obscure that which really exists, and runs through the whole course of the vision.

IV. The Wilful King is not an open Atheist, and rejecter of all religion. This view of his character is ad-

vocated, both by Romish divines, and by several Protestant writers, as a first principle in the interpretation. They affirm that he is to be 'an Infidel and open Atheist, who will not only abolish the worship of idols, but stand up against Christ, and take away the name and adoration of the true God.' When authors of such opposite schools agree in this assertion, some will be ready to infer that a contrary view, which applies the text to Christian idolatries, must be a mere controversial prejudice opposed to the plain meaning of the text. Yet it needs only an impartial view of the whole prediction, to shew that the assertion is quite groundless, and refuted at once by the letter of the prophecy.

Two verses of the prediction, it must be allowed, describe an extensive rejection of various kinds of worship on the part of the Wilful King. But the two other verses, it is equally plain, describe a new worship which he sets up instead of the other. If one-half of the prophecy can prove him an Infidel and open Atheist, the other half will equally prove him to be an idolator, and superstitious worshipper. To fix his character by one-half of the prediction, excluding the rest, must lead only to error and confusion. If one interpreter may assume that the worship, in these latter verses, is insincere and pretended, such as an atheist might offer; another has the same right to assume that the blasphemy in the former part, is unconscious and undesigned, such as may be offered by the blindest slaves of superstition. A worship rejected, and another worship set up in its room—former gods despised and set aside, and a strange God increased with Divine honours, are features that must meet and be reconciled in the true fulfilment of the vision. No form of open and entire atheism can possibly answer to the statement of the inspired text.

The force of this truth has been felt by several of those writers who refer the prophecy to an infidel Antichrist. When they would refute the view of Protestant interpreters, they lay down the maxim

broadly, like most writers of the Roman Church, that the Wilful King must be an open Atheist. But when they would explain the prophecy on their own system, they discover that bare Atheism is too cold and negative to sustain the tremendous power which Antichrist is to wield. They then discover that he will both be a worshipper himself, and an object of worship to others. Such contradictions must arise, when one-half of the prophecy is overlooked in expounding the rest, instead of explaining each separate feature in harmony with the entire description.

To refute the opinion just named it is needless to enter into minute details. It is enough that the Wilful King is said to be a worshipper, and plainly acknowledges a Divine power ; that, whatever be the nature of this Divinity, he honours it, and increases it with glory, secures to it costly offerings, and dedicates gold and silver and precious stones, to increase and maintain the splendour of the worship. It is a false religion, secretly inspired by arrogance and pride, not a total rejection of all religion, which is imputed to him as his crime. Every exposition which starts by assuming the reverse, is convicted by the plain words of the text of a fundamental error.

Having removed these false grounds of decision on the application of the prophecy, let us now examine direct marks which it supplies, to fix its own meaning.

V. The first mark may be drawn from *the place of the Wilful King in the prophetic history*. The verse xi. 30, clearly refers to the return of Antiochus from Egypt, A. C. 167. The passage, xii. 1—3, as plainly relates to a time still future. The fifteen verses which intervene must therefore spread over a space of two thousand years, and be either a partial selection, or a comprehensive description, of the events affecting the Jews or the Church of God during those long ages. Unless there be some total departure from the usual laws of historical narrative, we should infer that the present description relates to a period of six or seven centuries

in the midway portion of that long interval of time ; and that it might probably be a description of the main events from the fifth to the twelfth century of the Christian era. Of course so brief a history cannot reasonably be tied down to the rule of exact proportion. But still the above conclusion is that which would result most naturally from the fixed data which the vision itself supplies.

But we may reduce the inquiry within narrower limits. The verses xi. 31—35, are by some referred to the time of the Maccabees ; by others, to the military triumphs and religious persecutions of the Romans, from the days of Pompey to Constantine and his successors. I have shown that the prophecy embraces both series of events, and that it thus reaches onward to the renewed persecutions of the faithful, after the imperial help afforded to the Church. This will answer naturally to the time of the Vandal persecutions in Africa, which would clearly fulfil the words of the text. And thus the continuity of the vision will lead us to assign the close of the fifth, or the opening of the sixth century, as the most natural date for the rise and first dominion of the Wilful King.

This first mark, however, is merely a presumption, and not strictly a proof. It is possible that the 35th verse might include the whole range of time, down to the last Papal persecution, and the Wilful King occupy merely the short interval which terminates the long reign of superstition in a paroxysm of infidel violence. But certainly it is far less natural to suppose that one verse describes the history of fourteen centuries, and the ten verses which follow, only forty or fifty years at the most ; than to believe that here, as elsewhere, the Angel adheres closely to the main purpose of the vision, and that common law of proportion which reigns in all the serious narratives of history.

VI. The wilful king *shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished.* This is a further mark of his time and continuance. From Zech. i. 12. Isa. x. 24, 25 ; xii. 1.

Luke xxi. 23. 1 Thess. ii. 16. Dan. viii. 12, 19 ; xii. 7 ; it will be plain that *the indignation* denotes here the anger of God against his ancient people. That anger had been signally displayed in the captivity of Babylon, and its weight had only just been removed. But the prophet had been warned already that there was to be a future time, or latter end, of this Divine indignation, that the daily sacrifice would again be taken away by reason of transgression, and the city and temple laid once more in ruins. He is here taught that the present vision will cease, when God has accomplished scattering the power of the holy people. Till then, the indignation would rest heavily upon them. Jerusalem, in the words of our Saviour, would be trodden down of the Gentiles, and the wrath would come upon Israel unto the end. 1 Thess. ii. 16. When we combine these truths with the plain declaration, that this vision relates to the future history of the Jews, the meaning of *the indignation* seems too clear to admit any reasonable doubt. To refer it to the anger of the wilful king would reduce it to a mere tautology. "He will prosper till his prosperity shall end."

The wilful king, therefore, is to prosper, until the anger of God against Israel is accomplished. This is another proof that Antiochus cannot be really meant. But it is also a strong presumption that no short-lived Infidel power is the object of the prediction. For the reign of the wilful king is here limited by the close of the Jewish desolation, and that desolation has now lasted for eighteen hundred years. Now if his reign were so short that it might be viewed as a mere limit, when compared with this long season, the phrase would be unsuitable and unnatural. We should expect rather one of these statements—'he shall prosper in the end of the indignation,' or 'the indignation shall last until he shall appear.' The actual statement implies that his reign will be commensurate with the indignation, not perhaps of the same length, but on a similar scale and ending at the same time. This will agree with a

dynasty that lasts for ages, but not with the transient and hasty reign of one Infidel king.

If we once place ourselves in the same point of view with the prophet, and conceive ourselves to follow the Angel's narrative down through the course of following ages, the natural conclusion from the words will be very plain. Whether the preceding verse refer to the Maccabean troubles, or more fully to the renewed sufferings of the faithful after Constantine, the reign of the wilful king must reach from that time to the final close of the Jewish tribulation.

VII. *In the time of the end the king of the south will push at him.* This phrase, *the time of the end*, has been used already in the eighth chapter, and occurs three times elsewhere in the present vision. An argument has been drawn from it to confine the wilful king to an Infidel power of the last days; but a more exact inquiry will derive from it an opposite conclusion.

The reasoning used has been of this kind. The exploits of the king are to be within this time of the end. But the word *end*, by its derivation in Hebrew, imports *a cutting off*, or a final and absolute limit. *The time of the end* must thus be the limiting time, or the very close of all these visions. In other words, it must be the same with the end of the three times and a half of the Little Horn. Assuming that these denote 1260 natural years, the last of those years will be the time of the end, or the season assigned for the exploits of the wilful king.

Every part of this reasoning is unsound. The word *end*, whatever be its derivation, is not limited in Hebrew, or perhaps in any language, to the sense of a mathematical limit, or absolute close. In fact, the Hebrew word is one of three nouns, all of kindred meaning and derivation; and they are all used to denote coasts or borders, in place, and a closing portion when referred to time. The ends of the earth, who turn to the Lord, are not mathematical lines, but the border countries of the world and their inhabitants.

And even if the word, *end*, were thus rigidly confined, the natural phrase to express an absolute close must be, *the end of the times*, and not as in the prophecy, *the time of the end*. This latter phrase cannot properly denote the end itself, but some continuous period of time, distinguished from others which precede it, by a close connexion with the end. In short, it must be the latest of those definite intervals or spaces of time which have been clearly expressed, and must reach even to the final close.

Let us now seek a key to the true meaning of the phrase from the visions themselves. Four great empires had been revealed to the prophet, to be followed by the everlasting kingdom of Messiah. By *the end*, he would clearly understand the great crisis, when the last of these empires should fall, and the Son of Man receive the kingdom. The fourth empire, he had been taught, would exist in two successive forms, one of union and strength, the other of weakness, division, and decay. In this latter stage of its continuance, a Little Horn would arise, and prosper for a time, times, and a half, until wasted by Divine judgments, that would consume and destroy it unto the end. Now *the time of the end*, to the ear of the prophet, must imply some definite period, marked off from others, and closely linked with the fall of the last empire. One such period, and one only, has been revealed to him. The little horn was to prevail for *a time, times and a half*, during the last stage of the last Empire. Here, therefore, the visions themselves being our guide, we have a period which satisfies every feature of the phrase. *The time of the end* must be the definite period assigned to the Little Horn. To those who live near the expiration of those periods, the phrase will doubtless acquire a double emphasis, when restricted to its closing portion only, or to those days which seem afterwards added to its termination. But still the meaning derived from the prophecy itself, must be "the definite predicted season of the Little Horn."

A strong presumption will now arise, that the Little

Horn of the Fourth Beast, and the Wilful King, are one and the same. And this idea is greatly confirmed by the oath of the Angel in the following chapter. The inquiry is made—"How long shall be the end of these wonders?" Several views have been taken of the precise meaning of these words. The simplest paraphrase, to agree with the context, is this—How long shall be the closing part of the prophecy, occupied with these marvels or wonders of the wilful king? He replies, "that it shall be for a time, times, and a half; and when he shall have accomplished scattering the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished." In other words, when the indignation on the Jews is accomplished, the power of the king shall come to an end. The same period which had been assigned to the Little Horn is thus the appointed duration of the marvels in this vision, and of the king from whom the marvels proceed. The close of the period is the same in each case, and hence its beginning must also be the same. The conclusion is hardly to be avoided, that since the Wilful King is a contemporary from first to last with the Little Horn, and coincides so plainly in most features, these two powers are in reality one and the same.

The meaning here assigned to the phrase is in perfect harmony with its use in every passage. In viii. 17, the angel Gabriel says to the prophet, "the vision shall be unto the time of the end." And again, "I will make thee know what shall be in the future time of the indignation; for it (the vision) will be unto the time of the end." In other words, the Angel will reveal events that occur during the second and longer affliction of the Jews, for the vision reaches unto the latest revealed stage of the fourth empire, or the appointed times of the Little Horn.

Again, the words are said to be closed up and sealed until the time of the end. This, as now explained, will signify that the last part of the prophecy will begin to be understood clearly only when it begins to be fulfilled. The opposite view compels us to infer that the

prophecy will remain sealed till its fulfilment is ended, and will thus be fatal to those very expositions in which it has been maintained.

The oath of the Angel assigns, therefore, the same period for the marvels of the wilful king, which is prescribed to the tyranny of the Little Horn. The same period recurs five times in the Book of Revelation, where it measures the abode of the Church in the wilderness, the sackcloth state of the witnesses of Christ, the reign of the seven-headed Beast, and the profanation of the outer court by the Gentiles. When we compare these passages together, and mark the unity of the moral features, as well as the sameness of the time, there will be a cumulative proof that the Little Horn, the Wilful King, and the first or second Beast of Rev. xiii. are in truth different expressions for one single power.

VIII. *The king shall do according to his will.* The title is here instructive, and may assist in determining the Power really designed. The article implies a reference to some person or power already revealed to the prophet. The previous history has brought us to the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, and indeed still lower. That Antiochus himself is not described, has been proved already. It must therefore be some person or power, included within the times of Roman sovereignty. For we have been brought already to the close of the third empire, and the dominion of the fourth was to last until the visible kingdom of Messiah.

There are thus three kings, already named, to one or other of which the prophecy must be referred. These are *the fourth king*, vii. 17, or the Roman Empire in general, including the Pagan form of heathen idolatry—*the fierce king*, viii. 23, already shewn to denote the Roman power, as a foreign graft on the third or Greek Empire, and which subsisted in complete separation from the West for eleven hundred years; and lastly, the little horn or *other king*, vii. 24, which has been proved in another work to represent the Papacy of Rome. But since the previous verses have described

the Pagan persecutions, and the Imperial help received by the Church, it is more natural to identify the wilful king with the last of these, or the little horn.

The exposition which applies these words to an Infidel king seems here to fail entirely. No previous mention has been made of such a person, distinct from both of the two little horns. Those who refer the previous emblems also to such a shortlived, future Antichrist, are on this point more consistent. The article has then its proper reference. But to retain the true application of the Little Horn to the Papacy, and then to explain *the king* of an Infidel power, noticed here for the first time, deprives the article of all force, and thus destroys the internal harmony of these inspired predictions.

IX. *And he will exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god.* The former clause referred us backward to the vision of the seventh chapter, and identified the king with the Little Horn. The present words form a link of connexion, even still clearer, with another prophecy. The description which St. Paul gives to the Thessalonians of the Man of Sin is almost in the very same words. "That day shall not come, except there come the falling away first, and that Man of Sin be revealed, that Son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God or worshipped; so that he, as God, sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God."

The description, in these two passages, is partly in the very same words. It is also plainly implied by the holy Apostle that the character he describes had been already announced in the Old Testament prophets. Hence we may infer that St. Paul alludes to this very prophecy of the wilful king, and borrows even the words of his description, from those employed by the Angel in this verse.

This allusion is so plain, that it has been recognized by every class of interpreters, from Theodoret down to our own day. And hence, even if the Antichrist of St. John and the Man of Sin were two distinct powers, the

wilful king must be identified with the latter only, unless we do violence to one of the clearest marks of reference in the whole word of prophecy.

Fresh points of resemblance appear on further inquiry. This king is introduced, after the men of understanding have instructed many. The prediction of the Man of Sin was given when the gospel was fast spreading through the empire, and that evil power was to follow a great apostasy from the faith. If pride and self-will are the essence of sin, then the title, Man of Sin, and the description of this king, are really the same. The multitude of gods, against or above whom he magnifies himself, are distinguished from the God of gods, who is separately named. The same contrast equally appears in the other prediction. The Apostle notes, with a strong emphasis, that the Man of Sin has a time properly his own, within which he must be revealed. So also, a solemn oath from the Son of God limits and defines the tyranny of this wonder-working king. And thus, as he has been identified before with the Little Horn, he is here proved to be the same with the Man of Sin, or Lawless one, in the later prophecy.

X. *He shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods.* This clause, perhaps, has chiefly led to the impression that the predicted king is an open atheist and blasphemer. Yet a close attention to the passage and to its whole context will shew how little there is to countenance such a view.

Three alternatives are open to us, in the meaning we may attach to these words. This king may deny the very existence of the God of gods, and treat Him as a chimera of superstition: or he may own Him under that very title, and bid open defiance to his power: Or lastly, he may acknowledge Him in words as the Supreme God, and still dishonour His name, by imputing to Him a partnership in the foulest crimes, and thus treat Him as an accomplice in his own wickedness.

There are two reasons, which seem nearly decisive against the first view. To deny the existence of the

God of gods is a marvel of ungodliness, entire and complete in itself, but it seems to exclude every other. It is not, as here twice repeated, *niphlaoth*, and *pelaoth*, *marvels* and *wonders*. This implies rather a sin, multiplied in various shapes and forms, against a Divinity who is owned to exist. Again, since the king does plainly worship, and own a Divine power, it is hardly conceivable, however depraved, that he should deny the being of a God of gods, or supreme Divinity. This would be rather the insanity of an idiot, than the madness of subtle and arrogant sin.

To own the God of gods, under that very title, and still to bid him defiance, seems equally impossible. It is a title, not of holiness, or wisdom, or goodness, but of supreme power. The blasphemies, whether openly avowed, or practised without avowal, are to be aimed against Jehovah under this peculiar character and title, which betokens His absolute power and dominion. But open blasphemy against God, under this one title, seems to be possible only in the dark writhing of impious despair.

We are thus brought, almost of necessity, to the last alternative. Since the king will utter blasphemies against the true God under this one character, as the Supreme Power of the universe, it is neither a bare denial of His existence, nor open and daring defiance, that is here described. It must rather be the ascription to the Source of all Power, the God of gods, of actions which He disclaims, and maxims which He regards with holy abhorrence. If hateful idolatries were enjoined, and the laws of God daringly repealed; if reason were to be crushed, humanity outraged, doctrines of devils enforced under pain of death, and hideous cruelties inflicted on the servants of Christ, and the name of the God of gods were boldly used to justify the wickedness,—nay, even the wrath of the Omnipotent solemnly denounced against every one who might dare to resist and oppose it; then surely the words would have the most complete fulfilment possible, and the king, who

should thus act, would speak marvellous things against EL ELIM, the Supreme and Almighty God.

XI. *He shall not regard the Elohim of his fathers.*

This is another feature in the angelic description of the king. The clause is rather ambiguous, since the word Elohim may receive two opposite constructions. In our received version, which Bishop Newton and others prefer, it is referred to the one true God, to whom the word belongs in countless passages. But the Septuagint, followed by Mede and many able writers, renders it in the plural, *the gods of his fathers*, and thus refers it to the false gods of the heathen.

That the latter is the true meaning may be proved by several arguments. First, the true God has been already named by a distinct and most expressive title, THE GOD OF GODS. Besides the ambiguity, it would be a needless repetition, if He were spoken of in the very next clause under so different a name.

Next, if the allusion had been to Antiochus, the vile person mentioned before, then the Elohim of his fathers would clearly be the false gods of Syria. Hence, even though a transition is made to another monarch, since the moral unity is so close, and the juncture almost invisible, analogy requires that the phrase should bear a similar meaning.

Thirdly, the king must denote some form or stage of the Roman power. But this empire has been prominently set forth in the previous visions, as heathen and idolatrous, and never as converted to the faith. The rejected Elohim of his fathers must therefore be the gods of his heathen ancestors, whom the king will set aside.

Fourthly, since the singular, *Eloah*, is used in this very passage, it is more natural that its plural form, *Elohim*, should retain the plural sense. Hence false gods must be here denoted by the ambiguous term.

Finally, the word has been used already in this vision to denote the false gods of Syria, which were carried by Ptolemy into Egypt, xi. 8. A direct sanction is thus

given to our adoption of the same version here, even though the other application is more frequent.

This clause, therefore, in its simplest and most natural sense, declares that the predicted king will abandon every form of idol-worship derived from his Pagan forefathers; and that this open rejection of a religion long inherited will be one marked feature in his ambitious pride.

But here an objection may be started. The description is one of blame, and not of praise. But the rejection of heathen idolatry is a plain duty, and were it the result of a Christian profession, would call for high praise. It cannot therefore be the event really designed.

The difficulty may be very easily removed. To reject idol-worship in the fear of God, out of zeal for His commands, and jealousy for His undivided honour, is indeed worthy of praise. But to reject one kind of idolatry, inherited from his own forefathers, and then to replace it by another, the fruit of mere self-will, and condemned equally with the former by the voice of God, can be no praiseworthy act in the Wilful King. Rather it is the mark of a proud arrogance, which disdains alike the voice of God, and the most revered customs of ancestors, a double contempt of God and man. Such is clearly the nature of this mark, when viewed in its moral aspect, and hence the objection must entirely disappear.

XII. *Neither shall he regard the desire of women.*

All the early writers, whether Jews or Christians, seem to have understood by this phrase a pretence of chastity, or a contempt of marriage, or some kindred idea. Of late, several writers have maintained, that *the desire of women* is the personal title of some Deity; according to Venema, the celestial Venus, but, as others interpret, the Messiah. This view has been supported by some plausible and ingenious arguments. It is perhaps the chief cause why not a few Protestant writers have here forsaken the view of Mede, and referred the whole description to some open Atheist. In spite, how-

ever, of the currency which this opinion has lately obtained, I believe that it is quite groundless, and that a strange inaccuracy in a simple point of verbal criticism is the sole foundation on which it rests.

Two chief arguments have been urged to prove that *the desire of women* denotes the Messiah. First, it is said that the Hebrew idiom requires us to interpret the phrase, *that which women desire to have*, and not, as in the usual construction, *the desire of having women*. The word, *desire*, wherever it is joined with a genitive in the Hebrew, is asserted to be taken passively for the *object* of that desire. Again, the form of the sentence proves that some Deity is meant, since *the desire of women* is included between *the gods of his fathers*, and *every god*, and it is said of all these alike, that he will disregard them. Hence it is inferred that it must denote the Messiah, since his birth was a leading object of desire to Jewish women.

Even at the first glance, there are two difficulties in the way of this reasoning, however ingenious and convincing it may appear. If the true construction depends entirely on a Hebrew idiom, it is strange that no early writer, either Jew or Christian, should have lit on the correct meaning. And again, the birth of Messiah was not an object of desire to women in general, but only to believing women among the Jews. This seems a narrow basis for so general a title, and no special reason is assigned for its adoption here. But there is no need to rest on presumptions merely. The alleged fact, on which the theory is made to rest, is a mere oversight, which a closer inspection overthrows entirely.

The word *chemdah*, here translated *desire*, occurs only in fifteen other places. (1 Sam. ix. 20; 2 Chron. xxi. 20; xxxii. 27; xxvi. 10; Psalm cvi. 24; Isa. ii. 16; Jer. iii. 19; xii. 10; xxv. 34; Ez. xxvi. 12; Dan. xi. 8; Hos. xiii. 15; Nah. ii. 19; Hag. ii. 7; Zech. vii. 14). The passage in Haggai, like the one before us, has its meaning still disputed. Setting this aside, *there is not one passage in the whole number, where it denotes an*

object of desire. In every instance it signifies the emotion itself, or the abstract quality of beauty or pleasantness which gives rise to that emotion.

The meaning of the word being thus clear and certain, its use with a genitive must follow the universal law, which extends to Hebrew and most other languages. The genitive will be either active or passive, as its own context decides in each particular case. *The desire of women* must therefore denote, either the emotion of desire that women feel, or that of which they are the object, or the beauty and pleasantness from which these emotions arise. The first sense is here plainly unsuitable. The two others agree in effect, and one or other of them must therefore certainly be the meaning of the phrase. Such is indeed the construction of the words which has been generally received for many ages.

The other argument has still to be examined. The position of these words has been thought a clear proof that they must denote some Deity. They are joined in the same construction with *the gods of his fathers*, and with *every god*, the double object of his contempt. This reasoning has been carried still further. The general statement, "he shall magnify himself above every god," is divided, it is maintained, into three parts, which relate to the God of gods, the Desire of women, and the gods of his fathers. Then the words at the close, "for he shall magnify himself above all," shut in *the desire of women* among the deities which he rejects; for their only possible sense must be—above all the deities, who have been already named.

This reasoning is equally deceptive. The structure of the words does not warrant this idea of a threefold division of the general statement. The two verses are distinguished from each other, and the threefold character, which by an ingenious omission they seem to countenance, disappears when the text itself is given.

"And he will exalt himself, and magnify himself against every God, and will speak marvellous things against the God of gods; and will prosper until the in-

dignation be accomplished ; for the thing determined shall be done.

“And to the gods of his fathers he will not have regard ; and to the desire of women ; and to every god he will not have regard, for he will magnify himself above all.”

There is here no trace of a threefold structure, as if the God of gods, the desire of women, and the gods of his fathers, were named to subdivide the more extensive phrase, *every god*. The words point rather to an opposite view ; that the God of gods, the EL ELIM is contrasted with the Elim, over whom He reigns, and is the object of an offence different in kind ; and that *the gods of his fathers*, and the *desire of women*, are the objects of an offence different in kind from the general contempt of *every god* : in short, that impiety is mainly condemned in the former verse, and in the latter, the aggravation of that impiety by a contempt of the deepest feelings and most sacred ties of human reverence and love.

Again, the last clause leads to an inference exactly the reverse of that which it has been supposed to prove. If the word, *all*, be paraphrased, *all deities*, the clause is a mere useless repetition of the one before it. On the same hypothesis, the previous expression should have been, *any other god*. As the phrase now stands, it is a clear proof that the word, *all*, has a wider range than *every god*, which is one only of the three particulars it includes.

There is then another meaning, which restores its propriety and force to the expression, and removes all appearance of useless repetition. The grand feature of the description is arrogant pride. This may reveal itself in two main aspects, impiety towards all celestial power, and contempt of all earthly and human affections. The dark outline will then be complete, and both tables of the law alike will be shattered and broken. Such is the character here described. The king shows his impiety by exalting himself above every subordinate Divine power, and utters marvellous speeches of arrogance against the Supreme God himself. His

impiety is aggravated by a contempt of the strongest ties of nature. The religious usages of his own fathers are not on this account the more sacred in his eyes. The bonds of marriage, and the tender emotions of female love are equally despised. He will magnify himself above all—all divinities in heaven, and all the claims of kindred upon earth ; above all celestial powers and all human sympathies, however sacred and venerable, and however closely interwoven with the deepest passions of the heart.

The words, thus restored to their natural meaning, form a new link of connexion, and lead us by the hand to another prophecy, which may throw further light on the character of this king. 1 Tim. iv. 1—3. “ Now the Spirit saith expressly, that in after times some will revolt from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of demons ; through the hypocrisy of liars, seared as with a hot iron in their own conscience, *that forbid to marry*, and command to abstain from meats, which God created to be received with thanksgiving by them that believe and have known the truth.”

