

History of Apocalyptic Interpretation

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I pledge allegiance to
THE KING OF KINGS
and to His Kingdom come
on earth as it is in Heaven
one Holy Nation under
the Heavenly Father
with Grace, Mercy
and Justice for all.

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Period 1. St. John to Constantine.

The earliest professed Apocalyptic Commentary extant is that by Victorinus, Bishop of Pettau in Pannonia; who was martyred in the Diocletian persecution, just at the very ending of the period now under review. Before that time, however, various brief hermeneutic notices of certain parts of the Revelation had been given to the Christian world by some of the earlier fathers, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Hippolytus, and also by the Christian Pseudo-Sibyl: notices ranging in date from about the middle of the 2nd to the middle of the 3rd century; and which are too interesting to be passed over in an inquiry into the history of Apocalyptic interpretation. I have indeed already partially noticed them, in my sketches of the eras or of the topics that they relate to, in my foregoing Commentary.¹ But I think it will be well here to present them chronologically in one point of view, and somewhat more in full, as the fittest introduction to our whole subject.²

¹Horæ Apocalypticæ

²I do not specify the pseudoBarnabas, who wrote probably early in the 2nd century, because we find nothing distinctively Apocalyptic in his Epistle: except indeed in regard of that passage about the six days of creation and following Sabbath, viewed as types of the world's six millenniums of duration, and seventh millennium of rest consequent on them, which will be found cited in the Chapter in my Appendix on the present æra in the world's chronology. I call this writer the pseudoBarnabas, because of having no doubt in my own mind as to his not being the apostle Barnabas. The Jewish temple had evidently been destroyed when the Epistle was written; and Barnabas probably died before that event. The author writes as if a Gentile, whereas Barnabas was a Jew: and moreover with such strange mistakes of fact about certain of the Levitical rites and ceremonies as, it seems to me, impossible a Jewish Levite like Barnabas could have made; and fancies too as to typical meanings in them, such as ill consist with the idea of that apostolic companion of the apostles having been their inditer.

For the same reason in part I omit noticing the so-called Hermas' writings, not doubting that the writer's assumption of that apostolic name is a fraud; as nearly all critics, following Tertullian's indignant rejection of its apostolicity, (*De Pudicit.* 10, 20,) admit: also because of there appearing nothing in them of distinct and particular Apocalyptic interpretation. As a general witness to the genuineness of the Revelation he is cited by me in the Preliminary Essay to my Book, Vol. i. pp. 9-11.

Further I omit all notice of the 2nd Book of Esdras; as I incline with Dr. Lawrence to deem it the work of a Jew, written just before Jesus Christ's birth. The famous passage, Ch. 7. 28, which speaks of Jesus by name, is wanting in the Ethiopic version; where we read simply, "My Messiah shall be revealed," not "My son Jesus." Hence Dr. Lawrence deems the passage in the Latin Arabic to be an interpolation, or marginal gloss, by some Christian hand. Further the two first Chapters, in which there might seem to be allusions to certain New Testament Scriptures, (especially Ch. 2. 42-46,) are wanting in both the Arabic and Ethiopic versions.

Mr. C. Maitland, on the contrary, pp. 111-119, opens his Sketch of Christian Prophetic Interpretation by notices of the soidisant Barnabas, as really the apostle of that name; Hermas, with "his gushes of penitence, &c.," as the Hermas of Rom. 16:14, "Salute Asyncritus, Phlegon, Hermas, Patrobas, Hermes, and the brethren which are with them.," and of the 2nd Book of Esdras, as really the writing of a Christian.

1. Pseudo-Sibylline Oracles

As regards the Pseudo-Sibylline oracles, poems which were written and circulated under that title, through the pious fraud of certain Christians, about the middle of the 2nd century, my readers will already have learned from previous citations given from them in my previous work,¹ that the destruction of Rome, the Apocalyptic Babylon,² was one prominent subject in them; and with ideas about it evidently borrowed from the Revelation. In Book viii, more especially, it is the burden of the song. And this will be found to be the idea of the writer, or writers, as to events connected with it: that the destroyer Antichrist, himself of Latin extraction,³ would be the first author of its ruin; this Antichrist equaling himself with God, and being (as is hinted⁴) the Emperor Nero restored to life again, and now coming back from Asia in alliance with the Jews; but that the grand and final destruction would be by direct judgment from heaven. “Descending from on high thou shalt dwell underneath the earth; with naphtha and asphalt, and sulfur and much fire, thou shalt disappear, and become as burning ashes for ever.⁵ And every one who looks on thee shall hear the deep sound of thy wailing from hell, and thy gnashing of teeth.” Then, on Rome’s end, there would follow speedily, according to our Sibyl, the world’s end:⁶ and then, on the opening of the first *octad*,⁷ another and better world.

2. Justin Martyr

In Justin Martyr the chief direct reference to the Revelation is on the millennium announced by it; which, as we have seen,⁸ he interpreted literally: how St. John prophesied that believers in Christ would reign 1000 years

¹Horæ Apocalypticæ Vol. i.

