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THE

APOCALYPSE,

OR,

REVELATION OF SAINT JOHN,

Translated

&c. &c.
THE
APOCALYPSE,
OR,
REVELATION OF SAINT JOHN,
Translated;
WITH NOTES, CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY.

A DISSERTATION
ON THE
DIVINE ORIGIN OF THE BOOK;
IN ANSWER TO THE OBJECTIONS
OF THE LATE
PROFESSOR J. D. MICHAELIS,

BY
JOHN CHAPPEL WOODHOUSE, M. A.
ARCHDEACON OF SALOP,
IN THE DIOCESE OF LICHFIELD AND COVENTRY.

In Prophetis explicandis, semper patuit, et patere debet, omnibus Dei honorem amantibus campus liber. Qui minimam vim verbis facit, qui confusa distinguít, qui historias apertas vaticinis quam commodissime aptat, plus semper apud áequos judices referet gratía.

Grotius.

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1805.
TO

ISAAC HAWKINS BROWNE, ESQ. M.P. F.R.S.

IN MEMORIAL

OF THAT FRIENDSHIP,

HAPPLY AND HONOURABLY FOR ME,

HAS SO LONG AND CONSTANTLY SUBSISTED BETWEEN US,

PERMIT ME,

WITH GRATFUL AND AFECTIONATE ATTACHMENT,

TO INSCRIBE TO YOU THIS WORK,

J. C. WOODHOUSE.
INTRODUCTION.

The Prophecies of the Apocalypse, though illustrated by commentators of all ages, have not been so successfully explained, as to afford general satisfaction. From the interpretations most commonly received, many of the learned have withheld their assent; and doubts have been expressed, whether we are yet in possession of the fortunate clues to be derived from human sagacity or Divine inspiration; or of the necessary aids of learning; or of the events in history; which, at some future period, may be destined to ascertain the completion of these predictions.

Under such circumstances, opportunity is fairly afforded for attempts to explain this mystical book by new methods of inquiry. And, while the rash precipitancy of the enthusiastic and unqualified interpreter is to be discouraged, indulgence will justly be thought due to those, who with pious caution, with laborious investigation,
tion, and literary research, endeavour to explore its sacred recesses. To illustrate it in all its parts, to prove the completion of all its predictions, to exhibit it as that perfect evidence of the divine origin of our religion, for which it is perhaps intended, "in the latter days," can only be the work of time, and must employ the labours of succeeding generations*. Yet to interpret and explain, by scriptural induction, the symbols and language under which the events are presignified; to separate and assort the prophecies; to discriminate those whose fulfilment has already taken place, and to point out their agreement with certain records of history, is a work which at any time may be reverently attempted, and is encouraged and indeed authorised in this divine book †.

But an additional circumstance has lately arisen, which should more peculiarly engage the attention of the Christian scholar to this subject. The supposed obscurity of these prophecies, and the doubtful and discordant methods hitherto employed for the interpretation of them, together with some imagined difficulties in the evidences of the book containing them, have occasioned some persons of eminence in literature to question their divine origin.

* Because many of these prophecies seem to extend to the latest period of the world, and can only be interpreted confidently and surely by the assistance of the events fulfilling them.
† Ch. i. 3. ii. 7, 11, 17, 29. iii. 6, 13, 22. xiii. 9, 17. xxii. 6, 7, 10.

The
The late distinguished Professor, J. D. Michaelis, in a work of great merit, and of general circulation*, has proposed this question, and assigned reasons for his doubts respecting it. It is now, therefore, incumbent upon the learned Christian to inquire and determine, whether the Book of Apocalypse has been justly placed in our canon of sacred Scripture; whether it be entitled to that honourable station, by the external and internal evidence which can be produced in its support.

The author of the following work, for the solution of his own difficulties, had engaged in this inquiry even before the publication of Michaelis's Introduction to the New Testament, by Mr. Marsh. Upon the appearance of that work, he addressed to the learned editor a series of letters, in which it was his endeavour to shew, by an appeal to antiquity (that which Sir Isaac Newton had asserted, and Dr. Lardner had proved to a considerable extent †), that no book of the New Testament is supported by stronger external evidence than this; and that the internal evidence in its behalf is much more considerable than has hitherto been supposed. These letters, having been received favourably by the learned, are now reprinted with corrections and additions.

* Introduction to the New Testament, by John David Michaelis, &c. chapter the last.


and,
and, in another form (that of a Dissertation), are prefixed to the following work. Here this essay will be found to occupy its proper place; not only because some knowledge of the question is a proper introduction to the Apocalypse, but also because the subsequent Annotations on this sacred book will be found a proper sequel to the Dissertation; for in them will be continued those arguments in defence of the divine original of these Prophecies, which could only be begun in the former work. In them will be presented many inductions of internal evidence, which the nature of the former publication would not admit*. In them it will be attempted to shew, by an appeal to history, that many of these prophecies have received their completion; and, consequently, that the book which has recorded them is divine. Such are in part my motives for the present publication; in which, however, I should not have engaged, if a peculiar method of studying this Book of Revelation had not happened to present its prophecies to me in a new and original point of view, which I presume may be usefully communicated to the students of the Apocalypse.

In my earliest researches in sacred literature, after having perused, with such critical attention as I could then apply, other parts of the Old and New Testament, I proceeded to the Book of Revelation. Here difficulties occurred, which

* See p. 64, of the Dissertation.
I felt myself unable to surmount; and, upon inquiring for the best aids of notes and expositions, these were described to me as numerous, and very discordant; and none of them as affording general and entire satisfaction. Under such circumstances, I was not disposed to receive implicitly the deductions of any particular commentator, and it was impossible for me to form a judgment of my own, or to determine between the contradictory opinions of others, without entering into a wide and arduous field of criticism and of history. I soon perceived that the flight which then opened before me, was too daring for my unfledged wings; I therefore resolved to decline these studies for the present, with the expectation of resuming them at some future period, when more maturity of judgment, and some additional acquisitions in literature, might enable me to pursue them with better prospect of success. In the mean time, I resolved to avoid the perusal of every book or treatise professing to explain these prophecies; hoping to study them, when the proper season should arrive, free from prepossession in favour of any system, unfettered by a predilection for any particular mode of interpretation*

* I recollect to have kept this resolution so entire, as not to have read any book treating on the Apocalyptic Prophecies, excepting the ingenious and elegant Sermons of Bishop Hurd on Prophecy. He was then my much-respected Diocesan; and upon the subjects on which he has written so ably, he may have given some bias to my thoughts.
After an interval of many years, I found myself at liberty from other engagements to pursue my original design; and after some preparatory studies, began to read the Apocalypse unassisted by any of the commentators*. And without placing any presumptuous confidence on my sagacity, or my literary acquirements, of the mediocrity of which I was fully conscious, I felt myself not altogether discouraged, by the seeming difficulty of the attempt. For, if the Apocalypse be of divine revelation, it appeared to me, that an uniformity must be expected to subsist between this and other parts of sacred Scripture; and that the clue, for tracing and developing its figurative language and meaning, would be safely and effectually derived from that source. If the same divine spirit, which dictated the preceding prophecies, were also the inspirer of the Apocalyptic Visions, a mutual relation must subsist between them; and the light derived from the one must contribute most beneficially to the elucidation of the other.

This then was the first principle, upon which I resolved to ground my method of investigation;—to compare the language, the symbols, the predictions of the Apocalypse, with those of former revelations;

* After the annotations now published were finished in their first form, then the works of the commentators, accessible to the annotator, were perused; some of them diligently studied; and free use made of their stores for the purposes of addition or correction.
revelations; and to admit only such interpretation, as should appear to have the sanction of this divine authority.

A second controlling principle seemed necessary. For, as the language, symbols, and predictions, thus interpreted by the assistance of Scripture, were to be applied afterwards to historical facts, a preliminary question seemed to occur;—to what kind of history are they to be applied? To profane history, or sacred? to the extensive and boundless mass of the Gentile history, or, exclusively, to that of God's chosen people? To assist me in answering this question, I had recourse to the preceding prophecies of the Old and New Testament. How have we been authorised to explain these? In what kind of history do they appear to have been accomplished? The answer was at hand;—the history of the church of God. For, in this sacred history we find the divine prophecies principally, and almost exclusively, fulfilled. For whenever sacred prophecy is seen to deviate from this its peculiar object, it is in such instances only, wherein the fortunes of God's people have become necessarily involved with those of heathen nations. When the people of God were to become subservient to the four monarchies, the character, and succession, and fates of those monarchies were predicted: but the main object, continually kept in view, was their deliverance from these successive yokes, by the superseding
superseding dominion of the Messiah. This supreme and universal dominion, gradually and finally to prevail, appears to be the grand object of all sacred prophecy: and revolutions of worldly power among the Gentiles, seem to be noticed only at those times, when they impede or promote it*. Therefore the prophecies of the Apocalypse appeared to be applicable principally, if not solely, to the fates and fortunes of the Christian church; to the progress or retardment of that kingdom of the Messiah, which, when these predictions were delivered, had already begun to obtain its establishment in the world. And I conceived myself obliged to adopt as a controlling principle of interpretation, that unless the language and symbols of the Apocalypse should in particular passages direct, or evidently require, another mode of application, the predictions were to be applied to events occurring in the progressive kingdom of Christ†.

* See Bp. Hurd on Prophecy, Serm. 2d and 3d. And the extension of divine prophecy to the nations, may be observed to take place in exact proportion to their increasing connection with the Jews. First, Moab, Edom, Amalek, the Philistines, &c. are noticed; then Nineveh, Babylon, Tyre, Ægypt, &c.; afterwards the four great monarchies; and lastly the Gog and Magog, the distant and barbarous nations.

† There are discoverable in scriptural prophecy, and generally acknowledged by divines, two advents orcomings of our Lord; 1st, his personal appearance in the flesh; 2dly, his progress to complete dominion, by the subjection of all his enemies. The first of these had already taken place when the Apocalyptic prophecies
In the wide field of universal history, innumerable events may be selected by the industry of investigators, seeming to bear resemblance to the figurative pictures of holy writ. Instances of wars, famines, conquests, and revolutions, may be separated from that infinite mass of information, appearing to assimilate to images presented in prophecy. Some restriction is therefore necessary to guide investigation, and to serve as chart and compass, through such extensive and difficult seas; and what can be deemed more proper than this principle, which derives its authority from the analogy of sacred Scripture?

A third controlling principle seemed also requisite, arising from a consideration of the nature and kind of that kingdom, which had thus appeared to be the grand object of the prophecies. It is a kingdom, not temporal, but spiritual; "not a kingdom of this world*, not established by the means and apparatus of worldly power and pompt, not bearing the external ensigns of royalty; but governing the inward man, by possession of the ruling principles were delivered. The latter therefore is the object to which we are principally to look, when we attempt to assort these predictions. Accordingly, the subject of this prophetical book will appear to be generally, the fates and fortunes of the Christian church, from the Ascension of our Lord, and the preaching of his Apostles, to the great consummation of all things.

* John xviii. 36.
pies; "The kingdom of God," says our Lord, "is within you*.”

Such a kingdom may be in a great degree independent of the fates and revolutions of empires; affected only by those changes in the political world which are calculated to produce the increase or decline of religious knowledge, and of pure profession and practice. Wars therefore, and conquests, and revolutions of vast extent, and of great political import, may be supposed to take place, even in the Christian world, without becoming the proper object of Christian prophecy. The inhabitants of the Christian world may be subdued by a ferocious conqueror; the sufferings of the vanquished may be such as result from ferocious conquest; the faithful servants of Christ may undergo their common share in this calamity, may suffer grievously in their property and in their persons: yet, in such times of general distress, if their religion be not denied them; if they enjoy those consolations, which, under such afflictions, their religion is designed to bestow; if, corrected by the awful visitation, not only they, but Christians of looser practice, and the inhabitants of the earth in general, shall be seen to turn to their God, and allow to his purifying religion its divine influence on their hearts and lives:—shall we expect that such a revolution should

be predicted as a calamity, as a woe? Our conception of the nature of Christ's kingdom, (the object of such prophecy,) will determine us to answer in the negative. But if such a conqueror, after having subdued the bodies of men, should proceed to extend his usurped dominion over their souls; should require them to renounce their allegiance to the heavenly King; to deny their God and Redeemer;—then will succeed a conflict of another nature, and a resistance deserving the notice and interference of divine prophecy. Then will be employed those arms, which properly belong to this spiritual warfare*; then will the kingdom of God be truly advanced or diminished. I describe this imaginary conquest, succeeded by such spiritual conflict, only as what may happen; not advert- ing to any similar instances which have occurred: I mention them to shew with what previous notions I formed the rules of interpretation, for which I deem myself accountable.

In adopting the rule now under consideration, I have been obedient to the direction of holy Scripture; which has required a spiritual interpretation of its mysteries†: they are not to be taken according to the bare letter‡, nor in a carnal or worldly acceptation§. The warfare of the Christian kingdom, (the subject of these prophecies,) is not to be carried on by worldly

* Eph. vi. 16.  † 1 Cor. ii. 12—15.
‡ 2 Cor. iii. 6.  § John vi. 26—63.
arms and battles; they, who entertain such notions of this religion, "know not what manner of spirit it is of." As the Captain of our salvation conquered by suffering, and refused the sword of Peter, and the legions of angels, ready for his defence, so neither by external force must his followers expect to prevail. The kingdom of God is not advanced by crusades; nor is the sword of man employed successfully to seat the Messiah on his throne. To obtain his destined dominion, Christ must reign in the hearts and consciences of his far-extended subjects. His reign is advanced when Christian principles, when faith, and righteousness, and charity, abound. It is retarded when ignorance, impurity, idolatrous superstition, infidelity, and wickedness prevail.

A fourth general rule of interpretation has been also adopted in the prosecution of this work. Not to attempt the particular explanation of those prophecies which remain yet to be fulfilled. Few words will shew the reasonable foundation of

* John xviii. 36.
† Luke ix. 55.
‡ Heb. ii. 10. Matt. xxvii. 52—55.
$ As the prophecies of the Old Testament, interpreted carnally by the Jews to designate a worldly conqueror, have been seen to lead that infatuated people into egregious error: so, in these days of superior light, when by experience, as well as divine direction, a spiritual interpretation is so clearly recommended and enforced, it seems extraordinary that any sober and well-informed Christian can look to any other.
of this rule, which I am sorry to observe so frequently transgressed. They shall be borrowed from Sir Isaac Newton; "God gave these, and the prophecies of the Old Testament, not to gratify men's curiosity, by enabling them to foreknow things; but that after they were fulfilled they might be interpreted by the event, and his own providence, not the interpreter's, be then manifested thereby to the world*.

Such are the principles, such the scheme of investigation, with which I have ventured to approach this mysterious book. And although I cannot but be feelingly aware of the difficulty of the subject, and of my deficiency in the qualifications requisite to do justice to it; yet, the method I have pursued, free from the prepossessions which have warped the operations of abler minds, has enabled me, I trust, to make some useful discoveries.

It might operate more favourably to the credit of my sagacity, if I were to publish only selections from the following work; of those parts in which I may appear to have been most successful. Such has been sometimes my intention. But I consider myself as acting more justly to the important subjects of investigation, if I lay before the public the result of all my inquiries. In those parts wherein I have had the least success, I may perhaps open a field for the success of others.

* Sir I. Newton on the Apocalypse, p. 251.
With the same view I have resolved to publish the result of my studies, in the form in which the investigations were originally written; after that analytic method, which I found it necessary to pursue. They might be presented in a more abstracted and concise form, and in a more luminous point of view; but in the present form, the reader will accompany every step of the inquiry, and may thus more easily detect the error, or confirm the safety of the proceeding. Truth, in this important research, is, I hope, as it ought to be, my principal concern; and I shall rejoice to see these sacred prophecies truly interpreted, though the correction of my mistakes should lay the foundation of so desirable a superstructure.

To the candid correction of the learned reader I consign this attempt, trusting, that whatever may be its reception in the world, I shall not have reason to reproach myself with precipitancy unbecoming the sanctity of the subject; with narrow views, or party-prejudices; with want of moderation and of candour; which have disgraced too many writings of professed Christians.

THE new Translation now presented to the reader, was a necessary part and result of the plan pursued. For, as it was proposed to study the
the prophecies of the Apocalypse, by the guidance of their own internal marks and characters, without that prepossessing which might arise from an acquaintance with the systems of other interpreters; so it became necessary to avoid the perusal of translations, as well as of expositions; because a prejudice in favour of a particular mode of interpretation may be suggested by the translator. The original Greek was therefore to be studied by itself, and the meaning of the words and phrases of it to be ascertained. But to ascertain these in English idiom, was to produce a new English translation; which, in this case, being designed solely for the use of the annotator, was rendered as literally as the forms of the two languages would admit. When the new translation had served this purpose, and when the notes engrafted upon it were completed in their first form, it was then compared with the common English version, and thence received considerable accession and improvement. For, as I am fully persuaded that the best form of a new English version of the Scriptures will be that which shall retain the phraseology of the common translation, where it is not evidently faulty; so in revising my new version, and preparing it for general use, I was careful to adopt into it those expressions of the old version which appeared to represent the Greek original faithfully, and not inelegantly; retaining those only of my own translation which seemed
seemed to convey the meaning of the original with juster effect.

The version, therefore, now offered to the public may be considered as corrective of that which is inserted in our English Bibles. Yet, having been first moulded in an original form of its own, a form derived directly from the Greek, it has thereby acquired this advantage; that the servile uniformity cannot be imputed to it which Dr. Macknight alleges to have characterized all English translations of the New Testament prior to his own. Such uniform similarity, he observes, is almost inevitably produced by the method which the translators have commonly pursued; by their examining the steps of their predecessors, while they themselves were translating, and not after they had finished *

There is no book of the New Testament which more necessarily requires a revision of its text, and consequently a new translation corrective of the old one, than this. For it appears, from the accounts of inquiring critics, that the editors of the Greek text from which our received English version is taken, were in possession of very few ancient manuscripts of the Apocalypse. Erasmus possessed but one; Stephens had only two; and it is not made apparent that Beza had the means of consulting more †. Hence, the diligence of

* Macknight's General Preface to the Epistles.
† Michaelis's Introduction to the New Testament, c. xii. sect. 1,
succeeding scholars, by the collation of the remaining manuscripts (some of them of the first authority), has restored many original readings, which, by consent of judicious critics, have been received into the Greek text, and ought therefore to pass into translation. A Greek text, receiving these and assigning their authorities (and which, therefore appears to be the most perfect copy of the original yet printed), is that of Dr. Griesbach, which is accordingly followed in this translation. It has been attempted to translate it as closely and literally as the English idiom would allow; a restriction which must be thought necessary in rendering a symbolical prophecy; in which a very slight deviation may materially change the sense of the original.

It has been the wish of the translator to express the very stamp and figure of the original, truly if not elegantly, and without bias toward any favourite method of explanation. The translation was begun and completed, in its first form, before any knowledge was obtained by the translator of the various modes of interpretation which have been devised by the learned. And in the subsequent corrections, it has been his endeavour to preserve it pure from all tendency to prejudice and system.

That this new version may be compared with the Greek, and also with the common English translation, of which it is corrective, they are all printed together. Those words are placed be-
tween brackets, to which Griesbach has prefixed his mark, denoting that they are **probably to be expunged**; and those are wholly omitted, which he has inserted in his interior margin, accounting them *indubitably spurious*. Probable ellipses, or such as the English idiom seemed to require, are supplied in *Italic characters*. The relatives *who, whom, which, &c*, are generally used in preference to the relative *that*, which is so frequently employed in the old translation; and thus an ambiguity is avoided, of which foreigners justly complain. But the word *which* is still retained, in preference to *who* or *whom*, when referring to the *great God of Heaven*, whose personality is far different from that of any of his creatures, and is therefore properly expressed by other terms.†

The translator has thought himself at liberty to disregard the common punctuation, and the received division by verses; because they evidently appear to be of modern date, and are not seen in the ancient manuscripts; and he has been guided to the sense of a passage by its context,

*The Greek text is printed from the edition of Griesbach, Halae, 1777; but in this copy now printed, no notice is taken of his marks referring to authorities in the margin, which could not be conveniently exhibited in this edition. Only those passages to which he has prefixed his mark =, denoting that they are probably no part of the original text, are included in brackets, after the manner adopted in Bower's Greek Testament.*

† The modern attempts to amend the translation of the Lord's Prayer, by substituting "*who* art in heaven" for "*which* art in heaven," are, I believe, not approved by the judicious.
rather than by such recent and arbitrary restrictions*. For the same reasons, and supported by the same authority, he has not confined himself to the received division by chapters, but has portioned the book into parts and sections, as its internal structure seemed to require. The Apocalypse was very little understood when the division of it into chapters and verses took place †.

The authorities taken from books are generally referred to by exact quotation. In some instances such particular reference may seem wanting. For any such omission, this cause is to be assigned:—that the work was not originally intended for publication; and when that view began to suggest itself, some of the books containing the passages quoted were gone out of the author's hands, and not easily recalled. Quotations, when in the learned or foreign languages, are commonly presented also in an English form, for the accommodation of the English reader, who will find few disquisitions in this work, which he may not understand.

* See Clerici Ars Critica, p. iii. sect. 1. c. x. 7, 9, and Michaelis's Introd. to the New Test. ch. xiii. sect. 2, 3, &c.

† The Scriptures were divided into chapters in the xiiiith century; into verses in the xvith. See Michaelis's Introd. to the New Test. ch. xiii. sect. 9, 10, 11, and the notes of his learned translator.
# CONTENTS

OF THE

DISSERTATION.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER I.</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OF the Method pursued in this Enquiry</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER II.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Of the Time, when the Apocalypse appears to have been written and published</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER III.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Testimony of Irenæus and of other Fathers in the Church before him; of Ignatius; of Polycarp; of the Writer of the Epistle describing Polycarp's Martyrdom; and of Papias</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER IV.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Testimony of Justin Martyr; of Athenagoras; of the Churches in Gaul; of Melito; Theophilus; Apollonius; Clemens of Alexandria; and Tertullian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHAP-
CHAPTER V.

The Evidence against the Apocalypse during its first Century; the rejection of it by Marcion, and by the Alogi; their Objections, so far as they relate to external Evidence, examined .... 54

CHAPTER VI.

The Testimonies of Hippolytus and of Origen; the Objections of Caius, and of Dionysius of Alexandria, and of others preceding him. Animadversions on the Conclusions of Michaelis, respecting this Evidence ....... 60

CHAPTER VII.

The Testimonies of Gregory of Neoæsarea; of Dionysius of Alexandria; of his private Opinion; the Testimonies of other Writers in the same Century; of Eusebius, and of the Writers in his Time, and after him; of the Reception of the Apocalypse at the Reformation ....... 70

CHAPTER VIII.

The internal Evidence respecting the Apocalypse; from the Completion of its Prophecies; from its Correspondence in point of Doctrine and of Imagery with other Books of Divine Authority; Objections of Michaelis answered. True character of the Beauty and Sublimity in this Book; Argument thence derived; Comparison of the Apocalypse with other Writings of the same Age, Hermas and the Second Book of Esdras. Objection arising from the Obscurity of the Book answered ....... 89
CHAPTER IX.

Of the internal Evidence respecting the Question, whether the Apocalypse was written by St. John. Dr. Lardner's Opinion; Opinions of others. Arguments of Dionysius of Alexandria, under five Heads; Answers thereto, and to the Objections of Michaelis. Enquiry whether John the Evangelist, and John the Divine, were by the Ancients accounted the same Person. Evidence, from a Passage in the Book, that it was written by St. John. Recapitulation and Conclusion. . . . 107
A DISSERTATION,
IN WHICH
THE EVIDENCE
FOR THE
AUTHENTICITY AND DIVINE INSPIRATION
OF THE
APOCALYPSE IS STATED;
AND VINDICATED FROM THE OBJECTIONS OF THE
LATE PROFESSOR,
J. D. MICHAELIS.
CHAP. I.

OF THE METHOD PURSUED IN THIS INQUIRY.

In the following pages I propose to review the evidence which has been adduced, for the authenticity and divine inspiration of the Apocalypse; to add thereto some collections of my own; and occasionally to remark on those observations of Michaelis*, which tend to invalidate it.

This evidence divides itself into external and internal. The external is, that which is derived from credible witnesses, from the early writers and fathers of the church. The internal is, that which results from a perusal of the book.

Michaelis appears to me an unfair reporter of the external evidence for the Apocalypse. He

* In the last chapter of his Introduction of the New Testament, to the pages of which, as published by Mr. Marsh, the figures at the bottom of these pages will be found to refer.
seems to have approached it with prejudice; a prejudice occasioned by the opinion which he had previously formed concerning its internal evidence. For, it appears from passages of his chapter on the Apocalypse, that he considered the prophecies of this book, as still remaining dark and unexplained. He professes that he does not understand them; he declares himself dissatisfied with the attempts of other writers to shew their meaning and completion; and he esteems the contradictions of these interpreters to be more unfavourable to the pretensions of the Apocalypse, than even those ancient testimonies, that external evidence, to which he attributes no preponderance in its favour. Now, as they who appear to themselves to have discovered, in the completion of the Apocalyptic prophecies, certain proof of its divine origin, (for a series of prophecy, punctually fulfilled, must be divine,) will be disposed to examine the external evidence with a prepossession in its favour; so he, who, by examining the internal evidence, has formed an opinion unfavourable to its pretensions, will enter upon the examination of its external evidence with that kind of prejudice, which is visible in the writings of this learned divine.

But, in our examination of the external evidence, we ought, so far as human infirmity may permit, to be free from any partiality; and to lay aside, for a season, our previous conceptions of the
the weight of its internal evidence. The two species of evidence, external and internal, should be kept apart; they should not be suffered to incorporate or interfere; each should be considered at first with reference to itself only. After which separate examination, they may usefully and properly be brought together, and be allowed their due influence upon each other.

Such appears the proper method of proceeding in this inquiry, so as to lead to a fair and just conclusion. This method has not been usually pursued. The writers, who have presented us with the two kinds of evidence, have not kept them apart. When they treat, for instance, of the external evidence adduced by Dionysius of Alexandria; when they state how far it appears, from his writings, that he considered the Apocalypse as an inspired book, delivered down to his time as such by the early Fathers of the Church; they moreover produce, and under the same head, the criticisms of this writer on the style and manner of the book; which consideration belongs to the subject of internal evidence.

In the following pages, it will be my endeavour to keep these two species of evidence apart, until they have been separately considered, and may safely be suffered to unite. This method, so far as it can be followed, will tend to prevent the operation of prejudice, and to facilitate the production of truth.

I shall proceed, first, to the consideration of the external evidence.

CHAP.
CHAP. II.

OF THE TIME WHEN THE APOCALYPSE APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN WRITTEN AND PUBLISHED.

The external evidence, for the authenticity and divine inspiration of the Apocalypse, is to be collected from the testimonies of those ancient writers, who, living at a period near to its publication, appear, by their quotations or allusions, to have received it as a book of sacred Scripture. This was the test by which the primitive church was accustomed to determine the claims of all writings pretending to divine authority. All such writings were rejected, as appeared not to have been received by the orthodox Christians of the preceding ages*.

But to enable us to judge of the force of this evidence, as affecting any particular book, it is necessary to ascertain the time when the book was written. For if it shall appear to have been written and published in the early period of the apostolic age, we may expect to find testimonies concerning it, from apostles, or from

* Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 3.
If, on the contrary, it can be proved to have been published only in the latter times of that age, we shall not be intitled to expect this earlier notice of it.

Before, therefore, we proceed to examine the testimony of the writers by whom the Apocalypse is mentioned, it will be useful to ascertain the time in which it was published. For if it were not published before the year 96 or 97 (as some critics have pronounced) little or no notice could be taken of it by the writers of the first century; and, in such case, a writer in the second century, especially in the former part of it, becomes an evidence of great importance; which importance would be much diminished, by the supposition, that the book had been written in the earliest part of the apostolic age, that is, almost a whole century before the time of that author.

This previous inquiry is the more necessary, since, according to Michaelis, no less than six different opinions have been advanced, concerning the time when the Apocalypse was written; only one of which can be true.

In examining these opinions, I shall endea-

* Apostolical men, in the acceptation of the Fathers, were those who had been personally instructed by apostles; and the apostolic age is that, which extends from before the middle of the first century, when the apostles began to write, to the close of that century, when St. John, the last surviving apostle, died.—Irenæus et Clem. Alexand. opud Euseb. H. E. lib. iii. c. 23.
vour to be concise. I shall freely use the arguments of Michaelis, where I can see reason to agree with him; but, where I am obliged to dissent, it will be necessary to take a larger compass.

I. The earliest date assigned to the Apocalypse is in the reign of the Emperor Claudius. This opinion rests on the single testimony of Epiphanius, a credulous and inaccurate writer*, who lived about three hundred years later than St. John the Apostle, to whom he ascribes this prophetical book.

This external evidence, weak in itself, is not only unsupported, but contradicted, by every argument which can be derived from internal evidence†. For, first, it appears from the evidence of the book itself, (chap. 1st. 2d. 3d.) that it was written at a time when the Asiatic Christians had been suffering persecution, even

* See his character, as given by Dupin and by Jortin.—Rem. Eccl. Hist. iv. 115. And his gross mistakes on ecclesiastical history are recounted by Spanheim, in his Introduction to Eccl. Hist. Sec. iv. p. 425.

† The reader may, perhaps, begin to think, that I am already transgressing the rule, so lately proposed, to prevent the inter-mixture of internal with external evidence. That rule shall be scrupulously observed, when we proceed to examine the evidences for the authenticity of the book. But we are now engaged in a previous question, which must be determined before we can judge of the main object of inquiry. And in determining the several steps of this previous question, it is necessary to adduce both kinds of evidence. Still they shall be kept apart, and each come in its order.
unto death; John himself, the writer, was in banishment, "for the word of God, and the testimony of Jesus, in the Isle of Patmos," when he saw the visions*. But no traces of such persecution can be discovered in the times of Claudius. Nero, says the unanimous voice of history, was the first Emperor who persecuted the Christians, and enacted laws against them†. Claudius, indeed, commanded the Jews to quit Rome, but this command could not affect the Jews in Asia, much less the Christians there.

2dly. There is no appearance or probability that the seven churches, or communities of Christians, addressed by their Saviour in the Apocalypse, had existence so early as in the reign of Claudius; much less that they were in that established and flourishing state, which is described or inferred in this his address to them. For Claudius died in the year 54, some years before the Apostle Paul is supposed, by the best critics, to have written his Epistle to the Ephesians, and his First to Timothy. But, from these Epistles we collect, that the Church of Ephesus was then in an infantine and unsettled state. Bishops were then first appointed there by St.

* Hence St. John is called a Martyr, by Polycrates—Apud Euseb. E. H. lib. iii. c. 31.
Paul's order*. But, at the time when the Apocalypse was written, Ephesus, and her sister Churches, appear to have been in a settled, and even flourishing state; which could only be the work of time. There is, in the address of our Lord to them, a reference to their former conduct. Ephesus is represented as having forsaken her former love, or charity; Sardis as having acquired a name, or reputation; which she had also forfeited; Laodicea as become lukewarm, or indifferent. Now, changes of this kind, in a whole body of Christians, must be gradual, and the production of many years†. Colosse and Hierapolis were Churches of note in St. Paul's time‡; but they are not mentioned in the Apocalypse, although they were situated in the same region of proconsular Asia, to which it was addressed. They were probably become of less importance. All these changes required a lapse of time; and we necessarily infer, that such had taken place between the publication of St. Paul's Epistles, and of the Apocalypse. Add to this, that some expressions, which we meet with in the Apocalypse,

* See this proved by Michaelis, in his Observations on the 1st Epistle to Timothy.
† See more on this subject, in Vitringa, in Apoc. I. 2. and L'Enfant and Beausobre's Preface to the Apoc.; also, Lardner's Supplement to the Cred. Gosp. Hist. ch. xxii. where passages from these books are quoted.
‡ Acts iv. 13.
are such as seem not to have been used in the early period of the Apostolic times. Sunday is called the Lord’s Day *; and we find the same expression used by Ignatius †, and other writers of later date. In the early books of Scripture, it is called the first day of the week, or the first after the ‡ Sabbath, &c, but never the Lord’s Day.

This opinion, therefore, that the Apocalypse was written in the reign of Claudius, cannot be received. The single testimony of an inaccurate writer of the fourth century, cannot be opposed to such external evidence as we shall produce in examining the remaining opinions; especially when it appears so strongly refuted by internal evidence §.

II. By the second opinion, the Apocalypse is supposed to have been written in the reign of Nero. 1. Let us examine the external evidence by which it is supported; namely a subscription to the Syriac version of the Apocalypse, which mentions that Revelation, as given “by God to “John the Evangelist, in the Island of Patmos, “whither he was banished by the Emperor Nero.”

* Rev. i. 10.
† Epist. ad Magnes. Sec. 9.
‡ μετὰ Σάββαθον. Mat. xxviii. 1.
§ This first opinion would have deserved little notice, if it had not been maintained by the celebrated Grotius, whose arguments, and the able refutation of them by D. Blondel, may be seen, abstracted by Lardner; Supplement, ch. ix. sect. 3.
Lardner has observed of this subscription, that it is not only without a name, but without a date. But Michaelis has shewn it to be probable, that the version to which it is attached was made in the sixth century; and he intimates that this subscription *might perhaps* have been annexed to the more ancient Syriac version. *It might perhaps*, also, have been added in later times. For of what authority are some of the subscriptions to other books of the New Testament, even those which are printed with the Greek text? They are anonymous, and without date, and, in some cases, are known to give false information*. What credit, then, can be due to this Syriac subscription, whose highest claim to authority is, that the version to which it is attached, was written in the sixth century? If we could admit the evidence, it would indeed be useful; for it would immediately determine the main object of our inquiry. It would determine "the Revelation to have been made by "God to John the Evangelist;" which being determined, no more doubt could remain concerning its authenticity, and divine inspiration.

* In another passage of Michaelis's introduction he has observed, that "no subscription of this kind is entitled to the name of evidence;" Ch. vii. sect. 10. p. 320: which he has again asserted on good grounds; Ch. xi. sect. 1. p. 14. Archdeacon Paley has shewn by probable arguments, that the subscriptions to six of St. Paul's Epistles contain false information, contrary to evidence fairly deduced from the Epistles themselves. Horæ Paulinæ, ch. xv. But
But such external evidence is not equal even to that of Epiphanius, which, as standing alone, and at such a distance of time from the fact, Michaelis has, with great propriety, refused to admit.

2. This opinion, like the first, has no internal evidence, derived from the Apocalypse, in its favour. All that can be said is, that the internal evidence thence arising is not so decidedly against it, as against the former opinion. The Christians at Rome, and, it may be, in some of the Roman provinces, were persecuted in the reign of Nero. But there is no evidence, that the Christians in Asia suffered at this time. And the arguments, used so successfully by Michaelis and others, to shew that the Apocalypse was not written in the reign of Claudius, will extend in some degree, to that of Nero. From the time of Claudius to the end of Nero's reign, we count only fourteen years. The date of the First Epistle to Timothy is placed, by Michaelis, about ten years before Nero's death; by Fabricius, Mill, and other able critics, much later. The Epistle to the Ephesians has certainly a later date. So that, it may still be doubted, whether the changes which appear to have taken place in the Churches of Lesser Asia, between the date of these Epistles and that of the Apocalypse, could well be brought about in so short a period of time, as must be allotted to them, if we suppose the Apocalypse to be written in the times of Nero. But suppose this argument not to
to be insisted upon, to what will the concession amount? The question, in favour of the Apocalypse having been written in Nero's reign, will gain no internal evidence positively in its favour. It will rest on the external evidence above stated, the insufficiency of which must be apparent.

III. A third opinion (as it is called) has been produced by those writers, who, having explained some of the Apocalyptical prophecies, as fulfilled in the Jewish wars, which ended in the destruction of Jerusalem, are interested to make it appear, that these prophecies were written before the commencement of those wars. But to assert the Apocalypse to have been written before the Jewish wars, is the same thing as to attribute the date of it to the reign of Nero; for these wars began in the twelfth year of that Emperor*. The question, therefore, seems decided by the evidence already examined. But since the examination of this third opinion, by Michaelis, has produced another evidence, and other arguments, it will be proper to notice them.

A certain degree of external evidence is attempted to be derived from Arethas, who, in his Commentary on the Apocalypse, has endeavoured to explain some of its prophecies, as fulfilled in the Jewish wars; and he has certainly affirmed, that "destruction was not yet come upon the Jews, by the arms of the Romans, when he (the writer of the Apocalypse) received these prophecies."

* Josephus, de Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. xiv. 4.
cies." The earliest date assigned to the commentary of Arethas, is in the sixth century; but there seems internal evidence in the work, which will prove it of later date. The empire of the Saracens is mentioned in it, as succeeding in Babylon to that of the Persians*. But the Saracens were not possessed of Babylon till nearly the middle of the seventh century. A writer of so late a date will be entitled to little belief in this question, particularly if his evidence go no farther than to discover an opinion of his own, without proof in support of it. But, it is said, there is reason to believe that the opinion is more ancient than the period here referred to; for Andreas Caesariensis, who wrote about the year 500, though he does not adopt the opinion, mentions it as the opinion of some others. And Michaelis, who favours this third opinion, is disposed to believe it derived from Hippolitus, or Irenæus. But he has produced no evidence of the fact. It is merely a conjecture, resting on this unsure foundation; "Arethas must have received this opinion from some author, who explained the Apocalypse before the times of Andreas Caesariensis; and who could this be, but Hippolitus, or Irenæus?" Hippolitus would have been a valuable evidence, if any proof could be adduced of his having held such opinion. The testimony of Irenæus would be yet more decisive, could it be procured. This, then, is the desideratum; and accordingly we shall

* Com. in Apocal. cap. xxxvi,
find, that attempts have been made to press Irenæus into this service. With what success, will be seen in our examination of the fourth opinion.

IV. For, under the fourth opinion, we must produce the words of Irenæus, which have been understood, by all the ancients, and by all the modern critics, until these days, to assert plainly and unequivocally, that the visions of the Apocalypse were seen “toward the close of Domitian's reign.” If these words had been supposed by ancient writers to have been capable of any other meaning, or of such meaning as hath lately been attributed to them, the tradition of the Church would not have been so uniform. For, as Michaelis observes, “almost all the ecclesiastical writers, who have spoken of the time when the Apocalypse was written, have followed this account,” namely, that it was written “toward the close of the reign of Domitian.” We have already produced all the evidence which has any tendency to contradict this general testimony of the Church, and we have seen to what little it amounts. It is very far from sufficient for the purposes of those, who, wishing to apply certain prophecies of the Apocalypse to the times of Nero and his immediate successors, are driven to the attempt of establishing this necessary postulatum, that “it was written before the times in which (they say) these prophecies were fulfilled.” This is the true reason, (as Michaelis allows,)
allows *), why they have recourse to the testimony of Irenæus; the importance of which, to the determination of this question, may be collected from the ardent desire of these writers to make his evidence support their sentiments; but will more fully appear, by considering his character and connections, and the time in which he lived.

Irenæus was born, according to his own account, (as his words have generally been understood,) in the age immediately succeeding that, in which the visions of the Apocalypse were seen †. He was a Greek by birth, as his name and language import, and probably an Asiatic Greek, for he was an auditor of Polycarp ‡, who was Bishop of Smyrna, one of the seven churches, and who had been the auditor of St. John the Apostle, whom Irenæus constantly affirms to be the writer of the Apocalypse §. And accordingly, when Irenæus speaks upon such subjects as concern the external evidences of the Church, he appeals, for a confirmation of the truth of what he has advanced, to Polycarp, and to others.

* P. 524, 525.
† The learned Dodwell has taken pains to shew, that Irenæus was born in the year 97, the very year in which the Apocalypse will appear to have been published. But there is reason to suppose that he has fixed the birth of this father about ten years too soon. See Grabe's Proleg. ad Irenæum.
who, he says, had seen the Apostle John. He appeals also to the Asiatic Churches, in which he appears to have been educated*. When removed from Asia into Gaul, where, upon the martyrdom of Pothinus, he became Bishop of Lyons, he kept up a correspondence with the brethren of the Asiatic Churches, from whom he would continue to receive the most genuine information then to be obtained concerning the Apocalypse. He was, in his own character, the most learned, pious, prudent, and venerable prelate of the age in which he lived†. He wrote largely in defence of the truth; and it has been a prevailing opinion in the Church, that he sealed his testimony with his blood.

Here then is a witness, far surpassing, in authority and credibility, any that has hitherto been produced. Accordingly, his evidence has been received by the writers nearest to his time, and, with the very few exceptions which we have now produced, by the universal Church. And, until these days, there has not been the least doubt of the import of his evidence; no one has seen occasion to interpret his words, otherwise than

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† It was principally by the wisdom, authority, and moderation of Irenæus, that the furious Victor, Bishop of Rome, was kept in order, and induced, τα τῆς εἰρήνης προειρή, to think of the things which make for peace, when a schism was about to take place between the Eastern and Western Churches, occasioned by the dispute concerning the time of keeping Easter.—Euseb. H. E. lib. v. 24, according
according to their obvious and received meaning — "that the visions of the Apocalypse were seen in the times of Domitian*. But since a novel interpretation of these words has been attempted, in order to press them into the service of a preconceived opinion, it will be necessary to produce them.

Irenæus, speaking of the mystical name ascribed to Antichrist in the xiiiith chapter of the Apocalypse, and of the difficulty of its interpretation, adds, "εἰ δὲ ἐδεί αὐτόν ἀναφαγόν ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ κηρυχθαι τένομα τεύχο, δὴ οὕτως αὐτὸν ειρήθη τό καὶ τῇ αποκαλυπτικῇ εἰρήματι. Οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸν παλλόν χρόνον εωραθῆ, ἀλλὰ σχολιὰν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμείρας γένεσιν, ὥστε τὸ τέλος τῆς Ασμελειανοῦ αἰχμῆς: which may be thus literally translated:—

"But if it had been proper, that this name "should be openly proclaimed in this present "time, it would have been told even by him "who saw the revelation. For it was not seen "a long time ago, but almost in our own age "(or generation), toward the end of Domitian's "reign."

These words are plain and unequivocal; no variety of interpretation of them arose during

* Michaelis, in another part of his work, considers the testimony of Irenæus, so far as relates to St. John’s writings, as of the highest authority. "Irenæus," says he, "is not only the "most ancient writer on this subject, but was a disciple of Poly- "carp, who was personally acquainted with St. John. Conse- "quently Irenæus had the very best information on this subject." Introd. vol. iii. ch. vii. See also his translator’s judicious re- marks on the importance of Irenæus’s testimony.
sixteen hundred years, in which they were read by the Church. And, indeed, the only doubt concerning them now is, "what it is that Irenæus affirms to have been seen in Domitian's reign?" What does the verb seen refer to, and agree with? What is the nominative case to the verb ειδοκαθή? Now, I will venture to affirm, that no Greek scholar, unbiassed by any favourite opinion, can possibly suppose that the verb ειδοκαθή, "was seen," can be referred to any other nominative than Ἡ Ἀποκάλυψις, "The Revelation."—But it is not a matter wherein a critical knowledge of the Greek tongue is required, to enable us to decide. Plain common sense is to supply what is wanting. And no person, possessed of that valuable qualification, can read this passage, translated literally into any language, without perceiving that the thing represented to be seen in the latter clause, must be the same which was said to have been seen in the former. The same verb, used so nearly with a relative, must refer to the same noun. Otherwise, there is no dependence on common language: and we must, in all our writings, be driven to use the repetitions which are in usage among the lawyers; and Irenæus, if he were to write in modern times, must be instructed to say, after the word "Revelation," not "It was seen," but the "Afore-said Revelation" was seen.

But if the discovery of these modern critics had rested upon any solid or probable foundation,
tion, they would be agreed among themselves, not only in rejecting Ἀποκαλυπτησ as the nominative to which the verb is to be referred, but in ascertaining the noun which is to supply its place. They are agreed so far as to perceive the necessity of rejecting the common and obvious interpretation, (because, this being admitted, their explications of the prophecies cannot stand); but they contend, among each other, about the method of supplying the new interpretation. And, indeed, every proposition made by them, with a view to supply a new nominative to ἐνομαθη, is full of difficulty and absurdity. Michaelis seems to pass this sentence upon all of them but one, which refers ἐνομαθη to το όνομα, and which, to me, appears as forced and improbable as any of the rest. What was seen? answer, *the name was seen!* If Irenæus had intended this meaning, he would not have written ἐνομαθη but ἐνομαθην. Michaelis has suggested this; and it is a sufficient answer. Yet this able critic is still inclined to favour this application of the verb, referring το όνομα to Titan. But this is to break all bounds of grammatical connection. And, to suppose, as this forced construction requires, that Irenæus understood the Emperor Domitian to be Titan and Antichrist, is to make Irenæus contradict himself; for this father plainly tells us, that he understood not this prophecy; and that, in his opinion, "it is better to wait the completion of it, than to guess at names, which may seem to fit the mystical figures." Irenæus,
naeus *, therefore, considered the prophecy as not having been fulfilled in the times before him; nor is there any colour of proof for supposing, that he considered Domitian as a type of Antichrist, or that there had been any partial completion of the prophecy. Besides, the context of Irenæus, if examined, will admit none of these novel and forced interpretations. It evidently requires the old and obvious acceptation. The object of Irenæus is to dissuade his readers from a difficult and presumptuous attempt to settle who is Antichrist, by applying, in the manner he had shewn, the Greek figures 666. And his argument is to this effect: "The mystery was not intended to be cleared up in our times: for if it had, it would have been told by him who saw the vision." This implies that the vision had been seen lately. But, to complete the argument, and to support the last clause of it, which was not perfectly clear, Irenæus adds—"for it was seen at no great distance from our own times."

In short, all these new interpretations are inconsistent and absurd, and have no support but what is derived from the Latin translation of Irenæus, which is allowed to be very imperfect ¶; and if it had been of greater authority, could only disclose to us the translator's opinion of the

¶ Grabe asserts and proves it to be barbarous and defective. Proleg. in Irenæum.
meaning of the passage. But since we possess the original Greek, we must have recourse to the text as it stands there; of which the learned in the present age are at least as good judges as this translator, who, if by using the words “visum est,” he intended to refer the verb to any other nominative than “Revelatio,” has contradicted all the learned students of Irenæus, from the earliest ages to the time of the present innovators.

Of the observations of Knittel, to which Michaelis refers us for information on this subject, I can say nothing, not having seen them. I have already been too diffuse on the subject. But the authority of Michaelis is deservedly great: and, it is necessary to shew at large, why an opinion, to which he inclines, ought not to be adopted. I collect, moreover, that Michaelis had observed no evidence, either external or internal *, of sufficient weight to oblige him to fix the date of the Apocalypse in the days of Nero, or before those of Domitian. Otherwise, he would not, in another passage, have been inclined to pronounce it “a spurious production, introduced probably into the world after the death of Saint John *,” who lived beyond the reign of Domitian.

* The German critics, who have endeavoured to point out the accomplishment of the Apocalyptical prophecies in the Jewish wars, and times preceding Domitian, have met with insuperable difficulties, as may be sufficiently seen in Michaelis’s account, p. 513—518.

† P. 487.
The words of Irenæus, of this competent and unexceptionable witness, are therefore to be taken in that obvious sense which has been affixed to them by all the writers before our own times: and, thus taken, they determine the time when the Apocalyptic visions were seen, and published, namely, "toward the end of Domitian's reign." This is confirmed by the evidence of all the ancient writers, who are agreed (except in the few and unimportant instances which have now been produced to the contrary) that St. John's banishment to Patmos, where he saw the Visions, is of this date. Lampe has asserted, and Lardner confirms the truth of the assertion, "that all antiquity is abundantly agreed, that Domitian was the author of John's "banishment *." Internal evidence likewise supports this conclusion. For, in the three first chapters of the Apocalypse, the Churches of Asia are described as being in that advanced and flourishing state of society and discipline reasonably to be expected; and to have undergone those changes in their faith and morals, which might have taken place, in the time intervening between the publication

*See Hegisippus apud Euseb. lib. iii. c. 20, 23. Tertullian, Apol. c. v. Hieron. tom. x. p. 100, and other authorities adduced by Lardner, Supplement, ch. ix. sec. 5, who, with his usual judgment and candour, has most satisfactorily determined this question; and also that the Apocalypse was not written till the end of Domitian's reign.
of Saint Paul's Epistles, and the concluding years of Domitian.

Domitian's death is related to have happened in September, A.D. 96. The Christian exiles were then set at liberty; and Saint John had permission to return to Ephesus. But the Emperor's death, and the permission to return, could not be known in Asia immediately. Some time must intervene, before Saint John could be at liberty either to write the Apocalypse at Ephesus, or to send it by messengers (now probably for the first time admitted to approach him) from Patmos*. We shall, therefore, place the date of the Apocalypse, as Mill, Lardner, and other able critics have placed it, in the years 96 or 97: probably (for reasons now assigned) at the beginning of the latter. It could not be circulated through the Seven Churches sooner.

V.—VI. I shall pass over the fifth and sixth opinions, mentioned by Michaelis, because they are supported by such slender evidence, that he does but barely notice them himself. And I trust there is less reason to refute them, after this review of the evidence, by which the fourth opinion is established.

* There seems internal evidence in chap. i. 9, that the Apocalypse was written after the writer had left Patmos; he says, ἔγαγεν ἐκ τῆς νῆσος, I was in the island.
CHAP. III.

THE TESTIMONY OF IRENEUS, AND OF OTHER FATHERS IN THE CHURCH BEFORE HIM, OF IGNATIUS, OF POLYCARP, OF THE WRITER OF THE EPISTLE DESCRIBING POLYCARP'S MARTYRDOM, AND OF PAPIAS.

HAVING ascertained the time in which the Apocalypse was written, we may proceed to review the external evidence, which affects its authority. For we shall now be enabled to appreciate such testimony, by considering its approximation to the time when the book was published.

In the examination of this evidence, Michaelis has chosen to begin with that of Eusebius. But Eusebius wrote at an interval of more than two hundred years from the time when the Apocalypse first appeared. In his days, doubts had arisen concerning the authenticity of the book—doubts which had no foundation on any external evidence, but which had been suggested by some writers from a consideration of its internal marks and character. The subject appears to have been in debate among the Christian critics in these times. Eusebius hesitated where to place the
the Apocalypse; whether among the undoubted books of the inspired Canon, or among those which were accounted spurious. He promises farther information when the debate should be concluded; but we do not appear to have received it from him.

I will begin, then, where we have more decided and authentic information; from Irenæus, whose competency to decide on this question we have considered. There are other testimonies, which, in point of time, are antecedent to this of Irenæus, but none so comprehensive, so positive, and direct. We shall review these with more advantage, after the consideration of this important evidence.

Irenæus, the auditor of Polycarp, and of other apostolical men, who had conversed with St. John, had the best means of information concerning the authenticity of the Apocalypse; and from the zeal which he shews, to discover the true reading of a passage in the Apocalypse (by appeal to ancient and authentic copies, and to the testimony of apostolical men), we may justly conclude that he took equal pains, and the same judicious methods, to assure himself concerning the writer of the book. But Irenæus, in many passages, ascribes this book to "John the Evangelist, the disciple of the Lord,—that John who

* Euseb. H. E. lib. iii. c. 24, 25.
† Irenæus, lib. v. c. 30. Euseb. H. E. lib. iii. c. 18.
"leaned on his Lord's breast at the last supper *.

There are twenty-two chapters in the book of Revelation, and Irenæus quotes from thirteen of them, producing more than twenty-four passages, some of considerable length. The candid and judicious Lardner, after an examination of this evidence, says, "His (Irenæus's) testimony for this "book is so strong and full, that, considering the "age of Irenæus, he seems to put it beyond all "question, that it is the work of John the Apostle "and Evangelist †.

The testimony of Irenæus may be supposed to extend from about thirty or forty years after the date of the Apocalypse, to about eighty years after the same period, viz. the year of our Lord 178, when he is said to have published the books which contain this testimony ‡. But during this period of eighty years, other writers appear to have quoted, and acknowledged the Apocalypse. We will now, therefore, take a retrospect of their quotations and allusions, which will give additional weight to the testimony of Irenæus; while, from a recollection of his evidence, theirs also will derive support.

Ignatius is mentioned by Michaelis as the most ancient evidence that can be produced, respecting the authenticity of the Apocalypse. He lived in the apostolical times, and died by a glorious

* Irenæus, lib. iv. 37, 50, 27:
‡ See Cave and Lardner.

martyrdom
martyrdom in the year 107, as some writers state, though others have placed this event a few years later. He is commonly supposed to have made no mention of the Apocalypse; and this his silence amounts, in the opinion of Michaelis, to a rejection of the book. "If Ignatius," says he, "had seen and acknowledged the Apocalypse as the work of John the Apostle, he would probably, when he wrote his Epistles to the Christian communities at Ephesus, Philadelphia, and Smyrna, have reminded them of the praises, which, according to Rev. ii. 1—7. 8—11. iii. 7—12. their Bishops had received from Christ, more particularly when he addressed the Church of Ephesus; because, in his Epistle to that Church, he particularly reminds them of the praises bestowed on them by St. Paul."

The connection of idea and train of thought, expected from Ignatius upon this occasion, is indeed natural, but it is not necessary; so that the want of it will not amount to any proof that Ignatius had never seen, or that he rejected, the Apocalypse. Ignatius was not a Bishop of any of the Seven Churches to which it was addressed, nor of any of the Churches in Asia properly so called, but of Antioch in Syria; and his familiarity with so obscure and mystical a book, would depend much upon his own turn of mind, and bent of study. We know that many eminent divines of our own times have been very little conversant with the Apocalypse; and we know that
that many of those, who are conversant with the book, are little inclined to quote it in their sermons and popular addresses; for they appeal to those books of Scripture with which they suppose their auditors most acquainted.

Besides, we are to take into our account the peculiar circumstances under which this Father of the Church wrote his Epistles, which are the only remains of his works. He was a prisoner, upon travel, guarded by a band of soldiers, whom for their ferocity he compares to leopards *, and by them hurried forward, in his passage from Antioch to Rome, there to be devoured by wild beasts. In such circumstances, he would write at uncertain seasons, with frequent interruption, his train of thoughts necessarily broken; and his quotations, depending probably on memory alone, would be inaccurate. From these causes it has happened, that the references of Ignatius to sacred Scripture, in his hasty Epistles, may be styled allusions, rather than quotations; and to many of the sacred books, he appears not to allude at all. The Epistle to the Ephesians is the only book expressly named by him. Of the Gospels, he only quotes, or even plainly alludes to, those of St. Matthew and St. John. And it will appear dubious, to those who examine the writings of this Father, whether the Acts of the Apostles, or any of the Scriptural Epistles, are either indubitably quoted, or alluded to by him,

* Ad Romanos, sect. v. except
except that to the Romans, the First to the Corinthians, to the Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, and the Second to Timothy. But shall we affirm, that Ignatius rejected two of the Gospels, and fourteen other books of sacred Scripture, because no evident allusion to them can be found in these his hasty Epistles? No one will make this affirmation. The authenticity and divine inspiration of these books are supported by other and sufficient evidence: and the conclusion which Michaelis invites us to draw, from the silence of Ignatius respecting the Apocalypse, must appear rash and unfounded. It is in contradiction to the remarks of this able critic himself, in his observations on the same subject, in another passage of his work. For he tells us, after having first assigned the reasons on which he grounds his assertion, that "It is therefore no objection to the New Testament, if it is so seldom cited by the Apostolic Fathers; and even could any one be produced, who had not made a single reference to these writings, it would prove as little against their authenticity, as St. Paul's never having quoted the Epistles of St. Peter, or the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke." But if this holds good, as applied to the Scriptures in general, it is peculiarly applicable to a book of mysterious prophecy, and of so late publication as the Apocalypse. And we cannot conclude even if it should appear that Ignatius has not mentioned the Apocalypse, nor alluded
alluded to it, that "it was unknown to him: "nor if it was known to him, that he did not "believe it genuine; nor yet, that his silence "concerning it amounts to a rejection of it." This answer to Michaelis may be applied, and I trust effectually, in case it shall be concluded that Ignatius "has passed over the Apocalypse in silence." But there are some passages in his Epistles, which may perhaps be admitted to allude to this sacred book. It may be thought, that if Ignatius had not seen the Apocalypse, he would not have used certain expressions, which he has employed in the following passages. I shall present them at length, because they have never yet been produced.

Rev. i. 9. Ignat. ad Rom. ad fin.
ἐν ἐπιστολήν ἵναν Χριστῷ.
ἐν ἐπιστολήν ἵναν Χριστῷ.

The text of the Apocalypse is here taken from the approved edition of Griesbach; and it is a confirmation to be added to his supports of this text, that it was thus read by Ignatius. This expression, though the idea be quite scriptural, is to be found, I believe, in no other passage of the New Testament, but in this of the Apocalypse only.

Rev. xxi. 2. Ignat. ad Ephes. sect. 3.
Τοῦ τούτου τοῦ ἀγίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἑπιμαχομένῳ ὡς ἰμάφην Ἰναστήριον τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ αὐτῷ Ἀδὰμ ναὶ ἠφορὸς Ἑπιμαχομένοι εἰς εἰκῳδίμον Θεοῦ—καὶ ἠφορὲῖ Ἱναστήριον ὑπὸδεῖ Χριστῷ Ἱησοῦ.

Here
Here the use of the word ξεκοσμημένοι, following so immediately after the words ποιμασμένοι and Θεός, and with such connection of thought and of imagery, affords reason to suppose, that Ignatius had seen this passage of the Apocalypse. Ignatius appears to me to comment on St. John, referring this passage to the fourth chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians, where the same images are used, and by a comparison with which it is best explained. A better illustration cannot be given of ξεκοσμημένην τινα αυδρα αυτής, than in these parallel words of Ignatius, ξεκοσμημένην εὐλογίας Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. The one is the mystical expression; the other is its meaning, when disrobed of the figurative dress.

Rev. xxii. 3. Ignat. ad Ephes. sect. 15.
καὶ αὐθεν λαοὶ αὐθεν ποιμασμένοι, καὶ αὐθεν ὁ Θεός Ἰησοῦς οἰκονομοῖς ἰνα ὁμοιοί λαοὶ καὶ ποιμασμένοι μετ' αὐθεν, Θεός αὐθεν.

Both these passages seem to have reference to 2 Cor. v. 16. καὶ εσοφαι αὐθεν ὁ Θεός, καὶ αὐθεν εσοφαι μοι λαος, which is taken from Lev. xxvi. 12. καὶ εσοφαι μοι εἰς Θεόν, καὶ μοι εσοφαι μοι λαος: or from Jer. xxxi. 33. καὶ εσοφαι αὐθεν Θεόν, καὶ αὐθεν εσοφαι μοι εἰς λαον, or Jer. xxxii. 38. καὶ εσοφαι μοι εἰς Θεόν, καὶ εγὼ εσοφαι αὐθεν εἰς Διόν. or from Ezek. xxxvii. 23. καὶ εσοφαι μοι εἰς λαον, καὶ εγὼ διὸς εσοφαι αὐθεν εἰς Θεόν.

I have produced all these passages to shew in what degree Ignatius can be supposed to quote from,
from, or allude to each. The expression, in the *first part* of the sentence, may be taken from any, or all of them, as well as from this passage in the Apocalypse. But the peculiar turn and form of the *latter clause* is only to be found here. And I think it probable, that Ignatius would not have relinquished the form observed in the other quotations for this mode of expression, which is very peculiar, if he had not seen and remembered it in the Apocalypse. They are, indeed, the very same words; only with that grammatical alteration which was necessary to fit them to the circumstances; that is, to the application which Ignatius makes of them to himself, and his readers.

I submit the consideration of these passages to the learned reader, who may perhaps determine, that Ignatius has not "passed over the "Apocalypse in silence."

The next writer, from whom Michaelis expects evidence respecting the Apocalypse, is the old Syriac translator. He has taken considerable pains to shew, that the first Syriac translation is of great antiquity*. But, whoever has read the notes of his learned translator, upon this part of Michaelis's works, must be convinced that there is no sufficient evidence to shew, that the Syriac version was made before the fourth century; because the first quotation from it is by Ephrem, who lived in that pe-

* Introd. vol. 1. part 1.
In this case, it cannot be admitted as an evidence, belonging to this early class.

Hermas, or the author bearing that name, or the Shepherd, is not mentioned by Michaelis. But Lardner has produced some passages from this book, by which he was inclined to think, that Hermas "had seen and imitated the Apocalypse." I have examined these passages attentively, but can see no such particular expressions, (such as we have observed in Ignatius) as will lead me to conclude that Hermas had seen this book. There are, indeed, images and descriptions, which bear some affinity to those of the Apocalypse; but the sources, from which these were probably derived, may be shewn in other parts of Sacred Scripture. There appears to me nothing either in the imagery or expression of Hermas which will prove that he copied after the Apocalypse. But the time, in which Hermas wrote, is supposed by Lardner and others, upon probable grounds, to have been before the conclusion of the first century; some name the year 75, others 92; but, as this book was written at Rome, it is not probable that the author could, in any part of that century, have obtained a sight of the Apocalypse, which, as we have observed, began to be circulated in Asia, only about the year 97. If Hermas had seen the Apocalypse,

* Marsh's Notes to Michaelis's Introd. vol. 2. ch. vii. sect. 6.
† Tillemont.
it is to be expected that his narration would have been strongly and unquestionably tinged with the imagery and appropriate expressions of this sublime book*. If, then, Hermas wrote before he could see the Apocalypse, his silence is no evidence against its authenticity: but it is an additional proof, to be classed with those of the preceding chapter, that the Apocalypse was not published till late in Domitian’s reign.

Polycarp has not been cited as an evidence in the question before us. He is reported, by Irenæus, to have written many epistles. But only one of these is come down to us. And this is so replete with practical exhortations, that there is little reason to expect in it any quotations from this mystical book. We have, however, other reasons to conclude, that Polycarp received the Apocalypse as divine Scripture; because it was so received by Irenæus, his Auditor, who appeals to him and the Asiatic Churches, over one of which Polycarp presided, for the truth of his doctrines. This apostolical man suffered martyrdom, about seventy years after the Apocalypse had been published. An account of this event is given in an interesting Epistle written from the Church of Smyrna, over which Polycarp had presided. In this

* This seems to be the case in the Apocryphal Esdras. Compare 2 Esdras, ii. 42.—47. with Rev. vii. 9. Also, vi. 17. 31. 58. V. 4. vii. 57. 58. ix. 38. x. 37. xi. 5. 22. 

Epistle,
Epistle, part of which is reported by Eusebius*, there seem to be some allusions to the Apocalypse, which have escaped observation. And if the Apocalypse was received by the Church of Smyrna at the time of Polycarp’s death, there can be no doubt but it was received by him, their Bishop and Instructor.

In Rev. i. 15. The feet of the Son of Man are described in the Epistle, The body of the suffering Martyr is represented,

\[\text{οἱ ἔστε σαφὲς κατοικοῦντες, ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ἤρως καὶ θυραμένος εἰς καρδίαν συναφότητος.}\]

That the writer did not use the word \(χαλωτλεκανος\), may be accounted for, by his having in view, at the same time, another passage of Scripture, 1 Peter, i. 7. where the Apostle compares the suffering Christians to "Gold tried by the fire;" but why did he, after having used the word \(gold\), omit the \(δικα σωρος \) \(δοκιμαζομεν\) of St. Peter, to substitute \(ex καρδια συναφει\)? why? but because he was led to it by this passage of the Apocalypse? besides in Rev. iii. 18. we read also \(χρυσον \) \(σαρωμενον \) \(εκ σωρος\).

The pious and sublime prayer of Polycarp, at the awful moment when the fire was about to be lighted under him, begins with these words, Κύριε, ὁ Θεός, ὁ \(σωκρατός\). They are the identical words in the prayer of the Elders, Rev. xi. 17. Κύριε, ὁ Θεός, ὁ \(σωκρατός\).

* H. E. lib. iv. c. 15.
From these instances perhaps some confirmation is derived, that Polycarp, and his disciples of the Church of Smyrna, received the Apocalypse.

Papias belongs likewise to the apostolical age, and is said to have been an Auditor of St. John*. This Father is asserted by Andreas, Bishop of Caesarea, who wrote in the fifth century, to have given his testimony to the Apocalypse †; and is classed by this writer in the list of those who are well known to have testified in its favour; with Irenæus, Methodius, and Hippolitus. What writings of Papias had descended to the time of Andreas, we do not know; but to us there have come down only a few very short fragments preserved by Eusebius‡. In these we have no mention of the Apocalypse. They treat of other subjects; of the Gospels chiefly. And to two only, of the four Gospels, has Papias given evidence. Yet no one has doubted, for this reason, whether Papias received the other two. Yet, as Papias was then treating on the Gospels, it is stronger evidence against St. John's Gospel, that he did not mention that Gospel, than that he omitted to mention his Apocalypse. The same is the case with the quotations of Papias, from the Epistles of the New Testament. It is said by Eusebius, that Papias quoted from

† Proleg. ad Apoc.
‡ H. E. lib. iii. 39.
the First Epistle of Peter and the First of John, and no other of the epistles are mentioned as quoted by him. Yet no notion has thence been entertained, that he rejected the other Epistles of the Sacred Canon. "He confirms these " which he has mentioned," says Lardner *, "without prejudicing the rest."

Upon the same footing stands his silence concerning the Apocalypse. And this silence, in these short fragments of his works, would be no evidence against it, even if we had no assurance that he received it as holy writ. But such assurance we have, from Andreas of Caesarea†.

Michaelis collects, from some expressions of Eusebius‡, that Papias had no where cleared up the First Epistle of Peter and the First of John, and no other of the epistles are mentioned as quoted by him. Yet no notion has thence been entertained, that he rejected the other Epistles of the Sacred Canon. "He confirms these " which he has mentioned," says Lardner *, "without prejudicing the rest."

Upon the same footing stands his silence concerning the Apocalypse. And this silence, in these short fragments of his works, would be no evidence against it, even if we had no assurance that he received it as holy writ. But such assurance we have, from Andreas of Caesarea†.

Michaelis collects, from some expressions of Eusebius‡, that Papias had no where cleared up

† Michaelis is willing to suppose (p. 466) that Andreas had no proof of what he asserts, and that he concluded Papias to be an evidence in favour of the Apocalypse, merely because Papias was a Millenarian. This is, at most, a conjecture, for the support of which he refers us to what is afterwards said by him of Andreas, when he comes to speak of Gregory of Nazianzum. When we turn to that passage (page 490) which is designed to invalidate the testimony of Andreas by this argument, "that he who had falsely represented Gregory, as an evidence for the Apocalypse, may be supposed to have done the same concerning Papias;" we find that, even by the admission of Michaelis, Gregory has quoted the Apocalypse in two passages of his writings. Which quotations will be found (when we come to examine Gregory's evidence) more than sufficient to counterbalance the circumstance of the Apocalypse not being mentioned in his Metrical Catalogue. Michaelis, at last, leaves the question undecided. And so the testimony of Andreas remains unimpeached by him. Papias appears also by the testimony of And. Caes. to have commented on the Apocalypse; end Ξερες on the text. See cap. xxxiv. Serm. xii. of And. Caes. ‡ P. 464.
the important question, "whether John the Presbyter, who also lived at Ephesus, was the writer of the Apocalypse." But how can we expect such determination from Papias, when it appears that the question was never agitated in his time? Eusebius himself, in the fourth century, first started it. Dionysius of Alexandria, in the century preceding, had mentioned some other John as, perhaps, the author of the book; but even he does not mention John the Presbyter. Nor is there any evidence that it was ascribed to any other than to John the Apostle, by any orthodox writer of the Church, during the first century of its appearance in the world. The Alogi, a sect of heretics, ascribed it to Cerinthus; but no one of the orthodox, before the third century, (as far as we know) assigned to it any other than John the Evangelist. That Papias, therefore, never entered into the merits of this question, is of no disservice to the Apocalypse. On the contrary, that little is said by him, and by the ancient Fathers, concerning the writer of the Apocalypse, shews, that no doubts arose, in the early times, concerning the person who wrote it. All, who have spoken upon the question, have asserted John the Evangelist to be its author; and they were not contradicted.

But that the Apocalypse was unknown to Papias, our author attempts also to prove from another passage of Eusebius*; who, having

* Lib. iii. c. 39.
mentioned that Papias had reported some doctrines and parables of our Saviour, not contained in the Gospels, but learnt by oral tradition, and among these some things that are fabulous, classes among the latter his Millenarian doctrine, “That, after the resurrection of the dead, Christ will reign in person a thousand years on earth.” “I suppose,” adds Eusebius, “that he acquired this notion from his inquiring into the saying of the Apostles, and his not understanding what they had delivered figuratively.” From this passage it is inferred, that Papias was ignorant of the Apocalypse; “for why,” it is said, “should he have recourse to oral tradition for the support of these principles, when the 20th chapter of Revelation would, literally interpreted, have much better suited his purpose?” But this mode of proving is somewhat like that which we have lately examined, which was found to rest only on a conjecture of Eusebius. For this rests only on a supposition of the same writer, equally unfounded. “I suppose,” says Eusebius, “that he acquired his millenary notions from oral tradition:” but there is no other ground for this supposition, than that Papias had appeared to acquire some other information, and some other fabulous notions, by this method. But, if the 20th chapter of the Apocalypse, verses 4, 5, 6, literally interpreted, would, according to the confession of Michaelis, “have much better suited
"suited his purpose," why may we not, with equal reason suppose, that he found it *did* suit his purpose? Certainly we can shew, in this chapter, a passage, which, literally taken, would be a groundwork for Papias's millenary doctrines; but neither Eusebius, nor Michaelis, were able to prove any such oral tradition received by Papias, upon which he could found his notions of Christ's millenary reign on earth. But Eusebius may be mistaken in this *supposition*, because he is evidently so in another, which is contained in the same passage. He *supposes* Irenæus to have founded his Millenary notions on the tradition and authority of Papias; but Irenæus happens to have told us otherwise. For, in his fifth book against the heretics, chapters xxxii, xxxiii, xxxiv, xxxv, xxxvi, he rests this doctrine, partly indeed upon the tradition of the Elders, but chiefly on the promises of Scripture, which he quotes abundantly, producing also this passage of the Apocalypse; "In the Apocalypse, and the Apocalypse alone," (says Michaelis, speaking of the Millenarian system,) "is this doctrine discoverable, "if we take all the expressions used in the xxth "chapter in a strictly literal sense; and this is "the chapter on which all the Millenarians of "modern ages have principally grounded their "opinions." And why, then, not Papias?

To me, there appear to arise two powerful arguments in favour of the antiquity and divine origin of the Apocalypse, to be derived from a consideration
consideration of the times of Papias. 1. The Millenary doctrines appear then first to have taken that form, agreeably to the xxth chapter of the Apocalypse, which, literally interpreted, would supply those notions. 2. If the Apocalypse had been written after the times of Papias, after the times when he had broached these doctrines, and had not been a work of divine origin, the ingenious author of it, (who will be supposed, from this passage, to have favoured the Millenarian tenets,) would not have contented himself with that short description of the terrestrial reign of Christ, which is contained in three verses of his xxth chapter. He would have enlarged on a topic so flattering to the Christians, in the manner used by Papias, or his followers, and not have left the description restricted to that brevity and obscurity, which bespeak a work published before these notions had prevailed.

I may have detained the reader too long with what relates to the evidence of Papias: but it seemed to me to require a particular examination; because Michaelis, when he sums up the evidence for and against the Apocalypse, still takes it for granted, that Papias knew nothing of this book; and considers this circumstance as sufficient to balance against the express testimonies of the learned Origen, a determined Anti-millenarian, in its favour.
THE TESTIMONY OF JUSTIN MARTYR, OF ATHENAGORAS, OF THE CHURCHES IN GAUL, OF MELITO, THEOPHILUS, APOLLONIUS, CLEMENS OF ALEXANDRIA, AND TERTULLIAN.

I shall now produce the testimony of a writer, who was contemporary with all those whom we have reviewed*. If any thing shall have appeared defective in any of their testimonies, such objection cannot be made here. The testimony which Justin Martyr affords is full, positive, and direct. He received the Apocalypse as the production of "John, one of the Apostles of Christ." He expressly names this John as the writer of it†. He appears also, from the testimony of Jerome‡, to have interpreted some parts of this mystical book: although no work of this kind has come down to us.

* It is probable that Justin Martyr was born in the first century, and before the Apocalypse was written, and that he suffered Martyrdom about the middle of the second century. See Cave, Fabricius, Tillemont, Lardner. Euseb. describes him as ἰδρυτής των ἀποστόλων. lib. ii. c. 13. Michaelis says he wrote in the year 133, ch. ii. sect. 6. p. 32.
† Dial. cum Tryphon. lib. vi. c. 20.
Some writers have supposed, from the words of Jerome*, that Justin published a commentary on the Apocalypse; but there seems not sufficient foundation for this opinion, since such a work is mentioned by no early writer of the Church. But it has, on the contrary, been too hastily concluded, that Justin wrote no other interpretation of the Apocalypse, than that which is to be found in the single passage of his Dialogue with Trypho, already referred to. But Jerome would not be justified, in calling him an interpreter of the Apocalypse, from this passage only, which contains a reference to Rev. xx, but no interpretation. It is probable therefore that, in some other work, now lost, he had attempted an interpretation of some parts of it, in the manner of Irenæus †. If this be admitted as probable; the testimony of Justin, which is sufficiently clear and direct, becomes also more extensive.

Athenagoras, who was contemporary with Polycarp and Justin Martyr, is admitted by Michaelis, from the allusion produced by Lardner ‡, to have been acquainted with the Apocalypse.

* Scripsit (Johannes) Apocalypsin, quam interpretantur Justinus Martyr et Irenæus.
† Some account of Justin's works, which are now lost, may be seen in Grabe's Spicileg. vol. ii. p. 166.
Michaelis has passed over in silence the evidence to be found in that valuable remnant of ecclesiastical antiquity, The Epistle from the Gallic Churches, which relates the sufferings of their Martyrs about the year 177, eighty years after the publication of the Apocalypse.

We are obliged to Eusebius for preserving a considerable part of this letter, in which Lardner has remarked this passage, Ακελαθων τῷ Άριω ὅτε οὐκ ὑπαγη. They are the very words of the Apocalypse, ch. xiv. 4. and so peculiar in idea and expression, as evidently to be derived from no other source.

I shall state more at large another passage observed, but not admitted as evidence by Lardner, because it may be useful to make some remarks upon it.

Rev. xxii. 11.

*Ο αδικων αδικησαν ει τι και δ ματαρος "Ο ανηρος ανηκαισαν ει δαι δικαιος

Dan. xii. 10.

Kαι ανηκαισαν ανηρος.

It must be remarked, that although this Epistle was written eighty years after the Apocalypse was published, the writer, who quotes from it, is an evidence of an earlier date. For the person chosen by the Church to write for them, would probably be no young man, but one of their venerable Fathers. Irenæus has been supposed to be the writer, but there is no proof of this.

† Hist. Eccl. lib. v. c. 1.
From this view of comparison we may perceive, that although in the first clause the writer referred to the Book of Daniel, in the second he adverted to the Apocalypse. The whole form and colouring of the passage are indeed taken from the latter, which sufficiently appear from the peculiar use of the word ἐτι: and δικαιωθην, though expunged by Greisbach, is a reading of considerable authority, and, from this quotation, appears to have stood in the ancient MSS. used by the Gallic Church.

I shall add to these quotations one which to my knowledge has not been observed before.

In Rev. i. 5. iii. 14. In the Epistle,

Our Lord Jesus Christ is called The Martyrs give place to Jesus Christ, as

'O μαρτυς, δ' εικος, και αληθινος, δ' τω πιστω και αληθινω μαρτυριν, και αποστολων en των μετων.

After the perusal of these quotations, we can entertain no doubt, but that the writer of these Epistles, and the Churches of Gaul who employed him to write in their name, received the Apocalypse as divine Scripture. And their testimony is of the more importance in this inquiry, because these Churches appear to have received their instructions in religion, and consequently their canon of sacred Scripture, from the Churches in Asia. Their connection with these Churches, at the time when this Epistle was written, is sufficiently apparent, from its being
being addressed "to the Churches of Asia and "Phrygia*." And there appears to have been another Epistle from the Martyrs themselves of these Churches, with the same address, but upon another ecclesiastical subject, written at the same time. These were not letters from individuals to individuals, but from societies to other ecclesiastical communities. The Gallic Churches give account to the Asiatic Churches, as colonies to their mother country. We may collect also from names, casually mentioned in this Epistle, that the Gallic Churches had among them Asiatic Greeks, men of the first rank and character, then teaching in Gaul, Attalus of Pergamus, (one of the Seven Churches,) and Alexander, a Phrygian. Pothinus appears to a be Greek name†; this venerable Bishop of Lyons was more than 90 years of age, when he suffered martyrdom, and therefore born ten years before the Apocalypse was published. But it appears, from the evidences now produced, that the Gallic churches believed it to be a book of divine authority. We may add too, that they believed the Asiatic Churches to have received this book into their canon, otherwise they would not have quoted from it in a letter addressed to them. Ire-

* Laodicea, one of the seven Churches addressed in the Apocalypse, was situated in Phrygia.

† The accurate historian Mosheim relates it as a fact that Pothinus came from Asia; and produces his authorities. Eccl. Hist. Cent. ii. part i. ch. i,
naeus likewise the auditor of Polycarp, was a Presbyter of the Church at Lyons at this time, and succeeded Pothinus in the bishoprick; and we have already made ourselves acquainted with his creed, respecting this book.

Thus there is strong reason for concluding, that these Gallic Churches held the same canon of Scripture with the Asiatic; and consequently, that the Asiatic Churches, to whom the Apocalypse appears to have been addressed, received it as divine Scripture, and with Irenæus, as the work of John the Apostle. This will be confirmed by the article which follows.

Melito, after some doubt and hesitation, is at last admitted by Michaelis, as a witness in favour of the Apocalypse; he is stated to have flourished about the year 170 *, and probably might be living at the time the Gallic Epistle was received by the Asiatic Churches; of one of which (of Sardis) he was Bishop †. He was a Bishop of the highest reputation in the Christian world, according to the testimonies of Polycrates ‡, of Tertullian §, of Eusebius ||. He wrote upon the Apocalypse ¶, and was esteemed, says Tertullian,

* Cave, Hist. Lit.
† See what is said by Mr. Marsh on the subject of an Epistle being received at a place to which it was addressed, vol. i. p. 368.
‡ Euseb. v. 24.
§ Cave, Script. Illust.

a Prophet
a Prophet by many Christians; probably, because he had interpreted and applied the divine prophecies of this book, with some apparent success. His works are unfortunately lost.

Theophilus, who was Bishop of Antioch about 90 years after the publication of the Apocalypse, appears to have written upon, and to have quoted from it, as of divine authority, in his treatise against Hermogenes*. This treatise is not extant; but Lardner has produced one passage, from another work of his, in which he calls the Devil, "Satan, the Serpent, and the Dragon;" which seems taken from Rev. xii. 9†. Michaelis admits Theophilus among those who undoubtedly received the Apocalypse‡.

Apollonius is not mentioned by our author. But Eusebius, who speaks of him as a learned man, represents him also as supporting the Apocalypse, by testimonies taken from it§. He suffered martyrdom about the year 186∥, and is a valuable addition to our evidence.

Clemens of Alexandria is admitted by Michaelis as an undoubted evidence for the Apocalypse¶. He has frequently quoted from it, and referred to it, as the work of an Apostle. He was an inquisitive, and well-informed writer, and

† Lardner, Cred. art. Theophilus.
‡ P. 467.
§ Euseb. H. E. lib. v. c. 18. 21.
∥ Lardner, art. Apollonius,
¶ P. 467.
having flourished within the first century after the publication of the Apocalypse, is an important evidence in its favour.

Tertullian wrote about the same time with Clement; but his long life extended farther into the next century. Michaelis allows his evidence for the Apocalypse as undoubted; and it is certainly valuable. He is the most ancient of the Latin Fathers, whose works have descended to our times. He quotes, or refers to, the Apocalypse, in above seventy passages of his writings; and he appeals to it expressly as the work of the Apostle John. He defends the authenticity of the book against the heretic Marcion and his followers, by asserting its external evidence. He appeals to the Asiatic Churches, and assures us, that "though Marcion rejects it, yet the succession of Bishops, traced to its origin, will establish John to be its author*. In particular, it may be observed, that Tertullian has quoted Rev. i. 6, "Quia sacerdotes nos et Deo et patri fecit," as a passage common in the mouths of the Laity of his time†. This frequent and popular appeal to the Apocalypse, shews it to be a book much read, and generally received, in the African Churches of the second century.

† Tertull. de Monog. cap. 12.
We are now returned again to the times of Irenæus, whose single testimony appeared to have such deserved influence in settling the question before us*. But the retrospect, which we have been able to take of the writers who preceded him, has added great weight to the evidence. For testimonies have been drawn abundantly from every generation of writers, through the first century after the Apocalypse was published. They have been produced from almost all parts of the Christian world: from Asia, where it made its first appearance; from Syria; from Italy; from Gaul; and from the Churches of Africa, where it seems to have had an universal reception, and a more than ordinary circulation.

I now present the reader with a sketch, drawn after the manner of Priestley's Biographical Chart, and those of Playfair's Chronology; by which he may see, in one view, the writers whose testimonies we have hitherto collected. He will hereby be enabled to estimate the force of that numerous, unbroken, concurring chain of evidence, which we have laid before him. Besides those writers already reviewed, he will see also, in the chart, the names of Hippolitus and Origen.

* In a passage of Michaelis, ch. xxvi. sect. 8. on the Epistle of Saint James, we collect the names of the ancient authors, whose testimony he esteems most decisive to the books of the New Testament. These are Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen; by all of whom we shall find the Apocalypse fully received as the writing of St. John.
who belong more strictly to the next century; because in that century they chiefly wrote and flourished. But they lived also in this century. They are important evidences in favour of the Apocalypse. They carry on the testimony by a strong and regular concatenation to the middle of the third century after Christ; after which time, we can expect little or no accession of external evidence, concerning any inspired book.

The testimonies of Hippolitus, and of Origen, will be exhibited in a succeeding chapter.
CHAP. V.

THE EVIDENCE AGAINST THE APOCALYPSE DURING ITS FIRST CENTURY; THE REJECTION OF IT BY MARCION AND BY THE ALOGI; THEIR OBJECTIONS, SO FAR AS THEY RELATE TO EXTERNAL EVIDENCE, EXAMINED.

Having reviewed the external evidence in favour of the Apocalypse, during the first century after its publication, it will be useful to pause, before we produce subsequent witnesses, and to afford opportunity of examining any testimonies of the same period, by which its authenticity and divine inspiration have been denied. The examination of this evidence will soon be dispatched. For, wonderful as it may appear, there is not one writer of the pure Primitive Church, no Father, no Ecclesiastical Author, who, during this period, seems to have questioned its authenticity. Yet there was ground then for the same objections, which afterwards induced some persons to reject it in the third and fourth centuries. The Fathers, before the times of Caius and of Dionysius, could discover that the Apocalypse was obscure; that it was to them no revelation; that the Greek of it appeared different from
from that of Saint John's Gospel; but, notwithstanding these circumstances, which they were well qualified to appreciate, they received it with pious acquiescence as divine Scripture, communicated by the beloved Apostle; and they delivered it as such to the succeeding century.

Now, to what can we attribute this conduct, but to the powerful operation of that external evidence by which it was then supported? The writers of the first part of this century had the opportunity of hearing from apostolical men, from "those who had seen the face of John," as Irenæus expresses it, to what author they ascribed the Apocalypse. In the latter part of the century, the tradition was still warm, depending upon the living testimony of those who had seen apostolical men; and an inquisitive author could satisfy himself, from the narration of others, upon what grounds of external evidence the book had been so universally received. It had been produced publicly into the world. It was to be found, not in the archives of one insignificant Church, but of the seven flourishing Churches of Asia; "This thing was not done in a corner." From the mode of its publication, it challenged observation, and defied detection. And we may suppose, that as none of the early Fathers objected to the evidence, all were satisfied. They received and transmitted to others those prophecies, which they themselves could not understand. Under these circumstances, we may be more surprised
surprised that so many of the ancient Fathers have quoted from the Apocalypse, than that some (and they are but few) have passed it over in silence.

But although none of the orthodox writers of the Church seem to have questioned the authenticity of the Apocalypse, during the first century of its appearance, we have evidence that certain heretics rejected it. Of this number was Marcion*. But we know also that this daring Gnostic rejected or mutilated other books of sacred Scripture, which he could not otherwise render subservient to his wicked purposes †.

The rejection of the Apocalypse by Marcion is favourable to its pretensions. It is a proof that the book was in existence, and received by the Church, in those early times in which he flourished‡; and that the doctrines contained in it, were such as opposed his impious tenets.

The Apocalypse was rejected also by a sect, who obtained the name of Alogi; but they rejected also the Gospel of Saint John; and for the same reasons; which, with these rash people, were not founded on any exceptions to the external evidence of these divine books, but principally on their dislike to the word Logos, which,

* Tertullian. adv. Marcion. lib. iv. cap. 5.
‡ Marcion came to Rome in the year 127, only 30 years after the Publication of the Apocalypse. Cave, Hist. Lit.
as used in this Gospel and Revelation, they refused to consider as of divine authority*; but this objection, and also their ascription of the Apocalypse, together with the Gospel of St. John, to Cerinthus, how weak soever the grounds on which they stand, are not to be considered here; because they rest, not on external, but internal evidence†. Among these their objections to the Apocalypse, there is one indeed which our author has remarked to be of an historical kind; which must therefore be examined under the head of external evidence. It is this:

The fourth epistle in the Apocalypse is addressed to the Angel of the Church of Thyatira; but the Alogi, with a view to convict the Apocalypse of falsehood, declared that there existed no Church at Thyatira. The words, as delivered by Epiphanius, are observed to be ambiguous, and may denote, either that there was no Christian community at Thyatira in the time of St. John, or none at the time when these Alogi made their objections‡. If we ascribe to them the latter sense, the argument, as Michaelis justly observes, is of no importance. For if there was no Church at Thyatira in the middle, or toward the close of the second century, still there might have been at the close of the first.

* Epiphani. Haer. 51, 54.
† Michaelis has fully exposed and refuted this strange notion of the Alogi, p. 464.
‡ Καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας Ἑρωδιακῆς.
But let us meet the objection in its strongest force. Let us suppose it to be unequivocally declared, by the testimony of these Alogi, that there was no Church at Thyatira at the time of Saint John; at the time when he is affirmed to have addressed this Epistle to that place. Now these Alogi, who, when we come to examine their internal evidence against the Apocalypse, will be found to support their cause by the most weak and absurd arguments; who rejected the Gospel of St. John, and attributed it to the heretic Cerinthus, merely because they disliked the word Logos, as applied by St. John to Christ; are not very credible witnesses. Eye-witnesses they could not be, because they did not live in those times; and we can entertain but an unfavourable opinion of their fair and candid appreciation of the evidence of others, when they rejected the powerful external evidence, by which St. John’s Gospel was supported, so soon after its publication, only because some passages of that Gospel seemed to oppose their favourite tenets. But admit, for the sake of argument, the fact which they wished to establish. Admit, for a moment, that not St. John, but Cerinthus was the writer of the Apocalypse. But Cerinthus was contemporary with St. John; and Cerinthus lived in Ephesus, and amidst the seven Churches*; and can we suppose it possible, that Cerinthus,

* Euseb. H. E. lib. iii. c. 28.
so circumstanced, should address an epistle to a society of Christians in that very region where he lived, when in fact no such society existed? Nothing can be more absurd than the supposition. To carry the argument a little further, the Apocalypse (if it could be proved a forgery) must have been written, says Michaelis, before the times of Justin Martyr, before the year 120*; that is, very near to the time when the ancients believed the Apocalypse, if genuine, to have been written. A fabricator so circumstanced cannot be supposed capable of so gross a mistake; and if such a mistake had been made, we should have heard of it from other, and earlier, objectors than these Alogi; and any fabricator of the Apocalypse must be supposed to have known, better than they, what Churches existed in Asia Proper, in the reign of Domitian. Persons who make use of such absurd arguments, and no other, deserve little attention. I may have bestowed upon them too much; but it seemed necessary to examine, in all its appearances, the only external evidence which seems to have been alleged against the Apocalypse, during the first century after its publication.

* P. 496.
CHAP. VI.

THE TESTIMONIES OF HIPPOLITUS AND OF ORIGEN; THE OBJECTIONS OF CAIUS AND OF DIONYSIUS OF ALEXANDRIA, AND OF OTHERS PRECEDING HIM. ANIMADVERSIONS ON THE CONCLUSIONS OF MICHAELIS, RESPECTING THIS EVIDENCE.

I now proceed to consider the external testimony which is obtained from HIPPOLITUS and ORIGEN, two great names in the ancient Christian world, and both highly favourable to the divine authority of the Apocalypse. They have already had their place in the Biographical Chart, for reasons which have been already assigned. But I have kept apart the examination of their evidence, because I wished my readers to consider separately "the cloud of witnesses," who supported the authenticity of the Apocalypse during its first century, in the times before any objection was made to it by any of those members of the Church, who observed the pure faith, and the pure canon of Scripture.

In the times of Hippolitus and of Origen, a notion seems to have been adopted by some persons in the true Church, that the Apocalypse was
was not, what it pretended to be, the production of an Apostle.

Dionysius of Alexandria, who wrote about the middle of the third century, says, "Some, before our times *, have utterly rejected this book;" and he has been thought to intend Caius, an ecclesiastical man at Rome †, who certainly ascribed some Apocalypse, and not improbably our Apocalypse (though this matter has been much doubted) to the heretic Cerinthus ‡. But whatever may be determined concerning the opinions of Caius, it seems clear, that before Dionysius wrote, that is, in the former part of the third century, some persons in the Christian Church had begun to doubt concerning the authenticity of the Apocalypse; to question whether it were the production of St. John, or of any apostolical, or even pious man; and to ascribe it, as the Alogi had done before them, to Cerinthus §.

But it does not appear that they alleged any external evidence in support of these extraordinary opinions. They rested them on the basis of internal evidence only. "The Apocalypse," said they, "is obscure, unintelligible, and inconsistent, and improperly entitled a revelation. It au-

* Τύμη τοιοτών. Euseb. lib. vii. c. 25.
† So Eusebius calls him, H. E. lib. ii. c. 25.
‡ Michaelis has chosen to place these objectors in the second century, but on no solid ground of evidence; for the first objector, of whom we have any account, is Caius, and the earliest me assigned to him is A. D. 210. Cave, Hist. Lit. art. Caius.
"thorises notions of an impure, terrestrial millennium, unworthy of an Apostle of Christ. But Cerinthus adopted such notions, and to propagate them the more successfully, he wrote the Apocalypse, and prefixed to it the honourable name of John."

All the arguments here used, excepting the affirmation that Cerinthus is the author, (which has no proof whatever to support it *) will be observed to rest on internal evidence, and therefore belong not to this present inquiry. In a future chapter they will be examined. But I mention them in this place, because they prevailed in the times of Hippolitus and Origen, whose testimony is now to be adduced. These two learned men had the opportunity of knowing and of considering all the arguments, which these novel objectors had alleged against the authenticity of the Apocalypse. We shall see what influence they had on the minds of these able divines.

Hippolitus flourished early in the third century †, and probably lived and taught during a considerable part of the second: for he was an instructor of Origen, who was set over the Catechetical school in Alexandria, in the year 202. He had been the disciple of Irenæus; and, probably, was a Greek by birth, for he wrote in

* See this affirmation perfectly refuted by our author, p 469.
† One work of his is shewn to have 222 for its date. See Lardner, art. Hippolitus.
Greek, and not improbably in the eastern parts of the Christian world, where his writings were long held in the highest esteem*. He is in all respects as credible a witness, as the times in which he lived could produce. He received the Apocalypse as the work of St. John, the Apostle and disciple of the Lord †. Michaelis admits his evidence, and attributes to his influence and exertions, much support of the Apocalypse‡. He could produce no new external evidence in its favour, but he probably appealed to, and arranged that evidence which had gone before, and endeavoured to take away, in some measure, a popular objection to the book, by explaining parts of it; thus rendering it less obscure§. His studies qualified him for this office; for, as Michaelis observes, he commented on other prophecies. His genuine works, except a few fragments, appear not to have come down to us, but they were read both in Greek and in Syriac for many ages. And it appears, by the evidence of Jerome and Ebed-jesu, that one, if not two of his books were written in defence of the Apocalypse. Michaelis is inclined to believe that he left two

* P. 479.
† See the testimonies as collected by Lardner, who says, that "the testimony of Hippolitus is so clear in this respect, that no "question can be made about it." Cred. G. H. art. Hippolitus.
‡ P. 478.
§ What remains of Hippolitus in this kind, is to be seen in the Commentary of Andreas Cesariensis on the Apocalypse, who professes to have followed him.
works on this subject, one in answer to Caius, the other against the Alogi*. He says nothing which tends to invalidate the evidence of Hippolitus in favour of the Apocalypse, but much to confirm it.

Origen was born in the year 184 or 185, and lived to his 70th year. Of all the ancient fathers, he is generally acknowledged to have been the most acute, the most diligent, the most learned. And he applied these superior qualifications to the study of the holy Scriptures. He studied them critically, with all that investigation of their evidences, and of the authenticity of the books and of the text, which is now become a voluminous part of theological studies. He was in a great degree the Father of Biblical learning. Such a man could not be ignorant of the objections urged by Caius and others, against the authenticity of the Apocalypse. He was inclined to allow all the weight of their popular argument against it, which was, that it encouraged the Millenarians: for Origen was a decided Anti-millenarian. He appears likewise to have felt the full force of another of their objections. He acknowledged and was distressed by the dark veil, which appeared to him to "envelope the unspeakable "mysteries of the Apocalypse†." But these

* P. 479.
† See a fragment of Origen, preserved in his works, and quoted by Lardner, art. Origen.
objections, whatever other influence they might have in the mind of Origen, did not induce him to reject the book. He received it readily and implicitly. He quotes it frequently as "the work of the Apostle John, of the author of the Gospel of John, of the Son of Zebedee, of him who leaned on the bosom of Jesus." But to what shall we ascribe this decided conclusion of Origen, so hostile to his own prepossessions? To what, but to the irresistible weight of external evidence, which obliged him to acknowledge the Apocalypse as the undoubted production of John the Apostle? No one, who has taken into consideration the weight of this evidence (even as it now appears to us), and the superior qualifications of this learned and inquisitive Father to judge of it, can ascribe the testimony, which we derive from Origen, to any other cause. And every candid person must be surprised and sorry at the cavilling questions advanced by Michaelis†, by which he endeavours to represent the well-considered and respectable evidence of Origen, as depending solely on the authority of his master Hippolitus, or (which is still more extraordinary) to be the result of that duplicity, which our author attributes (unjustly,

† P. 480.
as we shall endeavour to prove) to Dionysius.*

But from other passages it appears, that Michaelis felt the force of Origen's testimony respecting the Apocalypse. In these he acknowledges it to be "greatly in its favour;" and so it will remain; for, the counterpoise to it, which he has proposed, arising from the silence of Papias, has been shewn to have very little weight‡.

I shall now request my readers to review the Biographical Chart presented to them at page 52. They will there observe, that by the addition, which is made to the writers of the second century, by the testimonies of Hippolitus and Origen, the evidence is carried down 150 years from the first publication of the Apocalypse. This evidence is abundant, (surprisingly so, considering the mysterious nature of the

* Nothing can be more express and positive than the testimony of Origen; even in his last work, his book against Celsus, when he had probably seen the objections of Dionysius. For Dionysius wrote probably before the rage of persecution came on in 250, which pursued him almost to his death, in 264; but Origen wrote his last work in 252, the year before he died: but whether or not Origen lived to see this book of Dionysius, he was doubtless acquainted with the arguments which it contains, respecting the authenticity of the Apocalypse, for they had then been many years current in the world,

† P. 486.
‡ In Chap. iii.
book); it is constant and uninterrupted*. At no time does it depend upon any single testimony; many writers testify at the same period; and these witnesses are nearly all the great names of ecclesiastical antiquity†. To their evidence, which is for the most part positive and express, no contradictory testimony of an external kind has been opposed. No one has alleged against the Apocalypse such arguments as these:—"It is not preserved in the archives of the Seven Asiatic Churches. The oldest persons in those cities have no knowledge of its having been sent thither; no one ever saw it during the life of John. It was introduced in such and

* It may be observed, that although many writers give their testimony, yet a very few witnesses may be selected, who can be supposed to have delivered down the evidence in succession, during the first one hundred and fifty years of the Apocalypse. For instance, these three, Polycarp, Irenæus, Origen; or, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Origen. A long tradition has more credibility attached to it, when it has passed but through few hands.

† Every writer quoted by Lardner in the first volume, part ii. of his Credibility of the Gospel History, except two or three, of whom short fragments only remain, is to be found in our list, and this volume contains all the writers who gave testimony to any of the sacred Scriptures, during almost the whole of the first century after the Apocalypse was published. Sir Isaac Newton asserts truly, that "no other book of the New Testament is so strongly attested, or commented upon, as this." Sir Isaac Newton on Daniel and the Apocalypse, part ii. c. 1. p. 219.
"such a year, but it was contradicted as soon as it appeared*.")

Upon

* These arguments are candidly and judiciously suggested by Michaelis, and he allows considerable weight to them. (p. 484.) But, in a note subjoined, he endeavours to invalidate them by observing,

1. That "only a few extracts from the writings of the ancient adversaries of the Apocalypse are now extant, the writings themselves being lost."

2. That "the ancient advocates for the Apocalypse have likewise not alleged any historical arguments in its defence."

To these objections we will answer shortly:

1. If the learned professor had allowed any weight to this kind of argument, when he reviewed the evidence of Ignatius and Papias, he could not have pronounced their silence "as a decisive argument," against the Apocalypse. But there is a difference in the two cases, a difference, which is in favour of the Apocalypse. The short writings, or extracts now extant, may easily be supposed not to contain all, or perhaps any, of the testimonies which they bore to this book, which, from its mysterious contents, they cannot be expected often to have quoted. And if such testimonies were lost, they would not be renewed by subsequent authors, from whom all that we should have to expect would be such a general testimony as Andreas Caesariensis gives of Papias, namely, that Papias bore evidence to the Apocalypse. But if in any of the writings of the ancient adversaries of the book, any such arguments as these suggested by Michaelis had been inserted, they could not have sunk into oblivion. A book asserted to be divine, yet having at the same time such internal evidence against it, as Dionysius has produced, would be ever regarded with a jealous eye; and if the Alogi, or Caius, or Dionysius, (and these are all the adversaries of whom we hear,) had recorded any such allegation against the Apocalypse, it would have been repeated and reechoed by its adversaries through all the ages of the Church. But
Upon the whole, the candid examiner cannot but perceive, that the external evidence for the authenticity and divine inspiration of the Apocalypse is of preponderating weight; and that Michaelis is by no means justifiable in representing it, when placed in the scale against the contrary evidence, as suspended in equipoise. It is a complete answer to the assertions of his third section*, to affirm, (and we now see that we can truly affirm it,) that the authenticity of the book was never doubted by the Church, during the first century after it was published: and that it was received with especial reverence, as divine Scripture, by the Asiatic Churches, to which it was addressed, and by their colonies.

But if there were any foundation for such allegations, Polycarp and Melito, bishops of the Seven Churches, would not have suffered the Apocalypse to pass in their days to Irenæus, as a work received by those Churches from Saint John.

2. On the second objection we may observe, that where there was no contradiction, there most certainly needed no proof. The silent admission of the Apocalypse, by the early fathers, makes greatly in its favour. No controversy, shews no doubt. And how stands the evidence in the case of other acknowledged books of the sacred canon? Are we expected to prove that all the epistles of Saint Paul were deposited in the archives of the respective Churches to which they were written? Far otherwise: no such proof is made; none such is reasonably expected. We shew that the epistles were undoubtedly received by the early writers of the Church; this is proof sufficient; and we have this proof abundantly for the authenticity of the Apocalypse.

* P. 486.
CHAP. VII.

THE TESTIMONIES OF GREGORY OF NEOCESA-REA; AND OF DIONYSIUS OF ALEXANDRIA; OF HIS PRIVATE OPINION; THE TESTIMONIES OF OTHER WRITERS IN THE SAME CENTURY, OF EUSEBIUS, AND THE WRITERS IN HIS TIME, AND AFTER HIM; OF THE RECEPTION OF THE APOCALYPSE AT THE REFORMATION.

With the last chapter I might have fairly closed all that need be said, to defend the authenticity of the Apocalypse, by external evidence. For what addition of historical testimony can we require? what original documents are we likely to procure? or what weight of contradictory external evidence can we expect to encounter, in the times beyond those we have examined? Who, in these after-ages, can give us information, which will bear comparison with that which we have already received? or whom of the succeeding Fathers can we esteem equal judges with Hippolitus and Origen, whether it be of the evidence already produced, or of the questions agitated in their times,
Concerning the authenticity of the Apocalypse?

Yet I shall pursue the subject, because it has been pursued further by Michaelis. It is, at least, curious, to know the sentiments of later writers on the external evidence; though the same accuracy in examining them may not be required.

Gregory of Neocaesarea, surnamed Thaumaturgus, not mentioned by Michaelis, is supposed to have referred, in his Panegyrical Oration, to Rev. iii. 7. if not to Isa. xxii. 22. The observation is Lardner’s†, who remarks also that Gregory, having been the pupil of Origen, and much attached to that great man, probably received the same Canon of Scripture.

Dionysius, of Alexandria, was another pupil of Origen, and, like Gregory, a man of eminence. He received the Apocalypse as a divine prophecy, which he represents to be dark indeed and ænigmatical, and above his comprehension, yet certainly divine; and he says he could not dare to think otherwise of it, since many of the brethren held it in the highest esteem‡. He appeals to it, likewise, as containing a divine prophecy, which he believes to have

* Dr. Less, in his History of Religion, closes his evidence with Origen, and Mr. Marsh observes, that further testimony is unnecessary. See Introd. vol. i. p. 361.
† Cred. Gosp. Hist. art. Greg. of N. C.
‡ Euseb. H. E. lib. vii. c. 25.
been fulfilled during his own times, in the character and conduct of the persecuting Emperor Valerian*. At the same time, it was the opinion of Dionysius, that the Apocalypse, though of divine origin, was not written by the Apostle John, but by some other John, an holy and inspired man. But where are the grounds of this opinion? Are they historical? Does he allege in their support any external evidence? any tradition of the Church? No. He gives his opinion as a conjecture formed upon the internal evidence of the book, on certain peculiarities of style and manner, which appeared to him discordant from those of Saint John in his Gospel and Epistles.

These arguments of Dionysius will be considered, when we examine the internal evidence, by which the authority of the book is supported or invalidated. It is our present business to report only the external evidence of Dionysius. And the amount of this is, that the Apocalypse was generally received, in his time, as a sacred prophecy, and by such men as he revered, and wished not to oppose; that some persons had rejected it, and ascribed it to Cerinthus; that he himself believed it to be a book of sacred authority, doubting, at the same time, whether it were properly referred to the Apostle John.

It is the opinion of Michaelis, (and Lardner has afforded some occasion for it,) that, al-

* Euseb. H. E. lib. vii. c. 10.
though Dionysius professed in such strong terms his reception of the Apocalypse, as a divine book of Prophecy, yet he did not believe it such in his heart. Dionysius has certainly affirmed such to be his belief in plain and positive terms; and his practice was agreeable to his professions. For we have seen that he proceeded so far, as to explain a prediction of the Apocalypse as actually fulfilled. Now, if proofs were wanting of the sincerity and plain Christian honesty of Dionysius's character, this particular fact, that he appealed to the Apocalypse, as containing a prophecy which he believed to be fulfilled, would place beyond all doubt, that he believed that book to be inspired. But Dionysius was confessedly a man of an open, artless probity; and Lardner celebrates him as such, adding, in his account of him, that he had at the same time (which is a usual accompaniment of such a character) an honest and excessive warmth. But the conduct which Michaelis attributes to him on this occasion, is that of a sly, captious hypocrite. Certainly, neither the general character, nor conduct of Dionysius, nor the facts which have now appeared before us, can in any degree warrant such a conclusion.*

This

* Michaelis has defended his opinion, by arguments which appear to me unequal to the defence of it. He says, that Dionysius has assigned reasons for his not venturing to reject the Apocalypse, which are wholly devoid of importance. They did not appear such to Dionysius, nor will they, I think, to the gene-
This Father of the Church appears to me to have thought, that he was doing no injury to the generality of Christian readers. 1. "He did not reject it, because many of the brethren held it in the highest esteem."

Now, surely, this is a reason which must be allowed to have considerable weight on the mind of a modest and sensible man. The pupils of Irenæus, of Tertullian, of Hippolytus, and of Origen, were still living. They had been taught by their masters, and by the general tradition of the Church, to consider the Apocalypse as a book of divine authority: and they resisted the new-fashioned notions, derived from the Alogi or Caius, who ascribed it to Cerinthus, διὸ συνειπώ, zealously. Dionysius was modest, and had a due deference to the opinions of such men, and he censures obliquely those who, in his time as in ours, delighted to run counter to the received opinions of the Church.