If the word, *expressly*, bore the sense which Mede ascribes to it, *in a written prophecy*, the allusion here would be, as he supposes, immediate and full. But this appears to be an error. The word signifies rather, *plainly* and *clearly*, in contrast to a message that is ambiguous or obscure. The statement may refer to this passage in Daniel, but in an opposite manner. This part of the vision had been closed up and sealed until the time of the end. It was therefore couched purposely in terms, “hard to be interpreted” (Heb. v. 12), and wore the features of peculiar mystery. But when the Christian dispensation, out of which the apostasy would arise, was now begun, the Spirit of God saw fit to draw the veil gradually aside, and hence repeated the warning, before so dim and mysterious, in a plainer and more intelligible form. The obscure or ambiguous clauses of the elder prophecy now find their counterpart in phrases of similar meaning, but easier to understand.

The new worship set up by the king is now, more plainly, an apostasy from the Christian faith ; the worship of Mahuzzim is a "doctrine concerning demons" or idolatrous additions to the Gospel ; and his disregard of the desire of women is expounded by "the hypocrisy of liars, that forbid to marry." The whole outline comes out clear and distinct in two main features, idolatry under the mask of Christian faith, and selfish pride under a thin veil of Christian holiness.

XIII. *But in his estate with Eloah he will honour Mahuzzim.*

We now enter on the second part of this description, which exhibits the new worship set up by the wilful king. Here several questions of some difficulty will arise. I will first offer what appears to me the most natural translation, and consider afterwards the chief points in dispute one by one.

'But in his estate with Eloah he will honour Mahuzzim ; even with an Eloah, whom his fathers knew not, he will honour them, with gold, and with silver, and with precious stones, and with pleasant things.

'And he will offer to the strongholds of Mahuzzim, with a foreign Eloah whom he will acknowledge ; he will increase their glory, and will cause them to rule over many, and will divide the land for gain.'

First, what is the meaning here of the word Mahuzzim ? We have almost a sufficient key in this chapter alone. In the very opening of the prophecy, the Angel says to Daniel—"In the first year of Darius the Mede, I stood up, *lemahoz lo*," to strengthen him, or be a *Mahoz* to him. In the ninth verse, the king of the south enters into the *Mahoz*, or fortress, of the king of the north. In the next verse, again, the king is stirred up, "even *Mauzzah*," to his fortress. In the thirty-first verse the arms that stand up are said to pollute *hammiqdosh hammahoz*, the sanctuary of strength. Lastly, in 2 Sam. xxii. 33 ; Psalm xxvii. 1 ; xxviii. 8. Nah. i. 7, and five other places, the title is applied to God himself, the true strength and fortress of His people.

These texts throw a clear light on the passage before us. The word properly denotes a fortress, and hence is frequently applied to God, the true fortress of his servants. The Son of God has here employed it to describe His own guardian care, as the Angel of God's covenant, over Darius the Mede. The sanctuary is styled the sanctuary of the Mahoz, from the protecting presence of the God of Israel. And hence *Mahuzzim* must here denote guardian deities, or tutelary powers, who receive worship as protectors and guardians, defences and fortresses, from their votaries.

Next, is the Eloah, here mentioned, distinct from the Mahuzzim, or the very same? The preposition seems ambiguous, and will allow either version, "*for a god, or with God, he will honour Mahuzzim.*" But the phrase is repeated three times, and the third repetition removes the ambiguity, and seems to prove that the two are really distinct.

"And *with, or for* Eloah, he will honour Mahuzzim in his seat, even *with* an Eloah his fathers knew not, he will honour them; and he will offer to the strongholds of the Mahuzzim, *with* a foreign god whom he will acknowledge; and he will cause them to rule over many."

In the third clause the Eloah is distinguished from the Mahuzzim, both by another preposition, more definite in its meaning, and by the plain contrast of number, one Eloah and many Mahuzzim. The same construction must therefore be retained throughout. The king will honor Eloah, even an Eloah whom his fathers knew not, a foreign Eloah whom he will acknowledge. With this Eloah, he will honour gods protectors in his seat; he will honour them with gold and silver, and pleasant things; he will offer to their strongholds with the foreign Eloah, and will cause them to rule over many, and divide the land for gain. The general feature of the whole is that of one chief, and many subordinate, objects of worship.

Let us now endeavour to fix the meaning of the

Eloah, or foreign God, whom the king will acknowledge. Three distinct phrases are employed, and seem to imply three gradations of Divine honour. We have first *El*, and its plural *Elim*, v. 38, a term applied also to mighty men; and which the Apostle seems to expound by the phrase, *πάντα λεγόμενον θεόν, ἢ σέβασμα*, "every one that is called god, or an object of worship." It will thus include human governors, and all the lower deities of the heathen. There is next *Eloah*, and its plural *Elohim*, v. 37, which denotes either the true God, in the distinctness of three Persons; or the celestial gods of heathen worship, the chief Divinity of each separate nation. Such appears its distinctive sense in the speech of Sennacherib, and in the description of the Chaldeans in Habakkuk, the only texts where it is applied to a heathen god. "No Eloah of any nation hath delivered his people out of my hand." "His mind shall change, and he shall offend, imputing this his power to his Eloah." Yet the appearance of the Son of God is described by the same prophet under this very title. "Eloah came from Teman, and the Holy One from Paran." The word may thus denote a heathen Deity, or the Son of God himself, but chiefly under this one aspect, as the main protecting Deity of some one power or nation. The third and highest term employed here is *El Elim*, the God of gods. And this clearly denotes Jehovah, the true God, supreme alike over all the hosts of heaven, and the false idols of the heathen.

Who then is the Eloah here mentioned in this description of the wilful king? This is the feature of the passage which is the hardest to explain. If a false god were meant, why is he contrasted with the Mahuzzim, as one with many, and described by a term used elsewhere, with two exceptions, for the true God only? Why also is he first mentioned in a way that implies an exclusive claim to the title—"with God he will honour Mahuzzim?" On the other hand, if the true God were designed, why is a new title employed,

and not the God of gods, or Jehovah, the incommunicable name of Divine Majesty? Why has the term been applied just before to heathen deities, or how should the worship of this Eloah be made one main feature in the dark character of this apostate king?

These contradictory features appear to be all satisfied by the following interpretation, and by this alone. The Eloah spoken of may be viewed in two opposite aspects. One light may exhibit what he is in himself, and the other the nature of the worship he receives, and what he is in the view of these predicted worshippers. He is the true God, and yet a false Divinity. He is an Eloah in that blessed Elohim of whom it is written in the great commandment—"The Lord our Elohim is one Lord;" yet he is here made the object of a heathenish worship, with many subordinate idols. In short, our Lord himself, the Son of God, may be here intended; but known and worshipped after the flesh, not after the Spirit; not as received into the incommunicable glory, the object of incommunicable worship, but degraded into an Eloah, or chief patron Divinity, who shares His worship with many Mahuzzim; dishonoured by a gross and sensual adoration, in the image, the crucifix, or wafers of bread, while really disowned and rejected in His spiritual and eternal glory.

This view seems alone to meet all the characters, of the prediction, apparently so discordant. "With Eloah the king will honour Mahuzzim in his seat;" even with Eloah, of whom it is written—"God came from Teman, and the Holy One from Paran." "Is there an Eloah beside me? Yea, there is none, I know not any." Yet He is worshipped as the tutelary power of a visible and worldly community, like the Eloah to whom the Chaldean king ascribed his victories. It is an Eloah whom the ancestors of the king knew not; "for had they known Him, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory." It is "a foreign Eloah whom he will acknowledge;" as St. Paul seemed to the Athenians "a setter forth of foreign gods," because he preached

Jesus and the resurrection. He is the son of David, and king of the Jews, adopted as an Eloah by their Roman conquerors, and now become the object of a national and worldly confidence by that state which had levelled the temple with the ground, and laid the throne of David in the dust.

XIV. *And he will offer to the strongholds of the Mahuzim, with the foreign Eloah whom he will acknowledge; he will increase their glory, and cause them to rule over many, and divide the land for gain.*

This last verse of the description has received various translations, and certainly presents some difficulty. The version of Mede is as follows—

“And he shall make the strongholds of the Mahuzim jointly to the foreign god, whom, acknowledging, he will increase with glory; and he will cause them to rule over many.”

Bishop Newton adopts a different rendering—

“Thus shall he do: to the defenders of Mahuzzim, with the foreign god whom he will acknowledge, he will increase glory; and will cause them to rule over many.”

And Dr. Gill, followed by others, another variety—

“And he shall make for his fortified cities Mahuzim, together with the strange god, whom he will acknowledge; he shall multiply their honour, and make them rule over many, and shall divide the land for gain.”

Wintle offers a fourth translation—

“And he shall provide for fortresses of Mahuzzim, together with God; whom he will certainly acknowledge, and he shall multiply the honour, and cause them to have dominion over many; for the land will he distribute at a price.”

There is a difficulty in each of these versions which renders it unlikely that they give the exact meaning. The first, besides other objections to which it is exposed, entirely overlooks a Hebrew preposition. The second isolates the first words in a manner scarcely natural, and the meaning it assigns to *mibtsari* is at least doubt-

ful. The third adopts a harsh license, in neglecting the regimen of the same word, which ought naturally to govern the following noun; and the last is equally strained, in translating the adjective, *nekar*, as a participle of the verb, *to acknowledge*. On the whole, the one offered above appears the simplest, and requires the least departure from the common usage of terms.

The word *mibtsari* occurs thirty-seven times in the Hebrew Scriptures, and everywhere bears the uniform sense, *fortresses*, or *strongholds*. It is therefore harsh, and scarcely admissible, to translate it in this place only, *defenders*. The usual meaning should be preserved. And since the temple, consecrated to God, is called the sanctuary of *Mahoz*, buildings dedicated to tutelary deities, whether cities, forts, or temples, may be naturally termed, strongholds of *Mahuzzim*. Hence the connexion between the two words in their construction cannot be broken without violence.

Again, the word *asah*, *to do*, is very wide and various in its meaning. It is used, among its other applications, to denote acts of worship, or religious offerings, as Ex. x. 25. "And we shall sacrifice (*veasinu*) to the Lord our God." It occurs in this sense nearly a hundred times. In these prophecies it has been frequently used to denote military or political success. But in the passage before us it is joined with several terms, which relate to acts of worship; and such is plainly the chief subject of these verses. It is quite natural, therefore, to understand the word in this sense. "And he shall *offer*, or do service, to the strongholds of *Mahuzzim*." The construction will then present scarcely any difficulty, and a meaning will result in entire harmony with the previous verse.

The words "a foreign god whom he will acknowledge," are a further explanation of the previous description, "a god whom his fathers knew not." Its proper and natural meaning must be, that the worship of this Divinity was borrowed by the wilful king from some other nation, and was unknown to his fathers.

Such, in conclusion, are the results which flow from a careful inquiry into the natural meaning of this passage. The Wilful King here described is one who might be expected to rise after the renewed persecutions of the faithful, when imperial help had been given them, and to continue, perhaps for ages, until the restoration of Israel. His title as *the* king, and the time appointed him in the words of the Angel, prove him to be the same with the Little Horn, speaking great words against the Most High. The description of his acts, and the very words employed, prove him further to be the same with the predicted Man of Sin. He will reject every form of heathen worship, commended to him by the long practice of his fathers, utter proud speeches of surprising arrogance, and of real blasphemy against the God of heaven, trample under his feet the strongest instincts of domestic love, and thus magnify himself against God and man. He will, however, adopt a foreign Eloah, derived from the Jews, for his own; but will turn the very worship he pays to the Son of God into the key-stone of a wide and spreading system of idolatry, in which he will pay reverence to a multitude of guardian powers, and cause them to receive homage and costly worship from his people.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE HISTORY OF THE WILFUL KING.

DAN. XI. 36—39.—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 HONOUR THE GOD OF FORCES : AND A GOD WHOM HIS FATHERS KNEW NOT SHALL HE HONOUR WITH GOLD, AND SILVER, AND WITH PRECIOUS STONES, AND PLEASANT THINGS. THUS SHALL HE DO IN THE MOST STRONG HOLDS WITH A STRANGE GOD, WHOM HE SHALL ACKNOWLEDGE AND INCREASE WITH GLORY : AND HE SHALL CAUSE THEM TO RULE OVER MANY, AND SHALL DIVIDE THE LAND FOR GAIN.

THE main critical difficulties in this remarkable passage have been resolved in the last chapter. I shall now endeavour to trace its historical application, and to explain more fully the connexion and natural force of the prediction. The exposition already offered of the Little Horn, in the former work, will render it less needful to enlarge ; but there are here several fresh features, to which history, as before, will supply an exact key.

The previous verse had announced a renewed persecution, not of all the faithful, but of some among their number, which would continue even to the time of the end. These words apply accurately to the local persecutions of believers under the Arian Emperors, and the fierce and savage cruelties of the Vandals against the

confessors of the faith. When, however, the time of the end, or the predicted three times and a half should begin, these persecutions would gradually become more systematic and severe. So that the prophecy at once proceeds to describe the king, who would prosper in the time of the end, and by whom the fires would be kindled afresh, with more than Pagan cruelty, against the followers of God.

And the king shall do according to his will. The title, as we have seen, refers us naturally to the previous mention of the king, under the emblem of the Little Horn, who displaces three kings, and then exalts himself to supreme power in the fourth empire. The same phrase has been used before to describe the rise of the Persian empire, the victories of Alexander, and the exploits of Antiochus the Great. In each instance it denotes a prosperous dominion, that triumphs over every adverse power. Such was truly the character of the Papal empire, for several centuries of its long course. The language of its own orator, just before the Reformation, was this, 'nemo reclamatus, nemo resistit;' while he boldly applied to the Pope that prediction as actually fulfilled.—“All kings shall fall down and worship; all nations shall serve and obey him.”

And he will exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god. This character of self-exaltation was never more signally fulfilled than in the Popedom. The language of praise is nowhere higher or more ostentatious, than in the Decretals and Bulls of the Popes themselves. There we read, that their principedom is far more excellent than every human principedom; that emperors ought to obey, and not to rule over the pontiffs; that they owe an oath of fealty and subjection to the Pope, as their superior and head; that the tribunals of kings are subject to the sacerdotal power: that what they decree, ought to be observed by all; that as the Son of God came to do the will of His Father, so ought the will of the Pope to be done by all Christians; that their decisions are to be received as the voice of the Divine Peter

himself ; that even if they impose an intolerable yoke, it must be borne with pious devotion ; that for any Christian or Church to affect independence, is for the axe to boast against him that heweth therewith ; that the word by which heaven and earth were founded, has committed to them the authority of earthly and heavenly empire ; that the sacred power and authority of the Pontiffs govern the rulers of this world ; that the Pope has a perpetual dowry of merits, and the inheritance of innocency ; that Christian emperors are bound to submit their mandates to his ; that the Pontiff cannot be bound or judged by the secular power, because it is manifest that God cannot be judged by man. This king declares further, in his own decrees, that it is permitted neither to speak nor to think differently from him ; that appeal must be made unto him as the rule of faith : that he imparts authority to laws, but is not bound by them ; that in others there is the necessity of obeying, in him the authority to enjoin observance ; that He alone may decide on the extent of his own power ; that he is made the head of the whole world ; that none may speak in public or private, against his decisions ; that He has power to judge all men, and is judged by none ; and in fine, that **BY THE DIVINE MOUTH HE IS KNOWN TO BE EXALTED ABOVE ALL.** Such are, even in his own words, the declarations of this king concerning his own greatness, and they fully answer to the prediction.

This rejection of every god must, however, be explained and limited by the following verses. In the case of worldly rulers, who are called gods, his exaltation above them is complete. So it is also with regard to all the deities of the heathen, and their subordinate objects of worship, who are chiefly denoted by this term. With respect, on the other hand, to the God of gods, or to the Eloah and Mahuzzim of the following verses, one statement limits and explains the other. In heart he magnifies himself above every god ; but in profession there are those to whom he renders divine

honours and costly worship. A king, who claims the power of creating his own Creator, and placing whom he will among the gods-protectors whom he has canonized, fulfils thoroughly every part of the description.

And he will speak marvellous things against the God of gods. The offence of the Wilful King against the God of gods is here marked as different in kind from that direct self-exaltation, by which he magnifies himself above all heathen deities, or all worldly rulers. He speaks marvellous things concerning him, or against him; for the word bears equally either sense. The title here used seems designed to point out to us the nature of the sin. It is a title of supreme power, not of goodness or holiness. The king speaks marvellous things against the Almighty, by charging Him with a direct confederacy and partnership in his own acts and decrees, however enormous their guilt. He declares that the God of gods himself has put kings under his power, and commands them to be subject to him; that his decrees are really part of the word of the living God; that the written oracles of the God of gods are to be received, because he has given his judgment for receiving them; that the Lord has received him into a share of his own undivided unity; that the voice of the Lord has made him supreme; that the word by which heaven and earth and all the elements were made, has committed to him both earthly and heavenly empire; that those who transgress any of his decrees shall feel the anger of the Almighty in this life and the life to come, and those who observe them shall be protected by the Almighty God; that his decrees, even where they flatly contradict the Scriptures, are the judgment of the Holy Ghost; that those, whether emperors, nobles, governors, or senators, who distrust even the grossest lies, uttered by him to advance his own pride, shall be bound under eternal damnation "by the living God and his terrible judgment." (Four Emp. p. 214.)

Further, he denounces solemnly the indignation of

Almighty God against those who venture to affirm that the best penitence is a new life, or that indulgences are pious frauds and remissions of good works, or that it is against the will of the Spirit to burn heretics ; or that the Pope cannot make articles of faith, or is not supreme over all Christians. He boldly proclaims the everlasting God to be his accomplice, whether he deifies himself as a god upon earth, or hunts out the faithful of Christ for torture and death, or enrolls his own decrees amongst the Scriptures of truth, or deposes emperors and kings from their thrones, or absolves from the obligation of the most solemn oaths, or requires all men to believe, under peril of eternal damnation, that a consecrated wafer of bread is the true and supreme God, and the proper object of Divine worship. If these are not marvellous speeches against the God of gods, how can our imagination invent others which may deserve the name?

And will prosper until the indignation be accomplished, for the thing determined shall be done.

These words, as we have seen, refer to the indignation of God against Israel, his ancient people. They answer thus to the prediction of our Saviour. "There shall be great distress in the land, and wrath (indignation) on this people. And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and be led away captive into all nations, and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled."

Pagan Rome was the direct instrument of God in the overthrow of the temple, and of the Jewish nation. When the Christian faith prevailed over the empire, it might have been hoped, seeing that our Lord had declared salvation to be of the Jews, that an opposite spirit would henceforward have prevailed, that the sufferings of the outcasts would have been assuaged by grateful memories of the past, and the hearts of Gentile believers, children in the faith, would have been turned towards their Jewish forefathers, and look with sympathy and deep kindness upon the wanderers of Zion. But facts very soon dispelled this illusive hope. The indig-

nation was not accomplished, and Papal Rome, even towards the Jews, learned to rival or surpass the severity of those heathen warriors who laid the temple in ruins.

Of these sufferings of the Jews in Christendom during the Papal domination, and as the direct result of the revived maxims of persecution of which Rome was the fountain-head, it will be enough to extract two or three examples, derived from a single author.

'The intolerant spirit,' Gibbon writes, in reference to Spain when newly subjected to Rome, "since it could find neither idolaters nor heretics, was reduced to the persecution of the Jews. That exiled nation had founded some synagogues in the cities of Gaul; but Spain, *since the time of Hadrian*, was filled with their numerous colonies. . . . Sisebut, a Gothic king, *who reigned in the beginning of the seventh century*, proceeded at once to the last extremes of persecution. Ninety thousand Jews were compelled to receive the sacrament of baptism; the fortunes of the obstinate infidels were confiscated, their bodies were tortured; and it seems doubtful whether they were permitted to abandon their native country. The excessive zeal of the Catholic king was moderated, even by the clergy of Spain, who solemnly pronounced an inconsistent sentence; that the sacraments should not be forcibly imposed, but that the Jews who had been baptized should be constrained, for the honour of the Church, to persevere in the outward practice of a religion which they disbelieved and detested. Their frequent relapses provoked one of the successors of Sisebut to banish the whole nation from his dominions, and a council of Toledo published a decree that every Gothic king should swear to maintain this salutary edict. But the tyrants were unwilling to dismiss the victims, whom they delighted to torture, or to deprive themselves of industrious slaves, over whom they might exercise a lucrative oppression. The Jews continued in Spain under the weight of those civil and ecclesiastical laws, which in the same country have

been faithfully transcribed in the code of the inquisition." (Gibbon c. 37.)

These persecutions began A.D. 614, within thirty years after the subjection of the Gothic monarchy to the see of Rome by the accession of Recared, who renounced the Arian creed of his fathers. And it is remarkable how the history links the last act of heathen Rome's persecuting violence, under Hadrian, with this signal renewal of the same indignation under the cruel intolerance of the Wilful King.

The same spirit had been shown still earlier in Italy itself, under the eye of the Pope, and by his direct instigation, even at a time when his power was in its infant weakness.

'The religious toleration which Theodoric introduced into the Christian world, was painful and offensive to the orthodox zeal of the Italians. They respected the armed heresy of the Goths; but their rage was safely pointed against the rich and defenceless Jews, who had formed their establishments at Naples, Rome, Ravenna, Milan, and Genoa, for the benefit of trade, and under the sanction of the laws. Their persons were insulted, their effects were pillaged, and their synagogues burnt by the mad populace of Ravenna and Rome. A legal inquiry was instituted, and as the authors of the tumult had escaped in the crowd, the whole community was condemned to repair the damage, and the obstinate bigots who refused their contribution were whipped through the streets by the hand of the executioner. This simple act of justice exasperated the discontent of the Catholics, who applauded the merit and patience of these holy confessors, and three hundred pulpits deplored the persecution of the Church.' (c. 39).

The connexion of these persecutions with the worship of the predicted Mahuzzim, and the false wonders by which that worship was ushered in, with their natural effect on infidel minds, may be traced in another and earlier passage of the same historian, where (c. 28) he describes the rise of Christian polytheism. 'At Minor-

ca,' he tells us with his wonted sarcasm, 'the relics of St. Stephen converted in eight days 540 Jews, with the help, indeed, of some wholesome severities, such as burning the synagogue, and driving the obstinate infidels to starve among the rocks. See the original letter of Severus, bishop of Minorca.' (c. 28, note 80.)

When, in the time of the crusades, the power of the Wilful King began to reach its height, its culmination was equally marked by bitter sufferings to the Jews. To persecute was become a main element of the new idolatrous religion, and in these persecutions the Jews naturally came in for one chief share.

'Of these (the first crusaders), and of other bands of enthusiasts, the first and most easy warfare was against the Jews, the murderers of the Son of God. . . . At Verdun, Treves, Mentz, Spire, and Worms, many thousands of that unhappy people were pillaged and massacred, *nor had they felt a more bloody stroke since the persecution of Hadrian.* A remnant was saved by the firmness of their bishops, who accepted a feigned and transient conversion; but the more obstinate Jews opposed their fanaticism to the fanaticism of the Christians, barricaded their houses, and precipitating themselves, their families, and their wealth, into the rivers or the flames, disappointed the malice, or at least the avarice, of their implacable foes.' (c. 58).

But these words of the Angel are more than a prediction that the indignation against the Jews will continue during the sway of the wilful king, who is to be one chief instrument, in the hand of God, for executing his heavy judgments. They teach us, further, that this king will continue to have power, till the final restoration of Israel shall begin. Thus, in the later and more expanded prophecy of Revelation, it is when Babylon falls, that the Jewish song of praise is heard once more in the Church, and, soon after, the Beast and False Prophet fall on the mountains of Israel. However modified the garb it may assume in its latest hour, or whatever new devices the king may employ to

strengthen himself for the last conflict, the power, in the eye of prophecy, is one and the same, even to the very eve of Israel's restoration, and the dawn of the millennial kingdom.

For the thing determined shall be done. It must have seemed strange and incredible, to those whose views and hopes were formed in the bosom of the elder dispensation, that God's ancient people, honoured for fourteen hundred years with miracle on miracle, and prophet after prophet,—the chosen people of the Most High, should be cast off, exiled from their own land, and crushed under Gentile oppression for nearly two thousand years. Yet such was the secret meaning of the vision, to be unfolded in due season by the Providence of God. This gives a deep emphasis to the inserted phrase. As if the Angel had said,—‘ However unlikely it may seem in the eyes of man, that the God of Israel should so long forsake His own people, and suffer such new forms of idolatry to arise, there are deep and wise reasons in the Divine counsels for this mingled vengeance and long suffering. To the eye of sense, this long rejection of Israel, and all the permitted cruelty of the Wilful King may appear strange and surprizing, but “the thing determined shall be done.” An oath of the Son of God assures us that these times of delay shall run their appointed course. His repeated oath assures us, equally, that at their close the mystery of God shall be finished, the blindness of Israel shall cease, and the Church, the bride of the Lamb, be made ready for her husband.

And he shall not regard the gods of his fathers. The Roman king, here predicted, will signalize himself by a total rejection of those heathen gods, in whose protection his ancestors, for ages, had made their boast. This disregard and contempt of hereditary idols, if it were the fruit of true religion, would deserve high praise. But it is here mentioned as a further proof of the arrogance and pride of the wilful king. It is not the fruit of a true reverence for the command of God ; since he

sets up new idols of his own. It is rather a proud contempt for those forms of idolatry which, if any idols were lawful, would be commended to him by the natural instincts of human reverence.