²The name given by the Poet in various places to Rome; e.g. Book v. p. 312; (Ed. Paris 1599.)
Και φλαζαι ποντον βαθυν τε αυτην τε βαβυλωνα Ιταλιης γαιαν θ.

³So p. 368; *Ω βασιλευ μεγαλανχε Λατινιδος εκγονε Ρωμης*. This Latin appellation of Rome appears often elsewhere in the Book: so that I cannot but incline to think that it had reference to *Αντεινοτ*, as the name and number of the Beast; the same that was soon afterwards specified by Irenæus.

⁴Sometimes designated as the mothermurderer; sometimes by the number 50, as the numeral value of ν’, the first letter of his name. *οταν γ’ επανελθη Εκ περατων γαιης ο φυγας μητροκτονος ελθων...Και τοτι πενθησεις*. The latter occurs in Book v. p. 303; *Πεντηκοντα δ’ οστις κερειην λαχε κοιρανός εσται Δελνός οφίς θυσσών πολεμον...Αλλ’ εσται και αίστος ειτ’ ανακαμψει Ισαζών Θεω αυτον ελεγει δ’ ου μιν εοντα*.

⁵Elsewhere the writer notes in contrast the then flourishing state not only of Rome but its Campagna; *το πεδον Ρωμης εριθηλου* a statement very illustrative of what I have said in p. 20 *suprà*.

⁶B. 8 p. 368. This was to be when Rome had fulfilled the number of the years destined her in her name *Ρωμη*, viz. 100 + 800 + 40 + 8 = 948. *Τρις δε τρινκοσιους και τεσσαρακοντα και οκτω Πληρωσεις λυκαβαντας..τεον ονομα πληρωσασα*.

⁷B. 7 p. 359; *Εν δε τριτω κληρω περιτελλομενων ενιαυτων Ογδοατης πρωτης αλλος παλι κοσμος οραται*. Is this Barnabas’ octad? Compare the antipremillennarian Jerome’s notice of the Christian sabbath as the 8th day.

⁸See Note 592 p.71 *suprà*.

with Him in Jerusalem, Jerusalem having been restored, enlarged, and beautified, agreeably with the Old Testament prophecies of the latter day; after which would follow the general resurrection and judgment. Further, in regard to Antichrist, though referring for authority more directly to Daniel,¹ yet it is evident that he considered the Apocalyptic ten horned Beast, or rather its ruling head, to be identical with Daniel's little horn of the fourth Beast;² and each and either identical with St. Paul's Man of Sin, and St. John's Antichrist: also that he regarded this Antichrist as still future, though at the very doors; as destined to reign literally 3½ years; and as to be destroyed by Christ's glorious advent.³

3. Irenæus

In Irenæus again these are the two chief Apocalyptic subjects commented on; and with just the same opinions respecting them as Justin Martyr's. But his comments are more complete.

With reference especially to the great subject of the Apocalyptic Beast and Antichrist, he directed his readers, as we have since seen,⁴ to look out

¹Justin Martyr, In his Dialogue with Trypho, p. 336 (Ed. Colon.), he speaks of Christ's coming again in glory, *ὅταν και ὁ της αποσιας ανθρωπος ὁ και εις τον Ψυιστον εξαλλα λαλ ων επι της ψης ανομα τολμησιν εις ἡμας τους χριστιανους* thereby identifying Daniel's Little Horn of the fourth Beast, that "spoke great things against the Most High," with St. Paul's Man of Sin, or Man of the Apostasy; also noting his lawless persecution of Christians living at the time, and his succession and destruction by Christ's glorious advent.

²Because the millennium of the risen saints' reign with Christ, which in the Revelation is made to follow immediately after the destruction of the Apocalyptic Beast, by some interposition of Christ from heaven, is by Justin stated to follow immediately after this destruction of Daniel's Little Horn, or Antichrist.

³Justin Martyr thus speaks of Antichrist as at the doors and of his 'destined continuance for 3 times, in his Dialogue with Trypho, p. 250: *Του βλασφημα και τολμηρα εις τον ψιστον μελλοντος λαλελν η δ η επι θυραις οντος ὄν καιρον και καιρους και ἡμος καιρου διακαθεζειν ανηλ μνηνει*. Which term, he says, the Jews incorrectly calculated on the principle of a prophetic time meaning 100 years, and consequently the 3½ times 350 years: he himself regarding them as literal years. He intimates further his expectation of Elias coming literally and personally before Christ's Second Advent. But he says this without any reference to the two witnesses of the Apocalyptic prophecy, such as Mr. C. Maitland ascribes to him, p. 140.