2. The other reason, which Dionysius assigns for not rejecting the Apocalypse, and which our author deems also weak and unimportant, is in answer to those who rejected it, because it was difficult to be understood. But Dionysius answers, that, "He, for his part, does not reject what he does not understand: that, not being able to understand the Apocalypse, he supposes it to contain a sublimer sense than his faculties can reach; and to become, therefore, the object of his faith, rather than of his understanding; and that his wonder and admiration are in proportion to his ignorance." Now, this argument, which may be accounted weak, and (from such a man as Dionysius) insulting, supposing him not to believe the divine inspiration of the book, will be found to carry with it a considerable force and efficacy, if we suppose him to believe it. Try it, by an application of it to other difficult parts of Scripture, to the unfulfilled Prophecies of Isaiah, Ezekiel, or Daniel. Shall we reject these, and deny their divine inspiration, because we do not understand them? Far otherwise. They have been delivered to us by our Christian ancestors, as of sacred authority: they are strongly supported by external evidence. We must wait
the Apocalypse, by assigning to it another author, instead of St. John, to "some holy and heavenly inspired man." So far, at least, he might fairly think, that he was defending the book, by taking away the foundation of those objections to it, which arose from the dissimilarity of its style from that of St. John's. And perhaps he might reason, that as the Apocalypse is not evangelical history, it may not necessarily require the evidence of an eye-witness of our Lord's life; that as it is not a book revealing doctrines and rules of conduct, it may not be necessarily confined to the pen of an Apostle; but that some other holy martyr, some apostolical man (for the time of its date implied so much) might, like Daniel, or other Prophets of the Old Testament, be selected by the Spirit, to convey these visions to the Church. I do not wait the time of their completion with pious awe and patience. We may not be able to understand them; we may wonder, but we cannot reject. Would the Jews, who lived before our Saviour's time, have been justified in rejecting the dark and enigmatical, and, to appearance, contradictory prophecies, which represented him as a triumphal king and conqueror, despised and rejected of men, &c. merely because they did not understand them? This argument of Dionysius is not, therefore, "wholly devoid of importance." It was that which influenced all the Fathers of the Church; who, although they understood not the Apocalypse, received it on its external evidence with pious veneration, and delivered it to succeeding times. And it is our duty to follow their example, modestly and diligently to interpret what we can, and to deliver the remainder to be fulfilled and interpreted in future ages.
give this as a sound and authorized conclusion, but as such an one as may perhaps have satisfied the mind of Dionysius, who certainly found a great stumbling-block in the style and manner of the Apocalypse, and yet appears by his profession, and by his practice, to have received it as an inspired book.

I have extended my observations, I fear, to an unwarranted length, in this attempt to reconcile the opinions of Dionysius. But I was moved to it by a desire to do justice to a character which stands deservedly high in Ecclesiastical History; to exculpate an eminent Christian Father, from the charge of setting an example, under which the late Mr. Gibbon might have sheltered his artful, disingenuous, and insulting attack upon the Christian religion. I shall return to my subject; first remarking on the external evidence collected from Dionysius, that whatever notion may obtain concerning his private opinions, it is at least clear, from his testimony, that the Apocalypse was generally received in his time, and in high estimation with those Christians whom Dionysius himself revered.

"After the age of Dionysius," says our author*, "the number of ecclesiastical writers, "who quote the Apocalypse as a divine work, "especially of the members of the Latin Church, "begins to increase. But as they are of less

* P. 484.
importance than the more ancient writers, and
I have little or nothing to remark on their
quotations, I shall content myself with barely
mentioning their names, and referring to Lard-
ner, by whom their quotations are collected *.

Little more, indeed, can be done; to the
weight of evidence already produced, not much
can now be added; nor can it be deemed to di-
minish from it, if some writers of account in
later times, influenced perhaps by the arguments
advanced by Dionysius and by others, concern-
ing the internal, have been backward to admit
the external evidence for the Apocalypse.

This book was received, as of sacred author-
ity, in the times of Dionysius, by Cyprian, and
by the African Churches; by the Presbyters
and others of the Church of Rome, who cor-
responded with Cyprian; by divers Latin au-
thors whose history is abstracted by Lardner;
by the anonymous author of a work against the
Novatians; by the Novatians themselves; by
Commodian; by Victorinus, who wrote a com-
mentary upon it; by the author of the poem
against the Marcionites; by Methodius, who
also commented upon it; by the Manichæans;
by the later Arnobius; by the Donatists; and
by Lactantius.

All these evidences in favour of the Apoca-
lypse are admitted by Michaelis, who expresses
no doubt concerning any of them, excepting

the Manichæans, whose evidence, in another passage, he seems to allow.

We now come to the testimony of Eusebius, which may deserve a more particular attention. To this valuable collector of Ecclesiastical History (which would otherwise have perished), we are indebted for many important testimonies of ancient authors in favour of the Apocalypse, which have already been produced. And by him we have been informed of all the objections which were made to it, by Caius and Dionysius, which seem to have had a considerable influence upon the learned Christians of Eusebius's age, and to have occasioned some doubt among them, whether they should receive the Apocalypse into their catalogue of undoubted books of Holy Writ, or place it among those of less authority. Eusebius represents the matter as in debate, and not yet determined, at the time he wrote his Ecclesiastical History. He promises further information when the matter shall be settled by the testimony of the ancients; but it does not appear that he ever gave it.

We may be enabled to form some notion of the nature of this debate concerning the Apocalypse, by attending to what Eusebius has delivered upon the subject. He has distributed into four classes all the books pretending to

* P. 521.

a place
a place in the sacred canon of the New Testament*.

1. The Ὄμολογημένοι, Ἀναμφίλεκτοι, books universally read, and admitted to be genuine.

2. Ἀντιλέγομενοι, Ὅμως Γυρφίλοι Τοῖς Πολλοῖς, books objected to by some, yet acknowledged by the many, by the greater part of the Church.

3. Νόαι, spurious, or apocryphal books, whose authenticity, or whose divine inspiration, was denied by the Church, but which might be usefully read, as containing pious thoughts, and no bad doctrine.

4. Books published by heretics, which no Father of the Church has deigned to support with his external evidence, and which have no support of internal evidence, being discordant from the apostolical writings, both as to matter and manner.

Eusebius places the Apocalypse in the first, and also in the third class; but as it cannot belong to both, so, in placing it in each of these classes, he adds, εἴ φανεῖ, "if it should so seem "proper." It was to stand in one of these classes, when the question concerning its pretensions should be determined. Hence may be inferred, that the question was then so far settled in the mind of Eusebius, that it must belong either to the first or third class, and by no means to the second or fourth. It was not then esteemed, with the books of the fourth class, a

* H. E. lib. iii. c. 25.
forgery of the heretics; it was not the work of Cerinthus. From this silly notion of it, first started by the Alogi, it was now fairly delivered. The quotations of the early Fathers, as well as internal evidence arising from the book, which is contradictory to the tenets of Cerinthus, and affords support to no heresy, had saved it from this class.

Nor it was it to be placed in the second class; with the Epistles of James, Jude, &c. books, which a considerable part of the Christian world had not received, though they were generally acknowledged to be of divine authority. This determination, excluding the Apocalypse from the second class, seems to import, that the Apocalypse, until the times of Eusebius, was almost universally received by the Church. The doubts concerning it had arisen only in the minds of a few learned critics, who, from an examination of the style and other internal marks, were induced to contend that it was not the work of Saint John. If it should be determined to be John’s work, it was then to be referred to the same class with his Gospel and first Epistle. If it were found not to be written by that Apostle, it was yet allowed to be the work of some other pious apostolical John, and then, as it could not be placed in the first class, with the writings of the Apostles, it was to be consigned to the same class with the writings of apostolical men; with the Epistle of Barnabas, with
with Hermas, and other books which the ancient Church considered as written by persons whose names they bear, and which were read by Christians, as we read the apocryphal books of the Old Testament, for the pious matter contained in them, but not considered as of divine authority.

It appears then, that, in the times of Eusebius, the Apocalypse had its place among the genuine, undoubted books of sacred Scripture. There he first places it; but as some learned or ingenious critics had produced arguments, which, if allowed by the Church, would degrade it from this exalted situation, he prepares for it likewise another place, in which it would stand, if these arguments should prevail. The place prepared for it shews that the attempt of its adversaries did not go so far as to denominate it a forgery, or an impious book, but the work of a pious and eminent Christian, if not of an Apostle*. Yet all the inquiries, set on foot by these doubters, seem not to have brought the matter to a conclusion. They who made objections to the style and manner of the Apocalypse, appear not to have succeeded in their attempt to degrade it, by the production of any external and historical proofs. Eusebius produces only a conjecture, “perhaps John the Presbyter was its author;” but what

* The attempt, in modern times, is to mark it as a forgery, “a spurious production, introduced probably into the world after “the death of St. John,” p. 487; but how totally unsupported by external evidence!
weight could be allowed to such a conjecture, unsupported by any historical evidence, and not given to the world till above two hundred years after the Apocalypse was written? Eusebius, indeed, seems to lay little stress upon it, for he adds immediately afterwards, “If it be not insisted upon to be the former John,” that is, John the Apostle.

Upon the whole, we are not to be surprised that, in Eusebius’s time, the claims of the Apocalypse to its situation in the sacred canon, should meet with some opposition. Two hundred years had now elapsed since it had been published to the world; many of the authentic documents which supported its authenticity, had probably perished in the Dioclesian persecution*; the prophecies which it contained were still dark and apparently unfulfilled †; they had been abused by the Millenarians; the style and manner had been pointed out to be unlike that of St. John; the criticisms of Dionysius had influence with many; yet no one, however desirous, from these and other concurring causes, of invalidating the authority of the book, appears to have been able to produce any external evidence which might suit the purpose.

* See the devastation made at that time in the records of the Church, as described by Eusebius, H. E. lib. viii. cap. 2.

† Epiphanius mentions the Alogi, as rejecting the Apocalypse, among other reasons, διὰ ταῦτα τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ἐπιθύμηκαν καὶ καθιέρωσαν τὸ γέγονα (Hær. 51.) and he seems, in some measure, to admit the reasonableness of their excuse.
It was received, after the times of Eusebius, by the Latin Churches, almost without exception. Jerome, the most learned and diligent inquirer of that century, pronounced positively in its favour; and was followed universally by the Fathers of the Western Churches: and from him we learn the grounds upon which he received the Apocalypse, which he assigns to be “the authority of the ancients*,” that is, external evidence; and he tells us at the same time, that he does not follow “the fashion of his times,” that fashion by which some of the Greek Churches were induced to reject the Apocalypse.

This fashion of the times seems to have consisted in a daring contempt of the testimonies of the ancient Church, and a ready acquiescence in those arguments which were confidently drawn from internal evidence. Yet, notwithstanding this fashion, which appears to have had considerable prevalence in the Greek Church, and perhaps to have influenced those eminent men, Cyril of Jerusalem, and John Chrysostom, (neither of whom appears to have quoted the Apocalypse,) many of great name in the Greek Church appear still to have received it; and, in the fourth century, it is supported by testimonies in this Church from Athanasius, Basil,


Epiphanius,
Epiphanius, Gregory of Nyssa, and Gregory of Nazianzum.*

Yet Michaelis says, "Gregory of Nyssa places the Apocalypse among the apocryphal writings," but he omits to tell us, that, in the very same passage, this Father quotes Rev. iii. 15, as the work of John the Evangelist. Ημιστα τα ευαγγελια Ιωανη την αποκρυφήν απο τοις τοιατοις δε ανιμαδατος λεγοντος*. If the Apocalypse were apocryphal in the opinion of Gregory, he could not attribute it to John the Evangelist, but he calls it apocryphal, because it was now accounted such by many of the Greek Church. There are books of the Old Testament which are called apocryphal by our Church; yet some of these have been deemed divinely inspired by our own writers. If such a writer should quote from such a book, for instance, from the Second Book of Esdras, and introduce his quotation after the manner of Gregory; "I have heard the Prophet Ezra, in the Apocrypha, say," we should conclude that he esteemed the Second of Esdras as the work of Ezra the Scribe, and an inspired writer in the Old Testament, the work of a divine Prophet. Somewhat of this kind has, I believe, happened in our own times.

The testimony of Gregory of Nazianzum has been accounted doubtful, and is considered as such by our author. The evidence which places this Father against the claims of the Apocalypse, is this, that it is not to be seen in his catalogue of canonical books. But, on the contrary, we collect from the representation of Andreas Caesariensis, and of Arethas, in their respective commentaries on the Apocalypse, that Gregory received it; and Lardner has produced two passages from his works, in which it is clearly quoted as of Divine Authority†. Surely the weight of evidence preponderates on this side. And I have some suspicion that the Apocalypse had a place originally in Gregory's Catalogue, but that it was erased from it by the zeal of some Greek Christians,

* In suam Ordinat. t. ii. p. 144.

Yet it will easily be conceded, that many of the Greek Church, for some centuries after Eusebius, and probably upon the authority of those who in his time determined from internal evidence that the Apocalypse was not to be referred to his first class of sacred books, rejected the Apocalypse.

Of the Syrian Churches we have no satisfactory information, how early or to what extent they received the Apocalypse. In the fourth century, it appears by the testimony of Ephrem that it was received by them, and probably much sooner, since the translated works of Hippolitus, that who rejected the Apocalypse. In this Catalogue we read these words, describing St. John,

which may be literally translated, “The great Herald, or Messenger, who went to learn in heaven;” but where, or when, is it said that the Evangelist, St. John, ascended to heaven, to be divinely instructed, and to be the Messenger and Herald of Divine information? No where but in the Apocalypse, where he is called thither by the heavenly voice, ἀνῆκα ἀδ, Rev. iv. 1. The zeal of a transcriber may have carried him to omit the passage, in which Nazianzene mentions the Apocalypse: but this expression remains as it was written, and seems to indicate that such a passage once existed, and that Gregory received the Apocalypse as the work of John the Evangelist.

* It has commonly been urged, as a testimony against the Apocalypse, that it was rejected by the Council of Laodicea in 363. But Michaelis professes himself satisfied that the Catalogue of Sacred Writings annexed to the canons of that Council, has been clearly shewn to be a forgery, p. 489.

* φυτὰκω has peculiarly this sense;
Discendi causā adeo, frequento.

renowned
renowned champion for the book, were much read, and in high request among those Christians who used the Syriac language.

It is useless to pursue the history of the Apocalypse, through the dark ages of the Church. No external evidence is to be expected from such times. At length the light of the Reformation followed the reproduction of learning, and a free and critical inquiry was instituted into the testimony of the ancients, as well as into the internal evidence of the book. And what was the result? The Apocalypse is generally, and, I believe, almost universally received as canonical Scripture. Luther, and some of the first Reformers, had their doubts concerning it; but these soon subsided, being over-ruled by the more profound and accurate examination of other learned men. And although the Articles of the Lutheran Church are represented by Michaelis to leave the question open; yet he tells us at the same time, “that the greater part of the Lutheran divines refer the Apocalypse, without doubt or scruple, to the class of canonical writings of the New Testament.”

The Church of England was blessed with the important privilege of settling her articles and her canon of Scripture at a later period; at a time when the testimonies of the ancients concerning the books of Scripture, were more accurately ascertained; when the first crude notions

* P. 479.  † P. 501.
of the Reformers had been matured into safe opinions, by the progress of time and of truth. But the Church of England had no hesitation to place the book of Apocalypse in her sacred canon; and, I doubt not, her sons will continue to supply her with irrefragable reasons for retaining it.

And here I close what I have been able to collect of the external evidence for the Apocalypse.

We have seen its rise, as of a pure fountain, from the sacred rock of the apostolical Church. We have traced it through the first century of its passage, flowing from one fair field to another, identified through them all, and everywhere the same. As it proceeded lower, we have seen attempts to obscure its sacred origin, to arrest or divert its course, to lose it in the sands of antiquity, or bury it in the rubbish of the dark ages. We have seen these attempts repeated in our own times, and by a dextrous adversary. But it has at length arrived to us, such as it flowed forth at the beginning.

* This is a remarkable instance of good coming out of evil. The advantage arose from the subjugated state in which this Church was holden, at the beginning of the Reformation, by the tyrannical hand of Henry the Eighth. This retarded the settlement of our ecclesiastical opinions, till they were more maturely considered, during thirty years of inquisitive research into every subject of this nature.

† Καὶ ἐὰν ὑδαὶ ῥόξαι σιχάς αὐτήν, παροιμίζω, Ἡ ἡ ὁλιγον ὁμίλοι ὁρᾷ καὶ τευχέ αῖσα, Ἀλλ' ὃ ἡ ἄδυ συντεχνο ῥόξαι, μάλα σὺν μιμενω. Iliad. O. 615.
In short, so far as the question concerning the Apocalypse is to be determined by external evidence, we may indubitably pronounce that the book is to be received as Divine Scripture, communicated to the Church by John the Apostle and Evangelist.
We now proceed to the internal evidence: In the examination of which, we no longer rely on external witnesses: we search the work itself; we try its interior marks and character; and determine, by the judgment thence arising, whether it be of divine authority. The inquiry will be two-fold. 1st, Whether, from the internal form and character of the Apocalypse, it appears to be a book of divine inspiration. 2dly, Whether it appears to have been written by the Apostle John.
I. If all, or indeed most Christians, were agreed upon the same interpretation of the Apocalyptic Prophecies, this question might be determined by a short and summary proceeding. It would only be necessary to ask—Have these prophecies been fulfilled? for, if it be answered in the affirmative, the consequence immediately follows; the Prophet was inspired, and his book is divine.

This criterion may, in some future time, when the Apocalyptic Prophecies have been more successfully studied, produce sufficient evidence to the point in question. But it cannot be applied at present, so as to produce general conviction. We must argue from points in which there is a more general agreement. Omitting therefore for the present, the important question (which it would take a very large compass to discuss) whether the prophecies have been generally fulfilled or not, we may consider the book independently of this evidence. We may compare the doctrines which it exhibits, and the pictures and images which it presents, with those contained in other writings universally acknowledged to be of divine authority.

To do justice to this topic, would require a regular examination of the whole book, a particular induction of passages, by a comparison of which with other texts of Scripture, their agreement or dissimilarity would appear, and arguments be derived, to determine whether it came from the same source. This proceeding would be too extensive
tensive and voluminous for the sketch I now offer*; but, as I am not altogether unpractised in these researches, I feel myself justified in making this general assertion, that, upon comparing the Apocalypse with the acknowledged books of divine Scripture, I have almost universally found the very same notions, images, representations, and divine lights, as in other sacred Scriptures; yet not delivered in such a manner as to be apparently copied from other inspired writers, but from some original prototype of the same kind, which these other writers also seem to have copied. There is, in short, between the writer of the Apocalypse, and his predecessors in the sacred office of Prophet, that concordia discors, that agreement in matter, but difference in manner, which is observed in painters, who delineate and colour in different stations from the same original object; and this will be allowed to be a strong internal evidence of the divine origin of the Apocalypse. I should feel myself obliged to treat more at large this subject, if much had been advanced by the adversaries of the Apocalypse, to deny this fact. The ancient objection made by some before Dionysius, that "the Apocalypse is unworthy of any sacred writer," is not now persisted in, and deserves not a particular refutation; it will indeed be refuted in every step as we proceed.

Michaelis has allowed that the internal struc-
* It is attempted in some measure in the Annotations which follow.
ture of the Apocalypse is noble and sublime; that the imitation of the ancient Prophets is, for the most part, more beautiful and more magnificent than the original; more short, more abound-"ing in picturesque beauties." Whilst I agree with him in this decision, I would point out the cause of it. It is not to be accounted for from the superior ability or art of the writer (for there is in him no aim at eloquence), he drew simply, nay, with rude lines, from the heavenly objects before him; they were frequently the same objects from which other sacred penmen had coloured; but they were presented to the writer of the Apocalypse in a more noble attitude and appearance, by his Divine Conductor.

The Doctrines of Christianity are by no means a principal subject of the Apocalypse; but if we advert to the doctrines delivered in this book, we shall find a perfect congruity with those delivered in other apostolical writings. No doctrines are herein taught, which are in the least degree at variance with any divine revelation of the New Testament. Michaelis entirely acquits the Apocalypse of the general and unfounded charge advanced by Luther, that "Christ is not taught in it"; but I am sorry to observe that he afterwards qualifies this just concession, by asserting that "the true and eternal Godhead of Christ is certainly not taught so clearly in the Apocalypse, as in St. John's Gospel." Could

* P. 533, 534. † P. 543. ‡ P. 538.
he expect so clear an exposition from a prophecy, which respects chiefly future events, as from a Gospel which the ancients have described as written principally, with the view of setting forth the divine nature of Christ? But this divine nature is also set forth in the Apocalypse; and as clearly as the nature of the book, and as symbols, can express it. He is described as sitting on the throne of his Father's glory, "in the midst" of that throne, far beyond the cherubim, far above all principalities and powers; and all the heavenly inhabitants are described as falling prostrate before him, as to their God *. And all this is exhibited in a book which denies worship to angels †. But lest symbols should not carry sufficient expression with them, words unequivocal are added. He is called (and no-where else in Scripture but in St. John's writings) "the Word of God ‡," which (notwithstanding all that our author has advanced to lower the meaning of the expression) can be understood only in the same sense as the same words of the Gospel, to which indeed it evidently refers. The primitive Christians understood it in this sense; and because it could be understood in no other, the Alogi rejected the Apocalypse for the same reason that they rejected the Gospel of St. John §. Our Lord is also described in the Apocalypse, as the "Alpha and Omega," the first and the last; which

* Rev. iii. 21. v. 6. ad fin.  † Ch. xix. 13.  ‡ Ch. xxii. 8.  § Epiphanius; Haer. 51. expression,
expression, notwithstanding any attempts to lower its signification, will be understood by orthodox Christians to mean that divine nature, which from "the beginning was with God," the original Creator and final Judge of the world.

With the same view of supporting his argument, Michaelis has represented the dignity of Christ as lessened in the Apocalypse, because he happens to be mentioned after the Seven Spirits, which our author supposes to represent seven angels. But this cannot be thus interpreted; because the Seven Spirits stand before the throne, but Christ has his seat upon it, and in the midst of it. And, indeed, reasons may be assigned, why Christ is mentioned after the Seven Spirits. They are represented standing in presence of the throne, before he enters to take his seat. They compose a part of the heavenly scenery, and are so necessarily connected with the throne, and with Him that sate thereon, that the mention of the one brings the mention of the other. But our Lord was not seen till afterwards. And if he be mentioned last, it is only to dwell the longer upon his divine glories, which occupy four verses in this description; whereas the Seven Spirits are only named.

There is one passage in the Apocalypse, which, by having been literally and improperly interpreted, has given offence to pious Christians in all ages of the Church, as introducing doctrines inconsistent with the Gospel purity. This is the description contained in a part of the twentieth chapter,
chapter, where the servants of Christ are seen raised from the dead, to reign with him a thousand years. But this is no doctrine, it is a prophecy, delivered in a figurative style, and yet unfulfilled. Such a prophecy, no judicious person will attempt to explain otherwise than in very general terms: much less will he draw from it any doctrine, contradictory to, or inconsistent with, the known word of God. The prophecy, we trust, will, in its due time, be fulfilled, and thereby the truth of God will be gloriously manifested. In the mean time it must be received as the word of God, though we understand it not. The extravagant notions of the Chiliasts are, therefore, no just imputation on the Apocalypse; which must not be accused of containing unscriptural doctrines, in passages which cannot yet be understood. Other places of the Apocalypse, which are objected to by our author in his section on "The Doctrine delivered in the Apocalypse," will be found to contain no doctrines, but figurative representations of future events, which he appears to have misconceived.

We may, therefore, truly assert of the Apocalypse, that, fairly understood, it contains nothing which, either in point of doctrine, or in relation of events, past or to come, will be found to contradict any previous divine revelation. It accords with the divine counsels already revealed. It expands and reveals them more completely. We see the gradual flow of sacred prophecy (according
ing to the true tenour of it, acknowledged by divines), first a fountain, then a rill, then, by the union of other divine streams, increasing in its course, till at length by the accession of the prophetical waters of the New Testament, and, above all, by the acquisition of the apocalyptic succours, it becomes a noble river, enriching and adorning the Christian land.

Michaelis speaks in high terms of the beautifully sublime, the affecting and animating manner in which the Apocalypse is written. But in what does this extraordinary grandeur and pathos consist? Not in the language, as he seems to imagine; for the evidence which he brings to confirm this notion, goes directly to refute and contradict it. "The Apocalypse," says he, "is beautiful and sublime, &c. not only in the original, but "in every, even the worst translation of it *." But is this the description of a beauty and sublimity arising from language? Will such stand the test of a bad translation? far otherwise. Beauty which consists in language only, is seen to vanish with the language in which it was written, and in translation is very seldom preserved. But there is another kind of beauty, another kind of sublimity, which even a bad translation may convey: and excellence which stands this trial, is found to consist, not in language, but in ideas and imagery. These, in the Apocalypse, are so grand, so simple, so truly

* P. 533, and again ch. iv. sect. 3. p. 112.
sublime, that, even rudely represented in any language, they cannot fail to elevate, to alarm, or to delight. This prophetical book can boast, indeed, no beauty of diction, so far as respects mere language. The words and expressions are rude and inharmonious, and, on this account, there is no book that will lose less by being translated. But this pure and simple sublimity, which is independent of the dress of human art, and to be found perhaps only in the sacred Scriptures, whence was it derived to this book? which, on this account, must be pronounced to be either an heavenly production, like the other divine writings; or, such an imitation, such a forgery, as the Christian authors of that time were not likely, were not able, to produce. For there has been observed to be a very unequal gradation and descent, in point of pure, simple eloquence, just sentiment, and unsullied doctrine, from the Apostles, to the Fathers of the Church. And this circumstance has been applied, as an argument, to shew, that the books of the New Testament are of superior origin, and could not be fabricated by those Fathers, or in those times*. The same argument may be applied to the origin of the Apocalypse, and with more force and effect, since it appears to have been published in the very times of these first Fathers. "Whence," we may ask, almost in the words of Scripture, "whence

* By Le Clerc, and by Jortin, Eccl. Hist.
"hath this book these things? What wisdom is this which is given unto it?"

In the word of God there is a grandeur and majesty independent of the accidents of language, consisting in the greatness and sublimity of the things revealed. Men of genius may catch some sparks of this heavenly fire, they may imitate it, and with considerable success. But no one is found so confident in this kind of strength, as to neglect the arts of composition. Mahomet was a man of superior genius; in writing his pretended revelation, he borrowed much from the Sacred Scriptures; he attempted often, in imitation of them, to be simply sublime; but he did not trust to this only; he endeavoured to adorn his work with all the imposing charms of human eloquence, and cultivated language; and he appealed to the perfection of his compositions, as a proof of their divine original. Such an appeal would have little served his cause in a critical and enlightened age; which would expect far other internal proofs of divinity, than those which result from elegant diction. The learned of such an age would reject a prophet appealing to a proof which has never been admitted with respect to former revelations; a prophet, who both in doctrine, and in the relation of events, past and future, is seen to contradict, or add strange extravagant conceits to

* Mark vi. 2.
the credible and well-attested revelations of former times*

There is nothing of this kind in the Apocalypse. Compare it with forged prophecies: many such have been written; some calculated to deceive, others only to amuse. These works, if they amaze us, as appearing to have been fulfilled, are commonly found to have been written after the events foretold, and to have a retrospective date which does not belong to them†. But no one can shew that the Apocalypse contains prophecies, which were fulfilled before they were written.

We have accounts, in ecclesiastical history, of several apocalypses or revelations, besides this of Saint John; of St. Peter, of St. Paul, of St. Thomas, of St. Stephen ‡. Will these bear any comparison with the Apocalypse of St. John? Let our author speak of them; he knew perfectly all that remains of them, and was well acquainted with what the ancients have delivered concerning those that have perished. "The

* In the Koran, which admits the heavenly origin and divine mission of Jesus Christ, he is represented as returning to the earth, marrying, begetting children, and embracing the Mahometan doctrines; and this is said plainly and without figure or mystery; and the reasons are plain why it is so said.

† Thus the Sibylline Oracles, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, Virgil's Anchises in the Elysian Fields, Gray's Bard, &c.


"spurious
The spurious productions of those ages (of the first and second century), which were sent into the world under the name of Apostles, are, for the most part, very unhappy imitations, and discover evident marks that they were not written by the persons to whom they are ascribed.

Fragments of these may be seen in the Codex Apocryph. of Fabricius; in Grabe's Spicilegia; and in Jones's Canon of the New Testament; and may be compared with the simple and scriptural dignity of our Apocalypse. The Fathers of the first centuries compared them at length, and rejected all, but this acknowledged work of Saint John. And this they guarded with so sedulous a care, as to preserve it, in the main, free from interpolations; while the genuine productions of apostolical men, of Ignatius, Polycarp, &c. are known to have suffered from the contact of profane pens.

Two works of ecclesiastical writers of the first or second century, still preserved, and in some degree venerated, by our Church or its members, may be compared with the Apocalypse. They are the rivals which come nearest to it; they are proximi—longo intervallo. I mean the Visions of Hermas, and of the apocryphal Esdras. The former contains the relation of some dreams, which the writer may have possibly believed to be real inspiration, or may have invented.

vented as useful allegory. The imagery of this book is borrowed from Scripture, but in a servile style of imitation, which indicates no sight or communication of any original vision. There is nothing which makes “our hearts burn within us,” as we read. The preceptive and doctrinal parts of this book are simple and moral, and were therefore used in the ancient Church to initiate youth into religion*. But although such an use of the book could not fail to spread a prejudice in its favour, it does not appear to have been received by the ancients as a divine work; at least it was so received by very few.

The second book of apocryphal Esdras, though preserved by our Church among those which may be read “for instruction, but not to establish doctrine‡,” is convicted nevertheless of evident forgery. The author has assumed a name and age to which he had no title, and his prophecies which appear fulfilled, were evidently written after the events foretold. He has otherwise a superior dignity to Hermas, and imitates more successfully the sacred prophets. He has made great use of the prophecies of the

* Euseb. H. E. lib. iii. c. 3.
† See Leland’s Cred. Gosp. art. Hermas, and also vol. viii. 98. xii. 158, where he speaks with much information and learned inquiry, concerning the apocryphal books of the New Testament.
‡ Articles of Religion, art. vi.
Apocalypse*. But a particular comparison of the passages in each writer would involve us in too long a disquisition. I mention these books, that the reader may compare them at his leisure.

By the preceding observations we may appear fully to have answered the objection to the Apocalypse, which first proceeded from the Alogi, and was afterwards taken up by some of the Church, that not Saint John, or any Apostle, but that Cerinthus, or some false fabricator, was the author of the work†.

I pass on to the consideration of an objection against the Apocalypse, which is also connected with its internal evidence; preferred against it in very early times, and often repeated even to this day, the obscurity of the book. This was the grand stumbling block with the ancient Fathers; and it continues to be such with Michaelis, who frequently repeats it‡.

To this general charge of obscurity, a general answer may be given. How can you expect a series of prophecies, extending from the apostolical age to the consummation of all things, to be otherwise than obscure? It is the nature of such prophecy to give but an imperfect light.§

* See Mr. Gray's learned and judicious account of this book, Gray's Key to the Old Testament.
† Michaelis has shewn, from internal evidence, that Cerinthus could not be its author, p. 459.
‡ P. 459, 502, 503, 511.
§ 1 Pet. i. 19. 1 Pet. i. 10, 11, 12.
even in the case of prophecies fulfilled; because the language in which they are delivered is symbolical, which, though governed by certain rules*, and therefore attainable by the judicious among the learned, is nevertheless very liable to misconstruction, in rash and unskilful hands. But prophecies, yet unfulfilled, are necessarily involved in deeper darkness, because the event is wanting to compare with the prediction, which of itself is designedly obscure: “For God gave such predictions not to gratify men’s curiosity by enabling them to foreknow things; but that after they were fulfilled, they might be interpreted by the event, and his own providence, not that of the interpreter, be then manifested thereby to the world†.”

This same objection of obscurity will operate as forcibly against many of the prophecies of the Old and of the New Testament, as against those of the Apocalypse; particularly the predictions which appertain to the latter days‡.

* See this explained in Bishop Lowth’s Prelections, p. 69, 70, and in Bishop Hurd’s Sermons on Prophecy.
† Sir Isaac Newton on Daniel, &c. p. 251.
‡ The Jewish Sanhedrim doubted at one time whether they should not reject the book of Ezekiel from their Canon of Scripture; and one principal argument of this debate was the extreme obscurity of the book. Calmet’s Dissert. vol. ii. p. 369. Sir Isaac Newton argues otherwise concerning the Apocalypse; he argues from internal evidence, that “it is a part of this prophecy, that it should not be understood before the last age of

“The
The book of Daniel, which has our Saviour's seal to it*, must be rejected with the Apocalypse, if it be a sufficient objection to it, that it is yet in many places obscure.

But with respect to the Apocalypse, Michaelis has helped us to some specious arguments, whereby to shew that the difficulties of the book have not yet been fairly encountered; that the men, who have attempted to explain it, have not been possessed of the necessary requisites†. To those who entertain this opinion, that "the prophecies of the Apocalypse have not been satisfactorily interpreted," this might be a sufficient answer; for by such persons a hope may be yet entertained that, as the failure in expounding the Apocalypse is to be accounted for, by the want of proper qualifications in the expounders, this defect may in time be obviated. But the greater part of learned Christians who have applied themselves to the study of the Apocalypse, are not of this opinion. They are persuaded that a part of these prophecies have received their completion. But if that were not the case, if no such conviction were obtained; surely they would not be justified in rejecting a book so authenticated as

"the world; and therefore it makes for the credit of the prophecy that it is not yet understood." Sir I. Newton on Prophecy, ch. i. p. 251.

* Matt. xxiv. 15.

† P. 505—511.

divine,
divine, merely because they do not yet understand it. If such had been the rash proceedings of the Primitive Fathers of the Church, we should not at this time have possessed the book. But it has pleased divine Providence to preserve it to us, and, if we cannot yet understand it, it is our duty to deliver it to the studies of posterity.

We cannot know what ages of Christianity are yet to come; in what manner the predictions of the book may yet be fulfilled; nor what portion of the Divine Spirit, or of human knowledge, may be yet granted to explain it. The prophecies, now dark, may, to future generations, become "a shining light," and the apocalyptic predictions, rendered clear by their completion, serve as an impregnable bulwark of Christian faith, during the later ages of the militant Church. Difficulties are found in the abstruser parts of every kind of speculative knowledge. Every study has its dark recesses, not hitherto penetrable by human wit or industry. These apocalyptic prophecies are among the deeper speculations in the study of divinity. And are we to be surprised, that man meets with difficulties here; man whose bold, prying insolence is checked in the paths of every science, by the incomprehensible greatness of the works of God!

We may, therefore, conclude, that no just cause has been assigned to induce us to reject
the Apocalypse; but that many good reasons, arising from *internal evidence*, and concurring with the forcible arguments drawn from the testimonies of the ancients, require us to receive it as a book of divine inspiration:—But whether as the work of John the Apostle and Evangelist, will be the subject of inquiry in the next chapter.

CHAP.
CHAP. IX.

OF THE INTERNAL EVIDENCE RESPECTING THE QUESTION, WHETHER THE APOCALYPSE WAS WRITTEN BY ST. JOHN. DR. LARDNER'S OPINION; OPINIONS OF OTHERS. ARGUMENTS OF DIONYSIUS OF ALEXANDRIA UNDER FIVE HEADS; ANSWERS THERETO, AND TO THE OBJECTIONS OF MICHAELIS. INQUIRY WHETHER JOHN THE EVANGELIST, AND JOHN THE DIVINE, WERE BY THE ANCIENTS ACCOUNTED THE SAME PERSON. EVIDENCE FROM A PASSAGE IN THE BOOK THAT IT WAS WRITTEN BY ST. JOHN. RECAPITULATION AND CONCLUSION.

The next, and, I believe, the only subject remaining to be considered is, whether, if we admit the Apocalypse to be an inspired book, we are also to receive it as the writing of John, the Apostle and Evangelist.

We have already seen it expressly declared to be such, by unexceptionable witnesses, who lived in or near to the times when it was first received by the Seven Churches; who had ample means of information; and were interested to know from whom the Churches had received it. Such
Such were Justin Martyr, Irenæus the disciple of Polycarp, Tertullian, Origen, and others who preceded them. This external evidence appeared of such preponderating weight to the candid and judicious Lardner, (who entertained no prejudice in favour of the Apocalypse, which he appears to have little studied or understood*) as to have drawn from him this conclusion, twice repeated; "It may be questioned, whether the exceptions founded on the difference of style, and such like things, or any other criticisms whatever, can be sufficient to create a doubt concerning the author of this book, which was owned for a writing of John, the Apostle and Evangelist, before the times of Dionysius and Caius, and, so far as we know, before the most early of those who disputed its genuineness †." But it is a part of our proposed plan to consider these exceptions and criticisms. They arose in the third century, and are detailed in the writings of Dionysius of Alexandria; and the objections are by him placed in so strong a light, that little has been added to them by subsequent critics. The answers to them that I have seen are those by Mill, in his Prolegomena to the New Testament; by Bishop Gibson, in his Pastoral Letters; by Blackwall, in his Sacred Classics; which, with those of other writers,

have been abridged and presented to the public, with useful additions, by Lardner; in his Credibility of the Gospel History*. I shall state the objections of Dionysius, as reduced by Lardner to five heads †. I shall subjoin to them, in a short compass, such answers as appear to me to have been satisfactorily produced, or I shall substitute others; and I shall note occasionally those objections of Michaelis, which have not yet been answered.

I. "The Evangelist John has not named himself, in his Gospel, nor his catholic Epistle; but the writer of the Revelation nameth himself more than once." This argument appears to me to stand on very weak and untenable foundations: yet Michaelis has thought proper to repeat it‡. Is it possible for us to know, at this distance of time, with no historical information on the subject, what special or private reasons, then existing, occasioned an apostolic writer, either to disclose or conceal his name? Thus far the answer is general: but let us enter more particularly into the charge. 1. "The Apostle who put his name to the Apocalypse, has omitted to do so to the Gospel." But was it usual for the Evangelists to put their names to their Gospels? Is any other Gospel published with the name of its

* Art. Dionysius of Alexandria.
† Part I. vol. iv. p 730.
‡ P. 534.
author? Not one. It was not the apostolic practice: yet John, of all the Evangelists, approaches nearest to a disclosure of his name; he discloses by various circumlocutions, that he, the Apostle John, wrote that Gospel; and this we know, from what he has delivered to us by such circumlocution, as clearly, as if he had expressly written his name*. 2. "But though this answer may be satisfactory respecting St. John's Gospel, can we defend by it the same "omission in his Epistles?" An epistle, indeed, generally requires the name of its author to be inserted; and for that reason, among others, the name of John is inserted in the Apocalypse, which is written in the form of an epistle. Yet there may be exceptions to this general rule; and we see such evidently in the Epistle to the Hebrews, which is written without a name. But the omission, if such, in the three Epistles of St. John, need not be sheltered under this precedent. We may otherwise account satisfactorily for their being published without his name.

The two last Epistles are short letters, familiarly addressed to *individuals†; and the writer calls himself, not by the name of John, but by the appellation of *the Elder*, by which he was probably as well known, in the familiar confe-

† See Michaelis, Introd. ch. xxxii. sect. iii.
rence which he held with these his correspondents, as if he had written his name John. He was, indeed, at the time he wrote these Epistles, the Elder of the Christian Church, not only far advanced in years, but the sole survivor of all his apostolic brethren. Such an appellation, in a private letter to an individual, amounts to the same as the writer's name.

But what shall we say to the omission of his name in the First Epistle? Michaelis shall assist us to clear up this difficulty. He pronounces this writing of St. John to be "a treatise rather than an Epistle," and, therefore, says he, it has neither the name of the writer in the beginning, nor the usual salutations at the end*. Therefore, in all these writings of our Apostle, the insertion of his name appears to have been unnecessary; in the Gospel, because such had not been the practice of the other Evangelists; in the treatise, because in that likewise it would have been informal; in the two familiar Epistles, because another well-known appellation supplied its place. But in the Apocalypse, which is written in the epistolary form, not to any individual, but to seven Christian communities, and is commanded, by Him who gave the Revelation, to be written and addressed to them†, the Apostle could not do otherwise than prefix

† Ch. i. v. 11.
his name. And when he had prefixed it, we cannot deem it surprising, that he should repeat it, in passages where he relates to them the wonderful sights which he had seen. For such a repetition conveys this assurance; "Be not incredulous, I John, whom you can trust, whom you can safely believe, I John saw these things." This same Apostle had before given them warning not to believe every pretence to inspiration, but "to try the spirits whether they are of God.*" It was necessary, therefore, when he sent them this Revelation, to assure them that in receiving it they would not be deceived. He assures them, therefore, that he himself, the only surviving Apostle, the president of the Churches, whom they well knew by the name of John, had seen these visions. There was, therefore, no vain egotism in this repetition, as hath been vainly imagined; it was necessary, and to us of these later times it is a proof, that some person, of considerable weight and influence with the Churches, was the author of the Apocalypse; but his name was John; and who could this be, but John the Apostle and Evangelist? who, we are assured was banished to Patmos, where the visions of it were seen †.

II. The second objection is, that "though the

* 1 John iv. 1.
† Hegesippus, apud Euseb. lib. iii. c. 20. 23. Tertullian. Apol. c. 5. Hierom. tom. x. p. 100. Lardner's Supp. ch. ix. s. 5.
"writer of the Revelation calls himself John, he "has not shewn us, that he is the Apostle of that "name." Michaelis expects that he should at least have made himself known by some such circumlocution as he had used in the Gospel, "the disciple whom Jesus loved."

In answer to this, it will be sufficient to shew, that such addition to the name of John was totally needless. He wrote to the Seven Churches, and from Patmos, in which island he expresses that "he is suffering tribulation for the "word of God, and the testimony of Jesus "Christ." All the Churches knew that he was then suffering banishment in that island, and they knew the cause of it, "for the word of God." An Epistle, containing the history of a heavenly vision, seen by John in the island of Patmos, required no other addition. What John would write John alone, without other addition or explanation, excepting the great John, John the Apostle and president of all the Churches? A private person would have described himself by the addition of his father's name, according to the custom of the ancients. A Bishop or Presbyter would have added the name of his church; but John, the Apostle, needed no such distinguishing mark or appellation. A fabricator of an Epistle, containing a revelation in St. John's name, would perhaps have added his titles of "Apostle of Jesus Christ," &c. or would have introduced some circumlocution in imitation of those
those in his Gospel; but, from the expression, as it now stands, we derive a much stronger evidence that it is the genuine work of St. John.

III. The third objection is, "That the Revelation does not mention the catholic Epistle, nor the catholic Epistle the Revelation."

This objection Lardner has pronounced to be "of little moment." Michaelis seems to have been of the same opinion, for he has not noted it; if the reader think it deserving of an answer, he is referred to Lardner.

IV. Fourthly, it is objected, "That there is a great agreement in sentiment, expression, and manner between Saint John's Gospel and Epistle; but the Revelation is quite different in all these respects, without any resemblance or similitude."

Michaelis repeats this objection, and then

* St. Paul, in the opening of his Epistles, has used generally, not always, the term "Apostle;" but with him it was more necessary than with St. John, who was confessedly such, having been numbered with the Twelve. St. Paul's right to the apostleship, having been established more privately, had been doubted by some, which leads him to say, "Am not I an Apostle?" &c. (1 Cor. ix. 1.) and, therefore, he generally asserts himself, in his Epistles, to be an Apostle. Saint John had no need to use the term; his authority as an Apostle was undoubted: he, therefore, calls himself by an humbler title, "A brother and companion in tribulation:" so St. James, although an Apostle, mentions himself only as, "A servant of God, and of the Lord Jesus Christ." Jam. i. 1.

‡ P. 533, 554.
asks the question, whether it is possible that the author of the one and of the other could be the same person?

Two methods have been taken to avoid the force of this objection, which has been derived from comparing the imagery, sentiments, and style in these separate works, all attributed to Saint John.

1st. It has been asserted that a prophetic work of St. John, cannot be expected to have resemblance to his Gospels and Epistles.

2dly. The fact has been denied; it has been asserted that this dissimilarity does not exist; that there is in the Apocalypse a strong resemblance of sentiment and character, to the other written productions of St. John.

I do not find that either of these points have been so clearly proved as to afford satisfaction to the learned. I will suggest another method of answer.

In perusing the Apocalypse, I remark that the sentiments, the notions, the images presented in the book, are, in very few passages, those of the writer, (such I mean as had been digested in, and arose out of his own mind,) but of that Holy Spirit, or of those heavenly inhabitants, who expressed them to him by symbols, or declared them by speech. The pen of John merely narrates, and frequently in the very words of a heavenly minister. “That which he sees and “hears,” he writes, as he is commanded; (ch. i. 19.)
19.) but they are not his own ideas from which he writes; he relates simply, and with little or no comment of his own, the heavenly visions which he had seen. Even in those parts of the book, where we should most reasonably expect to meet with the sentiments of the writer, we perceive his mind teeming (as, indeed, was natural) with the newly-acquired images. He uses such at the very outset of his work, even in the Epistolary Address, which is full of those images which had been exhibited to him in the visions. The same are again seen at the close of the book. And, indeed, it is difficult to find many passages wherein the writer has recourse to his own sentiments, and previous store of imagery.

The whole of the second and of the third chapter, and a great part of the first, is delivered in our Lord's own words, and therefore contains his sentiments, his doctrines, not those of the writer, who is commanded to write down the very words of the great Visitor of the Church. We have, indeed, other words of our Lord, related by St. John in the Gospel, with which it may be thought that these words in the Apocalypse may be properly compared. Yet they do not seem to admit this comparison: because the character and office which our Lord is seen to assume in the Apocalypse, is different from that which he bore in the Gospel. He is now no longer the Son of Man, upon earth, the condescending companion and instructor of his disciples;
disciples; but the glorified King of Heaven, the Omniscient Visitor of the Churches, the Omnipotent Judge of mankind. And, in the remaining parts of the book, what does the writer present to us? Not his own ideas and conceptions; but "the things which shall be hereafter," the symbols and figurative resemblances of future events shewn to him in heaven; and when he uses explanatory speech, it is in the words of his heavenly conductors. One of the few passages in which the author of the Apocalypse seems to have written from his own previous conceptions is, perhaps, ch. i. verse 7. The sentiments and images which he employs, before he arrives at this passage, may all be traced to the apocalyptic source: they are derived from the sublime visions which he had so lately seen. With them his mind was filled; with them even his salutation to the brethren abounds. But here he seems to speak from his former store of Christian imagery: And, so speaking, it is remarkable that he is led to quote from Zech. xii. 10. and in the very manner which has been observed, by Michaelis and other critics, to be peculiar to Saint John. Michaelis has noted the peculiar circumstances which attend this quotation, and he has allowed to them considerable weight*: but he was not aware that this is one of very few passages which can

* See his note, p. 535.
fairly and properly be compared with the former writings of Saint John, so as to deduce evidence whether that Apostle were the author. In almost every other part of the book, it will be apparent to an accurate observer, that the writer draws not his sentiments and imagery from his own stores, but from the new and surprising scenes which he had been permitted to behold in heaven.

But although, from the causes now assigned, we may think it improper to look for any nice resemblance in sentiments and ideas, between the Apocalypse and other writings of Saint John; yet some similarity, in the mode and character of narration, may, perhaps, be reasonably expected. And this kind of similarity will be seen and acknowledged in the plain, unadorned simplicity, with which the Apocalypse, and all other productions of St. John, appear to be written. There is, at the same time, a difference, which seems to consist chiefly in that circumstance which Jortin has pointed out*; that "the Apocalypse, like the Septuagint, follows the Hebrew phraseology, using copulatives continually†, whereas the Gospel, instead of καὶ, uses ἦς, or ἦτ, or is written αὐτὸς ἐγὼ." Such is, indeed, the principal difference of style to be observed in comparing the Gospel with the Apocalypse: but the attentive reader may perceive

* Disc. on Christian Rel.
† Καὶ ἦν ὁ Ὄφις καὶ ἦς, &c.
some passages in the Gospel, where the copulative *καί* is used almost as profusely as in the Apocalypse. They are those passages wherein the mind of the writer appears charged with sublime or surprising ideas, following upon each other in a rapid succession. He then pours them forth, one after another, coupled only by the conjunction *καί*. The same may be observed of the other Evangelists, and more frequently than of St. John. When these sacred writers relate wonderful events, following in quick succession, they continually repeat the copulative *καί*. But it will be sufficient to produce instances from St. John. In his fifth chapter, this Evangelist describes the situation of a poor cripple, who for thirty-eight years had been expecting a cure from the waters of Bethesda. The circumstances are related calmly, and without any extraordinary use of the copulative *καί*, till we come to verse ninth; when, the surprising events immediately follow in rapid succession; and the copulative is incessantly employed. *Καὶ εὐθεῖας εὐγενῆ ὕπνης ὁ ἀνθρώπος, καὶ ὑπὲ ὑπὸ τὸν κραῖον καὶ καὶ τῷ ἀσθενεῖ.*

Thus also at the raising of Lazarus, all proceeds calmly, and without the copulatives, until the great event; but this is narrated, (ver. 44,) with *καί, καί, καί*. This copulative style then ap-

* Other instances may be seen in ch. i. 8—14—20. ii. 13—16. iii. 21. ix. 1, 2, 3, 18. xx. 11, 14.
pears to be used by the Evangelists, and even by St. John, to express events wonderful and surprizing, and rapidly following each other. But the Apocalypse contains a continual succession of such events; the copulative language therefore, continually used therein, may yet be the language of St. John.

But whatever weight may be allowed to these observations, still there are many reasons which should deter us from forming any hasty conclusion, by comparison of style and manner, that the Apocalypse was not written by the writer of the Gospel. The history of its first publication is unknown to us; it may have been written originally in Hebrew, and then the Greek translation would naturally retain much colouring of the Hebrew style; or the language, in which our Lord and his angels addressed Saint John in the visions, might be Hebrew*; and then his Greek, being a direct translation, may be expected to preserve the Eastern idiom, for he would probably translate closely, to preserve (as he is ordered) the words delivered to him. In short, many circumstances may have happened to occasion a difference of style, of which we are now ignorant. But of this at least we are assured, that a considerable lapse of time had taken place, between the writing of the Gospel

* Our Lord, appearing to St. Paul, addressed him in the Hebrew tongue, (Acts xxvi. 14.) probably the Syro-Chaldaic Hebrew then in use with the Jews.
and of the Apocalypse. A period of about thirty years had intervened. Such a circumstance is well known to make a considerable difference in the style of the same writer. Michaelis allows and has forcibly expressed it. (p. 352, 536.) But he alleges, and with good reason, (if we take it is a general observation,) that when there is this change in the style of an author, we naturally look for the bold, sublime, and perhaps, incorrect style, in his youth, and the gentler and more finished manner in his later years. And hence he collects that the Apocalypse, displaying bold imagery, with much fire of composition, an oriental form of speech, and an incorrect manner, might indeed be written by St. John some years before he wrote his Gospel; but that he could not be the author of it late in life, many years after he had resided among the Greeks at Ephesus. The argument is specious; but, I trust, the edge of it has been already taken off, by a consideration of the causes which will account for the sublime imagery and animated manner of writing in the Apocalypse, where it differs from the calmer style of St. John. But I will suggest another cause, which, as it appears to me, would not fail to produce a more warm and turbid style in the Apocalypse than in the Gospel, supposing them to be written by the same pen.

The Gospel appears to have been written by St. John, after an interval of about thirty years from
from the events which he relates. At such a distance of time, the mind is enabled to look back with composure, and to represent with serenity, transactions which could not be narrated soon after they had happened, without warm and passionate expressions. It seems to be owing partly to this cause, that the Evangelist is seen to relate in so cool a tenour of style, in the Gospel, those sufferings of his beloved Lord which he had witnessed, and which, if related by him immediately after the events had taken place, could not have been told otherwise than with commotion and indignation. But the Apocalypse was written by its author immediately after he had seen the vision; the impressions on his mind had no time to cool; his expressions kept pace with his feelings, and his style became vivid and glowing.

Many other causes, unknown to us, might operate to produce a variety in the style of St. John: He might use an amanuensis, or corrector of his language, at one time, and not at another. For, a tradition prevailed in the ancient Church, that the Apostles in their writings had used amanuenses, and Jerome accounted for the apparent difference of style between the first and second Epistles of Saint Peter, by his having employed different persons in this office*. The Apostle John may have used an amanuensis, or a corrector of his Greek, in one of his works, and not in another. In the opinion of Lardner,

* Tom. iv. p. 183.
founded upon sound reasons, to which Michaelis allows great weight, (though he is disposed to contend for a later date,) St. John's Gospel was written about the year 68. But at this period, Saint John being but newly arrived from Palestine, cannot be supposed (as Michaelis has observed*) to have written that fluent Greek in which his Gospel is composed. He might therefore at that time have employed an amanuensis or corrector. But after thirty years residence at Ephesus, where the Greek was principally spoken, he might not feel the want of such assistance, and he might have written the Apocalypse in his own Greek; a Greek tinged with the Hebrew idiom. This is only conjecture; which I do not propose as any sure method of accounting for this difficulty; but as a probable means of shewing that this, or perhaps other circumstances unknown to us, may have occasioned a dissimilarity in this Apostle's language at so great a distance of time.

But no difference of style, will justify us in denying St. John to be the author of the Apocalypse. The Fathers of the Church, who first received this work, might probably know the causes of this apparent dissimilarity. They were satisfied: and on such a point it is vain for us to dissent from them. And, in truth, this difference of style between the Gospel of St. John and the Apocalypse, nearly considered, is far

* Introduction to the N. T. ch. vii. sect. 10.
from being so much in its disfavour, as, at first view, we are apt to imagine. For it is such a style as St. John may have written, circumstances considered: but it is not such a style as an imposter, an imitator of St. John would have written. Such an one would have gone to the Gospel and Epistles for his model of imitation.

V. This observation may serve to introduce the fifth objection, which is stated by Lardner from Dionysius, and repeated by Michaelis*, "That the Gospel of St. John is elegant Greek; but that the Apocalypse abounds with barbarisms and solecisms." For the same general answer may still be given, even if we admit the fact alleged. Various causes may have operated to produce this difference, many of them unknown to us, but known, perhaps, to the ancients of the second century, who seem not to have objected to this dissimilarity. More than a hundred years had elapsed, from the first reception of the book by the Church, before any such objections appear to have been advanced against it.

But the attention of modern critics has tended greatly to lessen the force of this objection. For such irregularities, in point of Grammar, as are objected against the Apocalypse, are observed also in the Septuagint†, and in other writings of the New Testament; and the Gospels and Epistles of Saint John are now so far from being accounted that perfect Greek, which

* P. 529, 530.
† See page 530.

Dionysius
Dionysius represents them to be; that Black-­
wall (who in his Sacred Classics has attempted to
vindicate the Scriptures from the charge of be-­
ing written in an impure and barbarous style)
has found himself obliged to defend the Gospel
and Epistles of this Apostle in more than forty
passages, in some of which only he has suc­
ceeded.

But such vindication of the Holy Scriptures is
unnecessary; they must be allowed to speak a
language of their own, "not with the enticing
"words of man's wisdom*. They use, for the
most part, an Asiatic Greek, plentifully mixed
with Hebraisms. A pure Attic language would
by no means give them greater credibility; for
in these days we should not admit the appeal of
Mahomet, and conclude them divine, because
elegantly composed.

Many of the expressions, which, upon this
ground, have been objected to in the Apoca­
lypse, have been shewn to convey the sublime
meaning of the sacred inditer more forcibly and
effectually, than a more exact and grammatical
Greek †. Of this character is ἀπὸ τὸ ὁμ., καὶ ὁ ἡν., καὶ ὁ εἰρομένος ‡, which cannot be so corrected into

* 1 Cor. ii. 4.
† This is observed by Michaelis, (Introdi. vol. i. part 1. chap.
iv. sect. 3.) who says, "The very faults of grammar in the Apo­
calypse are so happily placed as to produce an agreeable
"effect."
‡ Chap. i. 4.
grammar as to express, with equal force, that sublime attribute of God, by which he fills eternity.

The instances of irregularity, in point of grammar, produced from the Apocalypse by Bengel, and repeated by our author *, are all of one kind, and of a kind which is found in the Septuagint, and in Greek translated from the Hebrew. In these instances, the original (or nominative) case, is used immediately after a word, which, having been expressed in one of the oblique cases, seems to require, in purer Greek, the continuation of the same oblique case †. This might happen, either if the text were translated from St. John's Hebrew, or if St. John had translated into Greek the Hebrew words of Jesus and of the angels ‡.

The instances produced by Michaelis are taken chiefly from ancient MSS. of the Apocalypse, and are not to be seen in the common and

* P. 520.

† Instance ch. i. 5. ἀπὸ ἱματο — ὤμελος, which may be rendered strictly grammatical by supplying ὃ ὦμελος, and this ellipsis is so common in our English language, (and, I believe, in most modern ones,) that the places objected to, pass in literal translation without any apparent offence to grammar. The offence then is not against universal grammar, but against the particular idiom of the Greeks, and yet not against the idiom of the Oriental Greeks. See the observations of our author on the language of the New Testament, with the judicious remarks of his translator; Introduct. vol. i. ch. iv.

‡ As suggested in p. 155.

later
later editions. And he expresses his suspicions that these violations of grammar were probably yet more abundant in former times, having undergone the correction of transcribers. But if this supposition can be allowed, it may also be surmised, that other books of the New Testament have probably undergone this kind of correction. And why not the Gospel and Epistles of Saint John, even before the Apocalypse was written? But taking it for granted, that the Apocalypse abounds with Hebraisms, and even with solecisms, more than any other book of the New Testament,—what can we hence infer, but that we probably have the original text of the sacred writer, as preserved in the early ages with scrupulous care? A forger, an impostor, would have written another kind of Greek, more closely resembling that of Saint John's Gospel and Epistles.

And although we cannot shew the Apocalypse to be written in precisely the same Greek, as the Gospel and Epistles of St. John; yet, I trust, we must be convinced that this circumstance is very far from being entitled to any decisive influence in favour of the opinion that it was not written by that Apostle, to whom the united voice of antiquity has ascribed it. Of all the arguments which have been advanced to support this opinion, there is none, which it will not be presumptuous to oppose to such authority.

Having
Having now advanced what I deem necessary to say in answer to these objections of Dionysius, repeated by Michaelis, I shall add a few words concerning an objection of later date, to which this learned critic seems inclined to give his sanction, though he has not formally avowed it. He distinguishes between John the Evangelist and John the Divine, as if he believed them to be two separate persons; and the latter to be the author, or the reputed author of the Apocalypse. But the title, prefixed to the Apocalypse, in which it is called, "the Revelation of John the Divine," does not properly belong to the book. It is not to be found in the most ancient and authentic MSS. and is therefore rejected by Griesbach in his edition. The true title of the book is seen in the first verses of it; it is "the Revelation of Jesus Christ," not of John. But as it was communicated to the Church by St. John, and as other Revelations were afterwards written in imitation of this, and ascribed to other Apostles, so by degrees this Revelation was distinguished in the Church by the name of John. The Apocalypse of John was the title by which it was known in the times of Dionysius*. In the following century, when many contests had arisen concerning the doctrine of the Trinity, and the Orthodox had found their firm support in the writings of this Apostle, (who alone of the sacred writers had described

the Son of God as Θεός λόγος*), they began to apply to this Apostle the title of Theologus, a title expressive both of John's doctrine †, and of his eminent knowledge in divine subjects. Athanasius calls St. John ὁ Θεολόγος αὐτῷ.

In the decrees of the Council held at Ephesus, in 431, that city is mentioned as the burial place of John the Theologus, which agrees with the account of the ancients, that John the Evangelist was buried there‡. Andreas Cesariensis, commenting on Rev. xvii. quotes the Evangelist John by the title of Theologus §; and, although the same title was applied by Andreas and others, to Gregory Nazianzen, and to other able defenders of the Theologic doctrine, yet John the Evangelist was ὁ Θεολόγος κατ' ἡγομν, the Divine, and no other John appears to have had this title. So we may be assured, that, at whatever time this title was prefixed to the Apocalypse, he who prefixed it, intended by it John the Evangelist; who was

* The Word of God.
† See the word Θεολόγος, as used in Euseb. H. E. lib. iii. c. 24. and applied to the beginning of St. John's Gospel. The Christians are described as worshipping Christ, with reference to this name τοις Χριστῷ ἐναντι Θεολογείας. Euseb. H. E. lib. v. c. 28. And the Alogi, as we have seen, received that appellation, from denying the Doctrine of St. John, τὸν τι πείσα ὀπίσθ Θεον (Θεον) λόγον. Epiph. Haer. 54. Eusebius quoting the beginning of St. John's Gospel says, ὁς ὁ Θεολόγος. Praep. Evang. lib. xi. c. 19.
‡ Euseb. H. E. lib. iii. c. 1. 20.
§ Commenting on chap. iii. 21, he calls John ὁ Θεολόγος κατ' ἡγομν Ἰωάνν. And on 1 Joh. v. 8, he says, κατὰ τον Θεολόγον.

well
well known, and celebrated in the fourth and succeeding centuries, by this appellation.

Having thus afforded some answer to the objections urged from internal evidence against the authenticity of the Apocalypse, I shall conclude with adding a positive evidence in favour of the notion generally received, that it was written by St. John.

In chap. i. 18, he who is ordered to write the book, beholds in the vision "one like unto the Son of Man." Now, who but an eye-witness of our Lord's person upon earth, could pronounce, from the likeness, that it was he? St. John had lived familiarly with Jesus during his abode upon earth; and had seen him likewise in his glorified appearances, at his transfiguration, and after his resurrection. No other John had enjoyed this privilege. No other eye-witness of our Lord's person appears to have been living in this late period of the Apostolical age, when the visions of the Apocalypse were seen.

We may, therefore, I trust, fairly conclude, that to the impregnable force of external evidence, which has been seen to protect the divine claims of the Apocalypse, a considerable acquisition of internal evidence may be added; or, at least, that this avenue, by which its overthrow has been so often attempted, is not so unguarded as its adversaries imagine. And the future labours of judicious commentators will probably add a continual accession to this weight of evidence; for, every
every prediction of this prophetical book, which shall be shewn to be clearly accomplished, will prove it to be divine; and, this being proved, there will then remain little or no doubt but that it proceeded from the pen of the beloved Apostle, to whom the early Fathers of the Church uniformly ascribe it.

I shall conclude with examining the pretensions of the Apocalypse by the rules laid down even by Michaelis himself, whereby to determine whether a scriptural book be authentic or spurious*. 

I. Were doubts entertained, from the first appearance of the Apocalypse in the world, whether it proceeded from the pen of Saint John?

To this we are now enabled to answer, (see chap. iii. iv. v. of this Dissertation,) that no such doubts appear upon record in the true Church, during the important period of one hundred years after its publication; but that all the ecclesiastical writers of that time who speak of its author, attribute it uniformly to Saint John. If any persons held a contrary opinion, they were heretics, who appear to have assigned no plausible ground for their notions.

II. Did the friends or disciples of the supposed author deny it to be his?

Answer. There is no such denial from Polycarp, Papias, Ignatius, &c. who appear all to have received it as divine Scripture. (See chap. iii. of this Dissertation.)

* Introduction to N. Test. chap. ii. sect. 3, p. 27, &c.

III. Did
III. Did a long series of years elapse after the death of Saint John, in which the book was unknown, and in which it must unavoidably have been mentioned and quoted, had it really existed?

Answer. No such period did elapse. Michaelis himself has allowed, that this book, even if forged and spurious, existed before the year 120, that is, within twenty-three years of the time which we have shewn to be that of its publication; but even in this period we have seen it quoted and acknowledged, as appears probable, by the Apostolical Fathers. (See chap. iii. and v.)

IV. Is the style of the Apocalypse different from that of Saint John in his other writings?

Answer. It cannot be denied that there is some difference, but it is a difference which admits of a reasonable explanation, as may be seen in the former part of this chapter.

V. Are events recorded, which happened later than the time of Saint John?

Answer. No such events are recorded. Nor, we may add, are any events predicted, which occurred before the time when the book appears to have been written; which is a case happening to pretended prophecies. (See chapter viii.)

VI. Are opinions advanced in the Apocalypse, which contradict those which Saint John is known to have maintained in his other writings?

Answer. The theology which it contains is found to be precisely that of St. John in his other writings; and the wild opinions of the Chiliasts, though...
though they had probably their origin from a passage of this book, are to be attributed only to the rash interpretation of it by these visionaries. (See chap. viii.)

Thus, bringing this prophetical book to the test proposed by Michaelis,—by the most successful opponent of its claims to a divine origin, we shall be obliged to confess its indubitable right to that place in the canon of sacred Scripture, which the ancient Fathers of the Church assigned to it, and which the reformers in the Protestant Churches have with mature deliberation confirmed.

END OF THE DISSERTATION.
Since the preceding sheets were committed to the press, I have seen a work on the authenticity of the New Testament, translated by Mr. Kingdon, from the German of Dr. Less. In this publication, fifty pages are employed in an attempt to discredit the authenticity of the Apocalypse. And since the otherwise excellent Treatise, of which this attempt is a part, is likely to pass into the hands of many young students in Divinity, it may be useful to offer some observations upon it.

These may be presented in a small compass; because there are few objections of moment advanced by Dr. Less, against the Apocalypse, which have not been repeated by Michaelis, and already considered in the foregoing Dissertation*.

* The latest edition of Less's work was published in 1786; that of Michaelis, in 1788; (see the Prefaces of their Translators;) consequently Michaelis had the opportunity of adopting or rejecting the arguments of Less.

* I have
I have now, therefore, only to note and answer those observations and arguments of Less, which his learned follower did not produce.

In page 143, Dr. Less objects to the Evidence of Theophilus of Antioch in favour of the Apocalypse, because the work of this Father against Hermogenes, in which he is said to have quoted from this Book of Scripture, is no longer extant.

Answer.—But what scholar will hesitate a moment to admit, that Theophilus received the Apocalypse as of Divine authority, when he reads in Eusebius*, that in his time that work of Theophilus was extant, in which he had used proofs, or testimonies of Scripture, taken from the Apocalypse? Dr. Less himself has very properly supported the authenticity of the other Scriptures by the evidences of writings, now lost, but reported by Eusebius: (ch. i. sect. 3:) and Michaelis says, that the Apocalypse was undoubtedly received by Theophilus, as the work of Saint John†.

In pages 186, 202, objection is made to the Apocalypse, because the relator represents himself as in a trance during the exhibition of it.

Answer.—The expression, ἐγώ ἐμφανίσα στὸν ἄνθρωπον, cannot properly be translated, "I was in a trance." Was Jesus in a trance, when ἡ γῆ ἐν τῷ ὑπερπνεομένῳ, "he was led in the Spirit into the wilder-

† Introd. to N. T. ch. xxxiii. sect. 2. p. 407.
ness?" or David when, *καὶ τὸ τάξιμα, "he called Christ Lord.*"

In page 197, the Author says; "How the Apocalypse was understood, after Christianity had ascended the imperial throne in the person of Constantine, is unknown."

Answer.—Were not the commentaries on the Apocalypse by Andreas Cæsariensis, by Arethas, by Victorinus, by Primasius, written during the period which the author here describes, after the exaltation of Christianity, and before that of the papal tyranny? From the Fathers also of the fourth and fifth centuries, many quotations may be produced, shewing in what sense they understood passages of this prophecy.

In page 201, he asserts "this book to be "entirely different from all the other writings, "not only of the New Testament, but of the "Old."

Answer.—Thus he contradicts what he had asserted in page 187, "That many forcible ex- "hortations in this book are composed almost "entirely from passages of the Old Testament "and the Gospels." But neither of these asser- "tions will be found strictly true.

In page 205, he objects to "the mysterious "numbers, a time, times, and half, and the "frightful beasts and monsters," as being un- "scriptural.

* Matt. xxii. 43. Mark viii. 12. Luke i. 80; ii. 27, 40. See also John iv. 23.
Answer.—Do we not read of the self-same numbers, and nearly the same beasts, in the Book of Daniel?

In page 206, he represents the joy and triumph of the saints, upon the horrid punishment of their enemies, as irreconcileable with the charitable spirit of the Gospel.

Answer.—It is the triumph of pure Religion over idolatrous superstition and tyranny, represented allegorically; at which every true Christian must rejoice.

In page 207, he objects to the passages where the writer of the Apocalypse describes himself as prostrating himself before the Angel.—A species of idolatry, of which, he says, no Jew, no Christian, much less Saint John, would have been guilty.

Answer.—The objector seems here to contradict his former assertion, that the whole of the Apocalyptic vision was exhibited in a trance: but, setting aside this consideration, it will be seen, in the ensuing notes, that the conduct, which the writer of the vision attributes to himself on this occasion, was natural, and agreeing with his situation, and that this description, with its attendant caution and reproof, so far from encouraging angel-worship, has operated, as probably it was intended to do, most powerfully against it.

In page 208, he asserts that we are destitute of credible manuscripts of the Apocalypse, and
of versions of high antiquity, and consequently possess but a very uncertain text.

Answer.—It is true that the Apocalypse, on account of its mysterious nature, having been less studied than other books of Scripture, has also been less copied. Yet the manuscripts of it already collected, appear to be no less than forty-five. Of these, four are of high antiquity. The Codex Alexandrinus is one of these; seven more seem by their description to be of distinguished value. In the early fathers, are many and long quotations from this book. Michaelis, though he judged that the text of the Apocalypse was not so well ascertained as that of other Scriptural books, is far from repeating these extravagant assertions of Dr. Less. See Michaelis and Marsh, Introduction to New Testament, ch. viii.

In page 236, Dr. L. ably defends the authenticity of the Scriptures in general, by the proof of their being quoted by the early fathers; and especially by Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen.—But all these fathers have quoted the Apocalypse.

In pages 343, 344, he derives the safe transmission of the Gospel truths from St. John the Apostle, through Polycarp, Irenæus, and Origen, by a cotemporary succession.—But have we not the very same safe transmission of the Apocalypse?
Page 214—227, Dr. Less's chief confidence in opposing the pretensions of the Apocalypse is derived from the authority of Dionysius of Alexandria.

Answer.—The arguments of this excellent father must be allowed all the weight to which they can possibly be entitled; and have already, I trust, been candidly considered. But the authority of Dionysius, on a subject of historical antiquity, cannot be placed in competition with that of his master Origen; much less with that of Irenæus, the disciple of Polycarp, or of Justin Martyr, who was probably cotemporary with St. John. And Dr. Less himself was clearly of that opinion. For, in enumerating the fathers whose authority is essential to the testimony of Scriptural authenticity, he descends no lower than to Origen; the boasted Dionysius is excluded. Besides, if the authority of Dionysius were allowed, his τῶν ἀποκατάματος cannot be understood to comprehend testimony of high antiquity.

On the whole, it is to be lamented, that these two able and learned Germans have so rashly incorporated into their valuable works of universal circulation, their prejudices against the authority of this well-authenticated book of the Sacred Canon. And it is to be wished, that the translators from the German language would favour us with the most distinguished answers of the German writers to these objections; with those of Chancellor;
Chancellor Reuss and Dr. Storr; which would probably enable us to settle this important question, of the authenticity of the Apocalypse, with increased satisfaction.

END OF THE POSTSCRIPT.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTENTS OF THE NOTES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PART I., divided into ten Sections, contains d' ert i. e. the then present State of the Christian Churches in Asia, as known by their Omnipresent Lord.—Chapters i. ii. &amp; iii.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sect. I. Ch. i. 1—4.</th>
<th>The Title of the Book</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sect. II. Ch. i. 4—9.</td>
<td>The Address or Salutation, and the Doxology prefixed to the Epistle</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sect. III. Ch. i. 9— to the end.</td>
<td>The Appearance of the Lord Jesus with the Symbols of his Power; and the Commission given by him to Saint John, to write what he beholds</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sect. IV. Ch. ii. 1—8.</td>
<td>The Address to the Church in Ephesus</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sect. V. Ch. ii. 8—12.</td>
<td>The Address to the Church in Smyrna</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sect. VI. Ch. ii. 12—18.</td>
<td>The Address to the Church in Pergamos</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sect. VII. Ch. ii. 18— to the end.</td>
<td>The Address to the Church in Thyatira</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sect. VIII. Ch. iii. 1—7.</td>
<td>The Address to the Church in Sardis</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sect. IX. Ch. iii. 7—14.</td>
<td>The Address to the Church in Philadelphia</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sect. X. Ch. iii. 14— to the end.</td>
<td>The Address to the Church in Laodicea</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| PAGE | PART |
PART II., divided into nine Sections, contains a general prophetical Sketch of a μελλει γενεσθαι, future Events, under the six first Seals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sect. I.</td>
<td>Chap. iv. — The Representation of the divine Glory in Heaven</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sect. II.</td>
<td>Ch. v. — The sealed Book, the Lamb who opens it, and the Praises sung by the heavenly Choir</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sect. III.</td>
<td>Ch. vi. 1—3. — The opening of the first Seal</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sect. IV.</td>
<td>Ch. vi. 3—5. — The opening of the second Seal</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sect. V.</td>
<td>Ch. vi. 5—7. — The opening of the third Seal</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sect. VI.</td>
<td>Ch. vi. 7—9. — The opening of the fourth Seal</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sect. VII.</td>
<td>Ch. vi. 9—12. — The opening of the fifth Seal</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sect. VIII.</td>
<td>Ch. vi. 14—to the end. — The opening of the sixth Seal</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sect. IX.</td>
<td>Chap. vii. — The Sealing of the 144,000, and the Presentation of the palm-bearing multitude before the Throne</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PART III., divided into seven Sections, contains the opening of the seventh Seal, and the six first Trumpets, and the Prophetic Commission to Saint John.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sect. I.</td>
<td>Ch. viii. 1—6. — The opening of the seventh Seal, and the Commission to the Angels with the seven Trumpets</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sect. II.</td>
<td>Ch. viii. 6—13. — The four first Trumpets</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sect. III.</td>
<td>Ch. viii. 13. — The Denunciation of the three Woes</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sect. IV.</td>
<td>Ch. ix. 1—13. — The fifth Trumpet and first Woe</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sect.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PART IV., divided into four Sections, contains the sounding of the seventh Trumpet, the Dragon, and two Wild-Beasts.

Sect. I. Ch. xi. 15—to the end. — The sounding of the seventh Trumpet 304
Sect. II. Ch. xii. 1—17. — The Woman and the Dragon, 309
Sect. III. Ch. xii. 18. xiii. 1—11. — The wild-beast from the Sea 327
Sect. IV. Ch. xiii. 11—to the end. — The Wild-Beast from the Land, or false Prophet 347

PART V., divided into six Sections, contains the Lamb on Mount Sion, and the Proclamations or Warnings.

Sect. I. Ch. xiv. 1—6. — The Lamb on Mount Sion, 375
Sect. II. Ch. xiv. 6—8. — The first Angel proclaims, 379
Sect. III. Ch. xiv. 8. — The second Angel proclaims, 380
Sect. IV. Ch. xiv. 9—13. — The third Angel proclaims 381
Sect. V. Ch. xiv. 13. — The Blessedness of those who die in the Lord proclaimed 384
Sect. VI. Ch. xiv. 14—to the end. — The Vision of the Harvest and Vintage 385

PART VI., divided into five Sections, contains the seven Vials, and the Episode of the Harlot of Babylon, and her Fall.

Sect. I. Chap. xv. xvi. 1. — The Vision preparatory to the seven Vials 389
I'AGE

Sect. II. Ch. xvi. 2—The seven Vials, 394
Sect. III. Chap. xvii. — The great Harlot, or Babylon, 414
Sect. IV. Chap. xviii. — The Judgment of Babylon, continued 440
Sect. V. Ch. xix. 1—11. — Exultation in Heaven over the fallen Babylon, and upon the Approach of the New Jerusalem 453

PART VII., divided into seven Sections, contains the grand Conflict, the Millennium, the Conflict renewed, the Judgment, and the new Creation.

Sect. I. Ch. xix. 11—19. — The Lord appears with his Followers for Battle and Victory 459
Sect. II. Ch. xix. 19—to the end. — The Conflict, and Victory over the Beast and false Prophet 462
Sect. III. Ch. xx. 1—4. — The Dragon taken and confined 465
Sect. IV. Ch. xx. 4—7. — The Millennium 467
Sect. V. Ch. xx. 7—11. — Satan loosed, deceiveth the Nations, and is cast into the burning Lake 471
Sect. VI. Ch. xx. 11—to the end. — The Judgment, 473
Sect. VII. Ch. xxi. 1—9. — The new Creation 475

PART VIII., in two Sections, contains the Bride, or New Jerusalem, and the Conclusion.

Sect. I. Ch. xxi. 9—to the end; xii. 1—6. — The Bride, or New Jerusalem 482
Sect. II. Ch. xii. 6—to the end. — The Conclusion, 492
THE APOCALYPSE,

OR,

REVELATION OF SAINT JOHN,

Translated:

WITH NOTES, CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY.
THE GREEK OF THE APOCALYPSE IS PRINTED FROM THE TEXT OF GRIEBSACH'S EDITION; REASONS FOR WHICH HAVE BEEN ASSIGNED IN THE INTRODUCTION. IN THE SECOND COLUMN IS THE NEW TRANSLATION. THE THIRD CONTAINS THE AUTHORIZED VERSION, PRINTED FROM OUR ENGLISH BIBLE.
THE APOCALYPSE, &c.

PART I.

SECTION I.

The Title of the Book.

CHAP. i. VER. 1—3.

1. The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him, to shew unto his servants things which must come to pass in a short time; and he signified them, sending by his angel unto his servant John; Who bare record of the word of God, and of the testimony of Jesus Christ, according to whatsoever things he saw. 3. Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of the prophecy, and who keep the things which are written therein; for the time is near.

SOME of the commentators have entirely disregarded, and some have but slightly noticed, the three first chapters of the Apocalypse. Upon these I have been induced to bestow a more than ordinary attention.
tion. They are replete with the same figurative lan-
guage and symbols which pervade the whole book. 
And therefore it appeared to me a desirable object to 
ascertain the meaning of them, and to make the 
notes to these three chapters the basis of the inter-
pretation, which is to be applied to the rest. And as 
these notes are constantly referred to in the pro-
gress of the work, the reader, it is hoped, will pro-
ceed patiently through this part, as being useful, and 
indeed essential, to the explication of the more in-
teresting visions which follow.

This part of the annotations extends to a greater 
length than otherwise might be necessary; because 
the author, for his own satisfaction, was desirous to 
ascertain, how far the doctrines, images, sentiments, 
and language of the Apocalypse, are concordant with 
those of other Sacred Scriptures: and since Michaelis 
has founded his objections to the Apocalypse partly on 
this subject of inquiry, it seems proper to produce 
collections of this kind before the public.

THE three first verses, which compose this section, 
contain the title of the book. It is no necessary part 
of it. For the book is written in an epistolary form, 
and at the fourth verse begins with that form, as com-
monly used by the sacred writers; " John to the 
seven Churches, &c." And such a title, announcing 
the contents of the book, may have been added after 
the times of Saint John, and by transcription may 
have passed into the text*. But there is no reason to

* As certain additions, or subscriptions, at the end of many of 
the sacred epistles, are known to have done. See Michaelis's Intro-
duct. to the N. T. ch. vii. sect. 10. xi. sect. 1. Also Paley's Horæ 
Paulinae, ch. xv.
suppose that in the instance before us, such has been the case. For nearly the whole of this title is found quoted by the ancient Fathers, by Dionysius of Alexandria, and by Origen*. Add to this, that the greater part of it is to be found, expressed in the same words, in the body of the work†. It is therefore of similar authority. And the subsequent notes will shew, that the expressions contained in it are concordant in their meaning and doctrine with other passages of sacred Scripture.

Ver. 1. *The Revelation.*] We have many revelations from our Lord Jesus Christ. This delivered to his servant John, is one of them. Not only on this account, but because the prepositive article is omitted in the Greek, it may seem most proper to express the word απόκαλύψις by "a revelation," and not "the "revelation," but it is not necessary to make this alteration. For, by long usage and acceptance in the Christian Church, it is now accounted the Revelation.

Ib. *Which God gave unto him.*] The scheme of the Christian revelation is mediatorial throughout. God giveth to the Son‡, dispensing knowledge and favour through him.

Ib. *Which must come to pass in a short time.*] The same expression is seen to recur at the close of the book§; and we may collect from it, that the events foretold in this prophecy begin to be fulfilled even from the time of its delivery, and are to follow in a rapid succession until the final consummation.

§ Ch. xxii. 6,
Daniel, ch. ii. 28, 29, 45, we have the same words, ἀν δὲν γένονται: there they are coupled with ἐπ' ἐσχάτως τῶν ἡμερῶν: the events were to take place in the latter days; but these latter days are said by Saint John, to have commenced in his time, that is, at the close of the apostolic age, and to be the antichristian days*. Thus we learn that the antichristian times, revealed to the prophet Daniel, are the same which are now to be disclosed in the Apocalypse.

Ib. Signified them.] Ἐσχάτως, expressed them by σημεία signs significative, for σημείον has precisely this meaning in ch. xii. 1. †

Ib. Unto his servant John.] John the Evangelist, one of the twelve Apostles, as will appear from the Dissertation preceding these notes.

Ver. 2. Who bare record of the word of God, &c.] This may be understood to allude to the former testimony of St. John, which he had delivered in his Gospel, or to the testimony which he had just now recorded of the visions seen by him in Patmos; or to both.

Ver. 3. Blessed is he who readeth, &c.] The same kind of blessing is pronounced in Matt. xiii. 16, Luke xi. 28, 2 Pet. i, 19, on those who cultivate spiritual knowledge, who attend with faith to the light of “Prophecy, shining in a dark place, until the day ‘dawn,” &c. But to knowledge must be added practice; “If ye know these things, happy are ye “if ye do them‡.” The word τυγχάνω is used in this sense more frequently by Saint John, than by any

* 1 Joh. ii. 18.
† See, says Daubuz, Jamblic. de Myst. ΑΕ. sect. iii. c. 15, where σημεία is used in the very same signification.
‡ Joh. xiii. 17.
other sacred writer. And it is with great propriety applied to this book of prophecy, in which much practical exhortation is interspersed; more especially in the three first chapters.

Ib. *For the time is near.*] The time which is here announced as fast approaching, seems to be that, wherein the Son of God, having obtained the victory over those powers who oppose the progress of his power, shall pass final sentence upon all; when "he cometh in the clouds of heaven," as represented in the seventh verse of this chapter.

By comparing Deut. xxxii. 3, 5. Is. xiii. 6. Joel ii. 1, 15. Phil. iv. 5. 1 Pet. iv. 7, we shall perceive that it is usual with the Divine Spirit to announce this great day as near, when yet at considerable distance, measured by years, and applied to successive ages. The reason of which may be, that this great day is always near to every individual; who, at the time of his departure from this world, will have made up his account. And the warning is here applied to individuals, for such are addressed in the beginning of the verse. It has been observed also, that, in the Scriptures, we are never exhorted to prepare for death, but always for the coming of the Lord.
John to the seven Churches which are in Asia: Grace be unto you, and peace, from Him which is, and which was, and which is to come; and from the seven spirits which are before his throne;

And from Jesus Christ, who is the faithful witness, and the first-begotten of the dead, and the prince of the kings of the earth: Unto Him that loved us, and hath washed us from our sins in his own blood. And hath made us kings and priests unto God and his Father; to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.

Behold, he cometh with clouds; and every eye shall see him, and they also which pierced him: and all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of him: even so, Amen. I am Alpha and Omega, the 

The Address, or Salutation, and the Doxology.
Ver. 4. To the seven Churches which are in Asia. This book, being written in an epistolary form, begins, like other Apostolic Epistles, with a Salutation, followed by a Doxology. It is addressed to the seven Churches, which are afterwards mentioned by name. They were situated in the proconsular province properly called Asia, which, at the time when the Apocalypse was written, is reported by historians to have contained five hundred great cities. Of these, Ephesus, Smyrna, and Pergamos, (being three of our seven,) long contested for the pre-eminence. And when a Heathen Temple was to be erected in this province, in honour of the Emperor Tiberius, and of the Roman Senate, eleven Cities contended for the possession of this Temple: and, among these, were five of the seven; for Sardis also and Laodicea entered the lists on this occasion *. They were certainly therefore cities of great account. The order in which they are here named is that probably in which they were visited by the Apostle Saint John, who, both before and after his banishment to Patmos, superintended them all, residing principally at Ephesus †. It is the order also in which epistles written by Saint John from Patmos would be most conveniently

* Tacit. Annal. iv. 55. Gibbon's Hist. i. 60. Inscriptions upon medals still extant, and relating to this contest, may be seen in a note of Michaelis to sect. i. of the 20th chapter of his Introduction to the N. T. † Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. iii. c. 20.
conveniently distributed through the Churches, by a messenger making a circuit of about three or four hundred miles, as may be seen in the most correct maps.

These Churches of Asia continued their bond of Christian connection, long after the time when they were thus addressed by Saint John. For it appears, that when toward the close of the second century the contest about the time of keeping Easter grew warm between the eastern and western parts of Christendom, Polycrates, who engaged in that controversy, "presided over the Bishops of Asia*. And the famous Epistle from the Gallic Churches, written somewhat earlier, is addressed to the Churches of Asia and Phrygia. Now Phrygia lay contiguous to the province of Asia, of which it was sometimes accounted a part; and Laodicea, one of the seven Churches, was the capital of Phrygia†.

The number of Churches to which the Epistle is addressed, is seven: the same number which we shall find frequently employed in this sacred book. For we read in it of seven spirits of God, seven angels, seven thunders, seven seals, seven trumpets, seven vials, seven heads of the Dragon, of the Beast, &c. In which passages, as in others of holy Scripture, the number seven appears to represent a large and complete, yet uncertain and undefined number. Hannah, in her song, says, "The barren hath borne seven," (that is, a great and indefinite number of) children‡. God threatens the Israelites that he will punish them "seven times;" that is, very completely and severely.

† Ibid. lib. v. c. 1.
‡ 1 Sam., ii, 5.
Ch. i. 4—8. \--APOCALYPSE--\[11

Numerous are the instances in Scripture of such use of this number*. In its Hebrew etymology it signifies fulness and perfection †. Philo styles it τελεσφορός, the completing number; and it is mentioned as such by Cyprian, who cites passages from the Apocalypse and other Scriptures, to shew the consummatio perfecta et legitima of this number‡. By what means this number became so important to the Israelites, so representative of completion and universality, may be collected from their history. God had revealed to them, that his own great work of creation had been completed in seven days; and in memory thereof he commanded them to reckon time by sevens, seven days to the sabbath day, seven months to the sabbatical month, seven years to the sabbatical year, seven times seven years to the great sabbatical or jubilee year. And when, upon their entrance into Canaan, it pleased God miraculously to deliver the city of Jericho into their hands, he ordered them to march round it seven days, seven priests, with seven trumpets, preceding them: and on the seventh day, on which the walls fell, they were instructed to encompass it seven times§. As therefore the number ten came to be reckoned among all nations a perfect and complete number, by counting on the ten fingers

† Daubuz, Etymol. Dict.
§ Gregory Nazianzene, alluding to this transaction, calls seven the powerful number. Πάντα. οῦκαμος, και σελήνη κατεχομενη, και λοφάνη αναμετρομενος, της καταστομικας ιερων σεριδω και σαλπυτων ηχω, και αριθμων δυσχαμιν ξενητι. Orat. iii. p. 57, edit. Paris.
of man; so did the number seven, with those nations who preserved the memorials of divine revelation; and these two numbers, seven and ten, multiplied together, are accordingly used to express the utmost indefinite number. "Not only until seven times," says our Lord, "but until seventy times seven ". But with the Jews, seven became the most important number, being seen to enter into almost all their institutions 
. In the eastern nations, less given to change, this use of the number seven has continued more prevalent than with us. The Arabians and Indians, between which nations was a great conformity of religious customs, had seven celebrated temples, and believed in seven heavens, and seven compartments of hell 
. And in modern India we still find this maxim in common use: "A man's own mind will tell him more than seven sages that sit on an high tower 
." It was through the nations of the east that the reverence for this number passed to the Greeks and Romans 
. According

* Matt. xviii. 22.
† They had seven lessons, seven readers; seventy (that is, ten times seven) composed their supreme council; which Josephus afterwards imitating, appointed seventy elders in Galilee, and seven judges in every city. (Bell. Jud. xx. 5.) And, for the same reason, in the Roman Church, the number of Cardinal Bishops (the word Cardinal implying completion), was originally fixed at seven; so continuing until the reign of Pope Alexander III. And the ecclesiastics of the Church of Rome were aware of this use and pre-eminence of the number seven, even so late as in the 16th century; for, in 1547, at the Council of Trent, they defended the doctrine of seven sacraments, amongst other arguments, by that of the universality and superior dignity of the number seven. (Padre Paolo, lib. ii.)
§ Tracts on Hastings's Trial.
to Pythagoras, who had studied in Egypt, in Phœnicia, and at Babylon, it is a number venerable, perfect, and accommodated to things sacred*. And here it may be observed, that it is not from any casual or arbitrary notion, that the number seven has been thus dignified. It is entitled to this distinction, from the natural order of things, which God was pleased to establish at the creation. A day is a natural measure of time, and, multiplied by seven, forms that period of a week which most conveniently multiplies again, so as to form months and years. J. Scaliger has observed †, “that the number seven is of all others the most fit to measure the courses of the sun and moon.” Add to this, that a week, or seven days, appears to be a complete period, by other laws and provisions of Providence; since it will be found to measure, by its repetitions, more

* Brucker, Hist. Phil. Crit. i. 1055. Jamblichus de Vit. Pythag.—Grotius has produced proofs from Josephus, Philo, Tibullus, Homer, Hesiod, Callimachus, and Lucian, of an observance of a seventh day among the Greeks and Romans, or of a reverence of the number seven; and from Philostratus, Dion Cassius, and Herodotus, of the account of time being numbered by weeks among the Egyptians, Indians, and the northern nations of Europe. M. Varro (as reported in Aulus Gellius, lib. iii. c. 10.) has produced some coincidences of the complete nature of this number, which shew at least that this notion of the number seven had passed to the Romans.

Additional citations, fully confirming this, may be seen in Brian’s Analogy, vol. i. p. 382; and in Faber’s Horæ Mosaicæ, vol. i. p. 344.

† “Septenarium numerum accommodatissimum esse solis et lunæ rationibus.” Canon. Isag. 95.

exactly
exactly than any other number, the natural periods of
gestation in animals, and of incubation in birds; which
will easily be acknowledged in the instances of do-
mestic fowls; some brooding on their eggs three
times seven days, some four times seven. The mea-
sure of time by weeks, or by the intervention of the
number *seven*, is therefore not altogether arbitrary; it
has a foundation in the nature of things; and the dis-
covery of this circumstance is a proof that the great
Being who created the world in six days, and con-
templated its perfection on the seventh, and, after this rule,
established the number *seven* for the measure of time,
acted in this circumstance with that providential order
and harmony which characterize the rest of his works.
Add to this, that when we find the first inhabitants of
the globe in the practice of measuring time by this so
perfect a number, which they could not have obtained
by science, we must conclude that it was given to them
by revelation.

These observations will open the way for the right
apprehension of the sense in which the number *seven* is
used by the prophetic writers. It is used to express
any large, complete, indefinite number. By the seven
Churches of Asia, are implied *all* the Churches of Asia,
and, it may be, *all* the Christian Churches in whatever
situation or period of the world *. St. Paul, speaking
of the events which happened to the people of God in
the Wilderness, says, "Now these things were our
*examples;" they were, as the original implies, *Τυποι*,
types, or prophetical representations, "written for our

* It was understood in this extensive signification by the com-
mentators nearest to the times of St. John, as reported by Andreas Ca-
sarinensis. *Το μνημον των απανταχυ εικλησιων σημας*. Comment. in
loc.
"admonition *. " The Jewish Church being removed, the Christian Church stands in its place, and is to apply to herself the same admonitions. And thus, in the present instance, the seven Churches of Asia being sunk in Mahometan superstition, their "lamp-bearer removed," all the Christian Churches inherit the advice given, the threatenings denounced, the blessings promised by their divine Lord.

Ver. 4. Grace be unto you, and peace, &c.] The Salutation in this epistle resembles those in other epistles of the New Testament; in almost all of which the inspired writer intreats "grace and peace from God the Father, "and our Lord Jesus Christ." But the Godhead is here described with some additional expressions, not unscriptural, but presented in a new form, being such as naturally arose in the mind of the Apostle from the impression of the vision which he had then seen, and was proceeding to relate. Full of the images lately presented before him, he recurs to them even in this his introduction, and instead of saying, in the calm expression which otherwise he might have used, "Grace from "God the Father," &c. he says, "Grace from him "that was," &c. using the very forms of speech in which he had heard the Divine attributes described in the vision.

The description of God the Father, occurs under the same expression, ch. iv. 8, from which place it is evidently taken; and is consonant to the great I AM of Exod. iii. 14. The description of God the Son is in like manner taken from the vision. He calls himself † "the faithful and true witness." He is so styled prophetically by Isaiah ‡; such he was eminently in the last scene of his earthly life, when "before Pilate

* 1 Cor. x. 6—11. † Ch. iii. 14. ‡ Ch. iv. 4.
he witnessed a good confession*.” Our Lord calls himself also in the same passage, “the beginning of “the creation of God.” He is styled by Saint Paul†, “the first-born of every creature,” and ‡ “the first “fruits from the dead.” But here he is also intitled “The Ruler of the kings of the earth.” But such is the prophetic character of the Messiah in Scripture, and such he is eminently shewn to be in the sequel of this prophecy §.

But in this salutation, grace and peace descend, by the prayers of the pious writer, not only from God the Father and the Son, but also from a third Power; “from the seven spirits which are before the “throne.” To understand this expression, we must refer to chap. iv. 5. where, in the glorious representation of the Deity, are exhibited “seven lamps of “fire burning before him, which are the seven spirits “of God.” But in chapter iii. 1. God the Son describes himself as “having the seven spirits of God;” and when he appears under the emblem of the Lamb, he is described as having “seven eyes, which are the “seven spirits of God, sent forth into all the earth.” But what can we account this universal, holy Spirit of God, proceeding from the Father and the Son, to be, but that which, in the plainer language of divine Scripture is called the Holy Ghost? The comment of Vene-

* 1 Tim. vi. 13. τὴν καλὴν ὑμνογναίαν, the noble, honourable, excellent confession. The primitive Christians, who suffered martyrdom in the Gallic churches, considered the title of Martyr as appropriate to their Lord, and were unwilling to take it to themselves. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. v. c. 2.
† Col. i. 15. ‡ 1 Cor. xv. 23. § Ch. xviii. 14. xix. 16. || Ch. v. 6.
rable Bede on this passage appears forcible and just,
"Unum spiritum dicit septiformem, quae est perfec-
tio et plenitudo*.

So that this salutation, divested of its prophetical form, and of that imagery which had been derived to it from the scenery of the vision, will be found equivalent to the epistolary and plainer language of Saint Paul, “The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with you †.”

But why, in this passage, is the general order of Scripture inverted? Why is the Holy Spirit mentioned before the Son? This may in part be accounted for, from the impression remaining upon the imagination of the writer, after he had seen the vision. For in chap. iv. 5, where the symbol of the seven spirits was seen, it had appeared before the throne, closely connected with the glory of the Father, and previously to the entrance of the Son, under the emblem of the Lamb. Another reason may be, that the character and description of the Son is reserved separately for the last, there to be longer dwelt upon; because he appears throughout the vision to be the prime agent, and the grand object of the whole prophecy; he who, alone of the persons in the Godhead, has taken our human nature upon him, and visibly fought our battles against the common enemy. He is de-

* "The one Holy Spirit is here described as *sevenfold*, by which is intimated in prophetic language fulness and perfection."—The most ancient commentators, as reported or followed by Andreas Caesariensis, by Arethas, Primasius, and Victorinus, understood by the seven spirits and seven lamps of fire (ch. iv. 5,) the Holy Spirit, or the seven Charismata thereof, mentioned in Isaiah xi. 2.
† 2 Cor. xiii. 13.
scribed to us here, 1st, As in his suffering state; when, having taken the lowly form of a servant, by his sufferings he bare witness to the truth. 2dly, As the first fruits from the grave*; when, triumphing over sin and death, he obtained the victory for his faithful followers. 3dly, As King of kings†; when, fulfilling all the prophecies which predict the Messiah, he shall reduce all nations under his easy yoke, utterly subduing all worldly tyranny and usurped dominion. The two first of these offices and characters he hath already fulfilled; the first during his earthly life, the second at his resurrection; the last remains to be completed; and is peculiarly the subject of the prophecies in this book‡.

Ver. 6. The Doxology, or Glorification, which in other of the sacred epistles is no unusual sequel to the Salutation, comes next in order; but is more especially addressed to the Son, as the grand agent in the vision. The love of Christ towards mankind, and the ablation of their sins by his precious blood, are topics celebrated universally in the New Testament; but no-

* 1 Cor. xv. 20.
† 1 Tim. vi. 15.
‡ For the change of case, which the Greek reader will remark in this passage, "άπο ἰδον ὅ μαζέων," let him consult Grotius on Mark vi. 40, who points out such construction, not only in the scriptural, but also in the classical writers; but this grammatical inaccuracy is more appropriate to the Hebrew-Greeks. And the occurrence of such in the Apocalypse, is so far from militating, as hath been represented, against the authenticity of the work, that it tends to establish its authority, by placing it upon the same footing in this respect with other books of the sacred canon. For, ungrammatical Greek, or at least Greek of impure idiom, will be found in most of them, though perhaps not so abundant as in the Apocalypse. where
where more copiously than in the writings of Saint John. That he hath prepared for his faithful servants a kingdom, and appointed them priests unto God, though more immediately connected with the subject of this prophecy, are not novel ideas, but purely scriptural. A kingdom is proposed for the servants of Christ*, they are to reign with him†. And in Exod. xix. 5, God promises to Israel that by obedience, they shall become “a kingdom of priests, a “peculiar treasure unto God above all nations, a holy “nation‡.” In Isaiah, ch. lxii. 6, this promise is extended to the Christian times and to the converted Gentiles, whom Saint Peter also calls an holy priesthood, a royal priesthood§; in which latter expression, as in the words of Moses, the two ideas of kings and of priests are brought together. In the Septuagint the words of Moses are rendered by βασιλείων ἑθνῶν, the very expression of Saint Peter, which is also to be found in some MSS. of the Apocalypse; but the true text seems to be given by Dr. Griesbach from the Alexandrine and other ancient MSS. confirmed by the readings in the Fathers whom he has quoted∥.

Ver.7. In this verse the prophet, enraptured with his subject, passes from the glorification of Christ, which he had delivered in the form of a prayer, to the description of the awful event, when (as foretold in Scripture) he shall come in the clouds of heaven, in

* Mat. xxv. 34. Luke xii. 32.
† 2 Tim. ii. 12. 1 Cor. iv. 8. vi. 2, 3.
‡ See also Deut. xv. 6. xxvi. 19. xxviii. 1.
§ 1 Pet. ii. 5, 9.
∥ To which we may add, that the manuscript used by Tertullian in the second century, seems to have presented the same reading. Tertullian, de Monogam. cap. 12.
the glory of the Father, to preside at the general judgment*. "They who have pierced him," are not only the Jews, who demanded his crucifixion of Pilate, but likewise all those who wounded him by their transgressions, who "crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to open shame†."  

Ver. 8. In the same spirit of exultation he continues to set forth the supreme dignity of the Son of God, ascribing to him, as our Lord had done to himself in the vision‡, those sublime attributes of the Father by which he fills all eternity, and exercises all power§. This application of the attributes of the Father to the Son, pervades all the sacred writings of the New Testament, and is represented to be by communication, or inheritance. "As the Father has life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself. "I and my Father are one. I am in the Father and the Father in me. All things that the Father hath are mine. Whatsoever things the Father doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise. The Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment to "the Son." These are our Lord's words, as recorded by Saint John, according to whom he was "in the


† Heb. vi. 6.—In confirmation of the received opinion, that St. John the Evangelist was the author of the Apocalypse, we may observe, that εἰκὼν is the very word used by that Apostle in his Gospel, (xix. 37,) and is a word used by no other writer of the New Testament.

‡ Ch. i. ii. 13.

§ See Is. xliv. 6. Ivi. 15. Mic. v. 2.

"beginning,"

"
"beginning," and "from the beginning with God.*" The apostle to the Hebrews enforces the same notion of our Lord's eternity, when he calls him "Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever†." He is Alpha and Omega, the first and the last, the original Creator, and the final Judge, of the world; to whose illustrious advent, and final triumph over his enemies (as being the grand catastrophe of the Apocalypse) the prophet, who had already seen it exhibited in vision, exultingly adverts, even before he begins his narration. This was natural, in one who had seen such a vision, but it would not easily have occurred in a work of mere imagination and art.

* John i. 1. 13. v. 26. 19. 22. xiv. 11. xvi. 15. also Col. i. 16. 17. Heb. i. 2, 3, 8. 1 John v. 20. † Heb. xiii. 8.

PART I.

SECTION III.

The Appearance of the Lord Jesus with the Symbols of his Power; and the Commission given by him to Saint John to write what he beholds.

CHAP. i. VER. 9—to the end.

9 Ἐγὼ Ἰωάννης, ὁ ἀμελετὴς Ἰωάννης, ὁ πορευόμενος ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Χριστῷ ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ Παμήλιᾳ, ἵνα γράψῃ ὅσα ἴδε ἦς. 9 I John, your brother, and fellow-sharer in the tribulation and kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, was in the Island called Patmos, for the word of 9 I John, who also am your brother, and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, was in the isle that is called Patmos, for the
God, and for the testimony of Jesus Christ. I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day; and I heard behind me a loud voice, as of a trumpet, Saying, "That which thou seest write in a book, and send unto the seven churches; to Ephesus; and to Smyrna; and to Pergamos; and to Thyatira; and to Sardis; and to Philadelphia; and to Laodicea." And I turned to see what the voice was which spake with me; and being turned, I saw seven golden lamp-bearers; And in the midst of the seven lamp-bearers one like the Son of man, clothed with a long garment down to the feet, and girt about the breasts with a golden girdle; His head and his hair white, as white wool, as snow; and his eyes as a flame of fire; And his feet like smelting brass, as if burned brightly in a furnace; and his word of God, and for the testimony of Jesus Christ. I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day, and heard behind me a great voice, as of a trumpet, Saying, I am Alpha and Omega, the first and the last: and, What thou seest, write in a book, and send it unto the seven Churches which are in Asia; unto Ephesus, and unto Smyrna, and unto Pergamos, and unto Thyatira, and unto Sardis, and unto Philadelphia, and unto Laodicea. And I turned to see the voice that spake with me. And being turned, I saw seven golden candlesticks; And in the midst of the seven candlesticks one like unto the Son of man, clothed with a garment down to the foot, and girt about the paps with a golden girdle. His head and his hairs were white like wool, as white as snow; and his eyes were as a flame of fire; And his feet like unto fine brass,
A voice as the voice of many waters; And having in his right hand seven stars, and from his mouth a two-edged sharp sword coming forth; and his countenance as the Sun shineth in his power. And when I saw him, I fell at his feet, as dead; and he laid his right hand upon me, saying [to me] "Fear not; I am the first and the last, and he who liveth, and I was dead, and behold I am alive for ever and ever; and I have the keys of Death and of hell.

Write therefore "those things which thou seest, even the things which are present, and which are about to be after these: The mystery of the seven stars which thou seest in my right hand, and the seven golden lamp-bearers. The seven stars are the angels of the seven churches; and the seven lamp-bearers are the seven Churches."

as if they burned in a furnace: and his voice as the sound of many waters. And he had in his right hand seven stars: and out of his mouth went a sharp two-edged sword, and his countenance was as the sun shineth in his strength. And when I saw him, I fell at his feet as dead: and he laid his right hand upon me, saying unto me, Fear not; I am the first and the last: I am he that liveth, and was dead; and behold, I am alive for evermore, Amen; and have the keys of hell and of death.

Write the things which thou hast seen, and the things which are, and the things which shall be hereafter, The mystery of the seven stars which thou sawest in my right hand, and the seven golden candlesticks. The seven stars are the angels of the seven churches; and the seven candlesticks which thou sawest are the seven churches.
Ver. 9. *I John, &c.* Who this John was, and why, and whither banished, may be seen in note, c. i. 1. His dignity, as an apostle, and as a prophet favoured with this vision, and honoured with this commission, was at all events considerable; but, in the spirit of the Gospel, he calls himself only a brother, as his Lord had called himself before him*, and a fellow-sharer in the afflictions which the faithful were then suffering, under the persecution of Domitian. But to partake the sufferings of Christ, is to partake also his kingdom†, which are here therefore emphatically united.

* For the word of God and for the testimony of Jesus.* The sense of this expression becomes clear, by comparing it with chap. vi. 9, where the Martyrs are represented as having suffered διὰ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ διὰ μάχασιν ἦν εἰκαν, “for the word of God, and for the testimony which they bare.” John was, like them, a persecuted sufferer and confessor, in the Island of Patmos, to which he was banished for his adherence to the faith, and where he was favoured with this vision‡.

Ver. 10. *I was in the Spirit.* It is in vain to inquire the exact manner in which these sacred visions were communicated. The Jewish writers have said much upon the subject, but nothing which can satisfy a rational and sober mind. So far however is plain from Ezek. ii. 2. iii. 24. 2 Cor. xii. 2. and other passages of Scripture, that the prophet commonly perceived the impulse of the Spirit acting upon him in a sudden and extraordinary manner; yet so mysteriously, that


Saint
Saint Paul affirms that he could not tell whether it was “in the body or out of the body,” that he was present in the heavens. Saint John perceived this movement of the Spirit upon him, when the heavenly voice called to him. He represents it, as it struck his senses, coming from behind him, and thus affecting him with more sudden surprise; it was loud, and as of a trumpet, the signal of war; it was fearful and alarming*. The trumpet was the voice of God, at the awful delivery of the Law from Mount Sinai, and so shall be again at the consummation of the world †.

Ver. 11. See notes on verses 4 and 8.