Nor is there any real violence in such a construction of the words, in their application to the events of history. The rapid conversions from Paganism, in the fifth century, were many of them notoriously insincere, the result of worldly ambition. It was just the class from whom the Bishops of Rome were chiefly elected, in whom these worldly motives were most powerfully at work. And hence it is not only true, when we contemplate the history on a large scale, but even in the details of those first ages of Papal power; that the rejection of heathenism was not to welcome a purer faith, but merely to substitute, out of worldly policy, one form of idol worship for another. The twenty-eighth chapter of Gibbon may serve for a full commentary on the words of the prediction. A few extracts will suffice to shew the fulfilment.

‘Paganism was still the constitutional religion of the senate. The hall or temple, in which they met, was adorned by the statue and altar of Victory, a majestic female standing on a globe, with flowing garments, expanded wings, and a crown of laurel in her hand. . . . Four hundred and twenty-four temples still remained to satisfy the devotion of the people; and in every quarter of Rome the delicacy of the Christians was offended by the fume of idolatrous sacrifices. . . . Four deputations were voted to the Imperial Court, to solicit the restoration of the altar of victory. The conduct of this important business was intrusted to the eloquent Symmachus, a wealthy and noble senator, who united the sacred offices of pontiff and augur, with the dignity of proconsul of Africa and prefect of the city. . . . He maintains that the Roman sacrifices would be deprived of their force and energy, if they were no longer at the expense, as well as in the name, of the republic. . . . The test of antiquity and success was applied with sin-

gular advantage to the religion of Numa, and Rome herself, the celestial genius that presided over the fates of the city, is introduced by the orator to plead her own cause before the tribunal of the emperors. "Most excellent princes," says the venerable matron, "pity and respect my age, which has hitherto flowed in an uninterrupted course of piety. Since I do not repent, permit me to continue in the practice of my ancient rites. This religion has reduced the world under my laws. These rites have repelled Hannibal from the city, and the Gauls from the capital. Were my grey hairs reserved for such intolerable disgrace. I am ignorant of the new system that I am required to adopt, but I am assured that the correction of old age is always an ungrateful and ignominious office." . . . But the hopes of Symmachus were repeatedly baffled by the firm and dexterous opposition of the Archbishop of Milan. . . . In a full meeting of the senate, the Emperor proposed, according to the forms of the republic, the important question, Whether the worship of Jupiter, or that of Christ, should be the religion of the Romans? The liberty of suffrage, which he affected to allow, was destroyed by the hopes and fears his presence inspired; and the arbitrary exile of Symmachus was a recent admonition that it might be dangerous to oppose the wishes of the monarch. On a regular division, Jupiter was condemned and degraded by the sense of a very large majority. . . . The hasty conversion of the senate, must be attributed either to supernatural or to sordid motives, and many of these proselytes betrayed on every favourable occasion, their secret wish to throw aside the mask of odious dissimulation. But they were gradually fixed in the new religion, as the cause of the ancient became more hopeless; they yielded to the authority of the emperor, the fashion of the times, and the entreaties of their wives and children. The example of the Anician family was soon imitated by the rest of the nobility; the Bassi, the Paulini, the Gracchi, embraced the Christian religion; and the luminaries of the world,

the venerable assembly of Catos (such are the high-flown expressions of Prudentius) were impatient to strip themselves of the pontifical garment, to cast the skin of the old serpent, to assume the snowy robes of baptismal innocence, and to *humble the pride of the consular fasces before the tombs of the martyrs*. The decrees of the senate, which proscribed the worship of idols, were ratified by the general consent of the Romans; the splendour of the Capitol was defaced, and the solitary temples abandoned to ruin and contempt. . . . The torrent of enthusiasm and rapine was conducted, or rather impelled, by the spiritual rulers of the Church. In Gaul, the holy Martin, bishop of Tours, marched at the head of his faithful monks to destroy the idols, temples, and consecrated trees of his extensive diocese. In Syria the divine and excellent Marcellus, as he is styled by Theodoret, a bishop animated with apostolic fervour, resolved to level with the ground the stately temples within the diocese of Apamea. . . . The churches were filled with the increasing multitude of unworthy proselytes, who conformed, from temporal motives, to the reigning religion, and whilst they devoutly imitated the postures, and recited the prayers of the faithful, satisfied their conscience by the silent and sincere invocation of the gods of antiquity.

‘The ruin of the Pagan religion is described by the sophists as a dreadful and amazing prodigy, which covered the earth with darkness, and restored the reign of chaos and night. They relate, in pathetic strains, that the temples were converted into sepulchres, and the holy places which had been adorned with the statues of the gods, basely polluted by the relics of Christian martyrs. “The monks,” says Eunapius, “are the authors of the new worship, which in the place of those deities who are conceived by the understanding, has substituted the meanest and most contemptible slaves. The heads, salted and pickled, of malefactors, who for their crimes suffered ignominious death, their bodies marked by the lash and scars of tortures inflicted by the magistrate—

such are the gods which the earth produces in our days, such are the martyrs whose tombs are now consecrated as the objects of veneration to the people.”—The most respectable bishops persuaded themselves that the ignorant rustics would more cheerfully renounce the superstitions of Paganism, if they found some compensation in the bosom of Christianity. The religion of Constantine, in less than a century, achieved the final conquest of the Roman Empire, but the victors themselves were insensibly subdued by the acts of their vanquished rivals.’

In this great and momentous change, we must not overlook those moral features, by which alone it comes to fulfil the prediction. If the Empire, under its new head and representative, the Bishop of Rome, while despising and rejecting the gods of its Pagan forefathers, consecrated by the victories of nine hundred years, from Romulus to Trajan, had embraced the pure worship of God in spirit and truth, such a change would have been, in the eye of the Holy Spirit, a subject for unmingled joy. But there are two circumstances in the actual change which entirely alter its nature in the sight of the heart-searching God. The idolatry abandoned is abandoned from no pure and enlightened reverence for the word of God : but in the bigotry of a zeal, which is ready, at the same moment, to adopt fresh idols, and new gods lately come up, which their fathers knew not. Again, all the pretensions of worldly pride and greatness, derived from the achievements of Pagan Rome, are retained and warmly cherished, while the gods of their Pagan fathers are superciliously despised. The king still boasts of the Eternal City, while he sets aside, and tramples under his feet, the gods under whose auspices his forefathers achieved their worldly greatness. It is this secret pride, this national arrogance, joined with new idolatries, which turns a rejection of idols, in itself laudable, into a profane rejection of the gods of his fathers.

Nor shall he regard the desire of women. The meaning

of this clause has been ascertained in the previous chapter. How fully it describes the animating spirit of the whole Papal kingdom, will be clear to those who are familiar with its public decrees, or the facts of its history. The latter may be summed up in a few sentences, borrowed from a recent review, and which will suffice instead of a long and tedious detail.

‘ In the West, from the time of Pope Siricius, the celibacy of the clergy was the law of the Church ; but it was a law so opposed to the common feelings of mankind, that it was for some centuries eluded, defied, and even resisted by main force. In the north of Europe, in England during parts of the Saxon period, in Germany, if we receive for authority the indignant declamations of the high advocates of celibacy, the breach was at least as common as the observance of the rule. If it was an evil, it was an evil of vast extent, against which Hildebrand for the first time hurled the thunders of the Vatican with much success. Even in Italy the Lombard clergy, especially of Milan, boldly asserted their liberty of marriage ; they declared that they had a tradition from St. Ambrose himself, which allowed them the same latitude as the Greek church. It needed the sword of a fierce crusader, Herlembard, to hew asunder the bonds which united the clergy with their wives, whom it was the policy of the hostile party to brand with the name of concubines. Hildebrand, a wise man in his generation, knew that the power of the Pope through the clergy and over the clergy depended on their celibacy. . . . We speak of the system, and we appeal to history. Perhaps the monkish institutes may have the excuse or palliation that they were composed in hard times for hard men. But what sentences of unfeeling, unmitigated, remorseless cruelty do they contain ! What delight do they seem to have in torturing the most sensitive fibres of the heart, in searing the most blameless emotions of human nature.’ (Quar. Rev. No. 152, pp. 333—335.)

Neither shall he regard any god, for he will magnify

himself above all. These words resume and amplify the general statement of his irreligious pride. Every form of human superstition, however venerable for its antiquity, except such as he will himself impose, and every instinct of social union, even those which God himself has appointed and sanctioned, shall give way to his vast and aspiring claims. He will assert his dominion over every form of human authority on earth, and even decide who are to receive Divine honours in heaven.

But with God he will honour Mahuzzim in his seat ; even with a God whom his fathers knew not, he will honour them, with gold, and with silver, and with precious stones, and with pleasant things.

In these words the Angel describes the new worship set up by the king, to replace the abandoned gods of his own fathers. He will acknowledge a foreign god, the same whom St. Paul preached to the Athenians ; but still only with a superstitious worship, that degrades the Son of God himself into a tutelary Eloah, and which is joined with Divine honours to many Mahuzzim, or gods protectors, a new hierarchy of polytheism under a Christian form. How fully the facts of history correspond, has been shewn by Mede, in his *Apostasy of the Latter Times*. To the direct quotations from the Fathers which he has given, may be added the unconscious illustrations of the infidel historian. After quoting the words of Eunapius, in which the sophist deplores the overthrow of the heathen worship, Gibbon continues in these words, borrowed almost from the vision.

‘ Without approving the malice, it is natural enough to share the surprise, of the sophist, the spectator of a revolution, which raised those obscure victims of the laws of Rome, to the rank of CELESTIAL AND INVISIBLE PROTECTORS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE. The grateful respect of the Christians for the martyrs of the faith, was exalted, by time and victory, into religious adoration, and the most illustrious of the saints and prophets were associated to the honours of the martyrs. In the

age which followed the conversion of Constantine, the emperors, the consuls, and the generals of armies, devoutly visited the sepulchres of a tent-maker and a fisherman ; and *their venerable bones were deposited under the altars of Christ, on which the Bishop of the royal city continually offered the unbloody sacrifice.* The example of Rome and Constantinople confirmed the faith and discipline of the Catholic world. The honours of the saints and martyrs, after a feeble and ineffectual murmur of human reason, were universally established ; and in the age of Ambrose and Jerome, something was still deemed wanting to the sanctity of a Christian church, till it had been consecrated by some portion of holy relics, which fixed and inflamed the devotion of the faithful. In the long period of twelve hundred years, which elapsed between the reign of Constantine and the Reformation of Luther, the worship of saints and relics corrupted the pure simplicity of the Christian model. The sublime and simple theology of the primitive Christians was gradually corrupted ; and the monarchy of heaven, already clouded by metaphysical subtleties, was degraded by the introduction of *a popular mythology, which tended to restore the reign of polytheism.*

‘ If in the fifth century Tertullian or Lactantius had been raised from the dead, to assist at the festival of some popular saint or martyr, they would have gazed with astonishment and indignation on the profane spectacle which had succeeded to the spiritual worship of a Christian congregation. They would have been offended by the smoke of incense, the perfume of flowers, and the glare of lamps and tapers, which diffused, at noon-day, a gaudy, superfluous, and in their opinion, a sacrilegious light. As they approached the balustrade of the altar, they made their way through the prostrate crowd, consisting for the most part of strangers and pilgrims, who resorted to the city on the eve of the feast. Their fervent prayers were directed, whatever might be the language of their church, to the bones, the

blood, or the ashes of the saints, which were usually concealed, by a linen or silken veil, from the eyes of the vulgar. Whenever they undertook any journeys, they requested that the holy martyrs would be their guides and PROTECTORS on the road.' (c. 24.)

'A vague tradition was embraced, that two Jewish teachers, a tent-maker and a fisherman, had formerly been executed in the circus of Nero, and at the end of five hundred years their genuine or fictitious relics were adored as the Palladium of Christian Rome. The pilgrims of the East and West resorted to the holy threshold; but the shrines of the apostles were guarded by miracles and invisible terrors, and it was not without fear that the pious Catholic approached the objects of his worship.' (c. 45.)

'The remains of Simeon were transported from the mountain of Telenessa by a solemn procession of the patriarch, the master-general of the East, six bishops, twenty-one counts, and six thousand soldiers; and Antioch revered his bones, as her glorious ornament and *impregnable defence*. The fame of the apostles and martyrs was gradually eclipsed by these popular Antichrists, and the Christian world fell prostrate at their shrines.' (c. 37.)

These Protectors, the vision further informs us, will be honoured with gold, and silver, and precious stones, and pleasant things. The words of the historian closely correspond. 'The satisfactory experience,' Gibbon sarcastically observes, 'that the relics of saints were more valuable than *gold* or *precious stones*, stimulated the clergy to multiply the treasures of the Church. . . . The walls were hung round with symbols of the favours which they had received; with eyes and hands, and feet of *gold* and *silver*. The ambassadors of Recared respectfully offered on the threshold of the Vatican his rich presents of *gold* and *gems*; they accepted, as a lucrative exchange, the hairs of St. John the Baptist, a cross, which enclosed a small piece of the true wood; and a key, that contained some particles of iron which had been scraped from the chains of St. Peter.' (c. 37.)

How direct and immediate in many cases, was the transition from the old to the new idolatry, may appear from the words of Mosheim, on the conversions of the barbarians in the sixth century. 'All that was required of them amounted to an oral profession of the name of Christ, to their abstaining from sacrificing to their gods, and committing to memory certain forms of doctrine, while they continued to distinguish themselves by the most horrid acts of cruelty and rapine, and the practice of all sorts of wickedness. . . . Attached to Christ by a mere nominal profession, they, in effect renounced the authority of his Gospel by their flagitious lives, and the idolatrous rites they continued to observe. See the orders given to the Anglo-Saxons by Gregory the Great, where we find him permitting them to sacrifice to the saints, on their respective holy days, the victims they had formerly offered to the gods. . . . The principal injunctions imposed on these proselytes were, that they should get by heart certain summaries of doctrine, and pay to the images of Christ and the saints the same religious services which they offered before to their own idols.' (Mosh. Cent. v. Part I. c. i.)

And he shall offer to the strongholds of the Protectors, with the strange God whom he will acknowledge; he will increase their glory, and will cause them to rule over many, and divide the land for gain.

These words can scarcely require much explanation. The temples dedicated to the saints, and where they received idolatrous worship, may be fitly termed the strongholds of Mahuzzim. To these, perpetual offerings were made throughout the Papal kingdom. The indulgences of Tetzal, which were the immediate occasion of the Reformation, were dedicated, as is well known, to one of these strongholds, and designed to complete the costly structure of St. Peter's at Rome. But all of these offerings were nominally shared by the strange God, whom he will acknowledge. Though the direct offerings to the favoured saint, in most cases, far exceeded those which were paid to Christ, yet they were profes-

sedly joined together. The dedication was commonly 'Deo et sanctis,' to God and the saints. The words of the prophecy aptly express the nominal pre-eminence, and practical inferiority, of the strange or foreign God, in this new system of idolatrous worship. Such has been the character of Christian idolatry, almost from its very rise. In theory it has maintained the supremacy of the One Mediator above the crowd of saints and angels, whom it has invited to share his office. But in practice the inventions of superstition have ever occupied the foremost place. The offerings are to the shrines of saints and the Virgin, though it may be 'jointly with the foreign God, whom he will acknowledge.' These tutelary and guardian divinities are made to rule over many. Every kingdom, and every province, had its separate patron, and the earth, from east to west, was divided and parcelled out for the gain of a superstitious hierarchy, who made a fearful merchandize of the souls of men.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE WARFARE OF THE LATTER DAYS.

DAN. XI. 40—45.—AND AT THE TIME OF THE END SHALL THE KING OF THE SOUTH PUSH AT HIM : AND THE KING OF THE NORTH SHALL COME AGAINST HIM LIKE A WHIRLWIND, WITH CHARIOTS, AND WITH HORSEMEN, AND WITH MANY SHIPS ; AND HE SHALL ENTER INTO THE COUNTRIES, AND SHALL OVERFLOW AND PASS OVER. HE SHALL ENTER ALSO INTO THE GLORIOUS LAND, AND MANY COUNTRIES SHALL BE OVERTHROWN : BUT THESE SHALL ESCAPE OUT OF HIS HAND, EVEN EDMON, AND MOAB, AND THE CHIEF OF THE CHILDREN OF AMMON. HE SHALL STRETCH FORTH HIS HAND ALSO UPON THE COUNTRIES : AND THE LAND OF EGYPT SHALL NOT ESCAPE. BUT HE SHALL HAVE POWER OVER THE TREASURES OF GOLD AND OF SILVER, AND OVER ALL THE PRECIOUS THINGS OF EGYPT : AND THE LIBYANS AND THE ETHIOPIANS SHALL BE AT HIS STEPS. BUT TIDINGS OUT OF THE EAST AND OUT OF THE NORTH SHALL TROUBLE HIM : THEREFORE HE SHALL GO FORTH WITH GREAT FURY TO DESTROY, AND UTTERLY TO MAKE AWAY MANY. AND HE SHALL PLANT THE TABERNACLES OF HIS PALACE BETWEEN THE SEAS IN THE GLORIOUS HOLY MOUNTAIN ; YET HE SHALL COME TO HIS END AND NONE SHALL HELP HIM.

AFTER the description of the Wilful King, the Angel now proceeds to describe wars and conflicts, to arise in the latter time during the continuance of his power, and which will prepare the way for the final deliverance of the people of God. In this and the next chapter it will be endeavoured to fix the true application of these words, from the light of past history, and the various warnings of unfulfilled prophecy.

Three general views have been adopted, by different writers, in the interpretation of these verses. The first is that of Porphyry, followed by Junius, Grotius, Ve-

nema, and others, who refer the whole to Antiochus Epiphanes. The second, adopted by Mede, More, Sir Isaac and Bishop Newton, and many writers since, applies the prophecy to the Saracens and Turks, whose inroads they justly conceive to be the subject of the First and Second Woes. Several other Protestant expositors, along with the Romanist and Futurist commentators, refer the passage to an Infidel Antichrist still to arise, and to the last conflicts in the land of Judea.

Of these views the first has been already set aside, by the arguments advanced in the earlier parts of the prophecy. These verses, however, alone are its full disproof. *The time of the end*, in its widest sense, refers to the latter stage of the Fourth Empire, and Antiochus perished when that empire was first rising into power. Even if referred only to his reign, a very inadequate view, it is fatal to the proposed exposition. After his repulse by the Roman legates, he seems never to have returned into Egypt, and the King of the South made no assault on him at the end of his reign. His return was not caused by tidings from the East and the North, but simply by the stern command of the Roman senate. Above all, the events described in the following chapter entirely refute this application. No violence can be more gross and inexcusable than to expound these words of the times of Antiochus, or the results of his death. They plainly refer to a still future deliverance of the people of God.

The two other interpretations have, on the first glance, a much greater appearance of truth. The former has been held by most Protestant writers from the time of Mede, or perhaps even earlier. It has latterly been abandoned by several modern expositors, partly from objections which it is easy to remove; but partly from the strong features of correspondence between these verses and other prophecies that are unfulfilled.

In harmony with the views already advanced, I shall here establish, by history, their past fulfilment; and

then show, from the testimony of Scripture, that it is highly probable, if not certain, that they will yet be fulfilled in the last conflicts before the final restoration of Israel.

The events here predicted are to occur in *the time of the end*. Now it has been shown already, by the internal evidence of the visions, that this phrase relates to the latter time of the fourth and last empire, or to the three times and a half of the Little Horn. That Little Horn was seen to arise soon after the breaking up of the Roman empire into ten separate kingdoms. And hence it is natural to expect that the warfare, here mentioned, would begin about the same period with the predicted apostasy of the three kings, or not much later. Accordingly the triumphs of the Saracens began in the seventh century, between the fall of the Gothic and of the Lombard power.

The same view will result from the harmony and unity of the visions. In the two first an outline is given of the Four Empires, and of the main course of Gentile power from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar to the fall of the Papal kingdom. The others describe chiefly the events of the East. In chapter viii. we have a general view of the Persian, Macedonian, and Syrian kingdoms, before the Lord's coming, and of the Eastern power of Rome, by which the sanctuary was cast down and destroyed. The former part is clearly expounded in the present vision, and its full narrative of the Syrian and Egyptian kings. It is natural to infer that the other part will be continued and expounded, in the same manner, by the close of the present prophecy. Now if we inquire what were the next main changes in the East, after the Roman power had engrafted itself on the Third Empire, and appeared as a distinct power, the answer will be plain. It was the destructive inroad, first of the Saracens, and then of the Turks or Ottomans, by whom the Eastern empire was overthrown in helpless ruin, and who were to share in their turn a similar judgment from the hand of God.

A third reason for this view may be drawn from the later visions of the Apocalypse. The Holy Spirit unfolds gradually the truths he has already revealed. That the Saracens and Turks are predicted in the two first woes, is one of the plainest truths in that Divine prophecy. Now if the kings of the south and the north, in this passage, refer to the same powers, there is a fresh harmony, of the closest kind, established between the two predictions. The mention of the horsemen, in verse 40, will answer to the expanded symbols of the Second Woe; while the description of the Wilful King has a resemblance, hardly less striking, to the general character of the remnant (Rev. ix. 20), who repent not of their idol-worship, even after these severe visitations of Divine judgment.

The king of the south shall push at him. The reference of these words to the Saracens has been rejected on this ground, that the use of the titles must be homogeneous throughout the prophecy, and hence that they must relate solely to some king of Egypt. It is needless here to examine the premise, which is perhaps rather a probable than a necessary result of the language. No article occurs in the text, which might be rendered, *a king of the south*,—the same title which our Lord applies to the queen of Yemen in Arabia. But, in fact, Egypt was one of the first conquests of the Caliphs, by which they entered on the prophetic theatre.

‘From his camp in Palestine (June, A.D. 638) Amrou had surprised or anticipated the Caliph’s leave for THE CONQUEST OF EGYPT. The magnanimous Omar trusted in God and his sword, which had shaken the thrones of Chosroes and Cæsar; but when he compared the slender force of the Moslems with the greatness of the enterprise, he condemned his own rashness. The pride and greatness of the Pharaohs were familiar to the readers of the Koran; the cities of Egypt were many and populous, their architecture strong and solid; the Nile, with its numerous branches, was alone an insuperable barrier, and the granary of the Imperial city would be ob-

stinately defended by the Roman powers. . . . The rapid conquest of Alexander was assisted by the superstition and revolt of the natives; they abhorred the Persian oppressors, the disciples of the Magi, who had burnt the temples of Egypt. After a period of ten centuries the same revolution was renewed by a similar cause, and in the support of an incomprehensible creed, the zeal of the Coptic Christians was equally ardent. . . The Saracens were received as the deliverers of the Jacobite church, and a secret and effectual treaty was opened, during the siege of Memphis, between a victorious army and a people of slaves. The Copts above and below Memphis swore allegiance to the Caliph. . . . The Greeks of Egypt, whose numbers could scarcely equal one-tenth of the natives, were overwhelmed by the universal defection. The magistrate fled from his tribunal, the bishop from his altar, and the distant garrisons were surprised or starved by the surrounding multitudes. Had not the Nile afforded a safe and easy conveyance to the sea, not an individual could have escaped, who, by birth, or language, or office, or religion, was connected with their odious name. . . . The standard of Mahomet was planted on the walls of the capital of Egypt. 'I have taken,' said Amrou to the Caliph, 'the great city of the West.' 'It is impossible for me to enumerate the variety of its riches and beauty. It contains four thousand palaces, four thousand baths, four hundred theatres or places of amusement, twelve thousand shops for vegetable food, and *forty thousand tributary Jews.*' The commander of the faithful directed his lieutenant to reserve the wealth and revenue of Alexandria for the public service and the propagation of the faith: the inhabitants were numbered, a tribute was imposed; the zeal and resentment of the Jacobites were curbed; and the Melchites, who submitted to the Arabian yoke. were indulged in the obscure, but tranquil exercise of their worship.' (Gibb. c. 51.) 'The genius of Amrou soon renewed the maritime communication which had been attempted or

achieved by THE PHARAOHS, THE PTOLEMIES, OR THE CÆSARS, and a canal, eighty miles in length, was opened from the Nile to the Red Sea.'

Thus, in the predicted time of the end, after the Pharaohs of sacred history, the Ptolemies, whose reigns are described so fully in the present vision, and the Cæsars, whose rule is announced both here and in a former chapter, a fourth dynasty arose to wield the power of Egypt, and assume the prophetic character of *king of the south*. History, while it reveals the rapid triumph by which it possessed the ancient capitals of Egypt, points out from the first its claim to a place in the sacred narrative, from its close connexion with the fortunes of captive Israel.

Another difficulty has still to be removed. The assaults of the Saracens were aimed chiefly against the Eastern empire. But if the Wilful King, like the Little Horn, be referred to the Papacy of the West, how can the words of the angel be properly fulfilled, or what unity can there be in the whole description?

To this difficulty a double reply may be made. The first and simplest is drawn from a full observation of the facts themselves. The Saracens, however wide their other conquests, did really push, with furious vehemence, against the Papal dominions, whether we interpret them, in a narrower sense, of St. Peter's patrimony, or more widely, of the nations in communion with the see of Rome. How violent their inroad on the Western nations at large, till their defeat by Charles Martel, is known to the most cursory reader of history or of romance. The writer who so often throws unconscious light on the fulfilment of the inspired visions, has noted the connexion between these onsets, and the Mahuzzim, or tutelary protectors of the Papal kingdom.