⁴Irenæus, In his Work on Heresies, B. v. ch. 25, this ancient Father says; "Daniel no Wssimi regni finem respiciens, (id est novissimos decern reges in quos divideretur regnum, super quos Filius perditionis veniet,) cornua dicit decern nasci Bestiip, et alterum cornu pusillum." Again, ch. 30, after commenting on the predicted number of the Beast, 666, (as a probable solution of which he mentions the word *Ααρεινός*, —probable because of this being the name of the loi, st of the four kingdoms, or Roman, then reigning, "quoniam novissimum regnum hoc habet vocabulum, Latini enim sunt qui nunc regnant,") he goes on to say; "Scientes hunc numerum, sustineant (That is. Let them patiently wait; the verb sustineo being used in the same sense here by Irenujus as by Tertulian in a passage which will be given in the subsequent Note ' p. 232.) primum quidum divisioneni regni in decern; post deinde, illis regnantibus, et incipientibus augere suum regnum, qid de improvise advenit, regnum sibi vindicans, et terrebbeit pra?dictos, habens nomen continens pra?dictum numerum." Thus he explains the Latin or Roman empire, then existing, to be the fourth and

for the division of the Roman Empire into ten kingdoms, as that which was immediately to precede, and be followed by, Antichrist's manifestation. We saw too his jealousy that the true number of Antichrist's name, 666, as in the most genuine manuscripts, not 616, as in certain falsified copies, should be well understood: also how he thought that, as being in some way of Roman polity or connection, (even though by birth a Jew) Antichrist's characteristic title, in fulfillment of the Apocalyptic enigma, might very probably be *Λατινοϛ*, *the Latin Man*, seeing that they who then held the world's empire were Latins; a name numerally equivalent to 666.¹ The second lamb like Beast Irenæus calls the first Beast's amour bearer; and also "the False Prophet," as in Rev. 19² Under a notion of the Antichrist being a false Christ of Jewish origin, he fancifully suggests that the omission of Dan from those tribes of Israel out of whom an election was sealed, in Rev. 7., might be an intimation of that being Antichrist's tribe.³ His idea of Antichrist sitting in the rebuilt temple of Jerusalem, and there showing himself as God, "setting aside all idols," in order to concentrate men's worship on himself, belongs to St. Paul's prophecy of Antichrist, not St. John's; and his idea of Antichrist's 3½ years being the half of the last of Daniel's 70 Weeks, not to St. John, but Daniel.⁴ Again that of "Antichrist's fulfilling the part of the unjust judge in St. Luke, by avenging the Jews of their adversaries the Romans, and transferring the empire to Jerusalem," is altogether extra Apocalyptic;

last of Daniel's great kingdoms; and its division into ten kingdoms to be the event immediately preceding the manifestation of Antichrist: who, whence so ever originating, (and Irenæus had the impression of his being a Jew in origin,) was yet someway in the result to be a Latin man, and the ruler of the Roman empire in its last form.

¹On the whole however, we saw, he preferred the name Teitan.

²Rev. 19:20: "And the beast was taken, and with him the false prophet that wrought miracles before him, with which he deceived them that had received the mark of the beast, and them that worshiped his image. These both were cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone."

³In support of this idea Irenæus (v. 30) strangely refers to Jer. 8 16, "The snorting of his horses was heard from Dan," as if said of Antichrist's emerging from out of that tribe. And Mr. C. M. as strangely, pp. 157159, seems to approve and endorse the interpretation. The reader need only refer to Jeremiah in order to see that it is said, as Lowth explains it, "of the Chaldæan army marching into Judea through the tribe of Dan:" that being the northern most district of the territory of Israel.

⁴It may be well to observe here that Irenæus says nothing of any of Daniel's hebdomands except the last. Whether with his contemporary Judas (see Euseb. H. E. vi. 6) he supposed the 70 hebdomads to reach continuously to the consummation, through some different view from that which is commonly received of their commencing date, or whether with Hippolytus he supposed the last hebdomad to be separated from the rest in the prophet's intention by a chronological break, does not appear. See my notice of this subject at the end of the Section.

and I must add very fanciful. Yet on this he mainly grounds his as yet peculiar opinion that Antichrist would transfer the seat of empire to Jerusalem, and there sit in the temple of God as if he were the Christ and God.¹

There is yet another direct point of Apocalyptic explanation to be noted in Irenæus. We find in his 4th Book a passing notice of the white horse and rider of the first Apocalyptic Seal; and explanation of it as signifying Christ born to victory, and going forth conquering and to conquer.² This is quite a detached comment; without any reference to the contrasted symbols of the Seals following. I may add too that he makes the Apocalyptic altar to be that on which Christians' prayers and praises are offered in heaven, not that of the earthly Jerusalem.³ And so again of the Apocalyptic temple.