Ver. 12. Seven golden lamp-bearers.] These are explained afterwards (v. 20.) to signify the seven Churches, or the universal Church of Christ ‡. They are not the lamps or lights, but the bearers of them; they are the instruments, on which the lights being suspended, illuminate the Christian world. Spiritual knowledge is frequently represented in Scripture, under the emblem of a light or lamp. Numerous are the instances; but see in particular Mat. v. 14, 15, and the parallel passages, and Ezek. iv. 2. Agreeably to which, in Rev. iv. 5. seven lamps of fire are used to express the gifts of the Divine Spirit; but the receptacle of religious knowledge, the station from which it is communicated, is the lamp-bearer or candlestick; and by this is denoted the Church of Christ. So Irenæus, who, alluding to this passage, says, Ubique enim ecclesia prædicat veritatem, et hæc est εὐταμωξος (aliter εὐταμωγος)

* Joel ii. 1. Amos iii. 6. 1 Cor. xiv. 8.
† 1 Thess. iv. 16. 1 Cor. xy. 52.
‡ See note, ver. 4.
Lucerna, Christi bajulans lumen*. From some passages in Josephus†, it will appear, that the candlesticks of the Temple were seven, each distinct from the other; but that the Romans, when they took possession of them, new-modelled them, to grace the triumphant entry of Vespasian; forming them into one of seven branches; which they certainly appear to have been originally. (Exod. xxv. 31.) But this alteration may have probably taken place. And it agrees with the representation in this vision, wherein our Lord is represented as walking in the midst of the seven lamp-bearers; which could not be so easily conceived, if they had been so many branches.

Among the antiquities exhibited in modern Rome, is a representation of the seven lamp-bearers, or rather of the lamp-bearer with seven branches, which is to be seen on the Arch of Titus‡.

* “For in all parts the Church preacheth the truth; and this is the seven-branched lamp, bearing the light of Christ.” Irenæus, lib. v, c. 20. As the Church is the λυχνια, or lamp-bearer, so the illustrious characters who have adorned the Church, and given light to the world, are sometimes called the λυχνοι, the lamps, or lights; such, in the language of Saint John, was John Baptist: εκείνος ὁ λύχνος ὁ καιομάνος και φαίνων. Joh. v. 35. And in the martyrdom of Ignatius, that venerable apostolical Bishop is said to be λύχνo δίων θεών της εικασα φωτίζων δίανων. Martyrium Ignat. sect. 1.


‡ Count Stolberg's Travels; Lumsden's Antiquities of Rome; Montfaucon's Antiquities. The subsequent history of the original lamp-bearers is as follows: They continued in Rome till that city was plundered by Genseric in 455. They were then removed to Africa, where they remained till the Emperor Justinian, having subdued the Vandals in 534, presented these spoils to the Great Church at Jerusalem. Adr, Reland. de Spoliis Hierosol,
Ver. 13. Like the Son of Man.] The same expression occurs in Dan. x. 16, and it is the appellation which our Lord himself generally adopted; but John (if the Apostle John) had known the appearance of this Son of Man in the flesh; had seen not only his ordinary bodily form, but also his more glorified appearances, on the heavenly mount, and at his ascension. And we may collect an argument from this his manner of noting the likeness, that the person who saw the vision, was one of the ἀποστέλλων, eye-witnesses *, of these heavenly exhibitions; and therefore probably the Evangelist Saint John, who alone of the Apostles was living at this latest period of the Apostolic Church.

It is agreeable to the tenor of Scripture, that our Lord is represented as walking amidst his Churches. Walking amidst is the action of one that busies himself to watch and protect those for whom he is concerned. Thus God says to the Israelites, "I will walk among you, and be "your God †." And, as Daubuz observes, the ἐν ἐν ψυχῆς of Homer, spoken of Apollo, has the same force ‡. This is the office of our Lord, according to his gracious promise §, "Lo! I am with you, even "unto the end of the world ||." He is, as styled by Saint Peter, "the Bishop of our souls." Other Bishops execute an office subordinate to him, and therefore, in those early times, Ignatius, speaking to the Ephesians of their good Bishop, calls him ὅμως ἐν σαρκὶ εἰσινοπτον, your Bishop in the flesh ‡.

Clothed with a long garment down to the feet.]

This is the dress of a priest*. Such is our Lord, "a priest for ever," ever living "to make intercession" for his Church †.

Ver. 14, 15. His head and his hair, &c.] The appearance of this heavenly personage is of a similar description with other glorified bodies described in Sacred Writ. Our Lord, at his transfiguration, as seen by Saint John, had "his face shining like the sun, and his raiment shining exceeding white as snow, so as no fuller on earth could white them ‡." In the visions of Daniel §, "The Ancient of Days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool." And again ‖, "A man clothed in linen, whose loins were girded with fine gold of Uphaz, his body also like the beryl, and his eyes as lamps of fire; and his arms and feet like in colour to polished brass, and the voice of his words like the voice of a multitude." In which passages we have all the original ideas which are represented in this vision of Saint John, but with that varied expression which implies that Saint John's copy was not taken from these passages, but from the same kind of original, which they had copied. This may be exemplified in the last expression. "The voice of a multitude," says Daniel, "The voice of many waters," says Saint John. They describe the same thing, by the intervention of ideas, which at first sight appear to have no mutual relation, but on comparison will be found truly and symbolically representative of the same original. Observe how beautifully they approach each

* Exod. xxviii. xxix. † Heb. vi. passim.
‡ Mat. xvii. 2. Mark ix. 3. § Ch. vii. 9.
‖ Ch. x. 5, 6.
other in another passage of Scripture: "Wo to the " multitude of many people, which make a noise like " the noise of the seas, and to the rushing of nations, " like the rushing of mighty waters." This figurative resemblance, having its foundation in nature, has been noticed also in classical antiquity. Demosthenes, desirous of acquiring that forcible oratory which should rise superior to the tumult of popular assemblies, was in the practice of declaiming before the waves of a stormy sea.

15. Smelting brass, as if burned brightly in a furnace.] See Schleusner on the word ἕλμανοι, where it will appear that the most learned interpreters assign this meaning to it, which corresponds exactly with the resplendent brightness of the thing seen in this vision. This is expressed by Ezek. xl. 3, and Dan. x. 6. ὡς ὀρμῶν ἐξ ἐλαίων στιλβόντος. And πετυρωμένοι, though in the perfect tense, does not seem to express burned, that is, the fire being extinct, but having been in the act of burning so long as to have obtained a great degree of brightness. So the context Φλοξ πυρός, and the parallel passages referred to in the foregoing note, seem to point out; also, ch. x. 1, where the angel's feet are ὡς στουλι πυρός.

Ver. 16. Seven stars.] The seven stars in the hand of the great High Priest, are explained below, ver. 20, to signify the angels of the seven Churches. To understand which expression, we may observe, that ἄγγελος, angel, in the Old and New Testament, as well as in profane authors, is generally used to signify a messenger, ambassador, or representative; one who bears a deputed office or commission; and that it rarely occurs in the sense in which we understand the English word, angel,


(i. e.)
(i.e. a messenger from God); without the addition of the words God or Lord*, either expressed, or evidently from the context understood. Examples are numerous, and may be seen in all the concordances. The ἀγέλοι, angels, or messengers of John Baptist (Luke vii. 24.) of Christ (Luke ix. 52.) of Peter (Acts xii. 15.) were human beings, ambassadors, delegates. Such were the twelve Apostles, as the very name implies, messengers, delegates; to which Saint Paul adds that of herald (μητρὶ καὶ αποστόλος, 1 Tim. ii. 7.) which has nearly the same signification. They executed the office of ambassadors under Christ †; and the Bishops, afterwards delegated by them, held the same kind of commission. For Saint Paul, mentioning under what name or title such heads of the Church, Titus and others, were to be received, says, "They are the messengers of the Churches, (in the original it is αποστόλοι,) and the glory of Christ ‡." They held an intermediate and delegated office, between Christ, the Head of all the Churches, and that particular Church to which they were deputed by him or his Apostles. They were the under-shepherds, to whom particular flocks were intrusted, and from whom the Great Shepherd will expect account. To such persons, in so intermediate and responsible an office, the injunctions of their Lord, the supreme Head, are addressed. As he walks in the midst of the seven lamp-bearers, or seven Churches, so he possesses, and directs, the seven lights which are to be placed upon them. The lights which the Churches receive, are derived from him, and pass through his hand. These lights or teachers, and heads of the

* ἀγέλος τῷ Θεῷ or Κυρίῳ.
† 2 Cor. v. 20. Eph. vi. 20. 1 Cor. iv. 1.
‡ 2 Cor. iv. 1.
Church,
Church, are here represented under the emblems of **stars**; by which, in the symbolical language of Scripture, are signified eminent leaders in God's service. Under this symbol, Joshua, David, and others, and Christ himself, are denoted *. And it well accords to the distinguished presidents and conductors of the Christian Church, whose appropriate reward is announced †, that "they shall shine as the **stars** for ever "and ever.” And the removal of such teachers is represented in prophetical language, as the **stars** being removed, covered, darkened, and not giving their light ‡.

**Ver. 16. And from his mouth a two-edged sharp sword coming forth.**] This is the weapon by which our Lord and his followers are to conquer at the last; and therefore is again described in ch. xix. 15, 21.

In an eminent passage of the evangelical Prophet, confessedly prophetical of our Lord, it is said, “He shall "smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with "the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked §.” Agreeably to which, the "sword of the Spirit" is called by St. Paul, “the word of God ||;” and is the weapon with which, according to the same Apostle, even "with the spirit of his mouth,” the Lord shall destroy the man of sin ¶. And the powers of this weapon are again described: “The word of God is quick ***, and "powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword ††.”

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† Dan. xii. 3.
‡ Ezek. xxxii. 8. Joel ii. 10. iii. 15. and in other passages.
§ Is. xi. 4. See also Is. xxx. 28, 33. xlix. 2. Job xlii. 19, 21.
Ps. cxlix. 6.
|| Eph. vi. 17.
*** i. e. alive, ἀνάμειναι.
†† Heb. iv. 12.

These
These quotations from Holy Writ cast considerable light upon the passage before us, and shew the nature of the arms, by which our Lord and his Church are to gain their victories; not by the usual instruments of human warfare, but by the preaching of the word in evangelical purity and power. The metaphor of the sword, employed here to represent powerful speech, may appear bold; "but," says Bishop Lowth, "it is just*. "It has been employed by the most ingenious heathen writers, if with equal elegance, not with equal force. "It is said of Pericles, by Aristophanes †,

*Οὐδεὶς ἐκνεφελής, καὶ μονος τῶν ἐνθολευών
Τὸ κήρυγμα ἐκεῖλαλαντος ἀνεγομένους.

——— his powerful speech

Pierced the hearer's soul, and left behind
Deep in his bosom its keen point infixed.

"Pindar is particularly fond of this metaphor, and frequently applies it to his own poetry. Olymp. ii. "160, 149. ix. 17."

The Sun.] Our Lord has the stars, the lesser lights, the ministers of his word, in his hand, under his direction; but he himself alone shineth like the greater light, "The Sun of righteousness, with sevenfold light‡." But as he is in glory, so shall be likewise his faithful servants after their resurrection. "They shall shine forth as the sun, in the kingdom of their "Father.§"

Here ends the Apostle's description of this appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ; for such he undoubtedly is, from his account of himself, which follows in verse

* On Is. xlix. 2.
† See Cicero, Epist. ad. Atticum, xii. 6.
§ Mat. xiii. 43.
the 18th, and which can belong to none of the angelic
natures, but solely to the only-begotten Son of God.
It is also to be observed, that our Lord repeats, and
applies to himself, all this description, in his addresses
to the seven Churches, contained in the two subsequent
chapters; and in one of these passages he calls himself
ὁ ὅνος τοῦ Θεοῦ, the Son of God. Now an angel, or even
a good man, in the language of Scripture is called
sometimes ὁνος Θεος, a son of God; but none except
the only begotten, our Lord Jesus, is ever styled ὁ ὅνος
τοῦ Θεοῦ, the Son of God. Ch. ii. 18. Add to this, that
in the next verse, Saint John is described as prostrating
himself before this Son of Man, and no reproof follows,
as in ch. xix. 10, and xxii. 9, when he prostrates him-
self to the angel. This shews the difference between
an angel and the only begotten Son of God; and
unites, with other passages of Scripture in authorising
the worship which the orthodox Christians pay to their
Redeemer. Such was the opinion of the most ancient
commentators, Τὸ τῆς Θεοτόκος τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰρωνεύειν ἡγεῖθος,
καὶ τὰ γεὰ δεῖλα το συμπαντι*

Ver. 17. As dead.] The effect here described is
such as was to be expected from the conflict of passions
in the breast of the Apostle, of surprise and delight, of
fear and joy. For, it was the appearance of the Son of
Man, who on earth had dignified Saint John with his
peculiar love, but it was at the same time awful and
alarming.

Ib. And he laid his right hand upon me.] The
right hand is the hand of protection, and of salvation†;
and of fellowship‡, and the instrument of conveying
spiritual gifts§. The touch felt palpably by the

* And. Caesariens. in loc. † Psalms, passim.
‡ Gal. ii. 9. § Acts viii. 18.

Apostle,
Apostle, is agreeable to that part of Scripture which represents our Lord, after his resurrection, as an object of feeling. This passage is sublime*: Mahomet perceived and has imitated it in his fictions: but his imitation is carried to a vicious excess; the hand of God, touching the Prophet, is described to be cold‡.

Ib. *Fear not.* The scenery accompanying the visions under the Gospel, is of a milder nature than that under the Mosaical dispensation, which was ushered in at Mount Sinai with so dreadful an apparatus, that none could dare to behold ‡. "*Fear not, " is the comforting assurance to the Virgin, to Zacharias, to the Shepherds, to the Women at the Sepulchre, under similar impressions.

Ib. *I am the first and the last.* See the notes on verses 4 and 8.

Ver. 18. *The keys.*] To bear the keys, imports the same, both in Scriptural and Pagan antiquity, as to bear power and office. In chap. iii. ver. 7, our Lord is represented to have "the keys of David;" to bear that power and office which were attributed to him by the Prophet Isaiah, in the very same words §. It is by these keys that he possesses the sole and exclusive right of opening and shutting to all eternity ||.

* "Who can read, if he reads without prejudice, the following * address of Jesus to John, sinking to the ground through fear, and not " be affected with the greatness of the thought and the expressions? "*Fear not, &c. &c. v. 17, 18." Michaelis, Introd. to N. Test. ch. xxxiii. sect. x.

† Prideaux, Life of Mahomet. Vie de Mahomed par Boulain-villiers, p. 336.

‡ Heb. xii. 2 Cor. iii. 7, 8.

§ Is. xxii. 22.


Ib.
Ib. Hell.] By this word, in popular language, is commonly expressed the Gehenna, or place of punishment, only: but this is not the true and proper sense of the word, the sense in which it is to be taken in this passage; for the word Hell will be found in our old writers to answer exactly to the Scheol of the Hebrews, and to the Hades of the Greeks. It is the general receptacle of the dead, the place of departed souls, whatever it may be, whether happy or miserable. And therefore, though I had at first used the word Hades in my translation, after the examples of Bishop Lowth and of Daubuz, I afterwards restored this word from the old translation; because, rightly understood, it is fully adequate to represent the idea of the original: and why should we adopt foreign phrases, when our own language is competent to express what we intend? Besides, we seem obliged to preserve, in our versions of the Scriptures, this English expression, in conformity with our principal creed, and with the third article of our national religion; in both of which the word Hell is used; and so used, is continually explained by our catechists to mean the invisible mansion of departed souls. In the earlier forms of our language it was written Hele, being derived from the Saxon Helan, to cover.

Death is a formidable foe, who kills the body; but there is yet a more dreadful enemy, which attacks the soul, in those regions beyond the grave, where "the "worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched." Both are mentioned by our Lord, in Matt. x. 28, and he points out which is the most formidable. Both are

* See the learned notes of Grotius on Matt. xvi. 18. Luke xvi. 23. xxiii. 43, and Schleusner or Parkinson on the word 'Ahs frequently
frequently personified in Scripture*; and both are addressed in that animated apostrophe, "O Death, where is thy sting! O Grave (ἀνά), where is thy victory†?" The gates of death, which are opened by these keys, are frequently mentioned in Scripture‡; and the gates of Hell (πύλες ᾃδα) by our Saviour.§ And the same metaphorical expression is used by heathen authors‖. The keys of these gates are in the possession of the Captain of our Salvation, who, by suffering death, triumphed over Death¶; under his banner, "Death is swallowed up in victory." This conquest is represented as complete in 1 Cor. xv. and in the sequel of this book**. By this, Christ has obtained for his faithful followers a safe passage through the gates of Death, and through the terrors of Hell, to that kingdom of glory which he has prepared for them. Under no consideration can our Redeemer be felt of greater importance to us, than as possessing the keys of Death, and of our future state of everlasting existence.

Ver. 19. Write, &c.] The Apostle is commanded to write for the information of the Church; and the subject matter which he is to write is here divided (as indeed it naturally divides) into two parts; 1st, the scene then before him, with the address to the seven Churches, revealing to them their then internal and real state; 2dly, the events which were to happen to the Church in future. This same division occurs again in ch. iv. 1, where, the first part being dispatched, the Prophet is invited to behold "the things which are about to happen after these." Both are revealed by the spirit of prophecy, which was equally necessary to

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discover the real internal state of the Church then existing, as the events which were to happen to it in future. We may instance in the Church of Sardis *, which enjoyed the reputation of a living Church, a Church flourishing in faith, doctrine, and practice; but she is discovered, by the spirit of prophecy, to be "dead†."

Ver. 20. The mystery.] 

Ver. 20. The mystery.] Mνημείον, In the scriptural language, generally signifies hidden and recondite knowledge; such as is accessible only by the peculiar favour and revelation of God ‡. In prophetic language, as in this passage, and in ch. xvii. 7, it is used to signify the meaning concealed under figurative resemblances. So the stars are angels, and the lamp-bearers churches: for the explanation of which, as relating to the lamp-bearers, see the note, ver. 12, and as relating to the stars, ver. 16; in which latter note will be seen some of the reasons why the bishops or presidents of

* Ch. iii. 1.
† Some commentators have supposed three divisions, as arising from these words of Jesus Christ; namely, ἀ περιτε, to express the things which John had already seen; ἢ οὐσί, the things which he was seeing, the present state of the Churches; ἢ μετὰ τινι, the things to come. But it will appear that John had already seen nothing but the beginning of a vision, which was then disclosing the ἢ οὐσί, the present state of the Churches. The vision is one and the same; the Son of Man, clothed with the same symbols, delivers the whole of it. And the word ἢ οὐσί, being used in an indefinite tense, may be understood as having relation to the whole scenery of vision which was then passing, and about to pass, before the Apostle; and thus it may be fitly translated, "that "which thou seest," and, with the ἐ γενέσθαι of the eleventh verse (which has also an indefinite signification), understood to comprehend the two subsequent divisions. It is to be observed also, that the word ἢ οὐσί is applied in the next verse to the appearance of the Son of Man, with the symbols of the stars, &c. which John was at that present instant beholding; and that in the verse next following (ch. ii. 1.) Jesus is described continuing to hold the stars, by the present participle, κρατοῦν. 
‡ 1 Cor. ii. 7. xiii. 2. xv. 51. Eph. iii. 3. v. 32,
the primitive Church were called angels or messengers; and why, consistently with the usage of the symbolic language in Scripture, they are represented under the emblem of stars. In Malachi ii. 7, the Priest of the Lord is styled Angel or Messenger of the Lord. And it appears from the accounts of the ancient Jewish synagogue (the forms of which were followed in the first Christian Churches), that the ruler of the synagogue, or at least the chief minister, was styled Sheliach Zibbor, The Angel of the Congregation *; and what the Sheliach Zibbor did in the synagogue, that the Bishop appears to have done in the primitive Christian Church †. The term angel, or messenger, instead of bishop, seems to have been in use principally, if not exclusively, in the eastern Churches.

† Introd. to N. T. by Beausobre and L'Enfant.
Ch. ii. 1—7. | APOCALYPSE. 
---|---
tried them who say | evil: and thou hast 
they are Apostles, and | tried them which say
are not; and thou hast | they are Apostles, and
found them false. And | are not; and hast found
thou hast patience, | 3 them liars: And hast 
and hast endured on | borne, and hast pa-
time of my name, | tience, and for my
and hast not been | name's sake hasted;
4 wearied out. But I | boured, and hast not
have against thee that | 4 fainted. Nevertheless,
thou hast left thy for- | I have somewhat a-
mer love. Be mindful, | gainst thee, because
then, whence thou art | thou hast left thy
fallen, and repent, and | first love. Remember,
do the former works; | therefore, from whence
or else I am coming | thou art fallen, and
unto thee [soon], and I | repent, and do the first
will remove thy lamp- | works; or else I will
bearer out of its place, | come unto thee quick-
unless thou repent. | ly, and will remove thy
6 But this thou hast, | candlestick out of his
that thou hastest the | place, except thou re-
works of the Nicolailtans, which I also | pent. But this thou
7 hate. He that hath | hast, that thou hastest
an ear, let him hear | the deeds of the Nic- 
what the Spirit saith | olaitynes, which I also
unto the Churches, To | 7 hate. He that hath
him that overcometh, | an ear, let him hear

Ver. 1. Unito the angel of the Church.] The address of our Lord is not unto the angels, or presidents of the churches, on their own behalf; but on account of
of the churches over which they preside. This will appear in many instances, but particularly in that of the Church of Thyatira*, where ὑμῖν δέ λέγω, (I say to you, not to thee) plainly shews it. Some of the commentators, overlooking this, have understood the words of Christ as addressed to the Presidents on their own individual account. They are addressed to the seven Churches in particular, and through them to the universal church in all times and in all places; such is the figurative import of the number seven†. Some commentators have proceeded farther. They have imagined that under the description of the seven churches, seven successive periods of the church are prophetically delineated. But this does not agree with the division made by the Divine Giver of this Revelation‡, whereby he points out the second and third chapters as containing ἄ εἰσι, "the things which "now are," and the remaining chapters as unfolding ἄ μελλει γενεσθαι μεία ταῦτα, "the things which are about "to be after these." And without entering into farther particulars, it must appear, that no description of any of the seven Churches is sufficiently dark, to express the corrupt state of religion in the middle ages as described in history; or as prophetically delineated in the subsequent parts of this revelation: Nor can we here find any representation of that triumphant state of the church, which, from the concluding chapters of this book, and from other prophecies, we have reason to respect. Another yet more fanciful exposition has been added to this; under the Greek name of each of the seven churches, the successive

* Ch. ii. 24. † See note, chap. i. 4. ‡ Ch. i. 19. which compare with ch. iv. 1, and see the note on the former passage
character of the universal Church has been supposed to be mysteriously expressed. Bede, in the eighth century, is the first author in whom I recollect to have seen this mode of interpretation. He finds myrrh in the word Smyrna, and then applies the qualities of myrrh to the city of that name; others following the example (exemplum vitiis imitabile), have extended this method of interpretation to all the seven churches.

Ib. Ephesus.] This is the city, in which the apostle Saint John commonly resided*, and from which he would visit the six remaining Churches, in the order in which they are here named. It is also the first seaport to one proceeding from the Island of Patmos, from which the distribution of our Lord's injunctions to the seven Churches would begin. Strabo, who wrote about 50 years before the date of this vision, and who had been educated in the province of Asia, and was personally acquainted with every part of it, has described Ephesus as the most considerable city in that region†. So likewise Pliny‡. Possessing the famous temple of Diana, which had been endowed with peculiar privileges by the conquerors Xerxes and Alexander, it became a distinguished seat of heathen idolatry. Hence the preaching of the Gospel was opposed in this city from political prejudices and mercenary motives§. But the cause of true religion prevailed, by the diligent preaching of Saint Paul assisted by the Holy Spirit. That Apostle made Ephesus his abode "for the space of two years;" and, as this city was the grand mart of Asia, so it

† Strabo, ii. p. 865, 941. ‡ Nat. Hist. lib. v. c. 29.

became
became a central point, whence the Christian Religion was successfully propagated; "so that all they "who dwelt in Asia, heard the word of the Lord "Jesus, both Jews and Greeks." Therefore, when Saint John, some years later, came to dwell in Asia, Ephesus became the proper place of his residence.

We may learn somewhat of the state of this Church, about 30 or 40 years before the date of this vision, from the Epistles of Saint Paul to Timothy, whom he had left at Ephesus, and who was Angel or Apostle, of this Church at the time when the letters of Saint Paul were addressed to him†. It was then assailed by zealots, probably Jews, who taught their "fables and endless genealogies," and made little account of that Charity which is "the "end of the commandment." We might obtain additional information on this subject, from the Epistle of Saint Paul which is inscribed to the Ephesians, if it should appear to be written peculiarly to the inhabitants, of that city. But doubts have been advanced upon this subject: and some have supposed that this Epistle is that which Saint Paul had sent to the Laodiccans, and which, at the conclusion of his Epistle to the Colossians, he orders to be read, interchangeably with that Epistle, by the two Churches‡. But however

* Acts xix, 10.  † 1 Tim. 1, 3.  ‡ See Whitby on Coloss. iv. 6.  Paley's Hora Paulinae.  Lardner's Cred. vol. vi.  Bp. Pretyman's Christian Theology, vol. i.—Certainly this Epistle contains nothing personal to the Ephesians, which might be expected in the letter of an Apostle who had resided above two years among them. And to me it appears probable, that containing only a general exposition of the Christian dispensation so far as it relates to the Gentiles, and a general view of the Christian doctrines as applicable to all, and confined to no community in particular, it was intended
ever this matter may be determined, it is certain that the Church of Ephesus had enjoyed very considerable advantages, beyond most other churches, at the time when our Lord now addresses it. Saint Paul had resided at Ephesus upwards of two years, and afterwards Timothy, under his immediate direction; lastly, the Apostle Saint John had fixed his abode there. All this accords with the address of our Lord to this Church, in which it is (1st) represented, as free from heretical doctrines; (2dly) is reprimanded severely for a defect in charity; for to whom much is given, of the same much will be required.

The History of Ephesus, from the apostolical times to the present, is in abridgment as follows. This city stood very high in the commonwealth of Christians for some centuries. She sent her bishops to the general councils, and councils were holden at Ephesus. About ten or twenty years after this address of her Lord to her, at the time of Ignatius's martyrdom, intended to be circulated not only at Ephesus, but in all the adjacent region; and accordingly might be addressed also to the Laodiceans. Arguments for this hypothesis may be seen in Michaelis's Introduction to the New Testament, ch. xx. Add to these, that Tychicus was the bearer of this Epistle; and Tychicus appears to have been often employed in bearing the communications of this Apostle to the Churches; (Col. iv. 7. 2 Tim. iv. 12. Tit. iii. 12.) From Rome, where Saint Paul wrote this Epistle, Tychicus had to travel over many regions before he would arrive at Ephesus. This Epistle, as a Catholic universal address, was of a fit character to be distributed as he passed through the Churches. The copy left at Ephesus had the words το Ἐφεσῶ inserted, and this copy principally was preserved, and acknowledged by the Fathers of the Church. But in some of the MSS. now extant, the words το Ἐφεσῶ are not to be found, and in some the word ἄρει is added after ἀγαπαῖος (such is the case in the famous Alexandrine MS.) which gives some colour to this supposition, of its being a Catholic Epistle, designed for many of the Gentile Churches.
she appears to be in a flourishing state, having in her bosom great numbers of Christians professing a pure faith, and directed by Onesimus an excellent bishop; The heresies, which then began to prevail throughout the Churches, had not yet corrupted her. In the third naval expedition of the barbarians from the Euxine, during the reign of Valerian, Ephesus suffered great calamities. But the grand desolation of this city, under which she now lies prostrate, was that which she underwent in common with the maritime coast of Lesser Asia, in the year 1312, from the devastating armies of the Turks. Ephesus is described by modern travellers as little better than a heap of ruins; so completely is her "lamp-bearer removed."

Ib. Thus saith he, &c.] The supreme head of the Christian church is now in the act of visiting and superintending. To the church of Ephesus, with which he begins, he represents himself in that character and office, as walking amidst his churches, and directing and supporting their teachers.

Ver. 2. Canst not endure. The word endure (ἔχοι) is twice applied to the Ephesian Church, which in the same passage is commended, 1st, for enduring; and 2dly, for not enduring; for enduring the yoke of Christianity without fainting under the afflictions and persecutions which attended it; for not enduring another yoke, namely,

* Ignatii Epist. ad Ephes. sect. 9.
† Gibbon's Hist. i. ch. 10. vi. p. 314.
‡ For accounts of the present state of Ephesus, and of the other six Churches, as briefly reported in the ensuing notes, see at large, Smith's Septem Asiae Eccles. Notit.; Rycaut's Present State of the Greek Church; and the relations of Wheeler, Spon, Heyman, and Van Egmont, in their voyages and travels.
§ See note i. 12.
the yoke of doctrines and ordinances of pretended Apostles, who under the name of Christianity had attempted to deceive them. This Church had proceeded, according to the injunction of our apostle, "to try the Spirits," to bring the doctrines of these pretended apostles to the test of Apostolic Religion; and upon this trial had rejected them. If the Christian Church, mindful of this commendation, (which is again studiously repeated in verse 6,) had been careful in succeeding times to model its conduct by the example proposed, it would not have been betrayed into antichristian apostacies, or have submitted to antichristian domination, such as will be seen described in the sequel of this prophecy.

Ver. 4. *Thy former love.* It seems justly remarked by Grotius on this passage, that πρασίνη, as in John i. 15, has the force of προδρομήν. Tertullian thus understood it, desertam dilectionem Ephesiis imputat. The Church is accused of having forsaken that warm and extensive communication of charity which characterised Christianity in its infancy, and which in the days of Justin Martyr, and of Tertullian, is described to be its distinguishing ornament. To fail in this, is to fall from primitive purity; and the fall is great; πολεμιστήρ αυτοτατος; and the punishment threatened, naturally follows: for the Church, which is defective in Christian Charity, cannot long remain "a shining light;" her lamp-bearer is removed.

Ver. 6. *Nicolaitans.* It is observed by Mosheim, that our knowledge of the sects and heresies of the first

century is very incomplete. And doubts have arisen, whether in the accounts given of the Nicolaitans, by Irenæus, Tertullian, Clemens, and others, they did not confound the Nicolaitans, mentioned in this passage, with another sect afterwards founded by one Nicolaus*. It appears from the testimony of these ancient fathers, and of Eusebius†, that the Nicolaitans, whom they describe, adopted principles which were afterwards held by the Gnostics, denying the humanity of our Lord, and his real sufferings in the flesh. But these were no novel doctrines, the Nicolaitans of Saint John's time might have taught them; for we find them mentioned or alluded to in Saint John's writings ‡. The same doctrines are opposed by Ignatius in his Epistle to the Trallians, and Ignatius wrote at no great distance of time from the date of the Apocalypse. Polycarp, the next in succession, is seen to oppose in his Epistle the same errors. And the end of the age of Polycarp brings us down to the times of Irenæus, and of Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, &c. And as these fathers agree in calling the heretics, who professed these tenets, by the name of Nicolaitans, there seems good reason for concluding that the Nicolaitans of Saint John's time were such. Their history, though but slightly touched, appears one and the same through the whole period of time, from the latter part of the first to the middle of the second century. But whatever we may judge by the evidence of their doctrines, the matter will appear clearer from considering what is delivered by the ancients, concerning the morals

† Hist. Eccl. ch. iii. 29.
‡ 1 John ii. 18, 19. iv. 2, 3; 2 John 7.
and practices of the Nicolaitans whom they describe, and by comparing them with those mentioned in the Apocalypse. They describe the Nicolaitans as impure and profligate in their lives, and in commenting on those passages of Saint Jude, and of the second Epistle of Saint Peter, which represent heretical leaders, "like the Sodomites, turning the grace of "God into lasciviousness," they assert that these were Nicolaitans. The tradition of the Church called them by that name; and they were probably heretics of the same kind as these mentioned by our Saviour, at a time intermediate between the date of these Apostolical Epistles, and of the writings of these ancient Fathers. It is of their practices that our Lord speaks with detestation, "Thou hatest the works of "the Nicolaitans, which I also hate."

From this testimony it appears, that these Nicolaitans were impious in their doctrines, and impure in their lives. The Christian Gnostics afterwards adopted many of their doctrines and practices, and are therefore said by the ancients to be sprung from them. The progressive history seems to be this. When the Apostles Peter, and Jude, and John, wrote their respective Epistles, there were some heretical teachers of this character, "creeping unawares," that is, slyly and covertly, into the Church. When the Apocalypse came forth, they had increased, were embodied, and had acquired a name. Yet in that form, (and probably in consequence of our Lord's disavowal of them in this passage and in ver. 15.) they made little progress: but afterwards, uniting to their

* Jude 4, 7, 8. 2 Pet. ii. 2.
† See these evidences in Whitby, in loc.
‡ Περι μου δογματος ασεβειας, περι τω εσω αςεβειας. Oecumenius. principles
principles of doctrine, and some of them to their practices (for all the Gnostics were not impure in their lives*) the pompous title of Gnosis, and its philosophical jargon, they swarmed over and corrupted a great part of the Christian world.

It appears however from the testimony of Ignatius given previously to his martyrdom, at a period of ten or twenty years after these injunctions of our Lord were delivered, that this Church of Ephesus had profited much by his warnings; for, when the other churches began to be corrupted by the Gnostics, Ephesus was seen to flourish with a pure faith†.

Ver. 7. He that hath an ear, &c.] It was usual with our Lord, when he was about to address himself to his auditors in figuralive language, to bespeak their spiritual attention by a warning of this kind, "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear." In the passage before us the language changes from plain to figurative; and the same notice is given. The address is now from the Spirit, or seven Spirits‡, whose office it is to reveal mysteries, and "to shew things to "come§," and it applies not only to the Church of Ephesus, but to all the seven Churches; and through them to the universal Church, in all ages and places||.

Ib. To him that overcometh.] Being summoned in the words immediately preceding, to apply our spiritual ear to the symbolical language, in which the Holy Spirit addresses the Church, let us in the first place inquire into, and settle, the figurative meaning of the words conquer, victory, &c. as used in Scripture. The Christian is represented to be engaged in a dan-

* Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. iii. v.
‡ See note, ch. i. 4. § John xvi. 13. || Note i. 4.
gersous warfare, against a very powerful enemy. Our Lord, in St. Matthew, ch. xiii. 39, and Saint Peter, in his first Epistle, chap. v. 8, inform us plainly, that this adversary is the Devil, that ancient foe of mankind, who attacks us sometimes by deceits and enticements, as he did successfully our first parents; sometimes by force and terror, as he did those of the first Christians, who were exposed to the fiery trial of martyrdom. The arms, which he employs against us, are the temptations, or terrors, of the world and of the flesh; but these would not be so formidable, if they were not aided by the influence which he, as a Spirit, possesses over our Spirit; “for we wrestle not,” says Saint Paul*, “against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places.” Wherefore he exhorts us to take in our defence “the whole armour of God,” which he also describes figuratively, concluding that, “above all, we should take the shield of faith, wherewith we shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked one (τὰ πυριτικά).” This combat, and these means of victory, are also set forth in various parts of Scripture, of which the following may be produced as instances; 1 Tim. vi. 12. 1 Thess. v. 8. Rom. xii. 12. 2 Cor. vi. 7. x. 3, 4, 5. xii. 10. 1 Cor. xvi. 13. 1 John ii. 13, 14. iv. 4. 5. v. 4, 5. 1 Pet. v. 8, 9. ii. 11. James iv. 7. Our Lord is described as having successfully fought this battle, at the periods of his temptation and of his final suffering, and we his servants can only expect success by following him, “the Captain of our salvation,” who has promised spiritual assistance to those who strive

* Eph. vi. 12.

against
against the common enemy,—such assistance as shall enable them to overcome*. But with what arms did our Lord himself overcome? for with none other can his followers expect to conquer;—not with the weapons of human warfare. When such were offered to him, previously to the grand conflict, "put up thy sword," said he to the zealous apostle, who drew it in his defence, "all they that take the sword," that rely on such arms in such a cause, "shall perish with the sword," shall lose that victory, which is to be gained by other means. The means then used by the great "Captain of our salvation," was meek perseverance in the cause of truth and righteousness, founded upon faith in his God; he conquered, he "was made perfect, by sufferings†." Which words are explained in the 14th verse of the same chapter; "through death he destroyed him that had the power of death, even the devil, openly triumphing over him," in this very act ‡. It is for this reason, that our Lord, when preparing for this combat, in which he knew that by suffering he should overcome, calls his death his glorification§. In that last and decisive conflict in the flesh, with "the prince of this world ||," as our Lord then calls him, he overcame him by suffering; and passing through the grave to heaven, he opened a passage for his faithful followers, leading them triumphantly into that kingdom, which he had prepared for them, and where "he must reign," till all his enemies shall be finally subdued; until "Death shall be swallowed up in victory," Thus, as I have seen it expressed, with brighter truth

* Luke x. 18. &c. † Heb. ii. 10. ‡ Col. ii. 15.
§ John xii. 23, 28. xiii. 31. xvii. 1. also vii. 13. xii. 16.
|| John xii. 13. xiv. 20. ¶ 1 Cor. xv. 24. 54—57.
than Latinity, "Victus qui sæviebat, vicit qui sufferebat." "The conqueror was subdued, the sufferer conquered;" or, as, in more stately language, God the Father is represented speaking of the Son incarnate;

"I send him forth

"To conquer sin and death, the two grand foes,
"By humiliation and strong suff'rance."

It is the duty of every Christian to be ready at all times to fight this spiritual battle, under the conviction, that he is certain to triumph, if he be lawfully called to the conflict†, and have faith to follow his great Leader. For, to suffer in that cause is to triumph; "nay, in all these things," says Saint Paul speaking of such sufferings, "we are more than conquerors, through Him who loved us‡." And this notion of conflict, battle, victory, &c. will be found also to pervade the writings of the early Christians. In the martyrdom of Ignatius, published by Archbishop Usher, that martyr is called Ἀθλητὴς καὶ γενναῖος Χριστε, μαθητὴς τοῦ Διαθεσαι§ and in that precious morsel of Ecclesiastical History in the second century, the epistle from the Gallic Churches, the persecuting power is styled ἡ ανιπομενή, the adversary, who προγυμναζεῖ, skirmishes before the battle; but ἀνίκατας ἢ χαρις ἐν Θεω, the grace of God conducts the Christian force against him, and supports the martyrs, who are called γενναῖοι ἀθληται, noble combatants∥. Agreeably to these images, that ancient hymn of the

* Par. Reg. i. 159. † 2 Tim. ii. 5. ‡ Rom. viii. 37.
∥ Euseb. H. E. lib. v. Pref. & cap. i. See also the same language in Minuc. Felix Octav. c. 37.
Christian Church, beginning with *Te Deum*, recounts the "noble army of Martyrs." But besides this battle which every Christian has to fight individually, and on his own private account, against the great adversary, there is a more general and extended warfare, in which the followers of Christ are engaged in a body, as the body of Christ's Church. It is against the same arch-enemy, the devil, and under the same leader, Christ. For our Lord is represented as continually presiding over the fortunes of his church: "Lo, I am with you, even unto the end of the world." It is this warfare extended through all the ages of the world, which seems principally, if not solely, to be prefigured in the Apocalypse. The Devil and his worldly agents attack by seduction and corrupt doctrine, by terror and persecution; the church resists, covering herself with the arms of her great Leader, "the cincture of truth, the breast-plate of righteousness, the helmet of salvation, the sword of the Spirit, and, above all, the shield of faith." Though she walk in the flesh, yet does she not war after the flesh, for the weapons of her warfare are "not carnal, but mighty, through God, to the pulling down of strong holds, bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ." Agreeably to which words of Scripture in the language of the Apocalypse: "He that conquereth," is "he who keeps the works of his Lord even unto the end;" he who, by the prevalence of faith, perseveres in the profession and practice of Christianity, when assailed by temptation or terror, is the faithful and victorious soldier of Christ. And to a church

* Matt. xxviii. 20.  
† Eph. vi. 14, &c.  
‡ See ch. ii. 26, where the expression may be thus paraphrased.
### A Biographical Chart of Writers in the early Christian Church, who appear to have afforded Evidence in favor of the Apocalypse.

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The dotted line marks the year 97, when the Apocalypse was published. The lines under each Name show the years when the writers lived, to be measured upon the scale below. When the birth or death of a Writer is uncertain, that uncertainty is expressed by dots, before or after the line.
of this character, and to none other, is promised "power over the nations," a spiritual, increasing dominion.

As to the passage immediately before us, it concerns the times &c. *; the situation of the church at the time when our Lord addressed these warnings to it; when the Faith was assailed both by delusive teachers from within, and by heathen persecutors from without. Of the former of these, we have spoken †. The hostility of the latter had commenced some years before, in the reign of Nero, whose unjust edicts against the Christians had been renewed by Domitian a little time before the date of this prophecy. For, under this persecution, Saint John was banished to the Isle of Patmos, where he saw the vision ‡. That the seven Churches were actually under persecution at this time, and were not to be relieved immediately, may be collected from various passages of these addresses to them §.

Ver. 7. To eat of the tree of Life, &c.] The Lord God is described to have planted a garden, or paradise, in Eden, and to have placed in the midst of the garden the tree of life; of which the first created pair might eat, and by eating live for ever. Under this description is represented that immortality, to which, by obedience, the race of men might have attained in their primitive state, and which they forfeited by disobedience ††. For they listened to the seductions of their wily foe, and were overcome. But the "Second Adam, the Lord from "Heaven," having condescended to undergo, in

* See note, ch. i. 19.  
† Note, ch. ii. 6.  
‡ Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. cap. xix.  
§ Ch. ii. 3, 10, 13. iii. 10.  
†† Gen. ii. 8, 9.  
‡‡ 1 Cor. xv. 22, 45. John vi. 51. xi. 25.

the
the behalf of fallen man, the penalty, which was death*, man is hereby restored to his lost privileges. The tree of life is again placed within his reach, he may "put forth his hand and live for ever." This advantage, which the Saviour of the world has regained by his own prowess, he bestows as a free gift or reward upon those servants of his who follow him faithfully in his victorious career†. A description of the tree of life will recur in ch. xxii. 2, 14.

* Gen. ii. 17.
† See a copious explanation of the tree of life, signifying immortality, in Bp. Horne's Sermons, vol. i. It was so understood by the author of the 2d Book of Esdras, ch. viii. 52. which was probably written soon after this book of Revelation. See Gray's Key to the Old Testament.

PART I.

SECTION V.

The Address to the Church in Smyrna.

CHAP. ii. VER. 8—11.

8 And to the Angel of the Church in Smyrna, write; Thus saith the First and the Last, who was dead and is alive;

9 I know thy [works and thy] tribulation and poverty, (but thou art rich,) and the blasphemy of those who say they are Jews, and are not, but are a synagogue of Satan. Fear none of those things

8 And unto the Angel of the Church in Smyrna, write, These things saith the First and the Last, which was dead, and is alive; I know thy works, and tribulation, and poverty, (but thou art rich,) and I know the blasphemy of them which say they are Jews, and are not, but are the synagogue

10 of Satan. Fear none
which thou art about to suffer; behold, the Devil is about to cast some of you into prison, that ye may be tried; and ye shall have tribulation ten days; be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee the crown of life. He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the Churches: He who overcometh, shall not be injured by the second death.

Ver. 8. Smyrna. The city of Smyrna is represented by Strabo, as situated about forty miles to the north of Ephesus, of which it was originally a colony*. Pliny describes it as the city of greatest account in Asia, after Ephesus†. There is no mention of it, as a Church, in the books of Scripture. The renowned martyr, Polycarp, was its Bishop: but as he suffered in the reign of Verus, aged 86 years‡, he must have been too young to have exercised this important office at the time of this Revelation; even if we should suppose, with Bishop Pearson, the date of his martyrdom to be more early§. Yet he is represented by the ancients as receiving his doctrine immediately from the Apostles; and Irenæus, when a youth, had heard him discoursing of his acquaintance with Saint John||. The Bishops of Smyrna

* Strabo, ii. p. 940.
§ Cave, Hist. Lit. art. Polycarp.
attended the councils of the Church for many centuries. At length this Church sank under the common desolation in the 13th century. Yet Smyrna, being at this time a principal mart of European commerce, is in a better state than others of the seven Churches. It is still a populous city, and contains some Christian inhabitants.

Ib. Thus saith the First and the Last, &c.] The title, under which the Supreme Head addresses this Church, is the same which he had assumed on his first appearance to Saint John, and is explained in the note, ch. i. 17, 18. The character of it agrees with the purport of this address, which is to encourage the Smyrnæans confidently to meet the fiery trial of martyrdom; in the sure expectation of triumphing over the power of the enemy, as their Lord had done before them.

Ver. 9. Thy poverty (but thou art rich).] The Smyrnæan Christians, poor as to the goods of this transitory life, were rich in good works, through faith; " rich towards God;" had laid up a treasure in heaven, which no worldly calamity can destroy *. They were opposed and harassed by a powerful party, who, calling themselves Jews, were not, like the honest Nathanael, " Israelites indeed †;" nor like him described by Saint Paul, " a Jew inwardly, in spirit, not in the letter, " whose praise is not of men, but of God ‡. " These professed Jews were men of violent character, who blasphemed the name of Israelite by calling themselves such; who were in fact the emissaries of Satan, em-

* Luke xii. 21. xvi. 2. 2 Cor. vi. 10. 1 Tim. vi. 18. James ii. 5. v. 2.
† John i. 48.
‡ Rom. ii. 28, 29. See the true Israelite in the Christian Church described more particularly in note, ch. iii. 4.

ployed
ployed to corrupt; or to excite that persecution, which is foretold in the succeeding verse. They continued the same practices in later times; for the Jews, as was their custom, says the Smyrnæan account of the martyrdom of Polycarp, assisted most zealously to accomplish the destruction of the martyr, and to prevent his interment by the Christians.

Ver. 10. Fear none, &c.] To this virtuous Church, against which no particular fault is alleged by their all-seeing Lord, persecution is announced; a persecution occasioned by that great adversary of the Church, who appears, in the sequel of this book, to be the ultimate cause of all the evil which it suffers in the course of ages. Some of them were to be imprisoned; and, as we may judge from the words, “Be thou faithful unto death,” were to suffer martyrdom. Yet these sufferings are not denounced as a punishment, for they are not so accounted in the New Testament. Such persecuted saints our Lord encourages to “rejoice, for great is their reward in heaven.” So also Saint James, ch. i. 2, and St. Peter, i. 1, 6, 7, the latter of whom assigns a reason, which will be the best comment on these words, ἐνεργεῖτε, “that ye may be tried;” “that the trial of your faith,” says he, “being much more precious than of gold that perisheth, though it be tried by fire, may be found unto honour, and praise, and glory, at the appearance of Jesus Christ.”

Ib. Ten days.] This period may be either, literally, ten days; or, typically, ten years; for, according to the use of time in prophetical Scripture, a day is often-times taken for a year. It is thus expressly ordered in Ezek. iv. 6; and in earlier times, days were pronounced typical of years, as in Numbers xiv. 34. So Isaiah,


according
according to Bishop Lowth*, uses three days for so many years. So Ezekiel, in ch. iv. 6†. And as a week of days ended in a sabbatical day; so there was a week of years ending with a sabbatical year‡. And after this manner of computation the prophecies of Daniel are generally understood. The difficulty of settling whether the persecution foretold in this passage be of days or of years, arises from this; that we have very little history of the Church in those times when the prophecy was probably fulfilled, at the conclusion of the first, or commencement of the second century. Many of the Christian records were destroyed in the Dioclesian persecution. We have indeed an account of a persecution which the Church of Smyrna underwent about the year 169; when, amongst others, Polycarp, its venerable Bishop, or Angel, suffered martyrdom §: but there is no proof that this persecution continued either ten years, or only ten days. And it seems at too great a distance of time, upwards of 70 years, to be the persecution foretold by our Lord, who addresses the Smyrnaans then living, and prepares them, not their grand-children, for the catastrophe. Besides, this persecution was extended to the other Churches of Asia, which would therefore have been prepared by the same warning. Less reason have we to suppose that this prophecy was fulfilled at the persecution under Diocletian; for the distance of time was still greater, being upwards of two hundred years. And this persecution raged throughout the empire. Yet we find this persecution applied to the prophecy by some writers, chiefly upon the notion that it lasted ten years, which, however, seems not to have been strictly the case.

* Ch. xx. 3. † Clarke, Serm. vi. 185. ‡ Exod. xxiii. 10, 11, 12; § Euseb, Hist. Eccl. lib. iv. c. 15.
for it commenced in 304, and ended, in the East, if not in other parts of the world, by the edict of Maximin Galerius, in 311*. Upon the whole, it seems most probable, that the persecution, foretold in these words, was only of ten days, and was fulfilled in that generation; and that the Jews, who are described as acting against this Church, under the influence of Satan, were the authors of the persecution. This prophecy, thus fulfilled, would serve a temporary purpose; it would convince the seven Churches, that the Revelation which foretold it was from God; and that therefore the remaining predictions of the same Prophet would also receive their completion: and it would occasion them to revere, and preserve, and faithfully to deliver down to posterity, the book in which they were contained; which they seem to have done.

Ib. Crown of life.] A crown denotes regal and triumphant power. It is a distinguishing ornament of the Messiah, who is "King of kings †," and, as such, is represented with many crowns ‡; and he has promised such rewards to his faithful followers. As then "the tree of life" is used to signify immortality §, so "the crown of life" represents a triumphant immortality ||; according to an assurance given us by Saint Paul, which will exhibit the meaning, and, at the same time, the scriptural propriety of both these expressions: "If we be dead with him (Jesus Christ), we shall also live with him; if we suffer, we shall also reign with him." Whereas, in Lam. v. 16, it is, "Woe unto them who have sinned; the crown is fallen from their head ¶."

* Mosheim, History of the Church.
† Ps. xxi. 3. 1 Tim. vi. 16. Rev. xvii. 14.
‡ Rev. xix. 12. § Note, ch. ii. 7.
|| 1 Cor. ix. 25. ¶ Compare also James i. 12.
Ver. 11. *He that hath an ear.*] See note, ch. ii. 7.

Ib. Second death.] For an explanation of the expression, "he who overcometh," see note, ch. ii. 7. To the spiritual conqueror, in that passage, immortal life is promised; but it is here inferred that he must not expect to approach to it otherwise than through the passage of death, which is the common lot of man by the divine sentence*; and by which the "Captain of Salvation, the Lord of Life," himself passed to victory. This is the first death. But beyond the grave, (where death, in the common acceptance of the word, can no more prevail,) is the second death; not only a total extinction of all our pleasurable feelings, and of all our hopes of happiness, but an ever-during sense of this extinction, "where the worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched." To death, in this secondary sense, our Saviour frequently alludes. "He that believeth in me shall never die," ε μὴ απόθανῃ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, shall not die for ever†; John xi. 26; see also John viii. 51. x. 28: in which passages it is clear from the context, that our Lord did never intend to exempt his followers from the first death, or common passage through the grave‡. For, this kind of death, by the victory of our Lord, being disarmed of its sting; being deprived of the power of retaining "the soul in hell;" being to the good Christian only a short passage to immortality;—is expressed by the gentle term sleep, "Our friend Lazarus sleepeth." And again, "The maid is not dead, but sleepeth§." And we are exhorted

* Gen. iii. 19.
† John xii. 25. Matt. x. 28.
‡ Matt. ix. 24. John xi. 11, 13. 1 Cor. xi. 30. xv. 6, 18, 51.
§ Matt. ix. 24. John xi. 11, 13. 1 Cor. xi. 30. xv. 6, 18, 51.


This metaphorical application of the word sleep, so useful to divest death
horted by our Saviour not to be afraid of this first death, "of them that kill the body," but of Him who can inflict the second death, "who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell;" in that very lake of fire which is described as the second death in Rev. xx. 14, and xxi. 8. which two passages will be found to elucidate the sense of this expression, "the second "death," as used in the Apocalypse.

Before death of its terrors, continued long in popular use with the Christian world. Prudentius, speaking of the Christian bodies deposited in graves, says,

**“non mortua, sed data somno;”**

not dead, but sleeping.

And so says Tertullian: Neque ipsi mortui sumus, qui Deo vivimus, neque mortuos sepelimus, quia et illi vivunt in Christo. (Tertull. de Monog. cap. vii. ad fin.) Hence the place of Christian burial was called κοματεριον, cæmeterium, sleeping-place.—The lofty heathen writers, who could promise to their readers no such resurrection of the body, called the death of the good Ἰτιὸν ἢμερ (Homer); which noble expression probably gave rise to that beautiful epitaph, ascribed to Callimachus:

Τὰς Σαῦν ἰ Νικών Λακαθίων Ἰτιὸν ἢμερ
Κοματαί: Ἰτιὸν μὲν λέγε τις ἀγαθός.

In sacred sleep here Saôn rests his head:

In sleep:—for who shall say the good are dead?

* Irenæus, one of the earliest commentators on the Apocalypse, explains "the second death" to mean the Gehenna, or eternal fire. Iren. lib. v. c. 35. This distinction between the two deaths may be read to advantage in the sublime Poet, who, speaking in the person of Adam, says:

**How gladly would I meet Mortality, my sentence, and be earth**

Insensible! how glad would lay me down

As in my mother's lap! there I should rest,

And sleep secure: — — — — — —

— — — — yet one doubt

Pursues me still, lest all I cannot die; —
Before we leave this passage, let us remark how appropriately the reward of escaping the second death is helden forth to the good Smyrneans, when called to martyrdom, and how consistently our Lord represents himself to these martyrs, as "He who was dead, and "is alive!"

Lest that pure breath of life, the spirit of man,
Which God inspir'd, cannot together perish
With this corporeal clod;—then in the grave,
Or in some other dismal place, who knows
But I shall die a living death!

Paradise Lost, book x. 775—788.

PART I.

SECTION VI.

The Address to the Church in Pergamos.

CHAP. ii. VER. 12—17.

12 And to the Angel of the Church in Pergamos, write; Thus saith he who holdeth the two-

13 edged sharp sword: I know thy works, and where thou dwellest, even where the throne of Satan is; and thou holdest fast my name, and hast not denied my faith; [even] in the days in which Antipas my faithful wit-

ness was; who was slain among you, where Sa-

12 And to the Angel of the Church in Perga-
mos, write, These things saith he, which hath the sharp sword with two edges. I know thy works, and where thou dwellest, even where Satan's seat is: and thou holdest fast my name, and hast not denied my faith, even in those days wherein Antipas was my faithful martyr, who was slain among you, where Satan dwell-
Ch. ii. 12—17.

APOCALYPSE.

14 tan dwelleth. But I have against thee a few things, that thou hast there those who hold the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balak to cast a stumbling-block before the children of Israel; to eat things sacrificed to idols, and to commit fornication:

15 So hast thou also those who hold the doctrines of the Nicolaitans in like manner. Repent, therefore, or else I will war against them with the sword of my mouth.

16 Me that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the Churches: To him who overcometh, to him will I give of the hidden manna; and I will give him a white stone, and upon the stone a new name written, which none knoweth but he who receiveth it.

14 eth. But I have a few things against thee, because thou hast there them that hold the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balak to cast a stumbling-block before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed unto idols, and to commit fornication. So hast thou also them that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitans, which thing I hate. Repent; or else I will come unto thee quickly; and will fight against them with the sword of my mouth.

17 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the Churches: To him who overcometh, will I give to eat of the hidden manna; and I will give him a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth, saving he that receiveth it.

Ver. 12. Pergamos.] A city of great account, enriched and adorned by a long succession of the Attalian Kings. The last of these, Attalus Philometer, bequeathed his dominions to the Romans, and it then became the residence of a Roman pro-consul.
consul. Pliny the elder, who wrote but a short time before the date of this Revelation, describes it as the most famous city in Asia*. A heathen metropolis would naturally become a central seat of corruptive doctrines and morals; and in this sense it might be called "the throne of Satan." It might also acquire this appellation from being the seat of the pagan persecuting government, whence issued the edicts and instruments of persecution; and it appears that Antipas, the faithful martyr, was slain here†. It was also a grand seat of heathen learning, because its famous library of 200,000 volumes would necessarily attract the residence of the learned; whence also from this place would probably be derived that "philosophy and vain deceit," against which, as corruptive of Christianity, the apostle warns his disciples‡. And the χάλαζα, or depths of Gnostical learning, are ascribed to Satan, in the address to the Church of Thyatira §. So, in more senses than one, Pergamos may have been styled the "Throne of Satan." It is described by modern travellers as containing at present from two to three thousand Turks, who have converted its best churches into mosques. Yet there are some few Christians remaining, to whom a priest sent from Smyrna, occasionally officiates.

Ib. *Two-edged sharp sword.*] With this instrument of power our Lord has been already described, in ch. i. 16, where see the note. The description is peculiarly proper in this place, because the supreme Head of the Church now appears against the "Throne of

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* Nat. Hist. lib. v. c. xxx.
† Ver. 13.
‡ Coloss. ii. 8.
§ Ver. 24.
“Satan,” against the seat of persecution, of corrupt morals, and of corrupt philosophy.

Ver. 13. Antipas.] No account has been preserved to our times, of this martyr; but Andreas Casariensis reports, that he had read the history of his martyrdom.

Ver. 14. Doctrine of Balaam.] This Church is hitherto commended for its stedfast faith and perseverance, even in times of great trial. But she had in her bosom some who taught impure doctrines. By referring to Numb. xxxi. 16, and then to the whole 25th chapter of the same book, we learn that Balaam suggested to Balak the means, or stumbling-block, by which he decoyed Israel from their duty; and that the sin which they committed, when fallen into this snare, was apostacy from their God, by joining in the heathen sacrifices with the dissolute women, who were employed to seduce them. Hence, by the Apostles Saint Peter and Saint Jude, a defection from the true religion, when united with immoral and lascivious practices, is called, “following the way, or error of Balaam.”

Ver. 15. Nicolaitans.] See note, ch. ii. 5. These were followers of the doctrine of Balaam, as the name signifies both in Hebrew and Arabic. See Michaelis, Introd. to New Test. ch. xlviii. sect. 3.

Ver. 16. I will war against them.] Not against you the Church, but them, the corrupters of it. Yet, insomuch as many received these impure doctrines, and the rulers of the Church had not been vigilant to reclaim or eject them, all are called to repent. For the weapon with which their Lord threatens to

* See the last note.  † Comm. in loc.  ‡ 2 Pet. ii. 15. Jude 11.

attack
attack them, see note ch. i. 16. It is with this powerful sword that Antichrist shall be slain, and the enemies of the church shall be finally subdued*. The word of God, advancing in its purity, and gaining dominion over the hearts and actions of men, shall in due time expel idolatry, insincerity, and the persecuting spirit of worldly policy and of insincere religion†. This "word of God" is described as having a living efficacy, "sharper than any two-edged "sword," penetrating into the inmost parts of man‡; and it is represented as an object of terror to those of the brethren, who, from an evil heart of unbelief, shall apostatize from the living God§. And, in the subsequent verse, the whole congregation is directed to exhort each other daily, lest any of them be hardened by the deceitfulness of sin. Apply this to the Church of Pergamos, which the members of it might then have done, by having recourse to the same Sacred Scripture.

Ver. 17. Hidden manna.] This expression will become intelligible, by the perusal of the 6th chapter of Saint John's Gospel from the 26th verse. Our Lord declares to the multitude, who followed him in the expectation of being miraculously fed, that he himself is the bread of life, the manna from heaven, which shall support those partaking of it to everlasting life: and when they could not, or would not, understand him in the spiritual sense which he intended, he tells them that he is to be understood in a figurative, and not in a literal meaning. "It is

* Is. xi. 4. 2 Thess. ii. 8. Rev. xix. 15, 21.
† Matt. xii. 36, 37. John viii. 31, 37, 43, 47; xii. 47, 48. xv. 3, 7. Heb. i. 3. 1 Pet. i. 23, 25.
‡ Heb. iv. 12. § Heb. iii. 12.

"the
"the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing; the words that I speak to you, they are "Spirit, and they are Life." The "hidden manna" is this bread of life in its spiritual signification, of which the manna, free from corruption, laid up in the tabernacle, was only a type; namely, the benefits derived to the faithful followers of Christ by the offering of his body; forgiveness of sins and everlasting salvation. In the midst of a figurative discourse, our Lord presented his disciples with this plain interpretation: "Verily, verily I say unto you, "he that believeth on me hath everlasting life;" I "am that bread of life." He who through faith in his crucified Redeemer, follows him in his victorious career, unmoved by the temptations or threats of the enemy, is by his Lord's appointment entitled to this food of heavenly life. But this "Life is hid "with Christ in God". "It does not yet appear "what we shall be." "Eye hath not seen, nor ear "heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, "the things which God hath prepared for those that "love him." Such appears to be the hidden manna, namely, the ineffable joys of a blessed immortality.

From the small remains of history, which are preserved to us of this church, she seems to have remembered these splendid promises of her Lord; for many of the Pergamenians underwent the fiery trial of martyrdom, at the time when Polycarp suffered at Smyrna.||

Ver. 17. *White stone.*] Stones, ψηφοὶ, calculi, were used by the ancient nations, as the names import, to calculate and to vote with; and in criminal pro-

* John vi. 47, 48. † Col. iii. 3. ‡ 1 John iii. 2.
§ 1 Cor. ii. 9. ¶ Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. iv. c. 15.
cesses the white stone was the mark of acquittal, the black one of condemnation:—

Mos erat antiquus niveis atrisque lapillis;
His damnare reos, illis absolvere culpā.

The white stone, presented to the conquering Christian, may be supposed to signify, "well done, "thou good and faithful servant." But this white stone is inscribed with characters; so were the θνΦα of the ancients. The letter θ with the Greeks was the token of condemnation; or, in a general sense, of disapprobation. So Persius;

Et potis es nigrum vitio præfigere Θeta.

But on this white stone, given by our Lord to his approved servants, was written a new name, which will be explained in the following note.

Ver. 17. A new name.] By the custom of nations, from the earliest ages, a person raised to dignity was commonly invested with a new name or title, expressive of his deserts. Many instances occur in Scripture‡. It is the promise of God to Zion, that, becoming the glory and the light of the Gentiles, "she shall "be called by a new name, which the mouth of the "Lord shall name." He has promised also to the Eunuchs and Gentiles, who shall "keep his covenant, "and love the name of the Lord, a place and a name "better than of sons and of daughters, an everlasting "ing name which shall not be cut off§." Of this kind and nature is the new name or title, given by the Lord of Heaven to his elected servants. The

* Ovid. Metam. lib. xv. 41. † Sat. iv. 13.
‡ Gen. xli. 45. 2 Sam. xii. 25. Dan. i. 7. John i. 42. Matt. xvi. 18.
§ Is. xlii. 1, 6. lvi. 5.
honour which they shall receive at his hands, when their spiritual warfare is accomplished, is beyond conception, and can only be known by being enjoyed.

PART I.

SECTION VII.

The Address to the Church in Thyatira.

CHAP. ii. VER. 18—to the end.

18 And to the angel of the Church in Thyatira write: Thus saith the Son of God, who hath his eyes as a flame of fire, and his feet like smelting brass.

19 I know thy works, even thy love, and thy service, and thy faith, and thy patience, and thy last works to be more than the first:

20 But I have against thee, that thou sufferest thy woman Jezebel, who calleth herself a prophetess, and teacheth and seduceth my servants to commit fornication, and to eat meats sacrificed unto idols:

21 And I have given her a time, that she might repent, and she will not repent of

18 And unto the angel of the church in Thyatira, write, These things saith the Son of God, who hath his eyes like unto a flame of fire, and his feet are like fine brass; I know thy works, and charity, and service, and faith, and thy patience, and thy works; and the last to be more than the first. Notwithstanding, I have a few things against thee, because thou sufferest that woman Jezebel, which called herself a prophetess, to teach and to seduce my servants to commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed unto idols. 

21 And I gave her space
22 her fornication; Behold, I cast her into a bed, and those who commit adultery with her, into great tribulation, unless they shall repent from her. And her children will I slay with death; and all the churches shall know that I am he which searcheth the reins and hearts; And I will give unto every one of you according to your works. But unto you say, unto the rest in Thyatira, as many as hold not this doctrine, (whosoever have not known the depths of Satan, as they speak,) I shall put upon you none other burden, Only that which ye have, hold fast until I come. And he who overcometh, and who keepeth even unto the end my works, to him will I give power over the 27 nations, (And he shall rule over them with an iron sceptre, as the vessels of earthenware are broken to pieces,) Even as I received of my Father; and I will give to repent of her fornication, and she repented not. Behold, I will cast her into a bed, and them that commit adultery with her into great tribulation, except they repent of their deeds. And I will kill her children with death; and all the churches shall know that I am he which searcheth the reins and hearts: and I will give unto every one of you according to your works. But unto you say, unto the rest in Thyatira, As many as have not this doctrine, and which have not known the depths of Satan, as they speak, I will put upon you none other burden. But that which ye have already, hold fast; and I will till I come. And he that overcometh, and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give power over the 27 nations; (And he shall rule them with a rod of iron; as the vessels of a potter shall they be broken to shivers;) even as I received of my Father. And I will
Ver. 18. *Thyatira.*] This was a considerable city in the road from Pergamos to Sardis*. Lydia, who at Philippi received the Apostles Paul and Silas, was of this place; and being a person of consequence, and divinely called to receive the Christian Religion†, probably became the cause of establishing a Church here. So that, on this account, as well as because this address of our Lord is directed to the Church of Thyatira, we can give no credence to the notion which was holden by some persons in Epiphanius's time, (300 years after the date of this epistle,) that the church in this city was founded after the time of Saint John’s seeing this vision. No Christians are at this time reported to be found in the remains of this city.

* *Eyes as a flame of fire, &c.*] Thus the Son of God appeared in ch. i. 14, where see the note, and the meaning of the word χαλαρόλεπαν.

Ver. 19. *Thy last works to be more than the first.*] This is great commendation, and the reverse of the fault for which the Ephesians are reproved, (v. 4.) and of that lamentable state, described in Saint Luke, xi. 26. 2 Pet. ii. 20. τα ἐσχάτα χειρονα τῶν ποιῶν, the last state worse than the first.

Ver. 20. *Jezebel.*] This might be literally, a wo-* Strabo and Pliny. † Acts xvi. 14.
man of great rank and influence at Thyatira, who seduced the Christians to intermix idolatry and heathen impurities with their religion. Such seducers were in the church in Saint Paul's time*. And the history of Queen Jezebel, that eminent patroness of idolatry, as delivered in the Books of Kings, shews that such a woman would be fitly represented under that name. But there is another sense in which it also may be applied; for, in symbolical language, by a woman is signified a city, a nation, a community, a church †. This passage is so understood by Venerable Bede, who explains the term Jezebel to mean ‡ a synagogue of false apostles pretending to be Christian; and it may signify a sect of seducers, like that described in verses 14 and 15 of this chapter; for the same doctrines are ascribed to both. In the comment of Andreas Bishop of Cæsarea, written about the year 500, and containing the matter, as the writer professes, of more ancient commentators on the Apocalypse, of Irenæus, Papias, Methodius, &c. it is said, that the Nicolaitan heresy is here called Jezebel figuratively §, on account of its impiety and intemperance. See also the note below, ver. 24.

Ver. 20. Fornication.] The edict of the Apostles, (Acts xv.) forbids to the Gentile converts that which is here mentioned: 1. Πορνεία, fornication, under which word are comprehended all those carnal impurities, which were common among the heathens, and even made a part of their sacred rites. 2. Εἰδωλεύειν, Ἀιδιγματα τῶν εἰδωλῶν, meats offered unto idols; to partake of which, when declared to be such, was to partake of the worship.

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* 2 Cor. vi. 14, &c. † See note below, v. 22.
‡ Synagogam pseudo-apostolicam, quae se Christianam fingit.
§ Τρυπίνων νομικάζομεν ιεζεβήλ, διὰ τὴν διστείβειαν καὶ ασέλγειαν.
worship. The two sins were nearly connected together in the heathen institutions, and introduced each other.

Ver. 22. Adultery.] In scriptural language, nations and cities, and communities are frequently expressed under the emblems of women, virgins, &c.; nor has this mode of representation been confined to the ancient or Eastern nations. In our times and country, Britannia is personified, and is seen, as a woman upon our coins; as are Judæa, Rome, &c. &c. on those of ancient days*. The nation of Israel, or the church of God under the Old Testament, is constantly represented under this symbol. In the times of her purity, she is a virgin; in her happy prospects, a bride; in her impure connections, a harlot. And, conformably to this figure, the great Being who especially protects her, was pleased to represent himself, as the husband who espouseth her, and who, for her wickedness, divorces her†. For, by a continuance of the metaphor, she is described as "treacherously departing from her husband," committing adultery with stocks, stones, and idols‡; but after chastisement and repentance, she is restored to favour and matrimonial distinction, and becomes fruitful in children, the multitudes of the Gentiles§. The reader may see this imagery produced into allegory, in the xviith chapter of Ezekiel. Agreeably to this, in the New Testament, our Lord, the head

* See the plates in Montfaucon, or in Calmet's Dictionary.
† Jer. xxxi. 32. Is. xlix. 20, &c. liv. 5. lxii. 1, 5. Hos. ii. 2. Is. liv. 7.
‡ Jer. iii. 8, 9. 20. Ezek. xvi. 22. xxiii. 37.
§ Hos. ii. 7. 16. 19. Is. liv. 6.
of the church, is represented as the bridegroom, and her apostacy from him is called *adultery*.

Now, in the passage before us, adultery may be taken either in a literal, or in this its figurative sense; accordingly as we understand *Jezebel* to represent, either literally a woman, or figuratively a sect. If taken in the figurative meaning, (which seems most probable,) then her sons, to be slain, are the followers of her religious institutions; and they, who commit adultery with her, are the Christians, who are seduced to her doctrines and practices, from the duty they owe to their Lord.

Ver. 22. *Bed.*] The place which had been the scene of her transgression, is to be that of her punishment. Taken literally, it will imply the pains of a sick-bed; and to be tormented in bed, where men seek rest, is peculiarly grievous †. Or, in a figurative sense, to adopt blasphemous and impure doctrines and practices, may, and probably will, occasion great tribulation to an apostatizing church.

Ver. 23. *I will slay with death.*] This is a Hebraism, denoting, by its repetition, the certainty of the event denounced. The equivalent expression in Genesis ii. 17, is translated, "thou shalt surely die." Sickness and death are represented by Saint Paul, as punishments inflicted on the perverters of holy ordinances in the apostolical times ‡: or, *Θανάτος* may here signify, as it does evidently in ch. vi. 8, *pestilence*; and thus express the mode of death by which these rebellious servants of God were to be slain.

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† Daubuz. See Psalm vi. 3. xli. 3. Job xxxii. 19. Is. xxviii. 20.
‡ 1 Cor. xi. 30.
Ver. 24. *The depths of Satan.*] Our interpretation of the word Jezebel in a figurative sense, seems to be confirmed. She had a doctrine, and taught deep mysterious knowledge, calling it perhaps with Saint Paul, τὰ ζηλην τῆς θέας, the deep things of God*, but it is declared to be τὰ ζηλην τῆς Σατανᾶς, the depths of Satan. Traces of such philosophizing sects are to be seen in the writings of the apostles, and of the apostolical fathers. And the Gnostics, who dealt eminently in these ζηλην, thus afterwards entered and corrupted the church.

Ver. 25. Until I come.] See note, ch. i. 3.

Ver. 27. Power over the Nations.] The expressions in this passage have near resemblance to those of the second Psalm, which are undoubtedly prophetic of Christ†. He is there declared, “a king over the nations, even unto the ends of the earth.” He shall “rule over the nations with an iron rod,” or sceptre, “and break them to pieces, as a potter’s vessel.” But our Lord informed his disciples, that “he appoints unto them a kingdom, even as his Father had appointed unto him§;” and the promise is continued by them to their successors in the church.

* 1 Cor. ii. 10.
† In this passage in the Septuagint, the word ἡλικωρ is used, as well as in the Apocalypse. And the ancient Hebrew text probably agreed with it. (See Reeves’s Collation of Hebrew and Greek texts, Ps. ii. 9.) This character, of shepherd of the people, was anciently attributed to good kings. Such was the παρακλητος of Homer. By such a character, did the great Cyrus desire to be distinguished. (Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. i.) It is frequently applied in Scripture to the Messiah, and occurs in that sense four times in the Apocalypse. So Παράκλητος is properly translated sceptre, as in Heb. i. 8. See Schleusner, in voc.

church. It is a kingdom of great power and glory, yet not after the fashion of this world; for it is neither acquired nor preserved by arms. It is not founded on worldly policy, over which it is destined to prevail. It is the stone of Daniel's vision, which, cut out of the mountain without hands, breaks to pieces the kingdoms of the world, miraculously increasing till it fills the whole earth. "And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him." 

Ver. 28. The morning star.] A star is a teacher; our Lord is eminently such; and such he intitles himself in ch. xxii. 16. ὁ αὐτὸς ὁ λαμπρὸς καὶ φωτεινός, "the shining and morning star." As such he was foretold in Numbers, xxiv. 17; and a star, in the eastern and morning quarter of the hemisphere, preceded his birth. As this star, seen by the wise men, signified to them his first coming; so by the star, promised in this passage, we must probably understand the signs denoting his second coming; a knowledge of "the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven," and of its approach in power. Saint Peter, speaking of prophecy, whose office it is in part to reveal these mysteries, recommends us to attend diligently to this "light shining in a dark place," until some clearer manifestation shall be revealed; εἰς ὁμοία διάνυσατε καὶ φωςφόρος ανατελθε ἐν ταῖς ναυσίν, until the day shine forth, and the day-

* Dan. vii. 27. See the note, ch. ii. 7. and the Scriptures there quoted. This reign of the saints is again described in ch. xix. 15.
† See note, ch. i. 16. § Matt. ii. 2. § Matt. xiii. 2.
star (or morning star, for so it should be translated,) shall rise in your hearts: until that time, when the prophetical information, imperfect in its nature, being "done away," that perfect knowledge shall succeed, which is like knowing "face to face." But beside this time of perfect consummation to which both these apostles may be thought principally to refer, there is a time promised when the Divine Power shall "remove the veil spread over all nations," and the earth "be filled with the knowledge of the "glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea." This glorious and extensive reign of Christ and of his religion, is the subject of many sublime prophecies, and is copiously prefigured in the sequel of this book. To those, whether they be churches or individuals, who, in full assurance of faith, resist the temptations, and surmount the difficulties of their Christian warfare, looking forward to the accomplishment of the divine promises with spiritual discernment, to such shall be granted the dawns and first light of these happy times; they shall see them, though afar off; and seeing, they shall rejoice; and this joy no one shall take from them.

* 1 Cor. xiii. 10. & 12. † Is. xxv. 7. ‡ Hab. ii. 14.
§ Heb. xi. 13. ‖ John viii. 56. ¶ John xvi. 22.
1 And to the angel of the Church in Sardis write: Thus saith he who hath the seven Spirits of God, and the seven stars. I know thy works, that thou hast a name, that thou livest, and thou art dead. Be watchful, and strengthen the things remaining, which are about to die; for I have not found thy works perfect before my God.

3 Remember therefore how thou hast received and heard, and hold fast, and repent. If therefore thou shalt not watch, I will come upon thee, as a thief, and thou shalt not know what hour I will come upon thee.

4 And unto the angel of the Church in Sardis, write, These things saith he that hath the seven Spirits of God, and the seven stars; I know thy works, that thou hast a name, that thou livest, and art dead. Be watchful and strengthen the things which remain, that are ready to die: for I have not found thy works perfect before my God.

5 He that overcometh, the same shall be
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clothed in white raiment; and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life, but I will confess his name before my Father, and before his 6 angels. He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.

Ver. 1. Sardis.] Sardis, situated on the Pactolus, the ancient seat of Croesus, and of the Lydian kings, was proverbially the seat of Riches. This city had suffered grievously by an earthquake some time before the date of this vision; but, by the bounty of Tiberius Caesar, had been restored to splendour*. Sardis possessed, from its natural situation, extraordinary means of acquiring riches. But riches are corruptive, and are apt to lead to that supineness in religion, and profligacy in morals, which in this epistle are so severely rebuked.

Sardis is now no more than a village. An ancient Christian church supplies the Turks, who inhabit it, with a mosque. The few Christians (if such they may be called) who still continue there, are represented to have neither Church nor minister.

Ib. The seven Spirits of God.] See note, ch. i. 4.
Ib. The seven Stars.] See note, ch. i. 16.
Ib. Name.] Character or reputation.
Ib. That thou livest, and thou art dead.] In the same figurative language, our Lord commanded his

* Strabo ii. p. 931.

disciples
disciples to "let the dead bury their dead ". The word νεκρος, a dead body, is used in its metaphorical sense; "dead," as Saint Paul expresses it, "in trespasses and sins; alienated from the life of God." The same metaphor occurs frequently in Scripture. A person living in the defilements of the world, in whom the spiritual life in Christ hath little or no vigour, is said to be "dead while he liveth;" as, on the contrary, of him who meets death in the discharge of his Christian duty, it is pronounced, that "he liveth, though he die." The use of this metaphor has been so common with the Jews, that, as "Maimonides informs us, they proverbially say, "Impii etiam viventes, vocantur mortui, The wicked are dead, even while they are alive; for he, saith "Philo \(|\), who lives a life of sin, τεθνηκε του ευραζουν, "is dead as to a life of happiness: his soul is dead, "and even buried in his lusts and passions. And "because the whole Gentile world lay more especially "under these unhappy circumstances, whence the "apostle styles them sinners of the Gentiles \(|\), it "was proverbially said by the Jewish doctors, Populi "terrarum, i. e. Ethnic, non vivunt, the heathens "do not live." An attention to this use of the words death, die, dead, &c. in this figurative language of Scripture, will tend to illustrate many passages otherwise obscure. Such are Matt. xxii. 32. iv. 6. Luke i. 79. Rom. vi. 2. viii. 6. 2 Cor. 1. 9. 10. iii. 6. 1 Pet. iv. 6. So likewise in the sequel of

* Matt. viii. 22. † Eph. ii. 1, 5. iv. 18.
¶ Gal. ii. 15. **** Whitby on 1 Pet. iv. 6.

this
this prophetical book, where it is reasonable to expect that such words will be used in this their acknowledged metaphorical sense, as in this expression of our Lord to the Church of Sardis, which serves as a clue to the rest. For the whole is his prophecy or revelation, given to him, and delivered by him*. We find also that the early writers of the church, who succeeded the apostles, applied these words in the same figurative meaning. In this acceptation Ignatius uses the word death†. In the persecution of the Christians under M. Aurelius, some had denied the faith; these are styled verae, dead; but being afterwards enabled to profess their belief in Jesus, even in the face of torture and of death, they are then said to be restored to life. The passage is expressive, and may be seen at length in Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. i. Tertullian has frequently used the words death and die in this figurative sense: Mortuus es qui non es Christianus‡. Apostoli de mortuis vivos faciebant, haeretici de vivis mortuos faciunt.§

Ver. 2. Be watchful.] We are exhorted to the same watchfulness, connected with the metaphor explained in the last verse, in many other passages of Scripture. “Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead,” &c. ||

Ver. 3. Remember.] The fault of Sardis was not heresy, or corruption of doctrine: it was negligence and supineness: she knew the will of her Lord, but

* Ch. i. 1. † Epist. ad Trall. sect. 6.
‡ De Carne Christi, sect. 2.
§ De Praes. Haeret. sect. 30. See also Cyprian’s Epistles 10 & 27, where the same metaphor is used.
did it not. She is therefore called upon to \textit{remember} the doctrines she had received, and to bring them into practice. "And what I say unto you, I say "unto all," says our Lord, "watch."

Ib. \textit{A thief.} The coming of Christ, to take vengeance on his enemies, is represented to be like the approach of a thief in the night, when men, lulled in security, awake suddenly to see their own ruin *. This consideration more especially affects the careless and negligent, such as the Sardians are represented to be. The words of Saint Paul may be applied as the best possible comment on this text: "But "of the times and seasons, Brethren, ye have no need "that I write to you, for you yourselves know perfectly that the day of the Lord so cometh as a "thief in the night; for when they shall say peace "and safety, then sudden destruction cometh upon "them, as travail upon a woman with child, and "they shall not escape: but ye, Brethren, are not in "darkness, that \textit{that day} should overtake you as a "thief; ye are all the children of the light, and the "children of the day; we are not of the night, nor "of darkness: therefore let us not \textit{sleep} as do others, "but let us watch and be sober†."

Ver. 4. \textit{Names.} We observe the same expression used in the same sense to signify Christian persons, Acts i. 15. and again, Rev. xi. 13. They are those who have their names enrolled in the book of their Lord, who claim a citizenship in his new Jerusalem ‡. We learn here, as from other passages of Scripture, that pure members of an impure church

† 1 Thess. v. 1—7. ‡ See the note below, ver. 5. book of life.
Ch. iii. 1—6.] APOCALYPSE. 85

are kept separate in the eye of their Lord, and by him shall be considered as his own.

Ib. Garments—white. By an easy and obvious metaphor*, what raiment is on the body, its cover and ornament, such is the habit of practice to the soul. "I put on righteousness, and it clothed me," says Job; "my judgment was a robe and a diadem." Conformably to which method of speaking, the Christian is required "to put off the old man, to put on the new, to put on Christ†;" which expressions are explained by their context to signify, that he should "be renewed in the spirit of his mind, and put on the righteousness which is by faith." In this allegorical form of speech, our Lord describes his servants as invited to the wedding of their great Master; when one of them, appearing without a wedding garment, is sentenced to be cast into outer darkness. This garment is white, pure, free from stain of sin, made clean, as it is expressed not only in the Apocalypse but in other passages of Scripture, by the blood of the Lamb‡. Sin defiles the soul, as earthly impurities do the bodily raiment; and there is no other means of cleansing, but propitiating blood; not the blood of bulls and goats, for these were only typical, but the blood of the Redeemer, of the holy victim, slain, in the counsel of God, from the foundation of the world. If we would be clothed in this raiment, in which alone we can appear pure and ac-

* For the gradual formation of which, see 1 Sam. xviii. 4. 2 Sam. i. 24. Is. xxii. 21. Ixi. 10. Dan. v. 7. Luke xv. 22. xvi. 19. Also, Herodotus, Thalia, lxxxiv. Xenoph. Anab. lib. i.
† Eph. iv. 22. 27. Gal. iii. 27.
acceptable before God, we must put on faith, working in us, by love, the best moral conduct; agreeably to which explanation, this acceptable white garment is (in chap. xix. 8,) affirmed to be "the righteousness "of the Saints*.

Ver. 5. White raiment.] See the preceding note, to which we may add this observation; that the expression ἐν λευκοῖς is peculiar to Saint John; see chap. xx. 12. where it is applied to the shining appearance of angels; also Mark xvi. 5. στόλη λευκή, which in Saint Luke is expressed by ἐν εὐθυμεσίᾳ αὐτραπτότης, whence we may collect that λευκὸς applied to garments means a white of a dazzling brightness and splendour, such as arrays angelic beings.

Ib. Book of life.] As in states and cities, those who obtained freedom and fellowship, were enrolled in the public register, which enrolment was their title to the privileges of citizens; so the King of heaven, of the new Jerusalem, engages to preserve in his register and enrolment, in the book of life, the names of those, who like the good Sardians, in a corrupted and supine society, shall preserve allegiance and a faithful discharge of their Christian duties. He will own them as his fellow-citizens, before men and angels †.

* The result of these observations will enable us perhaps to explain a passage in the 2d Epistle to the Corinthians, (ch. v. 3,) which seems to have perplexed the commentators: "If so, that being "clothed, we shall not be found naked: that is, if at the day of Judgment, when we must necessarily appear without our corporeal integuments, we shall have obtained that clothing, which alone can make us fit to appear in the Divine presence; that white, pure wedding garment, the righteousness of the Saints, without which no one can be admitted to the presence of God.

And unto the Angel of the Church in Philadelphia, write: Thus saith He that is holy; He that is true; He who hath the key of David; He who openeth and no one shutteth, and shutteth and no one openeth: I know thy works; behold, I have set before thee an opened door, which no one can shut: because thou hast little strength, and hast kept my word, and hast not denied my name.

Behold, I give unto thee those of the synagogue of Satan, (who say of themselves that they are Jews, and are not, but speak falsely, behold, I will make them) to come and worship before thy feet, and to know that I have loved thee.

Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I also will keep thee from the hour of temptation,
hour of trial, which is about to come upon the whole region, to try those who dwell 11 upon the earth. I am coming soon; hold fast that which thou hast, that no one take thy 12 crown. He that overcometh, him will I make a column in the Temple of my God; and out of it he shall never more depart; and I will write upon him a name of my God, and the name of the city of my God; of the new Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven from my God; even my new 13 name. He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the Churches.

which shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon 11 the earth. Behold, I come quickly: hold that fast which thou hast, that no man take 12 thy crown. Him that overcometh, will I make a pillar in the Temple of my God, and he shall go no more out; and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, which is new Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven from my God: and I will write upon 13 him my new name. He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the Churches.

Ver. 7. Philadelphia.] This city, in the times of Strabo, that is, not long before the date of this vision, had been so often shaken by earthquakes, that it was in a great measure deserted by its inhabitants; which may in some degree account for the poverty of its Church, as described in this Epistle. And its poverty may also in some degree account for its virtue, which is so highly commended*. Melito, an eminent Bishop of this see, and a Christian apologist in the second cen-

* Strabo, ii. lib. xii.
tury, appears to have written on the Apocalypse*. That such a man, in such a situation, so near to the time when the Apocalypse was published, should acknowledge it as divine, by commenting upon it, is a strong argument for its authenticity. Unfortunately this work of his is lost.

Philadelphia appears to have resisted the attacks of the Turks in 1312, with more success than the other cities†; but at length it fell under their domination. It still contains (probably as being the last which was subdued) more Christian families than most of the others. Modern travellers represent four Christian Churches standing in this place, and above 200 houses inhabited by Christians.

Ib. He that is holy.] This epithet belongs appropriately to the Deity. He alone is holy ‡: the Holy One. But, by communication, the same epithet descends to the only begotten Son, who, as such, partaking the nature of the Father, is styled the Holy One§.

Ib. He that is true.] This epithet, like the preceding, is applicable only to the Father, who is ὁ ἅγιος ὁ Θεός, the only true God (John xviii. 3.); but descends also to the Son, “the express image of the Father,” “the Truth and the Life∥.” He is the true bread, the true vine, the true light, and is emphatically denominated The True One¶.

Ib. Key of David.] See note, ch. i. 18.

Ver. 8. Opened door.] Our Lord has rendered the everlasting glories of his kingdom of easy access to the faithful and repentant: 1st, Because he has made

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† Gibbon, vi. 314.
‡ Exod. xxviii. 36. Is. vi. 3.
∥ John xiv. 6.
¶ 1 John v. 20.
atonement for those sins which would otherwise preclude their entrance. 2dly, By granting to them spiritual assistance. 3dly, By supplying them with rules and directions, which he has illustrated by his own perfect example. Hence he has called himself the Way, the Door, no one entereth but through him. And against those who faithfully and diligently attempt an entrance through him, the powers of Hell shall not prevail. In Acts xiv. 27, it is called, the "door of faith," and is described as open to the Gentiles, through the mercies of God.

Ver. 9. Jews.] See note, ch. ii. 9. A complete triumph over these pretended saints is promised to this humble Church; and probably it took place in those early times, of which so little history remains. But as this meek and faithful Church is a type and resemblance of the pure Church of Christ; so, to that universal Church, when it shall appear in its purity, after this type, the conversion of the whole body of the Jews seems promised; which has been vainly, though often attempted by violence and persecution.

Ver. 10. I will keep thee from the hour of trial.] This promise, in favour of the Church of Philadelphia, was probably fulfilled in some subsequent persecution, of which we have no special account.

Ver. 11. I am coming soon.] See notes, ch. i. 3, iii. 16.


Ver. 12. Column.] The ancient nations were accustomed to erect columns in honourable memorial of heroes. Such, in idea at least, were the columns of Hercules. Absalom, "having no son to keep his name in remembrance," built a column to be called by
by his name*. The Christian conqueror is here promised such an honourable memorial in God’s temple, in his everlasting temple in heaven. Agreeably to this figurative language, the Apostles James and Peter are accounted columns of the Church (στυλοι, Gal. ii. 9.) And the Alexandrian martyrs of the third century are called στυλοι τε Θεος, and also Attalus of Pergamos, in the account of the martyrs at Lyons and Vienne in the second century †.

Ib. New Jerusalem.] The numerous prophecies, foretelling great and everlasting glory to Jerusalem, have not been fulfilled in the literal Jerusalem; nor can be so fulfilled, without contradicting other predictions, especially those of our Lord, which have denounced its ruin. They remain therefore to be fulfilled in a spiritual sense; in that sense which Saint Paul points out to us, when, in opposition to “Jeru-

“salem that now is, and is in bondage with her chil-

dren,” he presents to our view “Jerusalem which is “above, which is free, which is the mother of us all.”

This is the city which “Abraham looked to; a building “not made with hands, whose builder and maker is “God ‡;” even the heavenly Jerusalem, whose splen-
dour will be displayed in the concluding chapters of this book.

* 2 Sam. xviii, 18.
And to the Angel of the Church in Laodicea, write: Thus saith the Amen, the faithful and true Witness, the Beginning of the

15 Creation of God. I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot; I would that thou wast cold or hot:

16 So then, because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I am about to nauseate thee out of my mouth;

17 Because thou sayest that I am rich, and am grown wealthy, and have need of nothing, and knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked.

18 I counsel thee to buy of me gold purified in the fire, that thou may'st be rich; and white raiment, that thou may'st be clothed, and that the shame of thy nakedness may not
appear; and to anoint thine eyes with eye-salve, that thou mayest see. As many as I love, I prove and chasten: be zealous, therefore, and repent. Behold, I stand at the door, and knock; if any man shall hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in unto him, and will sup with him, and he with me. He who overcometh, to him will I give to sit with me on my Throne; as I also overcame, and am seated with my Father on his Throne. He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the Churches.

Ver. 14. Laodicea.] Upon the river Lycus (for there were other cities of the same name) stood this city, flourishing in wealth, in the times immediately preceding the date of this vision*. Near to it was situated the city of Colossæ; and in the times of Saint Paul, these appear to have been sister Churches of the same character, neither of which had been personally visited by this great Apostle to the Gentiles†. To each of them he wrote epistles, which he ordered to be read interchangeably by both. And that which now bears

* Pliny, Nat. Hist. v. c. xix.
† Col. ii. 1.
the inscription to the Ephesians, is supposed by some
able writers to have been the Epistle to Laodicea*.
But at the time of Saint John's banishment to Patmos,
the Church of Colossæ seems to have been absorbed in
that of Laodicea; or at least the latter appears to have
been at that time the superior and predominant Church.
But its ruin and present state of desolation are described
by modern travellers as more complete and lamentable
than that of the other six.

Ver. 14. *The Amen.*] This word imports truth and
certainty; "I am he, all whose promises will be most
"strictly fulfilled." See 2 Cor. i. 20.

Ib. *Faithful and true Witness.*] See note, ch. i. 4.

Ib. *The Beginning of the Creation of God.*] See
note, ch. ii. 17. For this seems to refer to the new
creation, new building, where in Christ all things are
made new†. There is a new commandment, a new
worship, a new temple, a new city, a new house, of which Christ is the corner stone and foundation‡.
And he is not only the αἰσχύς, but the ἀπαραγχή from the
g rave, the first fruits, insuring the resurrection of his
followers.

Ver. 15. *Neither cold nor hot.*] Many are the pro-
essed Christians, in all countries, as well as in La-
dicea, who, contented to be named after their Re-
deemer, are indifferent to their actions and their con-
sequences. Supposing themselves rich in his merits,
and "wanting nothing," they fall into a lifeless sort
of Christianity, which must needs be disgusting to that
zealous Master who suffered so much for them, laying
so fair a foundation for their active exertions. Here
he calls upon such persons to examine their situation;

* See note, ii. 1. † 2 Cor. v. 17.
they are poor instead of rich; naked instead of clothed; and blind, that is, ignorant, and wilfully so. For our Lord told the Pharisees, "If ye were blind, "(that is, necessarily ignorant,) ye would have no sin; "but now ye say we see, (now ye presume upon your fancied knowledge, and refuse divine instruction,) "therefore your sin remaineth."


Ib. Gold purified. ] Πηρυγμενη, such virtue as will stand the fiery trial, or such as men possess after severe trials, assisted by the Divine Grace; for, see the following verse.

Ver. 19. As many as I love, &c. ] See Heb. xii. 5—12, which is exactly to the same purpose.

Ver. 20. Sup. ] The kingdom of Christ is described as a feast for all people. He is the bread of life; none who come to him shall hunger or thirst. But it may be said, if Christ prepares the supper, why is he represented as standing at the door, and knocking for entrance? But this action is agreeable to the office he bears in the allegory or parable. He is the Bridegroom, and his servants sit in his house to a late hour, waiting his arrival; when returning from the wedding, according to eastern custom, "he cometh and knocketh," and they open to him, and he maketh them to sit down to meat. Luke xii. 36—38. See also John xiv. 23, which tends likewise to illustrate this passage.

Ver. 21. On my throne. ] This is the last reward promised to those who overcome; and it is the richest

and most glorious. Yet it is in perfect concordance with similar promises in Scripture. Our Lord's seat is upon the throne of God, at the right hand of the Father; and he has prepared a place for his true followers, "that where he is, there may they be also." They are "heirs of God, joint-heirs with Christ; and with him they are to reign." These splendid rewards are to be obtained only through Christ, by those who follow him faithfully in his career of spiritual warfare, and of victory, "as he also hath overcome."

† John xiv. 2.
CHAPTER IV.

1 After these things, I looked; and behold, there was a door opened in the heaven; and the former voice, which I had heard as of a trumpet speaking with me, saying, "Come up hither, and I will shew thee the things which must happen after these;" and immediately I was in the Spirit; and behold, a Throne was set in heaven; and upon the Throne one sitting;

2 And He that sat, was like in appearance to a jasper, and a sardine stone: and there was a rainbow round about the Throne, in sight like unto an emerald. And round about
And the Throne were twenty-four thrones, and upon the thrones twenty-four Elders, sitting, clothed in white raiment; and upon their heads crowns of gold. And out of the Throne proceeded lightnings, and thunders, and voices; and seven lamps of fire burning before the Throne, which are the seven Spirits of God.

And before the Throne, as it were, a Sea, glassy, like unto crystal; and in the midst of the Throne, and around the Throne, four living creatures, full of eyes, before and behind.

And the first living creature like a lion; and the second living creature like a steer; and the third living creature having the aspect as a man; and the fourth living creature like a flying eagle.

And the four living creatures, having each of them six wings, are full of eyes, around and within; and they cease not day and night, saying, “Holy, holy, holy, the Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come. And when those beasts give glory,
97

Chap. iv.]

APOCALYPSE.

"is, and which is to 9 "come!" And when the living creatures give glory and honour and thanksgiving to Him who sitteth on the Throne, who liveth for 10 ever and ever. The twenty-four elders fall down before Him who sitteth on the Throne, and worship Him who liveth for ever and ever; and cast their crowns before the Throne, saying, "Wor-
thou art thou, O Lord, thy art thou, O Lord, to receive the glory, "and the honour, and "the power; for thou hast created all things, and by thy "will they were, and "were created."

Ver. 1. After these things.] In the 19th verse of the first chapter, the Prophet is ordered to write both the things which were then present, \( \delta \varepsilon i \), and the events which were to happen afterwards, \( \{ \delta e i \} \) \( \mu e \lambda \lambda e i \) γενεσθαι μελα ταυτα. Into these two parts the whole book of the Apocalypse is divided *. The first, containing

* See note. ch. i. 19.
the present state of the seven Churches, as discovered by their all-seeing Lord, is now completed; and we enter upon the second, which contains the disclosure of events which were then to come. Accordingly it is a new vision which is now presented; and the words "immediately I was in the spirit," shew it to be such; for they needed not to have been repeated from chap. i. 10, if it had been otherwise.

Ib. In the heaven.] The same kind of opening in the heaven, is described by other Prophets, who were favoured with such visions*. This opening of the heaven was previous to Saint John's ascent thither, and seems to have been seen by him, before he was carried in the Spirit to become a spectator of the sublime scene which he is going to describe.

Ver. 2. I was in the Spirit.] The celerity with which the Apostle, rapt in the Spirit, is presented before the scenery in heaven, is sublime. It is like that alluded to by Saint Paul, who knew not whether he was bodily or only spiritually present †. It is not like the fabled ascent of Mahomet, on the beast Alborak ‡.

Ib. A throne.] This representation has a near resemblance to what it pleased the Holy Spirit to display, at other times, of the majesty of Jehovah §. The ineffable presence of God, as Bishop Lowth remarks ‖, can only be represented by sensible and earthly images. Here is displayed the utmost magnificence of eastern state.

Ib. Upon the throne one sitting.] There is great sublimity in this nameless majesty of God; and ipsum

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* Ezek. i. 2. x. 1.
† 2 Cor. xii. 2. & 3. † Prideaux' Life of Mahomet.
§ Isaiah vi. Ezek. i. 26; &c. xliii. i. 9. ‖ On Isaiah vi.

verbum
verbatim *sedere*, the very word, *sitting*, says Jerome, shews the power and authority of his rule.*

Ver. 3. *Jasper—sardine-stone.*] The jasper is represented to be a pellucid, watery gem, its colour various†, the sardine also transparent, but of a fiery tinge. So, to express in some measure, by sensible images, the ineffable brightness of Him who sate upon the throne, the clear jasper first presented itself in the Prophet's mind, but a fiery glow was wanting to complete the description; he therefore adds the sardine. There is a resemblance to this in Exod. xxiv. 10, 17.

Ib. *Radiance.*] In the vision of Ezekiel †, there is a throne, and one sitting, and around him "as it were the appearance of fire, and it had brightness round about, as the appearance of the bow that is in the clouds on the day of rain." Such was this circular glory; it was not a rainbow, but *like it*; and of a green hue and lustre, like an emerald.

Ver. 4. *Twenty-four thrones—twenty-four elders.*] Comparing this vision, so far as we have proceeded, with those exhibited in the Old Testament to the Prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel, we cannot hesitate to declare, that it represents (to use the words of these Prophets) "the King, the Lord of Hosts, the Glory of the God of Israel!" But who are these, whom we behold on the twenty-four thrones, seated in state, and dignified with crowns? They are admitted to distinguishing honour in the Divine presence; and yet they are certainly servants, for they officiate as such (v. 10, and ch. xi. 16.) in postures of adoration, as before an eastern monarch, with crowns abased, doing homage to the Supreme King. Yet they are not *angels*, the

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* Hieron. Comm. in Ephes. i. 20.  
‡ Ch. i. 27, 28.  
usual
usual attendants of the Deity; they have no other attribute or character of those heavenly inhabitants, than that of heavenly ministration. These are not, then, "the innumerable company of angels," described by the Apostle to the Hebrews, (ch. xii.) which sacred writer, if Saint Paul, (as is probable,) had been admitted to the heavenly scene*. No; this "innumerable company of angels" is added to the scenery, in the next chapter †; nor can we with greater probability suppose them to represent that, which immediately follows in the same description, "the general assembly and "Church of the first-born which are written in heaven," because, by comparing this part of the vision with that which follows in ch. xiv. 1, we shall plainly discover, that the twenty-four elders, although they may represent a part of Christ's Church, redeemed from earth, and seated in heaven, do not represent "the general assembly," or whole body. For, the Lamb, the Redeemer, when he appears on Mount Sion, is attended by an hundred and forty-four thousand; who are expressly said to be "the redeemed from amongst men ‡." And these are distinct from the Elders: for they "sing "a new song before the throne, and before the living "creatures, and before the Elders." And these are also said to be "a first fruit to God and to the Lamb," (ver. 4.) and to have "the name of the Lamb and of "his Father written on their foreheads;" (ver. 1.) which description agrees so exactly with that of "the general assembly and Church of the First-born (προ- τόκοι) which are written in heaven," that we must necessarily account them as such, and therefore look for another body, with whose description the twenty-four Elders may agree. Such another body is dis-

* 2 Cor. xii. 1—5. † See ver. 11. ‡ Ch. xiv. 4.
closed in the very same passage of the Apostle to the Hebrews; for, in his description of the inhabitants of heaven, having mentioned, 1st, this general assembly of Christ’s Church, 2dly, “God, the Judge of all,” he adds, 3dly, “the spirits of just men made perfect;” which is indeed a very general expression, and, as such, if occurring in any other place, might be understood to comprehend the whole of the Christian Church, perfected in heaven. But as in this passage of the Epistle to the Hebrews, there is an evident distinction between “the spirits of just men made perfect,” and “the general assembly of the Church;” and as the same distinction is to be observed, in this passage of the Apocalypse, between the company of “the redeemed from amongst men,” and the twenty-four elders; so we seem authorised to look for another explanation; for one which may bring together the two remaining unexplained descriptions, those of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and of the Apocalypse. We have already shewn that the twenty-four elders are not of the angelic nature; and it will be easily supposed from what has already appeared, that they are “just men made perfect.” But of what period and description? To answer this question, let it be observed, that the point of time when this vision opens, and the twenty-four elders appear, is antecedent to the coming of Christ in the flesh. The great mystery of redemption by his blood, as of a Lamb without spot, is represented, upon the same scene, in the ensuing chapter. Yet, before these times of the Gospel, numbers of “just men” had lived; some of whom, as our Lord tells us of Abraham, saw the day of redemption, and rejoiced*. These Patriarchs and Prophets of the old

* John viii. 56.
Church are expressly called \( \Pi \epsilon \zeta \sigma \theta \iota \lambda \varepsilon \nu \zeta \), Elders, by the Apostle*; and they seem in this vision to be represented by the body of twenty-four. This is that part of the Christian Church (for all are redeemed through Christ) which, having already "fought its good fight" on earth, appears triumphant in heaven; and seems properly distinguished from the part which still remains upon earth, whose future conflicts with Satan and Antichrist are described in the succeeding visions. They are called Elders, because such, with the Jews, was the title given to eminent men selected to be their rulers. Such, among other ancient nations, also, were the Patres of the Romans, and the \( \Gamma \epsilon \zeta \sigma \tau \alpha \iota \alpha \) of the Carthaginians†. They who have the experience of age, are the fittest to direct; especially in those times and nations where little attention has been given to education. Such, among the Gothic nations of Europe, were the Earls, or Elders (as the word imports), and whence is derived our Elderman, or Alderman. Among the Jews, a selection of such a body was first made by advice of Jethro‡, and afterwards by Divine appointment§. These were seventy in number. Such was the grand superior council, called the Sanhedrim, which was always permitted to form a court, and to transact business, if twenty-three of its members should be present. And beside this supreme council, there was in Jerusalem, and in every considerable city, another court of elders, twenty-three in number, who exercised criminal jurisdiction||. This body would have been more complete in number, if it had been composed of

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twenty-four members, like the priests of the courses, two for each tribe, (1 Chron. xxiv.) but an unequal number was preferred, in order that upon a division on any vote or sentence, there might be a decisive majority. Either of these courts, the greater when reduced to twenty-three, or the less when full, resembles the session of these twenty-four elders in heaven; who, being now "made perfect," and placed beyond the reach of error in judgment, are represented as complete in their number, because unanimous in their decisions. In Isaiah xxiv. 23, the Supreme Lord is described as "reigning before his Elders (πρεσβυέρων) gloriously." Thus does he also appear in this passage of the Apocalypse. More observations on this body, will occur in the note below, ver. 6.

Ib. White raiment.] Such is the array of those, who, through faith, and the power of the Redeemer, are described as having overcome the enemies of their salvation, washing their garments white in the blood of the Lamb*. This confirms us in the notion that these Elders are of "the redeemed from the earth."

Ib. Crowns of Gold.] See note, chap. ii. 10. Such are promised to the faithful throughout the Gospel. They shall reign with Christ†; they shall receive "a "crown of righteousness, of life, of glory †." This is another confirmation that the Elders are of the redeemed from earth.

Ib. Lightnings, and thunderings, and voices.] With such terrific pomp the majesty of God appeared at Mount Sinai, and is thus represented frequently in the Book of Psalms.

* Ch. iii. 4, 5. vii. 9, 14. xix. 8, 14.
† 1 Cor. ix. 25. 2 Tim. ii. 12.
Ib. Seven lamps of fire.] These are not ἀνάμαλα, as in chap. i. 12, but ἀναπάδες: not the receptacles of the lights, but the lights themselves. We have the same imagery in Zech. iv. 1, 7, 10; on which the Angel observes, by way of explanation; "Not by might, nor "by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts." Therefore, under this symbol was represented the Holy Spirit of God. This agrees perfectly with the representation before us, which will receive additional confirmation by recurring to chap. i. 4, and the note thereon; where the seven Spirits before the throne, appear evidently to represent the Third Person in the Holy Trinity.

Ib. A Sea, glassy.] The clearness and purity of water is expressed by the same image in the classical writers:

O fons Blandusiae splendidior vitra!

And,

Vitreo daturus nomina Ponto.

One of the sacred vessels in the ancient Temple was called the Sea. It was a large receptacle of water, thirty cubits in circumference, supported by twelve images of oxen*; and it was used for the purification of the priests. The Sea before the throne in heaven may be supposed to have a similar use and efficacy under the new covenant. Upon our Lord's coming, (as foretold by the Prophet Malachi †) he was "to purify the sons "of Levi;" to prepare, for them and for his "peculiar "people‡," the means of a more perfect purification. But what does this appear to be, by the whole tenour of

* 1 Kings vii. 2 Chron. iv. Joseph. Antiq. viii. iii. 6, 8.
† Ch. iii. 3. ‡ Tit. ii. 14.

Scripture,
Scripture, but his own precious blood, which alone cleanseth from sin? Its purity and cleansing efficacy, are here expressed by the term ἵππος, glassy; which is in like manner applied to the heavenly Jerusalem in ch. xxi. 18, 21. And the martyrs, who are introduced as triumphant on this glassy Sea †, obtain their conquest "by the blood of the Lamb;" in which they are represented to have "washed and made white their robes." To those who attend to this connection of imagery, there can be little doubt, but that this purifying laver, clear as crystal, represents the blood of the Redeemer, which alone cleanses man from sin. Water, in baptism, represents this sacred blood; and therefore all the ancient commentators, down to Primasius, understood the glassy Sea to represent the laver of regeneration in Christian baptism §. But it seems to represent not only the water used in baptism, but that also which the water represents,—the blood of the Redeemer.