'The veteran commander adjudged to the obedience of the prophet *whatever yet remained of France or of Europe*; and prepared to execute the sentence at the head of a formidable host, in the confidence of surmount-

ing all opposition either of nature or of man. . . . The arms of Abderhmane were not less successful on the side of the ocean. A second army 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 memory of these devastations, for Abderhmane did not spare the country or the people, was long preserved by tradition, and forms the groundwork of those fables which have been so widely disfigured in the romances of chivalry, and so elegantly adorned by the Italian muse. In the decline of society and art, the deserted cities could supply a slender booty to the Saracens : their richest spoil was found in the churches and monasteries, which they stripped of their ornaments and delivered to the flames ; and the TUTELAR SAINTS, both Hilary of Poitiers and Martin of Tours, *forgot their miraculous powers in the defence of their own sepulchres.*'

And even if the words were confined to the temporal dominions of the Papacy, they will be equally verified in the Saracen inroads. Let us hear once more the voice of history.

' The Arabian squadrons issued from the harbours of Palermo, Biserta, and Tunis ; an hundred and fifty towns of Calabria and Campania were attacked and pillaged ; nor could the suburbs of Rome be defended by the name of the Cæsars and the Apostles. Had the Mahometans been united, Italy must have fallen an easy and glorious accession to the empire of the prophet. But the caliphs of Bagdad had lost their authority in the West, the Aglabites and Falamites usurped the provinces of Africa ; their emirs of Sicily aspired to independence, and the design of conquest and dominion was degraded into a repetition of predatory inroads.

' In the sufferings of prostrate Italy, the name of Rome awakens a solemn and mournful recollection. A fleet of Saracens from the African coast, presumed to enter the mouth of the Tiber, and to approach a city which even yet, in her fallen state, was *revered as the metropolis*.

of the Christian world. The gates and ramparts were guarded by a trembling people ; but the tombs and temples of St. Peter and St. Paul were left exposed in the suburbs of the Vatican and of the Ostian way. *Their invisible sanctity* had protected them against the Goths, the Vandals, and the Lombards ; but the Arabians disdained both the Gospel and the legend ; and their rapacious spirit was approved and animated by the precepts of the Koran. *The Christian IDOLS were stripped of their costly offerings ; a silver altar was torn away from the shrine of St. Peter ;* and if the bodies or the buildings were left entire, their deliverance must be imputed to the haste, rather than the scruples, of the Saracens ! The same danger still impended over the heads of the Roman people, and their domestic force was unequal to the assault of an African emir. . . . The storm soon burst with redoubled violence ; a fleet of Arabs and Moors cast anchor before the mouth of the Tiber, sixteen miles from the city ; and their discipline and numbers seemed to threaten not a transient inroad, but a serious design of conquest and dominion. . . The pontiff, at the head of the citizens and allies, paid his grateful devotions at the shrines of the apostles ; and among the spoils of this naval victory, thirteen Arabian bows of pure and massy silver were suspended round the altar of the fisherman of Galilee. The churches were renewed and embellished ; *near four thousand pounds of silver were consecrated to repair the losses of St. Peter ; and his sanctuary was decorated with a plate of gold of the weight of two hundred and sixteen pounds, embossed with the portraits of the Pope and Emperor, and encircled with a string of pearls.* . . . The love of fame may be detected in the name of the Leonine City, which he bestowed on the Vatican ; yet the pride of the dedication was tempered with Christian penance and humility. . . . The walls were besprinkled with holy water, and the ceremony was concluded with a prayer, that, *under the guardian care of the Apostles and the angelic host,* both the old and new Rome might ever be pre-

served pure, prosperous, and impregnable.' (Gibb. c. lii.)

In these facts we see plainly how the Saracen power pushed violently against the very seat of the Papal Empire, and the strongholds of Mahuzzim, honoured as they were by their worshippers with gold, and silver, and precious stores, and pleasant things. But the onset, though violent, failed. The Wilful King was reserved for longer and prouder triumphs, and a later time of judgment; and the worship of the Mahuzzim, and the decoration of their strongholds, was prosecuted with a double ardour of idolatrous and unholy zeal.

But, however complete the fulfilment of the words, when confined to Western Christendom, and the seat of the Papal Empire, there is no need to restrict ourselves to this aspect alone. The Wilful King is here described, not as in the previous prophecy, by his political character, a little horn rising up in the Fourth Empire, and locally situate amid its divided kingdoms. He is portrayed by spiritual features as the head of a new system of idolatry, which would replace the old and exploded forms of heathen worship. His jurisdiction, in this light, extends wherever his spiritual authority was owned, or as far as the influence and worship of the new Protectors, whom he sanctions with his patronage. The system of Christian idolatry, though it was most compacted and matured in the west, and received there a monarch of despotic pride, to enforce and maintain it under peril of death, was even earlier in its spread throughout Eastern Christendom. The Byzantine Empire was thus only like a spacious border province to the territories more immediately under the power of this haughty king. And hence the whole of the Saracen inroads on the Roman Empire; their conquests of Syria and Asia, their repeated attempts on the Imperial city of the East, may all be viewed as part of the predicted onset, in which the king of the south was to thrust or butt powerfully against the Wilful King, and the strongholds of those Mahuzzims whom he had

set up for worship. This is merely a comprehensive view of the history, such as we might expect to find recognized in so brief a narrative ; and of which the Crusades were the grand and visible exponent in later times. The East will thus furnish us with fresh materials to illustrate this onset of the king of the South against the Mahuzzim, or the new idol-gods of the Wilful King.

‘The image of Edessa, after an oblivion of five hundred years, was released by some prudent bishop, and seasonably presented to the devotion of the times. Its first and most glorious exploit was the deliverance of the city from the arms of Chosroes Nushirvan, and it was soon revered as a pledge of the Divine promise, that Edessa should never be taken by a foreign enemy. . . . Before the end of the sixth century, these images made without hands, were propagated in the camps and cities of the Greek Empire. They were the objects of worship and the instruments of miracles, and in the hour of danger their venerable presence could revive the hope, rekindle the courage, or repress the fury, of the Roman legions. . . . The cities of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, had been fortified with the images of Christ, his mother, and the saints, and each city presumed on the hope or promise of a miraculous defence. In a rapid conquest of ten years, the Arabs subdued these cities and these images ; and in their opinion the Lord of Hosts pronounced a decisive judgment between the adoration and contempt of these mute and inanimate idols. For a while Edessa had braved the Persian assaults, but the chosen city, the spouse of Christ, was involved in the common ruin ; and his divine resemblance became the slave and trophy of the infidels.’

Thus, whether we confine our view to the proper territory of the Little Horn, or extend it to the kingdoms that directly owned the jurisdiction of the Papacy, or to the whole range of that Christian idolatry, of which the Wilful King is here described as the spiritual head, the words were strictly fulfilled. The push was not fatal, but it was violent and dangerous, and in a later

prophecy is expanded into the severe infliction of the first or locust woe on the idol-worshippers both of the east and the west.

And the king of the north shall come against him like a whirlwind, with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships.

After the violent inroads of the Saracens, the next main event, affecting the visible church and the people of Israel, was the rise and prevalence of the Turkish power. The words before us have, therefore, been applied very naturally by many writers to their progress and victories. But here also, there are several difficulties to be removed, before we can see clearly the warrant for such an interpretation.

First, the use of the pronouns has caused some perplexity. Three questions may arise ; first, whether the Wilful King and the king of the North are the same party or different ; next, if different, is it the king of the South, or the Wilful King, against whom the king of the North comes like a whirlwind ? and thirdly, on the latter supposition, is it the Wilful King, or the king of the North to whom the rest of the narrative belongs ? To the first question it must be replied that the text is ambiguous, and might be consistent with either view. The exposition would be more compact, if we suppose that the same power is designed by both titles ; but there is nothing to compel us to this construction. In fact, the Wilful King has already had the proper seat of his power fixed in the west, in the heart of the Fourth Empire. The two titles can therefore only meet in one person, if Europe and the north of Asia should ever come to belong to one and the same power.

Next, if the two are different, the onset of the king of the North is most naturally explained to be against the Wilful King, or the unity of the whole will be completely destroyed. But the rest of the narrative must as clearly be referred also to the king of the North. The chariots, and horsemen, and ships, are evidently the means by which he shall overflow and pass over ; and the very

places mentioned fix the application, almost of necessity, to some Asiatic power. It is, therefore, a combination strangely absurd to maintain, as one writer has done, that the same king of the North is intended from v. 6 to v. 40, and yet to transfer all the rest of the passage, v. 40—45, to an entirely different person.

Still there is one objection which may appear to be of some weight. For if we view the Wilful King and the king of the North as distinct, the whole of the closing verses ought plainly to be referred to the latter. In this case no mention will be made of the history or fall of the Wilful King, after his character has been so fully described. This appears in some degree unnatural.

In the following chapter a view will be unfolded, which seems entirely to remove this objection. But meanwhile its force may easily be overrated. The true unity of the vision is defined by its purpose, to make known what shall befall the people of Daniel in the latter days. In the conflict, verses 6—21, there is little direct mention of the Jews. But the two powers of Syria and Egypt were those which most vitally affected their welfare, and hence these kingdoms are described at length. Now if in the latter times there should be two main powers, one in the East, and one in the West, by which the fortunes of the Jews, as well as the Christian Church, would be vitally affected; one of them marked by the spiritual features of a new and strange worship, the other by the military triumphs of a powerful invader and mighty conqueror, then the real unity will be maintained, if both of these powers are successively set before us. And if one of these be identified by clear signs with a power already mentioned, and the fall of which has been previously described, then the vision may naturally confine itself to the overthrow of the fresh adversary of the truth, now for the first time distinctly revealed.

Now such, beyond a doubt, has been the general nature of the facts which the history of the latter times

has disclosed. Popery in the West, and the Turkish power in the East, have been the two grand adversaries of the truth, and oppressors of Israel, in the latter days. And if the former of these has been predicted already, it is not surprizing that it should be here introduced only just so far as to maintain the historical connexion and spiritual unity of the whole vision.

It has been further objected that the application of these verses to the Turkish conquests destroys the homogeneous character of the prophecy. The king of the North has been used hitherto in one unvaried sense, to denote the king of Syria. It seems then a harsh licence to explain it here, vaguely, of any great northern power. Without deciding on the exact force of this objection, in the abstract, it is enough to observe that history alone, as in the case of the Saracens, entirely removes it. For as Egypt was one of the first conquests of the Caliphs, by which they obtained a footing within the prophetic theatre, so also Syria was the country which the Turks first subdued, and made the basis of all their farther assaults on the Roman Empire. Armenia, Georgia, and Cappadocia, the territories ruled by Seleucus, were the first westward conquests of Togrul and Alp Arslan. 'The Asiatic provinces of Rome were irretrievably sacrificed.' The later rise of the Ottomans was also within the dominions of the Syrian princes, and they might thus be called, with local accuracy, kings of the north.

He shall come against him like a whirlwind. The fury of the Turkish warfare has almost passed into a proverb. It was eminently fulfilled in the victories of Alp Arslan and Soliman, and in the later conquests of Bajazet and Amurath. The surname of Ilderim, "the lightning," given to Bajazet, is expressive of the same idea with the figure in the text.

With chariots, and horsemen, and many ships. The numerous horsemen of the Turks are the leading feature of their warfare. In their earlier progress, nearly the whole of their forces were cavalry. It was "the

myriads of the Turkish horse" by which the first provinces were wrested from the Roman empire, and, even to the present century, the same style of warfare prevails.

Nor were they less conspicuous, in the time of their European triumphs, for their naval power. When Solyman 'had constructed a fleet of two hundred ships, the Emperor,' we are told, 'trembled behind the walls of his capital, and his plaintive epistles were dispersed over to Europe.' Three hundred ships were employed by Mahomet the Second in the siege of Constantinople, two hundred in the siege of Rhodes, and a hundred at the same time in the capture of Otranto. For many years the naval force of the Turks was the most formidable in the world, and their conquests throughout the Levant are so many witnesses of its triumphs. In the general term, *chariots*, we may naturally include all the heavier equipage of war, and its military engines, to which the Turkish victories were mainly due. The ancient and modern artillery, it has been justly observed, were combined in their conquests, and no nation rivalled them in all the outward helps and provisions of war. 'The Turkish troops possessed every advantage which arises from superior military discipline. The most impartial authors of the sixteenth century lament their higher attainments in this science. Guicciardini informs us, that the Italians learned the art of fortifying cities from the Turks. Busbequius, the ambassador from Ferdinand to Solyman, who had observed the state both of the Christian and Turkish armies, gives an elaborate description of the immense advantages the infidels possessed, both in discipline and military improvements of every kind.' (Mill. Hist. Mah. p. 274.)

And he shall enter into the countries, and overflow, and pass over. These words aptly describe the first passage of the Turks into Europe. They had already entered into the countries of Asia Minor, and established themselves there as kings of the north. But they were not restrained within these narrow bounds. 'The disorders

of the Greek empire encouraged the Turkish emirs to build a fleet, and pillage the adjacent islands and sea-coasts of Europe. . . . The prince of Ionia assembled at Smyrna a fleet of three hundred vessels, with an army of 29,000 men, sailed in the depth of winter, and cast anchor at the mouth of the Hebrus. The Chersonese was insensibly filled with a Turkish colony, and the Byzantine court solicited in vain the restitution of the fortresses of Thrace. The dismantled places were occupied by the Turks, and Gallipoli, the key of the Hellespont, was rebuilt and re peopled by the policy of Soliman.' The results of this first overflow of the Turks into Europe are too well known, and too legible in the map of Europe for centuries, to require further details.

These victories and conquests, though their immediate result was the overthrow of the Greek empire, were really aimed against the Western Papacy, and thus answer to the description, as a fierce onset on the power of the Wilful King. The whole conflict was no common warfare, but the direct and mighty struggle of two rival creeds. The Christian idolatry of Mahuzzim, set up by this king of pride, and which owned him as its true head, was met by the warlike message of the Arabian prophet,—“the sword, tribute, or the Koran.” The war, in its very essence, was religious; and when the East fell, the blow was really felt as aimed against Rome herself, the true metropolis of the Christian. In the words of Gibbon, ‘the grief and terror of the Latins revived, or seemed to revive, the old enthusiasm of the Crusades. The lofty genius of Mahomet aspired to the conquest of Italy; he was now possessed of a strong city and capacious harbour; and had his life been prolonged, the same reign might have been decorated with the trophies of the New and the Ancient Rome.’

Thus also Sismondi describes Italy and the Pope, as the true objects, at this time, of the Turkish aggressions. ‘Among the islands, Rhodes belonged to the valiant order of the knights of St. John; the house of Lusig-

nan reigned in Cyprus, under the protection of the Sultan of Egypt; Candia and Negropont belonged to Venice, with many other islands of less importance. Many strong places on the Adriatic were in immediate dependence on the Venetians. Now that the empire of the East was destroyed, all these states regarded Italy as the centre of their negotiations, and the court of the Pope, and the republic of Venice, as their natural protectors. All the towns of Italy were full of refugees from the Levant, some of whom brought with them *relics of the saints of Christianity*, and others the most precious manuscripts or monuments of art. . . . The progress of the Turks was become, since the fall of the empire, a plague ever menacing, a danger from which the attention could not be withdrawn.

‘The devastation advanced towards the West, and every year saw a new kingdom fall. . . . Thomas Palæologus, fleeing before Mahomet, passed over to Ancona, to solicit succour from Pius the Second. He brought with him, as a recommendation to the Christian princes, the head of the apostle, St. Andrew; but neither his sacred relics, nor hereditary rights, could stir the Latins, *who did not even arm in their own defence.*’

At length the urgent danger aroused Pius the Second, and the Pontiff, summoning his cardinals, determined to enter on the war in person. ‘Shall we exhort the kings,’ he said, ‘to march, and to repulse the enemy from our frontiers? We have already tried it in vain. I have resolved to march myself to the war against the Turks, and to invite the Christian princes, as well by deeds as words, to follow me. Perhaps when they shall see THEIR MASTER AND FATHER, old and sick, set out for the holy war, they will blush to stay at home; they will take up arms, and embrace with all their courage *the defence of our holy religion.*’ An eloquent bull summoned all Christians to the holy war, and menaced with the thunders of the Church those who should trouble the peace of Christendom by private hostilities.’

But however great the zeal displayed by the Pontiff,

his policy was worthy of the Wilful King. 'Scanderbeg had accepted and sworn a peace with the Sultan, and the Mussulmen kept the treaty with fidelity. Pius charged the archbishop of Durazzo to decide this champion of the faith not to be wanting to this battle which the Western Christians were about to deliver in its cause. He offered to release him from all his oaths, by the sovereign power of the Church. Scanderbeg, though held back for a time by his scruples, yielded at last to the entreaties of the head of his religion. He took the field without a declaration of war. Pius having offered his prayers in the Basilica of the Apostles, set out for Ancona.'

The triumphs of the Turks were thus felt to be aimed against all Christendom, and eminently against the Pope, its recognized head; while perjury and idolatry were the stamp which betrayed the dark features of the lawless king.

The vow of Mahomet II., published in all the moschs through his empire (Mar. 11th, 1470), places this aspect of the war in a still clearer light. 'I, Mahomet, son of Amurath, sultan and governor of Baram and Rachmael, raised by the supreme God, placed in the circle of the sun, covered with glory above all emperors, happy in everything, feared by mortals, powerful in arms, by the prayers of the saints in heaven, and of the great prophet Mahomet, Emperor of emperors, and Prince of princes, from the rising to the setting sun: I promise to the only God, Creator of all things, by my vow and my oath, that I will not give sleep to my eyes, that I will not eat any choice viands, that I will not seek out that which is pleasant, nor touch that which is beautiful, that I will not turn my face from the west to the east, till I overthrow and tread under the feet of my horses the gods of the nations; THESE GODS OF WOOD, OF BRASS, OF SILVER, AND OF GOLD, OR OF PAINTING, WHICH THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST HAVE MADE WITH THEIR HANDS. I swear that I will root out all their iniquity from the face of the

earth, from the rising to the setting sun, to the glory of the God of Sabaoth and of the great prophet Mahomet. For this cause I make known to all the circumcised people, my subjects, who believe in Mahomet ; to their chiefs and allies, if they fear God, the founder of heaven and earth, and fear my invincible power ; that they gather to me on the seventh of the month of Ramadan, in this year 874 of the Hegira, obeying the command of God and of Mahomet, of whom the first by His Providence, and the second by his prayers, will doubtless give us their aid.'

This proclamation bears a striking resemblance to those words of the Holy Spirit, in a later prophecy, where He clearly sets before us these Turkish conquests, and the impenitence of the Western Christians. 'The remnant which were not slain by these plagues, yet repented not of THE WORKS OF THEIR HANDS, that they should not worship demons, and IDOLS OF GOLD AND SILVER, AND BRASS, AND STONE, AND WOOD, which neither can see nor hear nor walk.'

These overflowing conquests of the Turks will be traced more clearly, by extracting the summary of their reigns, in the margin of Rycaut's History of the Ottoman Kings.

A. D. 1422. Amurath II. sixth Emperor of the Turks. He suppresses a counterfeit, and has him hanged. Causes his brother to be strangled, and his chief Pasha's eyes to be put out. *Conquers the Prince of Smyrna*, and seizes his dominions. A. D. 1432, *Takes THESSALONICA, and makes GREECE tributary*. Invades divers kingdoms successfully. *Entirely subdues SERVIA*. His general routed by Hunniades. Scanderbeg escapes and takes Croia and invades Macedonia. Amurath beats the Hungarians that had broken the truce, and kills their king. "In this fight two-thirds of the Christians were slain or taken prisoners, with the *legate JULIAN*, the principal author of this perjured expedition." Amurath reduces the Peloponnesus, and beats Hunniades, who is taken prisoner. His great preparations against Epirus, reduces Sfetigrade, dies with grief and age, A. D. 1450. Mahomet the Great, first emperor of the Turks, disappoints the Christians, and murders his brothers. "He was a direct Atheist, ascribing

all things to chance or fortune ; for which reason he held himself obliged by no promise, league or oath, longer than suited his profit or convenience ; nay, the bonds of nature had no tie upon him, for, being proclaimed Sultan, his two innocent brothers were proscribed and put to death." He invades Caramania, and subdues Caria, which is annexed to the monarchy. Besieges Constantinople. The city is taken, and the Emperor crushed to death. Invades and subdues Peloponnesus (A. D. 1460.) Servia becomes a Turkish province. He invades and subdues the Prince of Sinope. Conquers Trebizond and extirpates the Comneni. A. D. 1461. He gains Wallachia by policy. Subdues the island of Mitylene. Reduces Bosnia, and makes it a province. . . . The Turks have peace with Scanderbeg, but war with the Venetians. A Christian league against Mahomet frustrated by the Pope's death. . . . Mahomet invades Negropont with 300 galleys, and takes its metropolis, A. D. 1470. He takes Caffa and makes the Tartars tributary ; and beats the Venetians in two signal defeats. He invades his neighbours with different success. Besieges the city of Rhodes. Achmet Bassa takes Otranto. Mahomet's death.

A. D. 1481. Bajazet II, second Emperor of the Turks, overthrows his brothers. Epirus and Albania recovered. He subdues Cilicia. Beats the Croats and Hungarians. Makes war on the Venetians and takes Lepanto, Modon, and other towns. Is conspired against by his son Selim, A. D. 1514.

With such steady and continual advance the Sultan and his forces overflowed the Christian countries, and struck terror and alarm through the dominions of the West, and all the worshippers of Mahuzzim.

And he shall enter into the glorious land, and many countries shall be overthrown ; but these shall escape out of his hands, Edom and Moab, and the borders of the children of Ammon.

These words seem fulfilled in the next main events of Turkish history, when their European conquests were almost complete.

A. D. 1514. Selim, third Emperor of the Turks. Goes against the Sultan of Egypt. Overthrows him, and gains Aleppo. Several cities surrender to him. Purposes the conquest of Egypt and obtains Gaza.

‘ Selim, being in possession of this great victory, and

of the city of Aleppo, came soon after to Damascus with his whole army ; but finding his enemies fled to Cairo, easily obtained Damascus, and the other cities along the sea-coasts, Tripoli, Berytus, Sidon, and Ptolemais. Having resolved on the conquest of Egypt, he dispatched Sinan Bassa with 15000 horse and a strong body of foot, into Judea, to open the way for him to Gaza. . . . The flying Turks were, many of them, cut off by the wild Arabs, and had certainly all perished had they not met with Julib, governor of Achaia ; who nevertheless, could not well defend them from the Arabian archers ; for these greatly annoyed them from the hills, and cut off all those that straggled. . . . Selim, with the remainder of his army, advanced towards Gaza. From hence he marched to Rama, where by the way he revenged himself on the habitations, wives, and children of the Arabians, who had done him so great mischief. Soon after, he turned aside with his horse *to visit Jerusalem, now but a desolate place* ; where, having paid his devotion to the tombs of the old prophets, he in four days reached the rest of his army, not without continual skirmishes with the Arabians.'

And he shall stretch forth his hand on the countries, and the land of Egypt shall not escape. But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and silver, and all the precious things of Egypt, and the Libyans and Ethiopians shall be at his steps.

' Selim, having made himself master of Cairo, commanded the fire to be quenched, and proclamation to be made—That whoever of the Mamelukes should yield himself within twelve hours, should have mercy, but no others. Hereon many surrendered, who were forthwith cast into irons, and not long after barbarously murdered. The Turks rifled the houses of the Egyptians, as well friends as foes, and suffered nothing to be locked up or kept private from them. Some raged with cruelty and lust, and, while others rifled, they ravaged and killed.'

' The terror of Selim's victories now spreading wide,

there was no city between Judea and Arabia but yielded to his obedience. The kings of Africa also, bordering on Cyrene, sent their ambassadors with proffers to become his tributaries. The wild Arabs alone bid him defiance, till such time as he had, by large gifts, brought many of their leaders over, who soon influenced the rest. Other more remote nations towards Ethiopia were induced to join in amity with the Turks. Selim, a little after, went in his galley to Alexandria, which having viewed, and left a garrison there, he returned to Cairo, whence he caused 500 chief families of the Egyptians to be transported to Constantinople, as also a great number of the Mamelukes' wives and children, beside the Sultan's treasure, and other vast riches.' (Ryc. I. pp. 246—248.)

In this account of the Turkish conquest of Egypt, every feature of the text, with one exception, appears conspicuous. The king of the north enters into the land of the goodly delight, and visits the site of the long-ruined temple, there to worship in the mosch of Omer, and at the tombs of the prophets. Many countries, once the seats of populous tribes, were overthrown. The land of Egypt does not escape, but comes entirely under his power. Its treasures of gold and silver, and all its precious things, were rifled by the soldiers, or carried away in triumph by the victorious Sultan. The Libyans and Ethiopians waited submissively at his steps, with proffers of tribute and subjection which have been fulfilled for centuries, or with promises of alliance equally servile.

The only feature that remains obscure, is the escape of Edom and Moab, and the borders of the children of Ammon ; for this appears the probable meaning of the term, since the whole language relates to countries rather than to persons. Those districts were now occupied by "the wild Arabian tribes," the only parties who bade successful defiance to the power of the Turk. And though they were afterwards gained by presents, this was the reverse of the policy practised to others, and has never succeeded in securing their real subjec-

tion. They escaped upon the first inroad, and ever since have continually reclaimed their liberty. Edom, Moab and Ammon, have been peopled by these rovers of the wilderness, who, unlike all surrounding countries, maintain their independence of Turkish control.

But tidings out of the East and out of the West will trouble him ; therefore will he go forth in great fury to destroy, and utterly to make away many.

The two main adversaries of the Sultan were at this time the Persians in the East, and the Christians of Europe on his northern frontier. If the application hitherto be just, then will history shew that his return from the conquest of Egypt was hastened by tidings from these two sources. The word also implies, not simply to destroy, but to devote to a religious curse or ban. Accordingly these three features do meet us in the narrative. There were tidings, first from the east, and then afterwards from the north, and each of these from the champions of a rival creed, whom the orthodox Mahometans devoted, not only to the sword, but to a religious curse and final perdition.