4. Tertullian

On the subject of Antichrist, while agreeing with Irenæus in expecting his development chronologically after the breaking up of the Roman State into ten kings, or kingdoms, all in strict accordance with the Revelation, I see in Tertullian no intimation of his entertaining any such idea as Irenæus' as to this Antichrist being a Jew of the tribe of Dan; or of his fixing an abomination of desolation in the sense of his own worship, in any rebuilt temple

¹I say very mainly; because he also refers to one and another passage in Daniel about the sanctuary being desolate, and the abomination of desolation resting in it, as if meaning the Jerusalem (rebuilt) temple; viz. Dan. 8 13, "Then I heard one saint speaking, and another saint said unto that certain saint which spake, How long shall be the vision concerning the daily sacrifice, and the transgression of desolation, to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot?" and Dan. 9 27, "And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week: and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate." But it is in nearest connection with the parable in St. Luke. "Ipse est iniquus iudex...ad quem fugit vidua oblita Dei, id est terrena Hierusalem ad ulciscenduni de inimico. Quod et faciet in tempore regni sui. Transferet regnum in eam; et in temple Dei sedebit seducens eos qui adorant eum quasi ipse sit Christus," v. 26. So Irenæus would make Antichrist's empire a fifth mundane great empire, with new and different capital from Rome, in direct contradiction to Dan. ii., 7, which alike state that there would be but four previous to the reign of Messiah.

²"Ad hoc enim nascebatur Dominus;" (viz. to overthrow his adversary, like his antitype Jacob;) "de quo et Joannes in Apocalypsi sit, Exivit vincens ut vinceret." 4 38.

³"Est ergo altare in coelis. Illuc enim preces nostræ et oblationes diriguntur; et ad templum; quemadmodum Joannes in Apocalypsi ait, Et apertum est templum Dei." 4 34, ad fin. Irenæus' reference here is to Rev. 11 19, "And the temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was seen in his temple the ark of his testament: and there were lightnings, and voices, and thunderings, and an earthquake, and great hail," or xv. 5, "And after that I looked, and, behold, the temple of the tabernacle of the testimony in heaven was opened." But it is quite evident from the passage that he would have expounded the temple scene in Rev. 8 3, "And another angel came and stood at the altar, having a golden censer; and there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne." where incense was given to the Angel, of Christian worship also.

at Jerusalem.¹ Nor again does he, like Irenæus, refer to the last of Daniel's 70 prophetic weeks, as furnishing out the time of 3½ years to the two witnesses, and 3½ to Antichrist. On the contrary he in one place elaborately draws out a sketch of the chronology, from the first year of Darius to that of Jerusalem's destruction by the Romans under Titus, to show that the whole 70 weeks were then fully completed, and the whole prophecy then accomplished.² And indeed it is evident that he regarded the 3½ years of the witnesses and 3½ years of Antichrist as one and the same; for in his view the death of the former was to be the death of the latter.³ Moreover again and again he speaks of Christians, or the Christian Church, as God's temple;⁴ and in various places of heretics, awhile within the professing Church, as Antichrists and anti-Christians.⁵ Yet again he distinctly notes the 144,000 on Mount Zion with Christ in Rev. 14 (The same of course with the 144,000 of Rev. 7) as the virgins of the Christian Church;⁶ and consequently the sealed ones out of the twelve tribes as not Jews, but Christians. With the same anti-Judaic view he markedly speaks of the Apocalyptic New Jerusalem (though with the twelve tribes of Israel written on its gates) as Christian, not Jewish; the Jerusalem spoken of by St. Paul to the Galatians as the mother of all Christians.⁷

Turning to the Seals the first point that meets us is a passing notice of the rider in the first Seal; which symbol Tertullian seems to have explained like Irenæus.⁸ But by far the most interesting to my mind of his passing comments here are those on the 5th Seal's vision of the souls under the altar, and that of the palm bearing company, figured before the opening of the seventh Seal.⁹ The martyrs of the former vision, he explains as martyrs then in

¹More than once he expounds what St. Paul says about Antichrist's sitting in the temple of God, &c., of pseudoChristian heretics like the Marcionites sitting in the professing Christian Church.

²"Ita in diem expugnationis suæ Judæi impleverunt hebdomadas LXX prædictus à Daniels. Igitur, expletis his quoque temporibus, et debellatis Judæa, postea cessaverunt illie libamina et sacrificia, &c." Adv. Jud. 8. See my notices on Daniel's hebdomads at the end of this Section.

³See p. 138 Note 1087 which reads; "Translatus est Enoch et Elias, nec more eorum reperta est, dilata scilicet. Cæ. terum morituri reservantur, ut Antichristum sanguine sue extinguant." De Anim. 50. In another place, Adv. Marc. 4 22, he explains Zachariah's two olive-trees as Moses and Elias."

⁴E.g. De Res. Carn. 26, where he says that Christ, and the faithful Christians who have put on Christ, are God's temple, Jerusalem, and the Holy Land. Also Adv. Jud. 14; "sacerdote templi spiritualis, id est, ecclesiæ."

⁵E. g. "Auænam istæ sunt pelles uvium nisi nomin is Christiani extrinsecus superficies?" "Qui Antichristi nisi Christi rebelles?" De Præser. 4. So also Adv. Marc. iii. 8, v. 16, &c.

⁶Res. Carn. 27.

⁷Adv. Marc. iii. 25.