Ib. Four.] This number is used frequently in Scripture to denote universality or completion ||. It has this force naturally, from the figure and formation of the human body; which is so fashioned, as to occasion a four-fold division of the objects which surround it: so that under the number four they are all comprehended. For instance, a man faces one quarter of the horizon, the south; he has the north behind him; his hands extended, point to the east and to the west. Hence is derived in Scripture the determination of these four cardinal points, and their corre-

* 1 Pet. i. 19. 1 John i. 7.
† Ch. xv. 2.
‡ Ch. xii. 11. vii. 14. See also ch. i. 5.
§ See Andreas Cæsariensis, Arethas, Victorinus, and Primasius, in loc.

|| Prov. xxx. 18, &c. ‖ Job xxiii. 8, 9.
sponding winds, "the four winds of heaven." And thus "the four corners of the land," are used to signify all the land; whence Philo says, παντὰ ἐν τῷ τελῶντι. So Pythagoras: Tetras omnium perfectissimus, radix omnium. When, therefore, in the prophetic language, the number four is used, it implies universality or completion. In the present instance it seems to import that the whole throne, every side or corner of it, is surrounded by the living creatures; which are here described to be the body-guards and nearest attendants upon Him that sitteth thereon.

Ib. Living creatures.] The Greek is Ζωις, very improperly translated beasts. A beast is inferior, these living creatures are far superior in intelligence, to man. I have adopted the term used by the Right Reverend Translator of Ezekiel: and I mean to prove by a comparison of particulars, that the living-creatures, of Saint John, are the same celestial intelligences with those described by Ezekiel, and by Isaiah. The comparison will cast useful light on each of these prophetic descriptions. As the medium, or common measure, by which they may be brought together, we will use the Greek of the Septuagint, which will admit of the nearest comparison, and

* Dan. vii. 2. xi. 4. Rev. vii. 1.
† Isaiah xi. 12. Ezek. vii. 2.
‡ All things are comprehended in the number ΡΟΨ, which completes the square. Προς Μοςας, lib. iii. p. 152.
§ Brucker de Pythag. i. p. 1053, 1054.
∥ Plato has been observed to apply the term Ζωις to God. (Dialog. Timaeus.)—To which we may add, that Aristotle has done the same: Ἐπὶ ζωῆς τοῦ τελῶν ἡ ζωὴν αἰῶνος, αἰωνιόν. (Metaphysic. lib. xiv. cap. viii.)—Ζωή is any thing which has life, and in its highest signification may be applied to Him who alone "has life in Himself;" John v. 26.
is probably the text which was used by the writer of the Apocalypse.*

From this comparison, (in which all the expressions of the writer of the Apocalypse, describing the "living creatures," are contrasted with like expressions taken from the visions of Ezekiel and of Isaiah,) it must appear, that all these descriptions are derived from the same original, and that, whatsoever may seem to be the difference between the Seraphim of Isaiah, and the Cherubim of Ezekiel, it is here reconciled by their being brought into comparison with a third common measure, namely, the "living creatures" of Saint John's vision. I shall present to the reader some additional observations on the several passages, referring to them as numbered in the foregoing scheme.

* See Lightfoot, Hor. Heb. on Matt. i.

1. The
The number of "living creatures" is the same as described by both Prophets; but Ezekiel already intimates the indistinctness of the vision, and the difficulty of expressing it by similitudes taken from earthly things; for he says, ως ομοιωμα, as it were the likeness of four living creatures.

2. Here both writers concur in expressing this indistinctness; but in such a manner as to be useful to the explanation of each other. John says, "in the midst of the throne, and around the throne;" as if he could not fix the exact station of these heavenly attendants. Ezekiel says, "in the midst;" and at the same time expresses the uncertainty of their position, by these words, they "ran and returned, as the appearance of a flash of lightning;" like the aurora borealis, or northern lights, whose position seems ever moving, and whose exact station cannot be ascertained.

3. The abundance of eyes is the same in both writers, though not described exactly in the same manner. From both, it appears that no part of these heavenly ministers was without eyes. In Ezekiel's vision, they extended to the wheels, which appear to have been added in that vision for the purpose of making the throne moveable. In Saint John's vision, the scene is stationary; the wheels therefore are not necessary. The eyes, that wonderful part of animal creation, the inlets of knowledge and intelligence, are innumerable, and thus express an infinite superiority of understanding to any thing which is earthly.

4, 5, 6, 7. In both writers we see the resemblance of the same animals; but in Ezekiel, each cherub seems to have had the four likenesses in itself; and, together therewith, a general resemblance of the human form; ομοιωμα ανθρωπω επ' αυτοις; they had that dignified appearance
pearance which distinguishes man from other animals, resulting from his superior intelligence. The Cherubim, says Josephus, were extraordinary living creatures, of a figure unknown to man*. The resemblance to the animals was not exact, but somewhat like to them appeared, as the living creatures flashed upon the scene, "in the midst and around the throne †.

8. In the vision of Ezekiel, the Cherubim had each four wings; in that of Isaiah, and of Saint John, they have six. The propriety of this distinction is remarked by Grotius. The Seraphim of Isaiah, says he, have two more wings than the Cherubim of Ezekiel, because they are described to be more immediately before the presence of God; and therefore each of them has "twain to cover his face," before such transcendant brightness.

9. Here also what was wanting in Ezekiel's description, is supplied by that of Isaiah. The Seraphim sing the praises of God without intermission.

After this comparison with concordant passages of Scripture, we shall have little hesitation in determining the nature and species of these "living creatures" of the Apocalypse. They are the same with those in Ezekiel and Isaiah; and Ezekiel has settled this point by declaring expressly that they are Cherubim, and that he knew them to be Cherubim ‡. They are of the highest order of angelic beings, attending most

* Antiq. lib. iii. c. 6. lib. viii. c. iii. 3.
† The word Mo<oxos signifies in the Greek the progeny of a bull and cow; not only in its tenderest years, while we call it a calf, but long afterwards; and as it agrees best with the appearance of the vision, to suppose the majesty of the young bull or steer, and not the helpless awkwardness of the calf, the translation is altered accordingly. See Schleusneri Lexicon in voc. Mo<oxos.
‡ Ezek. x. 2, 8, 15, 20.
nearly upon the Throne, and speaking thence with the voice of thunder, which is the voice of God*. They are so near to the Throne, so intermingling with its dazzling splendour, that human faculties must fail in attaining any precise and adequate idea of them. All nature appears linked together in gradational order. The chain, beginning from heavy and inert matter, ascends through the vegetable to the animal tribes, of which man is the highest, proceeding through Angels and Archangels, Cherubim and Seraphim, to the Throne of God. But the higher orders of angelic intelligences, who are nearest to the Throne, must necessarily be seen indistinctly by human apprehension.

The opinions of commentators upon the "four living creatures," have been variously divided. There is an ancient interpretation, derived in some measure from Irenæus, and repeated by Athanasius, Victorinus, Augustine, Jerome, and others, that under these symbolic representations, The Four Gospels are designed †. Nothing but the antiquity of this notion can give it any weight or respect. In the Apocalypse, offices and services are ascribed to the living creatures, which no books can perform. Nor could The Four Evangelists themselves be intended; for Saint John, one of this number, was a spectator at the time. This

* See ch. vi. 1, and note.
† Irenæus argues that the Gospels are four in number, and therefore perfect, bearing a certain analogy to the four quarters of the world, and to the four principal Spirits; seeming to allude to these four Cherubim of the Apocalypse. The followers of Irenæus, observing this allusion or illustration, have attempted to establish it as a complete symbolical representation. Irenæus, lib. iii. c. 11. See also Victorin, Comm. in Apoc. Rev. iv. Augustin. in Johan. Evang. Hieron. Prolog. in Comm. Matth. Epist. ad Paulinum.
strange notion arose, perhaps, also, from another cause; that the twenty-four Elders had, with as little reason, been supposed to represent the **twenty-four books of the Old Testament.** By some later writers, the four living creatures are supposed to represent "*the people, or body of the Church,* as the twenty-four Elders are supposed "*to represent its ministers.*" But this cannot be so; for the representatives of the priests would be entitled at least to as near an approach to the Throne, as the representatives of the people; who, if represented by the living creatures, are evidently the nearest to it*. Besides, as hath been shewn †, the body of Christian people were **afterwards** introduced, and make no part of the present scene ‡.

There is another interpretation of the four living creatures, which, as it appears to me, would scarcely deserve notice, if it had not been introduced by that

* The living creatures are generally mentioned before the Elders, as first in dignity, and nearest to the Throne, of which indeed they make a part (ch. iv. 9. v. 6, 8, 11. xiv. 3.): and if in ch. vii. 11, and xix. 3, the Elders are spoken of first, it seems to be with reference to their station as **farthest** from the Throne, and nearest to the Angels, who surround them outwardly; in this part of the narration the order is reversed throughout.

† Note, ch. iv. 4.

‡ The only plausible reason which I have seen assigned that the living creatures are not purely *Cherubim*, angelic attendants upon the Majesty of the Throne, is this, produced by Archbishop Newcome, in his note on Ezek. i. 10. "They cannot," says he, "always represent "Angels alone, because (Rev. v. 9.) they were redeemed to God by the "blood of the Lamb, and (ver. 11.) are distinguished from Angels."—

But we must observe, that it is the peculiar office of the four living creatures to sing praises to God **without ceasing**, (ch. iv. 8,) praises not in their own name, but in that of others, of the universal Church. They unite their voices, therefore, with those of the Elders, whose song it is more peculiarly (ch. iv. 9, v. 8—14.) they lead in the beginning, and they conclude the last chorus with the emphatical *Amen.*
able expositor Joseph Mede, and, from the prevalence of his authority, been adopted by almost all our modern commentators. They are supposed to signify the four camps, or standards of the camps, of Israel, of which standards there is no such account in Scripture, nor in the ancient Jewish writers Josephus, Philo, &c. The whole being derived, says Lowman, from an uncertain Jewish tradition*. I rest therefore upon this my interpretation obtained by a comparison of scriptural passages, that the four living creatures are simply Cherubim or Seraphim; the most glorious and the nearest attendants upon the throne of God. They are said to be such by Andreas Caesariensis, who professes to give the sense of those ancient commentators whose works have not descended to our times†.

In other respects, I am happy to accord with the ingenious and generally judicious Joseph Mede, who has shewn, that the scene of the Apocalypse, and of this august session of God and his church, εἰς καιρὸν τῆς καθεδρίας, is the inner and most holy part of the temple‡. Or, to speak more properly, it is that theatre in heaven, which was represented upon earth by the inner Temple; where God was supposed to have his local seat between, or among, the Cherubim. Hence, as we advance, we shall find the furniture of the temple, the golden altar of incense before the throne, the ark of the covenant, the sea or laver, &c. These were originally appointed to be made after the heavenly pattern shewn to Moses in the mount §. Therefore

* See Lowman's note on this passage.
† Jerome saw this in the living creatures of Ezekiel, "Quadriga Domini, et verum Cherubim." Epist. ad Paulinum.
‡ Mede's Works, p. 439. § Heb. viii. 5.
when by revelation we are admitted to behold the glory of God, we must expect the scenery to bear resemblance. But additions are made to this scenery by the intervention of the new covenant through Christ, which will be remarked as they occur*.

Ver. 9. *And when the living-creatures.*] The Cherubim, as nearest to the throne, and whose office it was incessantly to sing praise, begin the adoration; then the elders, the redeemed from earth, now priests to God, commence their hymn. It is in unison with the Holy, Holy, Holy of the Cherubim, and is a Creation Hymn, simple and sublime! Of the same kind is the 148th Psalm, wherein the inanimate creation is called to give glory to God: "Let them praise the "name of the Lord;—for he commanded,—and they "were created."

We have now before us a splendid exhibition of the Deity, attended by his ministering Spirits, and which continues as the apparatus or scenery, before which the vision is to be exhibited. But the scenery is not yet complete. In chap. v. the Lamb, the Son of God, in his gracious character of Redeemer, takes his station "in the midst of the throne," and an innumerable company of angels are seen to encompass the surrounding body of the elders and the living creatures, and are added to the chorus; which receives a further increase, when, (in chap. xiv. 1. xv. 2.) the innumerable company of the redeemed on earth are introduced by their Redeemer, and sing the new song before the throne. The whole representation is wonderfully sublime, and must tend to exalt

* See also Josephi Antiq. lib. iii. c. 5. and Philo de Vit. Mos. whence it will appear that the Jews accounted the Holy of Holies the earthly abode of God, and the type of his seat in heaven.

religious
religion devotion. One of the finest parts of the devotional exercises of our church, the beginning of that ancient and majestic hymn called Te Deum, seems to have been formed principally upon it.

Ver. 10. Fall down.] This is expressed in the Greek by the future tense, by the Vulgate in the imperfect, which the French translators have followed. The English translators have given it in the present time, which may be allowed to stand, as expressing indefinitely what usually happens, and will ever continue to happen, in the church triumphant in heaven.

Ib. Cast their crowns.]

No sooner had the Almighty ceas'd, but all
The multitude of angels, with a shout
Loud as from numbers without number, sweet
As from blest voices uttering joy; heav'n rung
With jubilee, and loud hosannas fill'd
Th' eternal regions: lowly reverent
Tow'rs either throne they bow, and to the ground
With solemn adoration down they cast
Their crowns — — — —

PARADISE LOST, iii. 344—352.

No voice exempt, no voice but well could join
Melodious part,—such concord is in heav'n.

ib. 370.
PART II.

SECTION II.

The Sealed Book; the Lamb who opens it; and the Praises sung by the heavenly Choir.

CHAPTER V.

1 And I saw in the right hand of him who was sitting upon the throne, a book written within and without; sealed up with seven seals. And I saw a mighty angel proclaiming with a loud voice, "Who is worthy to open the book and to loose the seals thereof?" And no one was able in heaven, nor upon earth, nor under the earth, to open the book, nor to look into it. And I lamented much, that no one was found worthy to open, and to read the book, neither to look thereon.

5 And one of the elders saith unto me, "Lament not; behold, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the root of David, hath prevailed to open the book and to loose the seven seals." And I beheld, and
I beheld, [and lo] in the midst of the throne, and of the four living-creatures, and in the midst of the elders, a lamb, standing, as if smitten for the sacrifice, having seven horns, and seven eyes, which are the seven Spirits of God, sent forth into all the 7 earth. And he came and received [the book] from the right hand of him who was sitting upon the 8 throne. And when he had received the book, the four living-creatures and the twenty-four elders fell prostrate before the Lamb, having each of them harps, and golden vials full of incense, which are the prayers of the 9 Saints. And they sing a new song, saying, 

"Worthy art thou to receive the book, and to open its seals, because thou wast sacrificed, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, out of every tribe, and language, and people, and nation; 10 And hast made them

lo, in the midst of the throne, and of the four beasts, and in the midst of the elders, stood a Lamb as it had been slain, having seven horns, and seven eyes, which are the seven Spirits of God sent forth into all the 7 earth. And he came and took the book out of the right hand of him that sat upon the 8 throne. And when he had taken the book, the four beasts, and four and twenty elders fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps, and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of the 9 saints. And they sung a new song, saying, Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof, for thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation; And hast made us unto our God kings and priests: and we shall reign on 11 the earth. And I beheld, and I heard the
11 And I heard the voice of many angels round about the throne and the living-creatures and the elders and the four living-creatures, and the four and twenty elders; and I heard the voice of many thousands, saying, one to another, Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, and received power, and riches, and wisdom, and might, and honour, and glory, and blessing. And every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and in the sea, and all things that are in them, said, Amen. Amen. And the four and twenty elders fell down and worshipped him who liveth for ever and ever.
Ver. 1. *A book.*] The books of the ancients were generally skins of parchment, not reduced by repeated duplication, and bound together, as in modern days, but rolled up; whence in Latin they are called *volu-

mina,* volumes or rolls. Frequent mention is made in Scripture, of the "roll of the book," and the book when opened for reading, is said to be *spread*. When closed, it is called "the volume rolled up †." To a roll or volume of this form, a seal might be easily affixed, so as to conceal its contents ‡. And that this was the usual method, by which the contents of a book were kept secret, among the ancient Jews, is apparent from Isaiah xxix. 11. where "men deliver a "sealed book to one that is learned, saying, Read this, "I pray thee, and he saith, I cannot, for it is "sealed §."

The prophecies delivered to Daniel concerning Christ's kingdom, which were then dark, and only to be unfolded by additional prophecy, (such as is con-
tained in this Revelation,) are said to be "sealed;‖" or, which is synonymous, to be "closed, to be shut "up for many days." And in chap. x. 4. of this book, the prophet is commanded not to write certain predictions which were uttered, but to *seal them up*; which evidently means that they were not to be disclosed at that time.

* Ezek. ii. 10. † ἔβαινεν ἐλεύθερον. Rev. vi.
‡ In Josephus, Antiq. Jud. lib. xv. c. 6, Herod *rolls* and seals a letter.
§ The Jews are said to use such rolls of parchment in their Syna-
gogues, to this day.—Such also was the custom with the Greeks and Romans; Horace addressing his book, as desirous of publication, says,

Odisti claves, et grata *sigilla* pudico. (Ep. lib. ii. 20.)

‖ Ch. viii. 26, 27. ix. 24. xii. 4, 9. Ib.
Ib. Written within and without.] Such also was the book of prophecy unfolded before Ezekiel*; it was written "within and without," that is, on both sides of the roll; whereby is intimated the abundance of its important matter.

Ver. 5. One of the elders saith unto me.] The distinguished characters of the ancient church, prior to the Christian times, (whom I suppose to be represented by the elders, see note ch. iv. 4.) had "enquired and searched diligently †," yet had seen but imperfectly the "mystery of Christ, which had been "for ages and generations ‡." They had felt the inquietude, which Saint John now expresses, at the book being sealed, and that none should be found worthy to open it. Therefore one of that body was a proper instrument of consolation to the lamenting prophet.

Ib. The lion who is of the tribe of Judah.] The lion is represented by the most ancient authors, by Moses and Job among the scriptural, by Hesiod and Homer of the heathen writers, as the most terrible of animals. He has been accordingly regarded as the emblem of fortitude and strength. Under this description, it pleased the Holy Spirit, by the mouth of the dying Patriarch§, to foretel the victorious superiority of the tribe of Judah; which was seen to take place partially and typically, in the person of David and of his successors, but was to receive a more sublime and final completion in Christ. For David is declared|| to be a type of Christ: and in this sense, as well as on account of his pre-existence

* Chap. ii. 10. † 1 Pet. i. 10. ‡ Col. i. 26.

and
and heavenly origin*, Christ became "the root," as he styles himself, Rev. xxii. 16. at the same time that he was the offspring of David; that root, of which all men must be branches, otherwise they cannot bear fruit†. Isaiah calls him "the root of Jesse‡;” intimating that David, the son of Jesse, was only a branch, of which the original stem was in Christ. “He shall grow up,” says the same prophet, “as a tender plant, as a root out of a dry ground, despised ‘and rejected.”—Yet, in this neglected tree, afterwards extending its wide branches, “the birds of the "air shall shelter.§” So did he likewise fulfil the other emblematical character, in which the Prophets had taught the Jews to expect him. They expected him as a lion; he came like a lamb, “like a lamb for “the slaughter,” yet in fortitude, in power, in prowess, and complete victory over his enemies, he proved himself to be the very “lion of the tribe of Judah.” But, by what arms he “conquered,” namely, by pious faith, and suffering virtue, see explained in notes, chap. ii. 7, v. 9. xii. 11, 12.

Ver. 6. In the midst of the throne.] The cherubim were represented||, to be “in the midst of the “thrones and around the throne;” but the expression here is “in the midst” only; which is the inner and more dignified situation; and in order that no doubt should remain concerning this station, it is added, “in the midst of the four living creatures and of the “elders.” This is that exalted station of pre-eminence and glory, even “the bosom of the Father,” to which the only-begotten Son of God alone can

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have access; “at the right hand of God, far above all principalities and powers.” So in ch. xxii. 1. this throne is called “the throne of God and of the Lamb.”

Ib. A lamb.] Our Lord Jesus Christ, for whom alone so supreme a station could be designed, is frequently represented under this symbol of innocence, led to suffer at the altar for the sins of mankind; as presfigured in the daily service of the temple. Under which description, attributed to Jesus by the Baptist, two of the disciples acknowledged him to be the Messias. He appears in the character of a suffering victim; the character which endears him, above all others, to sinful and mortal man; and which, thoroughly considered, is found perfectly to agree and coincide with that more splendid description of him, in which he is styled, “the lion of the tribe of Judah.” For, it was in this very lowly and suffering form that he fought, and obtained the victory.

The prophecies of the Old Testament, describing the Messiah, sometimes as a despised sufferer, sometimes as an irresistible and triumphant conqueror, appeared dark and irreconcilable, until the event shewed the truth and consistency of both predictions; when “the Lord of glory” effected the salvation of the world under the character of an innocent, unresisting victim. That victim now appears, having received the deadly blow at the altar, still living, (as he says of himself, Rev. i. 18,) by the power of his resurrection, as when

† Num. xxvii. 3. John xix. 36, 37, 41. Eph. i. 7. v. 2. Heb. x. 1—22. 1 Pet. i. 19. 1 Cor. v. 7.
‡ John i. 19. § See note, chap. ii. 7.
he shewed his mortal wounds to his disciples*; and thus "he ever liveth to make intercession for us †."

"The lamb died for no offence of his own, but "for the sins of others; so did Christ. The lamb "could not commit sin, by his nature; nor Christ, "by his perfection: the lamb was without bodily "spot or blemish; Christ was holy and undefiled: a "lamb is meek and patient; such was the afflicted and much-injured Son of God ‡."

Ver. 6. Seven.] How this number became expressive of universality, fulness, and perfection, see note, chap. i. 4.

Ib. Horns.] The horn, being commonly that part of the animal by which he asserts his power, was received by the eastern nations as the symbol of power. So our Lord himself is called "a horn of salvation§;" that is, the great power of salvation. By the seven "horns," attributed to the lamb, is signified that universal and irresistible power which our Lord obtained, when, suffering death under this very form, of an innocent victim, he thereby vanquished the formidable enemy of man. "All power," says he to his disciples (immediately after this conflict), "is given to me in "heaven and in earth ||."

Ib. Eyes.] As the seven horns of the Lamb signify our Lord's omnipotence, so do the seven eyes his omnipresence. These seven eyes are described in Zech. iii. 9. iv. 10. to be "the eyes of the Lord, which "run to and fro through the whole earth." They are in that passage said to be inscribed "on a stone," which is probably. "the precious stone, the head stone of

"the corner," described in Is. xxviii. 16. 1 Pet. ii. 6, 7. Luke xx. 17. Acts iv. 11. and therefore, being applied to Christ, appear to have reference to this description *

Ver. 8. Fell prostrate.] The majesty of the Son of God appeared clouded under the covering of the Lamb. So was it in the flesh, when he appeared as the son of Mary and of the carpenter. But his splendour breaks forth with astonishing effect, when he receives the book at the right hand of the Father; and all the powers of Heaven, "thrones and dominions, principalities and powers †, fall prostrate before him. Like this, probably, was the disclosure of the divine mysteries in Christ, to "the principalities and powers in heavenly places," of which Saint Paul speaks in Eph. iii. 10.

Ib. Harps.] The harps, as well as the vials of incense, seem to belong to the elders only, not to the cherubim, to whose form they cannot accommodate, and whose figures were not seen distinctly. Besides, the masculine ἐκαθος directs this interpretation. The cherubim were seen in such effulgent brightness, flashing before the throne‡, as not to admit an exact account of the place of their position, much less a minute inspection of them, as bearing harps and vials.

Ib. Vials.] The φιάλης, vial, of the Old Testament appears to have been a sort of patera, or basin, in which were deposited, before the altar, the offerings of meal, or of incense. It was distinct from the censer, on which the offering was presented, and which is called λευκώνιος §, πυρευον, θυμιανιον, but never

* See Archbishop Newcome on Ezekiel.
† Col. i. 16. § Rev. viii.

Phial.
Therefore, they who bear these vials, are not necessarily priests who offer incense; these rather bear the incense, ministering, like the Levites under the old covenant, to the great high priest of the Christian covenant, by whom, and through whom alone, prayers are to be offered up to God.

Ib. *Full of incense.*] Ὄψιμματίδιον being in the plural number, our translators may seem to have rendered it not improperly *odours*; but this word does not express that particular compound, which by divine appointment was used in offering, and which we call *incense*. I have therefore employed this expression, *incense*, which, being of itself a compound of various sweets, has a plural signification. And by the use of this word we avoid an equivocation, which is to be seen in the common translation, wherein the "prayers of the saints," may be referred to the *odours only*, whereas, in the original, they refer clearly to "the vials full of incense." The incense of itself does not so fitly represent "the prayers of the saints," as when placed upon the vial or patera, and brought up to the altar, there to be offered.

Ib. *Which are the prayers of the saints.*] Prayer is fitly represented under the symbol of incense, according to the comparison of the Psalmist, "let my "prayer be set forth before thee as incense";" and according to the custom of holy worship with the Jews, who accompanied the offering of incense with their prayers, (see Luke i. 10.) Hence Origen, in his treatise against Celsus, alludes to this passage of the Reve-

* 1 Tim. ii. 5. Heb. vii. 24, 25.—For a more particular account of the word ὑμῶν, see Parkhurst's Lexicon, and Daubuz, in loc.
† Exod. xxx. 34. xxxvii. 29. Lev. xvi. 12.
‡ Ps, cxli. 2.
Chap. v.] APOCALYPSE.

lation, observing that "the minds of Christians serve "as altars, whence incense is truly and intelligibly "wafted to heaven, namely, prayers from a pure con-
"science;" which are the prayers of the saints. But
as prayers, under the old covenant, could be offered
only by the priests*; so, under the new dispensa-
tion, they are accepted only through the intercession
of the great High Priest and Mediator, for whose
mediatorial presentation they seem deposited with the
elders of the church†, these prayers and praises, (for
the word προσευχή implies both,) ascend to God, as
incense, in the following hymns.

Ver. 9. A new song.] The covenant through Christ,
and every thing appertaining to it, is called new in
Scripture; of which, innumerable instances may be
seen in the concordances, under the word new. In
the passage now before us, is disclosed the mystery of
the Son of God appearing to suffer as a victim; a
mystery ordained before the foundation of the world,
yet revealed only in the latter times ‡; which patri-
archs and prophets saw but imperfectly, and angels
themselves "desired to look into §." It was wonder-
ful and new, and the surprising benefits of it were
extended beyond earth, "to things in heaven ||." It
is therefore celebrated in heaven, before its pro-
gress on earth is foreshewn; and by "a new song;" This song is a hymn to the Redeemer, in which all
creation joins. The cherubim, as before, begin the

* Numb. xvi. 40.
† At the dedication of the tabernacle, the twelve elders or princes of Israel offered each of them a golden spoon, full of incense. Numb. vii. 10, 14. Daubuz.
‡ Matt. xiii. 35. 1 Pet. i. 20.
§ 1 Pet. i. 12. 1 Tim. iii. 16. 1 Cor. iv. 9. || Eph. i. 10.

song;
song; the elders unite their voices, their harps, and their incense. Such praises we now sing to Christ, in the ancient hymn called Te Deum. Such were sung in the early ages of the church, in the times immediately following those of this vision; whereof the younger Pliny gives testimony in his famous letter to Trajan*. Such were sung in the succeeding times of Origen†. Such also in the days of Eusebius, who deduces the worship of Christ from the Hymns and Psalms of the Old Testament, through all the venerable fathers of the church, to his own times‡.

Ver. 10. *Kings and priests.* See note, chap. i. 6. ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς is not over the earth, but upon the earth, in which sense it is used continually. This promise is fulfilled in chap. xx. 6. xxii. 5.

Ver. 11. *Myriads.* So, an "innumerable company of angels," in Heb. xii. 22; and in chap. i. 6. all the angels of God are commanded to worship him. The appearance of this innumerable company, in addition to the heavenly band, is sudden, as described also in Luke ii. 14.

Ver. 13. *Every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and on the sea, &c.* That is, the whole creation; for it is frequently enumerated, under this fourfold division by the sacred writers§.

Ib. *The praise and the honour.* The common translation leaving out the article, which is expressed in the Greek, in this and other passages, has not attained the sense of the original, which implies not only that praise, honour, power, should be ascribed.

* Plinii Epist. lib. x. 17.
† Cont. Cels. p. 422.
‡ Eccl. Hist. lib. v. cxxviii. His expression is grand: τον θεον το Θεω, τον Χριστον, ἐμπνεος θεολογώδες.
§ Exod. xx. 4. 11. Ps. xxxv. 6. Phil. ii. 10.
to God, and to the Redemer, in a general sense, but the particular and supreme praise, and the honour, and the power, which have been claimed by other gods "which are no gods," (Isai. xvii. 19.) and by men, (like Herod in Acts xii. 22, 23.) but which belong solely to the God of Heaven.

PART II.

SECTION III.

The opening of the first Seal.

CHAP. vi. VER. 1—2.

1 And I saw when the Lamb opened one of the seven seals; and I heard one of the four living-creatures saying, as a voice of thunder, "Come and see;" And I saw, and lo! a white horse; and he that sat upon him having a bow; and a crown was given unto him: and he went forth conquering, and for to conquer.

2 And I saw when the Lamb opened one of the seals, and I heard, as it were the noise of thunder, one of the four beasts, saying, "Come, and see. And I saw, and behold, a white horse; and he that sat upon him having a bow; and a crown was given unto him, and he went forth conquering, and to conquer.

Ver. 1. As a voice of thunder.] The voice of the Lord from heaven is frequently spoken of as "a great, a terrible, a glorious voice; even a voice of thunder."
128 APOLCALYPE.  [Pt II. § 3.

"der." Of this kind was the voice from heaven, described in John xii. 28. promising glorification to the name of Jesus; when some of the auditors said, that "it thundered, others that an angel spake to "him." Such also are the voices of the cherubim, of the near attendants upon the throne †. Such was the voice of those heavenly ministers in Isaiah's vi-
sion; when "the posts at the door of the temple "moved at the voice of him that cried ‡. This aw-
ful voice from the throne is in other passages described as the " voice of many waters." And both these images are brought together, to express the same idea; "as the voice of many waters, as the voice of "many thunders §."

Ib. Come and see.] This invitation, proceeding from the cherubim, who surrounded the throne, and are close to the place of exhibition, seems to shew that the prophet is to be favoured with a near in-
spection of the images of future things. The call is repeated at the opening of every one of the four first seals, and not afterwards; which seems to signify that these four seals, like the four sides of the throne, each of which is guarded by a cherub, will be found to form of themselves an entire and compact his-
tory. As the Lamb breaks the seal of each separate roll, the sheet, thus set at liberty, unfolds, and dis-
covers in a kind of painted delineation, (for how otherwise could the colours be known?) the four horses in succession.

2. Lo! a white horse.] The horse is a noble ani-
mal, by the eastern nations used principally in war;

* Ps. xviii. 13. xlvi. 6. lxxvii. 18. civ. 7.
† See note, ch. v. 6. ‡ Is. vi. 4. § Rev. xix. 6.
‡ See note, on number four, ch. iv. 6.
so that in Scripture a horseman and a warrior are synonymous terms. The description of the war-horse, in the book of Job, is highly poetical and sublime. The white horse is a war-horse, for he carries his rider “to conquer.” In a vision of the prophet Zechariah, (chap. i.) a person is seen “riding on a red horse, (πυρός, fire-coloured,) and behind him “were there red horses, speckled and white.” These appear, in the sequel, to represent the progress of heavenly angels, in military array, sent forth through the nations, at the time of the Jewish captivity. The red horses, which lead the array, portend war and slaughter, such as had preceded the captivity. The white horses concluding the procession, denote, as the context shews, the peace and happiness which were to follow. The speckled or parti-coloured horses were to express the intermediate transition. In the sixth chapter of the same prophecy, there is a similar exhibition of four chariots, drawn by red, by black, by white, and by parti-coloured horses; which are explained to be “the four Spirits of the heavens, which go forth from the Lord.” And they go forth for the same purpose; “the black horses, denoting “mourning and woe, go forth to the north country,” to Babylon, where the Jews were then in bondage: but “the white go forth after them;” the deliverance of the Jews, the restoration of their temple and religion followed under the victorious Cyrus. From this view of the application of the Scriptural imagery we may collect, that a man on horseback, exhibited in divine vision, denotes the going forth of some power in military array divinely commissioned, to effect changes upon the earth; and that the character of the change

Jer. i. 45. vi. 22. viii. 16. † Job xxxix. 19—26. 1 V. 11.
is expressed by the colour of the horse; the red or fire-coloured denoting war and slaughter; the black, mourning and woe; the white, victory and peace to God's people. To assist us further in the interpretation of the white horse, we have a passage in this book of the Apocalypse, (chap. xix. 11—17.) where a white horse is introduced with the very same expression, ἵππος ἱππός κεννος, "Lo! a white horse,—and "he that sate upon him called Faithful and True, and "in righteousness doth he judge, and make war. "His eyes as a flame of fire, and on his head many "diadems, having a name written which no one "knoweth but himself; and clothed in a garment "dipped in blood; and his name is called The Word "of God. And the armies which were in heaven "followed him upon white horses, clothed in fine "white linen, (and pure); and out of his mouth "goeth a sharp sword, that with it he should smite "the nations; and he shall rule them with an iron "rod, and he treadeth the press of the wine of the "anger and [indignation] of the Almighty [God]; "and he hath upon his garment and upon his thigh "a name written, King of Kings, and Lord of "Lords." It is impossible to doubt to whom this description appertains. The glorious rider on this white horse, is manifestly the only begotten Son of God. Whether he be the same in both visions; whether the Son of God be the rider of the white horse under this first seal; we will proceed to enquire. And first let us settle our opinion concerning the horse. This at least is of the very same description in both passages. He is simply "a white horse," and in both passages, as in those above quoted from the prophet Zechariah, he carries his rider, who "in righteousness judgeth and "maketh
"maketh war," to victory, and the consequence of such victory,—peace. This notion is confirmed by the context to all these passages: and the colour, white*, confines this horse to the service of the purifying Christian covenant. By the white horse then is signified the progress of a Christian power, militant for a time in "righteousness," and in the end appointed to victory, which shall bring lasting peace. He goes out, "conquering, and for to conquer." In chap. xix, he comes to this final victory, and then his rider is the Son of God, who now in person (that is, with a more ample manifestation of his over-ruling power) fights the battles of his Church. But under this first seal, which represents only the early progress of the Christian church, it is not so manifest, that the rider of the white horse is the same glorious personage. For he is destitute of the same glorious attributes. He has simply a crown and a bow. And the elders have crowns; and crowns are promised to every victorious Christian †; and the bow is not a weapon, or ornament, peculiar to Christ. And yet he may be the same; because there is a great difference between the humble and clouded beginning of our Lord's progress on earth, and his expected glorious appearance when he is to take vengeance on his enemies. But we are not yet warranted to say that this horseman is the same, the Son of God. For his followers also are represented upon white horses. "As the Father had sent him, so he sent them into "the world." And therefore the progress of the white horse seems to be rather that of the Christian religion, in its primitive purity, from the time that its heavenly Founder left it on earth, under the conduct of his Apostles. The divine religion goes out

* See note, ch. iii. 4. † Ch. ii. 10. ‡ John xvii. 18.
crowned, having the Divine favour resting upon it; armed against the attacks of its many foes, and destined to conquer at the last * . There is another prophecy of Zechariah, which will afford light to this imagery of the white horse. I will give it in the translation of Archbishop Newcome:

"But Jehovah God of Hosts will visit
His flock the house of Judah,
And will make them as his goodly horse in war.
From him shall be the corner stone, from him the nail,
From him the battle-bow.
From him shall go forth every ruler together,
And they shall be as men who tread down
The mire of the streets in war.
And they shall fight; for Jehovah shall be with them:
And the riders on horses shall be confounded.

ZECH. x. 3—6."

The going forth of this Christian armament seems represented by the white horse in this first seal; its final success will be seen in the sequel of the prophecy.

Ver. 2. A bow. ] This was the weapon in ancient warfare, which was known to slay at the most considerable distance, with the greatest celerity, from a quarter least expected, and most difficult to escape. This weapon therefore, with its accompanying arrows, expresses figuratively the sudden and unexpected strokes of miraculous interposition, and is

* That very ancient commentator Methodius understood by the first seal, the preaching of the Apostles, and he is followed in this notion by all the early writers. See Andreas Cæsariensis, Arethas, Victorinus, and Primasius, in locum.

† Tertullian, after quoting some prophetical passages of Scripture, which represent the Messiah as a warrior, adds; Sic bellipotens et armiger Christus est; arma allegorica. Ad Jud. 218.
so used in the Scriptures*. The progress of the Gospel was assisted by sudden and unexpected and miraculous aid and deliverance.

Ib. *And a crown was given unto him.*] This is the crown of life, described in ch. ii. 10. (see the note): our Lord’s kingdom was not of this world. The crown is the reward of the faithful martyrs, who in the three first centuries fought and conquered in the cause of Christ. “Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life†.”

Ver. 2. *He went forth conquering, and for to conquer.*] Two periods of time seem to be here designated. The first, when the Christian religion, preached in its purity by the Apostles, succeeded against human opposition, overcame the powers of darkness, and established itself in the world; “he ‘went forth conquering.’” The second, when, after a long period of warfare, during which this religion is corrupted, deformed, and almost annihilated by the arts and machinations of the enemy, it is at length seen to regain its primitive freedom and purity, and its “crown is established in righteousness‡,” in an “everlasting kingdom.§” These two periods are plainly distinguished in the visions of Daniel. The first is that of the stone, representing the Church of Christ in its infantine state; when it begins to conquer, by smiting the idolatrous kingdoms which are established in worldly power‖. The second is that of the mountain, when this “stone becomes a great ‘mountain, and fills the whole earth¶.” The latter period is represented in the sequel of the Apocalypse**. In the present passage it is only alluded to; for the

* Psalms, passim. Lam. ii. 4. iii. 12. Heb. iii. 9.
† Rev. ch. ii. 10. ‡ Is. xxxii. 1. § Dan. ii. 44. vii. 27.
‖ Dan. ii. 34. ¶ Ver. 35. ** Ch. xix. 11, &c.

principal
principal object is, to represent the religion of Christ as going forth in its original purity. Its heavenly colour is as yet unstained by worldly corruption. It appears pure now, and pure it must be, when it shall conquer at the last.

"So long, and so far, as Christianity was planted according to this standard of its great Author; in plainness and simplicity of incorrupt doctrine; and in meekness and humility, love and charity, in practice: when Christians continued steadfastly in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship;—when the multitude of them that believed, were of one heart and of one soul, and great grace was upon them all, (Acts iv. 32, 33); then did their light shine forth indeed before men, and cause them to glorify the God of heaven. Then was the Gospel truly and conspicuously, like a city upon an hill, a light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of God's people. It was the praise and wonder of those who beheld its blessed effects, and might have been the joy of the whole earth. Had Christians continued to walk worthily of the vocation wherewith they were called,—the Christian church established upon this foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone, might, in its whole building, fitly framed together, have grown up into one holy temple in the Lord."
Its commencement is to be dated from our Saviour's Ascension, when he gave his final commission to the disciples, to go forth with his doctrines to the world. The time of its duration cannot be so precisely ascertained; because the change in the church from original purity to corrupt morals, worship, and doctrine, was gradual. But it may be affirmed, at least as a general position, that the Christians of the three first centuries, exclusive of the heretics, were of this character, although too many exceptions may be found in their history to this general description.

PART II.

SECTION IV.

The opening of the second Seal.

CHAP. VI. VER. 3—4.

3 And when he opened the second seal, I heard the second living-creature saying, "Come!"

4 And there went forth another horse, fire-coloured; and to him that sate thereon, to him was there given to take the peace of the earth, and that they should slay one another: and there was given unto him a great sword.
The second seal being broken, another sheet, or roll, unfolds, and another representation of a horse and rider appears; but the colour, and consequently the character, is changed.

Ib. Fire-coloured.] In the Greek, πυρος, from πῦρ, fire. This colour is said to be compounded of the yellow-red, ξυνθος, mixed with the dusky, Ψις. It is applied to horses by the classical writers:

απὸ τοῦ πυρός τὸ γενομένα: τοιοῦτον εὑρέθη.

Orhos antea συρρός.

The angel who leads the host to war among the nations, is mounted on a horse of the same colour‡. This is also the colour of the dragon, the ancient serpent, the devil, who comes wrathfully to war against the saints§.

Ib. To take the peace of the earth, and that they should slay one another: and there was given unto him a great sword.] Our Lord established his religion in peacefulness, and commissioned it to conquer, or prosper in the world, by peace||. And yet he foretold, very remarkably, that peace should not altogether ensue. "Think not," says he, "that I am come to...

* Plato, Timæus, ad finem.
‡ Theocrit Idyll. 15. 1. 51.—This kind of colour in horses, if that which we now denominate bright or golden-bay, would be properly expressed by the term flame-coloured: but, as πῦρ signifies fire itself, rather than the flame of fire, the word πυρός may be thought to denote a deeper tinge, somewhat like our bright chesnut. And I prefer the word fire-coloured, as agreeing best with the vengeful character which pervades this seal, and which is commonly expressed in prophetical language under the image of fire.
§ Rev. xii. 3. 9. 17.

"send
"send peace on the earth; I came not to send peace, but a sword;" which Saint Luke, in the parallel passage †, calls "division." In which sense also he declares that he is "come to send fire on the earth." Not that it was his wish or intention, as the commentators have observed, that such direful and anti-Christian consequences should arise; but he foreknew such effects necessarily arising from the corrupt passions and prejudices of sinful men. Such a scene was to follow the first age of Christianity distinguished by the pure practice of the Christian virtues, when a fiery zeal, without knowledge, or at least without charity, should instigate the professors of this peaceful religion to destroy peace; and Christians, divided among themselves, should persecute and slay each other. Such a scene, it is well known, did follow. And the prophecy of the second seal, under this fire-coloured horse, according with that of our Lord, in the use of the same figures, (fire, sword, take peace from the earth, men divided so as to kill each other,) seems plainly to point to the same period of time; a time, when the heavenly religion, which, under the first seal, had proceeded in white array, became so degenerate, as no longer to appear white. She assumed the angry, intolerant, persecuting hue of the fire-coloured dragon. Neglecting charity, "which is the bond of peace," from dissentions and controversies she was hurried into tumults and wars, in which (horrid to relate!) Christians were known to murder each other. But whence are we to date this disgraceful change? May we fix its commencement from the end of the second century; when the western rulers of the church, and the wise and moderate Ire-
naeus, were seen to interpose, and exhort the furious Bishop of Rome to cultivate Christian peace*. The fiery and intolerant character which marks this seal, was indeed somewhat visible in these partial transactions: but the hue from white to fire-colour, changed gradually. The persecuting hand of the common enemy, for some time restrained this factious and uncharitable spirit within decent bounds; and although, previous to the Dioclesian persecution in 302, there were shameful divisions among the Christians, which Eusebius mentions with a becoming mixture of indignation and tenderness†, yet the change cannot be represented as complete (so as to produce the general and mutual slaughter, which characterises this seal,) till a later period. But, when the Roman empire became Christian; when a Christian Emperor bore the sword; (with which in the imagery of this seal the Christian power seems invested;) when, relieved from the terrors of pagan persecution, the Christians became possessed of civil power; their animosity increased. Worldly prosperity is corruptive; and instead of those halcyon days of peace and happiness, which the Church promised to itself from the acquisition of power; history is seen to date from this period its degeneracy and corruption‡. This degeneracy was first manifested in the mutual enmities and feuds of the Christians; which were so notorious in the fourth century, that a contemporary author reports of them, (with some hyperbole perhaps, for, he was a pagan,) that “their hatred to each other exceeded the fury

† Eccl. Hist. viii. c. 1.
‡ The reader may see this proved by authorities at length at the end of the notes to ch. vii.
"of wild beasts against men." This was a great change from the times of Tertullian, in the second century, when the pagans made a very different report of Christian community: "See," said they, "how these Christians love each other." It is a change well expressed by fire-colour succeeding to white. The feuds of the Christian bishops and rulers contending for power and promotion, make a principal part of the ecclesiastical history of the fourth century. The election of a bishop was frequently accompanied by every corrupt art of intrigue and cabal; and the factions proceeded to determine the contest by arms. Of this kind was the election of a Bishop of Rome, which, after much mutual slaughter of the Christian electors, ended with the victory of Damasus. In the schism of the Donatists, which had its origin also in faction, and in a contest for worldly power, thousands of Christians perished by the hands of each other. The Donatists are not accused, even by their adversaries, of corrupt doctrine, nor of peculiar degeneracy in morals. If worldly ambition and party-hatred, and violence, so unchristian, had not prevailed on all sides, this disgraceful history would have been wanting, to illustrate the prophecy of the second seal.

The Arian controversy produced similar fruits, and of much longer duration. With process of time the
evil continued to increase *, until it produced a further change from bad to worse, which will appear under the next seal.

But this alteration from white to fire-coloured; from primitive purity and charity, to envious, hateful, and murderous animosity; was the first great and notorious change which took place in the character of the Christian church; and did so confessedly follow, that few writers, who treat of its gradual degeneracy have omitted to notice it. The reader was presented with a sketch of the character of Christianity under the first seal, in the words of Dr. Clarke. The same learned and accurate writer thus continues his narration; and it is surely the history of this second seal, although he did not intend it as such:

"But an enemy soon sowed tares among this wheat, and contentious men very early began to build hay and stubble upon the foundation of Christ. Not content with the simplicity and plainness of the Gospel, which could possibly furnish no materials for strife and contention, vain men soon began to mix their own uncertain opinions with the doctrine of Christ; and had no other way to give them weight and authority, but by endeavouring to force them upon the faith of others. And out of this bramble, as Jonathan foretold the men of Shechem, a fire proceeded which hath devoured the cedars of Lebanon. Or, as the prophet Ezekiel expresses himself concerning the Vine of Israel: A fire is gone out of a rod of her branches, which hath devoured her fruit. For, from a desire of being many masters; from a desire of forcing mutually our

* The account of which may be seen in Mosheim's History, vol. i. pages 373, &c. 400, 415.
own opinions on others, instead of exhorting them to study and obey the Gospel of Christ; have arisen "strifes and contentions, hatred and uncharitable-
ness, schisms and divisions without end. From "whence, says Saint James, come wars and fightings "among you? Come they not hence, even of your "lusts which war in your members? From a zeal for "the religion and for the commandments of Christ, "from a concern for the promoting of truth, righte-
ousness, and charity, it is evident, in the nature of "things, and in the experience of all ages, that wars "and fightings, hatred and animosities, never have, "nor can proceed. These precious fruits have al-
ways sprung from that root of bitterness, a zeal for "the doctrines and commandments of men, a stri-
ving for temporal power and dominion. At the first "beginning of the mystery of iniquity, the builders "of hay and stubble on the foundation of Christ, "went no farther than to censoriousness and un-
charitableness towards their brethren. Against whom "Saint Paul argues; Why dost thou judge thy brother, "or why dost thou set at nought thy brother? We "shall all stand before the judgment-seat, of Christ. "But in process of time, as water, at a further dis-
tance from the fountain, divides itself continually "into more streams, and becomes less pure; so when "men had once departed from the simplicity and "purity of the doctrine, and from the charitableness "of the Spirit of Christ, their hatred and animosities "against each other increased continually, till they "literally fulfilled that remarkable prophecy of our "Saviour, in which is contained a most severe re-
proof of those corrupters of the Gospel of truth and "charity, who he says would arise in following ages. "

"1
"I am come to send fire on the earth," Luke xii. 49. And, "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword: for I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and a man's foes shall be they of his own household: Matt. x. 34. Nay, even that description which he gives of "the persecution which the Jews should bring on his disciples, the time cometh, that whosoever kill-eth you, will think that he doeth God service; even this, in time, came to be fulfilled by one Christian, (so they still called themselves,) it was fulfilled, I say, by one Christian upon another."*

* Clarke's Sermons, vol. iii. 312—315.

PART II.

SECTION V.

The opening of the third Seal.

CHAP. vi. ver. 5—6.

5 And when he opened the third seal, I heard the third living-creature saying, "Come:" [and I beheld] and lo! a black horse! and he that sat on him having a yoke in his hand:

6 And I heard a voice in the midst of the four living-creatures, saying, "A chœnix of wheat for a dena-
5. *Lo! a black horse!*] Another change now ensues, still for the worse; by a colour the very opposite to white, a colour denoting mourning and woe, darkness and ignorance*. What a change in this pure and heavenly religion! but history will shew that Christianity, as professed and practised on earth, underwent this change; which will appear from the following notes.

Ib. *He that sat on him having a yoke in his hand.*] The word ζυγός, which in our common translation is rendered by a pair of balances, I have translated a yoke, for reasons now to be assigned.

1. ζυγός, and not ζυγῶς, is used by all the Greek writers, whether of the Old or New Testament, to signify ἄλλα yoke, either in its proper or metaphorical sense; the latter word expressing not the yoke, but the *pair* of oxen, horses, &c. which go under it; (Lev. v. 11. Luke 11. 24.) whence it comes to be used by the scriptural and other Greek writers, to signify *pairs* of any kind whatever.

2. ζυγός, when used by the scriptural writers to signify a balance, is seen seldom, or perhaps never, to stand alone, as in this passage of the Revelation, but is joined to some other word or expression in the context, which points out this its borrowed signification;

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* Is. 1. 3. Jer. iv. 20. xiv. 2.
tion; such as ἥγος ἔλαβμων, ἥγος δίκαιος, ἐδίκαιος, ἀναμορφ., Ἀποτ ζυγε, and the like; without which, ἥγος would necessarily be understood to mean simply a yoke: for it is only in a borrowed and secondary sense that ἥγος can be taken to signify a balance. In its primary signification it is a yoke; that is, a staff, which having a link or small chain fixed to the middle of it, was thereby suspended on the beam of the plough, or of the pole of the chariot, or wain, (like the swing-tree used in modern agriculture,) and from this, so suspended, the two beasts were to draw, the two ends of the staff or yoke being fixed to the necks or horns of the beasts. To render their draft equal, it was necessary that the staff, or yoke, should be divided equally at the point of draft, at the place where it was fastened by the link to the beam or pole; it was necessary also that it should hang loose, and play freely upon the pole. Such being the construction of the yoke, it is evident, that when the beasts were taken from under, it would remain suspended from the pole so evenly, and so freely, by the middle, as to exhibit the figure, and answer the purpose of the beam, or yard of a balance, or of a pair of scales. And it seems probable that this instrument, first used to fasten two beasts to a plough or carriage, in such a manner as that they might draw equally, afforded the first idea of determining weights, by fixing ropes and scales to each end of the yoke. Thus it seems that the word ἥγος, yoke, used with words in the context denoting the act of weighing, (but not otherwise,) came to signify a balance.

A de-

* Μύσα άλξων. Hom. Η. ΧΧ. 212.
† The manner in which the yoke was fastened to the pole, and
A description of the ancient plough, with its pole or beam (temo), and its yoke (jugum), may be seen in Virg. Georg. i. 169. Temo dictus à tenendo, says Varro*; is enim continet jugum. Which jugum (from ἴγος, yoke), being, as above described, a staff or rod, passing over the necks of the beasts, was early and very universally used, for the badge and symbol of slavery. "Thou shalt serve thy brother," says the Patriarch to his eldest son; "and it shall come to pass "when thou shalt have the dominion, that thou shalt "break his yoke (ἰγόν) from off thy neck †. It was under this kind of yoke, or under a staff, beam, or spear representing it, that the nations of antiquity had the custom to pass their conquered enemies, in token of subjection.

It is in this its obvious and primary sense that I understand the word ἴγος in this passage. In this sense it is used throughout the New Testament; and in no other sense whatsoever ‡. It is used metaphorically to signify the burthensome ceremonies of the Mosaic law, from which the Christian "law of liberty" has delivered us §; and in this law of liberty we are exhorted to "stand fast, and to resist every attempt "to subject us to ordinances and a yoke of bondage∥.

the horses brought under it in ancient carriages, is minutely described by Homer:

To (scil. δισφων ὅς αἴγουμεν ἔμοιος τοιεὶς αὐλακε εἰς ἀκρῷ

Δυσαί χρίστου καλον ιγόνοι, στ ὡς λεπάδων

Καὶ ἱσαλη χείσεις· ὑπὸ δὲ ιγόνοι πηγαὶν ἡγὴ ἰπτερο ἐκποδαῖς.

IL. v. 729—733.

* Lib. vi.
† Gen. xxi. 40. See also Is. ix. 4. x. 27. Nah. i. 13. Jer. xxvii. 2—15.
§ Jam. i. 25. ii. 12. || Gal. v. i. Col. ii. 16. 1 Pet. ii. 16.
u With
With these attempts "to put a yoke on the neck of the disciples," the history of the church abounds. Attempts of this kind are to be traced so early as in the second century*; but these were only "the beginning of evil." As the stream of Christianity flowed farther from its fountain, it became more and more corrupt, and as the centuries advanced, superstition advanced with them; and unauthorized mortifications and penances, and rigorous fastings, and vows of celibacy †, and monkish retirement and austerities, and stylitism, and the jargon and repetition of prayers not understood, and tales of purgatory, and pious frauds, and the worship of saints, relics, and images, took the place of pure and simple Christianity: till at length, the book of God being laid aside for legendary tales, and "the traditions of men," all these corruptions were collected into a regular system of superstition and oppression, well-known by the name of the papal yoke, and which was expressly foretold by the Holy Spirit, as about to be produced in the latter times ‡. The Eastern Church, for some time,  

* Mosheim, Eccl. Hist. ch. iv.—In a fragment of Ignatius, preserved by Grabe, (Spicileg. sect. ii. p. 24.) that apostolical father says, Παρθένους ζυγον μακάζειν επίλεξεν: "Lay upon none the yoke of virginity." And Augustine, in the 5th century, complains, that the jugum Judaeorum sub lege, the yoke of the Jews under the law, was more tolerable than the ceremonies, &c. then introduced. Epist. xix.  
† See Socrat. Hist. i. 11. where it is called the yoke: for in the first Nicene Council, when some of the bishops had proposed that the married clergy should separate from their wives, Paphnutius, a prelate of great authority among them, successfully opposed the motion: ἔσοντο μάκαζα, μὴ βασιλεῖ ζυγον επιθέται τοῖς πρεσβυτεῖς ἀνδρεῖς vehemently calling upon them, not to lay a heavy yoke on the clergy. Thus the disposition to impose the yoke in this instance strongly appeared and was defeated; but the evil day was only deferred.  
‡ 1 Tim. iv. 1.
kept pace with the Western, in the introduction of burthensome unauthorized observances; and the Mahometan religion, derived from the corrupted Jewish and Christian, has imposed a similar kind of yoke in those parts where it has prevailed.

Ver. 5. *A voice in the midst of the four living creatures.*] This voice is from the throne; for the Cherubim, or living creatures, were stationed close around the throne*. The progress of the yoke, through the ages of dark ignorance and superstition, has been indeed alarming; threatening to annihilate the pure law of Christian liberty. A voice therefore, of the highest authority and most dread command, is uttered, to restrain its pernicious consequences. The effect of this will be seen in the ensuing note.

Ib. *A chœnix of wheat for a denarius, and three chœnices of barley for a denarius; and the oil and the wine thou mayest not injure.*] Wheat, barley, oil, and wine, were with the Eastern nations of antiquity the main supports of life. Under these terms therefore, in scriptural language, we find plenty to be generally expressed †. Now it is proclaimed from the throne, that during the progress of the black horse, how desolating soever, there shall be still a certain price, at which wheat and barley may be bought, and a certain preservation of the more precious commodities, wine and oil. These prices will be found to be very high, which infers great scarcity of the commodity. But still, there is not to be an utter failure; they are to be purchased at *some* price. A chœnix of

* Ch. iv. 6.
wheat (that ancient universal measure) is to be bought for a denarius, and three measures of barley for the same. We may judge concerning the degree of plenty or want attending this arrangement, if we obtain a knowledge of the quantity of corn contained in the chœnix, and compare it with the value of the denarius, which was a coin of universal circulation in the Roman empire. The chœnix appears to have contained just so much wheat, as to supply a slender allowance for the daily food of one man. This we collect from ancient authors, who represent it as the allowance of a slave: and in particular from Herodotus, who, in calculating the corn consumed by the army of Xerxes in their daily march, says, Ἐι χοῖνικια χωρὶς εἰκασίας τῆς ἡμέρας ελαμβάνει, καὶ μηδέν πλεον*: which shews this measure to have been but a short allowance for the sustenance of one man. The denarius, (in the Scripture translation called a penny,) appears to have been the daily pay of a labouring man †. But the labouring man has many other things to provide for himself besides bread. Those times therefore must be accounted very dear and oppressive, wherein the whole daily pay must be employed to purchase the daily food; and that but scantily. In the times of Cicero, it appears that a denarius would purchase sixteen chœnices of wheat, and in Trajan's reign twenty‡. The times of the yoke, or black horse, were therefore times of great scarcity. A coarser bread might, it seems, be then had in greater proportion for a denarius, even as three to one; a bread of barley, which appears to have been used by

* "If each person received a chœnix of wheat per day, and no more." (Herodot. Polymn. edit. Stephani, Genevae, 1618; p. 446.)
† Matt. xx. 2. ‡ See the authorities in Daubuz, in loc.
the poorer Jews *, and which is represented to be still produced in the East; viz. “a black, coarse barley, “yielding fifty-fold, and principally consumed by “cattle †.” Hence we may collect, that the provi-
sion of food for the support of life was, under this
seal, to be slender in quantity, or coarse in quality;
and that the stored dainties, the wine and oil, were
to be in danger of total failure.

But by these provisions for food, what are we to
understand? wheat, barley, wine, oil, in their plain
and proper meaning? Surely not. The tenour of pro-
phetic language forbids,—directing our attention, as
our Lord has directed it ‡, to another kind of scarcity,
even that of which the prophet Amos speaks, “Not a
“famine of bread, nor a thirst of water, but of
“hearing the words of the Lord §.” This kind of
scarcity is frequently lamented by the prophetical
writers, who delight in describing the spiritual plenty
of Christ’s kingdom by such sensible images, “corn
“and wine, and oil∥.” By these are signified that
food of religious knowledge, by which the souls of
men are sustained unto everlasting life. Such we are
invited by the Evangelical Prophet to buy, even,
“without price ‖.” Such are recommended to the
purchase of the Laodiceans by their divine Lord **.
Such were dispensed throughout the world, at the
first preaching of the Gospel, and upon terms of the
easiest acquisition;—“freely ye have received,” said

c. x. 2.
† Nieburgh’s Travels. ‡ See note, ch. ii. 7.
§ Amos viii. 11.—Qui terrena sapiunt, famem verbi Dei patiunt-
tur, Origen. in Gen. hom. 16.
‖ Is. lv. 1. ** Rev. iii. 18.

Jesus
Jesus to his disciples, "freely give." But when dark clouds of ignorance, denoted by the colour of the black horse, began to spread over the face of the Christian world, and ambitious and corrupt teachers could advance their worldly purposes, by "bringing the disciples under the yoke" of superstitious observances, the knowledge and practice of genuine religion became scarce. Astonishing are the instances produced by historians, of the extreme ignorance in the professors of Christianity, throughout the middle ages.

Yet, during the long progress of these dark times, the prophetical command from the throne has been wonderfully fulfilled. There has always been a moderate supply of spiritual food. The grand saving doctrine of Christianity, an eternal life of happiness, given to sinful man, upon his faith and repentance, through the satisfaction of his Redeemer, has been taught in all these ages. And that invaluable storehouse and repository of divine knowledge, of spiritual wine and oil, the Holy Bible, the word of God, has been accessible to some persons in all times since this injunction was delivered. Through all the ignorant, fanatical, factious, and corrupt hands, by which this sacred treasure has been delivered down to us, it has passed, in the main, uninjured. The corruptions of it, even for the base purposes of party zeal, and worldly domination, have been miraculously few. And such as it hath come down to our times, it is likely to be delivered to posterity, by the useful art of printing. Thus hath the prophetical injunction from the throne been wonderfully fulfilled, through a dark period of long continuance, and of great difficulty and danger:—The oil and wine have not been injured.
7 And when he opened the fourth seal, I heard the fourth living-creature saying,
8 "Come," and behold! a pale livid-green horse!

7 And when he had opened the fourth seal, I heard the voice of the fourth beast say,
8 Come, and see. And I looked, and behold, a pale horse; and his name that sat on him was Death, and hell followed with him: and power was given unto them, over the fourth part of the earth to kill with sword, and with hunger, and with death, and with the beasts of the earth.

Ver. 8. A pale livid-green horse.] \( \chiλαφος \), in the common translation rendered by the adjective pale, is used in the Greek Scriptures to express the colour of grassy-green; which, though beautiful in the clothing of the trees and fields, is very unseemly, disgusting, and even horrible, when it appears upon flesh; it is there the livid colour of corruption. I have therefore translated it with this additional epithet. By Homer, the epithet \( \chiλαφος \) is applied to fear*, as ex-

* \( \chiλαφος \) ἔδειξ, Odys. M. 243.
pressive of that green paleness which overspreads the human countenance, upon the seizure of that passion. And the epithet pale may be sufficient to express this colour, as affecting the face of man, but seems inadequate to convey the force of κλαυρος, when used to describe the hue of this ghastly horse.

There is a sublime climax, or scale of terrific images, exhibited in the colours of the horses in the four first seals, denoting the progressive character of the Christian times. It begins with pure white; then changes to the fiery and vengeful; then to black, or mournful: and when we imagine that nothing more dreadful in colour can appear, then comes another gradation much more terrific, even this "deadly pale". And the imagery is Scriptural, as well as sublime. Striking resemblance to it may be observed in the following very poetical passage: "Her Nazarites were purer than snow, they were whiter than milk, their polishing was of Sapphire.—Their visage is blacker than a coal, darker than blackness; they are not known in the streets; their skin cleaveth to their bones, it is withered". Such a gradation was there also, from heavenly-pure to foul and horrible, in the Christian church.

Ib. Death.] This grisly king of terrors, so mounted, is very different from the benign conqueror, who came forth on the opening of the first seal, seated on the white horse; yet he is not described; the name only is given, and the picture of him is left to be supplied by the imagination of the reader, where (such is the natural horror of dissolution) he stands delineated in terrific colours. Death is frequently personified in Scripture, as an invader, a con-

* Shakespeare's Hamlet.  † Lament. iv. 7, 8.
queror, a king *. Such he now appears in formidable power.

Ib. Hell.] Death in his victorious career is followed by Hell; for a description of which, in conjunction with death, see note, chap. i. 18. When death and hell are spoken of as acting together, the utmost destruction and desolation are implied †. Consequently this is a period of great slaughter and devastation: but these are not necessarily confined to the lives of men, but, in the metaphorical language of Scripture, may destroy also whatever can prolong and make life happy. And it is the most dire work of death and of hell to destroy in the heart of man those seeds of religion, which are there planted to grow up unto eternal life. In this sense, the Church of Sardis is said to be dead ‡. Persons, in whom the spiritual life in Christ is extinct, are said to be in the shadow of death; and they who promote this extinction in themselves and others, are called “children of hell” §. And the recovery of such persons to true religion, is described as a resurrection from the dead ||. Conformably to these images, death and hell, under this seal, are described as making ravage, not only on the natural lives of men, but also on their spiritual lives, and on that pure and vital Religion, which supports them. The Christian Religion, which had begun its progress in white array, and under the guidance of apostolical teachers, is now not only so changed in colour and appearance, as to be scarcely

‡ Ch. iii. 1. where see the note.
|| Ezek. xxxvii. &c.
discernible as the same; but is under the guidance of deadly and infernal directors, who destroy in her all that remains of primitive purity.

Ver. 8. *Over the fourth part of the earth.*] This is the only passage of the Prophecy, in which a *fourth part* of the earth, or a fourth part of any other thing, is mentioned: the *third part* frequently occurs. It may perhaps be found, that the countries which underwent the rage of this seal, bore this proportion to the rest of the inhabited, or, at least, Christian world. The dark ignorance, corruption, and destruction of Christian liberty, under the third seal, extended generally through Christendom: but the slaughter and devastation (which is to be explained under the ensuing note) reached only to certain parts.

Ib. *To slay by sword, and by famine, and by pestilence, and under the beasts of the earth.*] These will be found the same with the four "sore judgments" of God, denounced against a sinful land by the prophet Ezekiel *. Let the reader compare this passage of the Apocalypse with the Greek of the Septuagint, and he will acknowledge the resemblance. He will be aware also, that the word θανάτοις, death, should be translated *pestilence*, in which sense it is used by the prophet; as it is also, in above thirty other places, by the Septuagint translators, to express the word ὑποίλη pestis †. Pestilence, being in an extraordinary degree *deadly*, obtained the general name of *death*. These therefore being "the four sore "judgments of God," (containing *generally all* the instruments of grievous suffering,) and being expressed by the number *four*, which implies universality or

* Chap. xiv. 21.  
† See Tromelin Concord.

completion,
completion †, we may collect, that all kinds of devastation and destruction were to break forth and ravage under this seal:—

Vestibulum ante ipsum primisque in faucibus Orci,
Luctus et ultrices posuerè cubilia Curæ;
 Pallentesque habitant Morbi, tristisque Senectus,
Et Metus, et malesunda Fames, et turpis Egestas,
Terribiles visu formas! Letumque Laborque;—
--- mortiferumque adverso in limine Bellum,
 Ferreique Eumenidum thalami, et Discordia demum
Vipereum crinem vittis innexa cruentis.†

ÆNEID. vi. 273.

These dire evils, thus personified by the poet's imagination, arise from the fabled hell of heathen antiquity. And in this picture, we may see a strong resemblance to those evils let loose upon the Christian world, under the second, third, and fourth seals of this Prophecy. Under the second and third, they begin to appear, and some of them are in action: but in the fourth, their united force is exerted, to ravage all before them. For, to speak without metaphor, when (under the second seal) uncharitable controversies and ambitious dissentions had banished that peace, which true Religion is calculated to promote; and dark ignorance, and superstition, and domineering priestcraft, (under the third seal,) had fixed a burthensome yoke on the necks of the disciples, and

* See note, ch. iv. 6;
† Just in the gate, and in the jaws of Hell.
Revengeful Cares and sullen Sorrows dwell;
And pale Diseases, and repining Age,
Want, Fear, and Famine's unresisted rage,
Forms terrible to view!—and Death, and Strife,
And deadly War, that foe to human life:
The Furies' iron beds, Discord that shakes
Her hissing tresses, and unfolds her snakes.

had
had rendered the pure doctrines of the Gospel of difficult attainment, then greater evils naturally ensued. Ignorance easily became blind submission, and priestcraft advanced into civil tyranny.—So under the fourth seal, the mystery of iniquity was completed. It was then that the harsh and usurped dominion which we call the papal tyranny, was extended over the lives and the consciences of Christians. To profess Religion in its purity, became a crime in the account of those who had seized the government of the Christian Church. Bloody tribunals were erected, and deadly laws enacted, against deviations from the standard of doctrine enjoined by the corrupt rulers; soldiers were levied to inforce obedience to their tyrannical laws; and entire nations of reputed heretics were subdued, or extirpated by the sword. Thus, under the name of the Christian Church, under the auspices and guidance of her professed ministers, Death and Hell were seen to commit devastation, to destroy the lives of men, and almost to eradicate pure Religion from the world.

The chronological period of these respective seals may be generally, but cannot be exactly, ascertained; because, as was observed before, the change was gradual: and in such cases, though we can see clearly, as in the colours of the rainbow, that the change from one to the other has taken place; yet it is not so easy to ascertain at what point of contact it began. Thus, generally speaking, we may affirm, that the uncharitable and vengeful character of the second seal is to be seen distinctly in the fourth century, though it had its dawning much sooner*. The third seal, under which superstition imposed a yoke of cere-

* See note, ch. vi. 4.
monies and observances, “such as pure Religion had “rejected,” seems to have had its commencement in those times when the Church associated itself with heathen philosophy, and imbibed with it heathen superstition. These abuses crept in by degrees; and the colour seems not entirely to have changed till the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth centuries*. The corruption and ravages of the fourth seal came on likewise by gradation, growing as it were, out of the two preceding; and did not arrive at their utmost horror, till about the twelfth century. The banishment of Christians, on account of religious opinions, began, under the influence of the second seal, with the reign of Constantine, and increased under that of Theodosius. Under Honorius, in the fifth century, edicts were obtained from the civil power, for persecution unto death†; but they appear not to have been then carried into execution. Yet the bias of the church had begun at this time to incline strongly to such violent measures. Augustine, in his epistle to Vincentius‡, says, that he has found reason to change his opinion concerning the application of force in the conversion of heretics, perceiving it now to be useful. But still there seems to have been no capital punishment for that which the church should deem heresy, before the twelfth century; when a court of Inquisition was erected against the Albigenses and Waldenses. In the thirteenth century it was enacted, by the fourth council lateran, that heretics should be delivered to the civil power to be burned. At which

† See this proved by Sir Isaac Newton, on Daniel and the Apocalypse, p. 410. 415.
‡ Tom. ii. p. 174.
time, during a lamentable period of forty years, above a million of men are said to have suffered by capital punishment for what was deemed heresy, or in what was called Christian warfare*.

Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum!

Such is the interpretation of the four first seals, which a diligent attention to the figurative language of Scripture, and a comparison of it with ecclesiastical history, has occasioned me to produce. It is different from the exposition, at this time generally received; in which, the reigns of certain Roman Emperors, distinguished by conquest, civil war, famine, and slaughter, are exhibited, as fulfilling these predictions. But the grounds upon which the interpreters have proceeded, are not such as have inclined me, on a candid review, to retract my interpretation, and adopt theirs.

I have already stated † my reasons for believing, that (agreeably to the opinion of many eminent divines) all Sacred Prophecy has for its object, the fates and fortunes of the Church of God and of Christ; that it is seldom found to deviate from this object; and that when the fates of nations or of individuals are foretold, it is even then with some reference to the future History of the Church and of its Messiah. If this notion be just, (as, I trust, will be generally allowed,) it must at the same time be granted, that, in the interpretation of the Apocalyptic Visions,


† See the Introduction, pages 11, 12, 13, 14.
no part should be diverted from this its main and proper object, so as to be applied to the fortunes of civil and heathen empires or rulers, unless the symbols, under which the prediction is represented, evidently demand such application, by a comparison of their former and undoubtedly fit application to such purposes by preceding Prophets. I allow, for instance, that the remainder of the Roman empire, divided into ten kingdoms, is evidently symbolized and delineated in chapters xiii. xvii. &c. of the Apocalypse. The symbols there used, compared with similar passages of the prophet Daniel, point out and demand such an application. But, when no such cogent reasons occur from a Divine interpretation of the figurative language, (as in that of Daniel by the angel, Dan. vii. 16.) it appears to me, that we have no right to apply the prophecies to civil and heathen history. In the figurative language of the four seals, I can discover no such grounds of interpretation; nor can I perceive that any such have been produced. We have no Divine direction, as in chap. xvii. 18, to point to the great city Rome: and certainly there is no appearance in the horses or their riders, which designates them as Roman. Nor do I remark that the writers who have adopted this mode of applying these predictions, have used arguments to justify such interpretation. A passage indeed of this kind, I have observed in Joseph Mede, and have before quoted; in which he concludes, that because the prophet Daniel had both presignified the coming of Christ, and also arranged the fortunes of the Jewish Church, according to the succession of the heathen empires; so the Apocalyptic prophecies must be supposed to measure the Christian history by the intervention of the Roman empire
empire then remaining *. This will be granted in all cases, when the symbols employed shall appear necessarily to point out such interpretation; but not otherwise †.

The application of the prophecies of the seals to the fortunes of the Roman empire, and to the character of its princes, appears to me forced and unjustified. It would be curious to observe whence it took its rise, and how by degrees it obtained so general a reception in modern times; or at least in our country. There is reason to believe, that the most ancient commentators, Papias, Irenæus, Methodius, Hippolytus, &c. (mentioned by Andreas Cæsariensis ‡, as exhibiting the lights which he followed in his commentary,) entertained no such idea. For Andreas has interpreted the three first seals to exhibit the history of the Christian Church. The prophecy of the fourth seal, he indeed supposes, with the modern commentators, to foretell the slaughter, pestilence, &c. which raged in the Roman empire under Maximin. But such a comment on the fourth seal, could not be derived from these ancient expositors; because they did not live to see those times, and explain the prediction by the event. It is therefore not their exposition, but probably that of Andreas himself, who wrote about the year 500. And certainly it must be thought inconsistent, and disorderly, after interpreting the three first seals as relating to the fortunes of the Christian Church, to understand the fourth as respecting the Roman empire. But this application of the fourth seal by Andreas, seems to have afforded

* See Mede's Works, p. 441.
† This subject is treated more at large at the conclusion of the prophecy of the four first Trumpets, ch. viii.
‡ Pref. in Apocalypsin.
the first hint of this mode of application, which modern expositors have gradually followed. Viega, a Jesuit, who wrote in the sixteenth century, seems to have been one of the first who applied all the four seals to the *Roman* history. Mede, who by his just reputation as an ingenious interpreter, has given the greatest encouragement to this mode of application, though he interpreted the second, third, and fourth seals, as relating to the Roman empire, yet understood the first to treat clearly and exclusively of the Christian Church. Indeed the first seal cannot, consistently with the symbols compared in Scripture, be otherwise applied. And if the first seal has so evident a designation, why, in the interpretation of the rest, are we to change our object, without special and compulsive reason? The writers who have followed Mede, have been aware that consistency required of them, to apply *all* these predictions to the *same kind* of history: but, to obtain this consistency, what method have they pursued? They have not relinquished Mede's interpretation of the second, third, and fourth seals, thereby to bring them in unison with that of the first: but, labouring to make the symbols of the first seal agree with his interpretations of the three following, they have most unscripturally and unfitly represented the rider of the white horse, (whose purity can belong only to the most perfect Christian,) to signify those bloody and heathen soldiers, Vespasian and Titus*! If Vespasian can be thought worthy of this almost divine honour, it is but another step to suppose him gifted with divine miracles, as related by Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dion

* Jurieu seems to have been the author of this interpretation adopted by Bishop Newton.
Cassius, and as vaunted by David Hume*. But, if the conquests of these Roman Emperors had been foretold in this vision, surely they would have been sufficiently expressed by the single word, "conquer-"ing," without that additional commission, "and for "to conquer;" which must imply a distant period, far beyond the twenty-eight years of their empire. On the whole, I can perceive scarcely any colour of argument, arising from the words and symbols of the seals, to justify the interpretation of any part as concerning the fates and fortunes of the Roman Empire, or of any political establishment whatever. It must therefore belong to the fates and fortunes of God's Church; which appear to me, in this place, to be represented under four distinct successive characters; such as history has recorded them. Each horse is separate and distinct; he is "another horse," though still representing the Church: for, the Church was so changed under the progress of these different characters, as no longer to appear the same.

The white horse, representing the Church in its purity (and the true Church is always pure), is in progress through the whole of the vision. He goes out conquering; is then eclipsed, as it were, for a time, by the other horses,—by the corruptions of Christianity; but at length appears again, in chap. xix. "conquering, "and for to conquer." Together with this distinctness of character, there is also an unity to be observed. They are all horses; and all pass, by a regular gradation, from one colour to another; from the mild and peaceful rule displayed in the character of the first horse, to the dreadful tyranny of Death and Hell which characterizes the last. This unity and completion of parts is also

* Essays, 4to. 350.
insinuated by their being contained under the cardinal number *four*, answering to the four sides of the Throne, and to the four Cherubim there stationed, who speak on the opening of each seal, until the voices have gone through the complete square of the Throne. This unity also accords with that of the four first trumpets, and of the four first vials, as will be seen in their places*.

These four seals present us with a *general view* of the progress of Christianity; from its first establishment in purity, to its utmost corruption and degeneracy under the papal usurpation. They contain the *first outlines* of a history, which we shall see afterwards extended and filled up by the same prophetic Spirit. And this method is analogous to that of other sacred prophecies; of those of Daniel in particular, in which, as Sir Isaac Newton observes, the same subject is retraced; the subsequent prophecies adding continually something new to the former †.

* See the note, ch. xvi. 17: and observe also, that as the ancients accounted the number *seven* of all others the most perfect (see note, ch. i. 4.); so, among other reasons for its perfection, they assigned this, that it is compounded of the numbers *four* and *three*; the first of these, the most perfect of the *even* numbers; the second, of the *uneven*. (Cyprian. de Spirit. Sanct.; August. de Civ. Dei, c. 30.; Macrobius in Somn. Scipionis.) Certainly, in this book of Revelation, the number seven evidently divides into these component parts,—in the seals, in the trumpets, and in the vials.

† Sir Isaac Newton, on Prophecy, part i. ch. 3.
And when he opened the fifth seal, I saw, under the altar, the souls of those that were sacrificed for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held. And they cried with a loud voice, saying, "How long, O Lord, Holy and True, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood upon those that dwell on the earth?" And white robes were given unto every one of them, and it was said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little season, until their fellow-servants also, and their brethren, that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled.

Ver. 9. Under the altar.] We are not informed whether the altar here mentioned, is the golden one of incense which makes part of the scenery in ch. viii. and
and has its proper place before the throne*, or, the brazen altar of burnt sacrifice†. The former belongs more appropriately to the scenery; but the latter seems more fitting to the action represented, in which the martyrs are *sacrificed. For, at the golden altar were offered only incense and prayer; before the brazen one, the victims were slain. This uncertainty occasions some difficulty, which may perhaps be removed, by supposing the action of this seal, as of the four preceding, to be represented graphically in picture. Then, though the golden altar may be still supposed to stand in its place; in the scenery before the Throne, yet the brazen altar may also appear delineated upon the roll of the book when opened by the Lamb. For on the unfolding of the fifth roll, this additional altar appears, and the martyrs are seen under it, and voices are heard to accompany their expressive gestures, as they hold up their hands in prayer.

Ib. The Souls.] Ἡ ψυχή, the soul, is that vital part or principle of life in man, which, by the favour of God through Christ, they who kill the body cannot destroy‡. The martyrs (for such they are), although slain by persecutors “for the word of God, and the “testimony which they held,” are “alive unto God,” their “souls are not left in hell§;” they are deposited in “their proper place ||;” they had suffered as victims

* That is, before the Ark and Mercy-seat, which was the local seat of the Divine presence in the Temple. See Exod. xxx. xxviii. xxxi. xl. 5; 2 Chron. iv. 19; Luke i. 11; Heb. ix. 4. 7.
† The word ἄνευρεν may be used to signify either of these altars; see Luke i. 11. Matt. v. 23. Rev. xi. 1. The expression ἄνευρεν ἄμησατος is applied in the Septuagint to both of them.
‡ Matt. x. 28. § 1 Pet. iv. 19.
|| Τῶν τῶν ἱδίων (Acts i. 25.): on which text see Bp. Bull’s Sermon.
at the altar * :” and from under the altar we hear their complaint.

Ib. *They cried.*] In the figurative language of Scripture, the blood of the murdered is said to cry from the ground to the Lord for vengeance †.

Ver. 10. *Sovereign Lord.*] In the Greek, διστορς, which is applied to God, as the sovereign Arbiter and Disposer of all things ‡.

Ib. *How long ?*] Such, with pious sufferers, has ever been the subject of enquiry and complaint: “How long " shall the ungodly triumph § ? For wise reasons, in part discoverable now, but which will be completely apparent hereafter, the Almighty, in forbearance, suspends his certain vengeance on the triumphant wicked ||. But in chapter xv. of this prophecy, we shall see a complete answer to this complaint;—we shall see the martyrs triumphant, and the “just judgments of God” manifested.

Ver. 11. *And there was given unto them white raiment.*] White raiment is emblematic of innocence, purity, and justification through Christ ¶. "Precious “in the sight of the Lord is the blood of his saints**.” To those who suffer in the cause of their Redeemer, are promised great rewards in heaven ††: and what can be more glorious, than to be presented pure, and blameless, and justified, in the sight of God! To this blessing, they who suffer for the word are entitled ‡‡:

* Rom. viii. 36. 2 Tim. iv. 6. Phil. ii. 17.
† Gen. iv. 10: and see Grotius on Heb. xi. 4.
§ Psalm xciv. 3.
|| See Luke xviii. 7, 8; which has resemblance to this passage.
¶ See note, ch. iii. 4.
** Psalm lxii. 14.
†† Matt. v. 12.
‡‡ Dan. xii. 10.
Ib. They should rest yet a time, until their fellow-servants also and their brethren should be completed, who were about to be slain, even as they had been.] A general day of recompense, and of vengeance on wicked persecutors, is universally promised in the Word of God. Until that time come, although persecutors may be seen to suffer some exemplary punishments *, yet the adequate and complete vengeance of a Just God is delayed. Under this seal, the promise of a Divine retribution is renewed, and the lists are still kept open for additional martyrs who shall conquer in the cause of their Redeemer. At the time when this prophecy was delivered, there had been but few martyrs to the Christian cause. We are here taught to expect (that which subsequent history has produced) a numerous succession of suffering witnesses, through a long period of time. We were prepared, by the imagery of the second and third, and more especially of the fourth seal, to expect some account of those that should be slain in such times "for the testimony of the word." In this seal it comes forward, but in general description only, (as in the preceding seals,) to be resumed in the sequel of the prophecy †. The period of time, occupied by the martyrs under this seal, is therefore from the death of our Lord, who is properly the first Christian Martyr ‡, to the great day of recompense, when the "noble Army of Martyrs" will be completed and avenged. But the point of time in which their history is especially delineated, under this seal, seems to be towards the close of the fourth seal, when they had suffered

* See some striking instances adduced in Jortin's Eccl. Hist. iii. 246—322.
† See ch. xi. 7—14. xiii. 7. xv. 2—5. xviii. 20. xx. 4.
‡ Ch. i. 5.
PART II.

SECTION VIII.

The opening of the sixth Seal.

CHAP. vi. VER. 12—10 the end.

12 And I beheld when he opened the sixth seal; and there was a great earthquake; and the sun became black as sack-cloth of hair; and all the moon became as blood: And the stars of heaven fell to the earth, even as a fig-tree casteth her untimely figs, when shaken by a mighty wind: And the heaven departed as a scroll, when it is rolled together; and every mountain and island were moved out of their places: And the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men, and every bondman, and [every] freeman,
hid themselves in the
caves, and in the rocks

16 of the mountains: And
they say to the moun-
tains and to the rocks,
“Fall on us, and hide
us from the face of
Him who sitteth on
the throne, and from
the wrath of the
17* Lamb: For the great
day of his wrath is
come: and who is
“able to stand?”

Ver. 12. Sixth seal.] In the complaint of the
martyrs under the fifth seal, it was asked, “how long”
the day of vengeance and of recompence should be
delayed? The answer to which was expressed in general
terms, “When the number of martyrs should be com-
pleted.” The sixth seal represents the arrival of this
awful day: “The great day of his wrath is come; and
“who may be able to stand!” Now, if this great day
be (as I trust will be made apparent in these notes) the
great day of universal recompence, and which cannot
take place till all martyrdom is over, the prophecy be-
fore us evidently describes a time which is still future.
Such a prophecy cannot be now illustrated, as all pro-
phecy should be, by the event, as delivered in history.
In a prophecy of this description, all that the com-
mentator can prudently attempt is, to cast upon it
what assistant light he can, by comparing it with the
other prophecies of the Old and New Testament, which
bear relation to it. This shall be our present object,
after having first ascertained the meaning of the figurative terms employed in the narration.

Ib. *A great earthquake.*] When the earth is shaken violently by subterraneous commotion, the buildings erected upon it fall. Agreeably to this, in prophetic language, whatever commotion, by Divine appointment, shakes and overturns political fabrics and empires, is called earthquake*.

Ib. The sun became black as sack-cloth of hair, and all the moon became as blood.] In such figurative language, great calamities, which bereave men of the usual sources of their comforts, are frequently expressed. The sun, under such deprivation, seems no longer to shine, but is enveloped in raiment of mourning; for, such, with the eastern nations of antiquity, was sack-cloth of hair†. The moon glares horribly, like blood; the stars fall‡.


Ver. 14. *As a volume rolled up.*] A sheet of parchment, upon which the ancient books were written §, being in its nature elastic, is seen to roll up in an instant, when he that extends it quits his hold. Then the characters, written or painted upon it, vanish from the sight, with a rapidity, which aptly expresses this sudden disappearance of the splendid luminaries in heaven, at the command of their Maker. The same image is used by Isaiah, ch. xxxiv. 4.

§ See note, ch. v. 1.
Ib. Mountain—Island.] These are places of the greatest security in times of hostile invasion; the mountain is difficult of access, by reason of its height and steepness; the island, from its surrounding waters. Therefore, under these images, the securest places are represented as no longer affording safety during this dreadful visitation.

Ver. 15. Kings of the earth, &c.] As in the description of the verse preceding, no place can afford security; so, in this, no pre-eminence in rank, power, or riches, can yield protection from the impending devastation; nor is there escape from it in any station of life: "Every bond-man and every free-man" flee before it, but in vain!

Ver. 16. Say to the mountains and to the rocks, Fall on us, and hide us.] Compare Judges vi. 2; 1 Sam. xiii. 6; Isaiah ii. 10, 19; Hos. x. 8; Luke xxiii. 30; and add to them the accounts which we derive from modern travellers, of the caves and hiding-places yet to be seen in Judaea, Arabia, &c.: and this language will be found to describe a flight of the utmost terror and dismay, before a victorious enemy, who, having destroyed all the fortresses and cities, pursues the hopeless fugitives into their last places of refuge. But who is this dreadful and avenging Conqueror, before whom at this time they flee? (ver. 16.) "He who sitteth on the "Throne; and the Lamb," the Redeemer, his Vicegerent, who executes his wrath.

Through-

* Hab. iii. v. 6.
† Go, then, thou mightiest, in thy Father's might;
Ascend my chariot; guide the rapid wheels
That shake Heav'n's basis; bring forth all my War,
My Bow and Thunder; my Almighty Arms
Gird on, and sword upon thy puissant thigh;

Pursue
Throughout the whole of prophetical Scripture, a time of retribution, and of vengeance on God's enemies, is denounced. It is called "the day of the Lord;" "the day of wrath and slaughter; of the Lord's anger, "visitation, and judgment;" "the great day;" "the "last day:" and whenever it is described, the signs which occur under this seal will be found, more or less, to compose its dreadful apparatus. At the same time, it is to be observed, that this kind of description, and the same expressions, which are used to represent this great day, are also employed by the Prophets, to describe the fall and punishment of particular states and empires;—of Babylon, by Isaiah (ch. xiii.); of Egypt, by Ezekiel (ch. xxx. 2, 3, 4. xxxii. 7, 8.); of Jerusalem, by Jeremiah, Joel, and by our Lord; and in many of these prophecies, the description of the calamity which is to fall on a particular state or nation, is so blended and intermixed with that general destruction, which, in the final days of vengeance, will invade all the inhabitants of the earth, that the industry and skill of our ablest interpreters have been scarcely equal to separate and assort them. Hence it has been concluded by judicious divines, that these partial prophecies and particular instances of the Divine vengeance, whose accomplishment we know to have taken place, are presented to us as types, certain tokens and fore-runners, of some greater events which are also disclosed in them. To the dreadful time of universal

Pursue the sons of darkness, drive them out
From all Heav'n's bounds, into the utter deep.
There let them learn, as likes them, to despise
God, and Messiah, his anointed King.

Paradise Lost, vi. 710.

* Matt. xxiv.
† See the ingenious attempt of Grotius, in his notes on Matt. xxiv.
vengeance, they all appear to look forward, beyond their first and more immediate object. Little indeed can we doubt that such is to be considered the use and application of these prophecies, since we see them thus applied by our Lord and his Apostles*.

One of the most remarkable of these prophecies is that splendid one of Isaiah, ch. xxxiv; the importance and universality of which is to be collected from the manner in which it is introduced: "All nations and people, the world and all things in it," are summoned to the audience. It represents "the "day of the Lord's vengeance," and the year of the recompenses for the controversy of Sion (ver. 8); it descends on all nations and their armies (ver. 2). The images of wrathful vengeance and utter dissolution are the same which are presented under this sixth seal. The hosts of heaven are dissolved; the heavens are rolled together as a scroll of parchment; the stars

* See Matt. i. 22, 23. xxvii. 9. John xv. 25. xix. 36, 37. Acts ii. 20, 27. iii. 19, 22, 24. Heb. iv. 7, 8. x. 27, 37. Rom. ii. 5. Gal. iv. 24. Eph. v. 14. 2 Thess. ii. 3, &c. 2 Pet. iii. 2—14; where the prophecies of the Old Testament are applied in a more extended and spiritual sense, than in their first and primary designation. For observations on the nature of Divine Prophecy, as applicable in a double sense, which has been denied by some divines, (by Dr. Sykes and Dr. Benson, and by Collins, the free-thinker,) see Bp. Lowth, Praelection xi. and Note on Isaiah, ch. xl.; Mr. Lowth on Isaiah vii. 15; Jortin's Remarks on Eccl. Hist. p. 188—228; Serm. v. 1, 124; Sir Isaac Newton on Prophecy, 251; Bp. Hurd's Sermons on Prophecy, iii. iv. v.; Bp. Sherlock on Prophecy, Disc. ii.; Bp. Warburton, Divine Legation, book vi. 8; Bp. Horne's Preface to the Psalms; Jones on the Figurative Language of Scripture, lect. viii; and, lastly, a very recent publication by Archdeacon Nares, in which, with great judgment and ability, he has shewn the indubitable right and authority by which we apply the prophecies in a double sense, because they are thus applied by our Lord himself and his Apostles; (Sermons at the Warburtonian Lecture, 1805).
fall, like a leaf from a vine, or a fig from its tree. And yet Idumea is mentioned by the prophet as the particular object of vengeance: such seems to be the typical completion, and primary application of this prophecy: but it has evidently a more sublime and future prospect, and in this sense the whole world is its object: and using the same symbols and figurative expressions with this prophecy of the sixth seal, with those of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and above all, sixteenth chapters of the Apocalypse, and with others of the Old and New Testament, it must, with them, be finally referred to the great day of the Lord’s vengeance for its perfect completion.

The sixth seal appears to exhibit a general description of this great day; and is illustrated by many preceding prophecies, which, having a primary reference to the destruction of God’s enemies in Babylon, Egypt, Jerusalem, &c. have evidently received their partial accomplishment, yet as evidently look forward to a more full and glorious consummation. They are not become a dead letter; they unite in pointing to some grander object, which all such prophecies describe; even the universal and final overthrow of the enemies of Christ. And they encourage us to look with certain assurance to the completion of the predictions in their final sense, since we have already seen them fulfilled typically.

As our Lord, in foretelling the destruction of Jerusalem, made use of the expression of former prophets, and thus directed their application to events then to come, involving in the same prediction the vengeance to fall, not only on his enemies in that siege, but at “the end of the world;” so, this prophecy of the sixth seal, published after the destruction of Jerusalem,
Jerusalem, yet containing the expressions of these former prophets, together with those of our Lord, seems to give clear indication of a more full and perfect accomplishment of all these prophecies.

Additional light will be cast on this prophecy (which, like the other seals, is to be considered as only a general sketch and outline) by subsequent visions in this book, which cotemporize with it, and were so understood by Cyprian in the third century; who referred them, together with this prediction of the sixth seal, to their grand and final accomplishment at the end of the world*.

* Cyprian. ad Novat. Haer. i.

PART II.
SECTION IX.

The sealing of the Hundred-and-forty-four Thousand, and the Presentation of the Palm-bearing Multitude before the Throne.

CHAPTER VII.

1 And after these things, I saw four angels standing on the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds of the earth, that not a wind should blow on the earth, nor on the sea, nor on any tree. And I saw another angel ascending from the sunrising, having
2 Kai i̱iov állov áγγeλον ἀνακλήνον 
ἀπὸ αἰώνιμον ὀλίγῳ ἡλιός,
ἐγείρει αἵματα θυμων. καὶ εἰ
κεφαλὴ φωνῆ μεγάλη
της τίσασαν αὐ̄γδας,
αἰ σεβημεν αὐτοῖς αἰνησεσ τὸν
γὰν ἐκ τὴν Σάλας.

3 σερ. Δήνων Μῆ 
ἀδικίαν τῆν γῆν,
μὴ τὴν Σάλας
cα, μὴ τὰ δαὐ
δαὶ, ἐχειτ ἐν σφαρ
γίσμιν τὸν δῆλον
τῆς Θεος ἐνων ἐπὶ
tῶν μελαίτων αὐτῶν.

4 Kai ἢκατὰ τὸν ἀγωνισμὸν τῶν ἵσβαρ
γισμῶν ἐκαθὼ τισασά
κολαὶ ἱππαδίς ἐστὶ
γισμὸν εἰς
πάντως 
τὸν ὁδόν

5 Ἰσραήλ. 'Ex φύλις
Ἰδραὶ, ἵππαδίς ἰσβάρ
γισμον ἐκ
φύλις Ἱδραὶ, ἵππα
δίς ἰσβάργισμον ἐκ
φύλις Ἡρώω, ἵππα
dίς ἰσβάργισμον ἐκ
φύλις Ἡρώω,

6 ἰσβαργισμον Ἐκ
φύλις Ἰσραήλ ἱππό
δις ἰσβαργισμον ἐκ
φύλις Νεφθαλίμ,
ἱππόδις ἰσβαργισ
μον ἐκ φύλις Νεφθαλί
μον ἐκ φύλις Νεφθα
λαίμος.

7 ἰσβαργισμον Ἐκ
φύλις Μακεδονίας,
ἱππόδις ἰσβαργισμο
νον ἐκ φύλις Μακε
δονίας.

8 ἰσβαργισμον Ἐκ
φύλις Θράκης, ἵππ
ἀ τὶς ἰσβαργισμο
νον ἐκ φύλις Θράκη
ς ἵππος.

9 ἰσβαργισμον Ἐκ
φύλις Άρμος, ἵππα
dίς ἰσβαργισμον ἐκ
φύλις Ἀρμος.

10 ἰσβαργισμον Ἐκ
φύλις Λευκίμνια,
ἱππόδις ἰσβαργισμ
νον ἐκ φύλις Λευκ
ίμνια.

11 ἰσβαργισμον Ἐκ
φύλις Πελαργίμ, ἵπ
πόδις ἰσβαργισμο
νον ἐκ φύλις Πελα
ρίμ.

12 ἰσβαργισμον Ἐκ
φύλις Αίολον, ἵππο
δις ἰσβαργισμο
νον ἐκ φύλις Αίολον.

13 ἰσβαργισμον Ἐκ
φύλις Μακαρίων, ἵππ
ἀ τὶς ἰσβαργισμο
νον ἐκ φύλις Μακα
ρίων.

14 ἰσβαργισμον Ἐκ
φύλις Νεφθαλίων, ἵππ
ἀ τὶς ἰσβαργισμο
νον ἐκ φύλις Νεφθ
αλίων.

15 ἰσβαργισμον Ἐκ
φύλις Πελαργίων, ἵπ
πόδις ἰσβαργισμο
νον ἐκ φύλις Πελα
ρίων.

16 ἰσβαργισμον Ἐκ
φύλις Πελαργίων, ἵπ
πόδις ἰσβαργισμο
νον ἐκ φύλις Πελα
ρίων.

17 ἰσβαργισμον Ἐκ
φύλις Αιώνων, ἵππ
ἀ τὶς ἰσβαργισμο

a seal of the Living God. And he cried with a loud voice to the four angels, to whom it was committed to injure the earth and the sea, Saying, 3 "Injure not the earth, "nor the sea, nor the "trees, until we shall have sealed the ser "vants of our God upon their fore "heads." And I heard the number of the sealed: an hundred and forty-four thousand were sealed out of all the tribes of the sons of Israel. Of the tribe of Judah, twelve thousand sealed; of the tribe of Reuben, twelve thousand sealed; of the tribe of Gad, twelve thousand sealed; Of the tribe of Asher, twelve thousand sealed; of the tribe of Napthali, twelve thousand sealed; of the tribe of Manasseh, twelve thousand sealed; Of the tribe of Simeon, twelve thousand sealed; of the tribe of Levi, twelve thousand sealed; of the tribe of Issachar, twelve thousand sealed; Of the tribe of Zabulon, twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Judah were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Reuben were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Gad were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Asher were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Napthali were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Manasseh were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Simeon were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Levi were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Issachar were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Zabulon were sealed twelve thousand.
of the tribe of Joseph, twelve thousand sealed; of the tribe of Benjamin, twelve thousand sealed. After this I beheld, and lo! a great multitude, which no one could number, from all nations and tribes and people and languages, standing before the throne and before the Lamb, clothed in white robes, and palm-branches in their hands; And they cry with a loud voice, saying, "The Salvation be ascribed to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and to the Lamb!" And all the angels stood round about the throne, and about the elders and the four living-creatures, and fell before the throne on their faces, and worshipped God, saying, "Amen! The praise, and the glory, and the wisdom, and the thanksgiving, and the honour, and the power, and the might, be unto our God for ever and ever! Amen.

of Zabulon were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Joseph were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Benjamin were sealed twelve thousand.
13men!" And one of the elders spake, saying unto me, "These, "clothed in white" robes, who are they, "and whence came 14"they?" And I said unto him, "O my "Lord, thou know- "est." And he said unto me, "These are they "who are come out "of the great tribula- "tion, and have wash- "ed their robes, and "have made them "white [their robes] "in the blood of the 15"Lamb: Therefore "are they before the "throne of God, and "serve him day and "night in his temple; "and He that sitteth "on the throne, shall "have his dwelling "over them; They "shall hunger no "more, neither shall "they thirst any more; "nor shall the Sun "strike on them, nor "17"any burning; Be- "cause the Lamb, "which is in the midst "of the throne, shall "rule them like a "shepherd, and shall "lead them unto "fountains of waters "of life; and God me, What are these which are arrayed in white robes? and whence came they? 14 And I said unto him, Sir, thou knowest. And he said to me, These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. 15 Therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple: and he that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among 16them. They shall hunger no more, nei- ther thirst any more, neither shall the sun light on them, nor any 17heat. For the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne, shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters: and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes.
Ver. 1. After these things, I saw. There appears, by these words, to be some separation of that which follows, from the main part of the sixth seal, which has preceded. And yet the sixth seal is certainly continued, for the seventh does not open till the next chapter. So this chapter is probably to be taken as a kind of supplement to the body of the sixth seal; belonging to it, yet separated from it. The sixth seal represents the vengeance of God upon a wicked world. This part of it seems to exhibit the Divine protection and Salvation, which shall support the elect in that “great day;” “the Jew first, and also the Gentile,”

Ib. Four angels. The number is cardinal, and expressive of universality*. Angels are ministers of the Divine mercy, and of the Divine vengeance.

Ib. On the four corners of the Earth. The earth is a part of the scenery exhibited in this vision, and is a proper appendage to that which has been already displayed; the glory of the Lord in heaven. For he is described in Scripture as ruling over heaven and earth: the one being “his throne;” the other, “his foot-stool†.” “The four corners of the earth” are, in the language of Isaiah and Ezekiel, the whole

* See note, ch. iv. 6.
† Is. lxi. 1.
180

APhCALYPS.

[Pt. II. § 9.

earth*; which now appears in view, immediately below heaven and the throne; not in an orbicular form, but stretched out as a plain, with four sides and angles, and thus it continues through the trumpets.

Ib. The four winds.] In the language of Scripture, a wind (which, when violent, destroys) is used to-express destruction†; and the four winds, a general destruction‡. The necessity of a superintending Providence to restrain the fury of these ministers of vengeance, will be acknowledged by those, who have witnessed the dreadful devastation committed by the unimprisoned winds in ruder climates; or, who have read accounts of the hurricanes in the West Indies. Hence the heathen poet has represented them as under divine restraint, and with such dignified language, that I shall not scruple to quote from him:

— — — — Hic vasto rex Αölus antro
Luctantes ventos, tempestatasque sonoras
Imperio premit, ac vinculis et carcere franat:
Illi indignantes, magno cum murmurum montis
Circum claustra fremunt. Celsa sedet Αölus arce
Sceptrum tenens, mollitque animos et temperat iras.
Ni faciat, maria ac terras coelumque profundum
Quippe serant rapidi secum, verrantque per auras:
Sed pater omnipotens speluncis abdidit atris,
Hoc metuens; molemque et montes insuper altos
Imposuit, regemque dedit, qui fædere certo
Et premere et laxas seiret dare Jussus habenas.

ÆNEID. i. 56—68.

But now the restraint is removed,—

† Jer. li. 1. iv. 11, 12. Hos. xiii. 15.
‡ Jer. xlix. 56. Ezek. vii. 2. Dan. vii. 2. viii. 8. xi. 4
Previous to the dreadful siege of Jerusalem by Titus, a prophet (perhaps an enthusiast) is described by Josephus, as going about and crying, \( \phi τ \nu \nu \alpha \tau \nu \tau \nu \nu \tau \eta \sigma \tau \pi \rho \alpha \nu \nu \alpha \varepsilon \nu \mu \nu \varepsilon \nu \varepsilon \) \( * \) which was perfectly understood to mean a wide and dreadful destruction \( \dagger \).

Ver. 2. Sunrising.] This quarter, which we call the East, was the cardinal point of first importance with the eastern nations of antiquity; because from that point was seen to arise the sun, that visible source of light and vital heat. In the camp of the Israelites, the eastern side was always the front, the honourable post. Here Moses and Aaron were stationed \( \dagger \). And "The Sun of Righteousness" (so our Lord is called) is said to emit his first beams of glory, his "day-star," from that quarter \( \S \). Hence, the Jews appear to have reckoned their cardinal points by supposing a person to face the East, as the first and principal quarter of the heavens. To a man so stationed, the South is on his right hand, the North on his left, and the West behind him. In consequence of this distribution, the Syrians, who were to the East of Israel, are said to be "before "Israel;" the Philistines, who dwelt to the West,

\* A voice from the four winds.

† Bell. Jud. lib. vi. c. 5. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 8.—The space comprehended under "the four winds," is paraphrased by our Lord in these words, "from the uttermost part of the earth to the "uttermost part of Heaven;" Mark xiii. 27.

\( \dagger \) Numb. ii. 3. iii. 38. \( \S \) Ezek. xliii. 2. Matt. ii. 2. xxiv. 27. "behind"
"behind" them. Hobah is described as on the "left hand of Damascus," because it lay to the North of that city*. The Europeans, on the contrary, have made the North their first and fronting point, and, as such, have placed it at the top of their maps. And from this cause, in political geography, the eastern bank of a river† is termed its right bank, the western its left. This division is as ancient as the times of Homer:

*Gen. xiv. 15.—And from this usage, it has been observed, that the same word in Hebrew, which is applied to signify the South, signifies also the right hand.
† Instance the Rhine.
‡ Ye vagrants of the sky, your wings extend,
Or where the Suns arise, or where descend,
To right, to left ——.

Pope, line 279.

§ Augustin. in Johann. vi.—What is sealing, but marking a thing as your own? You place a mark on the thing, lest, being mixed with other things, it may not be known by you.

"knoweth
"knoweth them that are his*. Under the Law of Moses, circumcision is represented to be the seal which separated the people of God from "the hearthen who did not call upon his name †." And, in this sense the sacrament of baptism, succeeding to circumcision, was called by the fathers of the Church, the Seal of God‡; but in the Gospel, this divine seal is more accurately described to be the Holy Spirit of God. They who have this Spirit, are marked as His §. Our Lord Jesus Christ is represented as possessing eminently this mark ¶. Generally, all "who name the name of Christ, and depart from "iniquity," are said to be thus divinely sealed †. By the seal of God, then, is signified that impression of the Holy Spirit upon the heart of man, which preserves in it the principles of pure faith, producing fruits of piety and virtue. This is the seal which marks the Christian, as the property of the Almighty, and consequently under his providential protection.

Ver. 3. Until we shall have sealed the servants of our God upon their foreheads.] The sweeping destruction, by the winds of heaven, which is to level every thing in this world in one common devastation, is withheld by Divine command, until the servants of God shall be so marked by his Holy Spirit, as to be separated and saved apart from those whom he now consigns to punishment. The sealed mark is said to be impressed upon the forehead; because on this con-

* 2 Tim. ii. 19. † Rom. iv. 11.
‡ Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 23.—See many more instances of this, produced by Grabe, in his notes to the Spicilegium, sect. i. p. 331.
§ 2 Cor. i. 22. Eph. i. 13. iv. 30. ¶ John vi. 27.
¶ 2 Tim. ii. 19.
spicuous
spicuous part of the person, distinguishing ornaments were worn by the eastern nations*. Slaves also were marked upon their foreheads, as the property of their masters†. But the passage will receive more particular illustration, by a comparison with the ninth chapter of Ezekiel, which, foretelling the destruction of Jerusalem, represents the ministers of Divine vengeance prepared to strike; when another angel is commanded to mark on the forehead the servants of God, who are to be saved from the calamity. This prophecy of Ezekiel was fulfilled at the taking of the city by the Chaldeans, when "a remnant was saved," and many of the righteous Jews, as Daniel and his companions, were promoted to honour. And again it was fulfilled at the final overthrow of Jerusalem by the Romans; when the Christians, forewarned by their Saviour‡, retired to Pella, and were saved§. But a more universal accomplishment still awaits this prophecy, when, together with those of Is. xiii. xxvi. Zeph. ii. 3. Mic. vii. Hab. i. Mal. iv. Matt. xxiv. 2 Thess. i. 7. 10. 2 Pet. iii. 10, and this of the sixth seal, it shall receive its final completion, in the last days of vengeance, previous to the destruction of this globe. Of the manner in which the sealed of God shall be delivered in that day, we can speak no farther than the assurances of other passages of Scripture seem to warrant. Saint Paul assures us, that, in the great day of the Lord, the pious Christians then

* Gen. xxiv. 22. marg. note; which seems to be the true reading. Exod. xxviii. 38. Ezek. xvi. 12. Deut. vi. 8. 2 Esd. ii. 38.
‡ Matt. xxiv.
§ Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. iii. c. 5.
alive, shall be caught up to the Lord by a glorious deliverance; which seems to accord with that described in the prophecy now before us.