‘ Whilst Selim lay at Cairo, he diverted himself with the overflowing of the Nile. When he had amused himself with this sight for some time, he resolved upon his departure for Syria ; and this, *because he then heard that the Sophy Ismael was coming to invade him in Commagene.* Having left a garrison in Cairo, he set forward as he had determined. . . . The winter following he continued in Syria to settle his affairs ; and early in the spring, *on information that Pope Leo X. had stirred up the Christian princes to invade him in Europe,* he hastened to Constantinople, to observe the motions of his enemies.’ (Ryc. I. pp. 249—251.)

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

These words form the last element in the description of the king of the north. Their interpretation, in agreement with the previous history, is attended with some

slight difficulty. The writers, who apply the passage to the Turkish power, here differ greatly from each other. One has referred it to a supposed invasion and conquest of Rome, the seat of the Wilful King, by the Turkish Sultan; another to the past, and another to some future occupation, of Jerusalem; and others, by a partial reversion in the order of time, to the first occupation of Constantinople, their seat of empire, situate between two seas.

A little close attention will remove, perhaps, this ambiguity. The expression clearly implies that the king of the north will occupy "the mountain of delight of holiness," a place between two seas, for the temporary or permanent seat of his empire. It implies, further, that this is the main event of his history, between the time of the conquest of Egypt and his final overthrow.

If now we inquire what one feature has marked the Turkish power, from the time of Selim down to the present hour of its utter weakness, the answer is plain. It has obtained no signal conquests. A slight extension of empire has been followed by a gradual and sure decay. But, throughout the whole time, the mother city of the Christian faith, itself, as Napoleon observed, an empire, has been the proud seat of their dominion. There has thus been a standing memorial that the Crescent has prevailed over the Cross, in the very regions where the Gospel had gained its earliest triumphs.

"The mountain of the delight of holiness" does lead our thoughts, it is true, most naturally to Jerusalem. But there is nothing in the words which *requires* this application. The term is used without the article, and might thus be explained indefinitely, "a mountain of holy delight." Or, if taken definitely, it may be referred to the actual state and history of the Church, in the times when Jerusalem was trodden down and in ruins. If there were one place more than another which might then claim pre-eminence, for the union of sanctity and royal splendour, it was surely New Rome, bap-

tized in its first infancy into the faith of Christ, and the most public memorial, in the eyes of the world, of the lasting triumph achieved by the Gospel. Literally and figuratively, its site was fixed on a high eminence ; and the very reason for selecting the spot was its commanding position between two seas ; by which it seemed born to preside over the commerce of the world. The passage, thus applied, becomes a prophecy of that feature in the Turkish power, which throws a deep and mournful interest around its conquests. Where Christianity had most signally triumphed at first, it was signally and permanently overthrown. No event could be more adapted to awaken reflection and repentance, in those who had corrupted the pure faith of Christ, and obscured its glory, till the protecting hand of the Lord was removed from his people, and even turned against them in fiery judgment.

The words, thus explained, will describe the whole history of the Porte from the time of the Reformation, when Egypt was conquered, to the present day of its utter weakness. But an augury was given in the history of Selim himself. ‘ Having heard that Leo X. had stirred up the Christian princes to invade him in Europe, by forced marches he hasted to CONSTANTINOPLE, to observe the motions of his enemies. Being arrived at Constantinople, and having caused wonderful preparations to be made against the Christians, especially by sea, which threatened either Rhodes or Italy, he was all of a sudden struck with a cancer in the reins of his back, which daily increased ; and as he was on his way to solemnize the great feast Bairam, he died in September, 1520, in the very same place where he had formerly assaulted his aged father.’ (Ryc. i. p. 251).

But he shall come to his end, and none shall help him. These words, which had thus an earnest of their fulfilment in the person of Selim, have been fulfilling for a century past in the continual decay of the Turkish power. That empire, once so mighty and threatening, the source of terror to all the kingdoms of

Europe, which had planted its seat of *government* in that high eminence of imperial grandeur, consecrated by the first Christian emperor for the citadel of the faith, is now sunk into miserable decrepitude, and can scarcely sustain itself by foreign help from a total ruin. But that help will not be long continued. The appointed time of its final extinction seems nearly come. The expedients of policy, by which it has been propped up for a moment, will then desert it, and, like the dominion which it replaced, no hand will be stretched out to succour it in the day of ruin. So too must perish every power that exalts itself against the Son of God, and refuses the yoke of obedience to His holy word ; but they that love Him shall be as the sun when he goeth forth in his might. The ruin of proud apostates will only be the signal, to His believing people, for the bright dawn of their eternal glory.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE LATEST CONFLICTS IN THE EAST.

THE fulfilment of these last verses of the prophecy has now been traced in the wars of the Saracens and Turks, which have had so close and vital a connexion, for ages, with the history of the Church of Christ, and of the land of Israel. If we now review the whole course of the visions, there will be found, throughout, a gradual development, and a remarkable historical completeness. In the vision of the Image, we have the general outline of the Four Empires, and the division of the fourth and last, to be followed by the visible kingdom of Messiah. In the next vision this outline is expanded, the ten kings of the divided empire are specified, and one remarkable power is revealed, whose proud usurpations would form the main feature in the latter stage of the fourth and last kingdom. We have thus the broad and general outline of history, Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome; the dissolution of the Roman empire, the formation of the Barbaro-Roman kingdoms, and the long reign of the Papacy, small in territory, and unrivalled in spiritual pride and greatness. The visions then revert to a fuller description of those events which bear on the history of Israel. The triumphs of Persia and Macedon are revealed, the four-fold division of Alexander's Empire; with a desolating power, that was fulfilled partially in the reign of Antiochus, but fully and properly, in the Eastern dominion of Rome, from the death of Epiphanes to the overthrow

of the sanctuary by Titus, and then onward to the fall of the Eastern empire. In the Seventy Weeks we have another prediction, still in the East, of the coming of our Lord; his crucifixion, the rejection of the Jews, their overthrow by the Roman armies, and a moral warfare, undefined in its length, to be closed by the renewal of Israel's covenant in the last days. Finally, in this last vision, we have an expanded history, which combines all the former revelations into a complete outline of the events of two thousand years. Before, the triumphs of Cyrus were revealed: here they are continued by the reign of his three successors, and the vast expedition of Xerxes against Greece. The conquests of Alexander had been announced. Here they are continued by the history of Syria and Egypt for two hundred years from his death, to the return of Antiochus from Egypt. Before, the persecutions of Antiochus, and the longer desolations of the Romans in the East, had been announced under language common to both. Here they are again predicted in the same manner, with further details of the Maccabean persecution, and of the history of the Church from the days of our Lord to the division of the empire. In a former vision the power to reign in the latter time of the Roman empire had been generally revealed. Here the prophecy is unfolded by new features in the description of the Apostate King, and of the novel form of religion to be then established, with a sketch of the main political conflicts in the East at the same time; and these were to be further unfolded, in a later prophecy, into the narrative of the first and the second woe. There is thus a mutual connexion among all the visions, with a gradual enlargement of the message; and, in their union, a clear and connected outline of all the great changes of worldly power, both in the East and the West, for two thousand five hundred years, from the time of Nebuchadnezzar to the present day.

Still, it must be owned, something may still appear wanting to the unity of the whole. The last portion of this latest vision, we might naturally expect, would link

itself with other predictions of God's word, and bear the features of a final consummation. On the contrary, the application of the Wilful King to the Papacy, and of the king of the North to the Turkish dominion, leaves on the mind an impression of the want of entire unity, in the very part of the visions where we might expect that all would converge upon the final issue. The inquiry may thus naturally arise, whether these last verses have not some further application to events still future. That such a double fulfilment is possible, has been shown in other cases ; but still it ought not to be received without direct and conclusive evidence. That these verses have been really fulfilled in the Saracens and Turks, has been proved already, and is confirmed by the completeness of the historical outline which is thus revealed, and by the analogy with the first and second woe. I shall now endeavour to prove, from direct evidence of Scripture, as well as from internal marks in the vision, that there is a further accomplishment of these verses in events near at hand, and which will complete and close the Gentile dispensation.

And first, the prophecy itself lends us a strong presumption in favour of this view. When a series of events either fully satisfy all the terms of a prediction, or agree with most of them in their proper sense, and with the others by an accommodation so easy, that it could not fail to be made, the Spirit of God must clearly have designed to point out those events, and there is a real fulfilment. Still more is this the case, where every phrase is taken in its strict and legitimate meaning. Yet if there are words in the prediction which more naturally suggest, by their allusion to other Scriptures, a different meaning from that which the history has assigned them, it is not unreasonable to suspect a further reference. We must look, in the word of God, for the fullest harmony of parts, and the deepest significance in every phrase. Now there are two or three points, in the interpretation already given, which clearly diverge from this most natural view. The Wilful King,

and the King of the North, so far as the letter of the prophecy is concerned, may very well be distinct powers. Yet the moral unity of the passage would clearly be greater, if they were both to be one and the same, and the closing events belonged to the same power whose character has been so fully portrayed, and not to one silently introduced. The mountain of delight of holiness may be applied, with literal truth, to any elevated site, placed between two seas, and signally consecrated to the true God. But its most natural reference is, beyond a doubt, to Mount Zion and the holy city of Jerusalem. *The time of the end* also, as explained generally by the previous visions, will be the three times and a half of the latter stage of the fourth empire. But, as explained by the next chapter, it would apply with most emphasis to those additional days, which are added to this period as its completion, and which make up the total of 1335 days, when the time of full blessedness is to ensue. The place, also, of this passage, at the close of all the visions, would incline us to refer it to some events which should form a common close to the various changes of the Christian dispensation, and signally usher in the millennial glory. Let us now see whether, from the internal marks of the vision itself, and the evidence of other prophecies, we cannot deduce, with high probability, such an interpretation, yet still in full harmony with the expositions already offered, which have been confirmed by the voice of Providence in past ages.

First, the vision, as already explained, has set before us, three Antichristian powers ; the vile person, or Antiochus Epiphanes ; the Wilful King, or the idolatrous Papacy of Rome ; and the king of the North, or that open adversary of the faith, and mighty conqueror, the Sultan of the Turks, or the Ottoman empire. In each of these we have a distinct element of the Antichristian character. The first is an individual and personal adversary : the second an idolatrous corrupter of the faith ; the third, an open rejecter of the Son of God. The pro-

phesy itself makes no broad transition ; before the event, all the three might readily be supposed to be one. It is therefore not unnatural to suppose that these three features of Antichristian character will coalesce and combine in the last days. When the power denoted by the Wilful King shall come to its end, we are sure that it will be headed by some one person, and thus two features will necessarily be combined. All analogy would lead us to expect that the constructive, though real apostasy, of Christian idolatry, will issue in a more open and avowed opposition to Christ. In this case, the three features will all meet and be combined in the last day of the Papal empire, before the coming of the Lord. The same power, which will then wield the resources of Western Christendom, may have become possessed of the north of Asia, and the Syrian kingdom. Then without any fresh license, and by the natural force of the terms, the Wilful King and the King of the North will be one and the same person. Events are clearly tending, even now, towards such a change ; and the completed fall of Turkey must bring Asia Minor and Syria, sooner or later, under the control of the western powers.

With this leading idea kept in view, let us now resume the examination of these verses, and compare them with the other statements of Scripture prophecy.

At the time of the end the king of the south will push at him. We have seen that the vision, taken as a whole, leads to a natural presumption that the Wilful King will hereafter become the King of the North, and the narrative, having diverged for a time to the West, revert again to the East, its main theatre. Such a reunion of the Western countries of Rome with the northern countries of Asia seems to be taught in several passages, but most clearly in the thirty-eighth of Ezekiel. The time of that prophecy is plainly just before the final restoration of Israel. Gog, the leader of this great confederacy, is there said to combine Gomer and his bands with the power of Meshech and Tubal. Now Gomer is referred

commonly, with much apparent reason, to the Cymri, or Celtic tribes, who were the first peoplers of western Europe. Rosh, Meshech, and Tubal, appear directly to refer to Russia, Moscow, and Tobolsk, the collective description of the Muscovite or Russian empire. The direction of the march clearly implies that the regions of Asia Minor and Syria are incorporated in the same power. And hence we have a strong presumption that one mighty leader will hereafter group under his banner the western tribes of Europe, the power of Russia, and the districts held long before by the King of the North. This chieftain, whether a Russian Emperor, or a second Napoleon, more successful in his eastward warfare, would fulfil every condition which the vision of Daniel suggests, and which the words of Ezekiel seem evidently to require.

The time of the end has already been referred, on the evidence of the prophecies, to the three times and half of the Little Horn. These, however, themselves receive an extension and supplement in the close of the present vision. The three periods there mentioned must naturally be referred to a common origin, and thus two intervals of thirty and forty-five days are added to complete the one first mentioned. If so, the time of the end will describe, by way of eminence, the last of these periods, or the forty-five prophetic days, which follow the 1290, and complete the last interval of 1335 days. Of this period it is probable that more than twenty years have already expired. But even now we see a great preparation made for a political reunion of the East and of the West, and the part which remains, if the date be rightly assigned, is enough for that rapid career of conquest which the words of Ezekiel set before us. Other scriptures, as the sixth vial, imply the same reunion of various powers in one mighty confederacy before the time of the end, and seem to prove that western Europe, and not Russia, will be its real origin, and the birth-place of the mighty leader who is to arise.

The king of the South is said to push against the

Wilful King. Egypt has, for some time, been rising into prominence as a separate power. But still Egypt alone seems too feeble to undertake any serious resistance to a confederacy so vast and mighty. It is more natural to suppose that, as in the case of the Saracens, this country is merely the salient point of attack, and that the power which occupies it, and thereby claims the prophetic title, king of the south, is one of wider influence, and of other possessions. That the same power which holds the vast southern empire of India may then also have possession of Egypt, and from thence push against the inroads of its northern adversary, it would be rash to expect with confidence, but the conjecture is not unreasonable. The course of events, and the necessities of commerce, appear more and more to be grouping together India, Egypt, and Britain. The designs of France upon Egypt, and of Russia upon India, have long been the subjects of political discussion and military conjecture. Whenever, therefore, all the continent shall be gathered under one head, as king of the north, it seems not improbable that the maritime empire of Britain may be the rival power, and that its acquisition of Egypt, as the emporium of its Indian commerce, will give to it the prophetic character of the king of the south; while the same policy which has led before in Caubul to such fearful disaster, may be repeated once more, with results still more grievous, in this push of military violence against the grand and overwhelming confederacy of the northern power.

And the king of the north shall come against him like a whirlwind, with chariots and horsemen and many ships." The theatre of the campaign will now be, like those of Antiochus, in Palestine and Egypt. The great leader of the north will overflow and pass on to the south, to crush the power which has assailed him. The description answers exactly to the words of Ezekiel, where he predicts the march of Gog, the prince of Magog, against the land of Israel. His army are said to be "horses and horsemen, all of them clothed with

all sorts of armour, and a great company with bucklers and shields, all of them handling swords." The character of his march is then described. "Thou shalt ascend, and come *like a storm*; thou shalt be like a cloud to cover the land, thou and all thy lands, and many people with thee." "Thou shalt come from thy place out of the north parts, thou and many people with thee, all of them riding upon horses, a great company, and a mighty army."

The King of the North was to enter into the glorious land, and to overthrow many countries. Such also is the description of Gog in Ezekiel. The fierce invader will pass "like a cloud" over the glorious land of Israel, and all resistance will be overcome. But in the eager pursuit of his enemy, the king of the south, he does not stay at first to reduce the border countries beyond Jordan. "These shall escape out of his hand, Edom, and Moab, and the borders of the children of Ammon." The same districts, which before, when held by the Arabian tribes, escaped the dominion of the Turkish invaders, will equally be passed over by this fiercer king of the north, in the rapidity of his progress. And thus perhaps the words of Isa. xvi. 4. may be fulfilled anew, and the land of Moab, and the rocks of Petra, be a refuge to the outcasts of Israel from the spoiler and oppressor of the last days.

The next event announced is the victory of the fierce invader over the land of Egypt, and his full possession of its treasures. At present those treasures are but small. But a few years of wise and firm government, should it become the emporium of the Indian commerce, might soon enable it to rival and surpass its riches in ancient times. And this may perhaps be its condition when Gog shall have mustered his host. The Libyans and Ethiopians, who are at his steps, are mentioned also in the earlier prophecy of Ezekiel. "Persia, Ethiopia, and Libya, are with them, all of them with shield and helmet." All the strength of Africa after this Egyptian conquest would fall naturally under his sway.

But tidings out of the east and the north shall trouble him. The nature of these tidings we may learn from other prophecies, that leave scarcely any room for doubt as to their nature and meaning. The Ten Tribes have been cast off afar toward the East, and from the East they are to return in the last days. Their restoration is to be with signs and wonders, and visible marks of the Divine favour. "They shall fly on the shoulders of the Philistines towards the west; they shall spoil them of the East together; they shall lay their hand upon Edom and Moab, and the children of Ammon shall obey them." Not only the direction is the same, but the countries which they will first occupy are those which are here said to escape from this king of the north. The tidings from the east, therefore, are probably a rumour of the first gathering together, in some eastern country, of these outcast tribes of Israel.

Again, when the king is employed in the conquest of Egypt, tidings from the north will most naturally refer to the land of Palestine. There, as many Scriptures teach us, God will raise up a powerful witness against this great enemy. Spiritual triumphs resembling those of the Maccabees, but on a larger scale, and attended probably by open signs and wonders, either from Elias himself, or witnesses in his spirit and with his power, will trouble the king amidst his career of victory. He will then hasten back to Palestine to extirpate every rebel, and to establish at Jerusalem the seat of an almost universal dominion. "He will go forth with great fury to destroy, and utterly to make away many." The word, to *make away*, denotes more than political warfare, a fierce anathema and religious curse. Every rebel against the new and idolatrous worship, which the king has set up, will be doomed, as under Antiochus, to tortures and death.

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

Such is the parallel description in Ezekiel and Zechariah. The purpose of Gog, when he invades Judea, is "to take a spoil, and to take a prey: to turn his hand upon the desolate places now inhabited; and upon the people gathered out of the nations, which have gotten cattle and goods, and dwell in the midst of the land." The same features appear in Zechariah, where all nations are gathered against Jerusalem to battle, "and the city shall be taken, and the houses rifled, and half the city shall go out into captivity." It may be inferred, from a careful comparison of several scriptures, that at this time the temple, described in Ezekiel, will have been built, and that here this fierce and mighty king will seat himself as a sovereign, and claim to be the object of a Divine adoration. For, as the spiritual resurrection of believers, through all the times of the gospel, will be visibly crowned by the resurrection of their bodies in the day of Christ, so will all the abominations of Antichrist in the spiritual temple, or the Church of Christ, when once a literal temple is rebuilt in Jerusalem, converge thither, as to the place and time of their final consummation. Then will come, as in Isaiah lxvi. the hour of Zion's travail, and "a voice from the city, a voice from the temple, a voice of the Lord, that rendereth recompense to His enemies."

Yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him. This total overthrow of the last confederacy against Israel is the burden of many prophecies. It was prefigured in the miraculous ruin of the host of Sennacherib; and is announced in the Apocalypse as "the battle of the great day of God Almighty," and by the prophet Joel, as the time when the vats shall overflow, and the vintage of wickedness shall be trodden, and multitudes shall fall in the valley of decision.

Thus every part of these verses, which close the vision, when compared with other prophecies, appear to have a concentrated fulfilment in the last expedition of Gog against the land of Israel. The three separate features of Antichristian pride will then have been united

in one single power. The Papacy, denoted by the Wilful King, in its last hour will fill up the measure of its apostasy, and gather to itself those partial features of Antichrist, which are now to be seen in the Mahometan delusion, and its open rejection of the Son of God. At the same time a leader will arise, the last personal head of the compound system of evil, and the heathen Antiochus, the Pope, and the Turk, contribute to supply the features of his iniquity. The Wilful King, in this last stage of his power, and represented now by this leader, will gather on himself the predicted character of a king of the north, and then come down like a whirlwind on the land of Israel. Success for a time will attend his banners, so that in the words of Habakkuk, "he will gather to himself all nations, and heap unto himself all people." The faithful witnesses, who protest against his idolatry and blasphemy, will be persecuted with great wrath, and hunted out for destruction. The king of pride will take Jerusalem, the holy city, for the seat where he will plant his standard, and probably claim Divine honours from the subject nations; a worship to be paid, in his person, to the dignity of regenerate and glorified humanity, freed from the long delusions of past ages. "Yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him." "Like as the young lion roaring on his prey, when a multitude of shepherds is called forth against him, he will not be afraid of their voice, nor abase himself for the noise of them: so shall the Lord of hosts come down to fight for Mount Zion and for the hill thereof. As birds flying, so will the Lord of Hosts defend Jerusalem: defending also he will deliver it, and passing over he will preserve it." Then will the Assyrian, the last enemy, fall upon the mountains of Israel, and the prophecy of Ezekiel on the overthrow of Gog and his multitude, after the lapse of so many ages, be at length fulfilled.

And in that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince that standeth for the children of thy people, and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a na-

tion to that time ; and in that time shall thy people be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book.

The description of the fall of Gog, in Ezekiel, is nearly the same.

“ And it shall come to pass at the same time, when Gog shall come against the land of Israel, saith the Lord God, that my fury shall come up in my face. For in my jealousy, in the fire of my wrath have I spoken. Surely in that day there shall be a great shaking in the land of Israel ; so that the fishes of the sea, and the fowls of the heaven, and the beasts of the earth, and all creeping things that creep upon the earth, and all the men that dwell on the face of the earth, shall shake at my presence ; and the mountains shall be thrown down, and the steep places shall fall, and every wall shall fall to the ground. And I will call for a sword against him throughout all my mountains, saith the Lord God : every man’s sword shall be against his brother. And I will plead against him with pestilence and blood ; and I will rain upon him and his bands, and upon the many people that are with him, an overflowing rain, and great hailstones, fire and brimstone. Thus will I magnify myself and sanctify myself, and I will be known in the eyes of many nations, and they shall know that I am the Lord.”

There is thus, in the series of these holy visions, a complete outline of all the great changes of Providence, in regular succession and unbroken order, from Nebuchadnezzar till the times of the Gentiles are expired, and Jerusalem has ceased to be trodden down. The main course of worldly dominion is traced through the Four Empires, with a fuller view of the latter times of Rome, when the Papal domination shall bind the broken kingdoms into a new confederacy of Christian idol-worship, and a warning of the judgment which shall consume and destroy this idolatry for ever. The history of the East is then described, with equal clearness, in the victories of Cyrus, and the reigns of his four successors, till the proud invasion of Xerxes was repelled, and the

strength of Persia began to decay. The history then continues under Alexander and the four divided kingdoms of his Empire, followed by the wars of Syria and Egypt, from Seleucus Nicator to the repulse of Antiochus by the Romans. The desolations, first of Antiochus, and next of the Romans themselves, are then expressively pourtrayed ; and, while a separate prophecy reveals the events of our Lord's ministry, the history is continued through the persecutions of the early Church to the fall and ruin of the Eastern Empire. The enlarged prophecy of the Scripture of truth now resumes the message of the earlier visions, and unfolds more clearly the idol-worship set up by the Little Horn, or Wilful King, in the three times and a half of his permitted power, with the warfare of the Saracens and Turks, and their dominion in the East. A further extension of the predicted times is at length revealed. In this latest portion of the prophetic calendar, the Wilful King enters on the last form of his apostate power ; and, assuming to himself the features of personal malignity, and an open rejection of Christ, which belong to Antiochus, his type and predecessor, and the king of the north, his temporary rival, gathers at length under his banner all the apostate nations ; and, in the height of his power and pride, is broken and overthrown by the hand of God in the mountains of Israel. Then the times of restitution will begin. " Israel shall blossom and bud, and fill the face of the world with fruit," and " all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of the Lord."

With what humble reverence, then, should the Christian gaze on these holy prophecies ! They are a transcript from those secret and sure decrees, written in the Scripture of truth, in the volume of God's counsels in heavenly places. Already they have been a light for ages to the weary pilgrims of the Church ; and they will continue to be a beacon-light to the faithful, until the darkness shall be past, and the shadows of this vain and transitory world shall flee away. May we have grace to take heed to them, with a humble and prayer-

ful spirit, that we may be counted worthy to escape those things which shall come to pass, and, after passing through all the trials of the last days, and resisting every form of spiritual delusion and Antichristian error, may be more than conquerors through Him who hath loved us, and stand before the Son of Man in the day of His glory !

CHAPTER XX.

THE HISTORICAL REALITY OF PROPHECY.

THE Vision of the Ram and He-Goat, and the Prophecy of the Scripture of Truth, have now been explained, in their historical fulfilment, down to the present day. On a review of the whole, we can scarcely fail to be struck, not only with the accuracy of the Divine predictions, but with the variety of facts and particular changes which are here contained. The main outlines of Providence, through twenty-four centuries, are distinctly announced ; and, although remoter events are predicted in general and comprehensive terms, in those which were nearer at hand the variety of details may rival the narratives of direct history. Nearly twenty individuals, most of them unborn, are separately announced, and the actions and exploits of many among them are described with unusual clearness. So that the Spirit of God, in these visions, more than elsewhere, would manifest to the Church that historical reality is one grand and conspicuous excellence of His holy prophecies.