⁸"Accipit et Angelus victoriæ coronam, procedens in candido equo ut vinceret." De Cor. Mil. ch. 15. By the Angel I think Tertullian meant Christ the CovenantAngel

⁹The passages are given in my Horæ Vol. i.; but they are so illustrative that I must beg to bring them here again distinctly under the reader's eye.

course of being slain under Pagan Rome for the testimony of Christ: thereby distinctly assigning to the then passing era that particular place in the Apocalyptic prefigurative drama.¹ The palm bearers of the latter vision, that had to come out of the great tribulation, he identifies as that same second set of martyrs that had been predicted to the souls under the altar; those that were to make up the martyr complement by suffering under Antichrist, and so suffering to become triumphant, and attain Paradise. And hence chiefly he formed to himself an Apocalyptic plan, and "*ordo temporum*" in the prophecy: how that before the judgment and vindication promised to the souls under the altar, the imperial harlot city Rome was to be destroyed by the ten kings, (mark, not the ten kings and Antichrist) after the vial plagues had first been poured out on its empire: then the Beast Antichrist to rise, make war conjunctively with his False Prophet on the Church, and add an innumerable multitude of sufferers, during the tribulation of his tyranny, to the martyrs previously slain under Pagan Rome, Christ's two Witnesses, Enoch and Elijah, specially inclusive:² then, Antichrist having been thereupon destroyed from heaven, and the Devil shut up in the abyss, the privilege of the first resurrection, and millennial reign with Christ, to be allotted to its chosen participants; and after wards the conflagration to follow, in which fire the seven hilled Babylon, with its persecuting princes and provincial governors, would meet their ultimate destruction and torment;³ and the general resurrection and judgment.

1. De Res Carn. ch. 25. "Etiam in Apocalypsi Johannis ordo temporum sternitur, quem martyrum quoque animæ sub altari, ultionem et iudicium flagitantes, sustinere didicerunt: ut prius et orbis de pateris angelorum plagas suas ebibat, et prostituta illa civitas a decem regibus dignos exitus referat, et bestia Antichristus cū suo Pseudopropheta certamen ecclesiæ Dei inferat: atque ita, Diabolo in abyssum interim relegato, primæ resurrectionis prærogativa de solis ordinetur; dehinc, et igni dato, universalis resurrectionis censura de libris iudicetur."

2. Scorp. adv. Gnost. ch. 12. "Quinam isti tam beati victores (Rev. ii. 7) nisi propriè martyres? Illorum etenim victorai quorum et pugnae; eorum vero pugnae quorum et sanguis. Sed et interim sub altari martyrum animæ placidè quiescunt; et fiduciâ utionis candidam claritatis usurpant, donec et [alii] consortium illarum gloriæ impleant. Nam et rursus innumera multitudo albeti, et palmis victoræ insignes, revelantur; (Rev. 7 9, &c.): scilicet de Antichristo triumphales."

¹Mr. C. Maitland says, p. 164; "This passage contains the earlier identification of the 5th Seal martyrs with those who suffer under Antichrist." It will be seen I believe, that, instead of this, Tertullian expressly distinguishes the 5th Seal martyrs, as the first set of martyrs, from the second set that were to follow under Antichrist. The white robes of the palm bearers in Rev. 7, robes washed white by them in the blood of the Lamb before death, are also unadvisedly identified by Mr. C. M. with the white robes of the martyrs in Rev. vi. 11; white robes given them in vision after death.

²"Translatus est Enoch et Elias, nec mors eorum reperta est, dilata scilicet. Cae. terum morituri reservantur, ut Antichristum sanguine sue extinguant." De Anim. 50. In another place, Adv. Mare. 4 22, he explains Zachariah's two olive trees as Moses and Elias.

³"How shall I admire, how exalt, when I behold so many proud monarchs, reported to have been received into heaven, groaning in the lowest abyss of darkness, so many provincial governors who persecuted the name of the Lord liquefying in fiercer fire than they ever

As to the Apocalyptic millennium, Tertullian's view will have been seen by the citations in my Millennial Chapter to be precisely similar to that of the two preceding Fathers.¹

Altogether Tertullian's is an eminently commonsense view of the prophecy: As a prefigurative drama, in orderly succession, of the chief eras and events in the history of the Church and of the world, from Christ's first coming, or near it, to his second.² Except for his view of Enoch and Elijah as the witnesses, there seems little on which we would not join hands in concord with this venerable and sagacious expositor.

5. Hippolytus,

Bishop of Portus Romanus, now modern Ostia:³ one who was an immediate successor of Irenæus and Tertullian, indeed it is said Irenæus' disciple;⁴ and who suffered martyrdom, probably about A.D. 235, or 250, under the Emperor Maximin, or the Emperor Decius.⁵ Jerome reports that he wrote a Treatise specifically on the Revelation, as well as one on Antichrist.⁶ If so, the former has perished. But there is still extant a short Treatise purporting

kindled against the Christians!" De Spectac. c. 30. Cited already by me under by 5th Seal, Vol. i. p. 224