Ver. 4. *One-hundred-and-forty-four thousand were sealed out of all the tribes of the sons of Israel.*] On this passage I remark, first, that, according to the Gospel, “Salvation is to the Jew first, then also to the Gentile.” And we are instructed, that “God hath not cast away his people;” that, “though blindness in part has happened unto Israel,” yet, “after the fulness of the Gentiles is come in, all Israel shall be saved.” Now, as the prophecy which engages our present attention, is of the last times, the times immediately preceding the great day of the Lord; so the Jews will by that time, if ever, be restored to the Church. This body of the sealed may therefore be, literally, of the tribes of Israel. Or, secondly, the Israel here may be, under the New Testament, the purer Gentile Church, called also in Scripture, “the Israel of God;” of which the ancient Israel is the original root; on which root the Gentile Church being engrafted, receives for a time the name, the privileges, and the honours of that rejected people, being now the “chosen people,” the “holy nation,” “the temple of the Living God.” Such is the language of Scripture in general, applying the name and privileges of Israel to the Christian Church; such it will be seen also in

* 1 Thess. iv. 7.  † Rom. i. 16. ii. 9, 10. Matt. xv. 24.
† Rom. xi. 25, 26.  § Rom. xi. 15—36.
∥ Gal. vi. 16. Phil. iii. 5. Col. ii. 11.  ¶ Rom. xii. 17. 22.
** Rom. xi. 13, 19.
this book of Revelation*. In chapter xiv, the hundred-and-forty-four thousand, having the name of the Father and of the Son on their foreheads, appear again in the train of their Lord, and are expressly said to be "redeemed from among men, a first fruit to God "and to the Lamb." There seems no expression here sufficient to determine whether the 144,000 be lineal or adopted Israelites. The word "first fruit," may be thought to favour the former interpretation, because the first converts to Christianity were certainly Israelites; and Saint James, writing his Epistle to the twelve tribes, calls them, together with himself (a lineal Israelite) "a kind of first fruit of God's creatures." But concerning the interpretation of an unaccomplished prophecy, we must not be positive; it may be fulfilled in either way; or in a way which we cannot at present conceive.

Thirdly; the number of the sealed, whether they be original Israelites or not, expresses fulness and perfection, having been observed to amount to a multiplication of the complete square root of the number of the tribes, or perhaps of the Twelve Apostles, on whom, as a foundation, the Christian Church is said to be erected‡; as will more particularly appear in Rev. xxi. 10, 14.

Fourthly; to the reader, who compares the names of the tribes, and their order, as exhibited in this passage, with parallel places in the Bible, some peculiarities will appear. The chief of which peculiarities are, that the tribe of Dan is omitted, and that of Levi, which, being dispersed among the other tribes for the purposes of ministration, had no allotment in

* See ch. ii. 9. and the note.

Canaan,
Canaan, is taken into its place. A reason may be assigned for the re-admission of Levi. This tribe had been excluded, because, separated for the priesthood, it had its provision in another form; but now being to enter on the *heavenly Canaan*, where there is *no temple*; where *all* are priests to God; there is no longer need of a peculiar priesthood: and therefore this tribe seems properly to resume its ancient station among the brethren. For the omission of Dan, the reason commonly given, is, that this tribe, by its early apostacy, became the common receptacle of idols, and corruptor of the rest. The same cause is assigned for the omission of the name of Ephraim; the name of Joseph, the father, being here used instead. There appears to have been an ancient notion or tradition in the Church, mentioned in the fourth century by Jerome, Ambrose, and by Gregory Nazianzen, that when Antichrist should come, he should be a Jew, and of the tribe of Dan; which opinion might take its rise, in some degree, from this omission of Dan amongst the sealed; though we may trace it in Irenæus, who seems to have collected this notion principally from Jer. viii. 16.

Ver. 9. *Lo! a great multitude, which no one could number, from all nations; &c.* The one-hundred-and-forty-four thousand of the sealed, the first fruits to Christ, having led the way, the Gentiles, afterwards converted, follow, are incorporated with them, and are presented before the throne, clothed in white robes, washed pure from their sins, bearing palm-branches, the signals of joy and festivity, and

* Rev. xxi. 22. † Rev. v. 10. †† Judg. xvii. 5. § See Mede's Works, p. 455. || De Haeres, lib. v. cap. 30. ¶ Gal. iii. 28. Col. iii. 11. ** See note, ch. iii. 4, 5. 
†† Levit. xiii. 40.

victory
victory. They ascribe their Salvation to God and their Redeemer. And the heavenly angels close around them, and rejoicing at their redemption, unite in a chorus of praise.

Ver. 13. *Who are they, and whence came they?* To assist us in answering this question, and in determining who are the persons composing this multitude of palm-bearing Saints, we have an heavenly Interpreter; from whom we learn, that "they are come out of the great tribulation," *ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς μεγάλης:* not, as it is generally translated, "out of great tribulation," but out of the great tribulation, that particular tribulation, for which such preparation was made by the ministers of God's wrath, in the beginning of this chapter, and from which the sealed only are enabled to escape. Yet it may be said, this multitude is not of the one-hundred-and-forty-four thousand, who alone are described as sealed. But, observe the remainder of the description. They are said by the elder to "have washed their robes, and made white their robes in the blood of the Lamb." And what is this, when rendered by plain language, but that, through faith in their Redeemer, they are purified from sin? Which is only another mode of expressing that they are sealed as Christ's property. Therefore the whole body, taken together, first of the one-hundred-and-forty-four thousand, then of the great multitude from all nations added to them, seems to express the whole Christian Church, from the time of Christ to the great and last day. It is the *New Jerusalem,* as described in ch. xxi, which has its foundation on the

† So Tertullian appears to have read and understood it, in the second century; "ex ills pressurâ magnâ." Scorpiace, sect. 12.
‡ See note, ch. vii. 2.

Twelve
Twelve Apostles. So, to compose this assembly we have, first, the Judai-Christian Church, which was the first-fruits; then, the Gentile Churches which were received into it. And, as we are expressly informed by Saint Paul *, that the pious Christians, who, previously to the last day, shall be buried in the sleep of death, will not be postponed to those who are caught up alive to meet their Lord, so we may properly suppose this great multitude to contain also those that sleep in Christ. And thus it is the complete collection of the redeemed from earth, of all ages and nations; who, adhering to their allegiance and duty, shall escape out of "the great "tribulation," which is the peculiar burthen of this prophecy: The terrible calamities of these latter days are by our Lord represented under the very same terms, άληθέ& μεγάλην, "great tribulation," and after describing them he assures us, that he shall "send forth his angels, and gather together his elect, from "the four winds, from the uttermost part of the earth "to the uttermost part of heaven." These four winds are in this prophecy described as devastating that earth, from which the sealed, in the words of this Prophecy, and the elect in those of our Saviour, are to be delivered, and collected unto his presence, as is here represented. It was from a justly founded expectation of this signal deliverance, that the Apostles (who appear not to have known the particular time and season of this visitation, concealed even from angels §) exhorted the faithful disciples, as their Lord had done before them ||, to lift up their heads,

* 1 Thess. iv. 15.
† Matt. xxiv. 21. Mark xiii. 19. 24. ; Mark xiii. 27.
and look with joyful expectation to these days of vengeance, knowing themselves not to be appointed to wrath, but to Salvation, whether they be found among the dead or among the living, at that awful hour*.

Ver. 15. Therefore, &c.] The remaining part of this chapter contains a figurative description, very simple and very interesting, of the future happiness of this redeemed multitude. But the interpretation of it is so obvious, to those who are in the least degree acquainted with the language of Scripture, that I shall content myself with referring to some of the principal passages of the Old and New Testament, where the same figurative language is applied in the same manner.


Ver. 17. Like a Shepherd.] Is. xl. 11. xlix. 10. Psalm xxxiii. 1. lxxx. 1. Jer. xxxi. 10. And see note, ch. ii. 27.

Ib. Tear.] Is. xxx. 19. xxv. 8.

Let the reader now compare the happiness of this palm-bearing multitude, as here described, with that of the inhabitants of the heavenly Jerusalem, in ch. xxi. 14; and he will probably determine the two periods to be the same. Of none other but of happiness in heaven can it be affirmed, (as is affirmed of


both
both these,) that pain, and sorrow, and hunger and thirst, shall then be no more, under the reign of the Lamb, who "shall wipe away every tear from their eyes." Joseph Mede observed this synchronism*; but has applied it, as I am inclined to think, improperly, to an earthly millennium, or reign of Christ and his saints on earth. The expressions of perfect felicity in both passages are by much too exalted to bear application to any thing possible under the present constitution of things. They can be fulfilled only in heaven; or in an heaven upon earth (which is much the same thing) succeeding to the destruction and regeneration of the present globe†.

Having thus formed, upon the scriptural grounds above stated, this notion of the application of this prophecy, I found myself, when I came to read the exposition of some eminent commentators, little disposed to subscribe to their opinions, which represent this seventh chapter of the Apocalypse as containing "a description of the state of the church in Constantine's time; of the peace and protection that it should enjoy under the civil powers, and the great accession which should be made to it both of Jews and Gentiles." Now the history of this period, faithfully related, informs us, that although the Christian Church was delivered from persecution, and advanced in worldly consideration and power, yet did it acquire no real accession of worth, dignity, or exaltation, by its connexion with the imperial throne. Nay, from that very time, its degeneracy and cor-

* Clav. Apocalyp. pars ii. syn. vii.  † See notes, ch. xxi.
† Daubuz, Bishop Newton, &c. &c.

ruption
ruption are most indubitably to be dated. From that period, worldly power and riches became the objects of its leaders, not purity and virtue. Many entered the Christian Church, and obtained its honours and dignities, by base dissimulation of their principles, to please the emperor, and recommend themselves to his favour*. And the consequent extension of the Christian Religion among the heathen nations was, as Mosheim observes, in name, not in reality †. The worldly professors of Christianity in this century were so far from fulfilling the prophecy, by “washing their robes white,” and by being fed and conducted by the Lamb, that they appear rather to have assumed the hue of another leader, the fire-coloured dragon, and to have greedily sought from him those worldly riches and that power, which their Lord had refused at his hands ‡. This grand enemy of the Christian Church, the devil, had begun his attack upon her, first, by the terrors of persecution. He failed in this attempt: the blood of the Martyrs became the seed of the Church. He then changed his mode of operation. He beguiled the Christians with the promise of worldly power and splendour: and it was from this successful mode of corruption, that he was at length enabled to produce Antichrist;—

— — — — Captique dolis —
Quos neque Tydides nec Larissaeus Achilles,
Non anni donuere decem, non mille carinae!

Æneïd. ii. 196 ⁴.

* Euseb. de Vit. Constant. lib. iv. c. 54.
† Eccl. Hist. cent. 4.
‡ Matt. iv. 9.

§ Thus Satan sped, and fix’d his artful reign
Where ten years’ persecution rag’d in vain.

The last great persecution under Dioclesian continued almost ten years.

Quotations
Quotations might easily be multiplied from contemporary authors, and from learned and judicious writers of later date, to shew by their testimony, that this is the true history of the Christian Church in the fourth century. I shall content myself with a few.

Gregory of Nazianzum will be allowed to be a most unexceptionable witness, both as to character, and as to the time in which he wrote; about the middle of the fourth century.

This writer, speaking of the Emperor Julian, says, * "It was not long before this (power of injuring the Christians) was afforded him against us, by the abounding wickedness of the many, and by the prosperity of the Christians, verging, as one may say, from the highest pitch to a contrary change, and the power, and the honour, and the plenty, by which we were become insolent." Then, after asserting the danger of prosperity, and supporting his assertion by quotations from Scripture, he continues; "For having been exalted when we were meek and moderate, and by degrees advanced, so as to arrive, under the Divine conduct, to so great a figure and multitude, when we were fed up we kicked, and when we were enlarged and set at liberty we were reduced and narrowed: and that glory and power, which we had acquired in persecutions and afflictions, we lost in prosperity." Jerome wrote at

* Ου τολυ το ει μεγη, και ταυταν διδος αυτο καθ' ημερ, ἡ πληθυνθεσα των ανθρωπων ακομα, και η επ' ακροι, ου εις εις εις της, Χριστιανων ειδια την ενασκευα εοντα μεταβολη, και η ειδια, και η τιμη, και ο κόσμος, δι εις ιεροις. Ημες γον ιεραντες, οταν πιναπινα τη και μεγης, και κατα μεγης ακροις ου εις το δομη το σχημα και παλαις συν παντογενης θεω προδειομεν, ουκ ειπαραθημεν, εικονισθαμεν, και ουκ ειπαραθημεν εικονισθαμεν και ου εις τους διαγως και ταυς θεοφανεις συνειχοναμεν δοξη και δειμας, ταυταν ει πατησαμεν καταλωσαμεν. Orat. iii. p. 62, edit. Morelli.
the close of this century, and at the beginning of the next. This learned and able Father, speaking of the Christian Church, says, "After it came to the Christian emperors, in power indeed and in riches it became greater, but in virtues less." These ancient cotemporary testimonies are far superior in credibility to those of Eusebius and Lactantius, quoted by Bishop Newton, to shew the beata tranquillitas, the rare felicity, of the Church, from the time the emperors became Christian. And this, not from the superior veracity or judgment of the writers, but because Eusebius and Lactantius lived at the time when the change was taking place, and seeing the Church delivered from persecution, and supported by the supreme power, they naturally promised to themselves and their successors the most flourishing prosperity. But Gregory and Jerome lived a generation or two later, and had thereby the opportunity of seeing the actual effects of these measures, which proved highly detrimental to the true prosperity of the Church, and are acknowledged to be so by all our judicious writers on Ecclesiastical History.

The learned Dr. Jortin seems to have had this passage of Jerome in mind, when, introducing his remarks on the ecclesiastical history of the times of Constantine, he mentions his subject in these words; "The Church of Christ increasing in splendour, and decreasing in virtue." And to these times of

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*Scribere enim disposui, ab adventu Salvatoris usque ad nostram ætatem; id est, ab apostolis usque ad nostri temporis æcæm; quomodo, et per quos, Christi Ecclesia nata sit, et adulta persecutionibus creverit, martyriis coronata sit; et postquam ad Christianos principes venit, potentid quidem et divitiis major, sed virtutibus minor facta sit. Hieron. de Vita Malchi; tom. i. p. 116, edit. Basil.

† Dedication to vol. iii.

Constantine,
Constantine, he justly attributes the rise of those two most pernicious maxims in the Church; 1st, that her interests may be laudably served by deceit and lying; and 2dly, that heretics are to be punished with civil penalties, and corporal punishments. By such steps, not Christianity, but Antichristianity was advanced. "The number of immoral and unworthy Christians," continues this author, "began so to increase, that the examples of real piety and virtue became extremely rare."

Spanheim's observations on this part of ecclesiastical history are to the same effect: "Luxus glis-cens in ecclesiam cum opibus, dignitatis, ambitione, superbia clericorum, et requie a persecutionibus, sub Christianis jam principibus, unde morum, corruptio; &c."

Mosheim, having produced some strong facts, as specimens of the degenerate state of Christianity in this century, adds; "the discerning reader will easily perceive what detriment the church received from the peace and prosperity procured by Constantine." Joseph Mede, speaking of this century, says; "Alas! now began the ὑγείας καιρος, or latter times; this was the fatal time, and thus was the Christian apostacy to be ushered in: if they had known this, it would have turned their joyous shoutings and triumphs into mourning."—"Alas! (says an eloquent and learned writer of our own times) from the very æra of the security, prosperity, and splendour of the Christian Church, we must date the decay of the true spirit of Christianity! Honour, wealth, and power, soon excited pride, avarice, ambition:

† Eccl. Hist. cent. iv. part ii. c. 3. ‡ Works, p. 680.
"and the contests for these worldly advantages were but too often carried on with the greatest animosity, under pretence of contending for the "faith."

The six first seals having been now opened, and their contents exposed, and appearing to contain an unity within themselves; before we proceed to new matter, let us review them. They contain, according to this our interpretation, a short, rapid, and general sketch of the progress of Christianity, from its establishment to the end of time; from the first, to the final, coming of our Lord. (1.) We see this Religion setting forth in purity, with primitive piety and charity, in which array we are assured it shall prosper, both at its first outset, and at the last. But between these two periods, of commencement, and of final victory and prosperity, there are intermediate ages: and in the progress of the Church through these, the form of Christianity changes; she is no longer the same; for, (2.) a fire-coloured hue succeeds to white. Unchristian animosities and contentions, then becoming general, proceed even to mutual bloodshed and slaughter. (3.) The form changes again, and for the worse. Under the cover of dark ignorance and superstition, the agents of the enemy fix a yoke of unauthorized observances on the necks of the disciples, and thereby make the passage easy for (4.) another and still more fatal change, when true Religion is so completely banished from that which bears the name of the Christian Church, that they, who continue to practise it in its purity, become objects of hatred and of persecution

* Bishop Lowth's Visitation Sermon, 1758.
to the powers ruling under the Christian name.

(5.) Then comes the cry of the Martyrs, bursting forth from this persecution, and continuing through a long period. (6.) But the day of Divine vengeance, although delayed, will come; when they, who have the mark of true Christian faith and purity, shall be saved triumphantly from the never-ending calamities which shall overwhelm their enemies, the enemies of Christ.

Such appears to be this general outline of the Christian history. Many important intervals remain yet to be filled up, under the seventh seal, which will be found to contain all the prophecies remaining; and, by tracing the history over again, to supply many events which were only touched upon before. This method of Divine prediction, presenting, at first, a general sketch or outline, and afterwards a more complete and finished colouring of events, is not peculiar to this prophetical book. It is the just observation of Sir Isaac Newton, that "the Prophecies of Daniel are all of them related to each other;" and that "every following prophecy adds something new to the former." We may add to this observation, that the same empires in Daniel are represented by various types and symbols. The four parts of the Image, and the four Beasts, are varied symbols of the same Empires. The Bear and the He-Goat, in different visions, represent the same original: and so do the Ram and the Leopard. We are not therefore to be surprised, when we find the same history of the Church beginning anew, and appearing under other, yet corresponding types; thus filling up the outlines which had been traced before.

* On Daniel, Part I. c. iii.
PART III.

SECTION I.

The opening of the seventh Seal, and the Commission to the Angels with the seven Trumpets.

1 And when he opened the seventh seal, there was silence in heaven, as it were half an hour.

2 And I saw the seven Angels who stood before God, and to them were given seven trumpets.

3 And another angel came, and was stationed at the altar, having a golden censer: and there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer, with the prayers of all the saints, upon the golden altar which was before the throne.

4 And the smoke of the incense ascended with the prayers of the saints, from the hand of
Ver. 1. There was silence in heaven, as it were half an hour.] Upon the opening of each of the former seals, a significant action had immediately commenced. Under the four first seals, voices from heaven, from the place of representation, had invited the Prophet to "come and see." With the fifth seal, the voices of the Martyrs had been heard. The opening of the sixth seal had been directly followed by a representation of action the most tremendous, accompanied and explained by voices, during which the prophecy seemed to extend even to the great and last day of recompense. Now, upon the opening of this seventh and last seal, no voice is heard, no representation immediately ensues. An awful silence suspends the gratification of curiosity. After a solemn pause, preparation is made for a new kind of exhibition; the seven angels come forth.

This silence in heaven has been supposed to express, or at least to allude to, that custom of the Jews, whereby they joined their silent prayers to the offering of the incense. But this silence takes place before the time of incense; before the angel takes his station at the altar.
altar. And there is an intervening action between the silence and the offering of incense, namely, the procession of the seven angels; each of whom is presented with his trumpet. This silence, therefore, though it may bear a certain degree of allusion to the temple-service, and may even be supposed to continue during the service which follows, seems to be exhibited for another purpose; to denote, as it appears to me, a change, in the mode, or in the subject of the prophecy; to disunite the succeeding scene from that which had gone before; to unfold a new chain of prediction. The connexion, which had hitherto united the seals, is broken; the seventh seal stands apart; and then produces a new method of representation, and a new series of events, to which the silence in heaven, and the offering of incense, are preparatory. But if a new series of events is to be exhibited, whence are we to expect that it will take its date? Under the sixth seal, preceding this which contains the trumpets, the rapid sketch of the Christian history was brought down to the last great day of recompense. Where then are we to expect that this renewed history will begin? From the earliest times of Christianity, or, to speak more properly, from the period when our Lord left the world in person, and committed the Church to the guidance of his Apostles. From this time, the first seal takes its commencement; from this also the first Trumpet. This is the beginning, settled by the agreement of divines, of the second advent of Christ, the proper subject of the Apocalyptic Prophecies.

Ver. 2. The seven angels.] These are not the company of angels employed under the preceding seal; for they were four. And this seems to afford an additional argument, that a new kind of representation is to be expected.
expected. *Seven* is a number expressive of universality, or completion *. The Jewish writers seem fond of enumerating seven principal angels. But the writings, in which they are described, are, I believe, of later date than the Apocalypse, and the notion was probably derived from this passage †.

Ib. *Seven trumpets.*] The use of the trumpet among the people of God, and its symbolical meaning in this passage, will be explained under verse 6.

Ver. 3, 4. *And another angel came, and was stationed at the altar; &c.* This is expressly said (ver. 3.) to be "the golden altar, which was before the throne." Upon this altar, which stood before the Mercy-seat (the local seat of the Divine glory in the Temple), was to be offered no strange incense ‡; no strange fire §; by no strange priest ||: but incense, offered thereon by the legal priests, was as an atonement for *the people¶*, who accompanied this offering with their prayers **. For it was the custom of devout people to offer up their prayers in the court of the Temple, while the priest was burning incense within; as may be seen at large in Luke i. 9, 10, 21, 22. The angel, therefore, seems to represent a lawful priest; and the incense, added to the prayers, a mode of offering, or form of worship ††, probably the Christian; for, the incense, the means of presenting the prayers unto God, is *given from heaven* to the angel or officiating priest; is accompanied by the prayers of the *saints*, who are certainly

* See note, ch. i. 4.
† Tobit xii. 15, on which see Jortin's Remarks, i. 113; Gray's Key to the Old Testament, art. Tobit; Mosheim, Hist. Eccl. i. 176.
‡ Exod. xxx. 9, 38. § Levit. x. 1.
|| Numb. xvi. ¶ Numb. xvi. 46.
** Psalm cxli. 2. Luke i. 10. †† See note, ch. v. 8.

*Christians;*
Christians; and ascends before the throne; which implies that it is accepted by the Almighty *. This character can belong to no other than the true Religion †. The proper priest of the Christian Religion, the only High Priest, is our Great Intercessor and Mediator, the Lord Jesus. Yet, powerful reasons may be assigned, to show that the officiating angel, in this passage, is not this High Priest. For, first, he has no distinguishing attributes, such as mark this high priest in ch. i. 13, &c. He is simply styled an angel,—another angel, that is, one of the same rank and description with the seven. Secondly, this office of burning incense, under the Mosaic dispensation, was not confined to the high priest; subordinate priests might offer it: and the office was generally discharged by the priests of the twenty-four courses. Zacharias, who, in Luke i. "burns incense with the prayers of the people," was of this description. And, thirdly, under the Gospel dispensation, we find this function of offering spiritual incense, committed to the Christian priesthood in general ‡. So that this angel may be supposed to represent the Christian priesthood in general, as exercised in subordination to the Great High Priest.

This religion is of heavenly origin and institution; and the smoke of its incense, or worship, ascends from the hand of the priest "before God."

Ver. 5. And the angel took the censer, and filled it from the fire of the altar, and cast to the earth; &c.] A question seems to arise upon this passage; what did the angel cast to the earth? Our translators have inserted the pronoun it; "cast it to the earth; by which we must understand the censer. But this construction

* See Acts x. 4. † Mal. i. 11. 1 Pet. ii. 5. ‡ Rom. xv. 16. 1 Pet. ii. 5.
is by no means warranted by the original *. But if the censer were not cast to the earth, its contents must have been: and what were they? To answer this question, we are to observe the method in which the angel seems to have proceeded. He offered the incense, most probably, not upon the censer, but upon the altar; the golden altar; the altar appropriated for that use; as he is expressly appointed to do, in the third verse. And if it seem an objection to this supposition, that the smoke is said to ascend from the hand of the angel, it may be answered, that so it would, if, as may seem probable, he took the incense from the censer, and with his hand applied it to the fire upon the altar. The smoke would then ascend from his hand, almost in contact with the fire. It would be only in the same manner, "from his hand," if the incense were burned upon the censer. But the censer seems to have been, in this case, only the receptacle of the incense; for the angel came forth with the censer in his hand; and then the incense was given to him. He had no vial, which was the usual receptacle †. The angel, therefore, seems to have taken the incense from the censer, and to have burned it upon the fire, which was on the altar. He now reverses the mode; he first takes the censer, and then the fire from the altar, which he applies to the censer, in which was the remainder of the incense: and the fire and the incense, thus burning, he casts to the earth. But the incense, thus burning, as we have before remarked, means the Christian worship and Religion; pure and heavenly in its nature and origin; but, sent down to the earth, and mixing with the passions and worldly designs of men, it produces signal commotions, expressed in the prophetic language by

* Kai ἐπὶ τὸν χείρ. † See note, ch. v. 8, on the word Vial.

"voices,
"voices, and thunderings, and lightnings, and earthquake." Or, if it be, as it may perhaps be, that the fire alone is cast to the earth, (the incense being exhausted,) the interpretation will be nearly the same. For our Lord has declared, in the same kind of figurative language, that in sending forth his holy Religion to the earth, he had cast fire thereon; —πῦρ ἐλάθων βαλεν εἰς τὸν γῆν— it is the very same expression*: and this fire he afterwards explains to signify divisions and contention†. Thus, in the representation before us, the Christian Religion begins in peace; and pure incense, rendered effectual by the Saviour's atonement, and accompanying the devout prayers of the Church, is offered for a time; till, mingling with earthly corruption, with human passions and prejudices, it becomes the instrument of discord and violence. But this is only a general, symbolical, preluding view of the subject; the heresies, divisions, commotions, which, under the name of Christianity, miserably afflicted the Christian world, and almost banished true Religion, are to be more especially developed in the sequel of this seal. The significant action now exhibited, prepares us for the kind of history which is to follow. And it seems to confine our interpretation of the sequel, to the history of the Christian Religion, thus producing commotions upon the earth.

* Luke xii. 49. † See Grotius and Whitby, in loc. 
‡ Mal. i. 11.
6 And the seven angels, who had the seven trumpets, prepared themselves to sound.

7 And the first sounded; and there were hail and fire mingled with blood; and they were cast upon the land; and the third part of the land was burnt up; and the third part of the trees was burnt up; and all green grass was burnt up.

8 And the second angel sounded; and, as it were, a great mountain burning with fire, was cast into the sea; and the third part of the sea became blood: And the third part of the creatures in the sea, which had life, died; and the third part of the ships were destroyed.

9 And the third angel sounded; and there fell from heaven a great star, burning like a meteor; and it fell upon the third part of the rivers, and upon the

10 And the seven angels, which had the seven trumpets, prepared themselves to sound.

7 The first angel sounded; and there followed hail and fire mingled with blood; and they were cast upon the earth: and the third part of trees was burnt up, and all green grass was burnt up. And the second angel sounded, and as it were a great mountain burning with fire was cast into the sea; and the third part of the sea became blood: And the third part of the creatures which were in the sea, and had life, died; and the third part of the ships were destroyed.

10 And the third angel sounded, and there fell a great star from heaven, burning as it were a lamp, and it fell upon the third part of the rivers, and upon the
fountains of waters:

11 And the name of the star is called Wormwood; and the third part of the waters became wormwood; and many men died of the waters, because they were made bitter.

12 And the fourth angel sounded; and the third part of the sun was smitten, and the third part of the moon, and the third part of the stars; so that a third part of them was darkened, and the day shone not for a third part of it, and the night likewise.

Ver. 6. And the seven angels, who had the seven trumpets, prepared themselves to sound.] The former part of this chapter having prepared us for a new kind of representation, in which we may expect to find the history of those commotions which followed the descent of Christianity upon earth; we will in the next place observe, with what propriety they are severally introduced by the sound of Trumpets. Trumpets were in use among the Israelites for several purposes: first, for assembling the people*; or their leaders†; or,
secondly, to express joy and exultation on solemn festivals; or, lastly, to give signal when the camp was to move, or the host to go forth to battle; on which occasion, the trumpets were to "sound an alarm," after a manner not used on other occasions. It was the signal of hostile invasion; it was fearful:—"Shall the trumpet be blown in the city, and the people not be afraid?" Of such kind we may account the seven trumpets of the angels. They are not the trumpets of the new moons and feast days; there is no joy and festivity in them; they are not for the quiet and peaceful calling of the assembly; they sound an alarm; an alarm of war; and woe! woe! woe! accompanies their notes (ver. 13.): they foretell to the Church of Christ the invasions of its enemies, and are so many signals on the approach of each antichristian foe. And from the preparatory vision, in which incense and fire from the altar in heaven, are cast down to earth, producing violent commotions, we have reason to expect that Religion, or the pretence and abuse of it, is intimately connected with this warfare. This expectation will be confirmed by our observing, that the representation under every trumpet appears to have some reference to, or connection with, the preparatory vision. At the sounding of almost every one of which, somewhat is seen to fall from heaven to earth, as the incense and fire had fallen, and to occasion the commotions which ensue.

Ver. 7. And the first sounded.] The prophetic history of the four first trumpets is dispatched in few words, containing few images; so that much particular

* Numb. x. 10. † Ib. x. 5, &c. ‡ Deut. x.
§ Jer. xxv. 5, 19, 21. vi. 1, 17. || Amos iii. 6.
¶ Psalm lxxxi. 3.
information cannot be safely collected from them. Like the first four vials, they seem to have a general character. The attack, whose alarm is sounded, falls in a fourfold division: first, on the land; for, thus it seems to me that ἐγώ should be translated; not in its general signification of the earth, as containing the land, sea, rivers, &c.; but in its particular sense, as opposed to the sea, &c. * : secondly, on the sea: thirdly, on the rivers and springs: fourthly, on the heavenly luminaries,—the sun, moon, and stars; that is, on the whole of God’s creation. For in the xivth chapter of this book, verse the seventh, God is described as the Creator of all things, under these divisions: “the heaven; and the earth; and the sea; “and the springs of waters.” The same divisions of the visible world (three of them often, sometimes four,) are to be seen in other passages of Scripture†. This mode of division is ancient, and passed to the Greek and Roman poets. Virgil, after his Greek masters, describing the creation, says:

Principio calum et terras, camposque lignentes,
Lucentemque globum luna, titaniaque astra,
Spiritus intus alit.

ÆNEID. vi. 724.  

* In confirmation of which we may observe, that in ch. xvi. all the seven angels are ordered to pour their vials on the earth, us τῶν γῆς: and yet only one of them obeys the order literally and specially, us τῶν γῆς: because, in pouring their vials on the sea, rivers, &c. they fulfil the order in the general sense in which the word earth was applied. The word is first used, generally, to signify the whole extent of the earth, as containing the land, sea, rivers, &c.; then particularly to mean that part of it only which we call the land.


Know, first, that heav’n and earth’s compacted frame,
And flowing waters, and the starry flame,
And both the radiant lights, one common Soul
Inspires and feeds, and animates the whole.  

DRYDEN.
In the fourfold enumeration before us, the rivers and springs are kept separate from the other waters, for a particular purpose of illustration, which will be seen. Hereby also is made that fourfold division, which, containing every part of the square, implies universality and completion*. For, as the vision of the four horses, at the voices of the four Cherubim, passing completely around every side or angle of the throne, is seen to exhibit a sketch of the Christian degeneracy in all its parts, from its first purity to its utmost corruption;—

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>White Horse,</th>
<th>Fire-coloured Horse,</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Cherub.</td>
<td>Second Cherub.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Livid-green Horse,  
Fourth Cherub.

Black Horse,  
Third Cherub.

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First Trumpet,  
Land.

Fourth Trumpet,  
Heavenly Luminaries.

Second Trumpet,  
Sea.

Third Trumpet,  
Rivers, &c.

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* See note, ch. iv. 6.

† I say the Christian world; for thus appear to me, those "new heavens," and that "new earth," described by the Prophets, and the Apostles, to be "created after God in righteousness." Isaiah li. 16. Eph. iv. 24.

A A  
And,
And, for this reason, it is not necessary to suppose that these attacks are made in an exact, successive, chronological order. If the whole of Christianity (as under the seals) were to undergo four several attacks, such attacks could only succeed each other; but these assaults being upon the four parts of the whole, are not necessarily successive, but may be contemporaneous; each assault might begin, or end, at nearly the same time; and yet they would be narrated in a progressive order; for, the history of one part must be told before that of another.

Ver. 7. *Hail and fire mingled with blood.* Both hail and fire are instruments of destruction. Hail is such more especially in the warmer climates, as may be seen in the accounts of modern travellers; affording such testimony, as to give perfect credibility to the Scriptural history, which relates surprising events of this kind. (See Job xxxviii. 23. Josh. x. 11. and the commentators.) And even in the climate of France, so congenial to our own, there are undoubted relations of such destructive effects from hail. During the expedition of our Third Edward against that kingdom in 1360, the hail-stones fell so large, as to kill men and beasts*. The effect of fire and hail united, is seen in Exod. ix. 23. Psalms xviii. 12. cv. 32. cxlviii. 8. Ezek. xxxviii. 29. Eccl’us xxxix. 29. And the horror is increased by their being mingled with blood, as in Exod. iv. 9. vii. 17. Is. xv. 9. These, like the incense and fire in the preparatory vision, are cast to the earth; but not upon the earth in general; not upon every part of it, but upon that part, which,

* Froissart, liv. i. ch. 212. And extraordinary ravages by hail on the agriculture of France, are related by Mr. Arthur Young, in his late account of that kingdom.
distinguished from the sea, we call the Land. Now, in the prophetic writers, 'H Γέ, the land, as opposed to the sea, is found frequently to signify the Holy Land, the people of Israel, so long as they continued the people of God*. And between these and the Gentile converts, who are represented by the sea †, there was, in the early times of Christianity, a marked line of distinction; the circumcised being bound to the observance of the ceremonial law, while the uncircumcised were free from such obligation. They are separated in the New Testament also, under the different appellations of Λαώς and Εβροι‡, and on account of this division, there was a corresponding distribution of offices to the Apostles and teachers; some among whom being sent to the circumcision, others to the Gentiles.§ This distinction has occurred before in ch. vii. of this prophecy; and will recur in the progress of the book. The descendants of the twelve Patriarchs, preserved miraculously as a separate people, may probably make a separate part of Christ's heritage after their conversion to his name ||.

Ib. And the third part of the land was burned up, and the third part of the trees was burned up, and all green grass.] Trees, and other vegetables, represent the converts of Religion; some of whom are

* See Is. xxiv. throughout, and the Prophets generally.
† See note below, v. 8.
‡ Acts iv. 27. xxii. 28. xxvi. 17. 23. Rom. xv. 10.
§ Gal. ii. 7, 9.
|| See notes, ch. ii. 9. vii. 4. xi. 1.—We have reason to believe, that the Church, even in its glorious and triumphant state, shall still be conformed to its primitive division: for, Christ assured his Apostles, that when the Son of Man should sit upon the throne of his glory, they also should sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. Jones's Lectures on the Epistle to the Hebrews, p. 381.
"rooted and grounded in the faith;" others, having no root, cannot stand against the storm. The third part of these is destroyed. To ῥίζανειαν, the third part, is an expression not uncommon with the prophetic writers: compare Ezek. v. 12. and Zech. xiii. 8, 9, &c.; where the third part represents the remnant of the people who are to be saved,—few in number, when compared with those who are to perish: but here the greater part of the Christian plants are to survive the attack. But no grass is left; "all green grass was burned up." Grass, in Scriptural language, represents the gaily flourishing; those who exhibit a promising appearance, yet, like herbage in hot burning climates, are soon withered and gone. Such persons, our Lord foretold, would "spring up quickly: with joy receive the word, but, in time of persecution, fall away." The first persecution which attacked the Church, arose from the Jewish zealots, and fell upon the converted Jews. Saint Stephen and Saint James the Elder, and James the Just, suffered martyrdom under such. Saint Paul was an instrument of this rage, and afterwards a sufferer by it. It continued to molest the Church grievously at the time when this prophecy was uttered, as may be seen in ch. ii. 9—12. iii. 9: and the few ancient records which we now possess of those early times, shew that it was continued afterwards.


† See Psalms lxxii. 16. xc. 7. Matt. vi. 30. James i. 10. And by comparing Exod. x. 15; Is. xv. 6. xxxvii. 27; Ezek. xvii. 24. xx. 47; in the Septuagint; it will be evident, that χλαδωσίς χρωμάς is the green, flourishing grass, opposed to the ἐγχλωσίς, withered.

‡ See Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho, in various passages. See also the martyrdom of Ignatius, where the unconverted Jews are represented
Ver. 8. A great mountain, burning with fire, was east into the sea; &c.] At the sound of the second Trumpet, the hostile invasion of the antichristian powers falls upon the sea. Under this name, or that of the Isles of the sea, or Isles of the Gentiles, the nations beyond the pale of the Jewish Church, the Gentiles, are frequently represented*. These, by the original counsel and appointment of God, were, in process of time, to partake the benefits of Christianity, and to be exposed to its warfare. Upon these the attack descends, under the symbol of “a great mountain burning with fire.” A mountain, in prophetic language, signifies an eminent seat of power, civil or religious. From the mountain of Sinai, the Law was proclaimed; it was the seat of the God and King of the chosen people. On Mount Sion afterwards stood His temple and the place of His local residence: and the increasing kingdom of Christ is described under the emblem of a mountain, which shall fill the whole earth†. And the powers, who opposed God and his people, had their fastnesses, and local worship, on the tops of mountains, “on every high hill‡.” Under such figurative language, the Christian Religion is called Mount Sion, and is contrasted with the Jewish Law, called Mount Sinai, in the Epistle to the Hebrews §. In this sense, Babylon, that eminent seat of power and of idolatry, hostile to true Religion, is by the pro-

† Ezek. xviii. 14. Mic. i. 45, § Heb. xii. 18, &c.

phets
phets called a mountain, although it stood in a low situation by the river, and upon an extended plain. “Behold, I am against thee, O destroying mountain; “I will stretch out my hand upon thee, and roll thee “down from the rocks.” To which is added, “I will “make thee a burnt mountain.” And these words appear to be spoken prophetically of the utter destruction of Babylon, frequently foretold in other passages. The mountain before us is still burning, and as such, is to become a formidable neighbour and enemy to the sea,—to the Gentile Christians, as the hail and fire had been to the land,—to the Jewish converts. The effect is similar in both,—“Blood;”—and the third part perishes. A large proportion of “those who had life,” (that is, as I conceive, spiritual life in Christ)*, and who were distinguished among the Gentiles for their eminence, like ships which lift their heads above the plain of waters, perishes. “Howl, ye ships of Tarshish †,” is an address to the inhabitants of Tarshish, and not literally to their ships. And to die, in the figurative language of Scripture, is to lose the spiritual life which is in Christ ‡. Our Lord had foretold under the same figure, (“Fire,”) that his Religion should not descend upon the world without producing persecution, divisions, contentions, bloodshed, for the trial of faith, under which, many should fall away $. The Gentile converts were mingled with the heathen idolaters, whose power and corrupt religion were in due time, like Babylon, to become “a burnt mountain.” But the period of its extinction was not yet arrived: it was now burning, and, as such, became terrible to all around. During

* See note, ch. iii. i. † Is. xxiii. 1. § Luke xii. 49. 1 Pet. i. 7.
the three first centuries, the idolatrous power was consuming away from the fire inflicted upon it from above, and which had been cast upon the earth from the altar of the True Religion (v. 5). But so long as it continued burning, the persecution of the idolaters raged grievously against the Gentile Churches, and great was the number of the lapsed *.

Ver. 10, 11. A great star, burning like a meteor; &c.] Upon the sound of the third Trumpet, there is seen to fall from heaven a great star, burning like a λαμπάς: which Greek word will be found to express any bright effulgence, a lamp, a torch, &c.; but having in this passage the semblance of a star, it may be deemed what in our language we call a meteor; thus therefore have I translated it. The Elder Pliny, describing, from the Greek Philosopher Hipparchus, various kinds of meteors, calls them by this very name lam- pades †. Such a meteor passing through the nocturnal air, is by Homer called a star;

Olim ἀσέρα ἔτη Κρόνως ζειτ αἰγυπτόνεισ.  
Iliad. iv. 75,

which Virgil imitating, says,

— — — de cælo lapsa per umbras,  
Stella, facem ducens, multæ eum luce ecurrit.  
Æneid. ii. ‡

* Under this name, those Christians are represented in ecclesiastical history, who denied their faith in the times of persecution; and it was only by very severe penitence, that they could be restored to the bosom of the Church. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. vi. c. 44. Cypriani Epistolæ ix. x. xi. et seq. Mosheim, cent. iii. part i. ch. 2.

† Nat. Hist. lib. ii. c. 26. See also Aristot. Meteorol. lib. i. c. 4.

‡ Sæpè etiam stellæ, vento impendente, videbis  
Praecepites cælo labi.
The passage of such a meteor, in our popular language, is called the *shooting of a star.* Now a star, in prophetic language, signifies a prince, or eminent leader, a leader in doctrine*. Such an one, falling from heaven, as did Satan †, corrupts the third part of the rivers and springs of waters, corrupts the streams and the sources of pure doctrine, which are by our Lord expressed under the same metaphor ‡. The corruption of pure doctrine and the introduction of heretical opinions are in Scripture commonly attributed to the agency of Satan and his angels §; and the corrupting doctrine, which produces heresies, is often expressed by the metaphors *wormwood, gall, bitterness, &c.* || And the death is *spiritual.*¶

Under this Trumpet, therefore, we seem to obtain a *general* description of those corruptions, which, at the instigation of Satan, were seen to invade and subvert a great part of the Gentile Christian Church by the preaching of *splendid* heretics. Such, in the earliest times, were Simon, Menander, Cerinthus, &c.**

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* See note, ch. i. 16.
† Luke x. 18. 2 Pet. ii. 4. Jude 6.—And observe in ch. xii. 4, the fallen angels are described under the symbol of the stars of heaven: and the star, in ch. ix. 1—12, is a fallen angel, and has the action of such ascribed to him; he opens the pit of the bottomless deep.
§ 2 Cor. xi. 14, 15. Eph. ii. 2. 2 Thess. ii. 9. 1 Tim. v. 15. Euseb, Hist. Eccl, lib. v. c.7.
¶ See note, ch. ii. 16. iii. 1.
** This evil spread wide: and the Waters of Christian doctrine lost their original sweetness and salubrity, in other hands than those of acknowledged heretics. Many who are called Fathers of the Church, though by no means wilful and intentional corrupters of the Faith, are observed to have helden doctrines, which by no means agree
Ver. 12. And the third part of the Sun was smitten; &c.] At the sound of the fourth trumpet, the same kind of stroke which had afflicted the three preceding divisions of the Creation, falls on the fourth remaining part,—on the Heavenly Luminaries; the Sun, Moon, and Stars: a third part of these is smitten, and ceases to give light. When The Almighty took the Israelites to be his peculiar people, he is said, in prophetic language, to have "planted the Heavens, and laid the foundation of the earth." It was a kind of new creation. Happiness was thereby founded for man on a new basis, and under new lights, unknown to the heathen. The Divine ordinances of Theocracy, under which that peculiar people flourished, are frequently expressed by the sublime images of the heavenly luminaries. So that the darkening of these implies, that this Divine polity shall fail. But the heavenly dispensation of the Christian covenant, being to succeed to it by the appointment of the same Heavenly Lord, is represented by the same figures. When the Jewish polity, expressed under the image of the Sun and Moon, is "ashamed and confounded," the superior splendour of the Christian Light shines forth in the same kind of description. "The light of the Moon shall be as the light of the Sun, and the light of the Sun shall be seven-fold." There is likewise frequent allusion agree with the purity of Scripture. In some of them are to be discovered, the seeds at least of error, which were afterwards matured into dangerous heresies. (See this justly and eloquently set forth in a Sermon by the Bishop of Oxford, intitled Concio ad Clerum à Johan. Randolph; 1790.) * Is. li. 16. † Amos viii. 9, &c. Matt. xxiv. 29. § Is. xxx. 26.
to this mode of expression in the Apostolic writers*. So that a third of the light taken from the heavenly luminaries, implies a failure in that invaluable light derived from the Christian revelation. The reign of darkness, ignorance, and superstition, did indeed return after the Light of the Gospel had been revealed; the more particular history of which will be unfolded in the following Trumpets. The prophecy of the fourth Trumpet, as of those preceding, is general. It follows the other three in natural order; and is indeed the effect of the third. Corruption of knowledge necessarily produces ignorance. The corruption of Christianity produced at length Gothic darkness and superstition.

Thus I suppose the four first Trumpets to afford a general view of the warfare which the Christian Religion underwent, upon its first establishment. The history delivered under the Seals, after a solemn pause and silence, begins again. Under the Seals, the degeneracy of the Church had been described. Under the Trumpets, the attacks which she had to sustain from her antichristian foes. And she is first represented as undergoing various kinds of assault in her several divisions; these divisions of the Christian world bearing analogy to the Scriptural divisions of the natural world. 1. The storm of persecution in Judaea, which, murdering the martyrs, and dispersing the Apostles†, is aptly represented by hail and fire, mingled with blood; on the bursting forth of which, the weak in the faith fall away. 2. The Gentile persecution, arising from the pagan religion, which is fitly designated by a

* Col. i. 12, 13. 2 Cor. iv. 6. 1 Thess. v. 4, &c. 2 Tim. i. 10.
Heb. x. 32. James i. 17. 1 Pet. ii. 9. 1 John i. 5, &c.
† Acts vii. 54, &c. viii. 1.
burning mountain. 3. The corruption of the Waters of Life, by the earliest heretics, and by injudicious teachers. 4. The consequent failure, in part, of that bright and glorious light which originally beamed from this Revelation. The symbols do not appear to me to warrant a more especial interpretation of them. The difficulty which attends them, arises from the paucity of the matter, and the short compass in which it is expressed. The means of interpreting them which I have ventured to apply, have been derived from comparing similar passages of Scripture; and by considering, that these four first Trumpets must be supposed to sound the signal of the same kind of attack, and against the same object, as the three last. Now, as these three will be found to represent the invasion of the Christian Church by Antichristian foes, we have reason to conclude that the preceding trumpets foretel a similar history. Some additional light has been obtained from the preparatory vision*, which seems to restrict the commotions contained under these Trumpets, to religious causes. If Religion, descending from the altar in heaven, had not mingled with the passions and projects of men, these commotions would have had no place in history. The greater part of the modern commentators, following Joseph Mede, have supposed these prophecies fulfilled in the ravages committed by the Gothic barbarians on the provinces of the Roman Empire. But I have as yet been able to perceive no plausible reason, produced either by Mede or his followers, to shew why the prophecies of the Apocalypse in general, why the seals, or why the four first Trumpets in particular, should be understood to relate to the history of the Roman Empire. Mede says, indeed, at

* Chap. viii. 1—6;
his entrance upon the explanation of the Seals *, that, "as Daniel in the Old Testament both presignified the "coming of Christ, and arranged the fortunes of the "Jewish Church by the succession of the empires; so "the Apocalypse is to be supposed to measure the "Christian history by the means of the Roman Emp- "pire, which was yet to be remaining after Christ." The conjecture is good; and as such will be acknowledged in its proper place. For, in the course of the prophecy, that beast of the Prophet Daniel (or one nearly resembling him, and plainly representing the remains of the Roman Empire) will appear. But before the symbols under which the prophecy is expressed, are seen clearly to indicate the Roman Empire, why are we to expect that the prophecy should relate its fortunes †? The subject of these Divine visions is of superior importance:—the fates and fortunes of the Christian Church:

— non res Romanae periturae regna †:

and the Roman Empire seems to be only so far noticed in them, as it necessarily became connected with the Church of Christ. The learned writer above quoted,

* Quemadmodum enim in V. T. Daniel, secundum imperiorum successionem, tum Christi adventum praeignavit, tum Ecclesiae Judaicae fata digessit; ita rem Christianam Apocalypsis, Romani, quod adhuc post Christum superfuturum esset, imperii rationibus admetiri censenda est.—Works, p. 441.

† There is a period of the Roman Empire, even its latest period, pointed out by the Prophet Daniel in his Sacred Kalendar (so Mede calls it), when the Empire, divided under its ten Kings, will be intermixed with the fortunes of the Christian Church. This history will appear displayed in its proper symbols in the sequel of the Apocalypse; but hitherto no such symbols have appeared; nor do they appear before the production of the little book, ch. x.

† See Bp. Hurd's Sermons on Prophecy, p. 43.
was aware, that the fates of the Roman Empire were beneath the dignity of this sacred book. For, having dispatched that part of his work which he supposes to contain them, "We now proceed," says he, "to another, and much the most noble prophecy, because it contains the history of Religion and of the Church.*" Another judicious observation of the same commentator will be usefully applied to this enquiry. He observes that the Trumpets should be interpreted as being all of one kind and nature, or, as he expresses it, homogeneal; "to make some of them warlike invasions, and others to be heresies, is to bring things of too differing a nature under one name †." After having supposed the four first Trumpets to represent "warlike invasions on the Roman Empire," he clearly saw, that the remaining Trumpets must not be interpreted as containing the history of Christian heresies; and therefore he laboured to shew that the Roman Empire was the object of attack in all the Trumpets. This labour he would perhaps have spared, if he had not already explained the four first Trumpets to be so many attacks on that Empire; and therefore found himself obliged to exhibit a consistency, when he proceeded to interpret the rest. For, certainly, the great apostacy occasioned by Mahomet (which Mede understands to be contained under the fifth Trumpet) will be found to have attacked the Christian Religion yet more hostilley and extensively than the Roman Empire. It overthrew, or fatally corrupted, this Religion in the Roman Empire, wherever it subverted that Empire; and, moreover, was fatal to Christianity in the wide and extensive regions of the Eastern World, which had never been subjected to the Roman dominion.

* Mede's Works, p. 477. † Ib. p. 595. But
But if the Trumpets are to be all homogeneal, let us have recourse to one of them, whose character and interpretation are placed beyond dispute; in the application of which, all interpreters must agree: and then let us bring the prophecies under the other Trumpets to that settled standard.

The seventh Trumpet! what does it announce? Most clearly, the victory obtained by Christ and His Church, not over the Roman Empire, but over the powers of Hell, and of Antichrist, and a corrupt world; over the Dragon, the Beast, the false Prophet, and in process of time (for the seventh Trumpet continues to the end), over Death and Hell; “for he must reign till he hath put all things under his feet.” If then, under the seventh Trumpet, the warfare of the Christian Church be so clearly represented (and in this all writers are agreed), what are we to think of the six? How must they be interpreted, so as to appear homogeneal? Are they to be accounted, with Mede and his followers, the successive shocks, by which the Roman Empire fell under the Goths and Vandals? Homogeneity forbids. They must, therefore, be supposed to contain the warfare of the Christian Church. And this warfare may be successful under the seventh and last trumpet, when it had been unsuccessful before, yet the homogeneity be consistently preserved. For, the question is not concerning the success, but concerning the warfare. And the Trumpets may be deemed homogeneal, if they all represent the same warfare (viz. of the powers of Hell, and of the Antichristian world, against the Church of Christ), whatever may be the event; and whether it be carried on by the violence and persecution of open enemies, or by heresies and corrupt doctrines; for heresy, which leads to apostacy, is a most dangerous assault upon the Church.
The irruption of the barbarous nations of the North, upon the declining Empire, is of great importance in civil history. It occasioned a signal revolution in power and property, and produced wonderful effects on the manners, customs, and laws of Europe. But although it took crowns from kings, and property from rich laymen, and overwhelmed multitudes in slavery, its disastrous influence was small, or of no permanency, on the Christian Church. That Church had already degenerated, through ignorance and corrupt worship; but it retained its property, and power, and the number of its subjects: nay, it greatly increased all these; for the conquering nations forsook their pagan creed for the religion of the conquered *.

* Mosheim, Cent. vi. part i.—Gibbon narrates the number of the barbarous nations which had become Christian before the age of Charlemagne; and remarks that the Christians were then in possession of all the fertile lands of Europe, which had been seized by these warriors. (Decline of the Roman Empire, ch. xxxvii. p. 532, 4to.)

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**PART III.**

**SECTION III.**

**Denunciation of the Three Woes.**

CHAP. viii. VER. 13.

13 And I beheld, and I heard one (εαυτος { αγγελος} 

flying in the space between heaven and earth, saying, with a loud voice, “Woe! woe! woe! to those
Ver. 13. *And I beheld, and I heard one {eagle} {angel} flying; &c.* Griesbach has admitted the word ἀετός (eagle) into the text, and seems to produce powerful authorities for the admission. But the received reading, ἄγγελος (angel) seems also supported by good authorities; and internal evidence will appear decisive in its favour. The two words have resemblance in Greek character, and might be confounded by transcribers. I prefer the word angel, because, in the scenery of the Apocalypse, the action is almost entirely and exclusively administered by angels. And in ch. xiv. 6, the Prophet sees "another angel flying in the space between heaven and earth." To what former angel does this other angel refer, but to this of the eighth chapter, who is the only one before described as flying? And it is in the same "space between heaven and earth." And this angel of the xivth chapter is followed by others, all of them angels, no eagle. I remark also the application of the word ἕνεκ, one, to this angel or eagle, whatsoever it may be. If it be to be applied to an eagle, why does the Prophet say one eagle; why not an eagle? for no eagles had been mentioned. But there is a propriety, if it be an angel, in saying one angel, because many angels had been, and were then, employed in the action. The cohort of seven angels were then standing forth with their trumpets.
Ib. In the space between heaven and earth. [The μεσοβασιλεία appears to have been one of the cardinal points in the Chaldean astronomy, opposed to the hypogæum*: but in this passage, it seems simply to mean the intermediate space between heaven and earth, as they appeared in this vision; the one extended above, the other below †.

Ib. Woe! woe! woe! ] The Divine messenger, at the command of God, leaving heaven, and hovering over the earth, proclaims three woes, or dreadful calamities, to happen to its inhabitants, under the three remaining Trumpets. No greater calamity can happen to the sons of men, than the corruption, the rejection, the loss of true Religion. Under the four preceding Trumpets, an hostile invasion of the whole Christian Church, in its fourfold division, had taken place; but the view of its effects had been hitherto general, and representative of few particulars. The warfare is now exhibited more plainly and openly; and Antichrist will soon stand confessed. In the apostolic times, in the times when this vision was exhibited (and the four first Trumpets seem to have their date from those times, ch. i.), Antichrist already was said to be come ‡; the mystery of iniquity did then work §, “and waxed worse and worse ||.” So, under the four first Trumpets, the storm seems increasing; but the calamity is as yet described only in general terms, previous to a more particular exhibition. Now it advances to its maturity, and most desolating effects, by three distinct and particular explosions, under the three last Trumpets.

* Brucker, Hist. Crit. Philos. i. 139. † See note, ch vii. 1. ‡ 1 John ii. 18, 22. iv. 3. 2 John 7. § 2 Thess. ii. 7. || 2 Tim. iii. 13. What is thus expressed by the Sacred writers, has always been understood to signify the beginnings of Antichristian power.
PART III.

SECTION IV.

The fifth Trumpet, and first Woe.

CHAP. IX. VER. 1—12.

1 And the fifth angel sounded: and I saw a star from heaven fall to the earth: and to him was given the key of the pit of the bottomless deep. And he opened the pit of the bottomless deep. And there arose smoke out of the pit, as the smoke of a great furnace. And the sun was darkened, and the air, by the smoke of the pit. And out of the smoke came forth locusts upon the earth. And to them was given power, as the scorpions of the earth have power. And it was commanded them, that they should not injure the grass of the earth, nor any green thing, nor any tree; but only the men whosoever have not the seal of God upon their foreheads. And it was given them not

2 And the fifth angel sounded, and I saw a star fall from heaven unto the earth: and to him was given the key of the bottomless pit. And he opened the bottomless pit, and there arose a smoke out of the pit, as the smoke of a great furnace; and the sun and the air were darkened, by reason of the smoke of the pit. And there came out of the smoke locusts upon the earth; and unto them was given power, as the scorpions of the earth have power. And it was commanded them that they should not hurt the grass of the earth, neither any green thing, neither any tree; but only those men which have not the seal of God in their foreheads. And to them it was given that
And in those days shall the men seek death, and shall not find it; and shall desire to die, and death shall flee from them. And the appearances of the locusts were like horses prepared for battle: and upon their heads, as it were, crowns of gold; and their faces as the faces of men:

8 And they had hair, as it were, the hair of women; and their teeth were as of lions. And they had breast-plates, as it were, breast-plates of iron. And the sound of their wings was as the sound of chariots, of many horses running to battle. And they have tails like to scorpions; and stings were in their tails. And their power was to injure the men five months. They have over them a king, the angel of the bottomless deep; his name in Hebrew is Abaddon, in Greek Apollyon.

They should not kill them, but that they should be tormented five months: and their torment was as the torment of a scorpion, when he striketh a man.

6 And in those days shall the men seek death, and shall not find it; and shall desire to die, and death shall flee from them. And the appearances of the locusts were like horses prepared for battle: and upon their heads, as it were, crowns of gold; and their faces as the faces of men:

8 And they had hair, as it were, the hair of women; and their teeth were as of lions. And they had breast-plates, as it were, breast-plates of iron. And the sound of their wings was as the sound of chariots, of many horses running to battle. And they have tails like to scorpions; and stings were in their tails. And their power was to injure the men five months. They have over them a king, the angel of the bottomless deep; his name in Hebrew is Abaddon, in Greek Apollyon.

They should not kill them, but that they should be tormented five months: and their torment was as the torment of a scorpion, when he striketh a man. And in those days shall the men seek death, and shall not find it; and shall desire to die, and death shall flee from them.

7 And the shapes of the locusts were like unto horses prepared unto battle; and on their heads were as it were crowns like gold, and their faces were as the faces of men. And they had breast-plates, as it were, breast-plates of iron. And the sound of their wings was as the sound of chariots, of many horses running to battle. And they have tails like to scorpions; and stings were in their tails. And their power was to injure the men five months. They have over them a king, the angel of the bottomless deep; his name in Hebrew is Abaddon, in Greek Apollyon.

They should not kill them, but that they should be tormented five months: and their torment was as the torment of a scorpion, when he striketh a man.
Verses 1—11. *And the fifth angel sounded;* &c.

In these eleven verses is contained a very particular description (and indeed the first particular description occurring in the Apocalypse) of the prevalence of Anti-Christianity. For, the prophecies of the six Seals do not descend to any minute delineation; and those of the four first Trumpets are, each of them, comprised in a very narrow compass; in one, or at the most, two short verses. Now the prospect enlarges into a more exact display of the warfare.

Upon the blast of this Trumpet, which is woefull to the inhabitants of the earth*, a star is seen to fall, or just to complete its fall, from heaven to earth: for, such seems to be the sense of *westunote†. The descent of such a star was seen under the third Trumpet‡; this leader of iniquity had begun his evil ministry by embittering, by corrupting the Waters of Life. This corruption, in which we have seen him

* Ch. viii. 13.
‡ Ch. viii. 10. consult the note.

the bottomless pit, whose name in the Hebrew tongue is Abaddon, but in the Greek tongue hath his name Apollyon. One wo is past, and behold there come two woes more hereafter.
successfully employed, produced those beginnings of darkness, ignorance, and superstition, which were disclosed under the fourth Trumpet. Upon the blast of the fifth Trumpet, this evil increases. To these beginnings of darkness, he is permitted to add the smoke and machinations of hell *. It is by permission, that he opens this source of infinite mischief: for, the keys of death, and of hell, belong to another power, even to the Lord of Life †. But "the Spirit of God will "not always strive with man." The wilful and reprobate are at length given up to the just consequences of their wilfulness. The key of the great infernal deep, (whence are the ἄδη τῆς σκόλανα, the depths of Satan ‡, those black corruptive doctrines, which destroy the purity and splendour of the Church,) is given to the fallen star; to the fallen angel; to "the prince of the power of the air; the power of darkness; that spirit which worketh in the children of disobedience." He is an angel, for so he is expressly called, (v. 11.) "the angel of the bottomless deep," and surely an evil angel: and in this description, as also in his fall from heaven, his evil character will be found to correspond with that of the chief of our infernal enemies, called Satan in the twelfth chapter: who, under the symbol of a fiery dragon, is there described as having fallen from heaven. There can be little or no doubt therefore, but that the Prince of Darkness, Satan, or, which

* For ἀδήστης is certainly used to signify that part of ἄδη, or hell, which is to be the place of punishment to the wicked. Compare ch. xx, 1—3, and 2 Pet. ii. 4.
† Ch. i. 13. ‡ Gen vi. 3. § See note, ch. ii. 24.
will amount nearly to the same thing, one of his ministers *, is the agent who opens the infernal deep. Upon the opening of this pit, vast clouds of smoke are seen to ascend, darkening the sun and air. Ignorance and superstition, frequently described in Scripture under these figures, invade the Christian atmosphere †. Under covert of these clouds, and engendered in these "depths of Satan ‡," locusts come forth. Locusts are described by profane as well as sacred, by ancient and by modern authors, as committing the most extraordinary depredations in the eastern regions; the horror of which is represented as beginning with a deprivation of light. Solem obumbrant, "they darken "the sun," says Pliny §. "At that time, Syria suffered "from a scarcity of food for cattle of all kinds, and "of corn, occasioned by a multitude of locusts, so "great, as had never before been seen in the memory "of man; which, like a thick cloud, flying about "in mid-day, and obscuring the light, devoured the "products of the fields on every side ||." "Suddenly "there came over our heads a thick cloud, which "darkened the air, and deprived us of the rays of "the sun; we soon found, that it was owing to a "cloud of locusts ¶." But the locusts, seen in this

* Jude 6.
† Prov. ii, 13. Joel ii. 10. John xii. 35. 46. Eph. v. 8. 11, &c,
‡ Ch. ii. 24. § Nat. Hist. xi. 29.
¶ Adamson's Voyage to Senegall, p. 127. See also Bochart, on Joel. ii. 10; and Chandler, on the same place. These quotations are collected by Archbishop Newcome. And to these add the following, from Holy Scripture; Exod. x. 12, 6. Jer. ii. 27, &c. Nahum iii. 15, vision,
vision, have a yet more dreadful character; they have the power of scorpions, and stings in their tails; and their prey is not (as usual with locusts) the grass and green plants, and trees of the field; they are permitted to attack man; yet not all men, "those only "who have not the seal of God upon their foreheads;" by which we plainly understand *, that all sincere servants of Christ are preserved from the mischief. The scorpion is a small insect, contemptible as the locust in its size and appearance; but formidable by reason of its sting. Scorpions are classed in Holy Writ, together with serpents, as a part of the power of the infernal enemy †. And our Lord gives his Disciples power over them; and it is in consequence of this gift that the sealed escape their venom. The men who are attacked by them are not killed, but wounded and tormented. They lose not altogether their spiritual life in Christ, their knowledge of a life immortal, purchased and revealed to them by their Redeemer, whose name they still confess, and to whom they may yet return, and live‡; but the impression made upon them by this infernal attack, renders the prospect of a pure spiritual life no longer the object of delight; they are of those who love darkness better than light, because their deeds are evil.§

A nearer

* See note, ch. vii. 2.  † Luke x. 19.
‡ See note, ch. iii. 1. vi. 8.
§ A most eloquent representation of mental torment, conveyed under the emblem of scorpion-stings, will be found in these lines:
"Cold, fearful drops stand on my trembling flesh;—
"O coward conscience! how dost thou afflict me!
"Oh, the affliction of those terrible dreams
"That shake us nightly! Better be with the dead,
"Than on such torture of the mind to lie.
"Oh! full of Scorpions is my mind,—I'm fill'd with horror!"

Macbeth
Upon their heads, as it were, crowns of gold.

Ver. 7. Like horses prepared for battle.

A nearer view of these swarms of Antichristian corrupters exhibits them.

Naturalists have remarked the resemblance in shape between the head of the locust and that of the horse*. They are swift, intrepid, and formidable; the worldly-minded, who have not the seal of God, cannot easily escape them.

The true golden crown is the proper ornament of Christ himself, of his elders, of his followers, of those who overcome sin and the world, by his example and power. See notes, (ch. iii. 12. ii. 12. iv. 4. vi. 2.) These imposing enemies of the true faith, have crowns, not of gold, but, as it were of gold: (see Matt. xxiii. 27, 28.) they deceive under the appearance of the Christian Religion.

The face of man given to an animal, implies a reasoning power in that animal;—

Os hominii sublime dedit, caelumque tueri Jussit.—

These deceivers impose by a show of reasoning and by the specious eloquence which is human. Ignatius, in his Epistle to the Church of Smyrna, written about the time when the great Gnostic heresy began to prevail,

† Bochart, on Joel ii. where it is said of them, “like horsemen.

“shall they run,” Ray, on Insects; quoted by Bp. Newton.
Their hair, as of women.

Their teeth, as of lions.

They have breast-plates, as of iron.

Ver. 9. The sound of their wings is as the sound of chariots, of many horses rushing to battle.

Ver. 10. They have tails like to scorpions, and stings in their tails.

prevail, calls these deceivers ἴμπις ἀνθρωπομορφά, wild-beasts with the appearance of men. (Pateres Apostolicæ, sect. iv.)

They possess the arts of allure-ment. The hair of the women, among the Eastern nations of antiquity, was long; which was accounted effeminate in a man. (1 Cor. xi. 14, 15.)

Yet under this effeminate allure-ring appearance, they devour and destroy. (Joel. i. 6. Psalms lvii. 4. lviii. 6. Ezek. xix. 6. xxii. 25. 1 Pet. v. 8. Heb. xi. 33.)

The natural locust has a breastplate, or coat of mail: these symbolic locusts have defensive armour, to repel the weapons of controversy,—such Scriptural opposition as the orthodox Christian would bring against them.

Their attack is powerful and alarming; with the furious noise of a great host, they overbear all before them. (Joel ii. 5.)

As by the appointment of the Creator, the face belongs to man only; so the tail is peculiar to brutes: and thus the more brutal passions and appetites seem to be here employed, as an instrument of seduc-tion. The dragon acts by the same instrument,
Their power is to injure the men, five months.

The continuance of these anti-christian invaders is during five months, or 150 days; that is, in prophetic language, (see note, ch. ii. 10.) 150 years.

The king, or leader of this warfare, is not one of the scorpion-locusts, one of their own earthly stock and nature; they have supernatural assistance and direction; the evil angel, who had embittered the waters, and opened the infernal abyss, being himself their king. With respect to the name Apollyon, observe, that Judas Iscariot is called by our Lord ὁ νιός τῆς ἀπολείματος, the son of perdition or destruction, after Satan had entered into him, (John xvii. 12). And the heresies described in 2 Pet. ii. which by the best commentators are supposed to be of the Gnostic cast, are styled αἱρετικὰ ἀπολείματα.

After this comparative view of the figurative language of the text, we may proceed to observe, that, as swarms of locusts, under the Old Testament, are used to signify armies devastating the Holy Land, the heritage of God, the Theocracy under which the Israelites enjoyed superior blessings and protection: So, under the New Testament, such an invasion, led by an evil angel, from the depths of hell, must be understood...
understood to have for its object, the Christian Church, the heritage of Christ.

The object of attack, then, seems clearly ascertained. But of what nature are the assailants? Do they attack the Church with arms? or with more formidable weapons,—with corruptive doctrines? The figurative expressions here used, may, in many instances, imply either. But that part of the description which represents the "sealed of God," the faithful and true Christians, as unhurt by their stings, seems to point out decisively, that the invasion is not by arms literally understood. In no invasion of the Christian Church by arms, has it been known, (nor indeed can it be consistently supposed,) that the sealed, the sincere servants of God through Christ, should escape. Upon such trying occasions, they die nobly, as martyrs, or at least undergo patiently their share of the common calamity. But suppose a base corruption of Religion, engendered in the depths of hell, and promising worldly greatness, and pleasure and power, to attack the Christian Church;—in such case, the prophecy now before us might be exactly fulfilled. The sealed, the true servants of Christ, would reject the proffered allurements, would adhere to their ancient faith; while the worldly and nominal Christians would be captured in the snare. For this reason, (as well as because in the progress of our enquiry it will be found so best to accord,) under the symbol of the scorpion-locusts, we are to look for a swarm, not of armed men, but of teachers of corrupt doctrines.

In the early times of the Church, many notions, corruptive of pure Christianity, were engendered by fanatical and wicked heretics. But the authority of the Apostles and of apostolical men prevented, for a time, their successful propagation. Yet their increase
crease and prevalence were foretold by the Holy Spirit*; and, these holy men being now removed, they swarm through the Christian world. Such heresies were pre-ordained, to prove the Church; the sealed, the pure and faithful followers of their Lord, were to escape the contagion†. And, in the corrupted, they do not utterly destroy the life, the spiritual life which is in Christ‡; for, the Divine evidences of the Gospel were in those early times so clearly established by recent miracles, were so palpable and convincing, as not to be withstood, or denied, by those who made enquiry. But these heretics corrupt and debase the faith which they acknowledge, by the addition of their own philosophical dreams and superstitions.

Now, the first swarm, the first multitudinous host of corrupters, recorded in Christian history, is that of the Gnostics§. Their seeds and beginnings are observable in the first century, even in the apostolic times‖. Cerinthus appears to have imbibed the Gnostic doctrines, and also the Nicolaitans¶. But heretics of this description were not successful in corrupting the Church during its first century. Euse-

* 2 Cor. xi. 13, 14; 1 Tim. vi. 3, 4, 5, 20, 21; 2 Tim. iii. 13; 2 Pet. ii. 1, &c.
† 1 Cor. xi. 19; 2 Thess. ii. 13, iii. 3.
‡ See notes, ch. iii. i. vi. 8.
§ "The first great heresy, which as a gangrene did overspread and consume much of the beauty, glory, and vigour of the Christian Church, was that of the Gnostics." Gale, Court of the Gentiles, pt. iii. b. ii. sect. 7.
‖ Thο γνωστικος γιγαντιας: the very name under which it is attacked by Irenaeus; 1 Tim. vi. 20, 21; Col. ii. 8, 9, 10; 1 John ii. 18; Epist. Polycarpi.
¶ Euseb. H. E. lib. iii. c. 28. Mosheim, i. 116, 117. Whitby on 2 Pet. ii. See also note, ch. ii. 6; p. 45.
bius says expressly, that the attempts of the heretics against the purity of the Church, had little success in the apostolical times; and he dates their prevalence from the times of Ignatius’s martyrdom, the latter days of the emperor Trajan, or the beginning of those of Adrian*. The same author has preserved for us a fragment from the works of Hugesippus, who lived in the times of Adrian†; and he says, that, “until those times the Church had continued a pure and incorrupt Virgin; for, that those who attempted to corrupt the wholesome canon of Evangelical doctrine, had hitherto remained in obscurity. But when the sacred company of the Apostles was departed, and the generation of those who were thought worthy to hear their divine preaching was gone, then the conspiracy of impious deceit had its beginning;—then to the preaching of the truth did they dare boldly to oppose their knowledge falsely so called‡.” Clemens Alexandrinus, speaking of the Gnostics, asserts that they were not a pestilential heresy before the times of Adrian§. Irenæus, a nearer witness of those times, after describing the doctrines of the Gnostics, as derived from Simon Magus and Menander, to Saturninus, Basilides, and Carpocrates, speak-

* Eccl. Hist. lib. iv. c. 7. iii. 36. † Lib. iii. c. 32.
‡ Ἑὐδακτικὸς γνῶσις, the term used by Irenæus, in his treatise against the Gnostics. Γνῶσις is true knowledge, and is thus applied by the Sacred writers, and by the fathers, to express divine knowledge. And therefore γνωσικός means a well-informed Christian. (See Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. iv. and vi.) Hence the Gnostics were not allowed by the orthodox, the name which they impudently assumed: but to them they attributed the Ἑὐδακτικὸς γνῶσις mentioned by Saint Paul, (1 Tim. vi. 20). In the next century, when this folly was gone, a fraternity of monks took the name of Gnostics in its proper and good sense. Socratis Hist. Eccl. lib. iv. c. 23.
§ Strom. lib. vii. 17. viii. 27.
ing of the two last, says; "their impure followers "are not to be numbered,—springing up like mush-
"rooms:" and thus he certifies the time of the great pestilential irruption*. Epiphanius, quoting from 
Irenæus, observes, that they burst out of the earth 
together at one time, like mushrooms, the lurking-
places of many scorpions †.

In short, by the united and prevailing testimony 
of the fathers, it appears that the Gnostics did not be-
gin to swarm over the Christian Church before the 
period mentioned by Eusebius; the end of Trajan's 
or beginning of Adrian's reign. Internal evidence 
may be collected confirming this account. Ignatius, 
(at the time of whose martyrdom, the Gnostics are 
described by these fathers as beginning to swarm,) in 
his epistles, written at this period, represents the lea-
ders of this enormous heresy as λαθροδύναος, still work-
ing covertly. He describes the Church of Ephesus as 
happily withstanding their impressions: but in his 
passage to Rome, he finds the heresyarchs busily em-
ployed in corrupting other churches‡. Polycarp lived 
to a later period, when the vast irruption had taken 
place. This apostolical bishop was frequently assailed 
by these heretical doctrines; for Irenæus, when a 
boy, remembered him in that situation, stopping his 
ears, and moving from the place where he heard 
these Gnostical blasphemies, (as he says, was custo-
mary with him,) and exclaiming, O gracious God,

* Velut à terrâ fungi manifestati sunt;—et enim non est numerum 
dicere eorum, qui secundum alterum et alterum modo exciderunt 
à veritate. Iren. lib. 1. c. 21, 22, 32, 33. iii. c. 4.
† Cont. Hær. lib. i. 31. See also Tertullian de Prosc. Hær. c. 30.
‡ Cypriani Epist. 75, the letter of Firmilian to that father.

Ignat. Epist. ad Ephes. 7, 8, 9; ad Smyrn. 5.
to what times hast thou reserved me, to undergo all this*

Thus, although ecclesiastical history has preserved but few original documents belonging to the times of which we enquire, (for they perished in the Diocletian persecution); yet there is abundant proof of the period when the grand Gnostical irruption took place. It burst forth in Asia and Africa at nearly the same time. Saturninus, followed by Cerdo, and by Marcion who afterwards corrupted Italy, by Bardesanes, Tatian, Severus, and their multitudinous disciples, spread the poison over the east. While Basilides in Africa, followed by Carpocrates, Valentine, &c. overran the rest of the Christian world. Numerous churches and communities of these Gnostics continued to flourish, and to bring scandal on the Christian name, through that century and the better half of the next. But in this their progress, they were vigorously opposed by the orthodox and pure Christians; by Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Origen; and in their wild philosophy, by the Platonic philosophers under Plotinus; at whose death, in the year 270, they will be seen to have been almost entirely sunk and gone.—So that, taking all these accounts together, we find evidence, that the duration of the Gnostics, as a prevailing heresy and pestilential swarm, (for, it is in that view only that, consistently with the symbols, we are to consider them,) was about 150 years, the period foretold†.

* Euseb. H. E. lib. v. 20.
† The exact time of the rise of the Gnostics having appeared to occasion some dispute in the literary world; it may be proper to add a few more words on this subject.—The learned have been generally agreed,
The Gnostics are represented to us, by the fathers, as deriving their religious principles from the Nicolaitans;

agreed, by the testimonies of the ancients, (such as we have above reported,) to refer the rise of these heretics to the beginning of the second century. But Bishop Pearson, in his *Vindiciae Ignatianae*, attempted to show that they were of earlier date. He was answered in a very satisfactory manner by Dodwell; (Diss. i. in Irenæum). The learned and judicious Mosheim, having given a particular attention to this subject, has perfectly reconciled these contending opinions, by observing, that the Gnostics were lurking in the Church in the first century; but that it was not before the second century that they burst from their obscurity into open day:—“Certisque ‘ducibus adscitis, stabilem sibi formam, certasque leges præscribe—

*bant.” (Com. de Rebus Christian. ante Const. Mag. Sac. i. sect. lx.)’ And again; qui, (scil. Gnostici,) quem primo rei Christianæ seculo sine luce et gloriâ vixissent, paucisque discipulis usi fuissent, Hadriano imperante, audaciüs rem suam agere incipiebant, atque per varias provincias paulatim familias satis numerosas colligebant, collectasque omni contentione roborare, ornare, ac amplificare studebant. Defæciebant ad hoc genus hominum plurimi Christianorum, sanis antea sententiis deditorum, partim eloquentiâ quorundam fanaticâ; partim pietatis quam nonnulli præ se ferebant, magna specie; partim etiam securiûs vivendi, et liberiûs peccandi desiderio, cui aliqui eorum favebant, allecti. (Sac. ii. sect. xli. See also Mosheim’s Eccl. Hist. cent. 11. c. 5. sect. 4.) The learned are now, I believe, generally agreed, that this is the true state of the question. Le Clerc had incautiously referred the times of Saturninus to the first century; but Mosheim has, in the same work, shewn this to be by mistake. (Sac. ii. sect. xliv.) He adds, that it is beyond all doubt, that all he numerous and important sects of the Gnostics flourished in the *middle of the second century*, and that the chief of them had their origin not long after the beginning of that century, “non diu post initia “seculi exoratas esse.” Upon these authorities we shall appear fully justified in placing the rise of the Gnostics as a *prevalent pestilential heresy*, at or before the year 120. In the 17th of Adrian, anno 133, Basilides was living at Alexandria, (Euseb. Chron.); in 127 Mar- cion came to Rome, (Iren. lib. iii. c. 4.) and there began to broach his false doctrine; and the leading teachers of these doctrines continued,
tans*; but as carrying their mischievous notions εἰς

ἀνω ὑπ' ἐκ τοῦ ζωοῦν τῆς ἀκρόπολις, to the utmost excess. To the wildest dreams of


continued, says Clemens Alexandrinus, to the times of the Antonines. (Strom. vii. ad fin.)

So much for the rise of the Gnostics. Their continuance, as a prevalent pestilential heresy, cannot be so accurately ascertained; because their decline was gradual, and not, like their rise, by a sudden burst. But after the same manner as the question concerning the rise of these sects is properly confined to their appearance as a generally prevalent pestilential heresy, and is not affected by Gnostical principles having been previously professed by some few Christians; so, the enquiry concerning the termination of this heresy is to be governed by the time, when these heretics appeared no longer in such numbers, as, fulfilling the prophecy, darkened the face of the Church. When they no longer appear in this character, the period we seek is arrived; and we have no occasion to pursue their remains, a few stragling Gnostics, in whose times the Gnostical influence on Christianity was reduced to a still lower state than that in which it was seen previously to the grand irruption under Saturninus and Basilides.

Now it is clear from the writings of Irenæus, Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, and of Plotinus, that the Gnostics continued to flourish in the times of these writers; which will be found to continue through the second century, and beyond the middle of the third. And after these times, we do not find that the champions of the Church had much occasion in their writings to oppose the doctrines of the Gnostics, or that they mention them as a swarming prevailing heresy. The history of the Church at the end of the third century is indeed imperfect; many of its records having perished in the Diocletian persecution: but in the beginning of the fourth century, when the Church, delivered from persecution, held frequent and general councils, and condemned the doctrines and opinions of the prevailing heretics; we hear little or nothing of those of the Gnostics. Hence it may be concluded that they were no longer formidable to the Church, and hence Mosheim and other ecclesiastical enquirers have observed, that the philosophy, which sprang up in the Church in the third cen-

cc
of visionary and fantastic philosophy, derived from the oriental schools, which they incorporated with the
tury with Origen and others, ad absurda harum sectarum commenta profliganda et funditus evertenda sufficiebat. (Mosheim de Rebus ante Const. sec. ii. See also Eccl. Hist.) Yet it must not be concealed, that the same learned author has observed, in another passage, that the followers of Marcion were not entirely eradicated before the fifth or sixth century. And the method which this judicious writer has taken (as above represented) to reconcile the jarring opinions concerning the rise of the Gnostics, must in this place be used to reconcile his own opinions concerning their continuance. The Gnostics were extinct, as a prevalent pestilential heresy; but from their ashes, yet warm, doctrines of a similar cast were seen, now and then, to blaze forth: but these were soon extinct again, and never acquired any thing like that universal domination, described by historians to have taken place in the second century; which they have hence denominated the Gnostic age. The Manichaæans incorporated some Gnostic principles into their doctrines: but this sect was never numerous. (Libanius, Epist. ad Priscian.; Lardner, Cred. vol. viii. 37, 57, 156.) Yet, in the page of history, it seems to have obtained a celebrity, equal, or perhaps superior, to that of the Gnostics. This circumstance is to be attributed entirely to the numerous writings which have come down to us from the age of the Manichaæans, while so few have descended from the Gnostical age. (August. cont. Faust. c. 20-22; Lardner, Cred. vi. p. 38. 56. viii. 37.) The Priscillianists, in the fourth century, were also said to have sprung from the Gnostic ashes: but Gibbon calls them a recent sect: (Hist. of Decline and Fall, ch. xxvii.) and Lardner, upon good reasons, which he assigns, doubts of this origin attributed to them. (Cred. Gosp. art. Priscillianists.) He says also, that they would have been little known or regarded, but from the violent and inhuman methods used to extirpate them. (Cred. vol. ix.) Excepting in these instances (which appear of a doubtful character, and by no means exhibit the Gnostical sects as continuing to darken and disturb the Christian world,) very few remains can be found of these heretics, beyond the time allotted to them in the prophecy. Yet, Epiphanius says, that in his times, in the fourth century, there were some relics of them. And this may be allowed, without impeaching the application of this prophecy to the
the doctrines of Christianity, rejecting or corrupting any part of the Sacred Writings which opposed
main body. When an army has marched through a country, and only some stragling parties belonging to that army remain behind, the army may be truly said to be gone. And a few locusts may remain behind, (than which nothing is more common in natural history,) when the swarm, the great body, has disappeared, and may properly be affirmed to be no more.

But further to shew that the remains of the Gnostics, after the time specified, (about the year 260, or 270,) were very inconsiderable, I shall add a few additional authorities, all taken from writers of those times.

Celsus, the Epicurean Philosopher, who is supposed to have written his book against the Christian Religion about the times of Antoninus Pius, when the Gnostics had already put forth their grand swarm, mentioned many sects of them under various denominations, which in the year 252, when Origen wrote his famous answer to that book, were so entirely gone, that this learned Father professes an utter ignorance of them. And he blames Celsus for ascribing to the Christians the strange dreams and inventions of these heretics, in particular of the Ophiani, who, he says, in his time, had altogether disappeared, or were very few indeed. (Origen. cont. Cels. lib. vi. p. 293.) Origen is said by Eusebius, to have converted many of the Gnostics. (Eccl. Hist. vi. 18, 20.) This able and active Father flourished in the times when they were rapidly declining, and returning to sober principles. Some of his early works were written against the Gnostics. But from his last production, the work already quoted, written about the year 252, we perceive the Gnostics to be sinking into disrepute, if not entirely sunk. Of the Simonians, he says in one passage, he does not believe thirty are to be found in the world: (Cont. Celsum, lib. i. p. 44.) and in another place, that there are none left. (lib. vi. p. 282.) The Simonians certainly were Gnostics; all of whom were comprehended by some writers under this generic name. Cerdo and other distinguished Gnostics are called so by Ireneeus; (Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. iv. c. 11.) who, together with Tertullian and Eusebius, derives all the Gnostics from Simon. (Iren. lib. i. 20, 30, 33. ii.; Pref. iii. c. 4. ad fin. Tertullian. de Animá, 325. Euseb. H. E. ii. 13. iv. 7.)
posed their tenets, many of them added, as might be expected, the most immoral and indecent practices. The particulars of these it is not necessary to ad-
duce; they may be collected from Irenæus and Ter-
tullian; from Plotinus also, the Platonic Philosopher,

The Platonic Philosopher, Plotinus, flourished in the former part of the third century, and wrote against the Gnostic philosophy; and in the latter part of that century, his disciple Porphyry published his works. In his preface to that book, by way of explaining the matter of it, he says, "at that time there were many Christians, not only of "the common sort, but heretics, deriving their notions from the an-
"cient philosophy." Why does he say there were at that time, such philosophical Christians (in other terms, Gnostics), but because they were not to be found at the later period when he wrote? And he wrote after the death of Plotinus; which happened in 270.

In the times of Cyprian, who died a martyr in 258, the Gnostics were returning into the body of the Church. Among the numerous heretics, to be rebaptized, are mentioned Valentinians and Marcionites, who were certainly Gnostics. (Cyprian. Epist. 73.)

Eusebius wrote his history in the former part of the next century. He describes Manes, the founder of the Manichæans, as "collecting false and impious doctrines from an infinite number of heresies, which "had been a long time extinct." And there can be no doubt, but that he intended those of the numerous Gnostic tribes. (Euseb. H. E. lib. viii. c. 31.) He mentions, in another passage, the manner in which these sects arose one upon another, and, taking new and vari-
ous forms, perished, (Eccl. Hist. lib. iv. c. 7.) In these times of Eu-
sebius, and of the Emperor Constantine, the Valentinians and Mar-
cionites are once mentioned, among the subsisting heresies by another Ecclesiastical Historian, (Sozomen. lib. vi. c. 32). But, about 50 years afterwards, when the Emperor Gratian excepted all such pernicious heretics from the general toleration, they are no longer remembered.

(Socrates, v. c. 2. Sozomen. vii. c. 1.) Thus the grand swarm of Gnostics passed over and was gone, about 150 years after its in-
vasion of the Christian world, leaving a few scattered locusts behind; who, occasioning little trouble and alarm, are seldom mentioned by the ecclesiastical writers; and, in another century, are heard of no more.
who wrote successfully against their extravagant tenets; from other writers who lived after this rage had passed over, from Theodoret, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Epiphanius. The English reader may obtain a general notion of them from Mosheim's History of the Second Century, chap. v. *

From the account now deduced, first, of the Scriptural import of the figurative language of this Trumpet, and, secondly, of the character of the Gnostics, and their period, as extracted from cotemporary writers, it may already appear, that in this first general and extensive apostacy, the prophetic representation of this Trumpet was fulfilled. But it may be satisfactory to descend to particulars. In ver. 1, the "star fallen from heaven," called afterwards the "king" or leader of the locusts, "the angel of the bottomless pit," "the destroyer," has been already shewn to be Satan, or some distinguished minister of that fallen angel. Now, the ancient writers of the Church, and her historian Eusebius, ascribe the introduction of the Gnostic heresy to the agency of the Devil (διασωκος Δαίμων), who, having, as he says, attempted in vain to overthrow the Church by external persecutions, attacked it internally by his agents, by professed Christians, leading some of the faithful εἰς βυθὸν ἀπολείσι, to the deep of destruction; in which expressions, we have a remarkable coincidence both with the origin of this woe, "the pit of the bottomless deep," and with the name of the Leader, Apollyon†. He represents


† In another passage of the same historian, the Gnostical philosophy is called τὸν ἀντιχριστὸν ἐκδοθ.: and Irenæus speaking of the Carpo-
resents this attack also as a warlike invasion, calling the leader θολομαῖος, which agrees with the description before us, and with the alarm by the trumpet *. Justin Martyr is also represented by the same author, as ascribing this invasion to diabolical operation †. In ver. 2, what can express so forcibly the dark, and perplexed, and uncomfortable philosophy of the oriental schools, which, mixing with Christianity, so obscured and debased it, as these dark fumes, arising from the infernal deep, and obscuring the Sun? In describing the invasion of the Gnostic heresy, the historian makes use of nearly the same figures; comparing the Churches of Christ to the most resplendent luminaries before that attack §; by which he intimates that their splendour was darkened.

In verses 3 and 4, a swarm of locusts arises with the smoke. Now, the resemblance of the Gnostic teachers to such a swarm, in respect both of their numbers, and of the mischief occasioned by them, is so striking, that historians, who did not entertain the most distant thought of applying to them this prophecy, and merely related what they found recorded in the annals of those times, have described them in the very same terms by which the scorpion-locusts are described in this vision. Such is the relation of the learned Jacob Brucker, who, in his critical History of Philosophy, after speaking of a sect of oriental philosophers in the first century, adds; "and when many from that sect had betaken themselves

cratians, an eminent sect of the Gnostics, says, á Sutand praeissi sunt.—Again; Amarum et malignum principis apostasiae serpentis venenum porrigentis eis: (lib. i. 30.)

† Lib. iii. c. 26.
‡ Eccl. Hist, lib. iv. 7.
"to the Christian Religion, and had preposterously
"attempted to unite their precepts to it, hence there
"arose those swarms of heresies, which, priding
"themselves in the name of Gnostics, like winged
"insects, went flying through all the churches of Asia
"and Africa, and contaminated the simplicity of the
"most holy Religion with the most absurd nonsense:
"and, continuing their progress to the Jews also,
"and even to the Gentiles, miserably corrupted the
"national Philosophy of both of these; invented
"wild and monstrous notions, confirmed and increased
"a wide-reigning fanaticism, disseminated multitudes
"of spurious books, and corrupted the whole world
"with the very worst doctrines *.

This learned author laments †, that an accurate
knowledge is not now to be obtained of this wide-
spreading mischief; very few fragments remaining of
the writings which concern the Gnostics. But if no
more were known, than what this studious enquirer
has presented to us in the above-cited passage, we
should want little to convince us, that the marks and
characters of them, as delivered in history, corre-
spont most exactly with those of the scorpion-locusts
under this Trumpet.

* Exque eà sectà plures, cùm ad Christianam religionem se con-
tulissent, præceptaque sua cum hâc præposterè conjungere conati
essent, exorta esse illa heresium examina, quæ Gnosticorum nomina
superbientia, muscarum instar, per omnes Asiae atque Africae eccle-
sias pervolstârunt, et magis ineptissimis simplicitatem sanctissimæ Re-
ligionis contaminârunt. Ad Judæos quoque et ipsos Gentiles pro-
gressa, domesticam utrorumque Philosophiam miserè corrupserunt,
sentientiarum monstra exegitârunt, fanaticisnum latè regnantem
confirmârunt et auxerunt, librorum spuriorum segetes disseminârunt,
pessimisque doctrinis totum commaculârunt orbem. (Brucker. Hist.
Crit. Philosoph. tom. ii. p. 639.)
† P. 639.
In verses 3, 5, and 10, the locusts are described as having the tails, the stings, the power of scorpions. We have already seen that scorpions, in Scriptural language, are represented as a part of the power of the infernal enemy, being nearly related in character and description to the race of serpents. Now Eusebius, giving an account of the rise and progress of the Gnostic heresy, ascribes it to some serpent-like power*: and again he compares the concealed mischief of that sect to that of a lurking reptile†. And Tertullian, in his treatise intitled Scorpiace, (that is, antidote against the scorpions,) directly compares the Valentinians, and other Gnostic teachers, to scorpions; and he instances the points of resemblance, in the dangerous poison of a little and contemptible animal; in their infinite kinds and varieties, all armed in the same manner with a tail, and produced by heat. And then speaking of the hot persecution which had raged against the Christians;—Tunc (says he) Gnostici erumpunt, tunc Valentiniani proserpunt, tunc omnes martyrriorum refragatores ebuliunt, calentes et ipsi, offendere, figere, occidere‡. These quotations will tend to shew, that those Christian writers, who lived in, or nearest to, the times of the Gnostic heresy, conceived of it in such a manner as to represent it

† Ἐπί τῆς ἐκκλησίας: lib. iv. c. 7.
‡ Tertullian. Scorpi. sub initio.—“Then (says he) the Gnostics "burst forth, then the Valentinians creep out, then all the gainsayers "of the martyrs boil up, themselves all in a heat, to hurt, to "sting, to kill." And again he says, (speaking of the swarm of the "Gnostic Marcion,) faciunt favos et rectae, faciunt ecclesias et Marcionitae. (Adv. Marcion. lib. iv.) Tertullian composed his works against the Gnostics, about the year 207, when they were highly flourishing. Fleury, Eccl. Hist. book v.

under
under the very same images as the army of the scorpion-locusts is described in this vision. The comparison need not be pursued farther. If the reader, while he peruses the remaining verses in which this prophecy is contained, will turn back to the comparison already exhibited in page 198, keeping in mind what he has learned of the Gnostic history, he will probably admit, that the Gnostics, springing up suddenly, in immense numbers, from the dark and proud philosophy of the East, and possessing themselves of many of the Christian Churches, darkening their primitive lustre, and poisoning their principles and morals, yet, not succeeding against all the members of the congregations, but only against the more corrupt part; and not destroying utterly in these the principles of their faith, but leaving room for their repentance and return into the bosom of the Church; and continuing to flourish about the space of 150 years, have wonderfully fulfilled this prophecy.

Upon referring to the commentators I find, that this prophecy is generally supposed (in this country at least) to have received its completion in the rise and invasion of Mahomet and his Saracens. I will offer a few observations, to shew, why it cannot justly be so applied.

1. The star fallen cannot, as they pretend, be Mahomet; by no interpretation, literal or figurative, can this crafty enthusiast, bred in idolatry and worldly traffic, be said to have fallen from heaven. Mede, who has applied this prophecy to the Mahometans, was well aware that the star could not represent this leader
leader of the Saracens, and could indeed be no other than, as he strongly expresses it, "ipsissimus Draco et Satanas ". But his followers, Daubuz, Bishop Newton, &c. &c. have incautiously fallen into this error.

2. The preceding observation will be confirmed by another; namely, that the darkness which overspread the East in the time of Mahomet, was not occasioned by him; he made use of it for his purposes, but it had long been collecting, during preceding heresies and corruptions, such as I suppose to be prefigured under the four first Trumpets, and which are assigned, by all historians, as the means of his success. This will be shewn in the sequel of these annotations. But under this Trumpet, the clouds of darkness and the locusts ascend together.

3. The darkness, and locusts, of the fifth Trumpet invade the whole Christian world; for the Sun and the air which they invade, extend every-where; no third or fourth part is mentioned, as under other Trumpets. But the Mahometan arms and superstition ravaged only a part. The nations of Europe, (except Spain for a season, and some islands in the Mediterranean,) were in general free from them. In their grand attempt on Europe, they were repulsed early by Charles Martel.

4. But the regions which escaped the sword and destructive doctrines of Mahomet, are said (in order to accommodate them to this interpretation) to have contained the sealed; how improperly, will soon be acknowledged, when it is considered, that the parts which thus escaped; will be found to be principally

* Clavis, pars ii. Syn. iv.
those many kingdoms of the western world, which at that very time, on account of their ignorance and superstition, were submitting themselves to the papal yoke. The sealed are to be found in all Christian countries, mingled with the unsealed; and the invasion which could hurt the one, and not the other, may easily be understood to be that of an universally extended heresy, but not that of a partial invasion by arms*. The good Christian who continued steadfast in the primitive faith, did not submit to the Gnostical teachers, and thus remained unhurt. But how could he escape unhurt from the sword and plunder and domination of the Mahometans?

5. A period is assigned for the continuance of this woe; five months, or 150 years. The progressive conquests of the Saracene Mahometans continued more than double the length of this period; have been renewed by other nations professing the same creed; and the Mahometans have at this day possession of the greater part of their acquired dominions, after a lapse of nearly 1200 years!

6. To accommodate the Saracens to the symbols of this Trumpet, the commentators have been obliged to apply the prophetic characters sometimes in a borrowed, sometimes in a literal sense, which I suppose to be unwarranted. They ought all to be applied in the same sense.

7. Under the next Trumpet, we shall attempt to shew, that another prophecy belongs more appro-

* Especially if a whole region be invaded; for, in the invasion of a particular city, the sealed might escape, as we are told they did, at the siege of Jerusalem under Titus, retiring timely to Pella, upon the warning given them by their Lord. Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. iii. c. 5.
priately to the Mahometans. The application of the fifth Trumpet to them is of modern date:—Contenta in hac visione omnes penè de haereticis intelligunt.*

8. The important period of 150 years, during which the infant Church was darkened and disfigured by the Gnostic heresies, and on that account exposed to scandal, and misrepresentation, and additional persecution, seems of magnitude to require the notice of Divine prophecy. Though but sparingly mentioned in history, because the records of it, which have survived the Diocletian destruction of manuscripts, are few; yet, its real consequence is not diminished by such accidental circumstance. The great and leading facts are fully established, and no doubt can be entertained of their extensive and powerful influence on the progress of Christianity. But this is its place in the Apocalyptic Visions, (and I hope clearly ascertained,) or it has none.

* Gagnæus apud Polum.

PART III.

SECTION V.

The sounding of the sixth Trumpet and beginning of the second Woe.

CHAP. ix. VER. 13—to the end.

13 And the sixth angel sounded; and I heard one voice from the four horns of the golden altar, which is before God, Saying to 14 And the sixth angel sounded, and I heard a voice from the four horns of the golden altar, which is before God, Saying to
the sixth angel who had the trumpet,  
"Loose the four an-
gels, who are bound-
en at the great river  
Euphrates." And  
the four angels were  
loosed, who were pre-
pared for the hour,  
and day, and month,  
and year, for to slay  
the third part of the  
16 men. And the num-
ber of the troops of  
cavalry was two my-
riads of myriads: and  
I heard the number of  
17 them. And thus I saw  
the horses in the vi-
sion, and those who  
sate on them having  
breast-plates of the  
colour of fire, of hya-
cinth, of brimstone.  
And the heads of the  
horses like heads of  
lions; and out of their  
mouths issued fire,  
and smoke, and brim-
stone. By these three  
plagues were slain the  
third part of the men,  
by the fire, and the  
smoke, and the brim-
stone issuing from  
19 their mouths. For the  
power of the horses  
is in their mouth, and  
in their tails; for, their  
tails are like serpents,
having heads: and with them they injure.

20 And the remainder of the men, who were not slain by these plagues, repented not of the works of their hands, so that they should not worship the demons, and the idols of gold, and of silver, and of brass, and of stone, which can neither see, nor hear, nor walk.

21 And they repented not of their murders, nor of their sorceries, nor of their fornication, nor of their thefts.

Ver. 13, &c.] Upon the sound of the sixth Trumpet, a voice, proceeding from the four horns of the altar, and addressed to the angel, commands that he should "loose the four angels, then bounden at the "great river Euphrates," who were appointed for this precise

20 And the remainder of the men, who were not slain by these plagues, repented not of the works of their hands, so that they should not worship the demons, and the idols of gold, and of silver, and of brass, and of stone, which can neither see, nor hear, nor walk.

21 And they repented not of their murders, nor of their sorceries, nor of their fornication, nor of their thefts.
precise time, "the hour, and day, and month, and "year," and for this purpose, "to slay the third part "of the men."

The altar is the golden one, the altar of incense*, which makes a part of the scenery in heaven, standing before the Throne, as, in the earthly temple, before the Mercy-seat, which represented the local residence of God †. Upon the four horns or projecting angles of this altar, under the Mosaic law, atonement for the sins of the people was made‡. From this sacred place, from the four cardinal points thereof, is issued a decree of destruction against a third part of the Christian Church. For, by the men is to be understood the Christian men. In Acts xv. 17. οἱ καθαλοιτοι τῶν ἀνθρωπῶν, are the remnant or residue of the Israelites;—and thus also in this chapter (verse 20,) οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπῶν are plainly the residue of the Christian men; as also in chap. ix. 4, the men who have not the seal of God, are the nominal Christians. And the sins and offences of the Christians must have been great at this period, when the altar, which, as Bishop Newton observes, is "their sanctuary, calls "aloud for vengeance upon them." The voice coming from the altar which was before the throne, is as the voice of God, who permits, and had decreed this destruction; yet, coming from the altar, and not from the throne, somewhat more seems to be intended: religion seems intimately concerned. The angels who lead this assault on the Christian Church, are four, in concordance with the four horns of the altar, whence the decree and permission proceeded. We are to account them evil angels, like those of the

* See note, ch. vi. 9. † See notes, ch. vi. 9. viii. 3. ‡ Exod. xxx. 1—10. Prideaux, Con. i. 141, &c.
bottomless deep; for why, otherwise, were they bounden? They appear to have been engaged in such destructive warfare aforetime, at the river Euphrates; but their progress had been arrested, their activity restrained; now they are again loosed to devastate the Church. But what are we to understand by Euphrates? In Scriptural language, “War upon Euphrates,” is against the King of Assyria, whose capital city Babylon, on that river, was the grand seat and receptacle of idolatry, the formidable enemy, the insidious corrupter, and at length, by the Divine appointment, the scourge and corrector of the Ancient Church. The Jews, corrupted by the arts, and then subdued by the arms, of Babylon, were detained in a long captivity; from which they returned to their native soil, so entirely weaned from idolatry, that, prone as they had been to this strange propensity, before their sufferings in that idolatrous city, “they were strongly and cautiously, and even to superstition, set against it afterwards.” Idolatry never again reared its head in the Church, till the Church had been for some ages Christian. That time was now come: for under this Trumpet, the Church is described as idolatrous and desperately wicked.

* 2 Kings xxiii. 1 Esdras i. 25—27.
† Jer. li. Prid. Con. book ii. art. Babylon. Whitby’s note on 1 Pet. v. 13.—Upon Euphrates, at the time this prophecy was delivered, stood the ruins of Babylon, whose ancient walls inclosed a park; the country surrounding, was still called Babylon, and the Nestorians soon afterwards had a patriarch of Babylon, which, as Gibbon observes, was an appellation successively applied to the great cities which rose in the neighbourhood of Babylon; to Seleucia, Ctesiphon, and Bagdat. This shews how connected was the name of Babylon with the reigning city on Euphrates.
‡ Prideaux, Con. i. 389. 425. 515.
wicked; as will appear evident by referring to the 20th and 21st verses. And it is not surprising that ἑλέαρε, corrections, should issue from this quarter, where they appear to have been kept in readiness, even from the times when they had been so successfully applied to the punishment and correction of the Church. These ministers of wrath had been permitted to lead the Assyrian troops against the idolatrous Jewish church, and to carry it into captivity. But on the repentance of the sinners, their agency was restrained. They now come forth with a new commission against the idolatrous Christians; not to lead into captivity, but to slay one third of them. And, as is the punishment, so is also the effect of it, different from that of the former chastisement; the offenders are not all slain, and the remaining church is not reclaimed from its idolatry.

The above is a general view of the character of this Trumpet: but since the swarm of invaders under the fifth Trumpet, and the army of assailants under the sixth, appear to have a certain assimilation, as well as a certain difference, of character, which, compared together, may cast useful light on both; let us bring them into one view.
FIFTH TRUMPET.

1. A swarm of scorpion-locusts.

2. The leader, a star fallen, a fallen angel, the destroyer.

3. They arise from the pit of the bottomless deep, under cover of darkening smoke.

4. Their commission is not to slay, but to torment, the unsealed, who wish to die, but cannot; and these are the unsealed only.

5. Their continuance, five months.

6. Their character: They have tails and stings and power as scorpions; are like war-horses in appearance; have crowns as of gold; faces as of men; hair as of women; teeth as of lions; breast-plates as of iron; come in smoke; with the noise of war-chariots; wound with sting and tail.

SIXTH TRUMPET.

1. An army of myriads of cavalry.

2. Their leaders, four angels, who had been bounden at Euphrates, but are now loosed at the command of one voice, and that from the altar.

3. They come from Euphrates, where they had been bounden.

4. To slay the third part of the men.

5. Their appointment for the hour, day, month, year.

6. The horses of the troops of cavalry have tails of serpents with heads on them, with which they injure. The heads of the horses like heads of lions. From their mouths issue fire, smoke, and brimstone, by which they kill. And the riders have breast-plates of fire, smoke, and brimstone.

7. Their
I proceed to offer some observations on these passages, thus brought to comparison, in the order in which they stand; referring to the numbers prefixed to each.

1. A swarm of locusts and an innumerable army of hostile invaders, are in Scripture used metaphorically for each other *. Yet there must be some difference in the present instance; otherwise they would both have been described under the same name, whether it be of locusts, or horses for war. This difference is pointed out afterwards; the locusts are said to be like war-horses; (v. 7.) The other are war-horses. The attack under the sixth Trumpet has therefore more real warfare in it, than that of the fifth; which only resembles warfare, being metaphorically such.

2. The leaders of both invasions are of the same description, angels; under the fifth Trumpet, one fallen angel; under the sixth, four; certainly wicked angels, why otherwise had they been bounden? The difference is four instead of one; which seems to imply †, that the devastation is to be more dreadful and complete.

3. The angel of the fifth Trumpet leads his invaders from the grand seat of all impurity, from the

* Joel ii. † See note, ch. iv. 6.
depths of hell*. The assailants of the sixth come from Euphrates; where had stood Babylon, the grand source of corruption to the ancient Church, and which was the instrument applied by the Almighty to punish, and to restore her. This passage compared with the two concluding verses of this sixth Trumpet, will shew, that, under this invasion, idolatry, as well as other kinds of wickedness, is to be punished; which does not seem to be the case under the fifth Trumpet, where there is no allusion to this sin.

4. The swarm of locusts is commissioned to torment, not to kill; and the unsealed only are the objects of their rage. The armies of cavalry kill one-third part of the Christian world: and there seems no return to life, as in Zech. xiii. 8. they are totally cut off from God's people †.

5. The swarm of the fifth Trumpet is appointed for a certain period of continuance; after which, its ravages may be supposed to end. The armies of the sixth for a certain determined time of commencement, against which they were kept ready: χόιμαχημενοι εἰς τὴν ἔραν. This sense of the construction will appear manifest by consulting similar passages in the Greek, viz. Job xii. 5. Psalm xxii. 31. Prov. xxiv. 27. Ezek. iv. 7. 2 Tim. ii. 11. Yet, by the addition of the words, "day, month, year," more may be implied than the commencement, to express which, the word hour alone would have been sufficient. But even if a continuance be implied, it is not a determinate one, like that of the fifth Trumpet; the duration may be long, but the time is not ascertained.