Divine truth, like the sunlight of heaven, may appear in three different forms, as it has three distinct offices to fulfil. In the first, it is like the unbroken sunbeams, that remain in their own pure brightness ; while it reveals to us immediately the titles, the attributes, and glorious perfections, of the living God. In the second, it exhibits this light of Divine goodness, refracted, like the hues of the rainbow, into all the diversities of spiritual experience, and the various promises of the covenant of grace. In the prophecies, however, it stoops

still lower. As the light of heaven rests on the mountain, and beams down upon the quiet valley, blends with every separate landscape, to enrich it with fresh beauty, and enters into a secret union with every tree and flower, to quicken their growth and unfold their loveliness, so is it with this portion of the word of God. It stoops to all the variety of human actions, whether in the elevations of human greatness, or in the quiet valleys of life. It reveals to us a secret and hidden wisdom in the darkest scenes of the world's history, and quickens every plant in the vineyard of the Church with the bright and cheering hope of good things to come. Even the seeming triumphs of evil are thus turned into auguries of the coming redemption. For here we see that every link of change, however inscrutable to men, is held firmly in the hand of God; and that even in the darkest hours, Omniscient Wisdom is at the helm, and is guiding all to the predestined issue of triumphant holiness, peace, and joy.

This feature of the prophecies, next to their moral grandeur, is the secret of their inestimable worth. They thus become a Divine bridge, to unite all the passing events of time with the most glorious truths of the spiritual world. Deprive them of their moral and spiritual elements, and they will become the sport of a vain curiosity, or the nurseries of a gloomy fatalism; strip them, on the other hand, of their historical reality, and they melt away into airy dreams of fancy or speculation, and become practically worthless.

A theory, however, has been lately advanced,* which entirely sets aside this view of Divine prophecy. And since its adoption has betrayed a Christian writer, of undoubted piety and distinguished learning, into a revival of Infidel objections, long exploded, against these visions of Daniel, it seems natural, and almost necessary, to devote a little space to its examination. In the present day even the most puerile fancies or dangerous errors, if once shielded by a great name, will often ob-

* Sermons on Prophecy, by Dr. Arnold.

tain a surprising currency among superficial minds. Our esteem for persons must not therefore prevent us from pruning, with a vigorous hand, those falsehoods which dishonour the word of God, and endanger the faith of weak and unsettled Christians.

Sacred Prophecy, we are told by this new theory, is not, as is commonly supposed, an anticipation of history. For History deals with particular nations, times, places, and persons. But Prophecy cannot do this, or it would alter the very conditions of humanity. It deals only with general principles, good and evil, truth and falsehood, God and his enemy. It is the voice of God, announcing the issue of the great struggle between good and evil. However diversified its forms, the message is one and the same, that it shall be well at the last, and there shall be a time when good shall perfectly triumph.

History, then, is busy with particular facts, Prophecy with general maxims. The first extracts, as well as it can, from the study of its own facts, some general principles ; and Prophecy finds, in like manner, some historical events that bear analogy to its own peculiar lessons. The mixed character, however, of nations and persons, while it embarrasses and qualifies the judgment of the historian, in the same degree lowers and qualifies the promises and threatenings of the prophet. So far as any nation is good, the prophecies of blessing apply to it ; so far as it is evil, the predictions of sin and sorrow. " It is History that deals with the twelve tribes of Israel ; but the Israel of Prophecy are God's Israel really and truly, who walk with Him faithfully, and abide with Him to the end." Twice the prophecies have thus failed of their proper fulfilment, first in the circumcised, and then in the baptized Church. " We see clearly enough, conscience tells us too plainly, why : its promises are for the righteous, and we are not the righteous."

Prophecy, it results from this view, cannot be literally fulfilled, because individual persons or nations represent

good or evil very imperfectly ; and their moral state, which alone fits them to be the objects of prophecy, is in continual change. How then must it be fulfilled ? Simply, it is answered, in the person of Christ. In Him good was pure and unmingled, and achieved a perfect triumph. His resurrection is the true fulfilment of all prophecy, whatever dim earnestings one or another prediction may have received elsewhere. And thus every part of it may be affirmed to have a double sense, "one historical, comprehended by the prophet and his own generation, in all its poetic features, but never fulfilled answerably to the magnificence of its language, because that was inspired by a higher object ; the other, spiritual, the proper forms of which neither the prophet nor his contemporaries knew, but fulfilled adequately in Christ, and his promises to his people, or judgments on his enemies."

Such is the hypothesis lately advanced, as the true and only key to the whole system of Divine Prophecy. It rests on the following maxims,—that, while sacred history deals only in particular facts, inspired prophecy, on the contrary, deals only with general principles ; that its declarations are all conditional, and dependent on the uncertain goodness of individual states or persons ; that it has always a double sense, of which one is due to the ignorance of the prophet, and the other to the mind of the revealing Spirit ; and that the true and proper fulfilment of every prediction is in the person of Christ only. Each of these maxims, without one exception, is utterly and demonstrably untrue. Their effect, when joined together, is to destroy the very existence of Prophecy, as distinct from the general promises of God's word ; and to change it, from the beacon-light of the Church, into a heap of blind conjectures, clothed in glowing metaphors and Eastern hyperboles by the heated fancy of good, but fallible and ignorant men.

First of all, Sacred History itself does eminently relate to general principles, no less than to particular times, places, events and persons. This truth meets our

eye in every part of the Divine narrative. From the first account of the Creation and the Fall, to the parting message of St. Paul to the Jews at Rome, deep lessons of Divine sovereignty, of sin and holiness, of truth and righteousness, beam out upon us continually in every page. Who can read the history of the Flood, or of Abraham's intercession for the cities of the plain, the life of Joseph, the Exodus of the Jews, or the sufferings and triumphs of David, and not see that the Sacred History is transparent with lessons of Divine wisdom, and that it reveals the great principles of good and evil, their opposite character, and their contrasted results, not less clearly than the inspired prophecies themselves?

It is owned, however, that history does extract, as well as it can, some general principles from the study of particular events; but still the mingled character of these events embarrasses the judgment of the historian. A strange and foolish paradox! In those histories which alone can be contrasted with the inspired prophecies, the Holy Spirit is the true historian. To say that He extracts, as well as He can, some general principles from the events which He records, would be foolish and blasphemous; and yet, if this be not the import of the maxim, it is utterly without meaning. The past and the future are alike full of instruction, when they are seen in the light of heaven, and linked with their true and secret causes in the councils of eternal wisdom. The Holy Spirit, to whom the whole scheme lies open from first to last, can feel no embarrassment in extracting deep lessons of truth from the parts which have been fulfilled; and can also temper his own promises or threatenings with equal ease, so as to represent accurately those events which are still to come.

But this leads us on to the next maxim, that Prophecy deals only with general principles, and not with particular events. No statement could be more evidently untrue. Prophecy does relate to particular nations, as in the plagues on Egypt, announced to Abraham;

the expulsion of the Canaanites, revealed to the same patriarch, and again to Moses; the ruin of Amalek, predicted by Balaam; and the doom of Tyre and Babylon, foretold by Isaiah. Of particular times the examples are as numerous; one hundred and twenty years before the flood; four hundred from Isaac to the Exodus, forty years in the wilderness, a famine of seven years under Elisha, sixty-five years from the message of Isaiah to Ephraim's captivity, and seventy more from the first of Nebuchadnezzar to the return from Babylon; besides many other predictions of a similar kind. Places are also specified with equal minuteness; the worship of Israel at the foot of Mount Horeb, the judgment on Ahab in Naboth's vineyard, the destruction of the altar at Bethel, the birth-place of our Lord, the ruin of Tyre, the place of the king of Babylon's throne in Egypt; and many others, both fulfilled and unfulfilled. Of particular actions we have an instance in every prediction; and, even of persons, three are mentioned by name, Solomon, Josiah, and Cyrus; and several more by express description, as David, Sennacherib, Judas, and John the Baptist. The contrast, therefore, between sacred history and sacred prophecy, fails entirely in every part. To maintain it, we must do violence to the whole current of the word of God. Its history is rich throughout with lessons of spiritual wisdom; and its prophecies abound, from first to last, with specific notices of nations, times, places, and persons.

It is true that Prophecy, in its revelation of the future, must naturally be more sparing of detail than History in its narratives of past events. It might else weigh down the conscience under a load of fatalism, and defeat the moral ends for which it is given. But this difference is one of degree only, and lends no real support to the preposterous maxims of this novel theory. It is still an evident truth that moral principles are conspicuous in the sacred narratives, and that details of

particular events abound in every part of the inspired prophecies.

Why indeed, should the language of prophecy need to be lowered and qualified, as the theory maintains? Is the Holy Spirit so ignorant that He cannot foresee the true nature of coming events? Or, if He foresees them, even in their minutest details, is He so infected with oriental hyperbole and the love of exaggeration, that He cannot predict them as they really are, within their real limits and under their true colours? Or has the scheme of Providence been so ill and unwisely arranged, that its real facts cannot be predicted in accurate terms, without banishing at once every glimpse of high and holy design, and all moral grandeur, from the revelation? Surely every one of these alternatives is equally foolish and absurd. Why, then, must the messages of the Holy Spirit be tempered and lowered, to bring them into harmony with the truth of history? Such statements, even from the lips of pious men, deserve only one answer, which our Lord has already given in His severe rebuke to the disciples—"O fools! and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken!"

The natural effect of these principles is to degrade all the sacred predictions into mere conditional promises or threatenings. Their blessings, it is thought, must be lowered to suit the imperfect goodness of God's servants, and their threatenings mitigated for earthly evil-doers. Israel represented goodness very imperfectly, and hence the predictions made concerning Israel are imperfectly fulfilled. The features of good and evil, in particular nations, which make them fit to represent general principles, are in continual change, and hence the prophecy dies of its own accord, and, as in the case of Nineveh, cannot be fulfilled at all. "God must either stint for our sin's sake the abundance of his mercy, or impair, for His promise's sake, the perfection of His justice. The Christian Israel does not answer more worthily to the expectations of Prophecy than Israel after the flesh. Twice has God willed to mark out its guests,

that all who were circumcised, and all who were baptized, should be heirs of its promises ; and twice the sin of man has rendered it impossible ; again have the people whom He brought out of Egypt corrupted themselves ! ”

A theory so startling, so destructive to the very idea of real Prophecy, ought surely to be fortified by clear proofs, either from reason or the word of God. It should be shown, either that Prophecy, in its very nature, excludes all unconditional statements ; or else that none but conditional promises are actually to be found. Here, however, no such attempt has been made. The theory is advanced, without one shadow of abstract reason to sustain it, and in defiance of multiplied examples, where absolute predictions have been given and literally fulfilled. It is true that moral exhibitions of promise or threatening do naturally depend for their fulfilment on moral conditions. Such was that message of the prophet “ If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land ; but if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured with the sword.” But to confound Prophecy with such conditional warnings is a glaring and fundamental error. The Omniscient God foresees all events from the beginning, however involved with the free agency of man, or variable in their features of good and evil. What He clearly foresees, whenever it pleases Him, He can certainly reveal. The very meaning of an inspired prediction is, a revelation of future events by the voice of God. To affirm that such predictions must fail, from the changing character of men and nations, is to affirm, either that the All-wise God cannot foreknow the actions of His creatures, or that He is unable to express with accuracy the truths that lie within the range of His own foresight. Either supposition would be impious and absurd. Again, to suppose that the moral design of Prophecy forbids all such revelations of the future, is no less foolish. For one great purpose is to manifest the Divine fore-knowledge, and hereby to confirm the faith of God’s people ;

and another, to guide their hopes and calm their fears, amidst results too complex for their own power of foresight. A third reason for which these prophecies are given, and not the least important, is, to reveal the laws and ceaseless progress of the Divine dispensations. No mere conditional promise can answer any of these objects, which require a true revelation of things to come. On every ground of reason, the explanation of prophecy above suggested must appear delusive and untrue.

But if reason condemns this theory, the facts of Scripture are no less decisive against it. It is indeed surprising how any one, at all familiar with the word of God, could embrace such a view for one moment. Prophecy, it is assumed, announces unmingled good and evil; and hence its words must be tempered and lowered down, when they are applied to earthly objects. But the assumption is quite untrue. In predictions which refer to one and the same object, blessings and warnings are continually blended. The Egyptians were to oppress Israel till the close of 400 years, and then to be judged for their sin. The same voice, which condemns one generation to die in the wilderness, promises that their sons shall enter the land; yet not, as they are often warned, because of their righteousness, but merely because of God's oath and covenant. The promise to the race of David, of the throne of Israel, provided for the fact of repeated and multiplied transgressions. Many predictions exclude, from their very nature, all dependence on moral conditions. Such was the warning of the birth of Josiah, and his desecration of the altar at Bethel. Such was the statement given to Moses for a sign, that they should worship at Mount Horeb, or the prediction, by Micah, of Messiah's birth-place. It is indeed strange that any Christian should advance such a theory; and still more strange that he should assert it, even if it were an error, to be quite harmless. In its very nature it sets aside and destroys all the evidence of fulfilled prophecy, obscures from the view of the Church the foreknowledge and sovereignty

of God, and turns all the inspired predictions into a heap of mere possibilities, that depend for their fulfilment on the faithfulness of unfaithful man, and on the perfect goodness of fallen sinners.

The message of Jonah to Nineveh is the only example which lends even a seeming warrant to this theory. Here, however, the very fact of that message being sent in so unusual a form, was a clear token, to thoughtful minds, that a secret condition lay couched under the seeming prophecy. The words appear like an absolute prediction ; but the mission of Jonah, after such a deliverance, was a sign that repentance might perhaps still obtain some reprieve of mercy. It is a strange perversion of the narrative to maintain that "because of the repentance of the Ninevites, the prophecy could not be fulfilled ; that its objects were no longer in being, because sin, and not Nineveh, is the true subject of its threatenings." Neither Jonah nor the Ninevites rested their fears or hopes on so baseless a surmise. Had the words been a simple prediction, they would have been fulfilled, though Nineveh had repented ; as the oath of God took effect against the Israelites, even when they said—"We have sinned, we will go up and possess the land." Even when the message is viewed in its true character, as a solemn warning, the repentance of the Ninevites did not make its execution impossible, but only brought their deliverance within the possible range of Divine mercy. No abstract reasoning on the language of the prophecy could have assured either the prophet or the king that the pardon would be given, until the forty days were past, and no vengeance came.

But the same book supplies us, though in a typical form, with a true prophecy. The trials and deliverance of Jonah were a type of our Lord's death and resurrection. And because this was a real prediction, the sins of men could not hinder it, but were the very means of its fulfilment. He was crucified and slain by wicked hands ; but their wickedness only revealed, in brighter relief, the sure truth of the determinate counsel and foreknow-

ledge of God. He had announced those sufferings of Christ, and His word of prophecy could not fail.

Again, the experience of the Jewish and Christian Churches is alleged as a proof that the prophecies are only conditional. Twice, it is said, the people brought out of Egypt have corrupted themselves. They have forfeited the condition, and so have caused the prophecies, in their literal meaning, to fail. Strange and unaccountable delusion ! One of the main objects of prophecy, both under the Old and New Testaments, is to predict those very corruptions, first of Israel, and then of the Gentile Church, which are here made the pretext for asserting them to have failed. St. Jude, when he uses the very phrase which is thus perverted, does it to explain, by the past history of the Jews, the future course of sin in the visible Church of Christ. St. Paul dwells at length on the same truth, and declares plainly that the sins of the Jews are types of similar evils that would prevail among Christians in future ages. What can be more hopeless than an attempt to prove all the prophecies to be mere conditional promises that have failed, by these sins of the Church, which have been separately predicted in the plainest terms ?

Out of this view of the conditional nature of all prophecy another false theory has grown. They are all asserted to have a double sense ; one, which embraces the historical elements, and is due chiefly to the ignorance of the prophet ; the other, which includes the spiritual truth, divested of its forms, or the triumph of pure goodness, and is the real meaning of the Holy Spirit in every prediction.

Now first, if this principle be advanced as the key to all prophecy, its falsehood must be apparent at once. The numerous predictions that involve specific times and places, as the overthrow of the altar by Josiah, or the seventy years' captivity, are enough to condemn it, and prove it to be groundless and untrue.

But the explanation is very defective and erroneous, even when restricted to those prophecies in which there is

reason to admit a double sense. The Holy Spirit may doubtless include two different events, or series of events, under one prediction, when some close analogy exists between them. He may announce moral truths, as in the sentence on the serpent, under figures that have a separate fulfilment in the natural world; or predict later events, of greater magnitude, in language that will apply to other events near at hand. But a double sense, of which one should be due to the ignorance of the prophet, and the other only to the mind of the revealing Spirit, is futile and worthless. The false notions which the prophets might fasten upon their own visions are no part of the Divine revelation, any more than the false expositions which their messages may have suffered in later times. The message is the word of God. The double sense, if it really exists, cannot be due to the false impressions of the prophet, but to the design of the Holy Spirit, that two kindred subjects should be revealed at once, and that the language should be suited to both, though possibly not to both in the same degree. That such prophecies do exist, there is strong and ample proof; but the ignorance of the prophet is a very unsound basis on which to rest their double interpretation.

Equally groundless is the further hypothesis, which would seek the proper fulfilment of every prophecy in the person of our Lord. His life, death, and resurrection, are indeed the yea and amen, the seal and stamp of assured and certain truth, placed upon every prediction of the word of God. The highest proof was thus given to us of the Divine faithfulness, and a sure pledge that nothing He has foretold is too hard or too wonderful for Him to perform. It is true also that the first coming of Messiah, and His return in glory, are the main and central truths in the whole word of prophecy. But to assert that every prediction has its only true and proper fulfilment in our Lord himself, is a paradox as wild as it is worthless. There are many prophecies, in which the statement would be blasphemous, and many

more in which it would be absurd. Our Lord confutes it at once, when he contrasts those of them which relate to himself with others of a different kind. "This which is written, must yet be fulfilled in me,—He was numbered with the transgressors—for *even* the things which regard *me* have their consummation." The fulfilment of predicted sufferings, so deep and agonizing, in a person so glorious, is a seal of truth on every other prophecy, and assures us that these also, in their turn, will certainly come to pass.

The effect of all these false maxims is to degrade the prophecies, from their high dignity of inspired and infallible truth, into the mere conjectures, or Eastern hyperboles, of fallible and mistaken men. Their particular conjectures all fail ; the language never has a real counterpart in such events as they had solely in their view. But though all their conjectures fail, and their hyperboles prove deceptive, still they were good men, and had a general faith in the triumph of pure goodness. And this general hope of theirs proves true, though realized in events of a totally different kind, under forms and circumstances of which they knew nothing. They predict, for instance, in glowing terms, a restoration of Israel. The actual event has never answered their prediction, and never will. But then goodness has triumphed in another way, for the Son of God has brought life and immortality to light by the gospel. They predict that Jerusalem shall be inhabited in her own place, and never thrown down. Their private conjecture was wrong, for Jerusalem is thrown down in her own place, and has long been desolate ; but then a Gentile Church, of which they suspected nothing, has arisen in its stead. Thus the authority of God's word is completely destroyed. So far as it deals with special facts, it becomes a heap of overstrained hyperboles, or fallible and false conjectures. So far, again, as it announces spiritual triumphs, it only foretels, in very strange and obscure phrases, what the general promises have revealed in far simpler and plainer

terms. Every part of the word of prophecy becomes as the words of a book that is sealed. And if any portion bears too plainly on its forehead the stamp of Divine Prescience, sooner than lay aside a foolish and empty theory, the spirit of rash speculation will not scruple to join hands with the open Infidel, and to reject, as wicked, Jewish forgeries, even the noblest oracles of the living and eternal God !

Every maxim of the suggested theory has now been proved to be baseless and untrue. Sacred History does not deal merely with particular events, nor is Prophecy a statement of general principles only. The narratives of Scripture are rich, every-where, with high and holy lessons of Divine wisdom ; and the sacred Prophecies stoop down to shed their light on innumerable details in the low valleys of time. "Known unto God are all His works from the beginning." Whatever He foresees, when He sees fit, He is able to reveal. He needs not that His words should be qualified and tempered, to suit the predicted events, because He is able to announce the future in its true colours, and is faithful to accomplish whatever He has foretold.

The excellence, indeed, of the Divine prophecies, consists mainly in those very features which the hypothesis now examined would set aside. They are no abstract revelations of moral truth, but serve to bring down the sense of God's presence into close and perpetual contact with all the varied changes of the world's history. They are not mere conditional promises, but continued witnesses to the perfect foresight and holy sovereignty of the Most High ; and a clear proof that, amidst all the complex variety of human affairs, His counsel shall stand, and He will do all His pleasure. They are no loose conjectures of fallible men, clothing their own dim fanciful hopes in vague hyperboles, but the true sayings of God ; so sure and faithful, that it were easier for heaven and earth to pass, than for one jot or tittle of these prophecies to fail. And while they all centre in the work and the person of our Lord, they stream forth from that

Divine centre and fountain, in a flood of light, over the wide field of Providence, that every part may become glorious with the power, the presence, and manifest dominion, of the living and eternal God.

The Sacred Prophecies are marked, in the first place, by a large and wide variety of historical details. There are, it is true, many promises that announce, in general terms, the future triumphs of goodness, and thus reveal to us the glorious issue of the Divine counsels. But these predictions disclose the various steps of Divine wisdom, all sure and unfailing, through which the final triumph is attained. Even before the Flood, the prescience and truth of God were confirmed by every drop that stood on the brow of the labourer, by every hour of woman's travail and sorrow, by every serpent crushed under the foot of man, and every corpse that returned to the dust. The same prescience and sovereignty were revealed, in more definite events, by the curse that rested for seven generations on the race of Cain, and the hundred and twenty years of forbearance to the old world, followed by the seven days of warning, before the windows of heaven were opened, and the flood sent on the world of the ungodly.

After the flood, still more numerous details of the future were given. The sin and punishment of Canaan, the blessing of Shem, and the enlargement of Japheth, were announced by Noah himself. In this one prophecy the victories of Joshua, the long privileges of the chosen seed, and the later call of the Gentiles, perhaps even the mighty empire formed in the East, amidst the tents of Shem, by our own western kingdom, were included from the first; and the new and infant world had the events of its old age revealed from its very cradle. Other details were added upon the call of Abraham. The birth of Ishmael, the dwelling of his posterity, his twelve sons and their princely dignity, the wild and roving character of the Arabian tribes; the birth of Isaac, the four hundred years until the Exodus, the judgments on Egypt, the deliverance of Israel, their vast

numbers, their inheritance of Canaan, their very riches, when the slaves spoiled their own masters, and came out with much cattle, and jewels, and silver, and gold, were all clearly announced to the aged patriarch. So too the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, the later triumphs of Israel over the race of Esau, the return of Jacob to Bethel after his long absence, the future possession of Canaan by his children, the exaltation of Joseph, the obeisance of his brethren, the seven years, first of plenty, and then of famine, the increase of Manasseh, and the greater fruitfulness of Ephraim, the dispersion of Simeon and Levi among the tribes, the sea-coast dwelling of Zebulun, and the extent of his border, the entrance of the bones of Joseph into the land of Canaan ; and above all, the coming of the great Deliverer to spring from the tribe of Judah, the Shiloh of God, and the continuance of the sceptre until after his birth ;—all these events were announced in the first book of Scripture alone.

If we pass on at once to these visions of Daniel, the same feature appears. Instead of a mere glimpse of the sure triumph of goodness at the last, we have most numerous details of the steps of Providence which lead to that blessed consummation. The seven years' madness of Nebuchadnezzar, and his restoration to the throne ; the fall of Belshazzar, and the conquests of the Medes and Persians ; the rise of the second Empire, the earlier dignity of the Medes, and the later pre-eminence of the Persians over them ; the victories of Cyrus, westward in Lydia, northward in Armenia, and southward in Babylon, the unrivalled greatness of his Empire, and the exactions on the subject-provinces ; the three successors of Cyrus, Cambyses, Smerdis and Darius ; the accession of Xerxes, and the vast armament he led against Greece, are all predicted, within the time of the two earlier Empires. In the time of the third kingdom a fuller variety of details is given. The mighty exploits of Alexander, his total conquest of Persia, the rapidity of his course, and his uncontrolled dominion, his

sudden death in the height of his power, the fourfold division of his kingdom, and the extinction of his posterity ; the prosperous reign of the first Ptolemy and of the great Seleucus, with the superior power of the latter before his death ; the reign of Philadelphus, and the marriage of Berenice, his daughter, with Antiochus Theus ; the murder of Antiochus and Berenice and their infant son, by Laodice ; the vengeance taken by Euergetes, brother of Berenice, on his accession to the throne ; his conquest of Seleucia, the fortress of Syria, and the idol gods which he carried into Egypt ; the earlier death of Callinicus ; the preparations of his sons, Seleucus, Ceraunus and Antiochus the Great, for war with Egypt, are all distinctly set before us. Then follows the history of Antiochus. His sole reign, after his brother's death, his eastern conquests, and recovery of Seleucia ; the strength of the two rival armies, and the Egyptian victory at Raphia ; the pride of Ptolemy Philopator, and his partial conquests, with the weakness of his profligate reign ; the return of Antiochus with added strength after an interval of years, and with the riches of the East ; his victories in Judea, and the capture of Sidon ; the overthrow of the Egyptian forces at Panium, the honour shewn by Antiochus to the temple, and his care for its completion and beauty ; his treaty with Egypt, the marriage of his daughter Cleopatra with Ptolemy Philometor, and her defection from her father's cause ; his invasion of the isles of Greece, his rude repulse by the Roman Consul, and the reproach of tribute which came upon him through his defeat : his return to Antioch, and speedy death, are all described in regular order. Then follow the reigns of Seleucus and Antiochus Epiphanes, given with an equal fulness of prophetic detail, and close the narrative of the Third Empire.