¹See on his millennial view the abbreviated extract given in Note 592 p.71 *suprà*. But it will be quite worth the reader's while to read the whole passage from which this extract is taken; which passage I see, is given by Bishop Kaye in his Tertullian, p. 362. Respecting the New Jerusalem, as will be there seen, his idea was that it was to be of heavenly fabric; and would descend from heaven to be the abode of the resurrection saints during the Millennium. That he did not expect the converted Jews, still in a mortal state, to be restored to, and to occupy their own land of Judah, appears from the general anti-Judaic tone of his remarks. (See for example my extract from him p. 138, in the Note 1086.) In one place however he tells of a glorious city which had been seen shortly before in Judea for forty successive days, suspended in the air at break of morning; the image, it was supposed, and he believed it, of the New Jerusalem. And perhaps he may hence be supposed to have had an idea of Judea, as the chief local point of the manifestation of the glories of the heavenly Jerusalem, during the millennium. But nothing more.

²So too as to Christ's prophecy of Jerusalem's destruction, Tertullian, with the same commonsense eye, regards it as an orderly prophecy, from a commencing date of the time when it was spoken: "Interrogatus à discipulis quando eventura essent quae interim de templi exitu eruperant, ordinem temporum prime Judaicorum, usque ad excidium Jerusalem, dehinc communium, usque ad conclusionem seculi, dirigit." De Res. Cara. 22.

³So Photius, cited by Lardner, ii. 424; Μαθητης δε Ειρηναίου ο Ιππολύτος. Photius eulogizes him as in his style clear, grave, concise: την φρασιν σαφής εστι και υποσεμνος και απειριτος. He was bishop of a place called Portus Romanus. Whether this was the modern Ostia at the mouth of the Tiber, or the modern Aden at the mouth of the Arabian Gulf, each of which bore that name in ancient times, has been long controverted, by the late discovery however of his Book Heresies it has been shown to be the former. See Lardner, ii. 427; also my own notice of Hippolytus in the Appendix to Vol. IV; and Bunsen on his lately recovered work.

⁴So Photius, apparently on the authority of Hippolytus himself; Μαθητης Ειρηναίου ο Ιππολύτος... Ταυτας δε φησιν ελεγχους υποβληθηναι ομιλουντος Ειρηνειου. Quoted by Lardner, Vol. ii. p. 424.

⁵Lardner, p. 428.

⁶Ib. 422.

to be that by him on Christ and Antichrist, and with every mark of authenticity.¹ This includes in it sundry Apocalyptic notices of much interest; and I therefore give the following brief abstract.

After observing on God's will that the mysteries of the future, foreshown by the ancient Prophets, or seers, should be concealed from none of his servants, he opens his subject by emphasizing the coming Antichrist, even as if his grand characteristic, (a view derived evidently in part at least from the Revelation)² that he would in everything affect resemblance to Christ. "The seducer will seek to appear in all things like the Son of God. As Christ a Lion, so he a lion, as Christ a King, so he a king; as Christ a Lamb, so he as a lamb, though inwardly a wolf; as Christ sent out apostles to all nations, so will he similarly send out false apostles:"³ it being added that he would have also a similar connection with the Jewish people.⁴ Then, after extracts from other Scriptures, and especially from Daniel's two great symbolic prophecies of the quadripartite Image and the four wild Beasts, which he explains, just like the other Fathers, of the Babylon, Persian, Macedonian, and Roman Empires, and the little horn of the fourth Beast as Antichrist, he thus turns to the Revelation for information as to the fated end of both Antichrist himself, and his city Rome: "Tell me, blessed John, thou apostle and disciple of the Lord, what hast thou heard and seen respecting Babylon: wake up, and speak; for it was she that exiled thee to Patmos."⁵ And then he gives in full the two Chapters, Rev. 17 and 18, containing vision of her destruction. And, adding and interweaving other explanatory notices both from the Revelation and Daniel, he expounds the whole subject to the effect following: that the last of Daniel's 70 weeks, (for he insulates this last from the rest, in the manner stated below)⁶ that in which the Lord would confirm the covenant

¹I may specify particularly the clause following; which shows the Treatise to have been written in the times of Pagan persecution, and so before Constantine's establishment of Christianity. Ἀλλ' μεις οἵτινες ἐλπίζοντες τον υἱόν του θεου διωκόμεθα ὑπ' αὐτῶν των ἀπιστῶν. Ch. 59. Moreover every such notice of monasticism, and of the Virgo Deipara, as are found in the spurious Treatise De Consummatione Mundi ac de Antichristo, bearing Hippolytus' name, and with much of his real Treatise incorporated, are here wanting; notices which savor of the latter half of the 4th century, or a period yet later.

²Antichrist's affected likeness to a lamb, which is one of the points here specified, is in a later part of the Treatise expressly inferred by Hippolytus from the Apocalyptic figuration of Antichrist and his False Prophet as a two horned lamb like Beast: *το δε ειπειν τα κερατα αυτα ὁμοια αρνω οτι εξομοισθαι μελλει τω νίω τε θεκ.* 49. Compare Tertullian's explanation of the symbol, p. 138, Note 1089 *suprà*. In Mr. C. M's sketch of Hippolytus' prophetic views this important passage is not referred to.