6. The locusts of the fifth Trumpet are like horses for war. The assailants of the sixth are horses. One

* Compare ch. xx. 2. † See notes, ch. iii. 1. vi. 8.
set of invaders wounds with the tail; the other with the mouth and tail. The locusts have the teeth, the horses the heads, of lions. The crowns of gold, the appearance of men, the delicacy as of women, are wanting to the invaders of the sixth Trumpet, who seem to prosper by terror more than by persuasion. But both come on with the din of war; both have terrific breast-plates; one army comes on in smoke, from the bottomless pit; the other destroys by smoke, and by fire and sulphur, which are described in Scripture as produced from the same source *. The armour of these assailants agrees with their weapons; being:—

Their armour {ἐνίγμος} of {ἰδιοκίνητες} of {ὑποκάτωσις} of {κρύσταλλος} of brim.

Their weapons {ἐξ ὀξύωσ} of fire, {ἐξ καταρασ} of smoke, {ἐκ δέσι} of stone†.

7. The attack of the fifth Trumpet is not ordained, as that of the sixth is, to be a plague, or punishment, upon the idolatrous, and such an one as should produce no amendment.

From this comparison it will appear, that the points

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* See Is. xxx. 33, Rev. xiv. 10, xix. 20, xx. 10, xxi. 8.
† This comparison will shew the sense in which ἑλκίθερας is used, namely, to express that black and blue smoky colour which would arise from the burning brimstone on the iron armour: for, the hyacinth, ἱερᾶς ὀξυωσ of the ancients, appears to have been a dark colour with a carulean tinge, such as we see on violets,—

Kai ὅ τοι μιλαν ὑλῃ, λοξαί ηγαπτα ἰανθίς.

THEOCRIT. IDYLL. X. 28.

After which Virgil says,

Et nigra viola sunt — — — — — — Ec. x. 35.

By fire, in the figurative language of Scripture, violence, war, and devastation, are denoted, (see note, ch. vi. 4.); by smoke, dark confused doctrines, clouding the light of pure revelation, (see note, ch. ix. 1—12. p. 196.); and brimstone, in union with these, implies their infernal origin. See ch. xix. 20, xx. 3, 10, xxi. 8.
in which the visions under these two Trumpets agree, and resemble each other, are these: Both represent invasions on the Christian Church; by an innumerable host of assailants; in formidable power; and proceeding from the sources of infernal iniquity; under the leading and direction of evil angels; and gaining an ascendency over the men, by applying to their sensual and brutish passions.

They differ in these points. First, as to the body, which is the object of attack. In the fifth Trumpet, we have only a general description of its iniquity; but that under the sixth Trumpet, beside this general description, has a particular character,—it is idolatrous. Secondly, the assailing power: in the one, it attacks like an army; in the other, it is an army. The one is appointed for a certain season of continuance; the other for an appointed period of commencement, or, if of continuance, for an undetermined time. The one is seductive, as well as formidable; the other overbears by terror and force. The one torments the nominal Christian, but hurts not the sincere and sealed; the other destroys and annihilates one-third of the body attacked. The one injures by the tail; the other by the mouth and tail. Lastly, the invaders under the sixth Trumpet, and under that only, are described as instruments of correction and punishment upon the wicked and idolatrous; by which, however, they who survive the calamity are not reclaimed.

In our attempts, therefore, to assort this prophecy, we must endeavour to fix our eyes upon some great calamity (for it is a woe) which has happened to the Christian Church; first, by a multitude of invaders, who are known to have attacked it, not only
only by false doctrines and seductions, as under the fifth Trumpet, but also by arms: secondly, at a time when the Church had relapsed into idolatry, and was generally corrupt; and when the altars of Religion were so ill served, that from the altar in heaven vengeance was demanded upon them: thirdly, when so large a part of the body as one-third was separated from the Church; and in such a manner as to lose their spiritual life in Christ, calling no longer upon his name: fourthly, when the residue of the Church, which witnessed, and seemed itself exposed to, this dreadful visitation, continued unrepentant, corrupt, and idolatrous, as before.

Before we proceed to apply all these circumstances, in their order, to events in history, it will be useful to ascertain that which belongs more especially to the second of these heads; the time when this calamity took place. It was in a corrupt period of the Church, when the altar of Religion called for vengeance; when idolatry in particular was a reigning vice, (verses 20, 21). Now it is impossible to fix this stain upon the Church in the early periods of it; in the fourth century indeed, and perhaps in some small degree in the third, we may acknowledge the seeds and beginnings of a corrupt and idolatrous worship*. Yet the progress of this evil was slow and gradual; and it was a long time before it could justly be said to have amounted to that general prevalence described in the 20th and 21st verses. This character is not fairly and generally applicable to the Christian Church, before the sixth century. But toward the end of the

sixth and the beginning of the seventh century, the measure of this iniquity became full. And at that time, history records a dreadful invasion of the Christian world by numerous armies, assailing it at the same time by corrupt doctrines and by the terror of their arms; with such success as to cut off from the hope and comfort of Christianity, and from the communion of the Church, so large a body of Christians, as may fairly be accounted one third part of the whole; yet leaving those parts of the Christian Church which remained, idolatrous and unrepentant.

Under this description, I shall easily be understood to intend the invasion of the Mahometan Saracens, whose numerous armies, famous for their cavalry, beginning their destructive progress early in the seventh century, soon overran, and subdued not only to their arms, but to their corrupt doctrines, a great part of the Christian world; thus fulfilling that which is predicted in verses 16, 17, 18, 19, and comprised under the first head proposed. 2. The time, in which they burst forth upon the world, is that already ascertained, and accords with verses 20, 21, of the prophecy; from which verses it is plainly inferred to be a very corrupt, and, in particular, an idolatrous time. All historians are agreed in describing the dreadful corruption, and idolatry of the Church at the time of the Saracene invasion, and especially of that Eastern part of it, which chiefly sank under the calamity. And to this corruption of the Church, and to the unchristian divisions and animosities accompanying it, they unanimously ascribe the success of Mahomet and of his followers, accounting this calamity to be a punishment, which the Church had justly deserved,
served.* 3. The success attributed to these armies of cavalry, under this Trumpet, expressed by their slaying one-third part of the men, that is, of the Christian world, seems likewise fully completed in this irruption of the Mahometans. By the terror of their arms, and by their arts, imposing on the vanquished nations their newly-modelled religion, (which, although it acknowledge Jesus as a prophet, rejects his mediation and atonement,) they separated from the great body of the Church one-third part of it; which, re-

* See Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. cent. vii. part i. ch. 2 & 3. Amm. Marcell. i. 21. Sale's Preliminary Discourse to the Alcoran, p. 44, 45, 51. & 214. Vie de Mahom. par Boulavilliers, p. 219, &c. Pri- deaux' Life of Mahomet, preface. Ockley's Hist. of the Saracenes, vol. i. p. 20, 160, 223. Ricaut's Ottoman Empire, p. 187.—A mo- dern writer, who has had access to the Eastern originals, as well as to these authorities, has concisely and eloquently displayed the origin and causes of the Mahometan success: "If in surveying the history of "the sixth and seventh centuries, we call to our remembrance that "purity of doctrine, that simplicity of manners, that spirit of meek-
"ness and universal benevolence, which marked the character of the "Christians in the Apostolic age; the dreadful reverse which we here "behold, cannot but strike us with astonishment and horror. Divid-
ed into numberless parties, on account of distinctions the most "trifling and absurd, contending with each other from perverseness; "and persecuting each other with rancour, corrupt in opinion, and "degenerate in practice, the Christians of this unhappy period seem "to have retained little more than the name and external profession "of their Religion. Of a Christian Church scarce any vestige re-
"mained. The most profligate principles and absurd opinions were "universally predominant: ignorance amidst the most favourable "opportunities of knowledge; vice amidst the noblest encouragements "to virtue; a pretended zeal for truth, mixed with the wildest ex-
"travagances of error; an implacable spirit of discord about opinions "which none could settle; and a general and striking similarity in the "commission of crimes, which it was the duty and interest of all to "avoid." White's Bampton Lectures, p. 60.
nouncing the name of Christ, and denying his sole power of salvation, became dead to his redemption, forfeiting the spiritual life obtained for them by him.

The kingdoms subdued by the Mahometans, if examined on the maps, will be found to compose a full third part of the then Christian world; but some of these regions were not Christian, when subdued by the Saracene arms, and are therefore not to be taken into the account. Some, as Spain and Portugal, after years of conflict, were recovered to the Christian name. In all the parts of the Mahometan dominions, there have been, and still are, many Christians; but among the Christians we find scarcely any Mahometans. These circumstances being taken into consideration, it will appear to be fairly represented as a general position, that one-third part of the world which was once Christian, was cut off from Christianity by the Mahometan invaders. And the balance appears to have continued nearly the same, even from that time to the present.—It is a remarkable coincidence, that when the Mahometan arms, in the fifteenth century, overturning the Eastern empire, made such additional acquisitions to Ishmaelism; the Christians began to extend their religion to distant climates, and preserved this balance by the addition of many millions, who call upon the name of Christ in the new world.

4. The historians represent the

* See notes, ch. iii. 1. vi. 8.
† “By the industry and zeal of the Europeans, Christianity has been widely diffused to the most distant shores of Asia and Africa; and, by the means of their colonies, has been firmly established from Canada to Chili, in a world unknown to the ancients.” Gibbon, Decline, &c. ch. xxv. p. 535.
remaining parts of the Christian Church which escaped this plague, as continuing corrupt and idolatrous. This fact is so well established in ecclesiastical history, that it seems to need no confirmation. The remains of Christendom, after the Mahometan domination had taken place in one part, continued impure and idolatrous in almost all other parts, until the purifying period of the Reformation.

In my notes upon the fifth Trumpet, some reasons were assigned, to shew that the prophecy therein contained, cannot be properly applied to these Mahometan devastations, which I have supposed to be prefigured under this sixth Trumpet. And in this application of it, I am at no great distance from the general notion of modern commentators; for almost all of them apply the sixth Trumpet to the devastations of the Turks, or of the Tartars, who were also Mahometans. The application of this prophecy to some of the Mahometan irruptions is indeed so obvious, that it is admitted by Michaelis; who, dissatisfied with most other interpretations of the Apocalypse, has observed, that this prophecy "may be very well applied to the irruptions of the Saracens, the Turks, and the Tartars.*" It may perhaps be justly applied to all of them; for, all of them have the same character, as opposed to the Christian Church; they are all Mahometan. And if the Mahometan character is so strongly impressed upon this prophecy, that it may fitly be applied to the later devastations of the Mahometans, it will not be thought extraordinary, if it should be found applicable, even with a superior degree of propriety, to their first

* Introduct. to the N. T ch. xxiii. sect. 7.
grand and fatal irruption. For my own part, I can discover, in the interpretation of those commentators, who apply the sixth Trumpet to the Turkish Mahometans, only three instances in which it may appear more applicable to them, than to their predecessors in this warfare, to the Saracene followers of Mahomet; they are these: 1. That by which the four angels are supposed to represent the four governments, into which the Turks are said to have been originally distributed. 2. That by which the fire, smoke, and brimstone, are interpreted to signify the guns and gunpowder used in the Turkish armies. 3. That by which the "hour, day, month, year," are understood to express a certain continuance of time, applicable peculiarly to the Ottoman period. Now it seems to me, that none of these instances of interpretation are fairly established, but that all of them will be found to rest on weak and fanciful foundations. And if this can be shewn, it will then be allowed, even by the followers of Joseph Mede, that as there is nothing remaining in the prophecy, which restricts it peculiarly to the Ottoman Mahometans, it may be applied, with equal if not greater fitness, to the Saracene founders of that domination.

I. Joseph Mede, the ingenious deviser of this scheme, which represents the four angels to signify four Sultanes, or governments, has admitted no similar kind of interpretation respecting any other prophecy. The angel, who leads the host of the fifth Trumpet, he asserts to be a fallen angel, even Satan himself*. And it may be questioned, whether an angel is used, in the prophetical language of Scrip-

* Clavis Apoc. par. ii. syn. iv.

ture,
ture, to represent a kingdom or government, or even any earthly leader. But if this licence should be allowed, still the history of the Turks will not be found such as to warrant this application of it. The Quaternion of Turkish tribes, which Joseph Mede finds seated at or near the Euphrates, has its date from the year 1080; which will be found, unfortunately for this scheme, neither to reach in antiquity to the origin of the Turks, as a powerful nation, nor to their first irruption upon Christendom, as narrated in history; nor yet to accord with the time of their successful attack on the Eastern empire, in the fifteenth century. Mede confesses, that the four governments did not remain perfect and complete, but that they had undergone many changes, and were united under one leader, Othman, long before the time in which they are supposed to be prefigured in this Trumpet. But the warfare of the Turks upon the Christians will be found to have begun before these four sultanies are said to be established. Early in the eleventh century did they attack Christendom with immense armies, when the Grecian provinces on the Euxine Sea, and a great part of Asia Minor, were wrested by them from the Christians*. But the Turks were a great nation, long before any of these times. Seated upon Mount Imaïs or Caf (whence they deduce their origin), they were known in Roman history six hundred years before the age of Othman. They were then able to muster four hundred thousand soldiers; and, during two centuries, became formidable to the three great empires surrounding them, to the Roman, the Persian, and the Chinese†. We must therefore

* Gibbon, Hist. ch. lvii. Mosheim, cent. xi. ch. ii.
† Gibbon's Hist. Decline and Fall, ch. 57. 64. 42.
conclude, that the application of the symbol of the four angels, to the four sultanies or governments, leading the Turks to their invasion of Christendom, has no fair and legitimate foundation. The Turks were not divided into four nations, nor seated on Euphrates, at the time of their irruption in the fifteenth century; nor was this their original seat. And if to be there seated, can give a claim to the application of this prophecy, the Saracene Mahometans will be found to possess this claim in an equal or superior degree. For, powerful tribes of the Saracens, were seated in Mesopotamia adjoining to Euphrates, at the time when this apocalyptic vision was seen. They there touched upon the boundaries of the Roman and Persian empires; and made devastating incursions on each. About the year 378, their armies spread desolation in the East; and afterwards were employed by the Romans against the Goths. Again, in the seventh century, the Mahometan Saracens were in early possession of Euphrates, having turned their victorious arms thither in the fourteenth year of their Hejirah. Cufah, seated on that river, became the residence of the Caliph Ali; and Bagdat, built in 762, by the Caliph Almansor, ten leagues from the site of ancient Babylon, was for many centuries the capital seat of the Mahometan dominion.

If therefore it were a necessary part, to the completion of the prophecy, that the invading armies

* Called by the Greek and Latin writers of the first century, Scenites, because they dwelt in tents, but afterwards Saracens, from the Arabic, Sarak, a robber. Amm. Marcellin. lib. xiv. 4.
§ Ockley’s History of the Saracens.
should come from Euphrates, this will appear fulfilled in the Saracene invaders, more truly and completely than in the Ottoman Turks. And if, to answer to the symbols of the four angels, four distinct nations, or armies of invaders, are to be expected, I would suggest to the consideration of the learned reader, whether four distinct periods of successful Mahometan invasion, and by four different nations, may not be found to present themselves in history.

The first, by the Saracens, which in the seventh and eighth centuries subdued to the Mahometan laws, Syria, Palestine, Persia, Armenia, Egypt, the States of Barbary, and Spain.

The second under the Mahometan Turks Maymud and the princes of the Seljuk dynasty, when in the eleventh century the extensive regions on the Euxine Sea, India, Anatolia, and Asia Minor, were conquered.

The third by the Mogul Tartars under Timour, or Tamerlane, in the fourteenth century, when in widely extended regions of the East, in China, Tartary, and a great part of Asia, Christianity was eradicated, not only by authority and persuasion, but by the utmost efforts of persecution, to make way for the Mahometan creed.

The fourth by the Ottoman Turks, in the fifteenth century, when the Eastern Roman empire fell to them, with its dependencies.

I do not propose this four-fold division as perfectly examined and arranged; esteeming it no necessary part to the completion of the prophecy: but if such a kind of fulfilment should be thought needful,

* Mosheim, cent. xiv. part i. ch. i.
it appears probable, that it will be more easily discovered in the history of all the Mahometan invasions, than in that single one by the Ottoman Turks, which has been exclusively applied to this prophecy.

II. The smoke, fire, and brimstone of the sixth Trumpet seem inconsistently understood, as expressive of the guns and gunpowder used by the Turks in the fifteenth century. Smoke from the bottomless pit, (ch. ix. 2.) under the fifth Trumpet, is applied by Mede and his followers to signify the darkening religion of Mahomet*. And, in prophetical language, it will certainly admit that application, as well as to the dark confused doctrines of the Gnostics. This is fair and legitimate interpretation; and, by referring to ch. xix. 20. xx. 3. 10. xxi. 8, it will appear, that in the pit or lake, whence the smoke ascended, were fire and brimstone. When therefore under the sixth Trumpet, we meet with smoke, fire and brimstone, united, our interpretation should be uniform. These, issuing from the mouths of the invaders of the Church, must, if interpreted consistently, be stated to represent corrupt, infernal, destructive doctrines. And these are applicable to the Saracens, in common with other Mahometans. But to understand them as signifying great guns and gunpowder, seems to be a force upon prophetical language, unworthy of the respectable names, which have countenanced the interpretation. It is not of Mede's devising; I have found it in commentaries more ancient.

III. The hour, day, month, &c. are applied to signify a continuance of time, answering to the continuance of the successful warfare of the Ottoman

* Mede's Works, p. 497.
Turks. But it has already been shewn, that the original language will not admit of this construction. Or, if the construction could be admitted, even then it would not be found to answer the purpose of the commentators: for the continuance of time to be measured, is that, during which the evil angels continue to slay the third part of the men*. But this period is surely, in continuance, so long as the Mahometans continue to alienate from the Life which is in Christ, the third part of the men, or nations, which were once Christian. The Mahometan woe or plague is not yet come to its end; but the measure of continuance proposed by Mede and his followers, reaches only to the year 1672 †.

I must now leave to the learned and judicious investigator to determine, whether the prophecy of the sixth Trumpet do not appear to be more fitly and perfectly fulfilled in the great original irruption of the Mahometans, (comprehending perhaps also their subsequent inroads,) than in the later and more partial one by the Ottoman Turks. The interpretation now proposed will be found, not only to accord more accurately with the symbols exhibited in the vision, but also to bring the prophetical narration to that precise period, which is seen to open in the eleventh chapter, where the prophetical history, after a previous exhibition in the tenth chapter, proceeds. In that, and the ensuing chapters, the famous period of forty-two months, or 1260 days or years, comes

* See verse 15.
† About that time it may be allowed that the belligerent power of the Mahometan nations became less formidable to the Christian world. But which of these nations is yet become Christian? which of them has yet renounced the destructive doctrines of Mahomet?
into view. And this, in the apprehension of almost all the commentators, had its beginning many centuries before the victories of the Ottoman Turks; probably from those of the Saracene Mahometans. If therefore the sixth Trumpet be understood to begin with this first Mahometan invasion, it will stand in its proper historical place. So beginning, it may be supposed to run through the whole period of 1260 years, and to contain all the successful warfare of the Mahometans on the Christians. It is not to the nation, but to the religion, to which, prophecy seems to advert. And all these invasions seem nearly of the same character.

PART III.

SECTION VI.

The little Book.

CHAPTER X.

1 And I saw another mighty angel coming down from heaven, clothed with a cloud, and a radiance over his head, and his face was as the sun, and his feet as pillars of fire, and having in his hand a little book opened. And he set his right foot upon the sea, and his left foot upon the land. And he cried with a loud voice, as when a lion roareth.

2 And I saw another mighty angel come down from heaven, clothed with a cloud, and a rainbow was upon his head, and his face was as it were the sun, and his feet as pillars of fire. And he had in his hand a little book opened: and he set his right foot upon the sea, and his left foot on the earth, and cried with a loud voice, as when a lion roareth.
And when he had cried, the seven thunders uttered their voices. And when the seven thunders had spoken, I was about to write; and I heard a voice from heaven, saying, “Seal up those things which the seven thunders speak, and write them not.”

5 And the angel, whom I saw standing upon the sea and upon the land, lifted up his right hand toward heaven,

6 And sware by Him, who liveth for ever and ever, who created heaven and the things therein, and the land and the things therein, and the sea and the things therein, that time shall be no more,

7 But in the days of the voice of the seventh angel, when he is about to sound, and the mystery of God was finished, as he hath declared good tidings to his servants the prophets.

8 And the voice, which I had heard from heaven, spake unto me again, and said, “Go, take the little book, which is opened in roareth: and when he had cried, seven thunders uttered their voices. And when the seven thunders had uttered their voices, I was about to write: and I heard a voice from heaven, saying unto me, Seal up those things which the seven thunders uttered, and write them not. And the angel which I saw stand upon the sea, and upon the earth, lifted up his hand to heaven, and sware by Him that liveth for ever and ever, who created heaven and the things that therein are, and the earth and the things that therein are, and the sea, and the things which are therein, that there should be time no longer: But in the days of the voice of the seventh angel, when he shall begin to sound, the mystery of God should be finished, as he hath declared to his servants the prophets. And the voice which I heard from heaven, spake unto me again, and said, Go, and take
9 And I went to the angel, saying unto him to give me the little book. And he saith unto me, “Take, and “eat it up; and it “shall imbitter thy “stomach; but in thy “mouth shall be sweet 10” as honey.” And I took the little book from the hand of the angel, and ate it up. And it was in my mouth sweet as honey; and when I had eaten it, my stomach was 11 imbittered. And he saith unto me, “Thou “must prophesy again “before many people, “and nations, and lan- “guages, and kings.”

In the 13th verse of the viiiith chapter, three grand woes, three distinct periods of successful attack upon the Church, by the Antichristian powers, are an-
nounced. The first of these immediately takes place, and is afterwards described as past*; and the second follows: but this, though it begins, like the first, with an hostile invasion, does not end in like manner. No period (as, in the first, of 150 years) is assigned for its continuance; and when the description of the invasion seems to be finished, no like notice is given, that the woe is ended; on the contrary, it seems to continue till the seventh Trumpet sounds; then, and not till then, it is declared to be gone †. The prophecy had now begun to appear as drawing to its close; the seventh and last Trumpet was expected. But a new and enlarging scene opens under the sixth Trumpet, and before the end of the second woe. The famous period of forty-two months, or 1260 days, is now presented to view. The usurped dominion of the Mahometans, disclosed in the sixth Trumpet, is continued throughout. But there is another Antichristian usurpation, which belongs to the same period, and which is to be produced, as cotemporary with it.

Ver. 1—3. Another mighty angel; &c.] The sublimity of this passage made an early impression upon the poetical mind of Sir William Jones: and "at a "period of mature judgment," says his biographer, "he considered it as equal in sublimity to any in the "inspired writers, and far superior to any that could "be produced from mere human compositions‡." This angel, although displaying superior glory and power §, is not our Lord Jesus Christ, who appears in this part of the vision, not as an angel, but as the Lamb.

(Ch. xiv. i.) he is described to be another angel. Such another angel had been before seen officiating in the presence of the Lamb *. He is an angel of the highest dignity, invested with a most important commission; to convey to Saint John, and to the Church, a large amount of prophetical information. For this purpose, he holds in his hand a little book; not little in respect to its contents, which are of the highest importance, but with a view to the purpose for which it was designed; to be eaten and digested by the prophet. The book is open, unsealed; by our Lord's merits it had become so†; for, it was probably a part, or transcript, of the larger sealed book; because it comes under the opening of the sixth and seventh Seals, which are part of the contents of that book. It may be the same also with that part of the prophecy of Daniel ‡ which was in his time sealed for a very distant period; a period which will be seen to have relation to these times of the apocalyptic visions.

Ver. 2. And he set his right foot upon the sea; &c. In the scene before the prophet, the heavens, containing God's throne, and his altar, and surrounding ministers, are above. The earth is beneath, not hanging like an orb or ball §, but extended in a plain, and containing the divisions, before marked, of land, of sea, of rivers. The angel descends from heaven above, and takes his station on the earth, placing one of his gigantic feet on the sea, the other on the land ||. The Eastern nations, expressed by the division of the land, had been hitherto the principal scene of action under this Trumpet. The angel's
placing one foot on the sea, seems to intimate that the Western nations of the Gentiles, are to be an object of the remaining prophecy. And this is also expressed in ver. 11: he is "to prophesy before many people, and nations, and languages, and kings." It may be observed also, that the first, the right, or principal foot of the angel descends upon the sea; which seems to imply that the part of the Christian world, represented by the sea, is now to be principally concerned.

Ver. 4. The seven thunders.] The whole Prophecy is delivered under seven Seals, seven Trumpets, seven Vials. In this passage, a particular prophecy, or perhaps seven distinct prophecies, are uttered by seven voices, loud as thunder, awful, and terrible as that of the lion-like voice of the angel which introduces them. But whatsoever intelligence the prophet might receive from this Divine communication, he is forbidden to disclose it. Thus, events of great import, belonging to the history of this Seal and Trumpet, are not revealed in this prophecy. What these were, it is certainly difficult, and may be presumptuous, to conjecture. But we may safely collect from this transaction, that many important events, perhaps recorded in history, are not disclosed. And we obtain herewith an additional confirmation of the notion already suggested, that this sixth Trumpet contains a period of long continuance.

Ver. 5. Lifted up his right hand.] The angel takes a solemn oath, in a form of Scriptural antiquity. This mode of swearing has descended even unto our own times and nation, being still used in Scotland,

* Note, ch. viii. 8.  † Note, ch. i. 4.
and there allowed, by act of parliament, to those dissenters who are styled Seceders.*

Ver. 7. That time shall be no more, &c.] The original language as used in the writings of the Old and New Testament, will not admit of the translation given by Daubuz, Lowman, &c.; viz. "the " time should not be as yet;" which would otherwise tend greatly to clear the obscurity of this passage. I will cast upon it what scattered light I can collect.

The whole passage, expressed in the seventh verse, taken together, has a plain reference to happy times, which are expected with the seventh Trumpet, and which have been promised with glad tidings under the Gospel. These times are mentioned as the καιροι ἀνεφέτεις, " the times of refreshing;" κρόνοι ἀποκαταστάσεως παντάς, " times of restitution of all things; which " God hath spoken by the mouth of all His holy " Prophets since the world began †. There is a great similarity in the two passages. The same times are likewise mentioned in Acts i. 7. and in both these places, as in this of the Apocalypse, the word κρόνος is used without that prepositive article which expresses a particular designation of time. And yet our translators have found it necessary to give that article in the English, (the times, the seasons,) as the sense seemed to require it. It may be questioned then, whether κρόνος, in this passage of the Revelation, without the article, may not be so translated and understood: and whether the time, which is not to be under the sixth Trumpet, may not be expected under the seventh. The attempt

* Paley's Moral and Political Philosophy, 4to. p. 159. The solemn league and covenant in the time of Charles I, had been taken after this manner.
† Acts iii. 19. 20,
to interpret the passage in this manner will be assisted by considering what the "mystery of God is;"—compare it with 2 Thess. ii. 7;—the "mystery of iniquity," which appears plainly, from the context, to be the triumphant working of Satan. And therefore the mystery of God appears to be, (that which arrives also under the seventh Trumpet,) the triumphant reign of godliness. Compare also Dan. xii. 6—13; where the angel takes the same kind of solemn oath, referring to the same period of time which is named by the angel under this Seal, "a time, times, and half," reaching "to the time of the end." There was an obscurity then; Daniel "understood not:" and the passage before us is yet obscure: but we see enough, to fix our attention on the final establishment of the Messiah's reign. At the same time, it seems to be intimated, that there will intervene a long and busy scene of action, under the remainder of the sixth Trumpet, before this can be completed †.

Ver. 8—11. Go, take the little book;—take and eat it; &c.] In this passage, Saint John receives commission as a prophet, in a form nearly resembling that by which Ezekiel was commissioned as a prophet to the Jews. The roll, or book, (for it is the same thing ‡,) upon which the prophecy is written, is delivered to each prophet, with a command to eat it.

* Dan. xii. 7, 9.
† I have translated ἡ τελεσθή has finished; and yet, I question whether we might not be authorized to translate it as if it were expressed by the other reading τελεσθῶ, which is rejected by Griesbach, and is properly rendered by the old translators should be finished; because I find ἡ τελεσθή in ch. xv. 1, clearly, from its context, expressive of time yet to come; and in this instance also now before us, it appears so; and therefore seems to be used as τελεσθῶ.
‡ See note, ch. v. i.
To eat it, that the contents may be completely possessed by him internally, that, by digesting them, he may become as "the living oracle of God." Both these prophecies contained "woe," and were unpleasing to both prophets; yet had seemed pleasant to the mouth on the first reception. To gratify curiosity with what is contained in the womb of time, has its delights: but so many bitter things are found written therein, that we must confess that it is by a kind dispensation of Providence, that man is ignorant of futurity*. But why this new commission to the prophet? He was sent originally to the seven Churches in Asia: wherefore this new designation, "Thou must prophesy again before many people, and nations, and languages, and kings?" Observe then, that, before the conquests of the Mahometan invaders, the seven Churches were situated near the centre of the Christian world. From the period of the Mahometan apostacy, they were no longer central in any sense. They lost their consequence; "repented not of their idolatry and wickedness;" and in succeeding irruptions, they fell a prey to the victorious enemy. "Their lamp-bearer was removed," according to the threatening of their Lord †. But as Christianity receded in the East, before the arms and doctrines of the Mahometans, it spread and enlarged in the West. A new scene, and a new audience, have now therefore their commencement. The Gentile nations of Europe, (the sea, on which the angel places his first foot,) come into view; those ten kingdoms, into which the remains of the western Roman empire were divided. And the period of this prophecy will be seen, in the next chapter, to be 1260 years.

* Compare Ezek. ii. 6—10. iii. 1—4, 14. xxi. 6. Ecclus xl. 30.
† Ch. ii. 5.
And there was given to me a reed like unto a rod: and the angel stood, saying, Arise, and measure the Temple of God, and the altar, and those who worship therein.

And I will give unto my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy a thousand two hundred and threescore days, clothed in sackcloth. These are the two olive-trees, and the two candlesticks standing before the Lord of the earth. And if any one shall wish to injure them, fire cometh out of their mouth, and devour-
6. They shall be slain. These have power to shut up the heaven, that rain may not fall during the days of their prophecy, and they have power over the waters, to turn them to blood, and to smite the land with every plague, as often as they shall be willing. And when they shall be finishing their testimony, the wild-beast, which ascended out of the bottomless deep, shall make war with them, and shall overcome them, and shall slay them. And their remains shall be in the broad place of the great city, which is called spiritually Sodom and Egypt, where also our Lord was crucified. And they of the people, and of tribes and languages and nations, shall see their dead bodies three days and an half, and shall not suffer their dead bodies to be put in graves. And they that dwell upon the earth shall rejoice over them, and make merry, and shall send gifts one to another; because these two prophets tormented them manner be killed.

6 These have power to shut heaven, that it rain not in the days of their prophecy: and have power over waters to turn them to blood, and to smite the earth with all plagues, as often as they will. And when they shall have finished their testimony, the beast that ascended out of the bottomless pit, shall make war against them, and shall overcome them, and kill them. And their dead bodies shall lie in the street of the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also our Lord was crucified. And they of the people, and kindreds, and tongues, and nations, shall see their dead bodies three days and an half, and shall not suffer their dead bodies to be put in graves. And they that dwell upon the earth shall rejoice over them, and make merry, and shall send gifts one to another; because these two prophets tormented them.
not permit to be laid

10th in a sepulchre. And

they who inhabit the

earth rejoice over

them and shall ex-

ult: and shall send

gifts one to another;

because these two

prophets tormented

those who dwelled

11th upon the earth. And,

"after the three days

and half, a spirit of

life from God entered

into them; and

they stood upon their

feet; and great fear

fell upon those be-

12th holding them. And

"they heard a loud

voice from heaven,

"saying unto them,

"Ascend hither;' and

"they ascended into

heaven in the cloud;

and their enemies

13th beheld them." And

in that same hour there

was a great earth-

quake; and the tenth

part of the city fell;

and there were slain in

the earthquake

names of men seven

thousand. And the

remnant became af-

frighted, and gave glory

to the God of heaven.

14The second woe is past: behold, the third woe cometh soon.
Ver. 1. A reed like unto a rod.] A reed*, being both straight and light, became a fit instrument for measuring; and, like our rood, rod, or pole, had its definite measure. The Hebrew rod or reed was, according to Michaelis, of six ells, each ell being five or six hand-breadths. Such a measuring instrument is now placed in the hands of the prophet, who, on receiving his new commission, is ordered "to measure the Temple of God, and the altar, and those who worship therein." The commission extends not only to the temple and altar, but to the worshippers who frequent them; and, compared with Ezek. xl. Zech. ii. Hab. iii. 6, will appear to authorize an examination into the state of divine worship in the times of this Trumpet, and an estimate of the number and kind of the worshippers. Concerning the first part of the commission, which respects the temple and altar, and the worship of those who are admitted to the nearest presence of the Deity, no account is returned. In those times of ignorance and superstition, under the beginnings of the sixth Trumpet, few they were, who worshipped "in spirit and in truth," But the outer court of the Temple is particularly mentioned; and it is not to be measured, for the God of the Temple will not acknowledge such worship as, under the times of this Trumpet, was performed there; it is ordered not to be measured, but to be cast out; and the Gentiles are to take possession of it; and at the same time they are to possess themselves of the holy city surrounding it, during a period of forty-two months. And during this period (the length of

* In the Hebrew, נד —whence the Greek κανον, and the English cane.
which will be explained) we have no mention of the inner temple; till, at the sound of the seventh Trumpet, "the Temple of God is opened in Heaven, and "the Ark of his covenant is seen." Then is restored a purer worship; then men draw nearer unto God, "in the beauty of holiness."

Ver. 2. The holy city shall they tread.] The Holy City is the Christian Church, which, after the rejection and destruction of the sacred Jerusalem, was received in its stead: which will appear clearly from this instance, that the Christian Church in its renovated and purer state is called, "the New Jerusalem†;" and Jerusalem is certainly "the Holy City ‡." The Temple was at Jerusalem with its altar, and holy place, and Holy of Holies: but these, at least the inner and more sacred places, are not given to the Gentiles, but the outer court only, with the city surrounding, which they are to occupy during the period assigned to them.

It is said in the received translation, that "they "shall tread under foot the holy city;" &c.—And the commentators, who have generally admitted this translation, have explained it to signify, that "they "shall trample upon, and tyrannize over, the Church "of Christ." I have translated the Greek (which is ἁρπάζειν) simply by the word tread; because I entertain doubts whether either the Greek expression, or the context, will require or indeed admit of any other meaning. The verb ἁρπάζειν signifies simply to tread; and to tread the courts of the temple, is synonymous, in Scriptural language, to worshipping therein. Thus God,

* Ver. 19.
† Gal. iv. 25, 26. Rev. iii. 12. note xxi. 2. 10.
‡ Matt. v, 35. xxvii. 53.
by the mouth of his prophet, rejecting the worship of the polluted Israelites, says, "who hath required this at your hands, to tread my courts?" where the Greek is, πατεῖν τὴν αὐλήν μου, and has the same signification as in Psalm lxv. 4, to frequent, or dwell in, my courts*. To tread under foot, to trample upon indignantly, is commonly expressed by ἐπιπάτεω, ἐπιπατέωμαι, of which many instances may be seen in the concordances. Or, if πατεῖν is ever used in this sense, to express indignant trampling, a preposition generally follows, (as πατεῖν ἐπάνω οὐκεῖν) which brings it to express the same sense as ἐπιπάτεω. Πατεῖν is indeed employed to express the treading grapes in a wine-press; but that action is simply treading; and, excepting in its metaphorical sense, implies no indignation. Metaphorically, it expresses indignation; because, in that borrowed sense, the treading seems to be destruction attended with blood. It may indeed be used in that borrowed sense in this passage; but I am inclined to think that it is not, for the reasons assigned above; and also, because the history of the times, hereby signified, agrees better with the notion of the Gentiles being the occupiers of the Christian Church, (not of its holy interior, but of its exterior courts and surrounding streets,) than with that of their trampling under foot, and tyrannizing over it, during the long period assigned to them. From the time when the Gentiles took possession of the Church, and began to tread its courts; from the time that Constantine, by adopting Christianity, made it the Religion of the nations; "Kings became her nursing

* Πατεῖν, ποτηστεῖ: Hesych. The vulgate, and the Ethiopic version, as given in Latin, have calcabunt not conculcabunt: Walton's Polyglot.

"fathers,
"fathers, and Queens her nursing mothers", and persecution of the Church, by the civil powers, has only raged at some certain periods, arising from the ignorance of the kings, who worshipped only in the outward courts, and were not admitted to see the truth and purity of Religion in the inner Temple.

Ver. 2. *Forty-two months.*] The period assigned for this Gentile worship in the courts of the Temple, is forty-two months. It is the very same duration of time, which we shall afterwards see described under the name of 1260 days. Forty-two months, of thirty days each, (such undoubtedly was the measure of time in the East;) amount exactly to 1260 days.

But a *day,* in the prophetic language of Scripture, has been shewn to signify a *year.*

The exact commencement, and consequently the end of this period of 1260 years, shall be afterwards discussed. But certainly there appears exhibited in

* Isa. xlix. 23.

† The note of the ancient commentator Arethas upon this passage deserves attention:—Πολλα κυριαι την ἐκκλησιαν ἐκκλησεν, ἵνα ἰσαια σωτηριαν ὑπὸ θανατον ὄς ἔδοθεν ὦντι ἐν αὐτῷ, ἀπεθανεῖς, ὑπὸ μὲν Χριστιανων Ἑβραίων, ὑπὸ δὲ απειθών καλαφροντικώς ἥσανδρους. And it may be questioned whether 'πεντακοντ' αἰῶνας, κ. τ. λ. in Luke xxii. 24, should not be translated, "Jerusalem shall be trodden (not trodden down) by the Gentiles," and whether that prophecy does not belong to the same period as this?

‡ See Louth, on Hos. vi. 6. Prideaux, Con. i. 380, &c. Wintle's Prelim. Dissert. on Daniel; where Gen. vii. 24. viii. 3. 6. vii. 11; 1 Kings vii. 4; 1 Chron. xxvii. 1; are quoted, to shew that the ancient year was composed of 360 days, or of 12 months of 30 days each: and the learned writer refers to Sir John Marsham, Bishop Beveridge, Stranichius, &c., for proofs of other nations beside the Jews using the same method of computation. This may be seen also fully proved in Playfair's Chronology, p. 11.

§ Note, ch. ii. 10. || See note, ch. xiii. 5.
history a period of this kind, in which the pagan nations of Europe, (or, in prophetic language, of the isles, of the sea,) after being converted to the profession of the Christian name, filled the courts of the Lord’s house, and principally composed that body which we call the Christian Church. But these nations did not possess, during many centuries, a primitive faith and pure knowledge. They worshipped in the outer court, at a distance; their views of Divine truth were obscure; they were not admitted to a sight of the Ark of the Covenant, of the precious testimony of the Gospel.

The times, when the Gentiles should flow into the Church, are foretold by all the Prophets; upon which Saint Paul will be found to comment in Rom. xi. 12. 25. xv. 7—13. But the prophet Daniel has gone so far as to fix the duration of a period, in which, “the power of the holy people (the Jews) shall be scattered;” in which therefore we may suppose the Gentiles are to possess the Church. “It shall be for a time, times, and half,” which is understood to signify three years and an half: for, a time, in the prophecy of Daniel, signifies a year. But three years and an half, counted after the eastern computation, amount to forty-two months, or 1260 days, which is this very period of the Gentiles.

Ver. 3. And I will give unto my two witnesses.] There is an ellipsis in this place, after the word δωρον,

* Mosheim, i. 359. 450.
† Dan. xii. 7.
§ It will be seen plainly under note, ch. xii. 14, that the period of 1260 days is exactly the same with the time, times, and half; because they are indiscriminately applied to the selfsame period of history.

which
which may perhaps be supplied by το Πνεῦμα μου, or, as it stands in Acts ii. 17, 18, ἀπο τα Πνεῦμαίος μου: I will give to my two witnesses a portion of my Holy Spirit. This is the necessary supply to be given, in order to make them prophets. They are here called Witnesses, Μαρτυρεῖς. Such is the title of those who, having been instructed in the saving truths of the Gospel, are enabled to testify them before the world; and, unawed by the fear of sufferings, to seal the testimony with their blood. Such a witness was our Lord himself*; such were his Apostles †; and such confessors of the pure faith are promised to the true Church during the period of 1260 years, in which the Gentiles are to tread the courts of the Christian Church in ignorance and impurity. Such witnesses are to appear in small numbers: for, two is the smallest number next to unity: and this number, to bear effectual testimony, was required under the Law‡. The office of these witnesses is to be mournful; which is fully implied in their funeral garb of sackcloth $, and the period of their continuing to exercise this office, is the same which we have before noted,—1260 days; that is, 1260 years. But the life of one man will not ordinarily fill above the twentieth part of this space of time: we are therefore led to expect a succession of such prophets or martyrs, but few in number at one time.

Ver. 4. These are the two olive-trees, and the two lamp-bearers; &c.] The character of these witnesses is further expressed by their being called "the two

* Ch. i. 5; 1 Tim. vi. 13.
† Luke xxiv. 48. Acts i. 8; ii. 32; iii. 15; v. 32; x. 39.
‡ Deut. xvii. 6; 2 Cor. xiii. 1; Matt. xviii. 16.
§ Note, ch. vi. 12.
"olive-trees, and the two lamp-bearers, which stand before the Lord of the earth." We have already learned, from infallible authority*, that the Λύχυαι, the lamp-bearers, represent the Churches of Christ. But the seven Churches had forfeited the privilege in this corrupt and idolatrous period. And the newly converted Gentile Churches were not permitted to bear the holy Light: for, they are excluded from the inner temple and the altar, where the lamp-bearers properly stood. The office of bearing the Christian Light, before the Lord of the earth, is therefore committed to the two witnesses. The true light of the Gospel is exhibited by them, and commands attention, though seen through mists of surrounding ignorance and superstition. They are called also "the two olive-trees." The olive was a sacred plant, permitted to grow up, even in the temple. This figurative resemblance had been applied before to such prophets, who are described as two olive-trees spontaneously producing the golden (the pure) oil; and, after this description, are said to be "the two anointed ones, that stand by the Lord of the whole earth †." Pure Religion therefore, which is not to be found among the Gentiles at large, who frequent only the outer courts, is to be seen here with the witnesses: for, here is the inner temple; here are the lamp-bearers; the sacred olives, in the presence of God.

Ver. 5. & 6.] These witnesses are also to be endowed with that power of the prophets, expressed in

* Ch. i. 12.
† Zech. iv. 11-14. These are usually understood to signify Zoroaster and Joshua, the lights and ornaments of the ancient Church after the Babylonish captivity.
Holy Writ; "I will make my word in thy mouth "fire," says the Lord to the prophet Jeremiah, "and "this people wood, and it shall consume them.*" They are to prophesy in the power and spirit of Moses and Elijah, at whose command the rain was suspended, and the waters turned into blood †.

Ver. 7. & 8.] But at the time appointed for the period of their prophesying, at the end of the forty-two months, or 1260 days, the wild-beast, who is to ascend from the great deep, and who is more particularly described afterwards ‡, shall overcome and slay them; and shall prosecute his victory with such barbarous ferocity, as not to permit to their remains the usual privilege of burial. Their dead bodies, like those of the massacred Jews under Sennacherib §, are to lie exposed in the streets of the great city; of that idolatrous, corrupt communion, of which Sod- dom, and Egypt, and Jerusalem in its most degenerate days, stained with the blood of Jesus, were expressive types.

Ver. 9. & 10.] And the persons who belong to this wicked city, consisting of "many people, tribes, "and nations," that is, of the Gentile world, shall behold the dead bodies three days and an half, and rejoice over them. But, at the end of this period, the prophets rise from the dead, by the power of the Spirit; and are received into heaven, as their prototype Elijah, and perhaps Moses, had been before them ||.

* Jer. v. 14. See also Isa. x. 17. xi. 4; Jer. i. 9. 10; Hos. vi. 5; 2 Thess. ii. 8.
† Exod. vii. 20. James v. 17. ‡ Ch. xiii. § Tob. i. 18—24.
|| The spurious gospel, under the name of Nicodemus, represents Enoch and Elijah as destined to undergo literally what is figuratively foretold.
To proceed to the application of this prophecy: we are not to expect a literal accomplishment. For first, that would be contrary to the mode of interpretation, to which we are in general directed by the highest authority; by our Lord himself and angels, who, in explaining the "mystery" of the stars, the lamp-bearers *, the wild-beast, his heads, his horns †, teach us to look for a hidden and allegorical meaning. Secondly, such an explication becomes necessary in this particular prophecy: for, the dead bodies are represented as lying "in the streets of the great city which is called spiritually Sodom, and Ægypt, "where also their Lord was crucified." Now it is plainly, in a spiritual sense in which we are to understand the words Sodom, Ægypt, and Jerusalem;—they are used metaphorically. And further, the great city which is called Sodom, Ægypt, and Jerusalem, cannot be all of them, and therefore must be interpreted to signify some great society, or body of men, which is like them all; resembling those famous communities in the peculiar wickedness of each; and in rebellion to the most high God; for such is the character of them all. As Jerusalem, in its degenerate days, is by the prophets called Sodom and Gomorrah ‡; so the great city, in which the witnesses prophesy and suffer, is called after the name of all the above mentioned communities, because resembling all. Thirdly; the time of the accomplishment of this

foretold of the witnesses in this part of the Apocalypse. That relation is plainly borrowed from this passage. (See Evang. Nicodemi, c. 25.) And some of the Fathers, among whom is Tertullian, seem to have taken up this notion. (Tertullian. de Animâ, sect. 50.)

* Ch. i. 2. † Ch. xvii. ‡ Isa. i. 9. 10.
prophecy seems well ascertained: for, although doubts may arise concerning the exact commencement, and consequently the close of its period; yet the main part of it is plainly seen to occupy many centuries of the most degenerate and idolatrous periods of the Christian Church; at a time when the Gentile world, the European nations, professed the Christian Religion, but not in purity; a time cotemporary with the reign of the wild-beast; a period of 1260 years; a considerable part of which, at least, is now past. Yet, during this period, we cannot remark in history, that any such literal accomplishment has taken place. Nor, (fourthly,) can we expect such literal accomplishment: because in other instances, the acknowledged types under the Old Testament have not been thus literally fulfilled in the Gospel. John the Baptist is said to come in the spirit and power of Elias; nay, to be that very prophet; yet, conformably to the spirit of meekness which belongs to the Gospel, he performed no avenging miracles; he called down no fire from heaven to consume his enemies. He knew by the Holy Ghost, and better than those disciples who intreated their Master for this fire, what manner of Spirit he was of.” He knew, that the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty, through God, to the pulling down strongholds.

Thus, in a spiritual sense, the prophecy may be accomplished in the witnesses, without (1.) literal fire; without (2.) the hindrance of literal rain; or (3.) the conversion of the waters literally into blood.

* Ch. xiii. † Luke i. 17. ‡ Matt. xi. 4. Mark ix. 13. § Luke ix. 54—57. || 2 Cor. x. 4.
The first may be deemed essentially fulfilled, if their enemies, the enemies of pure Religion, are in many instances dismayed, confounded, frustrated, and subdued by the heavenly words of their mouth. The second, if the rain from heaven, which, spiritually interpreted, is the blessing from heaven upon the growth of true Religion*, is evidently suspended during their prophecy. The third, if in the contest, their enemies, instead of the peaceful enjoyment, expected to accrue from the overthrow of the witnesses, be found to have that peace troubled and discomfited, and blood and slaughter to be poured on their own heads. Add to this, that the death of the witnesses is also to be taken in a spiritual sense. Such interpretation agrees best with the succession of witnesses, which, as before observed, must necessarily take place in so long a duration of time. They do not all die, and again arise from the dead; but if their religion and the power thereof be first extinguished, and then raised again, the prophecy seems to be accomplished †.

We are then to look beyond the literal sense; and fixing our attention on the period of history, to

* Psalms lxviii. 9; lxxii. 6. Isa. lv. 10. Hos. vi. 3.
† The prophets Moses and Elijah typify, in their history, that of the two witnesses. These two prophets fled to the wilderness before the face of idolatrous kings. In a time of general depravity, they preserved, and at length miraculously restored, the light and prevalence of true Religion. They seem, both of them in their own persons, to have been exempt from death, or to have been raised immediately beyond its dominion. They both appeared at the transfiguration,—types of a glorious resurrection. Whatever is attributed to the witnesses, may be found prefigured in one, or other, or both, of these eminent prophets. But that which the prophets did literally, the witnesses perform only in a borrowed and spiritual sense.
which we seem directed, we cannot but remark a long succession of ages, commencing with the times when the western Gentiles flowed into the Church, and possessed the outer courts of the temple; when on their ignorance and superstition a corrupt and ambitious clergy began to raise the papal hierarchy, substituting pagan ceremonies and unauthorised observances in the room of primitive Religion. These, in history are called the middle ages; intervening between the bright period of Grecian and Roman literature, and the restoration of learning in the fourteenth century; between the days of primitive Christian knowledge, and the return of it at the Reformation. They are marked in ecclesiastical history by increasing ignorance, superstition, corruption, and by papal usurpation. But the progress of these foes to true Religion, and to the happiness of mankind, was opposed and retarded by the professors of a purer faith. "God did not leave himself without a witness." There arose in various parts of the great Christian republic, and at various periods, professors, and preachers of a purer religion; of a religion formed upon the precepts and promises revealed in that Sacred Book, which it was the constant endeavour of the ecclesiastical usurpers to keep out of sight. A successive train of these, though thinly scattered, was seen steadfastly to profess pure Religion, and, in defiance of the papal thunder, to hold up to admiring Christians the light of the Gospel, and the true worship of the Temple. Although beset with difficulties and dangers, from the civil and ecclesiastical powers, now united to suppress them, they stood their ground with a confidence and energy, which could arise only from such a cause; the cause of
of truth, cherished and supported by the Spirit and power of God. If they suffered, their enemies suffered also;—were frequently discomfited in the conflict, and enjoyed at last a dear-bought and only temporary victory.

Of the witnesses, in the early part of this history, we have received but imperfect accounts: and these come down to us in a very suspicious form, being transmitted chiefly in the writings of their enemies. What therefore is said in their praise, we may admit; of other parts we may doubt. It appears probable, that the Valdenses, so early as in the seventh century, had retreated to the valleys of Piedmont; there to profess and exercise a purer religion than was permitted to them elsewhere*. In the eighth and ninth and tenth centuries, the progress of popery was vigorously opposed; and private masses and pilgrimages, and the adoration of images and pictures, and other superstitions, and the doctrine of transubstantiation (now first broached), were clearly shewn, by many learned writers, to be contrary to true Christianity†. From the time of Pope Gregory VII., in the eleventh century, we see this light of Truth more frequently beaming forth, and with increasing lustre. In the twelfth century, it was widely spread by the zeal of Peter Waldus and of his followers. In the thirteenth century, the Inquisition was established to extinguish it‡, and crusades

* See Mosheim's Hist. cent. vii. part 2. ch. ii. sect. 2; also cent. xii. part 2. ch. v. sect. ii. note; and the authorities there produced.
‡ Mosheim, cent. xiii. part ii. ch. v.
were levied against those who received it. In the fourteenth century, our Wickliffe caught the light, and delivered it to many followers. John Huss and Jerome of Prague died martyrs to the cause in the succeeding century; and it shone forth among their disciples, in many parts of Europe, till the Inquisition, with fire and fagot, and by obstinate perseverance, seemed at length to have obtained the object of so much bloody persecution; to have extinguished the light of pure Religion: so that at the commencement of the next century, the Roman pontiff appeared to enjoy his usurpation in tranquil security*. The witnesses were heard no more; pure Religion appeared dead with them; their enemies enjoyed a temporary triumph. But suddenly, to the astonishment and confusion of the papal world, they behold this heresy (as they termed it) revive, "a spirit of life from God enters into it,—it stands upon its feet;"—it becomes immortal, and leads the way to heaven. Thus the revival of pure Religion in spirit and in power, placed by the Reformation beyond the reach of its enemies, seems expressed by the resurrection of the witnesses. Thus, in more early times, our Lord's Religion had appeared extinct and buried with him; but after three days, with him it rose again; was rekindled in the faint and sunken hearts of his disciples; by whose preaching it was spread rapidly through the nations, disclosing universally, and in its purity, a knowledge of the true God and of a heavenly Redeemer.

The 1260 years preceding the Reformation, were strongly marked by a gradual corruption, and by the darkened face of Christianity: but the light of

* Mosheim's Hist. cent. xvi. ch. 1. sect. 1; ch. ii. sect. 1.
genuine Religion was seen frequently to beam through the prevailing mists of superstition; to beam at intervals, and for a short time; and, many periods are pointed out by commentators, when this true light, overclouded, broke forth again at the end of three years and an half*. These seem to be so many partial and particular resurrections of pure Religion, again to be buried and lost for a time. Such a dark period preceded the reformation preached by Luther. "The "rulers of the darkness of this world †, had then apparently extinguished the light of Evangelical Religion; but while they were enjoying their triumph, the holy light rekindles; it rises, as it were, from the dead; by Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, Zuingleus, and their followers, the Gospel of Christ is produced to the world; is perpetuated, by the art of printing; becomes the rule of worship and of duty, and points the true way to Heaven.

Ver. 13.] But this important change could not take place without great commotions. In prophetic language, "there was a great earthquake ‡." The ecclesiastical edifice of papal Rome was shaken to its centre; among the reformers, some injudicious and guilty excesses, some folly and fanaticism, were seen to disgrace so good a cause.§. The appeal of the divided Christian world was to the sword; and war was accompanied and followed by religious persecu-

* Answering prophetically to the three days and half foretold. See them collected by Bp. Newton, Dissert. on the Proph. vol. iii, 140—146. Svo edit.
† Eph. vi. 12.  ‡ Note, ch. vi. 12.
§ History has recorded such, in the war of the peasants in Germany; in the excesses of the Anabaptists at Munster; in the History of the Reformation in Scotland.
tion. In the earthquake, says the prophecy, "the "tenth part of the city fell." This can be no other than a tenth of "the great city" before mentioned, (ver. 8.) corrupt, after the abominations of Sodom, of Egypt, of Jerusalem in her most degenerate days; containing, at the same time, "the Gentiles," (ver. 2.) containing "many people, and tribes, and languages, and nations," (ver. 9.) who tread the Lord's courts, profess his religion, but are not admitted to the interior of his temple, (ver. 2). This description comprises the whole visible community of the Christian Church, afterwards divided into many cities*. In this "great "city," the edifices are shaken, and a tenth of them is seen to fall. Most of these buildings were "the "work of men's hands;" the foundation indeed was Christ and his doctrines. But on this foundation† strange edifices had been erected, by the ignorance and pride of superstition: many such are shaken by the reformation, and fall. Yet all such buildings are not thrown down in this earthquake. "Babylon the great," a conspicuous part, at least, of this great city, will be shaken again, and fall utterly. (Ch. xvi. 19. xviii. 22. †)

In this "earthquake there were slain names of men "seven thousand." Seven, in prophetical language, is an indefinite number; otherwise so many thousand would seem to bear but a small proportion to the im-

* Ch. xvi. 19.
† Described by Saint Paul, 1 Cor. iii. 10—15; Rom. xv. 20; Eph. ii. 20.
‡ The great city is certainly more than Babylon, and seems to comprehend her; for in ch. xvi. 19, the great city is divided by the earthquake "into three parts, and the cities of the nations fall, and Ba-
"bylon the great is remembered before God."
mense population of so great a city. The Reformation, of the sixteenth century, though infinitely beneficial to the interests of true Religion and Humanity, was not attended with the same saving effects to all professed Christians. Liberty, in some produced licentiousness; in some, fanaticism; in some, perhaps, infidelity. But to the much greater part of the Christian world it proved highly salutary. "They became afraid, and gave glory to the God of heaven." Many nations withdrew themselves entirely from the corrupt, idolatrous worship of the church of Rome; and modelled their religion after the word of God and the practice of the primitive ages. And even they who adhered to the papal communion, incited by the example of the Protestants, began to cultivate, if not in their formularies, yet in their lives and practice, a less impure and corrupt religion. Some nations, acknowledging the papal name, have been enabled to shake off a considerable part of the papal yoke; to renounce the authority of the Court of Rome in their civil concerns; and a prospect is thus opened of their entire delivery from this audacious usurpation.

Such is the interpretation, which had presented itself to me, respecting the prophecy of the Witnesses; and it has received considerable accession from the commentators whom I had afterwards opportunity to consult; whose notions in general accord with those now delivered. Yet, upon a calm review, I must confess myself not very confident of complete success. All the symbols of the prophecy, especially in the latter part, will not be found to be fulfilled so completely in the history which we exhibit,
as should reasonably be expected. And therefore I am inclined to agree with Bishop Newton, that the final conflict of the beast with the witnesses, their death and resurrection, may be yet to come. The 1260 years, beginning from the Saracene invasion, are not yet elapsed; and in a prophecy, of which parts only are yet fulfilled, there must remain difficulties.

Ver. 14. *The second woe is past; &c.*] The second woe appears, from this passage and its context, to be under the sixth Trumpet; and to be included in the period of 1260 years, which contains the greater part of the Mahometan and Papal times. But where is the third woe? Certainly not under that Trumpet; for it is here stated to "come, when the second woe is ended." But this woe ends with the completion of the sixth Trumpet: for, immediately after this declaration, that the third woe is coming, the seventh Trumpet sounds. The times, in which we now live, seem to be those of the latter end of the sixth Trumpet. I fear therefore that we must be led to conclude that the third woe or last dreadful conflict, in which the Christian cause shall suffer, is yet to come. More will be said on this subject, when the prophecy, which seems to foretel it, shall be explained.

† See note, ch. xvi. 13, towards the end.
And the seventh angel sounded; and there were loud voices in heaven, saying, "The kingdom of the world is become our Lord's, and his Anointed's; and he shall reign for ever and ever." And the twenty-four elders, who were sitting before God upon their thrones, fell upon their faces, and worshipped God, saying; "We give thanks to thee, O Lord, the Almighty God, which art and wast, and art to come; because thou hast taken unto thee thy great power, and hast reigned. And the nations were angry, and

The Sounding of the seventh Trumpet.
Ver. 15. And the seventh angel sounded, and there
were loud voices in heaven, saying; &c.] The sound
of the seventh Trumpet was become an object of ex-
pectation. It was the last Trumpet, the sabbatical
one, which, after a long period of warfare, should
bring rest and peace to the Church. The angel had
solemnly declared, that "in the days of the voice of
the seventh angel, the mystery of God should be
finished." Immediately therefore as the sound of
this Trumpet is heard, heavenly voices hail the happy
time, and announce the triumphant reign of God and

* Ch. x. 7.

thy wrath is come, and
the time of the dead,
that they should be
judged, and that thou
shouldest give reward
unto thy servants the
prophets, and to the
Saints, and to those
who fear thy name,
to the small and to
the great; and to
destroy those that
destroy the earth."
of his Anointed. The twenty-four elders join the heavenly chorus, anticipating the joyful event, even before it is disclosed in prophetical vision. Thus the scene is suddenly removed from earth to heaven; where the same apparatus, and the same heavenly ministers appear, surrounding the throne of God, as in the fourth chapter.

Ver. 18. The nations were wrathful.] This agrees with the opening of that august prophecy of our Lord's kingdom, in the second Psalm: "Why do the nations so furiously rage?" &c. The same subject is also magnificently displayed in the 110th Psalm.

Ib. The season of the dead, for judgment to take place.] The received translation expresses that the dead are to be judged at this time. But this does not appear the whole import of the original: for, before the great day of retribution, when the literally dead shall be raised from their graves, and appear before the judgment-seat, (as in ch. xxii. 12.) another kind of judgment is to be expected; that by which the inequalities in the distribution of justice are, under the earthly reign of Christ, to be rectified. Крив тов елвст екауеле, "He shall utter judgment to the nations," was the prophetic designation of our Lord*. "All judgment was committed to him" by the Father†; and his right to exercise it, took place from his crucifixion‡: but this judgment was suspended for a time, ἣν προς ἐμεν ἐφηθη §, and was not to be exercised in plenitude of power, till the times of the Gentiles should be fulfilled; and this judgment, though not perfected in all its parts before

the great and last day, (which is also comprehended under this Trumpet,) yet, is first to be displayed, in the destruction of the corrupt worldly powers, and the restoration of a purer religion and morality. This display of Christ's judgment on earth we shall yet behold under this Trumpet; and the jubilant songs of the heavenly choir evidently refer to it. "The "time of the dead," may likewise signify (in that metaphorical sense in which the word death, &c. is frequently used) the time when pure Religion, dead and buried, as it had been with the witnesses, shall revive and flourish. But no final opinion can be passed on an unfulfilled prophecy, before the event shall direct the interpretation.

Ver. 19. The ark of his covenant was seen in his Temple.] "The Ark of the Covenant" (the sacred coffer, so called, because it contained the tables of the Covenant, into which God had deigned to enter with the ancient Church) was deposited in the "ta-"bernacle, called the holiest of all *. This interior part of the temple, accessible under the law to none but the high-priest, is now opened; and the ark is exhibited to view. Jesus Christ, the only High-priest, and Mediator of the New Covenant, who had here deposited his New Covenant of Mercy, even "the everlasting Gospel," who had broken down the partition excluding the Gentiles from its benefits; who alone could enter the Holy of Holies; grants it to be exhibited. As the walls of the idolatrous Jericho fell before the ark of the Old Covenant, so will the corrupt Babylon before this. But that which seems more immediately to be signified under this exhibition, is the restoration of the Gospel; of the Christian Religion,

* Heb. ix. 1—5.
in its purity. The Gentiles, from the entrance of the greater part of them into the Church, had not yet enjoyed the opportunity of knowing and practising a pure Religion. They had trodden the courts, but had never been admitted into the interior, of the Temple*. From the period of the Reformation, a view of the Ark of the Covenant was afforded to them.

Ib. And there were lightnings and voices; &c.] Such apparatus accompanied the promulgation of the old Covenant from Mount Sinai†; and the same attends the re-production of the New Covenant. The scene is now in heaven‡; and the voices, &c. seem to proceed thence. But their effect must be intended for the earth; and the hail would probably fall there. So that σείσμος (omitted in some copies) may be translated earthquake. And the whole seems to express commotions, which must be dreadfully felt when the wrath of God, disclosed by this Trumpet, (ver. 18.) shall break forth upon the usurpers of his power. This is only a preparatory scene, and therefore affords only a general view of the wrath of God, which is seen especially poured out in the vision of the Vials, contained also under this Trumpet.

* Ch. xi. 2. † Exod. xii. 16, &c. ‡ See note, ver. 15.
PART IV.
SECTION II.

The Woman and the Dragon.

CHAPTER xii.

1 And a great sign was seen in heaven; a woman clothed around with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars.

2 And, being with child, she cries out, suffering the pangs of childbirth, and painfully labouring to bring forth.

3 And there was seen another sign in heaven; and, behold, a great fire-coloured dragon, having seven heads and ten horns, and upon his heads seven diadems.

4 And his tail dreweth along the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth: and the dragon stood before the woman, which was ready to be delivered, for to devour her child as soon as it was born. And she brought forth a man-child, who was to rule all nations with a rod.
brought forth a male-child, who is about to rule as a shepherd all the nations with an iron rod. And her child was caught up to God and to his throne.

6 And the woman fled into the wilderness, where she has there a place prepared of God, that they should there nourish her a thousand two hundred and sixty days. And there was war in heaven; Michael and his angels for to fight with the dragon: and the dragon fought and his 8 angels, And prevailed not; neither was their place found any more in heaven. And the great dragon was cast down, that ancient serpent, who is called the Devil and Satan, who deceiveth the whole world; he was cast down to the earth; and his angels were cast 10 down with him. And I heard a loud voice in heaven, saying; "Now is come the "Salvation, and the "Power and the King-

of iron: and her child was caught up unto God, and to his throne.

6 And the woman fled into the wilderness, where she hath a place prepared of God, that they should feed her there a thousand two hundred and three-score days. And there was war in heaven; Michael and his angels fought against the dragon, and the dragon fought and his angels:

8 And prevailed not, neither was their place found any more in heaven. And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world: he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him. And I heard a loud voice saying in heaven, Now is come salvation and strength, and the kingdom of our God, and the power of his Christ: for the accuser of our brethren is cast down, which accused them before our God day 11 and night. And they
11 And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceives the whole world; he was cast into the bottomless pit, and shut up, and his deceivings are gone into all the world, to cause the inhabitants of the earth to keep their peace, until a certain time, and a certain hour, until those things which must be, be done.  
12 And I heard a voice from heaven, saying, Be true to God, and he will keep thee: and I heard another voice saying, Awake, awake, put on thy power,  
13 O my people, that art called by my name.  
14 Therefore rejoice, ye heavens, and ye that dwell in them: Woe to the inhabitants of the earth, and of the sea: for the devil is come down unto you, having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time.  
15 Therefore do thou make up thy strength, O woman, Thrice; for the great dragon, which hath power to deceive the whole world, is cast down to thee.  
16 And the devil, and his angels, are cast down into the bottomless pit, to be cast up no more.  
17 And I heard a voice from heaven, saying, Woe to the inhabiters of the earth, and of the sea: for the devil is come down unto you, having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time.  
18 Therefore do thou make up thy strength, O woman, Thrice; for the great dragon, which hath power to deceive the whole world, is cast down to thee.  
19 And the devil, and his angels, are cast down into the bottomless pit, to be cast up no more.  
20 And I heard a voice from heaven, saying, Woe to the inhabiters of the earth, and of the sea: for the devil is come down unto you, having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time.  
21 Therefore do thou make up thy strength, O woman, Thrice; for the great dragon, which hath power to deceive the whole world, is cast down to thee.  
22 And the devil, and his angels, are cast down into the bottomless pit, to be cast up no more.  
23 And I heard a voice from heaven, saying, Woe to the inhabiters of the earth, and of the sea: for the devil is come down unto you, having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time.  
24 Therefore do thou make up thy strength, O woman, Thrice; for the great dragon, which hath power to deceive the whole world, is cast down to thee.  
25 And the devil, and his angels, are cast down into the bottomless pit, to be cast up no more.  
26 And I heard a voice from heaven, saying, Woe to the inhabiters of the earth, and of the sea: for the devil is come down unto you, having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time.  
27 Therefore do thou make up thy strength, O woman, Thrice; for the great dragon, which hath power to deceive the whole world, is cast down to thee.  
28 And the devil, and his angels, are cast down into the bottomless pit, to be cast up no more.  
29 And I heard a voice from heaven, saying, Woe to the inhabiters of the earth, and of the sea: for the devil is come down unto you, having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time.  
30 Therefore do thou make up thy strength, O woman, Thrice; for the great dragon, which hath power to deceive the whole world, is cast down to thee.  
31 And the devil, and his angels, are cast down into the bottomless pit, to be cast up no more.
Ver. 1. *A great sign—in heaven.*] The word σημεῖον is used here to signify a type, a symbol, or figurative representation; and occurs in the same sense in other parts of Scripture*. The verb σημαινώ, as used in ch. i. 1., includes the same meaning. The scene of this representation continues yet in heaven. We are prepared to expect under this Trumpet the description of that conflict and victory, by which the Christian Church will be placed in security from her enemies. And in order to exhibit this *in all its parts*, the Holy Spirit begins the representation from the earliest times. To enable us to understand things future,

* Matt. xii. 38. xvi. 1—4. Rom. iv. 11.

| might cause her to be | carried away by the | river. And the earth | helped the woman; and the earth opened its mouth, and swallowed up the river which the dragon cast out of his 17th mouth. And the dragon was enraged against the woman, and went away, to make war with the remnant of her offspring; those who keep the commandments of God, and hold the testimony of Jesus. | up the flood which the dragon cast out of his 17th mouth. And the dragon was wroth with the woman, and went to make war with the remnant of her seed, which keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ, | 15 Kai εἶδεν ὅ ὄρος ἐκ τοῦ σύμωνον αὐτῷ ὄμισον τῆς γυνακίς ἐνδέρ ἢ καλλιεργητήρας τοῖς ταῦταις ποιημένον πνεῦμα; 16 Kai ἐκδοθεὶσαν γῆ τῇ γυνακί, καὶ ἐφέσεν ἢ γῆ τῷ σώματι αὐτῆς, καὶ καλεσμένος τὸν σύμωνον ὅ ἐξελεύθερος ὁ δράκων ἐν τῷ σύμωνος αὐτῆς. 17 ὅσκαλός ἐστι. Καὶ ἐγέρθη ὁ δράκων ἐπὶ τῇ γυνακί, καὶ ἐναρκώντας τὸ κεφαλῆς μείλα τῶν λοιμῶν τοῦ σύμωνον αὐτῆς, τῶν τυφωμένων τὰς ἰστολάς τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἐξόντων τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ. |
past events are first represented under the same kind of allegory.

Ibid. A Woman.] A woman, in figurative language, is used to signify a city, a state, a body politic. Such is the daughter of Tyre, of Babylon, of Jerusalem;† the latter of whom, when virtuous, is honoured with the high appellation of the espoused of God‡; when wicked and idolatrous, she is styled the harlot, the adulteress. This method, of representing nations and cities under the symbol of women, was copied from the eastern by the western world. Rome is represented upon the ancient medals under the form of a woman. Britannia appears under the same emblem. There is, among the Roman coins, one of Vespasian, upon the reverse of which is a captive woman, hanging her mournful head, and the inscription is Judaea. She is there depicted, as by the master-hand, in Lament. i. 1—4, and in the 137th Psalm, where the daughter of Babylon and the captive daughter of Jerusalem, are contrasted. But the woman, the city now represented, is of heavenly origin, “whose builder and maker is God,” of which “Christ is the corner stone; the New, the heavenly Jerusalem, the mother of us all.” She is, in short, the Church of Christ,§

* Psalms xlv. 12; cxxxvii. 8. 2 Kings xix. 21.
† Isaiah liv. 1. 5. lxvi. 6—14. Jer. xxxi. 4. 2 Cor. xi. 2.
‡ See notes, ch. ii. 20. xvii. 1.
§ Matt. xvi. 18. Gal. iv. 26, 27. 1 Cor. iii. 9, &c. 2 Cor. v. 1—3; vi. 16. Eph. ii. 21; iii. 9; iv. 12. 16. Col. ii. 7. 1 Tim. iii. 15. 1 Pet. ii. 3—7—10. Heb. iii. 6. xi. 10; xii. 22; xiii. 14. Rev. iii. 12; xxi. 2.

Methodius, one of the most ancient commentators on the Apocalypse, who wrote about the year 290, applies this symbol to the Christian Church. (See the commentary of And. Cæs. in loc.) In the Shepherd of Hermas, and in the apocryphal Esdras, a woman represents the Church.
and is to be known as such; not only by these Script

tural marks, but by the seed, or offspring, attributed to her. For, after she has produced the great Shepherd of the Christian flock, "Christ the first fruits," the rest of her offspring are said to be, "those who keep the commandments of God, and "hold the testimony of Jesus." (ver. 17.) But who can be entitled to this character, unless the true sons of the Christian Church? The mother therefore is the Christian Church. She is represented as arrayed in the most pure and splendid light; the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, those acknowledged symbols of pure knowledge, and of dignity, are employed to adorn her. The lustre of her attire; the elevation of her throne, expressed by the second luminary being her footstool; her crown, not of diamonds or rubies, but of the stars of heaven; all imply the greatness of the personage, and her high acceptation with the King of Heaven. In the vision of Joseph*, which displays the future glories of the patriarchal family; of that family which was then the Church of God; in which all the nations of the earth were to be blessed; the same symbols are employed. The Sun, the Moon, the twelve Stars, represent the then infant Church. In her original purity, she was thus splendid; and when purified from her corruptions, she will again appear in splendour †.

Ver. 2.] But pure and splendid as she appears,

* Gen. xxxvii. 9.
† Ch. xxi. &c. The reader is referred to the following passages of Scripture, in which the Sun is used as an emblem of the Church:—Judg. v. 31; Psalm lxxvii. 56; Isa. xxx. 26; Mal. iv. 2; Matt, xiii. 43. The twelve stars seem to allude to the division of the Church under twelve Patriarchs, and afterwards under twelve Apostles.
(and such she was in the patriarchal and prophetic times, compared with the idolatrous nations surrounding her,) she is not complete, until she can produce that seed, promised to the woman from the earliest times, which was ordained “to bruise the serpent’s head.” She is now represented as labouring with this momentous birth. And such was the situation of the Church from the time of Adam, the first man, (to whom the seed was promised,) to that of Christ, the second man, “the promised seed,” “the Lord from heaven.” The Scriptural writers express, under the same images, the earnest and unsatisfied desire of the ancient Church to possess the promised seed.

Ver. 3. Another sign in Heaven.] As the Church of God had been represented by symbols in the two last verses; so are now her enemies. And first that ancient enemy who assailed her, in the days of our first parents, under the form of a serpent †. For this dragon is expressly asserted to be the same, “the ancient serpent, who is called the Devil and Satan ‡.” He appears in great worldly power, such as is attributed to him in other parts of Scripture, where he is

‡ The devil, Διαβόλος being his name in Greek, Satan in Hebrew. See below, ver. 9. and ch. xxi. 2. This was seen clearly by the most ancient commentators, δήμαρχος δὲ μεγας, κ. τ. λ. ὁ διαβόλος ἡμών. The same infernal agent seems also to have been specified by Melito Bishop of Sardis one of the seven churches; who, in his work upon the Apocalypse, treated in particular concerning this opposer of the Church. For the title of the book (which is the only part of it now extant) was, χειρὶ τῷ Διαβόλῳ καὶ τῷ ἀποκάλυψεν Ἰωάννης. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. iv. c. 26. Moreover, in a passage of Theophilus, bishop of Antioch in 168, which is quoted by Lardner as alluding to this passage of the Apocalypse, the Devil is called “Satan, and the Serpent, and the Dragon.” (Cred. Gosp. art. Theophilus.)
called "the Prince of this world, the God of the world, the Prince of the power of the Air." This power is here expressed by (1.) his size, which is great; (2.) his colour, which is fiery; (3.) his heads, which are seven; a large, complete, indefinite number; and these heads are so many mountains, or lofty seats of strength; for, as in ch. v, the seven horns and seven eyes of the Lamb denote his infinite extent of power and of knowledge; so, the seven heads, or mountains, of the dragon express an immense command of worldly power; such as he offered to our invincible Lord; (4.) his ten horns: for, horns are ever emblematical of strength; and ten, as well as seven, is a large indefinite number, becoming so by a different mode of calculation. But the use of the number ten in this place, seems to have a further reference, even to those passages of the Apocalypse, and of the prophet Daniel, wherein are to be seen just so many kings or kingdoms, inimical to the Church of Christ, and promoting the interests of the adversary. The dragon is to have great sway among the kings of the earth, whom he beguiles by the offer of that worldly power, which was rejected by the Son of God. This interpretation is further confirmed by observing, (5.) that his heads are crowned with diadems like those of eastern potentates. And, lastly,

* John xii. 31. 2 Cor. iv. 4. Eph. ii. 2.
† See note, ch. vi. 4. †† See note, ch. i. 4.
‡ See note, ch. xvii. ch. viii. 8. § Matt. iv. 9.
¶ See note, ch. v. 6. || See note, ch. ii. 4.

†† The diadem was the crown, or mark of kingly power, adorning the eastern monarchs. It was commonly a broad fillet, or turban, richly set with jewels. The radiated crown was not worn by the Greek monarchs till about the second century. (Pinkerton on Medals, vol. i. p. 173.)
his tail, his ignoble and brutish part, drags after him, as with a net, a third part of the stars of heaven. This may denote the original apostacy of those angels, who, corrupted by their rebellious leader, "kept not their first estate;" or, it may signify the artful machinations, by which he made the ministers of Religion subservient to his designs; or, it may be understood to express both these apostacies; for the arch-fiend has succeeded in accomplishing such rebellions both in heaven and on earth.

Ver. 4. & 5.] Thus arrayed in formidable power, the infernal spirit is prepared for the occasion, "seeking to devour" that offspring who is ordained "to bruise his head;" but "whose heel," whose less vital part, he is permitted for a time to attack successfully. Such success does not satisfy his destructive rage; he aims at the total overthrow, the utter extinction of the seed, by whom the race of men is to be saved from his envenomed jaws.—For, the male-child now born is evidently our Lord Jesus Christ; who is not only, the only-begotten Son of God, but the first-born of the Church, which is called after his name; for which right of inheritance it was necessary that he should be a male. To him alone belongs the description, "the great Shepherd of Israel, who is to rule all the nations with an iron rod." This is the Divine Shepherd's crook, dreadful to the enemies of the fold, and to the disobedient of the flock; but a sure protection to the "sheep,

* See note, ch. ix. 1—12. † cequi. ‡ Jude 6.
§ See note, ch. i. 16. || Gen. iii. 15.
¶ Rom. viii. 29. Col. i. 15, 16. Heb. xii. 23.
** See note, ch. ii. 27. also Matt. ii. 6. Rev. xix. 15; vii. 17. Isai. xl. 11. Psalm xxiii.

"who
who obey his voice*. From the whole tenour of Scripture, and from internal evidence taken from the prophecy †, this character and description is that of our Lord, and can belong to none but him. He is now represented to be in imminent danger from the jaws of the dragon; who, having to contend only with a helpless woman, and her new-born infant, seems assured of success. And thus did it appear to "the rulers of the darkness of this world," when they seized and crucified the Lord of Life. But then, as here represented, he "was caught up to God and "to his throne." He was raised from the grave, and ascended into heaven, for this very purpose, "to sit "upon his throne, at the right hand of God ‡."

Ver. 6. And the woman fled into the wilderness; &c.] By referring to Isa. xli. 19, 20; Ezek. xix. 30. xx. 35—39; Hos. ii. 14; it will appear, that the word wilderness denotes a place, bare of sustenance, where food, miraculously given, is necessary for the support of life; but where such miraculous support, united with the correction which is the effect of a desolate and perilous situation, produces admirable fruits of religious improvement. Religion abode with the Israelites, in their tents in the wilderness, during forty years of miraculous preservation. She fled again to the wilderness with the prophet Elijah, was there miraculously supported, and thence was restored to the land from which she had been driven §. Thus the Church of Christ, (for after the birth of the promised seed, the woman is become such,) persecuted by the devil and his agents, flees for refuge to obscure retreats; and is there miraculously preserved.

* John x. 3. 14. 16. † Ch. ji. 27; vii. 17; xix. 15.
‡ Acts ii. 30. Heb. viii. 1. § 1 Kings xvii. xviii.
during the time appointed,—1260 years; which accords exactly with the period of the witnesses, who, in mournful garbs, execute their prophetic office: but of this accordance more will be said elsewhere. It is sufficient in this place to observe, that by different shocks under the preceding Trumpets, in which Satan is the prime agent, pure Religion had been almost driven out of the world. And during the same centuries, in which she has been seen desolate with the Witnesses, she had existence only in some retired situations, where with difficulty she kept herself from annihilation, or, to speak more appositely, was miraculously preserved.

Ver. 7. *And there was war in heaven.*] This passage, beginning with verse 7, and ending with verse 14, should be read (as it appears to me) in parenthesis. Reasons will be produced in commenting on the 14th verse. A transaction, which had happened long before the history related in the present scene, but strongly connected with it, seems to be introduced. And therefore the word ἔγερθο might be translated "there had been," being used in the same sense as in Matt. xxviii. 2, where Archbishop Newcome has pointed out the propriety of this translation. This parenthesis contains explanatory matter of great importance; and seems to have been exhibited in a separate scene. For, the conflict between the dragon and the woman in the wilderness is suspended, while the battle in heaven is described; and is afterwards resumed, exactly where the narration had been broken off. We learn from it, that previously to the conflict with the Church of God upon earth, the same arch-

* Note, ch. xiii. 5.  
† Ch. xi. 1—15.  
‡ Harm. of Gosp. p. 154.
fiend and his angels, had carried on a conflict in heaven. It is the same conflict which is alluded to in Jude 6. & 2 Pet. ii. 4.

In this warfare against heaven, he is defeated, and, with his followers, utterly expelled from the mansions of the blest*. But he is still permitted, for a season, to exhibit his rage on earth. This war in heaven is to be understood in a spiritual sense, as well as the war upon earth. The tempter seduced the spirits above from their happy state of obedience to the divine laws. The leading angel who, in the prophetic language of Scripture, is said to fight against Satan in behalf of the Church, is called Michael; the import of whose name is Who-like-God? He is by some commentators represented to be the Messiah himself†. This can scarcely be allowed; but he certainly fights under the banner of Christ; for who can be said to have overcome Satan in heaven, but the Messiah, who, before the foundation of the world, accepted the office by which he was to be overcome‡? And as Christ is the head of the Church, not only on earth, but in heaven, whither the power of his creation and of his redemption is said to extend, and where angels and principalities are subjected to him§: so there appear to be two rebellions against his power and name; the one in heaven, the other on earth. Both are comprehended in Milton's sublime poem.

Ver. 14. To the woman were given two wings of the great eagle; &c.] To be borne on eagle's wings, signifies, (as will appear by consulting Exod. xix. 4.

* τευχος ἡ τηγαν, Dan. ii. 35. Rev. xx. ii.
† Mede's Discourses.
‡ Compare Dan. xii. 1. Luke x. 18.
§ Eph. i. 10; iii. 15. Phil. ii. 10. Col. i. 16. 20.
Isa. xl. 31. Psalm xci. 4.) 'divine, miraculous deliverance. Who can pursue the eagle through the air and take from him what is committed to his charge? This verse, compared with the sixth, at the end of which the parenthesis is supposed to begin, will be found to contain nearly the self-same information, varied only in expression.

VER. 6.
1. "The woman fled into "the wilderness:—
2. "Where she has there, "a place prepared of "God:—
3. "That they should "there nourish her a "thousand two hun- "dred and sixty "days."

VER. 14.
1. "That she might flee "into the wilder- "ness."
2. "To her place," to con- vey her to which she has "given to her "two wings of the "great eagle."
3. "Where she is nourish- ed there a time and "times, and half a "time, from the pre- "sence of the ser- "pent."

1. The expression in the first clause is the same, varied only by the use of another mood and tense, rendered necessary by the new context.

2. The second clauses have only this difference, that the miraculous deliverance is pointed out in one, as consisting in the divine security of the place; in the other, from the divine conveyance to it; both are effected by the same miraculous succour, and in the same place.

3. It
3. It has been already shewn *, that the 1260 days, and the time, times, and half, are exactly the same period. Thus, comparing these two passages, we must acknowledge the parenthesis which disjoined them: the history contained in which, being now delivered, we are again brought to the same place, whence the narration had digressed, to the conflict on earth between the dragon and the woman.

Ver. 15. *Water like a river.*] Overwhelming calamity is often represented as a torrent, or flood of water, bearing down all before it †, from which, however, the favour of God delivers his servants. Such a flood the adversary now raises against the Church; the floods and waves of worldly power, stirring up the madness of the rulers and of the people, (which is expressed by the same imagery, in Psalms lxxxix. 9; lxv. 7. ‡) against the cause of true Religion. Such were the persecutions under the heathen emperors; but the whelming torrent did not prevail against the Church of Christ. Remarkable instances occur in history, wherein Christianity, on the point of being utterly annihilated, was delivered by the unexpected interposition of earthly power, and the political movements of earthly potentates. There is a memorable instance of this in the time of the Diocletian persecution, when the Christian Religion, apparently overwhelmed by its enemies, obtained a wonderful deliverance from the extraordinary proceedings of Constantine §. Modern history presents many

* Note, ch. xi. 2. † Psalm cxxiv. Is. xvii. 12. Jer. xii. 5.
‡ See also Rev. xvii. 15. where the waters are explained by the angel to signify “people, and multitudes, and nations, and languages.”
such occurrences, as may be seen in Bishop Newton's Dissertation on the Prophecies*. But perhaps these more properly belong to the warfare, which the dragon is to wage against the rest of the offspring of the woman. And the floods are to be referred to the early persecutions of Christianity, prevented from destroying her by the favour which the Christians enjoyed with all people†.

Ver. 17. The remnant of her offspring.] Christ is the first-born; the first-fruits of the Church‡; and first only among brethren§; for to his faithful servants he hath given the privilege of being joint-heirs with him. Such are they, "who keep the commandments of God, and hold the testimony of Jesus;" Christians in faith and in practice. Against these, during the season permitted to him, the arch-fiend makes war; and this war is now about to be described. He succeeds for a time: but in the end, the Church must prevail. Such was the original designation of Divine Providence by prophecy;—"thy seed shall possess the gate of his enemies:" and in ch. vi. 2, the Church goes out conquering, and for to conquer. The time of this warfare, carried on by the dragon against the rest of the offspring of the woman, by the devil and his agents, is to be dated, as it appears to me, from the days of the emperor Constantine; when the arch-enemy, having tried in vain to overwhelm the Church by his torrents of worldly power, began to proceed against her by a more covert and sure method; began to corrupt her by the splendour and riches, which she was now permitted to enjoy: and

* Vol. iii. 8vo edit. p. 217. † Acts ii. 47. ‡ Col. i. 15. 1 Cor. xv. 20. Heb. xii. 23. § Rom. viii. 29. ¶ Gen. xxii. 17.
thus did he succeed in producing her most successful enemy out of her own bosom. This becomes the subject of the next chapter.

On consulting the writings of the commentators most approved in this country, I find, that by the dragon is generally understood the pagan and persecuting power of Imperial Rome. But, I trust, a few observations will shew the fallacy of this notion.

Where an interpretation is expressly given in the vision, as in ch. i. 20; v. 6, 9; xvii. 7. &c.; that interpretation must be used as the key to the mystery, in preference to all interpretations suggested by the imagination of man. Now in the 9th verse of this chapter such an interpretation is presented; the dragon is there expressly declared to be "that ancient serpent," (ἀρχιδράκων, δ’ αἰωνιοί, ἀρχιδράκων,) called "the Devil;" known by the name of Διαβόλος in the Greek, and of Satan in the Hebrew; "who deceiveth the whole world." Here are his names, and his acknowledged character. No words can more completely express them. No Roman emperor, nor succession of emperors, can answer to this description. The same dragon appears again in ch. xx. 2. and, (as it were, to prevent mistake,) he is there described in the very same words. But this re-appearance of the same dragon is in a very late period of the Apocalyptic history; long after the expiration of the 1260 days, or years; and even after the wild-beast and false prophet, (who derive their power from the dragon during this period,) are come to their end*. And the

* Ch. xix. 20.

† *
dragon is upon the scene long after these times, and continues in action even at the end of another long period, a period of a thousand years*. He there pursues his ancient artifices, “deceiving the nations,” even till his final catastrophe, in ch. xx. 10, when the warfare of the Church is finished. Can this dragon then be an emperor of Rome? or any race or dynasty of emperors? Can he be any other than that ancient and eternal enemy of the Christian Church, who in this, as in all other Scriptural accounts, is represented as the original contriver of all the mischief which shall befall it? In this drama, he acts the same consistent part, from beginning to end. He is introduced to early notice, as warring against the Church†; as possessing a seat, or throne of power, in a great city inimical to the Christians‡; as the author of doctrines corruptive of Religion, which are called “the depths of Satan.” The evils brought on the Church under the Trumpets, particularly the third and fifth, are ascribed to him. In the succeeding conflicts, the Church is attacked by his agents; by the wild-beast and false prophet§, who derive their power from him; and at length he himself is described, as leading the nations against the camp of the Saints||. Nothing appears more plain than the meaning of this symbol. The only appearances which may seem to favour the application of it to Imperial Rome are, the seven crowned heads, and the ten horns of the dragon. But the number seven is of great universality: and although seven heads, or seven mountains, are in another prophecy

* Ch. xx. 7.  † Ch. ii. 10. 13.  ‡ Ch. ii. 24.  § Ch. xiii.  || Ch. xx. 9.
applied to Rome in a particular sense, which may properly designate that city; yet, they have a much more extended and general signification, expressive of the immense influence of Satan in the councils of this world. In a particular sense also, the seven mountains and ten horns of the latter Roman empire are fitly attributed to Satan, because during the period of 1260 years, and perhaps beyond it, he makes use of the Roman empire, its capital city, and ten kings or kingdoms, as the instruments of his successful attack on the Christian Church. Joseph Mede, when he had no favourite hypothesis immediately in view, clearly saw and acknowledged the obvious interpretation of this symbol; and, in one of his learned sermons, has justly described the parties engaged in this spiritual conflict: 1. Satan, and his angels; 2. the woman and her seed*. If the Roman emperors are at all concerned in this warfare, it is only as subministrant agents of this arch-enemy of the Church. The dragon therefore appears to me, as he did to Venerable Bede, eleven centuries ago, to be "Diasbolus, potentiæ terreni regni armatus†." The worldly agents, whom he principally employs to carry on the warfare thus begun, will be described in the ensuing chapter.

* Mede's Works, p. 236.
† Bedæ Com. in loc., "the Devil, armed with the power of worldly dominion."
And I was stationed on the sand of the sea.  

1 And I saw a wild-beast rising up out of the sea, having ten horns and seven heads, and upon his ten horns diadems, and upon his heads names of blasphemy. And the wild-beast, which I saw, was like a leopard, and his feet as those of a bear; and his mouth as the mouth of a lion: and the dragon gave him his power, and his throne, and great authority. And I saw one of his heads as it were wounded to death; and his deadly wound was healed: and the whole earth wondered after the beast.  

3 And I saw one of his heads as having been smitten unto death, and his deadly wound was healed. And the whole earth wondered after the wild-beast. And they worshipped the dragon, because he had given the power to the beast, and they worshipped the beast, saying, "Who is like..." And I stood upon the sand of the sea, and saw a beast rise up out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns, and upon his heads the name of blasphemy. And the beast which I saw was like unto a leopard, and his feet were as the feet of a bear, and his mouth as the mouth of a lion: and the dragon gave him his power, and his seat, and great authority. And I saw one of his heads, as it were wounded to death; and his deadly wound was healed: and all the world wondered after the beast.  

4 And they worshipped the dragon which gave power unto the beast: and they worshipped the beast, saying, Who is like unto the beast? who is able to make war with him? And...
unto the beast, and
who is able to make
5 "war with him?" And
there was given to him
a mouthspeaking great
things and blasphemies:
and there was given to him
power [to continue in action]
forty - two months.
6 And he opened his
mouth for blasphemy
against God, to blas-
pheme his name, and
his tabernacle, [and]
those who dwell in
heaven. And it was
given him to make war
with the saints, and to
overcome them. And
power was given to
him over every tribe,
and people, and lan-
guage, and nation:
8 And all who dwell on
the earth shall wor-
ship him; they whose
name is not written in
the book of life of the
Lamb, which was sac-
ificed from the foun-
dation of the world.
9 If any one have an ear,
let him hear. If any
one leadeth into cap-
tivity, into captivity
he goes. If any one
shall slay with the
sword, he must be
slain with the sword.
Herein is the patience
there was given unto
him a mouth speaking
great things, and blas-
phemies; and power
was given unto him to
continue forty and two
6 months. And he open-
ed his mouth in blas-
phemy against God, to
blaspheme his name,
and his tabernacle, and
them that dwell in hea-
ven. And it was given
unto him to make war
with the saints, and to
overcome them; and
power was given him
over all kindreds, and
tongues, and nations.
8 And all that dwell up-
on the earth shall wor-
ship him, whose names
are not written in the
book of life of the
Lamb, slain from the
foundation of the
9 world. If any man
have an ear, let him
10 hear. He that leadeth
into captivity, shall go
into captivity: he that
killeth with the sword,
must be killed with
the sword. Here is
the patience and the
faith of saints.
Ver. 1. And I was stationed on the sand of the sea.] ἔσαβην, not ἔσάβη, appears to be the true reading*. The scene is now changed, and the Prophet is so stationed as to behold it. It had been removed from the earth and sea, where the angel of the tenth chapter had begun to disclose the fortunes of the Church in the western kingdoms of the Gentiles; it had been removed to Heaven, to shew the prime mover of all the warfare. Both the combatants were of heavenly extraction, and had fought in Heaven. These conflicts therefore were first described; and the scene was changed to accommodate to them. But the battle, which had been begun in Heaven, is now continued on earth; and is to be brought to its conclusion under the seventh Trumpet. Therefore before the final conflict, wherein the heavenly Leader will again appear, the combatants on earth are also to be exhibited; first, those who continue the warfare on behalf of the dragon; then, those who engage on the part of the woman, or Church. Accordingly, the scene is again opened upon earth, and at the brink of the sea; because a formidable agent of the dragon, or satan, is to arise from that quarter†.

Ib. And I saw a wild-beast rising up out of the sea.] The sea, in prophetic language, signifies in general the heathen world‡; numerous and powerful

* See the lect. var. in Griesbach.  † Ch. xi. 7.  ‡ See note, ch. viii. 7. 8.
armies of the Gentiles, marching against the people of God, are figuratively represented by the *stormy waves of the sea*. Thus the ascent of the wild-beast out of the sea seems to signify his rise in worldly power, and probably also from the western gentiles, who are more especially represented under this symbol. The four wild-beasts of the prophet Daniel, representing so many successive tyrannies which overran the earth, are described, all of them, as ascending from the sea. There is a very striking resemblance between the wild-beast of the Apocalypse and those of this Prophet. It will be useful to exhibit them together; and it will be done most effectually in the Greek. The translation of Daniel into that language appears to be very close to the original, as given in Mr. Wintle's version.

**Dan. vii. 2—15.**

1. **Ως λεων** *(orig. a lion.)*
2. **Αριως**
3. **Παρδαλις**
4. **Θηριον** — ισχυρον ανηρ, ισθερον και ενθα μεθον, οι οδοις
και σιδηροι. *(x. t. λ.)*
**Κερατα δεκα αυτω**
**Δεκα βασιλεις**

**Rev. xiii. 1—18. xix. 20, xx. 4.**

Θηριον — ἐξοσιαν μεγαλην.

Θηριον — ἐξοσιαν μεγαλην.

'Αριως

Οι σωδες αυτης και Αριως.

Ομοιον ταρδαλει.*

*Is. xviii. 12, 13. Jer. vi. 23; li. 42. 55. Psalms lxv. 7; lxxxix. 9, 10; xciii. 3, 4. Ezek. xxvi. 3. Zech. x. 11. See also note, ch. i, 14, 15.*

Keraς
From this comparison, it must appear, that the Beast of the Apocalypse (including the second beast, the false prophet, who is cotemporary with him, exercises his power, and exalts him to universal worship) bears striking resemblance to the beast of Daniel; to all four of them in some respects; but more especially to the fourth; which, like the beast of the Apocalypse, has the same period of continuance allotted to him, at the end of which he is to be destroyed in like manner; and the destruction of both is followed by the establishment of the Messiah’s reign. It will further appear, by a similar comparison, that the visions of the Apocalyptic
lyptic beast, and of this of the prophet Daniel, have a
nearer resemblance to each other than the two famous
visions of Daniel (of the beasts and of the image), yet
these two visions of Daniel, on very satisfactory grounds,
and by report of the best ancient and modern com-
mentators, are supposed to represent the same history.*
The three first beasts of Daniel resemble those which
appear to have been most formidable to the ancient
world; the lion, the bear, the leopard; and which
are enumerated as such by Hosea†; but the fourth
beast is a non-descript. He was diverse from the other
beast; exceedingly terrible; had iron teeth, and ten
horns; and, among the ten, one more dreadful than the
rest, which sprang up after them. The beast of the
Apocalypse is described as possessing the most terrible
parts and properties of all the beasts of Daniel. He is
in his general shape like a leopard; uniting uncommon
agility with ferocious strength; he has the mouth of
the lion‡; the paw of the bear.§ But his resemblance
is much nearer to the fourth beast, whose more dread-
ful power he seems to possess. He has his ten horns,
his ten kings, or kingdoms. He has the "mouth,
"speaking great things and blasphemies," which is
seen upon the little additional horn of the fourth beast
of Daniel. To which little horn, the second beast of
the Apocalypse, (intimately connected with the first,
rising up after him to exercise his power and to in-
crease his dominion) will be found to bear strong resem-
blance, when we proceed to consider them together, and

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† Ch. xiii. 7; 8. ‡ Psalm xxii. 13; 2 Tim. iv. 17.
§ 1 Sam. xvii. 34, 38.
to apply Saint Paul's comment to them both. This will be done in the succeeding section, where the second beast becomes the object of more particular attention. It is enough at present to observe, that this resemblance will be shown. But sufficient evidence appears, already, to enable us to conclude, that since the beasts of Daniel, and especially the fourth, bear strong resemblance to the beast of the Apocalypse; their time of continuance being the same, as also their office ("to make war upon the Saints, and to overcome them"); their destruction by fire, preceding and making way for the reign of the Messiah and his Saints;—the interpretation of one will lead us nearly to that of the other. Now the four beasts of Daniel appear by Divine interpretation* to be four successive empires, established in worldly power, administered with tyranny and oppression, and hostile to true Religion. And the fourth empire is the most cruel, and the most oppressive to the Saints; principally by producing "the little horn," a power of an extraordinary nature, divers from the rest; which, from a slender beginning, usurping the power of all the preceding empires, converts it to the establishment of a blasphemous religion, and of persecution for righteousness' sake.

Commentators seem generally agreed, that the fourth beast of the prophet Daniel represents the Roman empire†. This beast continued till the times of the Messiah; and was the basis on which the ten horns, or

* Dan. vii. 17, 23.
† See the arguments which are weighty, and the authorities which are of the first antiquity, clearly stated by Bp. Newton. (Dissert. on Proph. vol. i. p. 451, &c. 8vo edit.) Archbishop Seeker, who, with his usual accuracy and diligence, had studied this prophecy, as expounded
or kingdoms, into which the Roman power was afterwards divided, had their foundation. The same horns appear upon the Apocalyptical beast; denoting that he belongs to the same period, and indeed that he is the same. The difference which may be found in the description of the two beasts, first by Daniel, secondly by St. John, may perhaps be fully accounted for, in the three following circumstances: 1. that the description of Daniel was to be accommodated in such a manner as to take in the type contained in his prophecy, which is supposed to be fulfilled in Antiochus Epiphanes; while that of St. John (the type having been fulfilled before his times) had to look only to the latter days, to the later accomplishment. 2. That the beast of the Apocalypse, though most like the fourth beast of Daniel, is of a more general universal character, bearing some resemblance also to the three preceding beasts. 3. That Saint John's prophecy, being the latest, must be expected (according to the general tenour of Scriptural prophecy) to afford a nearer and more exact view of the objects described, by revealing intelligence not yet communicated. It is sufficient at present, before we have examined more particulars, and the additional beast united with him, to observe, that this first beast of the Apocalypse appears to be that worldly tyrannical domination, which, for many ages, even from the times of the Babylonish captivity, (for then the first beast of Daniel begins to oppress,) had been hostile to the Church; but more especially under the fourth beast of Daniel, the Roman usurpation, which, prior to the

pounded by Joseph Mede to signify the Roman empire, exclaimed with his author, "Tantum non articulus fidei! Wintle on Daniel, notes, p. 95. Mede's Works, p. 736.

accession
accession of Constantine, had afflicted the saints with many bloody persecutions. Now, under this beast of the Apocalypse (including his false prophet or minister), we seem to behold that same oppressive and persecuting power renewed, and continued for ages, with some variety of exhibition; even through the long period of twelve-hundred-and-sixty years, after the Roman empire had become divided into its ten horns, or kingdoms.

Ver. 2. And the dragon gave him his power; &c.] The dominion exercised by this beast is unjust, tyrannical, oppressive, diabolical. It is not a power legally administered, for the good of the subject; for, such “power “is ordained of God;” the magistrate duly exercising such a power, is pronounced to be “a minister of good, "bearing not the sword in vain.” The Christian Religion gives a heavenly sanction to such lenient and beneficial power: but the authority of the beast is founded on another sanction; on that of the dragon or satan, who converts legal government into arbitrary oppression. When the legislative and executive powers act from the impulse of worldly and diabolical passions, this dire usurpation and tyranny will appear. But it is the work of Christianity, by introducing other motives of government, to repress these enormities, and finally, by the intervention of Heavenly aid, to extirpate them. Yet, during the long period of 1260 years, not yet ended, the power of the beast becomes more ferocious and destructive, by receiving the apparent sanctions of Religion, as the world has experienced under the papal and mahometan superstitions.

Ver. 3. And one of his heads, as having been smitten unto death, and his deadly wound was healed.]

* Rom xiii. 1—4. 1 Tim. ii. 23.
The beast, like the dragon, from whom he receives his power, has seven heads; which are explained to be so many mountains, or strong-holds, the seats and supports of his oppressive dominion*. The dragon, and they who held the reins of worldly power under him, had many such. Such had been ancient Babylon; such was Rome, spiritually called Babylon †. One of these heads, or chief supports of tyrannical power, had received a mortal wound; and yet, to the surprise of the world, and the exultation of the wicked, the beast survives the blow.

During the three first centuries of the Christian times, the fourth beast of Daniel, the Roman monarchy, had violently persecuted the Church. He was then in full vigour and dominion. And when did he seem to decline in strength? when to appear no longer beastly? when to remit his persecuting ferocity? when to receive an apparent mortal wound? At the accession of Constantine, the first Christian emperor; whose laws, enacted for the establishment, protection, and propagation of the Christian Religion, seemed at that time to have inflicted a mortal wound on the beast. He was smitten on his Roman, his principal head; and his death appeared certain‡. But the Christian leaders seizing, too eagerly, the power and riches of the world, and ensnared in the temptation, contributed most effectually to heal the deadly wound of the beast; they restored him again to life and to power; to a

* See note, ch. viii. 8. † 1 Pet. v. 13.
‡ See the opinions of those times in Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. x; also Vit. Constant. lib. ii. cap. xix. xliii. xlvi, &c.; where, upon the death of the dragon, (for so Maximin and Maxentius and the foes of the Church are called,) a long peace and virtuous enjoyment is promised to Christians.
power tenfold more dangerous than before, when a corrupt administration of civil tyranny began to be supported and abetted by ecclesiastical authority. Under which new form, he became an object of wonder, and of worship to the deluded inhabitants of the world. But this effect will be considered more at large, when we have taken the additional beast, called the false prophet, into view. It will be useful at this time to compare the deadly wound of the beast in this passage (which wound turns out to be not deadly) with his existence, and his non-existence, both predicated of him at the same period, in ch. xvii.

There is manifest resemblance in the two passages. The persons, who admire and worship the beast, are the same; "they who dwell on earth," the whole earth, or that part whose names are not written in the book of life:—and the object of admiration is the same, namely the beast, who in the notes, ch. xvii, is shewn to be the same. And the cause of admiration is at least nearly the same. In the one, the beast receives a deadly

There are these three readings, see note to ch. xvii. 8.

\[\text{Ch. xiii. 1—11.} \quad \text{APOCALYPSE.} \quad \text{337}\]

\[\text{CHAPTER xiii.} \quad \text{CHAPTER xvii.} \]

3. Καὶ μιαν ἐκ τῶν κεφαλῶν αὐτῆς ἐσφαγμένην εἰς Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἤ πεληγῇ τῇ Ἡλλάδε ἄνεῳ ἐθεραπευθῇ καὶ ἔθαν- μασεν δλη, ἢ γῆ ὑπὸ τῇ Ἐπιφανείᾳ.

8. Καὶ προσκυνησθεὶς αὐτὸν ταῖς ὑλαις τοῦ Ἱεροῦ, ὑπὸ τοῦ βιβλίου τῆς ζωῆς ἀπὸ καθαλάσσιν κοσμεῖ, βλέποντας τὸ Ἱερόν, ὅτι ηὐ, καὶ ὑπὶ ταῖς ὑλαις τοῦ βιβλίου τῆς ζωῆς ἀπὸ καθαλάσσιν κοσμεῖ.
blow, yet does not die; in the other, he was, and is not, and yet he is, or shall be again.

Ver. 4. And they worshipped the dragon, because he had given the power to the beast; and they worshipped the beast.] The beast succeeds to the dragon, who, in verse 2, gives him “his power, and his throne, and “great authority.” Accordingly, he promotes the interests of his master, and the worship of him in the world. This beast is joined by another beast, whom we shall proceed to consider; and by the ministry of the latter beast, not only the dragon, but the first beast also, becomes an object of worship to the inhabitants of the earth. To worship the dragon, i.e. the devil, is to do what our Lord refused, when satan tempted him with the offer of worldly greatness; when, shewing to him “all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them; all these things,” saith he, “will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me.” Whoever, to attain worldly eminence, relinquishes his trust in God, and deviates from the path of the Divine laws, withdraws his allegiance from God, and transfers it unto the devil. — And this allegiance may also be transferred to the agents of the devil; to the powers of this world, who promote his infernal interests in opposition to that heavenly kingdom, which we daily pray for, and which we are bound daily to promote.

Ib. Who is like unto the beast? who is able to make war with him?] The battle to be fought with the beast, who proclaims and enforces idolatry, is of a spiritual nature. They who, giving up their faith in God, worship after the ordinances of the beast, are

* See more on this subject, in notes, ch. xvii. 8.
† Matt. iv. 8, 9.  ‡ See note, ch. ii. 7.
overcome by him: but every faithful Christian, who adheres "to the word of the Testimony, loving not his "life, even unto death, overcomes him by the blood "of the Lamb*."

Ver. 5. Blasphemies.] These shall be considered when we take into view the assistant beast and false prophet, who enabled the first beast to blaspheme to the utmost excess. See note below, ch. xiii. 5. 6. 7.

Ib. Power [to continue in action] forty-two months.] Ποιμήν, applied to time, signifies to continue; as in Acts xv. 33; xx. 3; to continue, during this period, in his evil practices against the Church.

This being the last time in which the period of forty-two months is mentioned, presents us with the proper occasion for taking it into more minute consideration, together with the other concurrent periods of the same duration.

There are three of these periods mentioned in the Apocalypse; and it has been already shewn that they contain the same duration of time†. This will appear still more evident, by the following scheme:

I. A time, and times, and dividing of time.

καιρός καὶ καιροὶ καὶ χρόνον κατὰ
Rev. xii. 14.

Εἰς καιρὸν καὶ καιροὺς καὶ γενεὰν χρόνου
Dan. vii. 25.