Even in the time of the fourth and last kingdom, though more remote from the days of the prophet, the events predicted are not few. We find there, distinctly revealed, the iron strength of the Romans, their gradual subjugation of other powers, their fierce and warlike

nature, their cruel and devouring conquests, the stealthy policy of their empire, and its gradual advance in the countries of the East, southward and eastward, and towards the land of Israel, till it had cast down the noblest kings, and firmly engrafted its new dominion on the stock of the Greek empire. We have next described its oppression of the Jews, the overthrow of their city and sanctuary by Titus, the abomination of desolation in the holy place, and their arrogant pride in standing up against Messiah, the Prince of princes. Then follow the persecutions of the faithful by the Pagan empire, the help they received from the civil power, and their renewed sufferings in later times ; the weakness and decay of the proud monarchy, its division into ten kingdoms, partly weak, and partly strong, their frequent attempts to reunite by intermarriage, and their constant failure ; the rise of the Papacy, the removal of three dynasties to prepare room for its growth, its small territory and mighty spiritual power, its abrogation of Divine and human laws, and severe persecution of the servants of God. Last of all, the assault of the Saracens on Papal Christendom, and the more successful inroads of the Turks ; the passage of the latter into Europe, their conquest of Palestine and Egypt, the long dependence of the African powers, the seat of their empire between two seas, in the city once dedicated to the Christian faith, and their final decay, with still future changes in those countries of the East, complete the long catalogue of distinct events, predicted in the time of the Roman power. Similar details, though perhaps less numerous, occur in the other Jewish prophets ; and when we pass on to the New Testament, more than a hundred predictions of distinct events may there be found in the Apocalypse alone.

Such then, in spite of all the false surmises of human theories, is the true nature of the prophecies of God. Their historical reality forms one main element of their glory. They are the voice of Him who sees the end from the beginning, and pronounces, in His secret counsel, even

on the destiny of the falling sparrow. They are designed to stoop to the earthly estate of the Church, while they exalt her hopes to the glory that shall be revealed. And hence, while some of them appear to melt away into the pure light of heaven, and clothe, under thin and transparent emblems, the highest forms of spiritual truth, there are others which seem like an extract beforehand from the page of human history. They range onward through everlasting ages ; but they let fall, in passing, a bright gleam of light, that discovers to us the ass's colt, tied at the meeting of three ways, on which the Lord of glory was to ride into Jerusalem. They dwell on the glories of the heavenly city, where an archangel is seen at every gate, and which will hereafter gladden a ransomed universe with its beauty ; but, meanwhile, they single out for their notice the little village, Bethlehem Ephrathah, with the tomb of Rachel, and its desolate mothers weeping for their murdered children. They lead our thoughts onward to the battle of the great day of God Almighty, and that sublime conflict, in which Heaven and Hell shall contend for the final mastery over our world ; but still every step in the long vista of preparation lies open before them, from the seven months' reign of Smerdis, and the marriage of Berenice with Antiochus (Dan. xi. 2—6.) to the seven months' burial of corpses, in days to come, in the land of Israel, and the marriage-supper of the Lamb. In short, they resemble their Divine Author. Their dwelling is amid high and heavenly truths ; but they have respect unto the lowly, and stoop down to the common events of time. They touch, as with an enchanter's wand, the perplexed and tangled skein of human history ; and it becomes a woof of curious and costly workmanship, that bespeaks the skill of its Divine Artificer ; an outer hanging, embroidered by heavenly wisdom, for that glorious tabernacle in which the God of Heaven will reveal Himself for ever.

These predictions, again, do not depend on the uncertain will of man ; they are absolute and certain, the true sayings of God. Many conditional promises and threat-

enings, it is true, may be found in the Scriptures, and these have an important office in the scheme of revelation. But the prophecies serve another purpose, entirely distinct. The relation between them is not so much one of resemblance as of contrast. The conditional promises teach us the responsibility of man : the Prophecies reveal the sovereignty of God, and the unfailing truth of His counsels. In some of them no moral element appears ; others are direct predictions of human sin ; and others again announce absolutely a time of bitter repentance, and the removal of those sins which are a barrier to the Divine mercy. In others the contrast is openly made, between the sureness of God's counsels, and the sin and ignorance of those by whom they are accomplished. And hence no error, in this branch of Divine truth, can be more fundamental and pernicious, than to confound all the inspired prophecies with the conditional warnings or promises of the word of God.

This absolute certainty of the Prophecies, like the variety of their details, adds greatly to their power and moral excellence. In the views which men form of history, they are ever exposed to two opposite dangers. Some are worshippers of Chance, and others of Fate. The former gaze on the complexity of human motives, and the free agency of man, till they almost fancy Divine foresight to be impossible, and would make God himself wait in suspense, until contingent events have revealed their actual nature, before He can arrange His own counsels. To them the world's history must become a sea of chance, and, in their zeal for human liberty, they really set aside the prescience and sovereignty of God. Others look simply at results, as independently decreed and absolutely certain, without any reference to their conditional antecedents and moral causes. All is in their eyes an irreversible system of predestined events, where no room is left for choice, but the human will is a mere drudge, working in chains, and all moral elements are crushed under a blind fatality. Either view is dishonorable to God, and dangerous to the souls of men.

When the true and living God, at once holy and sovereign, is banished from the throne of the universe, it is hard to say whether Chance or Fate, usurping His seat, constitutes the more foul and hideous idol.

These opposite evils have each their appropriate remedy in the word of God. Its conditional warnings and promises are the true antidote for the worship of Fate. These serve to quicken the dull conscience, and relieve it from the load of blind fatality, which views results as certain, irrespective of their true causes, the equity, justice, and mercy of the Most High.

But when, by an opposite danger, the pride of reason would dispute with God the government of His own world, and Man would make his will a rival of that Will which is absolute and supreme, the true antidote is to be found in the word of prophecy. There we see clearly that, however complex may be the motives of human action, and however deep the hidden springs of thought on which they depend, their results, through all ages, lie open to the eye of God; and that no folly or sin of His creatures can ever defeat His counsel, or erase one jot or tittle from the volume of His decrees. A deep and holy calm is thus infused into the hearts of His children, who might else be ready to faint under the long dominion of evil. When their conscience grows dull, and their spirit slothful, the promises cheer them onward, and threatenings arouse them into fresh diligence and zeal. But lest they should ever exalt themselves in their heart, or forget their entire dependence upon their Maker, the word of prophecy is spread over them, as an everlasting canopy; and while it reveals clearly to them the Divine greatness, they learn to humble their souls, in lowly adoration, before the footstool of the Supreme and Eternal King.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE POLITICAL WORTH OF DANIEL'S VISIONS.

THESE later visions of Daniel, at their close, open a wide field of thought on various subjects that bear immediately on the present state of the world, and the future prospects of the Church of God. Such are the cleansing of the sanctuary, the evening and the morning, the angelic conflict, the oath of the angel concerning the times, the season of trouble in the last days, and the resurrection of the sleepers in the dust. But these would require a separate work to unfold them as their importance demands. It seems, however, unnatural to close these varied details of prophetic history, without a few remarks on the great lessons they are adapted and designed to convey to every thoughtful and Christian mind.

On a hasty review of the fulfilment of prophecy, traced in these pages, some, perhaps, will be ready to condemn the whole as unprofitable and barren. What can it benefit us, they will ask, in the present day, to know how many kings reigned from Cyrus to Xerxes, the changes in the empire of Alexander, the troops who fought at Raphia, the marriage of Berenice, and the results of the invasion of Greece by Antiochus? When so many grave questions, in Church and State, are pressing around us, why should the eye of Christians be turned aside, to dwell on events so distant and obscure, and so barren in direct lessons of spiritual wisdom? Why not suffer these antiquated facts of history to sleep quietly in the dust, and bend our strength to the controversies and practical movements of the present hour?

Such feelings as these may perhaps have been one source of the theory, examined in the last chapter, which denies all historical reality to the sacred prophecies, and would turn the voice of God's holy prophet into a mere Jewish forgery, rather than renounce a crude and unscriptural fancy. This novel paradox, however, is condemned equally by sound reason and the word of God. The Holy Spirit, with deep wisdom, has so varied His messages, that they combine two opposite features,—historical reality, and moral and spiritual grandeur. In some prophecies He has given, as in these visions, a simple and unadorned record of worldly changes; while there are others where all details appear to be lost in the bright and glowing sunshine of hope and love. This variety and contrast of character, which rash theory would set aside, is a crowning excellence of the word of prophecy. In this manner it stoops to our weakness, that it may raise us from the dust, and enables the sojourners of a day to rise above passing events, and to gaze on those counsels which are from everlasting to everlasting.

The mere perusal, however, of numerous facts, drawn from profane historians, and their comparison with the sacred text, will not, of itself, enable us to reap the full benefit of these holy prophecies. We must dwell upon them in the light of one great and solemn truth, that all these are the foreseen counsels and works of the living God; the vast scheme of Providence which He has ordained for His own glory; and steps in the fulfilment of His everlasting counsel. Viewed calmly in this light, they will grow in their interest, even while we gaze upon them. They will raise us, by degrees, out of the feverish cares of life, into a filial and childlike trust in the Providence of our heavenly Father, and a sense of the dignity of our high calling, to be the servants of the most high God, and fellow-workers, in our own generation, in His counsels of eternal wisdom and love. Let us consider them, in these closing chapters, as they illustrate the duty of the Christian Statesman and of every separate

believer. Barren as they are to the careless eye, they contain mines of spiritual wealth for all those who search for wisdom as for hid treasures.

Let us inquire, first, what is the political worth of these sacred visions? What lessons may be drawn from them, to guide the counsels of statesmen, and elevate the tone of policy in a Christian kingdom? This inquiry is rendered more seasonable, from the contempt which has lately been expressed towards these holy messages by some of our own statesmen. We have been told with oracular voice, that it is folly to appeal to Daniel or the book of Revelation, in guiding the policy of a great empire. Such an appeal, in their view, is mere bigotry, untenable folly, idiocy, and madness.

What conclusion, as Christians, must we draw from such statements as these? Simply, that modern statesmen have outgrown, in their own conceit, the authority of the word of God. The visions of all the prophets have once more become to them, as in the days of Isaiah, like the words of a book that is sealed; and they themselves boast of the consummation, and are the joyful heralds of their own shame. Once it might be the ideal of Christian government, that "kings should see and arise, and princes also should worship" at the feet of the exalted Saviour, and consecrate their honour and greatness to His service, who is Prince of the kings of the earth. But those dreams of fancy, it would now seem, have passed away for ever. Modern statesmen, by the progress of liberal opinions, are at least eighteen centuries in advance of prophets and apostles. They can look back, with a smile of contempt, on the antiquated prejudices of those inspired men. To bribe the seditious into loyalty and peace, by supplying them with funds to propagate the maxims of persecution; and to pension all creeds without believing them, form their new ideal of Christian government. How should those holy men who once received the visits of angels, or leaned on the bosom of the King of Kings, be able to

add anything to the perfect wisdom of such statesmen as these ?

When these floods of ungodliness begin to be let loose upon us, and open scoffing at the word of God can pass current in high places, it becomes the servants of Christ to assume a bolder tone. We cannot and do not expect that those who have Pilate's question on their lips, and who need to be taught the first letters of the Christian faith, should be able to use these prophecies aright, or extract from them one grain of political wisdom. They bear the warning on their portal—"none of the wicked shall understand, but the wise shall understand." The Spirit, by whom they were given to the church, looks down, with holy disdain, on all the scorers of the last days ; whose ungodly schemes are quickly to sink in darkness, and whose boasts of light and wisdom will so soon be tested by "the great tribulation, which is coming on all the world, to try them that dwell on the earth."

What then are those truths which the Christian Statesman may learn from these visions, and the influence which they will shed, when once rightly apprehended, on the whole field of political thought and national duty in these last ages of time ?

The first lesson, which is essential to true political wisdom, and plainly taught in these prophecies, is the reality of Divine Providence, and the actual and ceaseless dominion of the living God over men and nations. Abstract truths have little power to break the spell of worldliness, and pierce within the charmed circle of political strife and debate. There may be, now and then, a vague and general allusion to Providence, and yet all the plans of statesmen may be framed, from year to year, as if there were no God in heaven, whose holy eyes are fixed continually on the children of men. Amidst the busy counsels of senates, and the brilliance of human eloquence, or the complexity of national affairs, it needs a mighty influence to keep alive the great truth, that the Most High ruleth among the king-

doms of men, and giveth them to whomsoever He will. Yet this fear of the Lord is the beginning of true wisdom. To reverence Him, in whose hand is the breath of all flesh, and who alone reserveth to nations the appointed weeks of the harvest, is the dictate, not merely of enlightened conscience, but even of natural prudence, wherever the dominion of God is really felt and known. But millions, who are called Christians, are almost entirely ignorant of this great truth. They have never risen into that holy elevation of thought, where the soul is lost in contemplating the Divine Majesty, and exclaims with the prophet, "All nations before him are as nothing, and they are counted to him less than nothing, and vanity." False and hollow maxims of policy will never cease to spring up, and true wisdom never dawn on the counsels of statesmen, till they have learned thus to adore and tremble before the God of Daniel, and princes on earth, like the heavenly elders, cast down their crowns, as humble offerings, before His throne.

These visions, when we meditate on them with calm and quiet thought, will restore the doctrine of Divine Providence to its right place in the view of the Christian. Even worldly statesmen, if they are not too proud to give their attention, might learn here to reverence and adore. From Cyrus and Nebuchadnezzar, through all the later changes of human history, we see here, at every step, the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God. Known unto him are all his works from the beginning. The reigns of Cambyses, Smerdis, and Darius; the armament of Xerxes, with its countless myriads; the marches, counter-marches and conflicts, the subtle plots and shifting alliances of contending kings, long before they occurred, were noted down in "the Scripture of truth," the secret volume of the Divine counsels. All of them, before they rose into birth, were revealed by the Son of God to His holy prophet; and they remain, till the end of time, an imperishable monument of His Providence and foreknowledge. All was foreseen by His wisdom, and or-

dained by His sovereign power. The passing generations of mankind, while they see this blue arch of Providence above them and around them, sure and steadfast, age after age, like Him who has ordained it, must feel a deep and quiet reverence take possession of their soul. "Kings will see and arise, princes also will worship." The great, and mighty, and wise of the earth, in the presence of this counsel of love that has endured for ages, must learn that their might is weakness, and their wisdom mere folly, and will thus be taught to look up with child-like dependence, that they may be led and guided, in all their high and sacred duties, by the God of heaven.

Let us trace this great doctrine, briefly, through the course of these later visions. They open with the reign and conquest of Cyrus, and what secret cause explains the victories of that hero, almost unrivalled in his fame? The prophet Isaiah has given the answer. "Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him, and I will loosen the loins of kings; to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the gates shall not be shut. I will go before thee, and make the crooked places straight: I will break in pieces the gate of gates, and cut in sunder the bars of iron. And I will give thee the treasures of darkness, the hidden riches of secret places; that thou mayest know that I, the Lord, which call thee by thy name, am the God of Israel." And when the victory was complete, what effect did these prophecies leave on the mind of the conqueror? "In the first year of Cyrus, king of Persia, that the word of God by the mouth of Jeremiah might be fulfilled, the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus, king of Persia, that he made proclamation throughout all his kingdom, and put it also in writing, saying—Thus saith Cyrus, king of Persia, The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and he hath charged me to build him an house at Jerusalem which is in Judah. Who is there among you of all his people? his God be

with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem, which is in Judah, and build the house of the Lord God of Israel (he is the God) which is in Jerusalem."

As the stream of prophecy rolled on, three kings were to succeed Cyrus in the kingdom, and the two first of these opposed the work of mercy, and their reigns were short and disastrous. But the third of them, Darius, did homage afresh to the God of Israel, and his reign was prosperous and of long continuance. His decree seems to renew the lesson which every part of these visions, as it is fulfilled, sets before the princes of the earth. "Now, therefore, Tatnai, and your companions, be ye far from thence. Let the work of this house of God alone; let the governor of the Jews, and the elders of the Jews, build this house of God in its place. Moreover, I make a decree what ye shall do to the elders of these Jews, for the building of this house of God . . . and that which they have need of, for the burnt-offerings of the God of heaven, wheat, salt, wine and oil, let it be given them day by day without fail, that they may offer sacrifices of sweet savour to the God of heaven, and pray for the life of the king and of his sons. And the God that hath caused his name to dwell there, destroy all kings and people that shall put to their hand to alter and to destroy this house of God which is at Jerusalem."

When the fourth king, Xerxes, had stirred up all Asia against the realm of Greece, he trusted in the multitude of his forces for certain conquest. But he had not, like Darius his father, or like Cyrus, given honour to the Lord God of Israel, and all his immense forces only made his ruin more signal and complete. His son and successor, warned by the experience of his fathers, seems to have been awake, once more, to the hand of Divine Providence. His decree, which fully restored the Jewish state, seems plainly to allude to the impiety of Xerxes, and the ruin which had followed. "Whatsoever is commanded by the God of heaven, let it be diligently done for the house of the God of heaven: *for why*

should there be wrath against the realm of the king and of his sons ? ”

When we pass onward to the times of Alexander and his successors, these royal testimonies are more scanty and unfrequent. But the same truth appears, with equal evidence, in another form. The minute details which these visions here supply, from Alexander and Ptolemy Soter to the repulse of Antiochus, are a constant lesson of God's ceaseless presence in all the plans and counsels of the rulers of mankind. Every royal marriage, like that of Berenice or Cleopatra, with all its secret issues of peace or war, of discord or union ; the levying of every army, the capture of every fortress, the length of every reign, the issue of every battle, the lies of deceitful ambition, the treachery of counsellors, the complex web of policy, woven out of ten thousand thousand human wiles, and each of these again the product of ten thousand various influences of good and evil, all are pourtrayed, with unerring accuracy, in "the Scripture of truth," in the presence of the living and eternal king. The mightiest of conquerors, in the height of his power, touched by this wand of prophecy, like the rod of Moses, falls a victim to his own intemperance, and is suddenly cut off and his posterity destroyed. The subtlest plans of alliance and affinity, because they set aside the first ordinance of God in Paradise, and put asunder those whom He had joined together, instead of procuring conciliation and harmony, lead only to hatred, cruel murder, bitter national strife, and a bloody and severe revenge.

The pride of Antiochus the Great, his successful ambition and military triumphs, his schemes of politic affinity, nay, even his prudent regard for the house of God, cannot avert the sentence written against him, for his fraud and violence, in the word of truth. In the height of seeming power, his own reproach is turned against him, and he stumbles and falls, and is not found. Thus at every step, as we trace the course of Providence in these holy visions, the truth must seek deeper into

the most careless heart, that "doubtless there is a God that judgeth the earth."

How brightly does the same truth appear, once more, at the close of the whole narrative! "He shall come to his end, and none shall help him." Whether we apply these words to the Turkish Sultan, their earlier fulfilment, or to the head of the last Gentile confederacy in the land of Israel, they sound in our ears like the death-knell of every ungodly nation. Whatever be the power which exalts itself against the God of heaven, or in whatever height it may plant the tabernacle of its greatness; though countless numbers may do homage at its throne, the sentence of doom is already pronounced against it, the handwriting is on the wall, and must soon be fulfilled. "He shall come to his end and none shall help him." From Cyrus to the day of the resurrection, the welfare and safety of every state and kingdom depends solely on the blessing of the Almighty God. "He changeth times and seasons; he removeth kings, and setteth up kings; he giveth wisdom to the wise, and knowledge to them that know understanding." When His anger goes forth against an ungodly people, in what striking words does he display the folly of their counsellors! "I am the Lord that maketh all things, that stretcheth forth the heavens alone, that spreadeth abroad the earth by myself; that frustrateth the tokens of the liars, and maketh diviners mad; that turneth wise men backward, and maketh their knowledge foolish." Yet still, even to the latest age, "he confirmeth the word of his servants, and performeth the counsel of his messengers;" and all his inspired prophecies, however man may forget or despise them, will prove themselves at last to have been, in every part, the true sayings of God.

What a change would be made in the tone and spirit of national policy, if even this one truth were deeply impressed on the hearts of all modern statesmen! They would still have to consult, as now, for the complex and varied interests of human life, moulded by the new

forms which society has assumed in these latter times. But there would then be a tone of deep and holy reverence for eternal things, like an atmosphere of light, around their deliberations. The remembered presence of the living God would silence the blind rage of human passions, still the clamours of party, and throw a hallowing influence over all the seats of power. Man would be dealt with as an immortal creature, the object of hopes and fears that reach into eternity. Every event of life, every subject of legislation, would be lit up by the beams of that holy love which is resting from age to age on the sojourners of mankind. National religion, freed alike from superstitious perversions, and the blind contempt heaped on it by infidel theories, would become the living homage of princely hearts and noble minds, the leaders of the nation, consulting for its highest good, to the everlasting word of God, the only true and perennial fountain of public and private wisdom. That promise, which alone might shame into silence the spurious theories of an unbelieving age, would then be fulfilled in the sight of a rejoicing universe. "All the kings of the earth shall worship thee, O Lord! for they have heard the words of thy mouth. Yea, they shall sing in the ways of the Lord, that great is the glory of the Lord!"

Another lesson which statesmen may derive from these visions, is the close union between political and heavenly wisdom. Of all the civil rulers, recorded in holy Scripture, Daniel is almost the only one in whom no fault appears. Even his bitter enemies are compelled to bear witness to his integrity. "We shall not find any occasion against this Daniel, except we find it concerning the law of his God." But he who is thus proposed to us, by the Holy Spirit, as the pattern of a wise and upright ruler, was also the most favoured of the prophets, and received message after message of heavenly wisdom, by the ministry of holy angels, and the direct vision of the Son of God.

The union of these two elements, so conspicuous in

the prophet himself, re-appears in the whole course of these sacred visions. They are political narratives of earthly changes : they are a main and integral part of the oracles of God. Here we see how the kingdom of God, which is from everlasting to everlasting, includes and grasps, in its sublime progress, all the kingdoms of the world. Heathen rulers, unconsciously and blindly, but Christian kings and princes, by their free and willing allegiance, become fellow-workers in this mighty plan, and help on the final triumph of the king of Righteousness, the Prince of Peace. There is indeed another kind of political wisdom, which comes from beneath, and minds only earthly things, and is itself justly condemned, as earthly, sensual, and devilish. But true political wisdom, such as the holy Daniel had attained, is from above, and has its eye fixed upward on the everlasting hills. It plans for the happiness of nations ; but then it remembers that true happiness can only be found, when man rises above himself, and holds fellowship with his Maker, and the glorious realities of the spiritual world. Such a wisdom, while it sits in the gate of earthly kings, has its ear ever open to drink in those messages of truth and grace which may be sent down from the sanctuary of heaven. When it dwells on the facts of human history, and has sketched the comprehensive outlines of the past, it is never content to trace merely the policy of man, but rises to contemplate the Divine counsels, and those laws of justice, forbearance, righteousness, and mercy, which are perpetually unfolding themselves in all the works of God towards the children of men. For this is the true political wisdom, to know the place which a nation holds in the great plan of redemption, the love of God which is resting over it, the truths and duties on which its peace and safety depend, the special calling with which God has called it, and the wide range of holy happiness which lies before it, in obedience to His will, and a free and glad submission to the great and eternal laws of His righteous kingdom. How unlike the mercenary theories

of physical wealth and bodily comfort, is the ideal which these visions supply to us, of political duty and national greatness! To execute justice on earth, and receive angel-visits from heaven; to trace the course of human history, and see in every step the direct and visible hand of God; to catch the bright dawn of the coming glory, and guide the sojourners of the world, through the mists of time and of sense, towards that holy light; to teach them, like the prophet, to renounce unprofitable and hurtful luxuries, and the dainties of royal tables, but to hunger and thirst for everlasting truth, and messages of grace from on high; these are the true features of national wisdom, the maxims, revealed in these prophecies, to guide and mould the whole policy of righteous statesmen and Christian kingdoms.

These visions, again, if they were duly studied by our modern statesmen, might deliver them from the snare of a blind subservience to the popular will, and teach them to govern by a higher standard than the expedients of the passing hour. There was a time when the chief snare of rulers was a proud and unfeeling selfishness, that would sacrifice the happiness and peace of millions to the splendour of a court, or the caprice of a king. That age of servile flattery and selfish royalty has gone by, and opposite evils have succeeded in its room. Now, from the spread of knowledge, and the rapid communication of thought and intelligence, the power of the state has passed, more and more, into the hands of the people. The temptation to which statesmen are now chiefly exposed is therefore of an opposite kind. It is to purchase the favour of the people, at whatever cost; to shift their opinions with the tide, to guide the helm of the state, merely by the eddies of public opinion, with no appeal to higher maxims than the expediency of the hour, and thus to degrade Christian legislation into the mere art of securing the votes of a majority, and of changing so dextrously with the tide as to avoid all public disgrace. Where the will of the people is made the final appeal, and has itself to be

discovered amidst the feverish excitement of passion, the character of statesmen must tend to sink continually towards this pitiable standard, and their views to become the servile echo of every delusion of their times.

A close and intimate study of these inspired visions would have a mighty power to counteract and overcome this degrading influence. The Statesman, no longer led away blindly by the passions of the hour, or even by the delusions of his own generation, will have his feet lifted out of the mire, and planted on a rock of eternal truth. Instead of borrowing his views from the prejudices of the multitudes, or floating blindly with the stream of opinion, he will enter into the secret place of the Most High, and there abide under the shadow of the Almighty. Whatever be the floods of error or selfish folly in the world below, these prophecies, in their fulfilment, will be like a sure anchor of hope, and teach a lesson of simple confidence in the wisdom of the supreme and eternal King. He will see here that there are truths unaffected by all the changes of time, and that his own duty and privilege is not to echo blindly the follies of the passing age, but to be a fellow-worker in the mighty counsel of love which endures for ever.