³Ch. 6; referred to already, Vol. ii. p. 85, Note 5.

⁴*ἐνπιριτομη ὁ Σωτηρ ηλθεν τον κοσμον και (ὁ Ἀντιχριστος) ὁμοιως ελευσεται.*

⁵Ch. 36.

⁶*Ib.* p. 5. Hippolytus was, I believe, the first author of the chronological separation of the last week of Daniel from its fellows. Jerome on Dan. 9 states Hippolytus' view to the effect following: that 7 hebdomads of the 70 were to elapse before the Jews' return from Babylon, 62 after these to Christ's birth; (a clear mistake, says Jerome, since from Cyrus to Christ there would be 560 years;) then the last hebdomad, quite separate from the rest, to occur at the end of the world, and be divided between Elias and Antichrist, as stated in the text.

with many, and in the half of which would occur the taking away of the daily sacrifice and oblation, would fall at the end of the world: that in the former half of it, or first 3½ years, Enoch and Elias would preach as Christ's two sackcloth robed witnesses, the precursors of Christ's second advent, as John the Baptist was the first;¹ include the rise and reign of Antichrist, his slaying of the Witnesses marking its commencement: that of the two Apocalyptic Beasts the former, or seven headed ten horned Beast,² meant the heathen Roman Empire, wounded to death by a sword; the other, or two horned lamb like Beast, Antichrist, inclusive of his False Prophet; who would revive as it were the image or ghost of the old empire, (such is his singular and ingenious interpretation of the giving life to the image of the Beast, and making it speak) just as Augustus once did to it by his new laws and constitution;³ and might thence very probably have *Λατεινος*, the Latin Man, as his designative title, a name containing the fated number 666:⁴ (the whole passage is every way most observable) that meanwhile the Church, figured in Rev. 12 as a travailing woman, because of daily bringing forth Christ (or Christ's

¹Christ's precursor, says Hippolytus, in preaching the gospel to the souls in Hades. ch. 46, p. 6.

²With regard to this seven headed ten horned Beast, it appears from Andrea's Comment on Rev. 17 10 that Hippolytus explained his seven heads of the seven ages or millennaries of the world; five of which had past (according to the Septuagint chronology) when St. John received the revelation in Patmos, the sixth was then current, and the seventh when it came must continue, he thought, but a little space. How so, he does not explain. I presume this is taken by Andreas from Hippolytus' Treatise on the Revelation; as I have not found it either in the true or the spurious Treatise of Hippolytus on Antichrist.

³Το μεν ουν θηριον αναβαινον εκ της γης την βασιλειαν την του Αντιχριστου εσομενην λεγει... το δε και την εξουσιαν του πρωτου θηριου εροει και ποιει την γην και τους εν αυτη κατοικουντας ιναπροσκυνησαι το θηριον το πρωτον ου εθεραπευθη ή πληγη του θανατου αυτου τουτο σημαινει ότι κατα τον Αυγουστου νομον αφ'ού και ή βασιλεια 'Ρωμαιων συνεστη ούτω και αυτος κελευσει και διαταζει απαντα επικυρων δια τουτου δοξαν εαυτου πλειονα περιποιονμενος. Τουτο γαρ εστι τοθηριον το τεταρτον ου επληγη ή κεθαλη και παλιν εθεραπευθη δια το καταλοθηναι αυτην η και ατιμασθηναι και εις δεκα διαδηματα αναλυθηναι. 'Ος τοτε πανουργος ων ώσπερ θεραπευσει αυτην και ανανεωσει. Τουτο γαρ εστι το ειρηνμενον υπο προφη του ότι δωση πνευμα τη εικονι και λαλησει ή εικον του θηριου ενεργησει γαρ και ισχυσει παλιν δια του ύπ' αυτου όριζομενον νομον. Ch. 49. So, according to Hippolytus, Antichrist's empire would be the old imperial Roman empire revived: not, as Irenæus and Mr. C. M., a 5th empire, which Daniel expressly excludes. This most important passage in Hippolytus' prophetic views is silently past over by Mr. C. Maitland.

⁴After mentioning 666 as the Beast's number, and Teitan and Euanthas as answering to the numeral, he goes on thus. Αλλ' επειδη προεφθιμεν λεγοντες ότι εθεραπευθη ή πληγη του θηριου του πρωτου και ποιησει λαλιν την τουτ εστιν ισχυσαι φανερον δ' εαι πασιν ότι οί κρατουντες επι νυν εις Λατινοι εις ενος ουν ανθρωπου ονομα μεταγομενον Λατεινος. c. 50. A passage already cited by me Vol. iii. p. 248. Mr C. M. writes thus, p. 168; "Like Irenæus, our bishop knows many names that make the number of the Beast. He prefers the word (*αρνουμαι*) I deny, doubtless from the predicted denail of Christ's being come in the flesh." I regret that Mr. C. Maitland should have so written. He had the two Treatises before him, the genuine and the spurious. He cites the above, which is only in the spurious one, as Hippolytus' solution; and leaves the genuine Treatise, and its preferred solution of the name *Λατεινος* unnoticed!