II. Forty-

a. During this period, the Saints, or times and laws, are given into the hand of the little horn, or king, rising after the ten kings.

Dan. vii. 25. xiii. 7.

b. The woman is nourished in the wilderness from the presence of the serpent.

Rev. xii. 14.

* Ch. xii. 11.  † See note, ch. xi. 2.
II. Forty-two months. 
Μῆνας τεσσαρακοντα ἡμέρας δύο.

III. Twelve hundred and sixty days.
Ὑμεῖς χίλιας διακοσίας ἡμερῶν

\{ 
\begin{align*} 
\text{c.} & \quad \text{The Gentiles tread the holy city. Rev. xi. 2.} \\
\text{d.} & \quad \text{The beast continues to act against the saints. Rev. xiii. 5.} \\
\text{e.} & \quad \text{The witnesses prophesy in sackcloth. Rev. xi. 3.} \\
\text{f.} & \quad \text{The woman is nourished in the wilderness. Rev. xii. 6.} \\
\end{align*} 
\}

Now if we compare \(a\) and \(d\) together, they will be found to relate the same history; therefore the periods contained under I. and II. appear to be the same. Again compare \(b\) with \(f\); they are the same history: therefore I. and III. are the same periods. But I. which thus appears to be the same with III., has been seen also to be the same with II.; therefore all three periods are the same. Thus these three prophetic periods are of the same length or duration: they measure the same quantity of time. But another question will arise; whether they measure the same identical period: for, although allowed to measure the same quantity of time, they may possibly succeed each other; or if they be eotemporary in some parts, yet it may not appear that they quadrate and agree in all: their beginnings and their endings may not be at the same points. Now it will not be difficult to shew that all these periods, I. \(\{a\ b\ \},\ II. \{b\ c\ \},\ III. \{e\ f\ \} \), have some common coincidence; they are all contained under the sixth Trumpet. \(a\) and \(d\) exhibit the same history, told by different prophets, \textit{viz.} that of the antichristian.
tian oppressor expected to arise out of the Roman empire, after its division into ten kingdoms. *b and f contain the same history,—the nourishment of the woman in the wilderness, which, for a particular reason, is repeated*. But the beast, represented in a and d, receives his power from the dragon †, who is certainly described as cotemporary with the woman; and makes war against her seed, the seed of the woman in the wilderness, the saints. Therefore a and d, and b and f, contain histories, some parts of which at least are of the same period. Again; any one, who reads ch. xi. 2, 3, with attention, must perceive that c and e are purposeiy brought together, in order to shew that they contain the same period, but e, in some of its parts, is certainly cotemporary with a and d; with the times of the beast. For the beast of a and d slays the witnesses of e. And thus all of them appear to cotemporize in some parts of their course. But, that they agree and coincide in all their points; that they synchonize, as Mede expresses it, in every part of their periods, so as to have the same beginning, middle, and end, will not be so easily admitted.

But, to render this examination less difficult, we may begin with reducing the six periods to four. For, (1.) a and d may safely be pronounced to be the selfsame period; viz. the time during which the antichristian oppressor is permitted to act against the saints. The history is the same, but given in different expression, yet amounting to the same duration, by two different prophets‡. (2.) b and f evidently set forth the same history and time; viz. the nourishment of the

* See note, ch. xii. 14. † Ch. xiii. 2, 5.‡ The forty-two months of Saint John are exactly equal to three years and an half, the time, and times, and half a time, of Daniel. See note, ch. xi, 2. xii. 14.
woman in the wilderness. We are therefore enabled to reduce the six periods to four:—1. the period of the continuance of the beast; a and d:—2. that of the continuance of the woman in the wilderness; b and f:—3. that of the Gentiles continuing to tread the holy city; c:—4. that of the witnesses continuing to prophesy in sackcloth; e.

This is what Joseph Mede has intitled, nobilis iste quaternion vaticiniorum, aequalibus temporum intervallis insignium*; whose periods he has endeavoured to exhibit as synchronizing in all their parts. His first attempt is to shew the synchronism of the time of the beast, (a, b,) with that of the woman in the wilderness, (b, f,) upon this ground, that their times begin together, and consequently must run together throughout. But the proof of their beginning together does not appear free from objection. They begin together, says he, from one and the same point of time; namely, when the dragon is overcome and cast down to the earth. Now, if this be the point of time, from which the sojournment of the woman in the wilderness is to be dated, yet it can scarcely be that of the commencement of the beast's reign. For there is an interval, full of action, between the fall of the dragon and the rise of the beast; namely, that in which the dragon pursues the woman, casting after her torrents of water: and it is not till after he has in vain tried this method of destroying her, that, enraged at his disappointment, he raises up the beast to war against the rest of her offspring †. That the beast and the woman are cotemporary in some parts of their periods, is very probable; and it is probable likewise, that their beginnings are not far distant

* Clav. Apoc. p. 419. † See ch. xii. 13—17; and ch. xiii. 1.
from each other,—so that from what has hitherto appeared, they may be the same:—but this has not yet seemed to admit of complete demonstration.

The synchronism of the beast with the prophecy of the witnesses seems likewise defective in proof. These, says Mede, are both brought down to the same period of consummation, at the end of the sixth Trumpet. But, if the period of the witnesses be allowed to end with the sixth Trumpet, it is otherwise with the period of the beast, whose warfare against the Church is particularly described under the seventh Trumpet; when, together with the false prophet, he is taken and slain\*.

Besides, nothing is more manifest, than that the beast does not come to his end at the same time with the witnesses; for the witnesses are slain by him; and when they are slain, they finish their prophetical office; as is expressly declared in ch. xi. 7. Add to this, that the earthquake and fall of one tenth of the city, which concludes the prophecy of the witnesses, and also the sixth Trumpet †, cannot be the same with the great slaughter and total victory under the seventh Trumpet ‡; when the beast is destroyed. The synchronism therefore is defective of proof.§

* Ch. xix. 19. † Ch. xi. ‡ Ch. xix.
§ This attempt of the ingenious author of the Clavis Apocalyptica to synchronize these periods, seems to me conclusive in very few stages of it. He appears to approach near to the truth, in many instances, but the proofs are not positive and satisfactory. The prophecies do not seem to supply the means of that strict demonstration, which he has attempted: and, one proof failing (as we have seen in these first propositions), that which is built upon it must fail also. There is one passage in this able divine's commentary, from which it may be collected that he did not always conclude the termination of the beast's career to be exactly synchronal with the termination of the prophecy of the witnesses. He plainly asserts the one to belong to the sixth, the other to the seventh Trumpet. (See his Works, pages 490, 491.) And his method
The four grand apocalyptic periods are involved very much together, and before the final completion of them all has taken place, it may not be in the power of man to settle the times when each of them had its commencement. But, for the reasons above assigned, I am inclined to conjecture that the period of the beast may be found to derive its beginning somewhat later than that of the woman in the wilderness; and to receive its termination somewhat later than that of the witnesses. His times seem rather later than either of theirs. And it may perhaps be found, that those of the woman and of the witnesses are the same; with which the other remaining period, that of the Gentiles treading the holy city, seems also to accord. Commentators seem to have been too adventurous in fixing the exact commencement of these periods, which appear to be involved in a purposed obscurity, which the event only can clear. But it may be probable, that the 1260 years of the Gentiles; of the woman in the wilderness, and of the witnesses; will come to their conclusion, before the antichristian reign of the beast is seen finally to cease. And this is all that I dare advance concerning prophecies which are yet fulfilling.

Verses 5, 6, 7. And there was given to him a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies; &c.] It will be useful to observe, that in Daniel vii. 8. 20. 25, the fourth, or Roman beast, does not obtain "his mouth speaking great things," (they are the very same words used by both prophets,) nor open his mouth for blasphemy, until he has produced the little horn, that is, after he has produced the ten kings. So in the Apocalyptic method of solving this difficulty, must be thought defective: for, surely, the end of the beast is his final confinement in the lake of fire, ch. xix. 20, and not his imagined expulsion from the city of Rome.
calypse, it is not in the first period of the beast's progress that he exalts himself so superbly, and becomes an object of worship. This exaltation is accomplished for him by the intervention of the second beast, his minister in iniquity, whose office and actions are described in the subsequent part of this chapter. But in this description of the first beast, ch. xiii. 1—9, we may discriminate his gradual progress; 1. under verses 1 & 2, the Roman tyranny under its pagan persecuting emperors, to whom the apostate Christians literally offered incense: — 2*. his wound at the accession of Constantine: — 3. his recovery, and the great admiration of him in his new form: — 4. his additional power and increased dominion, when, after his division into ten kingdoms, the little horn of Daniel, the false prophet, springs up in him; when the harlot directs the reins†. The period of 1260 years seems to be that of his renewed life, and of his increased dominion, displayed in verses 5, 6, 7. ["They who dwell in Heaven,"] are not only the heavenly inhabitants, literally speaking, but the faithful Christians on earth, whose "conversation is in Heaven;" whose "building" and home are there; who account themselves "strangers and pilgrims upon earth."*

Ver. 8. Book of Life.] See note, ch. iii. 5.
Ver. 9. If any one have an ear; &c.] See note, ch. ii. 7.
Ver. 10. If any one leadeth into captivity; &c.] After the fearful picture exhibited of the victorious power of the beast, a comfort is derived from these

* Ver. 3. † Ch. xvii.
‡ Heb. xi. 9, 13. Eph. ii. 6, 19. 1 Pet. i. 17. They are opposed to "those who inhabit the earth," and who are said to worship the beast, ch. xiii. 3, 3, xvii. 8.

words;
words; which contain an assurance from the Almighty, that the wicked shall not finally prosper. The cause of iniquity sometimes flourishes during a long period, and under various instruments: but the individuals employed to promote its reign, have no lasting enjoyment or prosperity. They suffer in their turn the evils which they introduce, and inflict on others. This great truth in the providential government of God, is exemplified by Dr. Jortin, in the sufferings and deaths of the most noted persecutors*. We have seen it exemplified in our own times, during the progress of the French Revolution. The individuals who chiefly distinguished themselves in overturning legal government and promoting persecution, oppression, a beastly domination, and the overthrow of Christianity, have enjoyed but a precarious and short-lived power. We have seen most of them cut off in the midst of their ambitious career, or consigned to misery in a distant wretched colony.

The saints must be patient; the great day of recompense will surely come†.—”Fear not, little flock; “it is your Father’s good pleasure to give you the “kingdom‡.” And it is the office of the Messiah “to lead captivity captive.§”

PART IV.

SECTION IV.

The Beast from the Land, or false Prophet.

CHAP. xiii. VER. 11—to the end.

11 And I beheld another wild-beast, coming up out of the land. And he had two horns like a Lamb, and he spake as a dragon. And he exerciseth all the power of the first beast before him; and causeth the earth, and those who dwell therein, to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed. And he doeth great wonders; so that he even maketh fire to come down from heaven, in the sight of men. And he deceiveth them that dwell on the earth, by the means of those miracles which he had power to do in the sight of the beast, saying to them that dwell on the earth, that they should make an image to the beast which had the wound by a sword, and did live. And it was given
him to give life unto the image of the beast, that the image of the beast should even speak; and he should cause that as many as should not worship the image of the beast 16 should be slain. And he causeth all, both the small and the great, and the rich and the poor, and the freemen and the slaves, that they should give them a mark upon their right hands, or upon their foreheads.

17 [And] that no one might be able to buy or sell, but he who hath the mark, the name of the beast, or the number of his name. Herein is the wisdom; let him that hath understanding, count the number of the beast: for it is the number of a man; and his number is 666.

Ver. 11. Another wild beast—out of the land.] Ἅ γεν., the land*, in opposition to ἡ ἀλαζα, the sea, signifies the Israel; the peculiar people of God; the

* See note, ch. viii. 7.
Jews, so long as they continued such; but, after the Divine rejection of them, the Gentiles; who now, during the 1260 years, tread the courts of the Lord’s Temple*. This beast therefore ariseth from among the professed Christians. He is of the kind foretold by St. Paul; “grievous wolves, not sparing the flock; “also of your own selves shall men arise, speaking per-
verse things;” &c. † Thus also Saint John describes antichrist εἰς ἡμᾶς—ἀλλ’ ὃν εἰς ἡμᾶς:—he is a Christian in pretence, but in fact an enemy to the faith‡: and he propagates new doctrines, and seduces or forces others from the ancient faith §. This is the spirit of antichrist which began to shew itself even in St. John’s days, but was to be manifested in full growth at that later period, which seems foretold in this passage of the Apocalypse.

Ib. He had two horns like a lamb, and he spake as a dragon.‖ Horns signify power, and two horns two branches, into which that power is divided ‖. They are of the same beast; a power of the same kind; but exercised in two separate divisions or kingdoms. They are made to appear like the horns of a lamb, professing to be that spiritual power which belongs to the Lamb, and is peculiar to his kingdom; to the kingdom of Christ. They are, in short, ecclesiastical powers. But though their outward seeming be such, not such is their reality. This beast is no lamb,—he is the very wolf in sheep’s clothing, foretold by our Lord ‡‡; after which passage the venerable Ignatius calls false prophets and deceivers in the Church λυκοὶ λύκωτροι. This beast

* See notes, ch. ii. 9; vii. 4; xi. 1.
† Acts xx. 29, 30. Phil. iii. 2. ‡ 1 John ii. 18, 19.
§ 1 John ii. 24, 25, 26; iv. 2, &c. 2 John 6, 7.
‖ See note, ch. v 6; xvii. 12. ‡‡ Matt. vii. 15. xiii. 22.
is by Saint John styled the false prophet*; and the ancient Fathers universally understood him to be the leader of the great antichrisian apostacy †. He puts on the garb and outward appearance of a pure servant of God: but when he speaks and brings to light his doctrine and his decrees, the difference becomes manifest. Our Lord "spake as never man spake," with divine energy united to gentleness and tender affection; he spake "comfortably to his Jerusalem." Not so this ecclesiastical wild-beast;—like the voice of the little horn in Daniel ‡, his voice is blasphemous; it is exalted "against the Lord, and against his Anointed."—It is of his predecessor the dragon.—"Ye," says our Lord to the Jewish hypocrites, "are of your father the devil.§"

Ver. 12. And he exerciseth all the power of the first beast; &c.] This second beast, the ecclesiastical power, divided into two branches, exerciseth all the power of the first beast; that power which has been already described as given to him by the dragon, with whose voice he speaks. But this, as was before observed ||, is not in the early times of the beast's power; not during the pagan Roman empire; but after he had received his deadly wound; which mark of his chronology is twice repeated ¶. The power which he receives from the dragon, and exercises under the first beast, whose armour-bearer he is therefore called by Irenæus**; has already been described. It is a power

* Ch. xvi. 13; xix. 20; xx. 10.
† Irenæus, lib. v. 23. Augustin. Hom. ii. in Apocal. In the Synops. S. S. attributed to Athanasius, a kind of abstract is given of the Apocalypse: and in this the second beast is called the anti-christ, ὁ τεύχων ἄνθρωπος, which seems to have been the prevailing notion with the Fathers.
‡ Dan. vii. 20. Ch. xiii. 4, 5.
§ John viii. 44. || Note, ch. xiii. 5, 6, 7
of great extent*; opposed against God, and true Religion†; idolatrous and tyrannical‡. Being a false prophet§, he possesses himself of an ecclesiastical authority, and adds the influence, with which the sanctions of Religion seem to invest him, to the civil power which he obtains and exercises under the Roman beast. Thus armed with twofold authority, he employs it in the support of the power which he has obtained; and to secure reverence and obedience to that power, he sets it up as sacred.

Ver. 13. And he doeth great wonders; &c.] The opposers of Moses, the servant of God, performed lying wonders in Egypt ǁ. This false prophet endeavours to personate the servants of God, and, like them, to perform miracles; like Moses and Elijah, to “draw down fire from heaven in the sight of men.” He is successful in the delusion, and is generally received as a prophet of God. Under the sanction of Religion, he establishes an oppressive domination, hostile to true Religion; and which true Religion is calculated to destroy.

Ver. 14. It is the image and resemblance of the ancient tyranny, in the times of the Caesars, by which those, suspected to be Christians, were required, at the penalty of their lives, to offer incense to the pagan emperors. By investing this tyrannical usurpation with the sanctions of sacred authority, he renders it the object of the world’s foolish idolatry. And where obedience and worship are refused, they are then enforced by terror and by arms. All orders and degrees of men are enrolled, and marked as slaves of this tyranny ǁ. 

* Ver. 7, 8. † Ver. 5, 6. ‡ Ver. 4. § Ch. xvi. 3. ǁ Exod. vii. 12, 22. ǁ The custom of receiving marks on the forehead and right hand,
To those who withhold the decreed worship and obedience, the common privileges of life are denied; they are oppressed, persecuted, and slain. The ancient Roman tyranny denied to persons, suspected to be Christians, the privilege of buying and selling, unless they would sacrifice to idols*. This revived tyranny, the living image of the old one, does the same.

The future existence and success of such an hypocritical, blasphemous, and cruel power, has been foretold in other passages of Scripture. The little horn of Daniel came up like this, upon the former beast, upon the old-established civil power; came rooting up other branches of this power, to make way for his own domination. He is "divers from the other horns;" he is not merely a civil power; "he has eyes, as the eyes of a man," and "a mouth speaking great things;" and "he wears out the Saints of the Most High," who are given into his hand during the very same period of time which is assigned to the first beast of the Apocalypse, all whose power is exercised by this second beast†.

as badges of servitude, is very ancient. Moses seems to allude to it in Deut. vi. 8. Such a mark was inflicted on the conquered Jews by Ptolemy Philadelphus. (Maccabees.) Irenæus relates, that the Gnostics were accustomed thus to mark their disciples. Both believers and infidels, according to the koran of Mahomet, are to be marked respectively on their faces, previous to the last day. (Sale's Koran, p. 105.) In Hindostan, some casts are yet marked in the forehead. A curious account of these marks, and specimens of their forms, may be seen in the Voyage of Fra. Paolino da San Bartolomeo to the East Indies, chap. viii; also chap. i. toward the end. See likewise Augustin. tom. xi. p. 538: "signacula oris, et manuum, et sinús." Likewise see Spencer de Leg. Heb. lib. ii. c. 14.


† Dan. vii. 8. 20. 21. 24. 25. See them compared, note, ch. xiii. 5.

This
This prophecy of Daniel may have been fulfilled typically, and in its primary sense, in Antiochus Epiphanes*; but that in this persecutor, the prediction was not finally completed, we may affirm upon the authority of an apostle. For St. Paul, who lived after the times of Antiochus, teaches the Christians of his time to look to a future accomplishment of this prophecy; to expect a falling away from the faith, a signal corruption, and even apostacy, in the leading powers of the Christian Church; when "the man of sin, the son of perdition, shall be revealed," whom he describes in words to the same effect with these of Daniel and St. John; "Who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, so that he is as God; "sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he "is God; even he whose coming is after the working "of satan, with all power, and signs, and lying "wonders." It may be useful to bring these several prophecies into one view; so that the comparison of them may be more nearly exhibited. Their relation to each other was observed by so early a commentator as Irenaeus†. —

* See Wintle, on Daniel vii. &c.  † 2 Thess. ii. 3, 4, 9.
‡ Lib. v. c. 25, 26.
Dan. viii. 8. 24. 25. 21. 11.

Ἰδε, κερας ἐτερον μικρον ἀνέβη ἐν μεσῳ αὐτῶν καὶ Ἰδε, δοξαλμοι ὦ σε θαλαμοι ἀνθρωπες ἐν τοις κα-
παλ της, καὶ ἐγενει λαλήμενα.

Ὀς ὑπέροιοι πανισ τους τὴς ἐμπροσθεν, καὶ τρεῖς βασιλεὺς ταπεινωσέων· καὶ ἰογας ἄνας τον ὑμιστον λαληθεν, καὶ τας ἄγιως ὑμιστε σαλαίωσε, καὶ ἱπτησιον τε ἀλλοισαι καὶρες καὶ νομον—
καιδοθεῖαι εν χερι αὐτῇ εἰσὶ κα-
ρες καὶ καρυον καὶ γε ἤμιστον καιρο.

Και το κερας ἐκενο ἔτοιιν
σωλεμον μὲὰ των ἄγιων, καὶ
ἀγιος ὡρας αὐτῆς.

Rev. xiii. 11—18; xix. 20, 21.

11. —ἀλλο Ἠριον ἀναβαίνῃ ἐν τις γῆς, καὶ εἰς κερας διο ὅμοιο ἀριθμοι καὶ
ἐλαλή ὡς ἄγιοι.

12. Καὶ της ἐξοσικ τῇ σωράλ Ῥημές ἔσωσιν
σοιεν ἐν κόσμῳ αὐτῇ.

Καὶ ποιει της γην και της καλοικους ἐν αὐ-
τη, καὶ σωρούννοι το θεριον το σωρόν
ἐς ἐβαθυνθη ἡ σωλην της θολαβε αὐτῇ.

13. Και σοιεν ομίες μεγαλα, και και σωρ
ποιει καλοικους εκ της ἐραν εις την γην
ἐνιοτον των ἄγιων.

14. Και σωλεμα της καλοικους ἐτι της γῆς
δια τα σοιες, α ἐδομη ἀλη σωσει της ἐκ
της γης σωσεις ενακα της θηριω, δὲ
ἐχει της σωλην της μαχαιρας, καὶ ἐξος.

2 Thess. ii. 3—5. 8, 9, 10, 11.

Ὁ αὐθρόπος τῆς ἀμακιας, ὁ νῦς
τῆς ἀπωλείας, ἐν ἀμακιι ἀπατη.
τῆς ἀμακιας, ὁ αὐθρόπος καὶ
ὑπηρετήσας ἐπι τοια χαλα λεγομε
νιν Ἰον ἤ καθαμμα, ὡς αὐτον
ἐς του ναον τῆς Θεο καθισαι ἀπο-
δεικνυμα ἐκαίνον, ἢ ἐς Θεον.

Οὐ ἐν τῇ σωρεια καὶ ἐνερ-
γειαν τῇ σαβαν, ἐν ἀμακιι ἀνα-
μει, καὶ σοιες, καὶ τερει
πειδος.
15. Καὶ ἔσοβη αὐτῷ δεινὸς τὸν ναὸ τῆς ἐκκόμιος τῆς Ἑρυθρᾶς, ἵνα καὶ ἀληθένθη ἡ ἑκκόμιος τῆς Ἑρυθρᾶς, καὶ ἢτοι, ὅτι ἂν μὴ ἀφοσιωθῶσι τινὲς τῆς ἐκκομίας τῆς Ἑρυθρᾶς, ἵνα ἀποκλαυῶσι.

16. Καὶ ἀπειρόη τὸς μικρὸς καὶ τὸς μεγάλος, καὶ τῆς ἀλήθειας καὶ τῆς ἁπάτης, καὶ τῆς ἀλληλομεταβολῆς καὶ τῆς διάλυσις, ἵνα διωμεῖ τοὺς αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὴν ἑκκόμιον τῆς ἑρυθρᾶς, ἵνα ἐπι τοὺς μέλημαν αὐτῶν.

17. Καὶ ἴνα μὴ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀγοράσατε τ. τ. λ.

Chap. xix. 20. Καὶ ἐσκέφθη τοῦ Ἐρυθρᾶ, καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτῷ ἀληθεύεται ὡς ὁ κρίτης τοῦ συμβόλου τοῦ. τ. λ.—ζωῆς ἐξακολουθοῦν τό ἐς τὴν ἱμνίαν τῶν ἐν τής κατάρας τῆς μακροχρόνης ἐν τῷ Γίαρ.

21. —— οἱ λαοί οἱ ἐπειδήξαντο τῷ σῶμασι τῆς ἀλήθειας ἐπὶ τῇ ἑρυθρᾷ, τῇ ἐξακολούθησι εἰς τῷ σωμάτως αὐτῆς.
In comparing these descriptions of Antichrist we must observe, that the prophecy of Daniel is the most general, and the most obscure of the three. This is agreeable to the analogy of prophetical Scripture, which is found to afford additional information, as it approaches nearer to the times foretold *. The prophecy of the Apocalypse exhibits a nearer view of the common subject, and discovers objects which had not been discerned before; while the words of Saint Paul may be taken as a comment on those of Daniel; and, being the comment of an inspired writer, may be considered at the same time as illustrating, by the Holy Spirit, the prophecy of the Apocalypse. The little horn, which, in the vision of Daniel, had appeared somewhat more than a common horn, (for it had eyes, and a mouth, and spake, and fought, and conquered,) upon a nearer view, as presented to the Apocalyptic Prophet, becomes a separate wild-beast; and yet, between him and the other wild beast there is, as in the prophecy of Daniel, a very close connection and resemblance. He exerciseth all the power of the first beast; renders him an object of worship; becomes great through his influence; partakes all his fortunes; and perishes with him at the last.

This nearer view discovers to us also the two-fold ecclesiastical power which Antichrist was to establish, and which did not appear distinctly at the distance at which it was shewn to Daniel †. This method of sacred

† Yet it is remarkable, that the three horns rooted up, the three kingdoms destroyed by the little horn, though represented by Daniel, are not at all noticed in the vision seen by Saint John. This part of the prophecy of Daniel appears to me to be of difficult solution. The three-kingdoms, which by modern expositors are assigned for this purpose,
sacred prophecy, wherein one vision, under the same or different imagery, enlarges upon another vision, and refers to and illustrates the same original archetype, may be frequently observed. Instances occur continually in the visions of Daniel, "which," as Sir Isaac Newton remarks, "all relate to one another, "every following prophecy adding somewhat new "to the former". The vision of the Beasts is only that of the Image enlarged; yet represented under other symbols. And thus the vision of Antichrist, in the Apocalypse, is no more different from those of Daniel, than those of Daniel are from each other. All look to the same times; all are from the same sacred inspiration; and unfold and confirm each other. Now as these several prophecies, of Daniel, of Saint Paul, and of Saint John, seem all to belong "to the latter times," and to point to the same object, supporting and explaining each other; so, they appear to have been evidently fulfilled, or to be now fulfilling in the world.

1. The church of Rome can point out to us the grand apostacy of the Mahometans, accomplished principally by religious artifice; a blasphemous, destructive usurpation, set up in a form the least suspected, because it had the apparent sanctions of purpose, "the exarchate of Ravenna, the kingdom of the Lombards, the state of Rome," (Bishop Newton, &c. &c.) taken all together, make so petty a territory, that they seem to compose only a part of one of those ten kingdoms into which the Roman empire, (whether we consider either the whole of it, or the western part only,) was divided. Yet if these be the kingdoms, they belong to one horn only, of the second apocalyptic beast, and to that horn which is to be viewed more particularly in ch. xvii: and thus perhaps in some degree the omission is to be accounted for.

* Sir Isaac Newton on Daniel, part i. ch. 3.
Religion; of fire brought down from heaven *. No wild-beast of the ancient monarchies, has been more tyrannous than this. It is indeed the image of the ancient oppression, moulded by the hand of a false prophet, who seized and delivered to successors enormous civil and ecclesiastical power, obtained under the apparent sanction of heaven, and under this monstrous domination, thus artfully and blasphemously produced, the pure Religion of the meek and heavenly Jesus has been superseded, and its saints persecuted and "worn out."

But, secondly, the reformed Churches have discovered as manifestly, and in colours equally strong and glaring, another apostacy from the truth of Christianity; another erection of corrupt, worldly, oppressive, and blasphemous dominion, established by ecclesiastical artifices, and by pretended miracles, under the direction of another false prophet, who likewise is seen sitting in the Temple of God; in the sacred centre of the Christian Communion. There he has been seen exercising, by inquisitorial powers, the tyrannous domination of the first beast, persecuting even unto death, and denying the common privileges of life to those who, true to their Lord, refuse to receive the badge of his usurpation †. But these,

* Sée note, ch. viii. 5.
† I have judged it unnecessary, to shew, by a deduction of particulars as they arise in history, the agreement between Popery, and the emblems of the beast; because this has been done copiously by almost all the Protestant writers on this subject. The reader will find much information of this kind in some late publications; in Campbell on Ecclesiastical History; in Whitaker on the Revelation; in Kett on Prophecy. But I will beg leave to add in behalf of us all, that, when Protestant writers attribute such descriptions to the papal church, they must not be understood, as uttering a censure on the individuals
these, it will be said, cannot, both of them, be the same wild-beast, the same false prophet. Observe then, that the second beast, called also the false prophet, has two horns. He branches out into two divisions of power; two separate kingdoms; and both of an ecclesiastical description*. They both apostatize from and corrupt the same faith: both are established by lying wonders; and both promote the reign

individuals of that body; numbers of whom are known to have been as pious and good Christians, as perhaps may be found in any other community. Nor yet are all ages of the papal church to be equally branded with the same black character. The restoration of letters in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and yet more the Reformation of Religion which followed, have occasioned considerable retrenchment of abuses in this corrupt hierarchy. The power of papal Rome has declined, and with it her means of extensive and domineering violence. But it is to be feared, that the seeds and principles of such antichristian domination yet remain in her. And she is ever to be regarded with a jealous eye, till she solemnly renounces them in profession and in practice. Her beginnings were gentle, as, it seems, are in some degree her latter times: but how many centuries does history hold up to view, rendered dreadful by her enormities, such as correspond with the description of this second beast!

* Kings and kingdoms are the same; and so explained by the angel, Dan. vii. 23, 24; Rev. xvii. 12. And by the same divine interpreter it appears, that two horns are two kings, or kingdoms, of the same empire, viz. Media and Persia: Dan. viii. 20.—Some interpreters, following Joseph Mede, endeavour to account for the two horns by a division of the clergy in the papal communion into regular and secular. But the horns are kings or kingdoms, that is, so many distinct governments; and so will be found in Daniel, and in the Apocalypse universally. If seven horns had been attributed to this beast, or even four, these numbers, being indefinite, might have been interpreted to signify great power; power in general; and without respect to particular number: but not so here. They are two powers, both derived from the same origin; at the same time; of the same nature; acting upon the same principles; and against the same pure Religion.
of a worldly, tyrannical, blasphemous domination. Both date their origin and rise from the same era. The year 606, says Prideaux, gave rise to both*. In the very same year that the tyrant Phocas, by a grant to the Bishop of Rome, enabled him to assume the title of universal pastor, or ecclesiastical supreme judge, the false prophet Mahomet retired to his cave, to broach his superstition: "so that antichrist seems at this time to have set both his feet upon Christen-
dom together, one in the East, and the other in the "West." Thus the two horns of Antichrist sprouted at the same time, and grew up together, being fed and nourished out of the same corruptive matter. "The quibbling philosophy of Greece, mixed with "the eastern, and these with Christian notions, be-
gat that spirit of controversial accuracy and dog-
matism, which divided Christianity into a thousand "sects, and prepared the way for the Mahometan "and Papal superstitions†." And these horns, or powers, not only arose, but were fully established nearly at the same time. In the year 758, the Pope received the exarchate of Ravenna, became a tem-
poral potentate, and soon after sovereign of Rome. In 762, the Saracen Caliph Almansor built Bagdat, as the capital of his extensive empire. It is certain also that they have declined together‡.

The Mahometan, as well as the papal, was no new religion, but a corruption of that which we acknowledge to have been revealed to Adam, to Abraham, to Moses and the Prophets, and finally com-

* Life of Mahomet, p. 16.
‡ Kelt ou Prophecy, class ii ch. 2.
pleted in our Lord Jesus Christ. For Mahomet admitted, as the basis of his superstructure, the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, alleging only that they had been corrupted in those places, which he found it convenient to frame anew*. So the Christians received him as a prophet, at the time of his flight from Mecca†. And without this apostacy of the Christians, which he artfully fomented and always expected‡, his daring schemes must have failed. The king of Ethiopia, and his subjects were converted to Mahometism by considering it as a divine addition to the Christian Religion§. The Christians were uniformly invited to embrace Mahometism as a more perfect divine Revelation. They, with the Jews, as believing the foundations of the same Revelations, were at first treated with peculiar lenity and respect. They were called the people of the book, and as such, were tolerated in the profession of their respective religions, on paying a moderate tribute, while the Harbii, that is, the idolaters and atheists, were extirpated∥. Hence Mahometism has been frequently accounted a Christian heresy¶; and as it had its origin in Christianity, so to Christ it looks in the end. For, according to the creed of the Mahometans, Jesus is expected to descend to earth, to embrace the religion of Mahomet, to slay Antichrist, and to reign with his Saints**. And not only does Mahometism resemble Popery, as one horn of the same

* Koran, ch. 3, 4, 5. &c.
† Prideaux, Life of Mahomet, pp. 76. 161.
‡ Prideaux, page 76; 5th Ch. of the Koran.
§ Boulanvilliers, Vie de Mahomed, p. 349.
∥ Reland and Höttinger, quoted by Gibbon, ch. li.
¶ See the proofs of this, in p. 364.
** Sale’s Koran, p. 106.
beast does another, in these characters of an apo-
state church; but the resemblance is equally com-
plete in those marks of which the papal writers* boast,
as characteristic of their only true Church; Amplit-
tude, Duration, Temporal Prosperity. If these are
marks of the true Church, both these usurpations
have equally enjoyed them. And as their immense
civil power and dominion arose and was established
nearly at the same time; so from the same æra, the
decension of that power is to be dated. The latter
end of the seventeenth century, saw the tide of pro-
sperity ebbing apace in both †. In short, both these
are religious powers; or, to speak more justly, and ac-
cording to the prophecy, worldly powers masked
under a religious semblance; they pretend their rights
from Religion; and support them by the civil sword,
which they both have wielded with oppressive vio-
ence. Both claim their authority originally from the
same source, from the Christian Religion; the one as
vicar and representative of Christ; the other by com-
mision from the Father of Christ, acknowledging
the revelation given to the Son, but pretending to
restore it to an original purity. Both attack Chris-
tian liberty, by the arbitrary introduction of burthen-
some and unauthorized ceremonies; both attack and
render nugatory that most essential part of Christianity, the Mediatorial office of our Lord; the one
when the pretended prophet took it upon himself;

* Bellarmine, &c. &c.
† It has been observed, that no successful efforts have been made
either by the Mahometans or Papists to extend their influence and
dominion, from the peace of Ryswick, in 1697, followed by that
of Carlowitz in 1699.
Ch. xiii. 11—18.] APOCALYPSE.

the other, when the pretended vicar transferred it to angels and departed saints.*

The preceding commentary was written, nearly as it now stands, before I had consulted any commentator concerning the interpretation of the lamb-like beast. I find that many of the Protestant writers have attributed this prophecy to popery, but few, if

* It has been a favourite object with some very respectable modern writers, to represent the infidel democratic power which appeared at one time to spring up with the French revolution, as fulfilling this prophecy of the false prophet. I will propose a few reasons to shew why it cannot be so. 1. The horns like a lamb denote an ecclesiastical power: but the French power is wholly civil, and it imposes no religion on the conquered. 2. There are in this infidel attempt, no pretended miracles or heavenly commission, no "fire from Heaven." 3. The French have indeed set up an image, a lively representation of the ancient tyrannies: but it is not pronounced sacred; nor is its worship enforced: they require no more than other political conquerors, submission to their civil sceptre; they do not persecute for religion's sake. 4. There is good reason to believe that as the two beasts are to perish together, (ch. xix. 20.) so, their period being of the same length, that they arose together; or, to speak more accurately, that the second beast arose when the first was renewed, and his deadly wound healed: for, the splendour of the first beast, after his renewal, is attributed to the successful ministry of the second. The first beast, after his first introduction, is never afterwards mentioned without some mark or sign of his being in conjunction with the second. (See ch. xiv. 9; xv. 2; xvi. 2. 13.) So early as the pouring forth of the first Vial, the two beasts are together in action; for this Vial falls on those who have received the mark of the beast and have worshipped his image, but both the mark and image were produced by the second beast. The rise of the second beast is therefore much too early for the times of the French revolution.

The above was written in the early times of the French revolution, when these infidel democratic notions were first published. Events have since happened, which must be acknowledged to shew the fallacy of this application of the prophecy; such is the re-establishment of the Christian Religion in France, freed from some of the burthens of popery, and with toleration of all Christian sects.
any, to Mahometism. This has engaged me in a more strict enquiry concerning the parallelism of these two apostacies, and I will now give the result of it.

Dr. Benson, in his exposition of the prophecy of "the Man of Sin," (2 Thess. ii. 1—12.) has attempted to shew, that popery alone, and no other person or power, can have pretensions to fulfil it. And he is clearly successful in his attempt, till he comes to the Mahometan religion. In favour of the claims of this superstition he allows, (1.) that Mahomet, though no Christian himself, led an apostacy of Christians: (2.) that, as he built his religion on Christianity, so he may in some sense be said to "sit in the temple of God:" (3.) that he was "a man of sin," and a temporal potentate: (4.) that he arose after the downfall of the Roman empire, which was the time when this man of sin was to be expected. These are important concessions, which no learned and candid examiner of the question will be disposed to retract. But now come the objections: which are assigned as so many reasons, why the Mahometan power can not be "the Man of Sin:" (1.) He is not seated in Rome: (2.) He attempted no miracles. I. The first objection, is easily obviated. No prophecy of Antichrist represents him as seated at Rome, excepting that of Rev. xvii, which will be found to belong to one horn, or branch of him only, and that is the papal, there established. II. But Mahomet, it is said, attempted no miracles. Such evidences of a divine commission he very prudently disclaimed, in the manner in which our Lord and his Apostles performed them, not able to stand so severe a test. Yet by what other means, than by those described in these prophecies of the man
man of sin, "by the working of Satan with all "power, and signs, and lying wonders", deceiving "those who dwell on earth by the wonders which it "was granted him to do †," did he establish his religion? His Koran itself was a lying wonder, a pretended miracle; for he describes himself ascending to heaven to receive a part of it; and the remainder to be brought to him by angels ‡; and he asserts his Koran to be a divine composition; a miracle in itself; and frequently appeals to the world for its vindication as such §. What are these but "lying wonders?" pretended miracles? "fire from heaven," to deceive the inhabitants of the earth?

The Mahometan apostacy may therefore fairly stand by the side of the papal, as forming one horn of the second antichristian beast. And as this will be more readily admitted by those who have considered (as Dr. Benson by his concessions seems to have done) its right to the name and title of a Christian heresy or apostacy, I will here subjoin some quotations tending to illustrate this fact, which is not commonly seen or acknowledged.

"Mahomet did not pretend to deliver any new religion, but to revive the old one ‖. He allowed "both the Old and New Testament, and that both "Moses and Jesus were prophets sent from God ‖; "that Jesus, son of Mary, is the word and a Spirit "sent from God, a Redeemer of all that believe in "him **. "Mahomet represents himself as the Paraclete or Comforter sent by Jesus Christ; John,

* 2 Thess. ii. 9. † Rev. xiii. 14.
‡ Koran, xcvi. § Koran, passim.
** Sale’s Koran, p. 19. 80. 63. Ockley’s History of Saracens, ii.

xvi.
So in Mahomet's ascent to heaven, as invented in the Koran, while the Patriarchs and Prophets confess their inferiority to him, by entreaty of his prayers, in the seventh heaven he sees Jesus, whose superiority the false prophet acknowledges by commending himself to his prayers. "Faith in the divine books is a necessary article of the Mahometan Creed; and among these is the Gospel given to Issa or Jesus, which they assert to be corrupted "by the Christians." "If any Jew is willing to become a Mahometan, he must first believe in Christ: and this question is asked him, Dost thou "believe that Christ was born of a Virgin by the blast "(i.e. inspiration) of God, and that he was the last "of the Jewish Prophets." If he answers in the affirmative, he is made a Mahometan. "Mahomet arose "to establish a new religion, which came pretty near "the Jewish, and was not entirely different from "that of several sects of Christians, which got him "a great many followers;"—"Fassus impostor (scil. "Muhammedes) Jesum de virgine Mariâ natum, Mes-

"siam, verbum Dei coelitus missum, Dei Spiritum, mi-

"raculis evangelicis clarum, Prophetam Dei, qui Evan-

"gelium tradiderit, ac docuit salutis viam, qui ven-

"turus ad judicium sit, et destructurus antichristum, "et conversurus Judæos, &c. Sic Apostolis Christi "creendum docuit ut Evangelio Christi, ac legi Mosis "et Prophetis omnibus. Sic de Christianis aequius "quam de Judæis sensit, quos et benignè habuit; unde "illud Muhammedis apud Elmacinum, qui Chris-

* Koran, p. 165.
† Sale's Koran, ch. 17. Prideaux' Life of Mahomet, p. 55.
‡ Reeland on the Mahometan Religion, pref. p. 25.
§ Ibid. p. 11. || Leibnitz's Letter, 1706.
"tianum opprimit, adversarium eum habebit die 
"judicii; qui Christiano nocet, mihi nocet; &c."*

Thus also the Mahometan writers, when speaking of 
him, say, "jussit quoque credere veritatem Prophe-
tarum et Apostolorum;—item Christum filium Ma-
"riæ Dei esse et Verbum ejus atque Apostolum †;" 
and even at this day they honour, what we call, the 
Christian Religion, next to their own ‡. "Mahome-
tism began as a Christian heresy, acknowledging 
"Christ for a prophet, a greater than Moses, born of 
"a Virgin, the Word of God; Alcoran, v. 27." § 
Sale asserts the Mahometan religion to be not only a 
Christian heresy, but an "improvement upon the 
"very corrupt idolatrous system of the Jews and 
"Christians of those times ‖." Joseph Mede affirms 
that the Mahometans are nearer to Christianity than 
many of the ancient heresies, the Cerinthians, Gnos-
tics, Manichees ¶. "Whatever good is to be found 
"in the Mahometan Religion, (and some good doc-
"trines and precepts there undeniably are in it,) is in 
"no small measure owing to Christianity : for, Ma-

* The impostor Mahomet confessed that Jesus was born of the 
Virgin Mary, that he was the Word of God sent from heaven, the 
Spirit of God declared by the miracles of the Gospel, the Prophet 
of God, whose office it was to deliver the Gospel, and teach the 
way of Truth, who is to come to judgment and to destroy Anti-
christ, and convert the Jews, &c. Thus also he taught, that the 
Gospel of Christ, and the law of Moses, and all the Prophets are to 
be believed. And thus he was better inclined to the Christians than to 
the Jews, and he treated them kindly. Whence that saying of Ma-
homet reported in Elmacinus, _He who oppresses a Christian, shall find 
him an adversary to him in the day of Judgment_; _he who injures a Chris-
tian, injures me._ Spanheimii Introduct. ad Hist. Sac. vii. p. 609.
† Elmacini Hist. Saracen. p. 3. ‡ Ibid.
§ Ricaut, Ottoman Empire, p. 188. ‖ Prelim. p. 51.
¶ Works, p. 645.
hometism is a borrowed system, made up for the
most part of Judaism and Christianity; and, if it
be considered in the most favourable view, might
possibly be accounted a sort of Christian heresy.
If the Gospel had never been preached, it may
be questioned whether Mahometism would have
existed *.

The Musselmanns are already a sort of heterodox
Christians; they are Christians, if Locke reasons
justly, because they firmly believe the immaculate
conception, divine character, and miracles of the
Messiah: but they are heterodox in denying vehe-
mently his character of Son, and his equality, as
God, with the Father, of whose unity and attrib-
utes they entertain and express the most awful
ideas, while they consider our doctrine as perfect
blasphemy, and insist that our copies of the Scrip-
tures have been corrupted both by Jews and Chris-
tians †.

These are such testimonies as have occurred to me
in a no very extensive course of reading. They are
derived from authors, who for the most part enjoyed
favourable opportunities of examining the Mahometan
tenets; and they exhibit that religion as rising upon
the basis of true Religion, corrupted, even like the
papal, to serve the purposes of a worldly and diabo-
lical tyranny. In the Mahometan religion are these
articles, all evidently derived from the Christian,
and constituting in it a great superiority above any
thing that paganism or mere philosophy have been
able to produce: the belief of the existence of one
all-wise, all-good, all-powerful God; of the immor-

* Dr. Jortin's first Charge.
† Sir William Jones, in the Asiatic Dissertations, vol. i. p. 63.
tality
tality of the soul; of future rewards and punishments to be distributed by Jesus; of the acceptance of prayer, of self-humiliation, of almsgiving; of the obligation to morality in almost all its branches. Take from Mahometism one article, in which it differs from all religions, generally admitted to be Christian, the belief of Mahomet's divine mission; and little will then be found in it, which may not be discovered in the profession of many acknowledged Christians. Nay, perhaps it may appear, that the creeds of two bodies of Christians will supply every thing which is to be found in Mahometism, excepting belief in the pretended prophet of Mecca.

The first article of the Mahometan Creed is the Unity of God.—"The Christians," said Mahomet, "have fallen into error, corrupting this dogma by the doctrine of the Trinity; and God, who would not leave the essential truths without testimony, sent his Prophet to re-establish them." But the peculiar profession of this unity, together with the persuasion that the doctrine of the Trinity is a corrupt doctrine, is also the corner-stone of the Socinian profession. The agreement in this, is so entire between the Mahometans and Socinians, as to make the passage from either of these religions to the other, far from impracticable or difficult. Witness, on the one hand, the history of conversions from Socinianism to the religion of Mahomet, of Adam Neuser, &c., in the sixteenth century; and, on the other, the writings of some modern Socinians, who recommend their religion as removing all obstacles to

† Reflections on Mahometism, printed with Reland's Abridgement.
the conversion of Mahometans*. Thus, in this distinguishing article of faith, the Unitarian Christians agree with the Mahometans. And in the remaining articles, which separate them from the pure Church, a yoke is imposed†, nearly similar to that which binds the papal church. They are these: excessive and merely oral prayers, fastings, pilgrimages. Whatever in Mahometism is excessive and antichristian in respect to these articles, will be found to correspond very nearly with corruptions which prevail in the papal church. External purification, and hypocritical ostentation, supersede, in both these religions, the religion of the heart. Mahometism, as well as Popery, has its purgatory, and its indulgences to be purchased by money‡.

On the whole, when we consider the origin of Mahometism, and its near affinity to corrupted Christianity; when we reflect also on the amazing extent of this superstitious domination, which occupies nearly as large a portion of the globe, as that possessed by Christians; comprising vast regions in ancient Greece and Asia Minor, in Syria, in Persia, in the Indies, in Tartary, in Ægypt, and Africa; which once were Christian; we shall readily admit that, if not a Christian heresy, it is at least a Christian apostacy, and well worthy, from its magnitude, to be accounted one horn or division of empire of the antichristian beast.

After these observations, it may be useful to exhibit together, in one point of view, these two horns, and to shew their mutual agreement with the prophecy.

Papery is a Christian apostacy; which is ably set forth by Joseph Mede, in his tract on that subject; Works, p. 623.

Mahometism is one of the powers into which Antichrist is divided, usurping the place and office of Christ, and pretending to a vicarial power from him, and producing out of its own body mediators and intercessors in opposition to him.

The doctrine of Papery, though it affect to be Christian, is in many respects "carnal, worldly, devilish," and its edicts have been enforced by the sword of the civil power, under the direction of the ecclesiastical.

The object of Papery has been to acquire civil power, which the Popes have effect ed to a vast extent, and transmitted to their successors.

Mahomet made use of ecclesiastical influence to obtain civil power, which he combined with it, and transmitted to his successors.
POPERY.

Popery has been promoted by pretended miracles, so that the civil power, exercised by the Popes over kings and their subjects, has been believed to be authorized by divine commission, and has been revered accordingly.

The Popes have erected a civil empire of vast extent in Christendom. It is the very image of the ancient Romanyranny, which persecuted the infant Church; but more formidable, because it is believed to have the sanction of Divine appointment. The power in such hands is revered as sacred.

The intolerance and persecuting spirit of Popery is notorious. The professors of other religions have been murdered by millions, and the Christian world was for ages compelled to receive the mark and name.

MAHOMETISM.

Mahomet persuaded men that his Koran was a divine law, brought down from heaven miraculously, and thus he gave a religious sanction to his civil power.

Mahomet and his successors have erected a civil empire of great extent like the Roman, a cruel oppressive power, persecuting true Religion, and by an apparent sanction from heaven. Their numerous subjects revere their government as sacred.

The intolerance and persecuting spirit of the Mahometans, by which they have denied, to all but Musselmans, the common privileges, is well authenticated in history, as are the grievous sufferings of the Christians under their sway.

Such
Such is the agreement between Popery and Mahometism; and so exactly do they both fulfil the prophecy of the second apocalyptic beast. But still, there is a great and remarkable difference between these two apostacies. The Mahometan, though it acknowledge Christ as a Prophet, divinely born and commissioned, and as such expects him to return again before the end of the world; seems practically to forget him, and to be as it were lost to his name; dead to the life which is in Christ. The papal apostacy, though in works it deny Christ, and in many instances has so corrupted his holy Religion, that it can scarcely be known as such; yet in name acknowledges him as supreme Lord, and calls itself exclusively the Christian, the Catholic, or universal Church. This difference seems to supply us with the reason, why these two branches of Antichrist, when they come to be treated separately and particularly in the visions of the Apocalypse, are exhibited in a manner so different. The Mahometan branch, having sprung up rapidly into power; having by open force, as well as art, possessed itself suddenly of empire, and continued in the possession of it many ages, apart from the professed Christian Church; so its rise and extension, and all their effects, are represented at once under the sixth Trumpet; and are not often noted afterwards, excepting in this its conjunction with the papal horn. But the papal branch required a more particular description. It grew up gradually and covertly; stole silently into power, and without much conflict. To the pure and reformed Church, (which is to win her way to victory ἐκ τῆς ἁπάντης, out of the body of the beast in which she is enveloped,) this branch is to be exhibited specially in all its assumed
sumed grandeur and artifice; and comfort is to be afforded against its terrors. For this reason, the papal horn is again produced to view, under the symbol of the great harlot, the corrupt Babylon*. With this branch of Antichrist, the battles of the Church are principally to be fought. As in the Apocalypse, so in the Prophecies of Daniel, the blow of the stone strikes this part of the beast; the toes and legs of the image; the Western, the European Roman empire; that blow, which is to break the whole of Antichrist to pieces; when the stone itself will become a great mountain, a kingdom of everlasting righteousness, and fill the whole earth †.

Ver. 18. The number of the beast.] I have not been able to devise any plausible interpretation of this number. The verse which contains it being wanting in some of the MSS., I had entertained some suspicion, that it did not belong to the true text; but it appears upon enquiry to be genuine. The early comment of Irenæus upon it, appealing to ancient MSS. for the genuine reading, (ad fin. lib. v.) stamps it with great authority. And I do not find that any of the commentators since his time have produced any more probable conjectures than that of this Father. The word Lateinos was first produced by him: and modern commentators adhere to it‡. Others compute the number of the beast from the time of the vision, seen by Saint John in Patmos; and thus bring the 666 years to the year of our Lord 756, or 758, when the Pope obtained his temporal power. I confess myself far from satisfied with any of the methods hitherto produced for solving this difficulty.

* Ch. xvii.  † Dan. vi.  ‡ See Bishop Newton, &c. on this passage.
And I looked, and lo! the Lamb, standing on the mountain Sion, and with him an hundred and forty-four thousand, having his name, and the name of his Father, written upon their foreheads.

And I heard a voice from heaven, as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of a great thunder: and I heard the voice of harpers harping on their harps.

And they sung, as it were, a new song before the throne, and before the four living-creatures, and the elders; and no one was able to learn the song, except the hundred and forty-four thousand, which were
dred and forty-four thousand, the redeemed from the earth.

4 These are they who have not been defiled with women, for they are virgins; these are they who follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth; these were redeemed from among men, a first-fruit unto God and to the Lamb;

5 And in their mouth was found no guile, for they are spotless.

Ver. 1—4. The Lamb—on mount Sion, and with him,—&c.] The seventh Trumpet had already sounded, and a general view of its blissful effects, in restoring the kingdom to the Messiah and his followers, had been afforded*. The conflict is now to be expected. But before the battle takes place, the battle-array is to be viewed. The enemies of Christ and of his Church, the dragon, the beast, the false prophet, have been exhibited in the two last chapters. But "when the enemy shall come in like a flood, the Spirit of the Lord shall lift up a standard against him, and the Redeemer shall come to Zion †." During the alarming progress of the antichristian powers, the Christian forces are not idle and unemployed. The vision proceeds to exhibit their efforts to check,
and at length finally subdue, the enemies of the Church. The Lamb * appears upon Mount Sion, upon the place of true religious service †; the site of the heavenly Jerusalem; the seat of the throne of the Messiah ‡. He comes attended by his Church; by the hundred-and-forty-four thousand, who had been sealed as “Israelites indeed §.” He comes in the likeness of his suffering state, leading his followers to conquer by suffering ||, not yet by his vengeance.

This then appears to be the true, persecuted, and suffering Christian Church, which throughout the reign of the dragon, beast, and false prophet, refuses to worship the image, and receive the mark of the beast. These are marked holy unto God; the precious price of Redemption has not been paid for them in vain ¶. And “there is joy in heaven,” on beholding their array. The voice of Deity from the throne, awful and sublime**, acknowledges them; the heavenly chorus breaks forth into songs of praise and exultation. They sing “a new song ††,” the song of the Lamb, a song mysterious, unfit for impure and worldly ears ‡‡; in which those only can be initiated who are pure and faithful: and the delights of the heavenly harmony are unutterable; “none know-eth, but he that receiveth it §§.”

Ver. 4, 5. *These are they, who—&c.*] Here follows a description of that pure Church, which alone

* See note, ch. v. 6. † See note, ch. viii. 8.
‡ Psalm ii. 6. Heb. xii. 22. Isaiah ii. 23, &c.; xi. 9, 10; lvi. 7. 
¶ See notes, ch. vii. || Note, ch. ii. 7. ¶¶ 1 Cor. vi. 20.
** See notes, ch. i. 14. vi. 1.
†† See note, ch. ii. 17.; iii. 12. ‡‡ 172, βιγδλοι.
§§ Rev. ii. 17.

Christ
Christ acknowledges for his own, during the usurpa-

tion of Antichrist. Ἦ γυνὴ signifies generally a mar-

ried woman; the crime committed with such is adul-

tery; which may be taken, in a literal sense, to re-

present in general all the defilements of the flesh; or

in a metaphorical sense, a woman is a Church, or

congregation of religious persons*; which, keeping

itself pure from idolatry, is styled a Virgin; but, de-

filed with such abomination, is denominated Harlot

or Adulteress. "They called," says Hegisippus, "the

"Church a Virgin, when it was not corrupted by

"vain doctrines †." Every part of this description

may be found applied in other places of Scripture:—

1. by Saint Peter; "they have escaped the corrup-

tion that is in the world through lust‡:" 2. by

our Lord; "follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth,

"that is, "take up their cross and follow him §:" 3.

by Saint Paul; are redeemed, "bought with a price ||:

4. by Saint James; "a kind of first fruits of God's

"creatures||:" Lastly, "speaking no deceit," "blame-

"less before God***." And this description agrees

nearly with that of the Prophet Zephaniah: "I will

"leave in the midst of thee an afflicted and poor

"people, and they shall trust in the name of the

"Lord; the remnant of Israel shall not do iniquity,

"nor speak lies, neither shall a deceitful tongue be

"found in their mouth. They shall feed and lie

"down, and none shall make them afraid ††."
6 And I saw another angel flying in the space between heaven and earth, having an everlasting Gospel, to preach good tidings to those that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and tribe, and language, and people, saying with a loud voice; “Fear God, and give him glory: for the hour of his judgment is come: and worship him that made heaven, and the earth, and the sea, and the springs of waters.”

7 Saying with a loud voice; “Fear God, and give him glory: for the hour of his judgment is come: and worship him that made heaven and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters.”

The character of the true, faithful, Christian Church having been exhibited, its history now begins to be generally set forth; while solemn warnings, and instructions, and encouragements, most useful to the faithful during the times of the beast, are delivered. And first an angel, flying in mid-heaven *, proclaims

* See note, ch. viii. 13.
the Gospel, as an everlasting rule of faith and of conduct. It has been the endeavour of the anti-Christian powers to corrupt, or secrete, this Gospel*, which is to lead all nations and languages to the knowledge and worship of the Almighty Creator. So the progress of the Reformation seems here to be prefigured, which, from its first dawns, ever appealed to the everlasting Gospel as the sole rule of faith, and preached the restoration of Gospel worship in opposition to the reigning impurities and superstitions.

**Ver. 7. Judgment.** See note, ch. xi. 18.

* Mahomet and his followers have corrupted,—the papal hierarchy have secreted it.

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**PART V.**

**SECTION III.**

The second Angel proclaims.

**CHAP. XIV. VER. 8.**

8 And another angel followed, saying: "She is fallen! Babylon, the great Babylon, is fallen! [for] of the wine of the rage of her fornication she hath made all the nations to drink."

8 And there followed another angel, saying: Babylon is fallen, is fallen, that great city, because she made all nations drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication.

Another
Another angel follows, proclaiming the fall of "Babylon, that great city," which had intoxicated, seduced, and corrupted the nations with her impure religion. This city, and her fall, will be more particularly represented in chapters xvii. and xviii. It is sufficient in this place to observe, that this is one very formidable horn of the second antichristian beast, the false prophet; the fall of which is here prophetically anticipated, for the comfort and encouragement of the suffering Church, engaged in opposing her. And the progress of the Reformation seems still to be generally described: for, the purer Christians, the Albigenses and Valdenses, in the twelfth century, pronounced the church of Rome to be this very "Babylon; the mother of harlots, and abominations of the earth." From this discovery is to be dated the beginning of her fall.


PART V.

SECTION IV.

**The third Angel proclaims.**

CHAP. xiv. VER. 9—12.

9 And a third angel followed them, saying with a loud voice: "If any one worship the beast and his image, and receive a mark upon his forehead, or in
A third angel proclaims just and eternal vengeance upon those who "worship the beast;" who knowing their duty and their allegiance to God, sacrifice them to their worldly interests. They are threatened with "the wine of the wrath of God;" the wine, which is at first strong of itself, unmixed (απαλόν), has no diluting liquor put to it, to reduce its strength, as was common in the eastern nations of
of antiquity. But, secondly, it is ἁνεφράσσεται, rendered still stronger by the mixture of powerful, intoxicating ingredients. Compare Isaiah li. 17—23; Psalm lxxv. 8. "The Hebrew idea of which Saint John expresses in Greek, with the utmost precision, though with a seeming contradiction in terms, ἁνεφράσσεται, merum mixtum; pure wine made yet stronger by a mixture of powerful ingredients. In the hand of Jehovah, (saith the Psalmist,) there is a cup, and the wine is turbid; it is full of mixed liquor, and he poureth out of it, (or rather he poureth it out of one vessel into another, to mix it perfectly, according to the reading expressed by the ancient versions,) all the ungodly shall wring them out and drink them." The expression in the Septuagint, Psalm lxxv. 8: ἁποιεῖται —οὐχ ἁγιᾷ ἄλκης ἁπάσαραστος, which in the Chaldee is called a cup of malediction, throws additional light on this passage. Compare also Psalm xi. 6; lx. 3; Jer. xxv. 15, 16, &c.; Lam. iv. 21; Ezek. xxiii. 32, &c.; Hab. ii. 16; Zech. xii. 2; also Hom. II. xxii. 527; "Odyss. iv. 290." Such terms were used to express the anger of God, terrible by temporal punishments, but most terrible by those torments beyond the grave, "where their worm dieth not, and their fire is not quenched;" which ideas are also forcibly expressed in the words now before us; "the smoke of their torment ascendeth for ever and ever." Thus the terror of the greater evil is exhibited, to enable Christians to undergo the less with patient courage described in the twelfth verse.

* Bp. Lowth, on Isaiah li.
The voices of the angels had pronounced the punishments of those who, for worldly purposes receiving the antichristian mark, deny their Lord. A voice from heaven, from the throne itself, confirms their denunciations, adding thereto this consolation; that if the fiery trial proceed to its last stage, even to temporal death, this death shall be blessed; shall introduce the martyr to an eternal freedom from pain and trouble; his sufferings on earth shall be recompensed with everlasting rest and glory.

These four proclamations are plain in their meaning, and of easy solution to those who are versed in Scriptural language. They seem intended to be so, in order that all Christians may be encouraged in time of trial to preserve their allegiance to their Lord, the Lamb; whose banner is unfolded in this chapter.
And I looked, and lo! a white cloud; and upon the cloud one sitting, like the Son of Man; having upon his head a golden crown, and in his hand a sharp sickle. And another angel came forth from the temple, crying with a loud voice to him who was sitting on the cloud: “Send forth thy sickle, and reap; for the time of thy reaping is come; for the harvest of the earth is ripe.” And he who was sitting upon the cloud, cast his sickle upon the earth, and the earth was reaped. And another angel came forth from the temple in Heaven, he also having a sharp sickle. And another angel came forth from the altar, having power over the fire; and he
called out with a loud voice to him who had
the sharp sickle, saying; "Send forth thy
'sharp-sickle, and gath-
er the clusters of
the vine of the earth,
for her grapes are
19 "fully-ripe." And the
angel cast his sickle to
the earth, and gathered
the grapes of the vine
of the earth, and cast
them into the great
wine-press of the wrath
20 of God. And the
wine-press was trodden
on the outside of the
city; and there came forth blood from
the wine-press, even
unto the bridles of the
horses, for the space
of a thousand six hun-
dred furlongs.

Times of persecution, such as have been now represen-
ted under the antichristian powers, are times when
the faith and virtue of Christians are tried by the
severest tests. Many are they, " who gladly receive
the word, but in time of persecution fall away." Now
such methods of God's Providence separate the good
seed from the tares*. But the time of harvest and
vintage, represented also in the Old Testament†, is a

* Which our Lord and his Angels are represented as doing; in Matt.
xiii. 41. Mark iv. 29; where the word δέσπανον is also used.

386
time not only of separation of the good from the wicked, but also of the final punishment or destruction of the latter, expressed by the act of burning the tares and chaff; and also by the bloody and furious appearance of him who, stained with the juice of grapes, treadeth the wine-press. The imagery of both harvest and vintage are brought together in the prophecy of Joel; which seems to give, in a short and abstracted form, the same picture as this passage in the Revelation. "Put ye in the sickle, for the harvest is ripe; come, get you down, for the press is full, the fats overflow:—"for, their wickedness is great." This final vengeance of the Almighty upon his enemies, is evidently not yet accomplished. But such a general view of "God's righteous judgments" was proper to accompany the warnings and encouragements delivered in this chapter; in which is also generally displayed the successful warfare of the Lamb and his followers. "What particular events are signified by this harvest and vintage, it appears impossible for any man to determine; time alone can with certainty discover: for, these things are yet in futurity; only it may be observed, that these two signal judgments will certainly come, as harvest and vintage succeed in their season, and, in the course of Providence the one will precede the other, as, in the course of nature, the harvest is before the vintage; and the latter will greatly surpass the former, and be attended with a more terrible destruction of God's enemies. It is said, ver. 20, that the 'blood came even unto the 'horses' bridles;' which is a strong hyperbolical way of speaking, to express vast slaughter, and effusion.

* Gen. xlix. 11. Psalm lxiii. 1—7. Lam. i. 15. — ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ.
† Joel iii. 13.
of blood; a way of speaking not unknown to the Jews; for, the Jerusalem Talmud, describing the woeful slaughter which the Roman Emperor Adrian made of the Jews at the destruction of the city of Bitter, saith, that the horses waded in blood up to the nostrils. Nor are similar examples wanting even in the classic authors; for, Silius Italicus, speaking of Annibal's descent into Italy, useth the like expression; the bridles flowing with much blood*.

And I saw another sign in Heaven, great and wonderful: seven angels having the seven last plagues: for in them was completed the wrath of God.

And I saw, as it were, a sea, glassy, mingled with fire, and those who had gotten the victory over the beast, and over his image, and over the number of his name, standing upon the glassy sea, having harps of God.

And they sing the song of Moses, the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb; saying, "Great and wonderful are thy works, O Lord, the Almighty God; just and true are thy ways, thou King of saints.

Who shall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name? for thou alone art holy.

1 And I saw another sign in Heaven, great and marvellous, seven angels having the seven last plagues, for in them is filled up the wrath of God.

2 And I saw as it were a sea of glass, mingled with fire; and them that had gotten the victory over the beast, and over his image, and over his mark, and over the number of his name, stand on the sea of glass, having the harps of God.

3 And they sing the song of Moses, the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb, saying, "Great and wonderful are thy works, O Lord, the Almighty God; just and true are thy ways, thou King of saints."

4 Who shall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name? for thou only art holy.
For, all the nations shall come and worship before thee; for thy judgments and thy righteousness are manifest from this time forth.

And after this, I looked, and there was opened the temple of the Tabernacle of the Testimony in Heaven.

And the seven angels came out of the temple, having the seven plagues, clothed in pure and white linen, and having their breasts girded with golden girdles.

And one of the four living-creatures gave unto the seven angels seven golden vials, full of the wrath of God, who liveth for ever and ever.

And the temple was filled with smoke from the glory of God, and from his power; and no man was able to enter into the temple, until the seven plagues of the seven angels should be completed.

And I heard a loud voice out of the temple, saying to the seven angels, "Go, and pour out the seven vials of the wrath of God upon the earth."
Ver. 1. Another sign in heaven—seven angels; &c.] The scene of the vision continues the same, heaven and earth in view, and the angels, who are the actors, passing between both. The present exhibition is preparatory. Such a general representation had preceded the seven Seals, and the seven Trumpets; this precedes the seven Vials. We are now in the midst of the warfare carried on by the Church of Christ, under his auspices, to resist the formidable efforts of the combined enemies. It is a silent warfare, operating chiefly in the human heart. But heaven is now seen interposing visibly to repress the pride and arrogance of the antichristian usurpers. And as seven angels, by sounding the alarm, had foreshewn the several shocks of battle, which the Church should sustain from her enemies: so seven angels, by pouring forth seven Vials, express the vengeance of the Almighty, poured out on the triumphant worldly powers, checking their career, imbittering their success, and finally overwhelming them in destruction.

They are to be accounted, as the word ἀληθή expresses, so many blows or strokes; visitations of Divine Providence on unrepentant sinners. Such fell on Pharaoh and the hardened Egyptians, who, persisting in their obstinate opposition, were overwhelmed in the Red Sea. The number seven implies a complete visitation*. "When I begin, I will also make an end, saith the Lord †." So, with the last of these Vials, "the wrath of God will be completed." And it is in allusion to this completion, that they are called "the last plagues;" for they do not seem to extend to the very last times of final judgment, but to end with the beast and false prophet finally and completely subdued; with whose action therefore they seem cotemporary.

* Note, ch. i. 4. † 1 Sam. iii. 12.

Ver.
Ver. 2. *A sea, glassy, mingled with fire; &c.*] This glassy sea has been already displayed as standing before the throne of God*, where it was seen to represent the purifying blood of the Redeemer; the price of human redemption, in which alone the vestments can be washed white; by which alone the Christian can be presented pure before God. But the Redeemer has two characters, conformably to the offices assigned him on earth; the one of meekness, in which he came to suffer; the other of exaltation, in which he returns to reign, and to pour out vengeance on his enemies. We are now arrived at that point of the prophetic history, in which this vengeance begins to be poured out. We therefore see the glassy sea mingled with fire; its waves flashing flame; symbolically expressive of anger and vengeance †. Here we see collected, as in an appropriate situation, those who, during the usurpation of Antichrist, had contended for the faith; and suffering, had gained that victory, which is only to be acquired "by the blood of the Lamb ‡." The purification of the priests for the service of the earthly temple was in the brazen sea; these, who are to minister before the God of heaven, are purified by the heavenly sea; by the blood of the Redeemer. And many of them, having poured out their own blood in his cause, and after his example, now begin to enjoy the triumph which was promised them under the fifth Seal §. They are now to be "avenged."

Ib. *Of the beast.*] εκ το θηρίου, "not," says Dr. S. Clarke, over the beast, but from out of the midst of the beast: for, by this expression is implied, not only their conquest, but the difficulty of it, by a few persons, ac-

* Ch. iv. 6. † See note, ch. vii. 7.
‡ Ch. xii. 11; vii. 13. 1 John v. 4, &c.
§ Ch. vi. 9—13; where see the note.
Ver. 3. The Song of Moses.] These holy sufferers no longer cry under the altar for the delayed vengeance of their just God*. The promised time is come †. They now see, as they express in their song,—their triumphant song, like that of Moses after the destruction of Pharaoh‡, the great and wonderful works of God, who has led them to victory by sufferings; subduing the proud arm of flesh, and bringing all nations to an acknowledgment of his just and wonderful power§. The nations had been early invited to worship in the name of Christ; they had forsaken their ancient idolatry, and had come to his courts: but the Temple was shut; there was none to teach them the truth "as it is in Jesus." A great part of the nations, who have been turned from their idols, through the operation either of the papal or mahometan religions, do not even now worship in truth. But when the final vengeance upon the beast and false prophet, which is here promised, shall be completed, the Temple will be opened, and the nations shall "worship in the beauty of holiness," "with an holy worship." This seems to be the reason, why the nations are introduced in this song, (v. 4); and for this cause I prefer the reading ἐβραον before that of αἰωνα in this verse. It seems supported also by the best authorities ||.

Ver. 5. The temple of the tabernacle of the testimony.] The holy place, the local habitation of the Almighty, was thus called ¶. There the cloud and the glory appeared, when the Lord was wrath with the congregation**.

Ver. 6. Clothed in pure resplendent linen.] "The fine linen is the righteousness of the Saints††." The

* Ch. vi 9, &c. † Luke xviii. 8. ‡ Exod. xv.
§ Compare Psalm lxvii. 8, 9, 10. || See also Jer. x. 7.
¶ Num. i. 50. 53. ** Num. xvii. 42. †† Ch. xix. 8.
external habit agrees with the internal purity; the angels have the same kind of raiment as their Lord.

Ver. 7. One of the four living creatures.] See note, ch. iv. 6. The Vials of the wrath of God are given to the angels by one of those ministering spirits nearest the throne; by the cherubim; which implies, that they come immediately from the Divine presence.

Ib. Vials.] The wrath of God is represented in Scripture as "poured out." Frequently the cup of God's wrath is mentioned;—the Φιλαν, vial, was a bowl, or cup, (for which see note, ch. v. 8;); and was used also to pour from, (see 1 Sam. x. 1).

Ver. 8. The temple was filled with smoke.] The presence of God, especially when he is wroth, is commonly represented as such †. And at the dedication of the first temple, when the presence of the Lord, "as a cloud, had filled the house of God," the priests could not stand to minister §.

* Ch. i. 14. † Is. xlii. 25; Ezek. vii. 8; and Psalms passim. 
‡ Is. vi. 4. Exod. xix. 13; &c. § 2 Chron. v. 13, 14.

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PART VI.

SECTION II.

The seven Vials.

CHAP. XVI. VER. 2—to the end.

2 And the first went, and poured out his Vial upon the land: and there came an evil and grievous sore upon the men who had the mark of the beast, and upon those who worshipped his image. 2 And the first went, and poured out his vial upon the earth: and there fell a noisome and grievous sore upon the men which had the mark of the beast, and upon them which worshipped his image. 3 And the first went, and...
3 And the second [angel] poured out his Vial upon the sea: and there came blood, as of a dead carcase; and every living soul died in the sea. And the third poured out his Vial upon the rivers and fountains of waters; and they became blood.

4 And I heard the angel of the waters say, Thou art righteous, O Lord, which art, and wast, and shalt be, because thou hast judged thus:

5 For these plagues had not been done yet upon them, upon whom were not sealed, that is, they which have not sealed the name of Jesus, but have sealed their souls from the judgments of God.

6 And I heard another voice from the altar, saying, Even so, Lord God Almighty, true and righteous judgments!

7 And the fourth poured out his Vial upon the sun: and there was an极热 of heat upon the earth, and upon the beast of the earth, which become death and hell under the hot face of the sun;

8 And the power of the fourth angel was to destroy the third part of the sun, and of the fountains of waters, and one third of the rivers, and of the springs of waters; and thus: And the fourth poured out his Vial upon the sun: and there was an极热 of heat upon the earth, and upon the beast of the earth, which become death and hell under the hot face of the sun;

9 And the power of the fourth angel was to destroy the third part of the sun, and of the fountains of waters, and one third of the rivers, and of the springs of waters; and thus: And the fourth poured out his Vial upon the sun: and there was an极热 of heat upon the earth, and upon the beast of the earth, which become death and hell under the hot face of the sun;

10 And the fifth angel poured out his Vial upon the earth; and there came blood like that of a dead man: and every living soul died in the earth.
power over these plagues; and they did not repent for to give
him glory. And the fifth poured out his Vial on the throne of
the beast; and his kingdom became dark-
ened: and they did bite their tongues from
the suffering: And they blasphemed the God
of Heaven from their sufferings and from
their sores; and repented not of their
works. And the sixth poured out his Vial
upon the great river Euphrates: and the
water thereof was dried up, that the way of the kings from the rising
of the sun might be prepa-
red. And I saw from the mouth of the
dragon, and from the
mouth of the wild-
beast, and from the
mouth of the false
prophet, three unclean
spirits, as it were frogs:
For they are spirits of
demons, working won-
ders [which go forth] upon the kings of the whole region, to gather
them together for the battle of that great day
of the Almighty God.
(Behold, I come as a
out his vial upon the
seat of the beast; and
his kingdom was full
of darkness, and they
gnawed their tongues
for pain. And blas-
phemed the God of
heaven, because of
their pains and their
sores, and repented not
of their deeds. And the
sixth angel poured
out his vial upon the
great river Euphrates;
and the water thereof
was dried up, that the
way of the kings of the
east might be prepa-
red. And I saw three
unclean spirits like
frogs come out of the
mouth of the dragon,
and out of the mouth of the beast, and out of
the mouth of the false
prophet. For they are
the spirits of de-
vils, working miracles,
which go forth unto
the kings of the earth,
and of the whole world,
to gather them to the
battle of that great day
of God Almighty.
Behold, I come as a thief.
Blessed is he that
watcheth and keepeth
his garments, lest he
walk naked, and they
see his shame. And
he gathered them to-
 thief; blessed is he who watcheth, and preserveth his garments, that he may not walk naked, and they see his shame.)

16 And they gathered them together unto the place which is called in Hebrew, Armageddon. And the seventh poured out his Vial into the air: and there came a loud voice from the temple [in heaven] from the throne, saying; “It is 18 done!” And there were voices, and thunders, and lightnings; and there was a great earthquake, such as never was from the time that men were upon the earth, such an earthquake-

19 so great! And the great city became divided into three parts: and the cities of the nations fell: and great Babylon was remembered before God, to give unto her the cup of the wine of the fierceness of his anger.

20 And every island fled away; and mountains were not to be found. And a great
gather into a place, called in the Hebrew tongue, Armageddon.

17 And the seventh angel poured out his vial into the air; and there came a great voice out of the temple of heaven, from the throne, saying, It is done. And there were voices, and thunders, and lightnings; and there was a great earthquake, such as was not since men were upon the earth, so mighty an earthquake, 19 and so great. And the great city was divided into three parts, and the cities of the nations fell: and great Babylon came in remembrance before God, to give unto her the cup of the wine of the fierce-

20 ness of his wrath. And every island fled away, and the mountains 21 were not found. And there fell upon them a great hail out of heaven, every stone about the weight of a talent: and men blasphemed God because of the plague of the hail; for the plague thereof was exceeding great.
The seven Vials bear a certain analogy to the seven Trumpets: and, that this may the more conveniently be seen, the following comparative abstract is given:

**THE SEVEN TRUMPETS.**

1. Upon the **land**; hail, fire, and blood; a third of the trees, and all green grass burnt up.
2. Upon the **sea**; a burning mountain; a third part of the sea becomes blood; and the third of the creatures die.
3. Upon the **rivers and springs**; a burning star, wormwood, falls, and many die of the embittered waters.
4. Upon the **sun**, moon, and stars; the third of which is darkened.

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**THE SEVEN VIALS.**

1. Upon the **land**, afflicting to the worshippers of the beast.
2. Upon the **sea**; as the blood of a dead carcase; every soul dies.
3. Upon the **rivers and springs**, blood; a just judgment and retaliation on the murderers of the saints.
4. Upon the **sun**; the men are scorched with great heat, and blaspheme, and repent not.
5. The
5. The bottomless deep opened, smoke and darkness, and scorpion-locusts injure the men unsealed, five months.

6. Four angels, loosed from Euphrates, lead the cavalry who slay the third of the men; the rest are unrepentant.

7. The grand conflict of the dragon, beast, and false prophet, with the Lamb and his followers; in the course of which the seven Vials are poured out.

The prophecy of the times of the Gentiles, and of the witnesses, during 1260 days, is opened under this Trumpet.

5. Upon the throne of the beast, darkening his kingdom; they blaspheme, and repent not.

6. On the great river Euphrates, which is dried up to prepare the way of the eastern kings.

Frogs, spirits of demons, working wonders to gather the kings of the whole world to the battle of the great day.

7. Into the air; “It is done!” an unparalleled earthquake divides the great city into three parts; cities of the nations fall; Babylon remembered; islands and mountains are no more; great hail; men continue to blaspheme.

The notes on chapter viii. 6, 7, &c., will shew the probable meaning of the terms Land, Sea, River, Sun; as used in both the Trumpets and the Vials. But in the explanation of these, and such-like terms, there is a certain distinction to be observed when we apply them to the different passages: for, under the Trumpets, the attack
attack is upon the Christian Church; under the Vials, upon the enemies of that Church. For it is clear, from the first Vial to the last, that the anger of the Lord is poured out, not on the Church, but on its foes. The first Vial falls expressly on the worshippers of the beast; and the third is declared to be a just retaliation on the murderers of the saints; the fourth falls on unrepentant blasphemers; the fifth is poured on the throne of the beast; and the last on the corrupt cities and Babylon. Therefore the land, and sea, and waters, and heavenly luminary, on which the four first Vials fall, are not to be accounted the very same, against which the Trumpets sounded warfare; but a land, sea, &c. bearing just analogy to them. Those, under the Trumpets, are the land, sea, &c. of the Christian world: Those under the Vials, of the antichristian. For the antichristian world has its divisions, as Mede has observed, which will answer to those of the Christian world. If the Land, of the Christian world, signifies the ancient worshippers of God, there are also the ancient worshippers of the beast. If the Sea, among Christians, represent their distant Gentile converts; the worshippers of the beast have also their Sea, the newly acquired converts to their superstitions or infidelity. Both Christianity and antichristianity have their rivers and springs of Doctrine, and their Lights. By this kind of analogy, it seems probable that the Vials, especially the four first of them, are to be interpreted. If the pure Christian Church has been seen to suffer in its several parts and divisions, by the seven-fold warfare of its enemies, those enemies shall not enjoy a joyful and bloodless victory; the Providence of God will interfere; and they will suffer by corresponding strokes, justly proportioned. But, though each Vial may seem to answer
to each Trumpet; either in the part or division attacked, or in the effect of the attack; yet _in point of time_, they do not seem to range exactly against each other: each corresponding Trumpet and Vial does not appear to belong to the same period of history: for, the history under the Vials is confined (as before shewn) to the _times of the beast_; while the Trumpets appear to have an earlier date and origin. Indeed, _all_ the Vials seem to have their rise out of _one_ of the Trumpets, namely, _the last_; and therefore may be supposed to be confined to the history which that Trumpet comprehends. That Trumpet does indeed look so far back, as to the conflict of the dragon with the infant Church; but only by way of prelude; and in order to lay the foundation of the main subject of the prophecy, namely, _the conflict of the antichristian beast with the Church_. The vials seem to run the whole length of this important warfare.

The four first Vials, like the four first Trumpets, are of so very short and general a description, as not to encourage or justify a very minute application of them to particular passages in history*. They will be found to have been _generally_ fulfilled.

The first produces a noisome sore on the worshippers of the beast. This plague derives its figurative description, from the boil and blain inflicted by Divine vengeance on the _Egyptian_ persecutors of the ancient Church†. As they, in their impious attempts to oppose the God of heaven, felt his Almighty hand grievous upon them, to control and punish; so, in the _early_ attempts, made by the antichristian powers under the beast, to stifle pure Religion, they had difficulties to encounter, where they least expected them; and which

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* See note, ch. viii. 7.  
† Exod. ix. 10.
were to be surmounted only by their own sufferings. God did not permit them to enjoy during that generation their expected triumph.

The second Vial produces blood, which, mixing with the sea, corrupts it. Blood, in Scriptural language, is a pollution and abomination; and from a dead carcase, heinously such*. The sea, the isles, the distant nations of the antichristian world, those who by terror or force were made converts, (as were some of the nations of the north to popery, of the south to mahometism,) forsaking their idols, worship the God of Heaven;—but not in purity;—so polluted is the worship, as not to save, but to destroy by spiritual death. Under the second Trumpet, which corresponds in some respects with this Vial, a third part dies; that is, a third of the Christians. There is a considerable part, who by the Grace of God escape spiritual death. Here, all die; and so also under the rest of the plagues; but the sealed Christian is not touched by these visitations.—Thus also under the plagues of Egypt, "they, who fear the Lord," have the privilege of escape†.

The third Vial is discharged also upon the waters: not upon the sea; but upon those waters which feed both land and sea; upon the sources of comfort, especially of religious comfort, to both‡. These sources of spiritual nourishment become blood§. Instead of the "living waters, flowing out into everlasting life||," they who reject, oppose, or oppress the Christian Religion, generally receive in the lieu thereof a burdensome and uncomfortable yoke of superstitious folly. This has been ever the case with Christian apostates, and particularly so in the

† Exod. ix. 4. 20, 26; x. 23. || See note, ch. viii. 10. 11.
‡ See the preceding Vial. § John iv. 10; vii. 37, 38.
great apostacies, the Mahometan and the Papal. There may be allusion likewise to the blood shed by these cruel fanatics, who in their bigoted rage slew millions of the saints; and then turned their arms upon their own brethren, wallowing in blood. The bloody wars, which raged between the Saracens and Turks and Tartars, and between the popes and western emperors; between the parties denominated Guelphs and Ghibelines; and the deadly contests between the two great antichristian divisions, the Papal and Mahometan, in the crusades, seem to have amply fulfilled this bloody prophecy.

The fourth Vial is poured on the great heavenly luminary, the Sun*. A similar stroke under the corresponding Trumpet, had produced darkness and ignorance. But there is a further progress, insomuch as the deprivation of the light of true Religion produces also religious feuds and animosities which are found to rage most bitterly in the persecuting party, ever most deficient in the knowledge and practice of what is good and true.

The fifth angel pours his Vial on "the throne of the beast;" on his chief seat of empire and dominion. Pergamus, at the time of the vision, was declared "the throne of satan †" and satan, or the dragon, gave his throne to the beast ‡. But at this period, the beast, by the ministry of the false prophet, had greatly extended his dominion, and his capital seat was elsewhere. He had now a vast two-fold empire; under the two horns of antichrist. But "his kingdom becomes darkened." During the antichristian reign, there has been a long and dark age; an age of deplorable ignorance and superstition. The fanatical disciples of Mahomet, at their first outset, forbade the cultivation of all

* See note, ch. viii. 12. † Ch. ii. 13. ‡ Ch. xiii. 2.

learning,
learning, except that which is contained in the book of their false prophet. The papal usurpers encouraged only monkish dreams and lying legends, and scholastic quibbles; and prohibited the free and general use of the fountains of knowledge; the Sacred Scriptures. This operated not only as a great hindrance to the cause of Christianity, (represented under the corresponding Trumpet,) but also as a πλυγή, an inflicted punishment upon the wicked authors and abettors of this spiritual ignorance; men who "loved darkness better than light, because their deeds were evil." For as "they "who love silver, shall not be satisfied with silver*;" so they who love darkness, cannot be satisfied therewith.

It recoils upon them, and torments †.

The sixth Vial is poured out on the great river Euphrates, which is dried up, to prepare the way of the kings, who come from the east, or sun-rising. Euphrates is the river on which stood Babylon, the enemy and corrupter of God's ancient Church‡. And as Babylon is used, symbolically, to represent the corrupt Christian, or, to speak more justly, antichristian Church; so Euphrates may represent that region: or, having been the grand boundary, in ancient times, between those countries generally connected together

* Eccl. v. 10.
† We have before us a modern instance of this truth. The extinction of Christianity in France, so far as it could be accomplished, was the most unwise policy which its infatuated rulers could have devised; that which afforded them the greatest embarrassment, and involved them in the utmost danger. To this cause is to be attributed the most formidable of their rebellions; and so far as their mad devices took place, they undermined and eradicated in the minds of the subjects those principles which render them most governable.—This was written about the year 1795.
‡ Note, ch. ix. 3.
by a reciprocation of interests, and the more remote nations to the east, and being also the limiting line of the Roman empire, it may likewise be used to denote that which separates and prevents an union in religion between the now eastern and western worlds. The kings and their nations were destined by the original counsel of God, declared by his prophets*, to flow into the Christian Church. This prophecy, in the western hemisphere has been most wonderfully fulfilled: but the eastern nations remain idolatrous, or immersed in mahometan superstition. And it is this superstition, settled upon the whole range of the modern Euphrates, which seems to be a principal impediment to their conversions. But this is not all; there is another Euphrates, another Babylon, which impedes. Not only this eastern branch of Antichrist, but his western horn also, more particularly denominated Babylon†, is found to place great obstacles in the way prepared for these kings and nations to pass over to the Christian Church. The Indian Mahometans are described by modern writers to be a kind of Christian heretics, most averse to the Romish superstition; and till that superstition shall be in a greater degree removed, it is said there are little hopes of converting many of them to the Christian Church‡. This enmity of the Mahometans to the papal religion is so great in the east, that there are said to be treasures of Christian manuscripts among them, copies of which might be obtained, if the owners could be assured that the copyists were not of the same party as the Pope§. "The writers of the Romish communion, by endeavouring to defend their own

* Is. ii. 2; lxvi. 12, 18, 19, 20; xlix. 23. Mic. iv. 1.
† Ch. xvii.
‡ Sir Wm. Jones, Asiatic Researches.
§ Nieburgh's Travels, vol. i. p. 106.
idolatry and superstition, have rather contributed to
the increase of that aversion, which the Mahometans
now entertain against the Christian Religion*.
Hence it appears that Antichrist, in both his horns or
branches, (one of which is now seated on the Euphrates,
and the other is scripturally known by the name of
that Babylon which was formerly seated there,) occa-
sions impediments, which must probably be removed,
before the eastern nations with their kings can flow into
the Church of Christ.

In the prophecy of Daniel, (ch. vii. 12.) a continu-
ance in life is assigned to the three first beasts, or em-
pires, after the fourth, or Roman empire, shall be sub-
dued to the Messiah. Accordingly the eastern nations,
beyond the pale of the Roman empire, are the latest
converted to Christianity. But the difficulties will be
removed; their conversion will take place; and "there
will be one fold and one Shepherd." These observa-
tions may perhaps afford some light to the prophecy
contained under the sixth Vial; which must remain in-
volved in some obscurity, till the time when it comes
to be fulfilled. This prophecy appears not only to
bear some analogy and relation to that of the sixth
Trumpet, but also to be in some degree cotemporary
with it; with that part of it which runs the course of
the 1260 years, to the end of the Gentile period †.

Ver. 18. And I saw from the mouth of the dragon,
&c., three unclean spirits, as it were frogs.] Under
the sixth Trumpet, as hath been before remarked, the
prophecy stretches beyond its primary object, (the
armies led by the angels from Euphrates,) into the 1260
years, the period of the Gentiles, even to the end of it ‡.

* Sale's Koran, Preface, p. viii. † See note, ch. x. 1.
‡ Note, ch. x. 1.

Thus
Thus also the sixth Vial, having discharged its plague upon Euphrates, opens a wider field, preparatory to the final wrath of the seventh Vial. The dragon, the beast, and false prophet, are now seen to act with united force, each contributing to the common cause, “against the “battle of the great day,” which is expected under the seventh Seal, the seventh Trumpet, the seventh Vial. The evil spirits sent into the world on this occasion, are three; each antichristian chief having produced one. They come forth from the mouths of their wicked parents; may probably therefore be employed in spreading those “doctrines by which the kind of apostacy, to happen “in the latter days,” is promoted: and which is described by St. Paul as effected πενεματι πλανοις και διδασκαλίαις δαιμονιων, by seducing spirits and doctrines of devils*. There is a striking resemblance in the two passages; πνευματα δαιμονιων ποιητα σημεια, “spirits of “daemon working wonders,” that is, the same kind of wonders, as we have seen before worked by the false prophet, who ποιητα δια τα σημεια †, seduceth by the wonders which he worketh. Of this nature seems to be this three-fold attack on the Christian Church; to seduce the kings and leading men; and to range the civil powers on the side of Antichrist. The seducing doctrines are personified; they are like frogs; they have the appearance of that loathsome and unclean animal, which infested Egypt, when suffering her plagues. They are here as plagues; as plagues upon the antichristians; for, such only are poured out in the Vials. They levy war indeed against Christianity; but since they appear, in the present instance, under the Vials, and not under the Trumpets, they are to be

* 1 Tim. iv. 1. 
† Ch. xiii. 14. 
accounted
accounted as eventually bringing discomfit to the anti-Christians.

Whether all these impure seducing spirits are already come into the world, I take not upon me to pronounce: but the production of the first, the spawn of the dragon, seems already apparent. The proud, immoral, atheistical notions, which in the eighteenth century have been published by popular writers, and propagated by secret clubs and associations, and which have mainly assisted the revolution in France, and the attempt of its rulers to annihilate Christianity in the world, have much the appearance of being such. Yet these diabolical doctrines have not produced those pleasurable fruits which the seducing spirit had promised to his votaries. For if the tenets which they have broached, have been a plague to the inhabitants of the earth, the professors of the new doctrines have had their full share of the calamity. The bitter cup has been drunk, and its dregs wrung out, by those who introduced it, and by their adherents. Such may perhaps appear to be one of these frog-like evil spirits. But until “the great day” approaches nearer, we shall not be able to determine clearly the character of those wicked machinations, which will bring forth the powerful leaders of the world, to oppose the Messiah and his Saints at the great conflict of Armageddon*. In this conflict, notwithstanding this combination of infernal and worldly potentates against the Lamb and his fol-

* This is interpreted to signify the mountain of Megiddo, a place famous for slaughter and destruction. 2 Kings ix. 27; xxiii. 29. Judg. v. 19. Zech. xii. 11. See Parkhurst, in voc.: and Lowman on the Revelation, p. 202.
lowers, the victory will be decisive, and the slaughter of God's enemies immense.

Ver. 15. Behold, I come as a thief; &c.] See note, ch. iii. 3, 4. the same kind of warning is here repeated; assuring us, according to the constant tenour of Scripture, that notwithstanding all the signs afforded, and the preparations declared, "that day" will come upon the world unexpected. The victory obtained by the

* Ch. xix. 17. ad fin. It has been already observed, that there is difficulty in determining the place of the third Woe; which is announced as coming after the end of the sixth Trumpet, and consequently is expected under the seventh. (See note, ch. xi. 14.) This dreadful time is not mentioned afterwards, and therefore can be clearly recognized and ascertained by the event only, which seems yet to come. But if I may be allowed a conjecture, (to which, as being such, I have a right to expect no implicit credence,) this seems to be its probable place. For let us examine the progress of the seventh Trumpet. Upon the first sound of it, (ch. xi. 15.) the triumph of the Messiah, (by which this Woe will probably be ended,) is celebrated; but only as prophetic of the victory. In ch. 12, a conflict begins; but, by the examination of this conflict, we have found it to belong to the seventh Trumpet only in a preparatory light; being a representation of events which had taken place before any of the three Woes, and concluding with events which confessedly must belong to the times of the sixth Trumpet; the poor estate of the Church in the wilderness. This therefore cannot be the third Woe. Chapter xiii. contains the rise of the beast and false prophet. But this is only a more detailed account of the transactions of the sixth Trumpet. The xivth, xvth, and part of the xviith chapters contain the prowess of the Church militant, assisted by the Vials of Divine Wrath. But under the sixth Vial, the evil spirit stirs up new mischiefs, which affect Christianity so fatally, as to enable her enemies to bring their battle-array against her. This then seems to be the place where the third Woe is most likely to operate, by effecting a numerous apostasy of Christians, resembling those which had happened under the two former Woes. This is the only hostile attack under the seventh Trumpet, and it is probably not of long continuance; for the Church is in extreme danger, and perhaps oppression; but she is suddenly relieved by her great Champion and Redeemer.

Messiah
Messiah for his Saints, will be sudden, decisive, and complete. This warning, delivered in the fifteenth verse, is to be read as in parenthesis, after which the narrative seems to be resumed. And the verb singular, \( \text{συνέβη} \), agrees with the neuter plural \( \text{αποκαθάρισε} \) \( \text{ανέμου} \), whose office it was to collect the kings: (ver. 14). This is observed by Daubuz.

Ver. 17. And the seventh poured out his Vial on the air; &c.] The seven Vials are called the seven \textit{last} plagues*, "because in them will be completed the "wrath of God." And this wrath could not be fully complete until the last of the seven should be poured out. This period is now arrived; and appears to be the same with that of the sixth \textit{Seal} †; and of the seventh Trumpet; both of which exhibit a similar earthquake and hail: these are dreadful chiefly, if not wholly, to the enemies of Christ; for, at the sound of the seventh Trumpet, the heavenly chorus announces joy and happiness to the servants of God; who are sealed, and preserved from the calamity of the sixth Seal. The particulars of the conflict will be revealed more copiously in ch. xix. &c. In the present scene, it is represented under the character of a Vial of wrath poured out, of a plague and punishment inflicted on the antichristian powers. Hence the sufferings of these \textit{men} enter more especially into the description.

This Vial is poured out upon the air; upon that element which pervades, or envelopes, all the other divisions of the world,—of the antichristian world, on which the preceding Vials had been discharged;—the Land, the Sea, the Rivers, and Heavenly Luminaries; and consequently affects them \textit{all}. It is the region of

* Ch. xv. i.
† See ch. vi. 12—17; ch. xi. 15—19; and the notes.
the air, of which satan, as Mede observes, has been denominated the prince*. Antichristianity, therefore, is now attacked in her strongest holds, and in every part. The discharge of this Vial is accompanied by a voice from the throne in heaven, proclaiming by the emphatical expression, ἖γείρε, the final completion, the perfect victory.

Throughout the whole of this prophetical book, expectation is fixed upon this great event; which however, for reasons above assigned, is not yet exhibited in all its particulars. But the earthquake so dreadful, and unparalleled †; the removal of mountains and of islands §; the hail ‡; afford the same kind of general display of the tremendous judgments of an offended God, as we have seen exhibited under the sixth Seal, and the seventh Trumpet. All three appear to predict the same period and events, and in like language. Any variation to be observed in each, may be sufficiently accounted for, by adverting to the object, which each had more especially in view. For instance; (1.) the sixth Seal, containing the first opening of this dreadful scenery, would properly present it in a general style of imagery, such as had been already seen in other parts of prophetic Scripture‖, such as might serve as a basis, whereon to build the additional information, which would more fitly come forward in the subsequent parts of the prophecy ‖. (2.) When the same period, attended by the

* Eph. ii. 2. † See note, ch. vi. 12, &c. § See note, ch. viii. 7.
‖ See note, ch. vi. 16.
‖ The sixth Seal seems also to extend to the final Day of Judgment and retribution, at the consummation of the world; which the seventh Trumpet and Vial perhaps do not. This, like other prophecies, may have a primary and secondary completion; the first, so far as it agrees and cotemporizes with the seventh Trumpet and Vial; the last, at the latest period of time.

same
same kind of scenery, was to be exhibited under the seventh Trumpet; joy, triumph, and thanksgiving, would naturally predominate in the description: for, the preceding Trumpets, which had announced a long and mournful warfare to the Church, were now come to their end; but in the back-ground of the scenery, the same dreadful apparatus, which appeared under the sixth Seal, is still displayed: "lightnings and voices, and thunders, and earthquake, and great hail." And it is observable, that these commotions proceed from the Temple, and Throne in Heaven; from the very same quarter, whence the angels had brought the Vials filled with the wrath of God; and from which, at the pouring out of the last Vial, the emphatic ἔνειον likewise had proceeded.

(3.) Under the seventh Vial, the same kind of apparatus appears, as under the sixth Seal and under the seventh Trumpet; but with this additional information; that "the great city became divided into three parts, and the cities of the nations fell; and the great Babylon was remembered before God, to give her the cup of the wine of the fury of his anger." This particular description is the proper subject of the Vials; in which the wrath of God is represented as poured out on his enemies. The great city is the same which we find mentioned in ch. xi. composed of "many people, tribes, nations, and languages"; and seems to be the universal assemblage, or combined power, of the wicked and worldly, who at the instigation of satan, and under the expectation of earthly reward, or fear of the beast, shall have set themselves in opposition to the God of Heaven, and to the reign of his

* See note, ch. xi. 8. 13.,

Anointed.
Anointed. The division of this community into three parts, must be explained by the event, when the prophecy shall be fulfilled. The cities of the nations may perhaps be associations for worship, pagan and idolatrous, beyond the pale of the great city, of the corrupt Christian-antichristian Church. All such are to fall at this time, before the great Lord and Conqueror, "whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey Him." But of all the cities, or communities of Religion, which are opposed to the city of God and of Christ,—to the heavenly Jerusalem, the great Babylon is especially remembered. For her, (the harlot, the adulteress, the apostate Church,) the cup of God's anger, the vial of his wrath, is especially prepared. "For it is not an open enemy that hath done me this dishonour; for then I could have borne it;—but it was even thou, my companion, my guide, and my own familiar friend." The description therefore of this city, of her domination, and of her fall, is related; and becomes the especial subject of the two ensuing chapters; where we shall be enabled to unveil her, and to expose her abominations.

* Dan. vii. 27. † Psalm lv. 12, 14.
PART VI

SECTION III.

The great Harlot, or Babylon.

CHAPTER XVII.

1 And there came one of the seven angels who had the seven vials, and spake with me, saying; "Come hither; "I will shew thee the "judgement of the "great harlot, who "sitteth upon the "many waters; With "whom the kings of "the earth have com- "mitted fornication; "and the inhabitants "of the earth have "been made drunken "with the wine of her "fornication." And he carried me away into a wilderness in the Spi- rit. And I saw a wo- man seated upon a scarlet-coloured wild- beast, which was full of names of blasphemy; having seven heads and ten horns. 4 And the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet, and richly ad-

2 And there came one of the seven angels which had the seven vials, and talked with me, saying unto me, Come hither, I will shew unto thee the judgement of the great whore, that sitteth upon many waters: With whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and the inhabitants of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication. So he car- ried me away in the Spirit into the wilder- ness: and I saw a wo- man sit upon a scarlet-coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads, and ten horns. And the woman was arrayed in purple, and scar- let-colour, and decked with gold, and preci- ous stone, and pearls,
Having a golden cup in her hand, full of abominations and [illegible] of her fornication. And upon her forehead was a name written, MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS, AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH.

6 And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus: and when I saw her, I wondered with great admiration. And the angel said unto me, Wherefore didst thou marvel? I will tell thee the mystery of the woman, and of the beast that carrieth her, which hath the seven heads and ten horns.

The beast that thou sawest, was, and is not; and shall ascend out of the bottomless pit, and go into perdition: and they that dwell on the earth shall wonder (whose names were not written in the book of life from the foundation of the world) when they behold the beast that was, and is not, and
9 Yet is. And here is the mind which hath wisdom. The seven heads are seven mountains, on which the woman sitteth. And there are seven kings: five are fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet come; and when he cometh, he must continue a short space.

11 And the beast, that was, and is not, even he is the eighth, and is of the seven, and goeth into perdition.

12 And the ten horns which thou sawest, are ten kings, which have received no kingdom as yet; but receive power as kings one hour with the beast.

13 These have one mind, and shall give their power and strength

14 unto the beast. These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them: for he is Lord of lords, and King of kings; and they that are with him, are called, and chosen, and faithful. And he saith unto me, The waters which thou sawest, where the whore sitteth, are peoples, and
“and the Lamb shall overcome them, (for he is Lord of lords, and King of kings); and they who are with him, called, and chosen, and faithful.” And he saith unto me; “The waters which thou didst see, where the harlot is seated, are peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and languages: And the ten horns which thou sawest upon the beast, these shall hate the harlot, and shall make her desolate and naked; and shall eat her flesh, and burn her utterly with fire: for God hath put into their hearts to fulfil his will, and to agree, and give their dominion unto the beast, until the words of God shall be accomplished. And the woman whom thou didst see, is the great city which hath dominion over the kings of the earth.”
Ver. 1. *One of the seven angels; &c.* This vision seems in some measure to be detached and separated from the rest. The scene is changed to a wilderness, for the purpose of its exhibition; and it appears like a sort of episode. Yet the matter of it will be found to be of high importance; it will be found to explain many passages in the preceding prophecy, but especially those of ch. xvi. 19, where Babylon is mentioned as "remembered." To exhibit this connection, the angel, who attends upon the prophet and explains this vision, is one of the seven who had been employed to pour out the Vials. This separate vision is therefore intitled by the angel, "the judgment of "the great harlot," who appears in the fifth verse of this chapter to have the name of Babylon. So, this Section, taken together with its continuation in ch. xviii. and xix. 1—11, will be found to contain the Vial or plague upon Babylon: but first, she is described.

She is called "the great harlot," and "the great "city." These two names, in prophetical language, have the same meaning. A city, or kingdom, is frequently represented under the symbol of a woman. Babylon, ancient Babylon, is so represented †. And when it is the object of the prophecy to express the idolatry and corruptive wickedness of the city, she then appears as an harlot §. All the imagery belonging to this form of speech, may be seen in complete allegory, in the sixteenth chapter of Ezekiel; where a forlorn female infant, under the fostering hand of Providence, grows up, and becomes "exceeding beautiful," and "pro- "spers into a kingdom;" but afterwards degenerates into an "idolatress and harlot." The same imagery

* Ver. 18. † Isa. xlvii. 1—6. § Isa. i. 21.

§ See more on this topic, in notes, ch. ii. 20. 22; xii. 1—4.
appears again, in ch. xxii. of the Apocalypse; where, to Babylon, the harlot, is opposed the New Jerusalem, the Bride. This corrupt city, now exhibited, had acquired her greatness and celebrity under the character of harlot; for her power over the kings and inhabitants of the earth, is described as arising from her fornication with them; she is represented as beguiling them to drink of "the cup of her fornications;" and leading them, intoxicated, through all the impurities of her idolatry, to that extreme madness of iniquity, when she wallows in the innocent blood of saints and martyrs.* Possessing, by this influence, the riches of the kings, she appears arrayed in vestments of the utmost splendour. Purple and scarlet, the distinguishing regal colours in the ancient world, are employed to adorn her. She is decorated with gold and precious stones. She "sits upon many waters;" which is afterwards explained to signify, (as indeed it generally signifies in prophetic language †,) that she has dominion over many nations. She has a mysterious name; a name ænigmatical; μυστικός:—it is "the great Babylon, the

* Ver. 6. † See note, ch. i. 13.

; The word μυστικός, mystery, does not appear to have been part of the inscription on the forehead of the woman; but to imply that her name, so written, was of the mysterious, ænigmatical kind. So it seems to have been understood in the ancient Latin text used by Primasius; et in fronte ejus nomen scriptum Sacramenti. (Primasius in loc.) See ch. i. 20. where μυστικός is used to signify an ænigma, containing a spiritual truth concealed under a literal form. Agreeably to this, the angel says, "I will tell thee the mystery of the woman:" I will explain this symbolical appearance. And it must be in a mystical sense only that any city or political body can be now called Babylon: for, the literal Babylon has been long since sunk to nothing: and divine prophecy has declared of her, that she shall no more rise again. The city was a heap of ruins before this prophecy was delivered. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vi. 26.

{o o 2} mother
mother of harlots, and of the abominations of the "earth." That which the ancient and literal Babylon was to the nations surrounding her, (the parent of the most gross and corruptive idolatry,) this mystical Babylon has been to the modern nations. The ancient Babylon was literally seated "on many waters." The mystical Babylon is so seated, in the spiritual sense applied to the passage by the angel; she rules over many kingdoms †. The ancient Babylon is described as "a golden cup; the nations have drunken "of her wine, therefore the nations are mad." Such also has been the modern Babylon. She is herself, like her prototype §, intoxicated; and not only with her shameful revellings, but "with the blood of Saints."

Thus far the description of the woman; who appears to represent some city, state, or body politic, exercising an extended dominion over kings and nations, like the ancient Babylon; and thus also distinguished by her ambition; sensuality, idolatry, and by her persecution of true Religion. A reader versed in history, without waiting for other prophetic marks of this city, will be led to think of Rome, either ancient or modern, pagan or ecclesiastic:

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* Jer. li. 13.  
† Ver. 18.

‡ Jer. li. 7.—For the corrupt and corruptive character of ancient Babylon, see not only the Sacred Scriptures, but the ancient profane historians: Herodot. lib. i. 199. Qu. Curtius, v. 1. Vet. Schol. in Juvenal. Sat. i. 104. Bayle's note B. Dict. Hist. And in the classical authors may be also seen Vice personified and corrupting under the symbolical appearance of a woman. In the Tablet of Cebes, a woman, whose name is Deceit, holds in her hand the corrupting cup; and in Prodicus's Choice of Hercules, as preserved by Xenophon, there is the same imagery.

§ Isa. xlvi. 7, &c.
tical: but whatever he may have done before, he cannot fail to turn his attention to this great city, when he reads the explanation of the angel in the 18th verse. "The woman which thou didst see, is the "great city which hath dominion over the kings of "the earth." What can be more obvious than that this city is Rome? What other city or state, had such dominion at the time when the angel pronounced these words? In the symbolical language of Scripture, Rome is Babylon. Saint Peter dates his first Epistle from Rome under the name of Babylon*; the Romanists themselves deny not to Rome the application of this name. It is necessary to their own purposes, but it confirms the application of this prophecy, which plainly belongs to Rome, either pagan or ecclesiastical; and the sequel will discover which.

But the woman does not come alone; she is mounted on "a scarlet-coloured wild-beast, full of names "of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns."