Everywhere, at the present time, this element of true greatness needs restoring to the national councils. We are warned, by many signs, to rest upon no principles or professions, which refuse to own the direct authority of the word of God. Modern statesmen, with but few exceptions, seem now to accept the will of the people for their supreme law, and popular opinion for their only guide, and hence the curse of Reuben is resting upon them. "Unstable as water, they cannot excel." Between the supple cleverness of a Talleyrand, and the holy wisdom of Daniel, there is a wide gulf of separation. And how can our politicians renounce the degrading standard of the apostate priest, and rise to emulate the beloved prophet, unless they learn, from these visions, to read history in the light of heaven, and consider how their own conduct and maxims will appear,

when they are registered in "the Scripture of truth," and written in the book of remembrance before the throne of God!

There is another truth, which modern statesmen would do well to consider, revealed in almost every one of these holy prophecies. However blind they may be to the details of interpretation, and however plausible the excuse they may often find for their willing ignorance in the disputes of commentators and divines, here that excuse will scarcely apply. There is a searching trial at hand, an hour of sorrow to the Gentile kingdoms. The mighty Image must soon be smitten on its feet of iron and clay, and broken to pieces. The last of the four empires must, at length, be destroyed, and given to the burning flame of Divine displeasure. The sanctuary of God must be cleansed in these last days, while judgment is executed on those who have profaned it. The determined consummation must come at last on the desolators of the land of Israel. In short, to sum up the whole in the words of this last vision, "there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation to that same time, and at that time the people of God shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book."

How many popular delusions would this one truth, if simply and heartily believed, scatter to the winds! How it would frown into silence the empty and frivolous laugh of self-conceited politicians, who dream of clear skies and smooth water, when rocks and breakers are around them, and the tempest is gathering over their heads. The boasted triumph of liberal opinions, whither, alas! does it lead? Useful knowledge, popular freedom, the growth of science, the activity of trade—what are they all, without the national fear of God, but delusion and folly? The life of a nation consisteth not in the abundance of the things it possesseth. Surely, if it were felt that such dangers were before us, statesmen would no longer account it untenable folly to tremble in spirit at the Divine threatenings against idolatrous or

apostate nations. They would rather humble themselves under the mighty hand of God. However deep their wisdom, or large their experience, they would feel that a wisdom far higher than theirs was needful, to guide the course of a nation aright in times which are close at hand. They would see that, in the prospect of so bitter and searching a trial, the only safety, for men or states, is in that righteousness which exalteth a nation, the direct blessing of the God of heaven on the prayer of faith, and a willing obedience to His commandments.

There are many other lessons of political wisdom, which might be drawn from every part of these visions of Daniel, now explained, if only the ear of Christian senators were attentive to catch the messages they convey. A clear view of these warnings of the persecutions of the Little Horn, and the idolatries of the Wilful King, would expose the folly which confounds light with darkness, and the national patronage of a hateful idol-worship, with a public homage to the God of truth and holiness, and the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ. We can scarcely hope that such a measure of light will pierce within that atmosphere of mist and unbelieving self-conceit, in which too many politicians of the present day seem to be immured. But a great step would be gained, if they could only learn to meditate, with quiet thought, on those great truths which a single glance may reveal to them in these holy pages of inspired wisdom. For here they may see that all the changes of time are noted, from eternity, in "the Scripture of truth" by the all-seeing wisdom of God. Military ambition, subtle policy, the arts of statesmen, the voice of excited multitudes, the passions of every hour, the delusions of every age—all must pass in silent review under the eye of heaven. The interests that now agitate parties, and convulse nations, will soon be hushed in the silence of the grave. The weighty disputes on questions of perishable wealth, will be succeeded by times of trouble and alarm, when the hearts of worldly

men shall fail them for fear, and for looking after those things that are coming upon the earth. The policy which cannot discern between truth and error, light and darkness, the Gospel which saves immortal souls, and the superstition that destroys them, may soon have its fatal blindness exposed before the judgment-seat of Christ. The proud boasts of a light in which God is forgotten, and exiled from the councils of rulers or the fields of science, will expire and be lost in the bright splendour of the manifested kingdom of the Most High. The systems of thought which would divorce politics from religion, and this world from the world to come, will die of themselves, like shadows of the night, when once the morning of the resurrection dawns on the unbelieving world. Then "a king shall reign in righteousness, and princes shall rule in judgment." Then the "work of righteousness will be peace, and the effect of righteousness quietness and assurance for ever." Once let the statesmen of these latter times begin to realize these hopes of prophecy, or its past fulfilment for thousands of years, and the clouds of earthliness which are now around them must gradually pass away. They would then live, and study, consult and legislate, as immortal beings, in the sight of the everlasting God, and with a view to the advance of His glorious kingdom. The tricks of party would be succeeded by the accents of fervent prayer; the flashy brilliance of declamation, wasted on trifles of a moment, by a profound thoughtfulness of spirit, and the tone of deep awe and reverence which befits the task of helping millions of fellow immortals in the steep and upward pathway of life eternal.

May the God of Daniel, in these days, raise up a school of Christian politicians, who, like that great prophet, may combine human, political wisdom, with that which is heavenly and divine! Instead of that melancholy spectacle of national covetousness and contempt for Divine truth, reflected, as by a faithful mirror, in the public councils and legislation, we might then

see bright earnestness of the kingdom of Christ, in care for the welfare of the souls of the poor, and unfeigned zeal for the glory of God. We should then insult heaven no longer, by plans to secure national peace and safety, through bribes offered to promote and perpetuate idol-worship. Instead of profane scoffs directed against God's holy prophets, the ear of such rulers and senators would drink in the truths they proclaim with a deep reverence, as a message given for their own guidance by the King of kings. They would look up to Him for wisdom in every hour of perplexity, and that wisdom would be given. They would then be afraid no longer in the perilous time, and in the days of famine they would be satisfied. For still, through every age, and in every nation, whether in the nineteenth century or in the days of Cyrus, whether a people be cursed with the clever wickedness of a Talleyrand, or blessed with a faithful Zerubbabel and holy Daniel, the promise and the threatening of God will be accomplished without fail—"Them that honour me I will honour, and they that despise me shall be lightly esteemed."

CHAPTER XXII.

HISTORICAL REVIEW OF THE PROPHECY.

IN the variety of details which the fulfilment of these visions has brought before us, we are liable to forget the grandeur of that view of Divine providence which they unfold. I shall therefore endeavour, in closing this work, to review the whole course of history, so as to catch, if possible, the full impression of majesty and sublime simplicity, which render these inspired messages so deeply profitable and instructive to the whole Church of God.

And first, let us resume the vision of the evening and the morning, which reminds us, by its very name, that the dark night of the world is to be followed by the dawn of everlasting joy to the children of God.

The holy Daniel had now been an exile, for fifty years, from the land of Israel. The burial-places of his fathers had long been forsaken, and Jerusalem and its temple were in ruins. He had himself been long in the court of Babylon, first a captive, and then a prince, among the foremost in honour; now perhaps, in the reign of the profligate and profane Belshazzar, once more neglected and despised. He was at Shushan, where the Persian kings, in after-times, would exhibit all the pride of royalty, and Haman plan the murder and ruin of the chosen people. What truths were there revealed to him in the visions of the night, and what glimpses into the dark and distant future opened before him? It was a long and wonderful course of events which the seer beheld by the banks of the Ulai, and a glorious

messenger who was sent from above to remove his darkness. First, he beheld the youthful conqueror of Persia, in his career of victory. He saw the Persians pursuing their course of triumph, till Cræsus and all his wealth fell under their power, and their horses were wet with the billows of the western sea. He saw the tribes of Armenia, and the proud nobles of Babylon, humbled before the advancing empire, and the two-leaved gates of the rejoicing city left open to the warriors, while the hand-writing on the wall pronounced the sentence of her ruin. His eye glanced rapidly over two centuries of time, when the Persian empire stood in its glory, and the decrees from the palace of Shushan went forth to the shores of the Hellespont, the borders of the Indus, and the banks of the Nile. Then another change passed over the shifting scene. The rude and warlike mountaineers of Macedonia, under their youthful king, rushed eagerly from the west, to assail the colossus of Persian power. Granicus, Issus and Arbela, the siege of Tyre, the conquest of Egypt, the victories of six campaigns, pass rapidly before his eyes. He beholds the new empire, with unexampled rapidity, subdue all the mightiest provinces of the East, till all nations, from the pillars of Hercules to the banks of the Hydaspes, either submit openly to its yoke, or acknowledge its undisputed supremacy. Then, in the height of the conqueror's power, his sceptre is broken and falls from his hands. The festive luxury of Babylon is mightier to destroy than all the armies of Persia, or the elephants of Indian kings; and the kingdom is broken, and given to others. Amidst a trouble and scene of confusion, and ambitious strife, four kingdoms emerge from the ruins of the mighty empire, and Macedon, Thrace, Syria and Egypt, appear, for the first time, under the sway of Grecian kings. These trials and heavy sufferings, with growing sin, are sent once more upon the people of Israel. And first, as a warning of longer and heavier judgments, a Syrian oppressor arises in the latter time of the Eastern kingdoms, and defiles

the sanctuary, takes away the sacrifice, and murders the faithful witnesses of God. But the short-lived persecution of Antiochus is only the prelude to heavier and more lasting woe. The infant republic on the banks of the Tiber, after fierce struggles with the Italian tribes, and hard-won triumphs over the power of Carthage, would ingraft itself, by stealth and subtle policy, on the Grecian kingdoms. Step by step this foreign power would usurp dominion over the nations of the East, till the oldest and most powerful states should be trodden down and stamped by its warriors in the dust. This Roman power would extend itself, with a might beyond that of Cyrus and Alexander, to the sources of the Nile, to the banks of the Tigris, and against the favoured land of Israel. The prophet saw in vision its fatal victories, the bitter fruits of the sins of Israel. There would rise dimly before him the legions of Pompey and of Titus ; the temple repeatedly profaned by heathen violence ; the Prince of the host condemned and scorned by the Roman conquerors, and the temple itself cast down and utterly destroyed. Then a long and dreary blank would follow in the prophetic outline, with few sounds but those of lamentation and woe ; the ways of Zion desolate and in ruins, the indignation of God resting the second time on his once-favoured people, and the truth cast down to the ground under the oppression of its enemies. At length, after this long evening and night of trouble, a morning of deliverance begins to appear. He sees in vision the power which had occupied the holy land, and crushed the truth for ages, wasting in slow decay. He hears the sounds of its approaching fall, and sees its vain efforts to secure human help and deliverance. The judgment of God alights on that proud Empire of the East, where the name of Rome and the city of Constantine, had seemed like the double pledges of immortality. From the first restoration of Ezra and Nehemiah, two thousand three hundred years slowly pass away, a little moment in the calendar of heaven, and then the deliverance dawns more brightly. The sanc-

tuary of God begins to be cleansed from its long desolation. First of all, the true Church of Christ, entangled by the ties of the world, and rent by error, strife and division, begins to awake and arise from the dust. The hearts of God's children long for unity, peace, and love, and follow after the forgotten standard of His word. Slowly and painfully, the work of cleansing proceeds in all the courts of the spiritual temple ; till at length the Providence of God returns in mercy to His ancient people, and in the East, and in the land of promise, the outcasts seek the home of their fathers ; and the sanctuary of the God of Israel, in the last days, begins once more to be rebuilt in Jerusalem. Then the long weary evening of sin and darkness will pass away, and a morning without clouds, a morning of joy, and peace, and righteousness, shall dawn on the weary sojourners of this fallen world.

But the Holy Spirit is not content to have led the prophet, once only, over this wide range of the world's history, until the redemption of His people in the last days. Once more he renews the message, but it is now fuller than before ; the details are more various, and the introduction is more august. The Son of God, the Angel of the Covenant, himself is the bearer of this latest message, and appears to the beloved Daniel in vision, as afterward to the beloved John, with an awful majesty and gentle condescension of love. It was an hour of mourning and deep sorrow. At the age of almost ninety years, seventy of them spent in exile, far from his own land, the prophet is in sackcloth and ashes, to bemoan the sins of his people, and the new hindrances, arising in the Persian court, to their full and complete deliverance. On the banks of one of the four rivers of Paradise, a vision, as of Paradise itself, opens before him. The Son of God, unveiled to him in human form, yet with Divine glory, cheers his fainting servant, and unfolds dimly some of the hidden mysteries of Providence, and those angelic conflicts in the heavenly places before the throne of God, which are linked

invisibly with the warfare and policy of contending states and sinful nations here in the world below. Then, after the soul of the prophet has been raised above the mists of sense, and the distractions of worldly cares, once more the awful veil is drawn aside, and the future, in all its dim solemnity, is disclosed to his view. No symbols are employed, but, as if the eye of the holy prophet were now inured to the light, a simple narrative is given of the Divine counsels, to be fulfilled through long ages in the history of the world.

What is the view given to Daniel in this parting vision? The reign of Cyrus, predicted so long before, so splendid in its achievements, and striking in its vast results, is now drawing to its close. But the second Empire was not to be so rapid in its fall, as that of Babylon. Three kings were still to succeed, the third of them to be an instrument of mercy in restoring the temple; and then the fourth monarch, Xerxes, would stir up all the tribes of Asia, in countless numbers, against the freemen of Greece. But the eye of the prophet is not suffered to rest on this stirring scene, or to be dazzled with the variety and greatness of the Grecian triumphs. The names of Marathon, of Thermopylæ, of Salamis and Plataë, cannot detain him for one moment, as he is hurried along the course of the world's changes, which are to issue in the full redemption of the Church of God. He who divided to the nations their inheritance, and set the bounds of the people according to the number of the children of Israel, seems here to teach the prophet the same lesson, and subordinates all other history to the future destinies of the chosen people. Once more the prophet is hastened over two centuries of Persian greatness, sinking in slow decay, till his eye is fixed on the Macedonian hero, who avenges the invasion of Greece on the tribes of Asia, and rules with a great dominion according to his own will. How rapidly that vision of glory sweeps by in this sublime procession of mortal conquerors and kings! Even while the eye rests upon the Macedonian hero and his

greatness, the pageant dies away, his kingdom is broken, his posterity are cut off, and the four winds of heaven, contending on the great sea, are a feeble emblem of the passionate contests of ambition that cover the plains of the East with slaughter and desolation. Out of this chaos of military strife, the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt emerge slowly to view, and their destinies are next revealed. Between them lay the land of promise, soon to be visited in mercy by the Lord of heaven, but now exposed in turn, from the north, and from the south, to the bitterness of conquest and war. That ark which bore the freight of a world's hopes, is now fiercely buffeted between the contending kingdoms, and tost on the billows of perpetual change. Alliances and marriages, feuds and murders, invasion and triumph, captivity and spoil, the birth and the death of kings, the deceits of policy, the shock of armies, the siege and capture of mighty cities, the elephants of India and the riches of the East; all these changes pass under the view of the prophet, till the eye grows weary with the interminable round of folly, sin, and ambitious violence. One gleam of light appears for a moment, when the temple of God is perfected by the hand of the Syrian, and a moment's respite seems to be given to suffering Israel. But the clouds return once more. The conqueror of Asia, the repairer of the temple, stumbles at the shock of the Roman legions, and disappears in darkness. The prophet's eye turns westward, and sees there a Syrian captive, a hostage, almost forgotten amidst the busy throng of the Imperial city. He sees him, escaping from his captivity, one moment amidst the streets of Athens, and the next, seated, by stealth and policy, and skilful flatteries, on the throne of Syria. He tracks his steps through his course of vileness and profligacy, while he prospers for a time appointed in his plots against Egypt, and is ready to seat himself by fraud on the throne of the ancient Pharaohs. In the midst of his triumphs the ships are seen from the West, from the isles of Chittim, entering the mouth of the Nile, and

the imperious message is heard from the Roman senate, denouncing war to the disobedient. The Syrian madman has his prey wrested from his grasp, and returns, filled with anger against the covenant-people of God. Then a scene of woe and sorrow appears. First, in the foreground, the vision reveals the Syrian desolation, a harbinger of still heavier woes ; and the short paroxysm of distress, when Judah was desolate, and the faithful were driven into the wilderness, while the temple of the living God was profaned with idol-offerings to Olympian Jove. Yet still, amidst the gloom, the hand of God was with his people. The glorious inscription—"Who is like thee, O Lord," was seen waving on their banners, and the Maccabean heroes were strong, and did exploits against the heathen, till a respite was given from the bitter trial. But as the sins of Israel continued and increased, the vision renewed its message in still heavier judgments. The mighty conquerors of the world place their foot proudly on the neck of the daughter of Zion. The temple, hallowed by the presence of Emmanuel, is polluted by their idol-standards. The abomination of desolation, denounced by our Lord when on earth, stands at length in the holy place, and the latter end of God's indignation, warned of in many prophecies, begins to rest heavily on His ancient people.

And now, in the crisis of judgment, new wonders begin to open dimly before the eye of the beloved seer. In the hour of his nation's desolation, light arises in the darkness, and their casting away is the reconciling of the world. The saints who knew their God, in His incarnate humility and risen glory, were strong in the Lord their Saviour, and did mighty exploits, more than the Maccabean heroes, against the powers of darkness. Clad in "the irresistible might of meekness" they went forth to do battle with all the spiritual wickedness of the world, and a mouth and wisdom were given them, which no human power could resist or effectually oppose. The weapons of their warfare were mighty through God, to cast down all the strongholds of Pagan

wickedness. Many days they were to be tried and sifted with flame and captivity and spoil, but their faith had a might which could overcome the world. They instructed many perishing souls in the mysteries of God, and at length, after their weary conflicts a little help was given them, and the proud Empire bowed its reluctant neck to the yoke of Christ.

But the vision of sorrow had not yet reached its close : the hour of deliverance was not come. Fresh troubles and distresses were still to arise, and vex the Church of God. The prophet, even in the hour of its triumph, is told of flatteries and false converts, who would stir up new troubles within its own bosom. Thus persecution would set in once more against the faithful. At length the vision reveals to him a gigantic and awful power, which would cast aside the antiquated superstitions of the Pagan world, and set up new gods and tutelary powers for the objects of religious worship and Divine honours. There is revealed to him, though dimly and in general terms, the Antichristian monarchy which, under Christian titles, and holy names, would revive the lifeless body of heathen superstition, and inspire it with a life of persecuting malice, to destroy the faithful witnesses of God. He sees also in the far distance, the two successive woes, which God, whose name is Jealous, would send to punish his own apostate people, and the still later conflicts of the last confederacy, when the Gentiles, under their triumphant leader, in days to come, shall be as a cloud to cover the land of Israel. And now, after ages of long delay, his eye can rest on the joyful consummation. Beyond that time of trouble, unequalled in the history of mankind, he can catch the dawn of the Sun of Righteousness, and bear the joyful tidings of deliverance to his own people, the desolate outcasts of Israel. The vision which began with a glimpse into the unseen world, and the ministry and warfare of angels, closes with a prospect not less glorious, and of still deeper interest to ourselves. It reveals to us that day when the ransomed children of men shall

be equal to the angels, and shall be children of God, being children of the resurrection. It crowns the fleeting changes of this mortal life by the joyful hope of immortality. "Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake; these to everlasting life, and these to shame and everlasting contempt. 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."

Let us only meditate for a moment on the truths implied in this comprehensive prophecy, and we shall be lost in wonder at the mystery of unsearchable wisdom which it opens to our view. Its unadorned simplicity, for which the vain theories of foolish men would brand it as a mere forgery, a dry fragment of Maccabean history, is to the spiritual mind its crowning excellence, and a proof of its Divine glory. Who but the Spirit, who searches the deep things of God, and sees the end from the beginning, could have given so brief a summary, beforehand, of the events of three thousand years, and have linked it, so calmly and firmly, with the highest truths of the unseen world, the glory of the blessed angels, and the resurrection from the dust of the children of God? This golden chain of truth is let down from heaven, and touches the whole range of providence here on earth for age after age—but its extremities are held by the Angel of Covenant, with a steady grasp, within the veil, in that world of mystery where archangels now minister before the throne, and where the saints, in glorified bodies, ransomed from death, shall stand for ever in the lot of their heavenly inheritance. This is the problem which infidel theories of history, on the one hand, and an abstract, scholastic theology on the other, may strive long to solve, but must strive in vain; to reconcile the shadowy changes of time with the absolute, the true, the abiding, and the eternal. Here also, in these last days, when conflict and strife are before the Church, she may learn her real strength, and rise above the passions and fears of a day, to anchor her hopes on that

sure counsel of love, no one link of which can ever fail or be broken through the wickedness of men. However dark the pathway, however long and wearisome the journey, there is light and glory at its close. What though a long succession of ungodly rulers may distract the eye with sights of discord, and weary the heart with scenes of misery and bloodshed from age to age ! The kingdom of peace and righteousness must dawn at length on the world, and the dominion be given to the holy prophets and apostles, who shall stand in their lot, with joy and triumph, at the end of the days. What though the worship of Mahuzzim shall long defile even the Christian Church with foul idolatries, and flatterers, who cleave to a faith which their hearts never welcome, may usurp the name of the Catholic Church, to crush, under holy titles, the faithful witnesses of the Lord ! It is but a little time, and the tyranny shall cease, and the delusion shall pass away. The sanctuary of God, in these latter days, must still be cleansed from its many defilements ; the flatterers of the outer court be exiled from the assemblies of Christ, and a pure and virgin Church be prepared to welcome the returning Bridegroom. What though the scoffers of the last days may exult in their vain boasts of a light, which is not of heaven, and of a knowledge in which the only Saviour of sinners is forgotten and despised ! What though the multitudes may gather, under deceitful watchwords, of liberty, light, and progress, and the worship of man self-regenerate by his own wisdom, for one last confederacy of Gentile unbelief ! They shall still come to their end, and none shall help them. Though statesmen may exclude the truth of God from their counsels, though philosophers may speculate on all the depths of history without once discovering their own need of a Saviour, and build up a new Babel in the last days, of human liberty and equality, and imaginary triumphs of reason ; though divines may invent a gospel without Christ, and metaphysicians a world without the living God ; this record, like a firmament of unalterable, unefface-

able truth, is above them and around them, to rebuke their folly, and confirm the faith of all the servants of the Lord. In the strife of modern parties, amidst the fever of commerce and trade, it reminds us of a counsel which is ever advancing swiftly to its bourne, of angel ministries that are unceasingly around us, and of a solemn resurrection which draws nearer and nearer, and like a thief in the night, may break in suddenly, with a wild and strange surprise, upon all the schemes and projects of worldly men. True it is, that none of the wicked shall understand. "He that is unjust will be unjust still, and he that is filthy will be filthy still." But the wise shall understand. They will read the past, and see in it, everywhere displayed, the hand of the living God. They will read even the future, and see it reveal to them, as in colours of light, the sure hope of the resurrection. Then, in that day, "the deaf shall hear the words of the book, and the eyes of the blind shall see out of obscurity and out of darkness." The prophecies that we now trace, dimly and painfully, with the eyes of the flesh, and amidst the thick mists of a fallen world, will then start out before us in their clear and unveiled beauty, and awaken perpetual songs of wonder and praise and adoration, in the hour of the resurrection, and throughout everlasting ages in the kingdom of our God.

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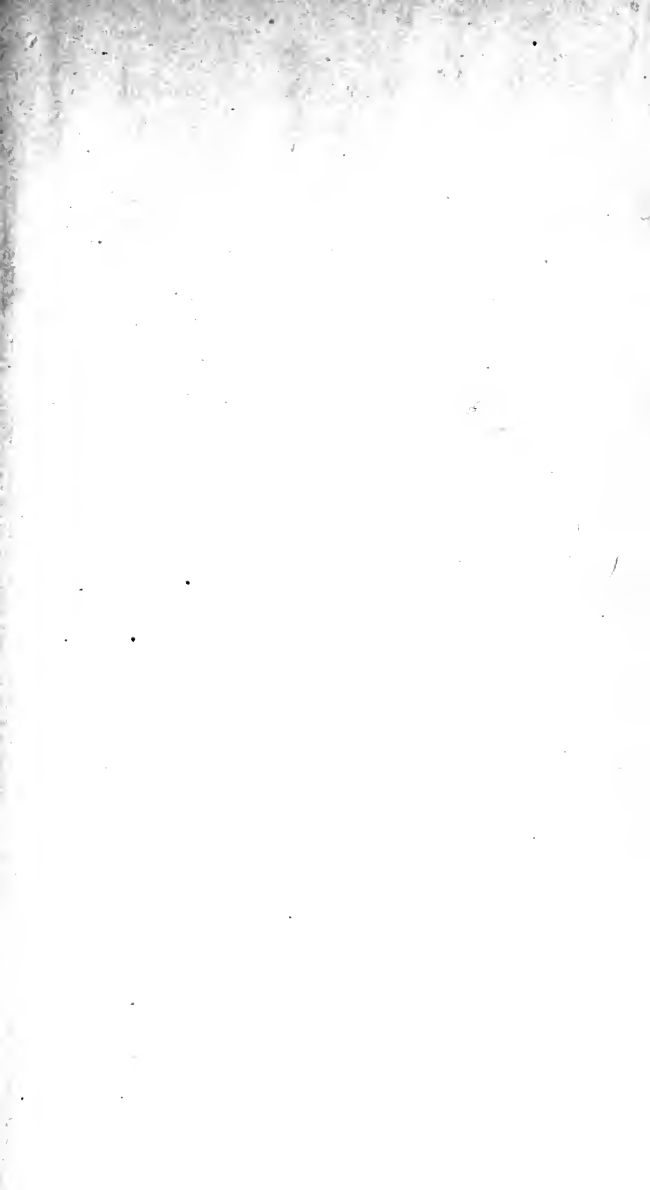
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