* See the notes of Dr. Hammond and of Grotius on this passage, as well as the opinion of the ancients upon it, in Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. ii. c. 15. Some eminent critics have indeed contended for the literal Babylon, the remains of Babylon, in which some Jews appear still to have dwelt in Saint Peter's time, being the place whence Saint Peter dated his Epistle. (See Michaelis's Introd. ch. xxvii. sect. 4.) But however that may be determined, it affects not the mystical application of the word Babylon in a mystical book. (See note, ch. xi. 9, 10.) Babylon, at the time this Revelation was written, was in a still more deserted miserable state than when Saint Peter wrote. Pausanias, who flourished about one hundred years later than the date of St. Peter's Epistle, and about sixty after the date of the Apocalypse, has recorded, that ancient Babylon had then nothing remaining but its wall, which was afterwards employed to inclose a park, in which wild beasts were kept for the hunting of the kings of Persia. Pausan. lib. viii. c. 33.
This description cannot fail to remind us of the wild-beast represented in the xiiiith chapter. It will be useful to bring the two descriptions together, that thus they may more easily be compared:

WILD-BEAST of CHAP. XIII. WILD-BEAST of CHAP. XVII.

1 From the sea. 1 From the bottomless deep; so the sea is called; ἀδύνατος. Luke viii. 31.

2 Seven heads, ten horns. 2 Seven heads, ten horns.

3 Ten diadems on the horns. 3 The diadems not mentioned, but may be supposed, for the horns are here said to be kings, therefore crowned.

4 Names of blasphemy on his heads. 4 Full of names of blasphemy.

5 Like a leopard. 5

6 Has the feet of a bear. 6

7 Has the mouth of a lion. 7

8 Has great power and rule from the dragon. 8 Has the power of the kings, which is used, like that of the dragon, against the Church.

9 One of his heads mortally wounded, but wonderfully, and unexpectedly, healed. 9 Was, is not, though he is; (see the comparison, in the note, ch. xiii. 3.)

10 A great wonder upon earth, and object of adoration. 10 A wonder to the inhabitants of the earth, and may be an object of
WILD-BEAST of Chap. XIII.

11 Blasphemously opposes God and his pure worship, and persecutes the saints 42 months.

12 The Lamb shall destroy him. Ch. xix. 21.

13 Has a false prophet, who exerciseth his dominion, and making a living image of him, compels the world to worship it.

14 Is cast into the lake of fire. Ch. xix. 21.

It will easily be perceived that the two beasts bear strong resemblance to each other; there are indeed no parts of them which will appear to want this likeness, excepting Nos. 5, 6, 7. The beast of the seventeenth chapter, has no marks of the leopard, the bear, and the lion, which belong solely to the beast of the thirteenth. And what are these? They are the marks of the Assyrian, Medo-Persian, and Grecian monarchies; all which were parts component of the beast of the thirteenth chapter, yet whose more particular resemblance was to the fourth beast, or Roman monarchy of Daniel. Hence it seems to be insinuated, that the
the dominion of the beast of the thirteenth chapter, was to be extended over all the nations which had been subject to any of these four monarchies; over the eastern, as well as the western world. But this extent of dominion is not assigned to the beast who bears the harlot. His rule seems to be confined to the fourth monarchy; to the Roman empire, and to those ten kings or kingdoms into which that empire has been divided; those ten toes, with which the kingdom, described by Daniel, ended; and upon which it is to receive the blow of the stone. These are the western and European kingdoms; even to the exclusion of ancient Greece, modern Turkey, of that part of the Macedonian monarchy which was seated in Europe*. So, after the destruction of the fourth beast of Daniel, it is said, that the dominion of the three first is removed or chan-

* "As the four kingdoms of Daniel, considered in succession to each other, form a prophetic chronology; (Mede, p. 712.) so in another view they form a prophetic geography, being considered in the eye of prophecy as co-existent, as still alive and subsisting together, when the dominion of all but the last was taken away. In consequence of this idea, which Daniel gives us of his four kingdoms, so much only is to be reckoned into the description of each kingdom, as is peculiar to each; the remainder being part of some other kingdom, still supposed to be in being, to which it properly belongs. Thus the second, or Persian, kingdom does not take in the nations of Chaldea and Assyria, which made the body of the first kingdom; nor the third, or Graecian kingdom, the countries of Media and Persia, being the body of the second. In like manner, the fourth, or Roman, kingdom does not, in the contemplation of the Prophet, comprehend those provinces, which made the body of the third or Graecian kingdom, but such only as constitute its own body, that is, the provinces on this side of Greece." Bp. Hurd's Sermons on Prophecy, p. 348. See also Sir Isaac Newton on Daniel, ch. iv. p. 31, 32.
ged; but that length of life is permitted to them for a season*. Upon this change, the empire devolved to the fourth, or Roman, monarchy; which, in process of time, with its triumphant harlot and ten kings, is to give place to the reign of Christ. But the three other monarchies remain for a time. Though they lose their power, they remain, as we see them at this day, beastly, marked with ignorance, superstition, tyranny, cruelty, and injustice, until the stroke of the stone having first broken the legs of Daniel's image, of the Roman or fourth beast, the other parts of the image will also fall; and the stone, or fifth kingdom, the kingdom of the Messiah, shall fill the whole earth.

The beast, therefore, carrying the harlot, seems in most points like the former beast of the xiiiith chapter, but not in the extent of his dominion. That of the former beast comprehended the eastern, and now Mahometan, provinces, of the four great monarchies; while the latter is confined to the western kingdoms only. He is indeed the same beast;—but when carrying the harlot, he is exhibited only in reference to one of the horns of Antichrist, that horn which the harlot will be found to represent. The eastern or Mahometan horn, and consequently the eastern or Mahometan world, does not enter into this description.

There is another peculiarity in the beast carrying the harlot, which was not seen in the beast of the thirteenth chapter;—he is of a scarlet colour. He seems to have obtained this tinge, by his connection with his scarlet mistress. This was not noted before, and there are some other minute marks of description, attributed only to the beast of the xviith chap-

* Dan. vii. 12.
ter, which belong to him peculiarly when he carries
the harlot, as a branch and horn of Antichrist; and
which could not so justly be ascribed to him in the
xiiiith chapter, where the representation would be
such as to agree with the extension of the four-
marchies; the eastern as well as the western horn.
These shall be considered in their place: but, first in
order, let us attend to that ænimatical description
of the beast, by which it is said that, "he was, and
is not, {yet is present*”} The form of speech is
highly ænimatical. He hath existed; doth not exist;

* There are, I believe, but two passages in the text of the Apo-
calypse, in which I have not submitted to the authority of Griesbach,
and adopted his readings. I do not possess the Biblical knowledge
and means of consulting authorities which may give me a right to con-
tend such points. But in the passage now before us, I have been
inclined to preserve the commonly received text, καὶ ἔστιν, as appear-
ing to contain an appropriate meaning, which I in vain look for in
the reading preferred by Griesbach. The three readings {καὶ ἐστιν
καὶ ἔστιν καὶ καὶ ἔστιν}
as written in ancient MSS., would have a near resemblance to each
other: but if any change has been made by transcribers, it is more
likely that the difficult and ænimatical expression has been rejected
by them for the more easy and plain one, than that the easy and plain
expression should be changed for the difficult and ænimatical. But
whatever might be the practice of transcribers, we must in such
difficulties pursue a canon of criticism, laid down by the best critics;
and especially in respect to the readings of the Apocalypse. It is
among the rules adopted by Griesbach himself; “Preferatur lectio
"brevior, obscurior, durior, sensum paradoxum, ant apparenter fal-
"sum fundens,” &c. (Pref. ad Nov. Test.) Irenæus, who informs us
that he possessed, in his times (so near to the publication of the
Apocalypse) the στυλία και αεχμα αντωνομα, seems to have followed
this reading; or, in describing this beast, he would not have used
the expression, which appears in the Latin translation, “quasi qui
“non sit.”’ Iren. lib. v. c. 35.

yet
yet doth exist. These two last terms in their literal acceptation are in direct contradiction to each other; and therefore, literally taken, cannot be true. Yet many passages of Scripture have this character, and yet are found to contain true and important doctrine. Thus, a good Christian is said to be dead, though he liveth *. His life is hid with Christ in God †. This expression, literally interpreted, cannot be true: but if one of the terms be taken in its spiritual sense, the meaning becomes plain, and most important ‡. The life of the beast is thus figuratively dead; his life is hid, he is not seen and acknowledged by the world as being alive; although in fact he lives and rules with the same tyrannical oppression as before. In the description of the beast in the xiiith chapter, there is a similar enigmatical representation, which, as it seems to allude to the same history, may be usefully compared §.

The fourth beast of Daniel, the Roman tyranny, by the ecclesiastical revolution under Constantine, appeared to be deprived of his savage ferocity; to have no more existence as a wild-beast, as the oppressor of true Religion. He seemed then to have received his deadly wound: — "He was, and is not:"—but "his deadly wound was healed ||." Though "he was, "and is not, yet he is ¶." Unobserved to be the same beast, the same persecuting, oppressive power, he re-ascends from the great abyss, the same in the Spirit, even as John Baptist was said to be Elijah, and

* Rom. vi. 10.  † Col. ii. 3.  ‡ Thus also in Saint John's writings, ἐστιν ἄγιον, ἀκριβῶς ἐστιν ἄγιον. 1 John ii. 19.  § See them exhibited in comparison, in note, ch. xiii. 3.  || Ch. xiii. 3.  ¶ Ch. xvii. 8.
Christ to be David; because they came in the same "power," and fulfilled the offices assigned by prophecy to their respective prototypes. By the scarlet splendour of the harlot, who is seated upon the beast and directs his steps, he is so covered and disguised; by her abominable cup the kings and nations of the earth, who should oppose his reign, are so intoxicated; that he is suffered to come up unknown, unacknowledged; and, directed and abetted by the harlot, to exercise all his former oppression. He is the same, though he does not appear such: "He was, and is "not, though he is." Yet, the admiration and worship with which the beast is honoured in this his disguise, though general, is not universal. The sealed Christians, whose names are written in the book of Life, though few in number, are awake to their duty; discover the deceit; reject the cup of the har-

* These words of the angel, describing the beast, "He was, and "is not," &c. appear to me in no wise applicable to the tyranny seated at Rome at the time of the vision, when the angel spake them. This was the time of the Emperor Domitian, when a cruel persecution raged against the Church, when Saint John himself was actually suffering banishment in Patmos, "for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus." Such a time can in no wise agree with the representation, that the beast "was, and is not." It is therefore probable that the time in which the beast is said to have been, and not to be, &c., is the time when he ariseth again after his wound, to exercise dominion under the direction of the harlot. This time was not arrived when Saint John saw the vision in Patmos: but though future in this sense, it was present in another, as belonging to the vision then under exhibition: for, the beast was then present in exhibition before Saint John, and in the act of re-ascending to power. This will appear more probable to those who read forward from this passage to the end of the 8th verse, where the admiration of the inhabitants of the earth is spoken of as future; and yet this admiration is fixed upon the same object,—the beast which was, and is not, &c. 


lot, and the mark of the beast; abjure the idolatrous worship required; and many of them sacrifice their lives in the cause of Truth.

Ver. 9. Herein is the mind having wisdom.] By comparing this expression with similar passages*, it will appear to contain a call to the observant Christian, engaging him to attend diligently to the marks (κατωμέμενα) of the beast and harlot, which are now announced by the angel, in order to assist the detection of them when they shall appear. In the first place, we are informed, that the seven heads of the beasts are so many mountains, on which the woman, who directs the power of the beast, is seated. But mountains have been found to signify eminent seats, high stations, of power †. But, in ver. 1. of this chapter, the woman is said also to be seated "on many waters." And these were ascertained, by the explanation of the angel, to signify "people, and multitudes, and "nations, and languages ‡." Thus presiding over these nations, she is afterwards said, in plainer language, "to "have dominion over the kings of the earth." From a comparison of these passages, it will therefore appear, that the seven mountains express that widely extended power and dominion, which this re-ascending beast was to exercise under the direction of the harlot.

But these seven mountains, by the interpretation of the angel, appear to have an additional signification;—"they are also seven kings; five of them have "fallen; and one of them is; the other is not yet "come; and when he is come, he must remain a little; "and the wild-beast which was, and is not, even he "is the eighth, and is of the seven." I quote this

* Ch. xiii. 10, 18. xiv. 12.
† See notes, ch. i. 4. viii. 8. ‡ Ver. 15.
passage, to shew what we are to expect under the name of kings. For the beast himself, upon his revival, is to be one of the kings: therefore, from what he is known to be, some conjecture may be formed of the nature of the rest, who are here styled kings. Now, it has been clearly seen that the seven-headed beast is a tyrannical and oppressive power; and in particular, that power which formed the Roman domination, which is still the same beast, under whatever form of government it may be exercised. But this power, though it may be administered by a king, cannot itself be literally a king, that is, a man exercising supreme authority. So in the interpretation of the word king, as used in this passage, we must look for some other meaning; for such as may not exclude the beast from bearing it. In this research, we obtain assistance from the eighth chapter of the prophecy of Daniel; where, by comparing verse 17, with verse 23, it appears, that the word kings is used to signify kingdoms, or forms of government. The beast before us has seven heads; seven mountains; seven seats of eminent power; seven kingdoms, or forms of government; yet not all existing at the same time, but succeeding to each other. For, five of them are represented to have fallen; one, the sixth, to be then existing; another, the seventh, to be not yet come; and after a short continuance to be succeeded by an eighth and last; even by the whole beast himself, representing such a kingdom, or form of government. In attempting to point out these seven kingdoms, or forms of government, it will be useful to begin with the sixth; with that which was existing at the time when the angel described them. This was the power imperial; for at that time one man, Domitian,
Domitian, under the title of Emperor, exercised the supreme authority, uttering oppressive edicts against the Christian Church. But can we trace back the forms of government, which succeeded each other under the Roman domination, so that they may fairly appear five, preceding the imperial form? Kingly, Consular, Decemviral, are confessedly three distinct forms of government, established by three separate revolutions. And the balance of power, continually changing, and verging at one time in favour of the patrician or aristocratic, at another of the plebeian or democratic scale, have probably produced two other distinct forms of government. Such indeed we find recorded in the Roman history, as exercised under Dictators, and Military Tribunes*. These appear to be the five heads, which were fallen, at the time when the angel spake. The sixth or imperial head, was then existing; and continued to exist till the year 475; when it terminated with Augustulus, the last emperor. To this imperial form succeeded the government set up by the Gothic conquerors, when, after a short time, a magistrate, with the title of Exarch, presided in Rome. But in the dark ages, which were now commencing, the beast begins again to appear. He had disappeared under the auspices of Constantine; now he revives; and the civil power of the empire passes into hands in which it becomes idolatrous, blasphemous, tyrannical, and oppressive to true Religion. This was the time when the false

* These, as Bp. Newton observes, are the five forms of government antecedent to the imperial form, enumerated and distinguished as such "by those who should best know, the two greatest Roman "Historians, Livy and Tacitus." Livii lib. vi. 1. Tacit. Anna!, lib. i. sub initio.

prophet
prophet of the xiiiith chapter began to exalt the power of the beast: when the harlot directed the reins and exhibited him as an object of terror and admiration. Thus he became the eighth form of government: and in this form, he exceeded all his predecessors in cruel and exterminating warfare against the saints. The popes, and their agents in the corrupt church, made use of the civil power of the kings to persecute and destroy those who dared to profess a creed or worship, other than they had authorized. Having, uttered their decrees against such persons, they delivered them to the secular arm, which at their instigation was ready to apply the fire and faggot. From the time that the reigning powers of Europe were willing to enforce the decrees of persecution at the call of a corrupt, domineering religion, is to be dated the reign of the beast, as an eighth head. It is not, strictly speaking, a head of the beast; for the heads were seven; and were all fallen; but it is the revival of a tyrannical, persecuting power in their place. It is a form still more beastly, subsisting after the seven heads were gone. It is the whole beast, or the perfect image of him, revived, by the false prophet, by the harlot.

Ver. 12. And the ten horns which thou didst see, are ten kings; &c.] This beast, like that in the viith chapter of Daniel, has ten horns; which are also explained to represent ten kings or kingdoms. They are not described as having existence in the early days of the beast's power; but as succeeding to a share of dominion with him afterwards, "one and the same hour;" that is, during a space of time, the commencement and duration of which seem not to be determined. But the warfare in which they are to
to unite their forces to that of the beast, against the Lamb and his followers, takes place toward the end of the beast's reign, when they are mustered to the battle of the great day, by the agency of the evil spirits*. That these times are the same, we may collect from the similarity of the relation. In ch. xvi. 4. xvii. 14. and xix. 16. 9, the same words are repeated;—"The Lamb shall overcome them;—King of kings, Lord of lords." But the ten kingdoms, or their successive rulers, although for a time intoxicated by the harlot, and made subservient to her exaltation, shall in the end oppose her usurped dominion; "shall hate her, and shall make her desolate "and naked; and shall eat her flesh, and burn her "utterly with fire." Her gaudy ornaments shall be stripped from her by the agency of those, who shall enrich themselves with her spoils, and finally reduce her to that complete destruction, which is expressed by the operation of fire†. Yet this hostility between the kings and the harlot, does not seem to proceed from any virtue in them, but from worldly avarice and ambition. They covet her power and her riches; and this change in their conduct seems to take place from the time when they awake from their intoxication. They who had been the means of exalting the harlot, become the instruments of her fall.

* Ch. xvi. 4.
† This destruction is particularly displayed in the following chapter. See also, Jer. xiii. 22—27. Ezek. xvi. 39; xxiii. 29. Hos. ii. 3. Mich. i. 6—12. Nah. iii. 4—5. Lam. i. 8; iv. 21: which passages will afford light to the imagery here used, which is not unfrequent in the history of other ancient nations. See Tacitus de Mor. Germ. c. xix. where the woman convicted of adultery, is described as turned out of doors, stripped naked.
Having taken this view of "the great harlot," who, like the little horn of Daniel, is seen seated among the ten kings or kingdoms, into which the latter end of the Roman beast, the western part of the Roman empire, was divided; who sitteth supreme over many nations, directing the civil power, corrupting by idolatry and impure religion, and rioting in the blood of Saints and Martyrs; whose mystical name is Babylon, the mother of harlots, and of the abominations of the earth; who, though she corrupt and intoxicate the rulers of the western nations, is at length deserted and destroyed by them; who is, lastly, that great city which had dominion, at the time of the vision, over the kings of the earth;—we shall find little difficulty in applying it to history.

Rome, seated on seven mountains, and ruling over the kings of the earth, is clearly the scene on which the harlot acts her part. This is the city called by the fathers of the Church, in nearly the same expression, τὴν βασιλευσάντα πολίν, τὴν πολίν βασιλίδ'*. It has been observed, that on an ancient coin, Rome is symbolically represented as a woman seated on a lion†. And this picture of her was so well known, and found to be so consonant to this prophecy, that the fathers, from Tertullian to Augustine, generally understood Rome to be designated under the emblem of this harlot‡. Modern interpreters could do no

* See Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 13.—She is Babylon; Saint Peter, as it were, by the direction of the same Holy Spirit, fixes this title upon her. See 1 Pet. v. 13. with the notes of Whitby; also Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 13. with the note of Valesius upon the passage.
† Vitringa, p. 757.
otherwise than follow them. All are generally agreed, that this prophecy is of Rome. But a question arises; whether this city, so designated, be the pagan and imperial, or the modern and ecclesiastical Rome. The writers of the church of Rome have contended that she is the former: and they have received considerable assistance from certain Protestant divines; from Grotius and Hammond. But the attentive reader, perusing the comments of those learned writers, will find great deficiency of correspondence between the symbols, and the objects in history which they have supposed them to represent. Pagan Rome became Christian, before the beast, as exhibited in this vision, was completed in his seven forms of government, and had divided his power among the ten kings. Pagan Rome did not beguile and corrupt; but compel and destroy. She permitted, as Bishop Newton observes, the conquered nations to continue the religion of their ancestors. Instead of corrupting others, she was herself corrupted by foreign superstitions. The Babylon of the Apocalypse is a church, or religious society: for she stands opposed to the New Jerusalem. She is a corrupt church, opposed to the pure one; and this cannot be said of Pagan Rome. So, the harlot on the beast stands also contrasted to the woman in the wilderness. They are both of them Churches;—but one of them is an apostate church; not the modest, pure, suffering Church, which was seen in the wilderness; but that proud, gaudy, drunken, bloody, corrupted, and corrupting society, whose antitype can be found nowhere in history but in the papal hierarchy. Pagan Rome therefore, though seated on the beast, can, by no just interpretation, be deemed the harlot. Besides,
the beast, on which Pagan Rome was seated, is not the identical beast on which we have seen the harlot. It is indeed the Roman empire; but not in that period, which has been clearly discriminated in the beast carrying the harlot. This is the Roman empire in its last stage; when it appears divided into ten toes*; into ten kingdoms. No such division is seen in history while Rome continued pagan. It is that period of the beast, when having received an apparently mortal wound, by Christianity having become the religion of the empire, he is again restored to life; and adding the sanctions of religious, to civil power, domineers over the pure Christian Church.

This interpretation is not new: it is that, in which almost all the Protestant commentators have concurred. If I have added any thing to the evidence by which it is established, it is by pointing out the difference of the beasts, represented in the xiiiith and xviith chapters; the one extending his dominion over the whole Roman empire, eastern as well as western; the other confined to the western dominion, and its ten kingdoms; the former producing the lamb-like beast, the false prophet, or antichrist entire, that is, having two horns, one springing forth in the Mahometan or eastern, the other in the papal or western, apostacy; the latter, being a part of the former, bears only one horn of Antichrist, yet that the most eminent. For, the western horn of Antichrist, appearing in the very centre of that part of the world, which bore the Christian name; which styled itself the Catholic Church; which denied the title of Christian to any who should dare to dissent from its decrees; required a more particular description. That

* Dan. ii. 42.
description has been now examined; and the characters presented to view, can apparently accord with no other than papal Rome. The false prophet, as represented with his two horns, may appear to bear as strong a resemblance to the Mahometan, as to the papal apostacy*: but this horn or branch now represented under the symbol of the harlot, belongs exclusively to the papal usurpation.

The arguments which are used by the Romanists to evade this application of the prophecy, are of little weight. Those produced by some eminent Protestants, by Grotius and Hammond, have been frequently and most satisfactorily refuted; nor do there remain at this time any which may seem to require notice, excepting that, which has been triumphantly advanced by Bossuet, the eloquent Bishop of Meaux.—

The woman (says he) must of necessity represent pagan, and not Christian Rome; for, to accord with the former, she is properly named as a harlot; but to agree with the latter, she should have been called a faithless spouse, an adulteress†.—To this objection Bishop Hurd, with equal acuteness has answered, that the term adulteress could not be applied to Babylon, which had never entered into marriage contract with the Deity. And yet Babylon, he observes, on account of her enormous idolatry, was the fittest of all types to represent the corrupt Roman church. But the answer does not yet appear to take away the force of the objection. It seems necessary to shew, that the term harlot is here applied to papal Rome

* Indeed it very strongly expresses both: see notes on ch. xiii. p. 298.
† L'Apocalypse, &c. par Messire J. B. Bossuet, Evêque de Meaux.
with strict propriety, and according to the just analogy of Scriptural language: and that the name of adulteress would not be more proper. And this, as I conceive, it is not difficult to shew: for, we can produce other churches, which had undoubtedly as fair a claim, as the church of Rome can pretend, to be called the betrothed, the espoused of God; which yet upon their apostacy, or idolatrous defection, have, in the language of Scripture, been denominated harlots. Such were the churches of Judah, and of the ten tribes in Samaria, whose legitimate claim to the title of the betrothed, or espoused, will not be disputed. These churches were undeniably in that very situation, in which the Bishop of Meaux represents the Church of Rome to be, when he asserts that on account of that situation, the name of harlot, and of Babylon cannot with propriety be applied to her. And yet in Scripture, these churches are denominated harlots, when idolatry is laid to their charge. Their crime is called whoredom and fornication, very seldom adultery. And thus, that term which, in the mouth of Divine Wisdom, was properly applied to the espoused Churches of Judah and of Israel, when rebellious and apostate, is certainly applied with equal propriety to the Church Christian, when she appears in the same character; when she is convicted of the same crime. And a reason may be assigned, why such apostate Churches are described in Scriptural language under the name of harlots, rather than of adulteresses. When they forsake God, he disowns them; they are no longer esteemed as married; they are considered as "put away," by that great Being who

* See Isaiah i. 21; lxiv. 5—8; lxii. 4. 5. Jer. iii. throughout; xxi. 32. xvi. throughout; Ezek. xvii. Hos. ii.
had conferred upon them the title of Spouse. In the language of Scripture, he has "given them a bill of divorce." Such appears to be the precise case of the idolatrous church of Rome; she forsook her Lord, when she attached herself to the beast and his image; she rebelled and apostatized; and in such a state, if the Holy Spirit were to call her abominations adultery, it would be to own and to honour her more than she deserves. She is no longer the adulterous wife; she is the divorced castaway, and consequently the harlot. The prophecy therefore in this passage, as in all other parts of it, is strictly applicable to Papal Rome; to Papal Rome in her high zenith of insolence and dominion, when she had the command of worldly power in the ten European kingdoms; for it is then more especially that she could be said to ride the beast, and intoxicate the kings. In our days, that proud period of her exaltation is well nigh passed. She now appears in a state of weakness and decline. The kings, the powers of Europe, have begun to "hate her," to strip her of her ornaments, and to expose her nakedness and shame.†

* See Jer. iii. 8. Isa. l. 1.—This also appears to be the case with the γυναῖκα τοῦ ἱδείαρ, in this very book of Revelation, ch. ii. 20—23: the term implies, that she is a wife, yet she is said παρουσία, to act the harlot; whilst those who are corrupted by her, are represented as τὰ ἀντίστοια, as committing adultery with her.

† In my remarks on this chapter, I have not found it necessary to enter into a detail of those numerous particulars, in which this prophecy has been found to quadrature with the apostacy and corruptions of the papal church. The reader will find this abundantly supplied by almost all the Protestant commentators. Joseph Mede very ably led the way, by proving the apostacy of this church, (Mede's Works, p. 623.) and he has been followed by many learned writers, even to our own times; who have with great felicity demonstrated the corruptions of this hierarchy, concording with the symbols of the prophecy.
PART VI.

SECTION IV.

The Judgement of Babylon continued.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1 And after these things, I saw another angel coming down from heaven, having great power: and the earth was enlightened by his glory. And he cried with a mighty voice, saying; “She is fallen! the great Babylon is fallen! and is become an habitation of demons, and a station of every unclean spirit, and a station of every unclean and abominated bird; because all the nations have drunk of the wine of the wrath of her fornication, and the kings of the earth have committed fornication with her; and the merchants of the earth are waxed rich through the abundance of her delicacies. And I heard another voice from heaven, saying, Come out of her, my people, that ye be not par-
I heard another voice from heaven, saying;

"Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues:

"For, her sins have reached up unto heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities.

"For her, sins have reached up unto heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities. Render unto her even as she herself has rendered, and repay her two-fold, according to her works; in the cup which she hath filled, fill to her double.

"So much as she hath glorified herself, and wanted in luxury, so much give unto her torment and sorrow; because in her heart she saith, I am seated as a queen, and am not a widow, and sorrow I shall never see. Therefore shall her plagues come in one day, death, and mourning, and famine; and she shall be utterly burnt with fire: for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her. And the kings of the earth partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues:

"For her sins have reached unto heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities.

"Reward her even as she rewarded you, and double unto her double, according to her works: in the cup which she hath filled, fill to her double.

"How much she hath glorified herself, and lived deliciously, so much torment and sorrow give her: for she saith in her heart, I sit a queen, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow. Therefore shall her plagues come in one day, death, and mourning, and famine; and she shall be utterly burnt with fire: for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her. And the kings of the earth, who have committed fornication, and lived deliciously with her, shall bewail her, and lament for her, when they shall see the smoke of her burning.
shall bewail and lament over her, (they who have committed fornication, and wanted in luxury with her,) when they shall behold the smoke of her burning, Standing afar off for fear of her torment; saying, "Alas! alas! that great city, Babylon! that mighty city! for in one hour is thy judgement come."

And the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her, for no man buyeth her merchandise any more: The merchandize of gold, and silver, and precious stones, and of pearls, and of fine linen, and purple, and silk, and scarlet, and all thyine wood, and all manner vessels of ivory, and all manner vessels of most precious wood, and of brass, and iron, and marble; And cinamon, and odours, and ointments, and frankincense, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and wheat, and beasts, and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and slaves; and souls of men.

And the fruits that thy soul lusted after, are departed from thee, and all things which were dainty and goodly, are departed from thee, and thou shalt find them no more at all. The met
fine flour, and corn, 
and cattle, and 
and sheep; and of horses 
and chariots, and 
and bodies and souls of 
men. And the har-
vest of the fruits of 
the desire of thy 
soul is departed 
from thee; and all 
day and splendidly 
did things are per-
rished from thee, 
and never, never 
more shalt thou find 
them. The dealers 
in these things, who 
have been enriched 
by her, shall stand 
avar off for fear of 
her torment, weep-
ing and wailing, 
and never, never 
nor have been enriched, 
by her, shall stand 
avar off for fear of 
her torment, weep-
ing and wailing, 
and never, never 
nor have been enriched, 
by her, shall stand 
avar off for fear of 
her torment, weep-
ing and wailing, 
and never, never 
nor have been enriched, 
by her, shall stand 
avar off for fear of 
her torment, weep-
ing and wailing, 
and never, never

18 And every pilot, 
and every one who 
waiteth by the place, 
and sailors, and 
whosoever occu-
py the sea, stood
21 And a mighty angel took up a stone like a great millstone, and cast it into the sea, saying, Thus with violence shall that great city Babylon be thrown down, and shall be found no more at all.

22 And the voice of harpers, and musicians, and of pipers, and trumpeters, shall be heard no more at all in thee; and no craftsman, of whatsoever craft he be, shall be found any more in thee; and the sound of a millstone shall be heard no more at all in thee; And the light of a candle shall shine no more at all in thee; and the voice of the bridegroom and of the bride shall be heard no more at all in thee; for thy merchants were the great men of the earth; for by thy sorceries were all nations deceived: And in her was found the blood of prophets, and of saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth.
“shall the sound of a
millstone be ever
heard in thee more;
23 “And the light of a
lamp shall never
shine in thee more;
“And the voice of
bridegroom and
bride shall never be
heard in thee more:
“for thy merchants
were the great men
of the earth: for by
thy sorcery were all
the nations led a-
stray; And in her
the blood of pro-
phets and of saints
was found, and of
all who have been
slaughtered upon the
earth.”

Ver. 1. *After these things.*] The angel of the Vials having fulfilled the purpose for which he had taken the Prophet apart into the wilderness; to shew him “the harlot,” the mystical Babylon, whose fall had been denounced in ch. xiv. 8. xv. 19; the same scenery is renewed, which had attended the exhibition of the warnings and Vials. Heaven is again restored to view, and the angels descend to perform the parts allotted them. The prophecy now to be produced, is connected with ch. xiv. 8, where the same words are used by the angel, who proclaims the fall of Babylon. That which is there said in few words,
words, is now particularly described. It is a sequel also to the seventeenth chapter, in which the angel proposed to shew, not only Babylon, the great harlot, but also her judgment; which is now pronounced. It is connected also with the seventh Vial; for it is here, that "Babylon is remembered," as was promised under that Vial*; her plagues are come, and she is finally destroyed by fire, as, in ch. xvii, it was said she shall be.

Ver. 2. An habitation of Daemons.] The mystical Babylon, like the ancient and literal one its type, is to be utterly destroyed. And when the utter destruction of a city is denounced in Scripture, the site of that city is commonly described as becoming the haunt and habitation of wild beasts, and of such loathsome reptiles, as are found in the forsaken ruins of a city. (See for examples, Isa. xiii. 20—22; xxxiv. 10—16. Jer. ix. 11; li. 37.) On one of these passages it is observed by Bishop Lowth, that Hebrew words expressive of such animals are translated in the Septuagint by the word Δαημονία, which is used here†.

Ver. 3. Because all the nations—&c.] The cause of her judgment and fall is assigned. She who, as a Church of Christ, should have been the teacher and preserver of pure Religion and morality, had become the seducer and corrupter of the nations and their kings; and had set the example of that insolent luxury, disposing to irreligion, which it was her duty to oppose‡. It will be seen clearly from this verse, as well as from other passages of this chapter, that the great harlot of the seventeenth chapter, there called

* Ch. xvi. 19.  † Bp. Lowth on Is. xxxiv. 14.  ‡ See Schleusner or Parkhurst in voc. spers.
Babylon, and the Babylon whose judgment is here pronounced, are the same. The same intoxicating cup, the same nations and kings are repeated as the causes of the Divine judgments upon her.

"As the destruction of Rome is here compared "to the destruction of Tyre, we easily see how pro-"per it was, to describe the sins of Rome, by figures "taken from the sins of Tyre. The profit of trade "created a commerce between that city, then the "chief mart of the world, and all nations; so that "Tyre spread her luxury and superstition, far and "wide, with her trade. Rome, in like manner, "corrupted distant and remote nations, by reward-"ing her votaries with considerable wealth, encour-"aging their ambition and luxury; and thus, like "Tyre of old, she made her corruptions general, and "almost universal."

"If," says Bishop Newton, "this fall of Baby-
"lon was effected by Totilas, king of the Ostro-
"goths, as Grotius affirms, or by Alaric, king of "the Visigoths, as the Bishop of Meaux contends; "how can Rome be said, ever since, to have been the "habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul "spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful "bird; unless they will allow the Popes and Cardi-
"nals to merit these appellations?"

Ver. 4. Come out of her, my people.] The same commanding call is to be seen in Jer. li. 6, which is again repeated after the fall of the literal Babylon †. Of this injunction, great use was made by the Reformers. The sentence of retaliation is to be seen

† Dissert. on Propb. iii. 312.  
‡ 2 Cor. vi. 17, 18.
also in the ancient Prophets *. To God alone, "Vengeance belongeth;" he is to reward according to their doings; yet man may be employed to execute vengeance: and the kings of the western world seem designed for this work †.

Ver. 7. I am seated as a Queen.] The same imagery is used in Isaiah xlvii; which prophecy contains the divine judgment on the literal Babylon.

Ver. 8. With fire shall she be utterly burned.] This sentence imports utter destruction: for, where fire has holden its complete course, no particles of the former mode of existence remain.

Ver. 9. The kings of the earth.] It is remarkable, that the kings are described, in chap. xvii, as the instruments of destruction to the spiritual Babylon; yet here they are represented as mourning her fall. The event will shew the completion of both prophecies. It is far from improbable, that they who from envy, and an avaricious desire of her spoils, delight to destroy Babylon, may afterwards lament the fall of her who supported their own power.—But we must not prophesy.

Ver. 10. Alas! alas!] The use of the Greek word αλάς, αλας! alas! or woe! woe! in this passage, has suggested to some commentators, that under this part of the prophecy is contained the third woe, whose period and character are not clearly described. This notion has been entertained on a very false foundation. It has no other ground or colour of support, than these two adverbial interjections, which occur, as they must occur, in many other passages. The three woes, coming under the Trumpets,

* Psalm cxxxvii. Jer. l. 15—17, 29; li. 24. 49.
† Ch. xvii. 16.
are woes on the Christian Church; this, if it be a woe, is a woe upon its enemy and persecutor; over whose fall we are invited, by the angel, not to lament as for a woe, but to rejoice as on deliverance*. The third woe is announced, but is never described. It comes secretly. It may perhaps be seen, felt, and acknowledged, before the final fall of Antichrist; before the 1260 years are expired.

Ib. In one hour.] This is repeated three times in the course of this prophecy of the judgement on Babylon; and is generally understood to signify, that the desolation of Babylon shall come suddenly. But this does not agree with the present appearance of the event, as exhibited in history. Babylon seems to decline, and wear away gradually; according to the prophecy of Daniel, ch. vii. 26. See Mr. Wintle's translation, agreeing with the Greek of the Septuagint, "to be wasted and destroyed unto the end." "In one hour," seems to mean, in one uninterrupted period of time, whether it be of longer or shorter continuance; it is not said in one moment, in one point of time.

Ver. 11. The merchants— &c.] The lamentation of the kings shews the extreme height of worldly power to which the mystical Babylon had arrived; the mourning of the merchants, her extreme wealth and luxury. As Babylon, of the ancient world, was her type for power and dominion, so was Tyre for mercantile riches †. The enumeration of the articles of trade by which this Babylon is described as making an iniquitous profit, has something in it very peculiar and striking. It proceeds by a climax, or gradation, from

* Ver. 20.
† See Isa. xxiii. Ezek. xxvi. xxvii. xxviii.
one article to another, till it rises to the bodies, and then to "the souls of men." Can we avoid recalling to memory the purgatory, the penances, the commutations, the indulgences, made saleable in the corrupt papal church?

Ver. 12. *Fine linen.*] It is not necessary, respecting this passage, to determine the contested point, whether δυστός was used to signify linen, or cotton. It is plain from the context, as also from Luke xvi. 19, that it was the apparel only of the rich; and so it is here coupled with purple, scarlet, silk, &c. which were certainly the distinguishing habits of the opulent. Silk, at the time this Revelation was delivered, was a very rare and dear commodity, being then the produce only of China.*

Ver. 17. *Every pilot—&c.*] Here is presented a third company of mourners, of the same kind with those who lamented over the ancient maritime Tyre †. That these should be so affected, shews the extent of influence which the mystical Babylon had acquired in distant nations; for she corrupts wheresoever her baneful commerce can be extended. The reading ἐπὶ τὸτοῦ, restored by Griesbach, seems to be of great authority; in confirmation of which it is observed, that in the Vulgate, the word locum was antiently read, which has been changed to lacum ‡. It does not however appear to afford an appropriate sense; and therefore, many attempts have been made to amend the reading; but it is not very material; for the context shews how it is to be generally understood, namely, of those who sail in ships. I suspect ἐπὶ τὸτοῦ to be a technical, maritime phrase; but have translated it as if writ-

*See Gibbon, Hist. ch. xl. where the history of silk is collected.
† Ezek. xxvii. 32.
‡ Father Simou.
ten eti tou tov tokov: in the sense in which the Æthiopic version seems to have rendered it.

Ver. 20. **Rejoice over her; O heaven; &c.**] The same rejoicing is announced upon the prophesied fall of the ancient Babylon*; and her eternal desolation is represented under the same imagery †. "But what "reason had the Christians to rejoice over the calamities brought on Rome by Alaric or Totilas; in which "they themselves were the principal sufferers? And "how were these calamities any vindication of their "cause, or of the cause of true Religion?".

Ver. 21. **A stone—&c.]** Thus also the ancient Babylon, condemned never to rise again, is described as sinking, like a stone, in Euphrates.§

Ver. 22. **The voice of harpers.]** Here, the cheerful noise heard in a populous city, "the busy hum of "men," is poetically described. There is resemblance to the great poet’s description of a joyous city||. But so entire and final is the destruction of Babylon, that these shall be heard in her no more for ever. The prototype of this description is to be seen in Jer. vii. 34; xvi. 9; xxv. 10; xxxiii. 2. But Rome, as Bishop Newton observes, has never suffered this utter desolation. She has often been captured and plundered by the enemy; but she still remains (says he) a joyous city, the resort of strangers, delighting Europe with her music, and her arts*. I shall not pursue the learned Prelate in his endeavours to prove that modern Rome is to be destroyed by fire, literally understood. Fire, in prophetic language, implies utter destruction; and it is the corruption, the

* Jer. li. 48. † Jer. li. 64. § Jer. li. 63, 64. || IHom. Iliad. lib. xviii. 490
* Dissert. iii. 317.
superstition, and usurped dominion of Rome, which are to be utterly destroyed, not her buildings. She is Babylon in a _spiritual_ sense; and in a spiritual sense it is, that she is to be burned and consumed, "even unto the end."

Ver. 23—24. _Sorcery—blood of prophets._] We have here two distinguishing marks of this corrupt Church, which have been before noticed:—1. The arts of deception, like the sorceries and incantations of the heathen priests, by which she has beguiled the nations and their kings:—2. Her tyranny, by which she has persecuted, even to tortures and death, those who refuse her yoke. And as the blood of the prophets was required of the ancient Jerusalem; so is the blood of the Christian Saints and Martyrs, from this corrupt city*.

The denunciation of the judgement of Babylon, contained in this speech of the angel, seems principally intended for the support and comfort of the poor, persecuted Christian Church, during the high zenith of the Antichristian usurpation. To answer this purpose the more effectually, almost every part of the prophecy is taken from the prophetical denunciations of the Old Testament, against Babylon, Tyre, &c. which were known to have been _literally_ fulfilled. No other method could afford such perfect confidence to those, who, in the new Babylon, clearly discovered the tyranny and wickedness of the old one. And from the time that Papal Rome was acknowledged to be this new Babylon, (and this discovery was made early in the twelfth century †,) great must have been the encouragement derived to the Reformers from this chapter of the Apocalypse.

† See Mede, p. 517. 722, &c. Thuani Hist. lib. vi. c. 16.
Exultation in Heaven over the fallen Babylon, and upon the approach of the new Jerusalem.

**CHAP. XIX. VER. 1—10.**

1 After these things, I heard, as it were, a loud voice of a great multitude in heaven, saying, "Allelujah! the salvation, and the glory, and the power of our God!

2 For, true and righteous are his judgments; for, he hath judged the great harlot, which did corrupt the earth with her fornication; and hath avenged the blood of his servants at her hand.

3 And again they said, "Allelujah!" And the smoke of her ascendeth for ever and ever.

4 And the twenty-four elders, and the four living-creatures fell down, and worshipped God that sat on the throne, saying, "Amen! Allelujah!"

5 And a voice came out of the throne, saying; Praise our God, all ye his servants, and ye that fear...
from the throne came forth, saying;  
"Praise our God, all ye his servants, ye who fear him, both small and great."

6 And I heard as it were a voice of a great multitude, and as a voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunders, saying;  
"Alleluia! for, the Lord our God the Omnipotent reigneth."

7 Let us be glad and rejoice, and give honour to him: for, the marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready.  

8 And it hath been given to her, that she should be arrayed in fine linen, clean and white: for the fine linen is the righteousness of the saints. And he saith unto me, "Write, Blessed are they which are called unto the marriage-supper of the Lamb."

9 And I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away; and there was no more sea.  

10 And I John saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a husband for his wife.  

him, both small and great. And I heard as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunders, saying;  
"Alleluia: for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth."

7 Let us be glad and rejoice, and give honour to him: for, the marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready.  

8 And to her was granted, that she should be arrayed in fine linen, clean and white: for, the fine linen is the righteousness of saints.  

9 And he saith unto me;  
"Write, Blessed are they which are called unto the marriage-supper of the Lamb."

10 God, And I fell at his feet to worship him: And he said unto me;  
"Thou dost not know, for the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy."
Ver. 1. *And after these things; &c.*] In the 20th verse of the last chapter, Heaven, as described in ch. iv, and the Saints, who are stationed in grand chorus before the throne*, are exhorted to rejoice over the fall of Babylon. The representation of this fall being now completed, we hear the choral song.

Ib. *Alleluia!* Heb. Praise ye Jehovah! a word of holy exultation, which hath passed into many languages even of the heathens, both ancient and modern †. This song of praise breaks forth on the fall of the harlot,—of Babylon; and as she falls by the last Vial, it has retrospect to that Vial, and to the rest, which are preparatory to her fall.

Ver. 4. *And the twenty-four elders; &c.*] The song of praise is begun by the redeemed Saints, in conjunction probably with the innumerable company of angels‡. The elders, and the cherubim, who are near the throne, sing the antiphonal "Alleluia, Amen." Thus the song beginning, from the lowest, advances to the highest orders of heavenly beings§; from "the

* Ch. xv. 2.
† See Schleusner or Parkhurst, in voc.
‡ And therefore the elders are mentioned here before the cherubim, as observed in note, ch. iv. 6. 9.

redeemed
“redeemed from amongst men,” to the cherubim, who are “in the midst of the throne and around the throne,” (ch. iv. 6); till at length a voice proceeds from the throne itself*, joining in the same harmony, and exhorting all the servants of God, of every rank and degree, to praise Him. The exhortation is immediately obeyed.—And magnificent is the effect, when all unite their accordant voices, to sing praise to the Almighty King; who, by destroying the impure harlot, (which had usurped the name of his Church upon earth,) had prepared the way for the Virgin-Bride, the true Church, who is now to be owned and espoused publicly by her Redeemer.

Ver. 7. The marriage of the Lamb is come.] The holy and mystical union of Christ with his Church, is frequently mentioned in Scripture†. The harlot, pretending to be that spouse ‡, having been now convicted of fornication with the worldly powers; having been judged, and eternally discarded; the attention in Heaven and earth is naturally turned to that chaste and pure Virgin §, who is now to be presented to her Lord. The choral song brings her to view; arrayed, not “in purple and scarlet, and gold and precious stones;” not in worldly splendour, like the harlot; but in the pure, simple, but resplendent garments, which are the clothing of the heavenly inhabitants ||. She had “washed her garments, and made them white, in the blood of the Lamb ¶.” By faith in her Redeemer, she is become righteous:—for, this is “the fine linen, the righteousness of the saints.”

* Ver. 5.
† Isaiah, liv. 5. Jer. iii. 14. Hos. ii. 19, 20. Matt. xxii. xxv. 2 Cor. xi. 2. Eph. v. 22—32. ¶ Ch. xviii. 16. § 2 Cor. xi. 2. || Matt. xxviii. 3. Rev. iv. 4; iii. 5, where see the note; xv. 6. ¶ Ch. vii. 13.
Ver. 9. And he saith unto me, Write.] From the first opening of the vision, which exhibits "the judgment of the great harlot," an angel, one of the seven, had graciously accompanied the prophet, explaining to him the mystery; (xvii. 7). This vision now closes with the triumphal chorus in heaven. The angel then orders him to write what he had seen; which was to be delivered to the seven Churches, and not to be sealed or suppressed with the prophecy of the seven thunders*. He then fixes the attention of the prophet, and of those who are to read what he thus writes, on the due application of what is now represented. "Blessed are they who are called to the marriage-supper of the Lamb!" Blessed are they who by the grace of God, co-operating with their own endeavours, "make their calling and election sure†;" who, having on the "wedding-garment" of righteousness‡, become entitled to "sit down to meat" in the Kingdom of Heaven.§ The angel then concludes with this solemn assurance: "These are the true words of God." All that thou hast now heard and seen, will assuredly come to pass.

Ver. 10. And I fell down before his feet; &c.] The prophet, affected with astonishment at what he had beheld and heard, and with veneration and gratitude towards his heavenly conductor, follows the natural bent of his feelings; and falls down before the angel, to express them, after the custom of the eastern nations. But the angel renounces this kind of adoration, ranking himself only, where other intimations of Scripture have placed him and his fellow-angels, "as a ministering spirit, sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of Salvation;" (Heb. i. 14). The pro-

* Ch. x. 4. † 2 Pet. i. 10. ‡ Matt. xxii. 11. § Luke xii. 37.
hibition to worship angels, or any other being than God, is repeated in chapter xxii. 9, and, thus repeated, seems to contain a very strong injunction against that angel-worship in which a great part of the Christian world has been involved.

Ib. The testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy.] My office (says the angel) for which you honour me, is of the same kind with yours: I support the testimony of Jesus, by bringing prophecy from heaven; you and your fellow-servants perform the same duty on earth, supporting the same testimony, by preaching, confession, martyrdom, &c. ; even in the present instance, we are fellow-servants of the same Lord. I shew to thee the vision from Heaven; thou writest it for the use of those who inhabit the Earth. Let us both worship God, and God only.
11 Kai tò ov xeristhèn,  

καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐρημίαν,  

καὶ θανάτου ἐφημερίδ,  

καὶ καθίσειν ἐν τῷ  

αιῶνι, ἐκατέργασεν  

τῷ ἄλλῳ, ἐκεῖνον ἄλλον,  

καὶ ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ κρίνειν.  

12 Kai  

τὸ οὐρανὸν ἔσωσεν. Οἴ  

δεῖ ἐρημισμένον αὐτῷ  

ἵππον, ἐφημερίδ,  

καὶ ἰδοὺ τὸν κρατῆν  

ἐπὶ τῷ καθίσματι  

ὑπὲρ κατεργασμένον, ὃ καὶ ἐδέξατο, εἰ μὴ αὐτῶς.  

13 Kai  

ἀλλὴν τὸν  

μισθὸν τοῦ  

ἱεροσολύμων,  

καὶ ἐπιγράφει τῷ  

ὀνόματι τῷ ἁγίῳ  

τῷ Οὐρανῷ ἐπί  

διδόμενον,  

καὶ ἐπιγράφει τῷ  

ὄνοματι τῷ Οὐρανῷ  

διδόμενον.
15 And out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword, that with it he should smite the nations: and he shall rule them with an iron rod: and he treadeth the press of the wine of the anger [and indignation] of the Almighty [God].
16 And he hath upon his garment, and upon his thigh, a name written, KING OF KINGS, and LORD OF LORDS!
17 And I saw one angel standing in the sun: and he cried out with a loud voice, saying to all the birds, which fly between heaven and earth; “Come, be gathered together to the great supper of God; That ye may eat the flesh of kings, and the flesh of captains, and the flesh of mighty men, and the flesh of horses, and of those who ride upon them, even flesh of all, both of freemen and of slaves, both of small and of great.”

16 God. And he hath on his vesture, and on his thigh a name written, KING OF KINGS, and LORD OF LORDS. And I saw an angel standing in the sun: and he cried with a loud voice, saying to all the fowls that fly in the midst of heaven, Come and gather yourselves together unto the supper of the great God; That ye may eat the flesh of kings, and the flesh of captains, and the flesh of mighty men, and the flesh of horses, and of them that sit on them, and the flesh of all men, both free and bond, both small and great.
We are now arrived at that signal and expected point of the prophecy, to which the preceding parts seem principally to tend, and in which they have their completion; the grand and decisive combat between the Christian and antichristian powers. Here the seven Seals, seven Trumpets, seven Vials, and all their accompanying warnings, unite. Heaven opens, and the white horse appears,

Qualis ab incepto processerat;—et sibi constat.

He is the *same white horse,* whom we saw proceeding on his career of victory, in the early part of the vision; whose rider "went forth conquering, and for to conquer." He has been pursuing his destined course, though not always equally in sight;—he now appears again in more splendid array. The Christian Church, again pure (ἐν λευκωσί), sees her Messiah *in person,* leading her forces, and fighting her battles. "Faithful "and true" to his promises †, he now gives more manifest assistance to the cause of his Religion. And while he confounds and destroys his enemies, it is apparent, that "his judgments are righteous." He appears in this passage as a dreadful warrior; yet there is little new in the description; we acknowledge the same *King of kings* whom we have before seen in other parts of the prophecy ‡. The epithets, elsewhere applied to the Messiah,

* Ch. vi. 1. † Matt. xxviii. 20. Rev. i. 6; iii. 14.
‡ This title is attributed to the conquering Messiah, in ch. xvii. 14. The conquerors of the East had vainly usurped it. On a tombstone of Cyrus in the city of Pasargadae was a Persic inscription ending with this Greek line,

Εσθάδ Εγώ κύριός, Κυρίς βασιλεύς βασιλεύς.
Here am I buried, Cyrus, king of kings.

Strabo, lib. 15. p. 100.

The
Messiah, are here collected, and so arranged as to display his glory, his power, and his anger, terrible to his unrepentant foes. He leads his armies, the faithful and pure Christians*, to assured victory; victory so decisive, that none of his enemies escape. The birds, who prey on flesh, are bidden to a banquet on their carcases†. The angel stationed in the sun, betokening the light and knowledge which shall then beam upon mankind, invites all the world to join true Religion, and partake the victory.

The Asiatic monarchs followed the example; and medals also of Parthian kings, of Tigranes, of Pharmaces, &c., are found with the same title inscribed. — Pinkerton on Medals, vol. i. p. 203. — See ch. i. 14. 16; ii. 12. 17, 18. 27; iii. 7. 12. 14; xiv. 19. 20; xvii. 14; and the notes. Compare also Is. lix. lxv. 17. lxiii. 1, &c.

* Ch. xii. 13. xix. 8. † Ezek. xxxix. 17, 18.

PART VII.

SECTION II.

The Conflict, and the Victory over the Wild-beast and his False Prophet.

CHAP. XIX. VER. 19—to the end.

19 Καὶ δὲ θησαυρὸς τῆς γῆς, ἐξελέγχθη τὸ βασιλέα τῶν ἡρώων, οὕτως ὡς προέβλεψεν ἡμῖν ὁ τρισάρδας, καὶ μετὰ τῶν συναγοράσων τῶν στρατευμάτων, μετὰ τῶν συνάσκων τῆς ἐπιφανείας, τὸ θησαυρὸς τῆς γῆς. Καὶ

19 And I saw the wild-beast and the kings of the earth, and their armies, gathered together to make war against Him who sate upon the horse, and against his army. And

20 ἦλθεν καὶ ᾤδησαν τὸ γένος τῆς γῆς, ὅτι ἁπατήθη ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡρώων, καὶ ἁπατήθη ἡ ἐπιφανεία τῶν στρατευμάτων. Καὶ

20 And the wild-beast was taken, and with him...
taken, and the false prophet who was with him, he who wrought the wonders before him, by which he deceived those who received the mark of the beast, and who worshipped his image. These two were cast alive into the lake of fire burning with brimstone. And the remnant were slain by the sword of Him who sate upon the horse, which sword proceeded from his mouth: and all the birds were filled with their flesh.

the false prophet that wrought miracles before him, with which he deceived them that had received the mark of the beast, and them that worshipped his image. These both were cast alive into a lake of fire burning 21 with brimstone. And the remnant were slain with the sword of him that sat upon the horse; which sword proceeded out of his mouth: and all the fowls were filled with their flesh.

After the appearance of the Messiah and his armies, the armies of the worldly powers, under the beast, the false prophet, and the kings, who are * mustered by the spirits of demons to the great battle †, come in view. But the conflict, for which so vast preparation had been made, is finished in an instant ‡. The leaders, they who

* Ch. xvii. 13.  † Ch. xvi. 14.
‡ There is great propriety and sublimity, in this rapidity of victory. An inventor would probably have dwelt upon this conflict, and have described it in a variety of detail: but this is a victory in which the arm of Omnipotence is displayed; and of which it may be said without extravagance,—Vest, vidit, vicit.
during so many ages had abused their civil and ecclesiastical power, are taken, and consigned to that everlasting prison, to which such offenders were originally doomed*. Their followers, both small and great, fall; and are utterly destroyed by the word of God†.

Thus, the kingdom of the beast and false prophet, of the civil and ecclesiastical power, administered so long and so abusively, comes to its end; and the kingdom of the Messiah, and of righteousness, is established. This is that happy period, the theme of many prophecies; which, being still future, it is presumptuous to explain particularly: yet thus far we may generally and safely conclude, that as we have already seen the reign of the beast and false prophet, the mystery of iniquity‡, so exactly foretold, and the prophecy so wonderfully fulfilled;—tyranny, irreligion, hypocrisy, and immorality triumphant and oppressive, by the means of pretended commissions from heaven: so, this usurpation will be utterly destroyed; and pure Religion, and peace and happiness, succeed. "The wolf shall dwell with "the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the "kid;" &c. "They shall not hurt or destroy in all "the holy mountain;—the earth shall be full of the "knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the "sea §."

* Ch. xvii. 8. Matt. xxv. 41.
† Ch. i. 16. Compare with the battle here represented Isaiah xxxiv. Jer. vii. 32, &c. Ezek. xxxix. 17, &c. Zeph. i. 7. See also Bishop Lowth de Sac. Poës. Heb. lec. xx.
‡ See notes, ch. xiii.
§ Isaiah xi. &c.
The removal of the beast and false prophet is followed by the decline of impiety and wickedness, and by the rapid growth of true Religion and Virtue. This is symbolically displayed. The dragon, that ancient foe of man, who, under the disguise of a serpent, had beguiled...
guiled Eve; who had lent his throne, his authority and his arts, to the beast and the false prophet; to mislead the nations and their kings*; is taken and confined. His influence upon earth is wonderfully diminished. And this important object is accomplished by the same superior agency. For, though an angel is represented as binding satan, yet, whence has he the commission and the power? whence the key of the bottomless deep, but from him who alone is described, as having "the keys of hell and of death †" from him, who shutteth, and no man openeth ‡? By his permission the bottomless deep had been opened §; by his power it is now closed and sealed. The author of all iniquity is confined in it, for a time; after which he is permitted to come forth again "for a season," and "to deceive the nations." But the beasts rise up no more. They are no longer the successful agents of satan. He is no longer permitted to employ this kind of civil and religious tyranny against true Religion, and the happiness of man. The blissful season, during which satan continues bounden, is called a thousand years. But of this more particularly, under the next section.

* See notes, ch. xii. † Ch. i. 18. ‡ Ch. iii. 7. § See note, ch. ix. 1.
And I saw thrones, and they sate upon them: and judgment was given unto them: and the souls of those who had been slain with the axe for the testimony of Jesus, and for the word of God; and whosoever had not worshipped the beast nor his image, and had not received the mark upon their forehead and upon their hand: and they lived and reigned with Christ the thousand years: But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished. This is the first resurrection.

And I saw thrones, and they sate upon them, and judgment was given unto them: and I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years: But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished. This is the first resurrection.

Blessed and holy is he that hath a part in the first resurrection: on such the second death hath no power, but they shall be priests of God, and of Christ, and...
Ver. 4. *And I saw thrones; &c.* In Daniel, vii. 22, 26, "the judgment sits;"—"judgment is given to the saints;—they possess the kingdom." To this passage, St. Paul seems to allude in 1 Cor. vi. 2, 3, as well as does our Lord's promise in Matt. xix. 28. Luke xxii. 30. giving thrones of judgment to his Disciples. These prophecies, dark in themselves, until the event and completion shall illustrate them, are here repeated, with some additional information: for, it is affirmed, that this reign of the Saints shall continue "a thousand years." Who the saints are, is at first expressed in very general terms; as also is the prophecy of Daniel. "They sate; judgment was given unto them." But among those who sit upon these thrones, are afterwards expressly enumerated, they who during the long conflict with the beast and false prophet, have kept the faith, even unto death, and refused the idolatrous worship, to which they were tempted or forced, by the worldly powers. These faithful sons and champions of the Church, are described as living and reigning with the Anointed, or Christ, *the thousand years.* And this early or first resurrection appears to be their exclusive privilege, and not to belong to the rest of the dead, who, it is said, shall not live, until the thousand years shall be completed.

Much has been written upon this promised Millennium, or reign of the Saints; yet little that can afford satisfaction
satisfaction to the judicious*. The meaning of a prophecy of this kind can only be made manifest by the event which is to fulfil it. Before that time shall arrive, it is unsafe to conjecture after what method it shall be fulfilled; whether, as some prophecies literally, or as others, typically; whether the departed Saints and Martyrs shall actually be raised again in their own persons, to effect so glorious a change in Religion and morals; or, whether, like Elijah in the person of John Baptist, and David in that of Christ, they shall live again in the persons of other saints, who shall fulfill their characters and offices, no man may presume to determine. It is best therefore, after the example of the wise father Irenæus, respecting another prophecy, to "wait the completion of the prediction†." Yet, if we are not permitted to descend to a special interpretation, we may receive advantage from a general view. We may confidently indulge a well-grounded expectation, that happy times, of long duration, are yet destined

* Augustine, in Civ. Dei, lib. xx. c. 7, commenting on this chapter, says, that the doctrine of a Millennium, in which the saints were to enjoy a corporeal resurrection in this world, was founded on a notion that, after six thousand years of trouble, the saints should enjoy one thousand years of sabbath, or rest. But the doctrine was founded on this passage of the Revelation. The notion of the time only, in which the prophecy will be fulfilled, was taken from this tradition of the Church. From Papias, a good man, but weak and credulous, seem to have been derived those earthly notions of a Millennium, branded with the name of Chiliasm, which were adopted by some eminent writers of the ancient Church; by Irenæus, Apollinaris, Tertullian, Victorinus, Lactantius, &c. But there was another, and much more debasing, notion of a Millennium, entertained in those early times, in which, gross, sensual, corrupting delights were supposed to make the felicity of the Saints. This seems to have been derived from Cerinthus, and thence to have passed on to other heretics. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 28.

† Iren. lib. v. 30.
for the Christian Church, even here upon earth. For the days will come, and seem at no very great distance, (the present century may perhaps disclose them,) when, the beast and false prophet being removed, and Babylon sunk for ever, the devil, that ancient foe, shall be deprived of his wonted influence; and the prophecies, which in the Old Testament, as well as in the book of Revelation, promise happy times, shall be accomplished. *

* An abstracted view of the sentiments of the Ancients on this difficult, and as yet obscure subject, may be seen in Bishop Newton's Dissertations, vol. iii. 329—343. 8vo; and of the Moderns, in Lowman's Paraphrase and notes on Rev. p. 242—248. Some ingenious and useful hints are suggested in Mr. Kett's last volume on Prophecy. And a comprehensive, learned, and very judicious view of the whole subject may be read in Mr. Gray's Discourse on Rev. xx. 4, 5, 6. It is remarkable that Dr. Whitby, who had declined to comment on the Apocalypse, assigning as his motive, that he felt himself unqualified for such work, has ventured to explain this particular prediction of the Millennium; which being, as all agree, a prophecy yet unfulfilled, is, of all others, the most difficult. Yet his Treatise on the true Millennium may be perused with advantage. But, as it plainly appears that no one, who lived before the completion of the prophecies of the Seals, the Trumpet, or the Harlot of Babylon, however learned and sagacious, was able to penetrate through the veil of these mysteries; nor was any progress made in assorting these prophecies, until the historical events fulfilling them appeared; so, to the events alone are we to look with confidence for the complete illustration of these predictions. We can at present collect from them with safety, only general notions and assurances. Such however are sufficient to support our faith, if not to gratify our curiosity.
And when the thousand years shall be completed, 
Satan shall be loosed from his prison: And he shall 
come forth to deceive the nations which are 
in the four corners of the earth, the Gog, 
and the Magog, to gather them together to 
battle, the number of whom is as the sand of 
the sea. And they went up on the extent 
of the earth, and surrounded the camp 
of the saints, even the beloved city. And fire 
came down from God out of heaven, and devoured 
them. And the devil, who deceiveth them, 
was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, 
where were likewise the wild-beast and 
the false prophet: and they shall be torment-
ished day and night for ever and ever.
After the grand period of the Millennium, so favorable to the Christian cause, shall have come to its end, another apostacy shall unhappily take place. This is expressed figuratively, by satan being again loosed, to deceive the nations. This new rebellion against the laws of God, and against the easy yoke of the Redeemer, is of formidable extent. The four corners of the earth, (that is, the nations of the whole earth) * are engaged in it. It is an apostacy of a new kind; different at least from the former apostacy, in which the beast and false prophet were satan's instruments of mischief. Beyond this we have little ground of conjecture. The enemies of the Christian Church, numerous as the sands upon the sea-shore, surround the camp of the Saints, which is represented as in a state of siege. But the extinction of these enemies shall be sudden, miraculous, and complete. They shall be destroyed by fire, by fire from heaven, that is, miraculously, and utterly †.

This description is conformable to other ancient prophecies, still remaining to be fulfilled; or which have received only a partial and typical completion. Such are Isaiah lxiii. lxvi. Joel iii. Ezek. xxxviii, and xxxix; which is the last prophecy in the book ‡, and is said expressly to be of the latter days. Gog and Magog will be found to signify the nations; those which were

* See note, ch. iv. 6. † See note, ch. xvii. 12.
‡ Excepting the exhibition of the temple, which, being a subject entire of itself, was reckoned by the Jews as an additional book. See Joseph. Ant. Jud. lib. x. c. 6.
most
most distant, and yet hostile to the Church*. On all these prophecies, evidently not yet fulfilled, little can be conjectured with safety. They are to be handed down to the Church of the latter days, even as those prophecies, which we have seen fulfilled, have been delivered to us; and with this consolation, that this "overflowing of iniquity," whenever it arrives, shall be miraculously and completely terminated†. And this is the last successful effort of satan against the Church. He is then consigned to his eternal prison.

* See Mede's Works, p. 280; Abp. Newcome on Ezekiel xxxviii. 2; also Lowth on the same passage.
† So Ezek. xxxix. 6. Isaiah xlvii. 13, 14; xxxiii. 14.

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**PART VII.**

**SECTION VI.**

**The Judgment.**

CHAP. XX. VER. 11—to the end.

And I saw a great white throne, and him that sat on it, from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away, and there was found no place for them. And I saw the dead, small and great, standing before the throne: and books were opened. And another book was opened, which is of life: and the
And the dead were judged from the things written in the books, according to their works. And the sea gave up the dead which were in it; and death and hell gave up the dead which were in them: and they were judged, every one according to their works.

And death and hell were cast into the lake of fire. This is the second death. And whosoever was not found written in the book of Life, was cast into the lake of fire.

The Christian Church being now triumphant over its enemies, and the instigator of all mischief being himself eternally banished, there is no more warfare to relate. Nothing remains but to describe that general judgment, which shall render to every man according to his works; when, immortality succeeding to mortality, death, that "last enemy, shall be destroyed." The appearance of the great Judge, before whose "presence the earth and the heaven are seen to flee away;" at whose approach, the former scenery, (as described in ch. iv. &c.) vanishes, and the process of the tribunal,
by which the books of crimination and of life are
opened, are shortly and sublimely related: and the
language, though figurative, being conformable to
other passages foretelling this great event, is of easy
and obvious interpretation*. We may perhaps except
from this description ver. 14, wherein death and hell
are said to be cast into the lake of fire, called the second
dead. But this second death will be found explained
in note, ch. ii. 11.

* Compare Mal. iii. 16; iv. 1: Job xxi. 30: Psalm ix. 17: Dan.
    vii. 9; xii. 2: Isaiah xxviii. 14—19: Matt. xiii. 41, 42: Mark ix. 44:
    1 Cor. xv: Phil. iii. 21: 1 Thess. iv. 16: 2 Thess. i. 7—10: 2 Tim. i.
    10: Heb. ii. 14: 1 Pet. iii. 7, 10: Jude 14, 15: also Rev. i. 14. 18;
    iii. 5; iv. 2, 3; ii. 11; vi. 8; with the notes thereon.

PART VII.

SECTION VII.

The new Creation.

CHAP. XXI. VER. 1—8.

1 Kai ἐδω υἱὸν ἑραυνόν
    καὶ τὸν ἅγιον οἶκον
    οὗ Γάρ ἐπιθέτος ἡρα-
    ὑνός ἐγέρεται καὶ ἡ
    Σάλας ἐκ ἐκκ
2 ἦτο. Kai τὸν κόλπον
    τῶν ἁγίων, Ἰερ-
    σαλήμ καὶ τὸν οἶκον
    καθαίρεσαν ἀπὸ
1 And I saw a new hea-
    ven, and a new earth:
    for the first heaven and
    the first earth are pass-
    ed away; and the sea
2 is no more. And the
    holy city, the new Je-
    rusalem, I saw de-
    scending from God out
    of Heaven, prepared

1 And I saw a new hea-
    ven, and a new earth:
    for, the first heaven and
    the first earth were
    passed away; and there
2 was no more sea. And
    I John saw the holy
    city, new Jerusalem,
    coming down from
    God out of heaven,
as a bride adorned for
3 her husband. And I
heard a loud voice
out of heaven, saying;

"Behold, the taberna-
cle of God with
men: and he will
dwell with them:
and they shall be
his people, and God
himself will be with
them, their God.

4 And he will wipe
away every tear from
their eyes. And death
shall be no more;
nor shall sorrow, nor
mournings, nor pain,
be more; for the
former things are

5 passed away." And
he who sate upon the
throne, said; "Be-
hold, I make all
things new." And
he saith [unto me]
"Write: for these
words are true, and
worthy of belief."

6 And he said unto me,
"It is done! I am the
Alpha and the O-
mega, the beginning
and the end. I will
give unto him that
thirsteth, of the foun-
tain of the water of

7 life freely. He who
overcometh, shall in-
herit these things:
and I will be his

Prepared as a bride
adorned for her hus-
band. And I heard a
great voice out of hea-
ven, saying; Behold,
the tabernacle of God
is with men, and he
will dwell with them,
and they shall be his
people, and God him-
self shall be with them,
and be their God. And
God shall wipe away
all tears from their
eyes; and there shall
be no more death, ne-
ither sorrow, nor cry-
ing, neither shall there
be any more pain; for
the former things are
passed away. And he
that sat upon the
throne, said; Behold,
I make all things new.
And he said unto me;
Write: for, these words
are true and faithful.

6 And he said unto me;
It is done. I am Alpha
and Omega, the begin-
ing and the end: I
will give unto him that
is athirst, of the foun-
tain of the water of
7 life freely. He who
overcometh, shall in-
herit these things:
and I will be his

But the fearful and
unbelieving, and the
Ver. 1. And I saw a new heaven; &c.] The general judgment having taken place, and the heavens and earth passed away, as described in ch. xx. 11, and also by St. Peter*, there follow (as mentioned also by the same Apostle) "new heavens and a new earth," foretold likewise by Isaiah†; to which St. Peter seems to refer, as to a prophecy unfulfilled. But the Apocalyptic prophecy does not rest upon the general assurance given by former prophets; it proceeds to a more particular description. It presents to us "the new city, "the New Jerusalem," "the Bride, the Spouse" of Christ. Under these images, which are perfectly concordant with many other texts of Scripture‡, is represented that assembly of the Saints, purified from sin; that "glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle," which is here contrasted with the great, the impure,

* 2 Pet. iii. 
† Ch. lxv. lxi.
‡ See Eph. ii. 19, &c. Gal. iv. 26.  Heb. xiii. 22, &c.; viii. 2; ix. 11; xi. 10.  1 Pet. ii. 5; iii. 13, &c. 1 Cor. iii. 9.

abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone: which is the second death.
idolatrous city, which has been destroyed. They are both of them exhibited, first as women, then as cities; which symbols are convertible*. But the first woman is an impure harlot. The second is a virgin bride, fit for her Lord. The first city is idolatrous, and wicked, a very Babylon; the second is "the holy city," the new Jerusalem†, under which symbol she is more especially represented in the remaining part of this chapter.

Ib. *And the sea is no more.*] Some of the commentators have perplexed themselves to find a particular representation signified in this passage, under the emblem of the sea. It seems to me, that none such is to be looked for. The Heaven, the Earth, and the Sea, (with, sometimes, the rivers and fountains,) in Scriptural idea, compose the world‡. These all pass away; "all things are made new." The old translation stands corrected so as to accord with this notion; yet not for that reason; but because the language of the original seemed evidently to require it.

Ver. 3. And I heard a loud voice out of heaven, saying—] Preparatory to almost every change which has taken place in this prophecy, for the advancement of Religion and the consequent happiness of man, songs of joy, from the sacred chorus in heaven, have proclaimed the revolution, before it has been exhibited in the scenery. The Heavenly Jerusalem is descending, and soon will be seen from a nearer point of view. Meanwhile, the happy change is sublimely described: the heavenly voice expresses most eloquently that divine

* See notes, ch. xvii. 1; xix. 7, 8. † See note, ch. iii. 12.
‡ See note, ch. viii. 7. "In six days, the Lord made heaven and "earth, the sea, and all that in them is:" Exod. xx. As these component parts are mentioned at the creation, so again at the dissolution, of the world.
state of felicity, to which redeemed man may, by the
grace of God, attain. It is beyond the power of hu-
man imagination to comprehend the particulars in
which it consists. It is therefore described only by
negatives.—There shall be no sorrow, no pain, no death;
—none of those evils which embitter this mortal life.
And this description is confirmed by the great Judge
and Creator, who sitteth upon the throne;—“behold,”
says he, “I make all things new.”

Ver. 5. Write: for, these words are true and wor-
thy of belief.] At the conclusion of the vision which
contained the judgment of Babylon*, the angel, who
accompanied the prophet during that vision, had ad-
dressed him in nearly the same words†. But the pre-
sent scene is that, in which the Son of God, who had
appeared at the commencement of the prophecy, ad-
dresses the prophet for the last time. He addresses
him from his glorious throne; where, having judged
the dead, and caused the old heavens and earth to va-
nish away, he creates a new heaven and a new earth,
and therein a new and heavenly city, to be the blissful
habitation of his servants. He now therefore renews
his command to the prophet, to write what he had
seen‡. And he assures him, and through him, the
Church, that these visions are to be believed, and to be
relied upon as the words of God. He then declares
the prophecy to be brought to its conclusion. It con-
cludes with the new creation. The enemies of Christ
are now finally subdued. Their opposition was the
grand argument of the book. It ends when this resis-
tance is no more. The triumphant Messiah concludes

* Ch. xix. 9.
† See the note, which is intended to shew their purport.
‡ As in ch. i. 19.
his address, as he had begun it, (in chapter i. 8. 18.) with such a representation of his eternal power and glory, as must induce his followers to trust in him. He then renews his promises of inestimable rewards*, to those who shall diligently seek them, and his denunciations of eternal punishments, to those who pursue the wages of sin. The sins specified in the 8th verse, are such as have been noted and explained in the progress of this work. But it may be asked, why are the cowardly enumerated in the catalogue of sinners? Can a man help the fearfulness and timidity of his nature? Is not courage, in a great degree, a constitutional virtue? To this it may be answered, that every Christian, in the language of the Scriptures, and especially in that of this book, is accounted a soldier of Christ. As such, he is engaged to fight (and he undertakes this warfare solemnly at his baptism) against the world, the flesh, and the devil. These are the agents of iniquity who oppose the Messiah, in these prophetical visions; the dragon, and the beasts. And the courage required to resist these, is far from being corporeal and constitutional. For in this cause, the weak and timid sex have produced as many champions and conquerors, as the sex accounted most valiant and robust. Resolution to resist temptation, and to follow faithfully the great Captain of Salvation, through difficulties and trials, is, more or less, in the power of every one; and what is deficient in human infirmity, will be made strong, and equal to that which is expected from it, by the grace of God. Therefore "the cowardly and faithless" are properly classed together in this passage, and with the sinners, who are of that kind and description which was seen to apostatise from the Christian Religion, in times

* As in chapters ii, and iii.
of temptation and persecution; especially during the 
prevalency of the Gnostic doctrines, which encouraged 
all these enormities, and had begun to exhibit its evil 
tendency when this prophecy was published*.

9 And there came one of the seven angels, (of those who had the seven vials, which were full of the seven last plagues,) and spake with me, saying, "Come hither; I will shew thee the bride, the bride of the Lamb." 

10 And he carried me away, in the Spirit, to a great and high mountain: and he shewed me the holy city, Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God, having the glory of God: and her light was like unto a stone most precious, even like a jasper-stone, clear as crystal; and had a wall great and...
And the wall of the city having twelve foundations; and upon them twelve names of the twelve Apostles of the Lamb. And he who spake with me, had a golden reed, to measure the city and the gates thereof, and the wall thereof.

And the city lieth four-square; and the length thereof as much as the breadth. And he measured the city with the reed, twelve thousand furlongs. The length and the breadth and the height of it are equal.

And he measured the wall thereof, an hundred and forty and four cubits, according to the measure of a man, that is, of an angel.

And the building of the wall thereof was jasper; and the city lofty, having twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels; and names inscribed thereon, which are of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel:

On the east three gates; and on the north three gates, and on the south three gates, and on the west three gates. And the wall of the city having twelve foundations; and upon them twelve names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb. And he that talked with me, had a golden reed to measure the city, and the gates thereof, and the wall thereof.

And he measured the wall thereof, an hundred and forty and four cubits, according to the measure of a man, that is, of the angel.

And the building of the wall thereof was jasper; and the city high, and had twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels, and names written thereon, which are the names of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel:
was gold, pure, like
clear glass. And
the foundation-stones of
the wall of the city
were adorned with all
manner of precious
stones. The first foun-
dation-stone, Jasper;
the second, Sapphire;
the third, Chalcedony;
the fourth, Emerald;
the fifth, Sardonyx;
the sixth, Sardine; the
seventh, Chrysolite;
the eighth, Beryl; the
ninth, Topaz; the
tenth, Chrystoprasus;
the eleventh, Jacynth;
the twelfth, Amethyst.
And the twelfth gates,
twelve pearls; every
several gate was of one
pearl: and the broad
place of the city gold,
pure, as transparent
glass. And I saw no
temple therein: for, the
Lord God Almighty
is the temple thereof,
and the Lamb. And the
city had no need of the
sun, nor of the moon,
to shine in it: for, the
glory of God did give
light to it; and its
lamp is the Lamb.
And the nations shall
walk, by the light of it:
and the kings of the
earth shall bring their
honour into
the light of it and
25 it. And its gates shall not be shut at all by day, (for there shall be no night there,) and they shall bring the glory and the honour of the nations into it; And there shall in no wise enter into it any thing which defileth, and which worketh abomination and deceit, but only they who are written in the book of Life of the Lamb.

1 And he shewed me a river of water of Life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb. In the middle of the broad place thereof, and of the river, (which was on one side and on the other,) a tree of Life, bringing forth twelve fruits, yielding according to every month its fruit; and the leaves of the tree for the healing of the nations.

3 And there shall be no more curse: and the throne of God and the Lamb shall be in it: and his servants shall serve him: And they shall see his face, and his name shall be on the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour into it. And the gates of it shall not be shut at all by day: for there shall be no night there. And they shall bring the glory and honour of the nations into it.

25 And there shall in no wise enter into it any thing that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh abomination, or maketh a lie: but they which are written in the Lamb's book of life. And he shewed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God, and of the Lamb. In the midst of the street of it, and of either side of the river, was there the tree of life, which bare twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month: and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations. And there shall be no more curse: but the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it: and his servants shall serve him.

4 And they shall see his
The main prophecy had already come to its conclusion*. He who opened it in the first chapter, had brought it to its final period in this. The end of all worldly things is succeeded by the new creation: and "the holy city, the new Jerusalem," had been exhibited, as "descending from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband." But a nearer and more particular view of this blissful seat was desirable; and therefore, when the scene was closed, and the throne no longer in view, one of the angels, who had exhibited to the prophet the harlot, the corrupt city, Babylon, conde-

* See note, ch. xxi. 5.
descendingly offers to shew him a nearer exhibition of the bride, the heavenly Jerusalem. Thus the contrast between the two is more effectually shewn. And therefore this vision, like that of the xviith chapter, seems to stand apart from the rest; and is to be accounted as an episode. Therefore the scene, on which it is represented, is also apart. As, in the xviith chapter, the angel had transported the prophet into the wilderness, there to behold the harlot, the corrupt city; so he now conveys him in the Spirit, to a great and high mountain, a place of eminent power and worship*, to behold the Christian Church, perfect and triumphant, after the renovation of all things.

Ver. 11. And her splendour like a most precious stone.] Here follows a very gorgeous description of the new city, which, conformably to the prophecy of Isaiah †, is built of precious stones, with a superb costliness beyond the reach of earthly potencies. The gems, employed to decorate this glorious city, are such as have ever been in the highest request in the eastern regions, which produce them ‡. Upon the

* See note, ch. viii. 8. † Ch. liv. 11, 12.
‡ The description of most of these as given by the ancient writers, may be seen in Pliny's Natural History. See also Dionysii Orbis Descriptio, cap. India; and in works of more modern date,—in Thunburgh's Travels, vol. iv. p. 218; &c.—The Crystal Jasper of ver. 11. is described by Pliny, lib. xxxvii. c. 8, 9.

The connection of these two gems may be seen in these lines:

Τιμίον κρύσταλλον καθαρόν λιθὸν, εἰς τα θάρσειν
Χυμάζιτα δέ εἰς καὶ ιδατοίσαν ἱασπίν.

Here the clear crystal, like the winters' ice,
You cut; and with it find the watery jasper.

Dionysii Perig. lin. 781.

And again, line 724:

φιλι δι κρύσταλλον, ιδ' ήνίτισσαν ἱασπίν.

And
the parallel passage in Isaiah, Bishop Lowth has written this judicious observation: "These seem to be general images to express beauty, magnificence, purity, strength and solidity, agreeably to the ideas of eastern nations; and to have never been intended to be strictly scrutinized, or minutely and particularly explained, as if they had each of them some moral and precise meaning." Nothing more seems intended than to afford some general, but lofty and sublime notion of the splendour of this superb and heavenly mansion, which the Apostle Paul, following the words of the Prophet Isaiah *, represents to be beyond conception †. And, to describe the building, as composed of the very richest and most costly materials, yet such as few persons have seen, or can imagine, is figuratively to say the same thing ‡. Yet, that the reader may not confine his notions to earthly splendour solely, at the twelve gates are twelve angels, and on each of the gates is inscribed

And in these lines of the same author, are described several of the precious stones, which are figuratively employed to build the New Jerusalem:

* 1 Cor. ii. 9. Isaiah lxiv. 4.
† "Eye hath not seen, nor hath ear heard, nor have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for those that love him."
‡ This figurative language thus applied, may be seen by consulting Lam. iv. 1—7; & 1 Cor. iii. 12—15.

αναφορά των στολών του Νέου Ιερουσαλήμ. Στοιχεία της αρχιτεκτονικής του και οι σχετικές πληροφορίες που οφείλονται στον Απόστολο Πάουλο. Οι διάφορες προφητικές στοιχεία για την όψη του Νέου Ιερουσαλήμ και οι επιπλέοντες χαρακτηριστικά του.
a name of a tribe of Israel*; and the foundation is raised (as in Eph. ii. 20. and 1 Pet. ii. 5,) “on the "Apostles and Prophets; Jesus Christ himself being the "chief corner-stone.” Every thing unclean and faulty, is excluded from this city; whence we may deduce an additional proof that this prophecy is not to have its final completion in this world; where the good and the bad, the wheat and the tares, are to grow together until the “end †.” Some commentators have been led to a different interpretation, by observing that the new city descends from heaven; and is therefore, say they, upon earth: but this objection will be completely removed, by remarking that the earth, to which the Heavenly Jerusalem descends, is not the earth we now inhabit. A new Heaven and a new earth are produced; —“ Behold," says the Creator, “I make all things new‡.” This vision therefore appears to exhibit the future mansions of the blessed. It succeeds the general judgment of the dead; and to no other mansion can in any wise be applied the glorious representation which describes the favoured inhabitants admitted to see “the "face of God§,” and reigning for ever and ever∥. Such is the city alluded to by the Apostle to the Hebrews, who, speaking of this world, says, “here we "have no continuing city, but seek one to come¶.” Agreeably to which, in this prophecy it is declared that there is “here no temple.” In this world, as now constituted, Religion cannot subsist without her temples; without some external mode of bringing men to God. But when “just men, made perfect, see face to face” the glories of their God, Faith and Hope, on which

* See note, ch. vii. 4. † Matt. xiii. 40. ¶ Heb. xi. 10. 16. xii. 22.
‡ Ch. xxii. 4, 5. § Compare 1 Cor. xiii. 12.
∥ Ch. xxii. 4, 5.
the worship is founded, being absorbed in Reality, the nearer Presence of the Deity will supersede the use of a Temple. The superior Light and Knowledge, emanating from his glorious Presence, will remove darkness and error, and the necessity of that stated worship, which is the ordinary means of preventing man from being estranged from his Maker. Here "we know in "part, and prophesy in part;" that is, imperfectly: "but when that which is perfect is come, that which "is in part shall be done away*.

Chap. xxii. Ver. 1. And he shewed me a river of water of Life; &c.] In a thirsty soil and hot climate, like that of Palestine, where most of the prophecies were delivered, water is a necessary means of fructification; and the practice of irrigation is much used in agriculture. But, as water is to the soil, supplying health and vigour to its languid plants; so is the influence of God's Holy Spirit to the human soul, when sinking in its spiritual progress. Thus refreshed, the soul brings forth "fruits unto holiness, and the end everlasting "life†." Water is therefore used, in Scripture, as the symbol of such supplies of Divine Grace ‡. The waters of the River of Life proceed from the throne of God, and of the Lamb§; from the Fountain of all mercy; and the salutary streams support the tree of Life, which

* 1 Cor. xiii. 9, 10. — Many passages of the ancient prophets, some of which may have been typically or partially fulfilled, seem to belong to these times, and still to await their final completion. Isaiah iv. 3—6; xxv. 6—9; lx; lxi. 10; lxvi. 20—24. Ezek. xl; xliii. 7; xlvii. 1—5—12; xlviii. 20. 35.

† Rom. vi. 22.

‡ Isaiah viii. 6; xxx. 25; xxxii. 20; xxxv. 6, 7; xli. 17; xlix. 9; xliii. 20; iv. 1; liv. 13; lxii. 11. Jer. ii. 13; xvii. 13. Ezek. xlvii. 2. Joel iii. 18. Zech. xiii. 1; xiv. 8. John iv. 13, 14; vii. 33. 39.

§ See note, ch. iii. 1.
is to be seen in this *Paradise regained*, a never-failing source of immortality. The fruit, continually renewing, supports the body to eternal life; whilst the leaves (that no part may be unserviceable) are a balm or healing application for the wounds of sin, to those of the nations who had lived in ignorance of the Divine laws, but now partake the benefits of Redemption.

The remaining expressions describing this blissful state, will be found explained under note, ch. i. 16. ii. 10. iii. 22.

Ver. 2.] Some MSS. says Dr. Jortin, "instead of "ευθείαν καὶ ευθείαν, read εὐθείαν καὶ εὐθείαν: sed nil opus." And he quotes εὐθείαν καὶ εὐθείαν as used by Aristotle, Herodotus, Sophocles, and in Const. Apost.; and observes; "Nothing is more common than εὖθα καὶ εὖθα: and hinc "et hinc, in the Latin poets." And he remarks, that the very same expression is used by St. John, in his Gospel, chap. xix. 18 *

PART VIII.

SECTION II.

The Conclusion.

CHAP. XXII. VER. 6—to the end.

6 And he said unto me; "These words are ver-
thy of belief and true. And the Lord God "of the prophets hath "sent his angel to "shew unto his ser-
vants things which "must come to pass "in a short time. And "behold, I come soon. "Blessed is he who "keepeth the words of "the Prophecy of this "book." And it was I John who heard and saw these things: and when I had heard and seen, I fell down to worship before the feet of the Angel who shewed me these things. 9 And he saith unto me, "See thou do it not: "I am a fellow servant "with thee, and with "thy brethren the pro-
phets, and with those "who keep the words "of this book: wor-

6 And he said unto me; "These sayings are faith-
ful and true. And the Lord God of the holy prophets sent his angel to shew unto his ser-
vants the things which must shortly be done.

7 Behold, I come quickly: blessed is he that keepeth the sayings of the prophecy of this 8 book. And I John saw these things, and heard, them. And when I had heard and seen, I fell down to worship before the feet of the angel which shewed me 9 these things. Then saith he unto me; See thou do it not: for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren the prophets, and of them which keep the sayings of this book: worship 10 God. And he saith unto me; Seal not the sayings of the prophe-
10 For the 11testimony of this book : for, the time is at hand.

11 And he that is unjust, let him be unjust still: and he which is filthy, let him be filthy still: and he that is righteous, let him be righteous still: and he that is holy, let him be holy 12still. And behold, I come quickly: and my reward is with me, to give every man according as his work shall be.

13 I am the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last.

14 Blessed are they that do his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates of the city. For without, are dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie. I Jesus have sent my messenger to testify unto you these things.
“through the Churches. I am the root and the offspring of David, the bright, the 17th morning star. And “the Spirit and the “bride say, ‘Come;’ “and let him that “heareth say, ‘Come;’ “and let him that “thirsteth, come; he “that willeth, let him “take water of life 18 freely. I, even I, do “testify to every one “who heareth the “words of the prophecy of this book, if any “one shall add unto “them, God shall add unto “him the plagues “which are written in 19 this book: And if “any one shall take “away from the words “of the book of this “prophecy, God shall “take away his portion out of the “tree of Life, and out of the holy city, which are written in 20 this book. He who “testifieth these things “saith, ‘Surely I come “soon.’ Amen! come, 21 Lord Jesus!” The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with [you] all!
Ver. 6. *And he said unto me; &c.* The angel commissioned to exhibit this closing scene of the prophecy, being now about to depart, addresses the prophet with some short sentences, directing the use and application of what had been exhibited.

First;—Ver. 6. The vision may be comfortably relied on, as representing events soon to be disclosed*.

Secondly;—Ver. 7. A blessing is pronounced on those, who in faith and patience expect the completion of the prophecy, and who direct their lives conformably to such expectation. And here it is observable, that the angel, as ambassador of Christ, to whom the vision in all its parts most certainly appertains†, speaks in the august person of his Lord, using his very words; “

"hold, I come soon ‡;” words, which being evidently those of the Redeemer, before whom the prophet had prostrated himself without rebuke §, occasion him again to fall prostrate. And now the reproof of ch. xix. 10. is repeated ||.

Thirdly;—Ver. 10. St. John is ordered to represent

* See notes, ch. i. 1, 2, 3. † See ch. i. 1. and note.
‡ Ch. iii. 11. § Ch. i. 17.
|| This circumstance may in some measure account for the repetition of this action, if it be such. But there may be some reason to doubt whether the action be repeated, or the description of it only; whether St. John does not merely describe over again his attempt to worship the angel; for it might seem necessary to repeat the description, which positively forbids it, for the benefit of the Church, prone to lapse into this kind of idolatry. For he seems in both situations to have been present with the same angel, one belonging to the Vials *, who was employed to shew him apart, first the harlot, and then the Bride. It is therefore less likely that the action should be repeated. And in both descriptions, nearly the same expressions are used, and also introduced by the same address of the angel, “These are the true words of God,” &c.

* Compare ch. xvii. 1. with ch. xxi. 9.
this prophecy, not as a sealed book*, but as the prediction of a train of events, beginning to take place immediately†.

Fourthly;—Ver. 11, 12. According to a mode of speaking used by Ezekiel‡, and by St. Paul§, and well explained by Dr. S. Clarke||, we are warned, that as we act under this view (this awful view of the Divine judgments), so shall we experience their effects. We are free to be just or unjust, righteous or wicked, and must abide the consequences of our own determination.

Fifthly;—Ver. 13, 14, 15. The angel again speaks in the person of his Lord, by whom the whole Revelation is given¶, again declaring himself to be that great transcendent Being “who inhabits Eternity**;” and in his name pronounces a blessing on those who keep his commandments. Good works performed from the operation of such faith, can alone afford access to that heavenly habitation, from which the wicked †† shall be excluded.

Sixthly;—Ver. 16. Adverting again to the beginning of the prophecy, the angel declares, in the name of his Lord, that it is given for the edification of the Churches‡‡. And the great Giver of the prophecy is described, to be both the root and the branch of David §§. He is a "stem of Jesse;" in his human character, appearing as "the son of David," the Messiah expected of that stem: but in his divine character, partaking of the

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* See note, ch. v. 1. † See note, ch. i. 1.
‡ Ch. iii. 27. § 1 Cor. xiv. 38.
** Isaiah li. 15. Mic. v. 2. Note, ch. i. 8.
†† Dogs; by which name, as in Phil. iii. 2, "evil workers" are plainly intended.
‡‡ Note, ch. i. 4. §§ Isaiah xi. 1.
divine nature, he is infinitely more; he is the root and foundation, the cause and the means of that Salvation which is denominated "the sure mercies of David." He is that bright morning-star, which now gives considerable light to the world after a long night of ignorance and superstition; and to those who love such light, a certain earnest and prelude of increasing knowledge and glory, "shining forth unto perfect day."

Seventhly;—Ver. 17. he describes the Holy Spirit as inviting all men to partake the blessings, prepared for them, and now exhibited under the symbol of the bride, or heavenly Jerusalem. And "he who heareth," he who hath been instructed in the saving truths of the Gospel, is called upon to invite others to participate in its advantages, which are "freely bestowed on all whom our Lord shall call." But to him "who heareth," who esteemeth himself instructed in the knowledge of the Gospel, and especially in the prophecies of this book, an awful command, under severe sanctions, is added; that he teach others no other things, than those which are written therein; "not diminishing therefrom, nor adding aught thereto. From the history of the times, following the publication of the Apocalypse, we collect the necessity of this prophetical injunction. For, in the second century, many spurious works, falsely attributed to apostles of Christ, were circulated in the Christian world. And in imitation of this Revelation of St. John, Revelations of St. Peter, of St. Paul, of St. Thomas, and of others, were fabricated. The threatenings here denounced against such fabricators, or those who shall attempt additions or alterations in this inspired work, united to that reverential care, with which the fathers of the Church preserved the

* Acts ii. 39. + Deut. xii. 32. 2 Cor. iii. 6. true
true readings of the sacred books, seem to have preserved this prophecy free from material interpolation.

Eighthly;—Our Lord concludes the book, as he had begun it, with this interesting declaration;— "Surely I come soon."

To every mortal, short is the time leading to that awful instant, when he "shall stand before the presence "of God!" Be it our endeavour, by the assistance of his Holy Spirit, so to direct our thoughts and actions, that we may have confidence in our Redeemer, and be of the number of those who "love his appearing*!"

Thus may we be enabled cordially to unite with the beloved Apostle, in his concluding prayer; "Amen; "so be it; come, Lord Jesus!"

* 2 Tim. iv. 8.

THE END.
INDEX.

The Roman Numerals refer to the Introduction; the letter D to the Dissertation; the letter N to the Notes.

A

ADAMSON . . . . . . N. 230

Adultery . . . . . . N. 73

Almansor . . . . . . N. 270

Alogi, D. 38, 39; N. 33. 112. 160

Altar, brazen . . . . . N. 165

—, golden . . . . . N. 165. 201. 255

Ammonius Marcellinus, N. 139. 265. 270

Andreas Cæs. D. 38, 39; N. 33. 112. 160

Apollonius . . . . . . D. 50

Antichrist . . . . . . N. 225. 356

Apostolical men . . . . . D. 7

Arethas . . . . . . D. 14; N. 289

Arians . . . . . . N. 139

Antipas . . . . . . N. 65

Apocalypse, when written . . . . D. 8

——, by whom . . . . N. 6

——, Scriptural in Doctrine, D. 92

——, subject of . . . . N. 19. 97

——, language of . . . . D. 96. 120. 122, &c.

——, obscurity of . . . . D. 102

——, imagery of . . . . D. 115

——, tried by the rules of Michaelis; D. 131

——— of St. Peter, &c. D. 99; N. 497

Aristotle . . . . . . N. 106

Arnobius . . . . . . D. 77

Athanasius . . . . D. 83; N. 110. 350

Athenagoras . . . . . . D. 45

Augustine, N. 110. 146. 157. 182. 332. 469

Aulus Gellius . . . . N. 13. 145

B

Babylon, N. 213. 256. 301. 381. 405. 413, 414. 418. 420. 440

Bagdat . . . . . . N. 270

Balaam . . . . . . N. 65

Basil . . . . . . D. 83

Bede, Venerable . . . . N. 17. 41. 326

Beast the first . . . . N. 327. 422

—— the second . . . . N. 347

—— of Daniel . . . . . . N. 422

Benson . . . . . . N. 364

Beza . . . . . . xxii

Blackwall . . . . . . D. 108

Bochart . . . . . . N. 230. 232

Bossuet . . . . . . N. 437

Books of the Ancients . . . . N. 118

Book of Life . . . . . . N. 274

Bower . . . . . . N. 139

Britannia personified . . N. 73. 313

Brucker . . . . . . N. 13. 225. 246

Bull, Bp., . . . . . . N. 165
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calmet</td>
<td>D. 103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campbell</td>
<td>N. 358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caius</td>
<td>D. 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celsus</td>
<td>N. 243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cerinthus, D. 58. 61, 102; N. 216. 236</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cherubim</td>
<td>N. 106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chrysostom</td>
<td>D. 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church, Christian, N. 314, 377, 456</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— of England</td>
<td>D. 86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—- Lutheran</td>
<td>D. 86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Churches, the seven</td>
<td>N. 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christ</td>
<td>N. 21, 32, 119, 120, 456</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cicero</td>
<td>N. 278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarke, Dr. S., N. 134, 140, 223, 490</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clemens Alex.</td>
<td>D. 50; N. 112, 237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column</td>
<td>N. 88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constantine the Great, times of</td>
<td>N. 138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conquer; meaning of the word</td>
<td>N. 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cowardice</td>
<td>N. 480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creation, new</td>
<td>N. 475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crown</td>
<td>N. 59, 103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuthah</td>
<td>N. 270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyprian, D. 77; N. 11, 163, 244. 263</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyril of Jerusalem</td>
<td>D. 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyros</td>
<td>N. 75, 129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daubuz, N. 27, 35, 148, 250, 410</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day</td>
<td>N. 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death, first and second</td>
<td>N. 60, 79. 152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dionysius, Alex.</td>
<td>D. 61, 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—- his objections to the Apocalypse</td>
<td>D. 109, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dionysius Geograph.</td>
<td>N. 497</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dodwell</td>
<td>D. 17, 240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domitian</td>
<td>D. 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donatists</td>
<td>D. 77; N. 139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dragon</td>
<td>N. 315, 465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Eagle</td>
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<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td>N. 181</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elders</td>
<td>N. 99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ephesus</td>
<td>N. 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ephesians, Epistle to</td>
<td>N. 42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epiphanius, D. 8, 82, 84; N. 238</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ephrem</td>
<td>D. 85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erasmus</td>
<td>xxii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esdras ii</td>
<td>D. 101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidence, external</td>
<td>D. 26—87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——, internal</td>
<td>D. 89—127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euphrates</td>
<td>N. 256, 404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eusebius, D. 26, 44, 78; N. 192, 194, 244, 248, 251, 469</td>
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<td>Eyes</td>
<td>N. 122</td>
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<td>Faber</td>
<td>N. 13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fabricius</td>
<td>D. 100; N. 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fornication</td>
<td>N. 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four, number</td>
<td>N. 105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Froissart</td>
<td>N. 210</td>
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<td>Frogs</td>
<td>N. 406</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gagnæus</td>
<td>N. 252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gallic Churches, Epistle of</td>
<td>D. 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gentiles</td>
<td>N. 213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gibbon, D. 76; N. 223, 266, 450</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gibson, Bp.</td>
<td>D. 108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gnostics</td>
<td>N. 47, 75, 236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grabe</td>
<td>D. 22; N. 100, 183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gray</td>
<td>D. 102; N. 470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gregory of Nazianzum</td>
<td>D. 84; N. 11, 193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—— Neocæsarea</td>
<td>D. 71; N. 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—— Nyssa</td>
<td>D. 84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
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<th>E</th>
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<td>Hell</td>
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<td>Homer, D. 87; N. 36. 61. 144. 145. 151. 182. 215. 383. 451</td>
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<td>N. 122. 349. 432</td>
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<td>N. 128. 143. 151</td>
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<td>Hume</td>
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<td>Hurd, Bp.</td>
<td>xi; N. 220. 424. 457</td>
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<td>Ignatius, D. 28; N. 26. 27. 81. 146. 212. 232. 349</td>
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<td>Jerome</td>
<td>D. 45. 83; N. 110. 187. 194</td>
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<td>Jerusalem</td>
<td>N. 287</td>
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<td>—— the new, N. 89. 188. 190. 453. 482</td>
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<td>Jezebel</td>
<td></td>
<td>N. 71</td>
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<td>Incense</td>
<td>N. 124. 201</td>
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<td>John the Apostle</td>
<td>D. 8, 9. 18. 28; N. 6</td>
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<td>—— banished to Patmos, D. 112; N. 24</td>
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<td>—— why called the Divine, D. 128</td>
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<td>—— an eye witness, D. 130; N. 27</td>
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<td>—— his first Epistle</td>
<td>D. 111</td>
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<td>John the Presbyter</td>
<td>D. 40</td>
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<td>Jones, Sir Wm., N. 277. 363. 405. 368. 491</td>
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<td>Jortin, D. 118; N. 122. 194. 346. 350. 355. 426. 469</td>
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<td>Josephus</td>
<td>N. 113. 118. 181. 472</td>
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<td>Irenaeus</td>
<td>D. 17. 27. 38; N. 61. 110. 237. 350. 355. 426. 469</td>
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<td>——, the true</td>
<td>N. 56. 185</td>
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<td>Judaism personified</td>
<td>N. 313</td>
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<td>Judgment, general</td>
<td>N. 474</td>
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<td>—— of Babylon</td>
<td>N. 440</td>
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<td>Judische</td>
<td>N. 161</td>
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<td>Justin Martyr</td>
<td>D. 44; N. 212</td>
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<td>Kett</td>
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<td>Keys</td>
<td>N. 34</td>
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<td>Kings</td>
<td>N. 429. 448</td>
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<td>Koran, D. 99; N. 352. 361. 365. 366</td>
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<td>Lactantius</td>
<td>D. 77; N. 194</td>
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<td>Lamb</td>
<td>N. 121. 376</td>
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<td>Lampbearers</td>
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<td>D. 48. N. 91</td>
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<td>——, council of</td>
<td>D. 85</td>
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<td>Lardner, D. 11. 28, 29, 30. 39. 108; N. 64. 67. 77</td>
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<tr>
<td>Polybius</td>
<td>N. 102</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Porphyry</td>
<td>N. 244</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pothinus</td>
<td>D. 43</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretyman, Bp</td>
<td>N. 42</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prideaux</td>
<td>N. 255. 256. 365</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priscillianists</td>
<td>N. 242</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proclamation of the first angel</td>
<td>N. 379</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—— of the second</td>
<td>N. 380</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>—— of the third</td>
<td>N. 381</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>—— of the fourth</td>
<td>N. 384</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prophecy, when obscure</td>
<td>D. 103. 105</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prudentius</td>
<td>N. 61</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pythagoras</td>
<td>N. 13. 106</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## INDEX.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R</th>
<th>Subscriptions to the sacred Epistles, D. 12; N. 4.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Randolph, Bp.</td>
<td>N. 217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reed or Rod</td>
<td>N. 286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reformation, the, N. 299. 302. 379. 452</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reland</td>
<td>N. 26. 365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ricaut</td>
<td>N. 187. 367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rome</td>
<td>N. 324. 421. 434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Empire</td>
<td>N. 333. 336. 427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saracens</td>
<td>N. 250. 264. 270. 271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sardis</td>
<td>N. 79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satan</td>
<td>N. 229. 324. 470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scaliger, J.</td>
<td>N. 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sea</td>
<td>N. 104. 211. 392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seal</td>
<td>N. 182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seal the first</td>
<td>N. 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— second</td>
<td>N. 155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— third</td>
<td>N. 142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— fourth</td>
<td>N. 151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— fifth</td>
<td>N. 164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— sixth</td>
<td>N. 169. 411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— seventh</td>
<td>N. 199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scorpions</td>
<td>N. 231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secker, Archbishop</td>
<td>N. 330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seven, mystical number</td>
<td>N. 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— lamps</td>
<td>N. 17. 104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— spirits</td>
<td>N. 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— stars</td>
<td>N. 29. 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— thunders</td>
<td>N. 279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— seals</td>
<td>N. 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— trumpets</td>
<td>N. 206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shakespeare</td>
<td>N. 152. 231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smyrna</td>
<td>N. 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socrates, Eccles.</td>
<td>N. 237. 244. 270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sozomen</td>
<td>N. 244. 270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanheim</td>
<td>N. 8. 195. 367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spirits, seven</td>
<td>N. 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stars</td>
<td>N. 29. 76. 215. 497</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strabo, N. 41. 55. 79. 86. 270. 461</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stolburgh</td>
<td>N. 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tacitus</td>
<td>N. 161. 431. 433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tartars</td>
<td>N. 271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertullian, D. 51; N. 45. 61. 81.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>132. 139. 188. 218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Deum, the hymn</td>
<td>N. 114, 126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theocritus</td>
<td>N. 136. 261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theophilus</td>
<td>D. 50; N. 315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thuanus</td>
<td>N. 230. 381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thunders</td>
<td>N. 127. 279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thyatira</td>
<td>N. 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trumpet</td>
<td>N. 206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trumpets, four first</td>
<td>N. 206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—— fifth</td>
<td>N. 226. 258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—— sixth</td>
<td>N. 254. 258. 274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—— seventh</td>
<td>N. 305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— and Vials compared</td>
<td>N. 398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turks</td>
<td>N. 44. 269. 271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varro</td>
<td>N. 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vespasian</td>
<td>N. 161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vials, the seven</td>
<td>N. 394. 398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vial the first</td>
<td>N. 401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—— second</td>
<td>N. 402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—— third</td>
<td>N. 402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—— fourth</td>
<td>N. 403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—— fifth</td>
<td>N. 403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—— sixth</td>
<td>N. 404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—— seventh</td>
<td>N. 410. 412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victorinus</td>
<td>D. 77. 110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viega</td>
<td>N. 161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——</td>
<td>213. 261</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## INDEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vision of the Son of Man</th>
<th>N. 21</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>of Divine Glory in Heaven, N. 95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of the Lamb on Mount Sion, N. 375</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Harvest and Vintage, N. 385</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preceding the Vials, N. 389</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of the great Harlot, N. 414</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of the great Battle, N. 459</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vitringa, D. 10; N. 434</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilderness</td>
<td>N. 318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winds</td>
<td>N. 180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wintle</td>
<td>N. 330, 353, 449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witnesses</td>
<td>N. 290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woe the first</td>
<td>N. 226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— the second</td>
<td>N. 303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— the third</td>
<td>N. 303, 409, 448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xenophon</td>
<td>N. 75, 83, 420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xerxes</td>
<td>N. 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young, Arthur</td>
<td>N. 210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yoke</td>
<td>N. 143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zeal</td>
<td>N. 92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## ERRATA

- In the Dissertation, page 80, for nor it was it, read nor was it.
- In the Apocalypse and Notes, page 3, for αὐστημω, read αὐστημων.
- 159. for delicncated, read delineated.
- 266. for Islamism, read Ismaelism.
- 440. for oghi, read oghs.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Details</th>
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<td>REC'D LD</td>
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<tr>
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<td>REC'D LD</td>
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<tr>
<td>APR 3 1973</td>
<td>REC'D LD</td>
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LD 21-100m-9,47 (A5702sl6) 476