members) by her preaching in the world,¹ and clothed with the Divine Word, as the sun, and the starry crown of the twelve apostles, would, while the Antichrist established his abomination in the holy place,² flee to the mountains, pursued from city to city by him, and sustained only by faith in Christ crucified; his arms, extended on the cross, being like the sustaining wings of the great eagle in the Apocalyptic vision: and that then, and thereupon, Christ's coming would take place; Antichrist be destroyed by its brightness; and first resurrection of the saints follow; the just, welcomed by Christ, take the kingdom prepared for them (Matt. 25) from the world's beginning, and, as Daniel says, shine forth in it as the sun and the stars; the judgment of the conflagration being meanwhile executed on unbelievers; and so Isaiah's word fulfilled, "They shall go forth and look on the carcasses of the men that have sinned against me: for their worm dieth not, nor is their fire quenched; and they shall be for a spectacle to all flesh."³

6. Origen,

Hippolytus' contemporary; who has however left but little in his commentaries on Apocalyptic interpretation.⁴ It may be well however to mark the three notices following.

- Of the Apocalyptic book (Rev. 5), "written within and without," he explains the writing without as the obvious literal meaning; the writing within as its spiritual meaning.
- The 144,000, both in Rev. 7 and 9, he explains as true Christians.⁵
- Regarding the Antichrist whom he evidently identifies with the Apocalyptic Beast warred against by him that sat on the white horse in Rev. 19, "the Word of God," he strongly expresses his opinion, just like Hippolytus, as to the hypocrisy with which he would usurpingly ascribe to himself the titles, character, and functions of the true Christ.⁶

¹Και εν γαστρι εχουσα κραζει ωδινουσα και βασανιζομενη οτι ου παυσεται η εκκλησια γεννωσα εκ καρδιας τον λογον τον εν κοσμω υπο απιστων διωκομενον...τον αρρενα και τελειου Χριστον παιδα θεου και ανθρωπον καταγγελλομενον αι τικτουσα η ακκλησια διδασκει παντα τα εθνη. Again, on the words "caught up to God;" ηρπαγη το τεκνον αυτης προς τον θεον και τον θρονον αυτου οτι επουρανιος εσι βασιλευς και ουκ επιγειος ο δι αυτης υσι γεννωμενος.

²Hippolytus does not expressly define the locality as Jerusalem. I should rather suppose however that he means it: though how to reconcile this with the Antichrist's complete restoration of Rome's empire, as by a second Augustus, may seem difficult.

³Ad fin. ch. 65

⁴So in his Commentary on John, Vol. ii. p. 90 [Ed. Huet.]

⁵Ibid. pp. 1, 2.

⁶Ibid. pp. 5254. The passage is so remarkable that I must transcribe it in part. After speaking of Christ in the language of Rev. 19 as ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ πιστὸς καλόμενος καὶ ἀληθινὸς καὶ ἐν δικαιοσυνῇ κρίνει καὶ πολεμεῖ he thus turns to his conflict with the great usurper Antichrist. Ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ μὲν πρεσβευῇ περὶ ἀληθείας ὁ δ' ὑποκρινόμενος εἶναι λόγος ὁ λόγος ὧν καὶ ἡ ἑαυτὴν ἀναγορευοῦσα ἀληθειαν οὐκ ἀληθεῖα τυγκανόσα ἀλλὰ ψευδός

In passing on, the names of *Dionysius* and *Nepos* occur about A.D. 250, known in connection with the Millenarian controversy, and so with the Revelation and its genuineness; on which points, however, I have before spoken at the beginning of the Work.¹ Of these there is no need to speak now. I proceed therefore,

7. *Victorinus*;

The author of the earliest professed and continuous Apocalyptic Commentary now extant; and who died by martyrdom under the persecution of Diocletian. His Commentary is noticed by Jerome, who speaks of it as one of millenarian views.² And hence has arisen a doubt as to the genuineness of the Treatise still extant that goes under the name of Victorinus' Treatise on the Revelation; containing as it does, at its conclusion, a distinct anti-millenarian declaration.³ But the objection vanishes upon examination; for various indubitable millenarian intimations occur in the body of the Commentary:⁴ and the anti-millenarian passage is an evident interpolation by another hand, probably Jerome's own;⁵ as well as one or two shorter passages elsewhere.⁶ Moreover in Ambrose Ansbert I have observed a reference to

φασκη εαυτην την αληθειαν τοτε καθοπλισαμενος ο Λογος κατα το ψευδος αναλοι αυτο τω πνauματι το σοματος και καταργειτη επιφανια της παροσιας αυτο. (2 Thess. ii.).

¹See my *Horæ* Vol. I.

²"Et Papias Hierapolites Episcopus, et Nepos in Ægypti partibus Episcopus, de mille annorum regno ita ut Victorinus senserunt." Cited B. P. M. iii. 414.

³"Audiendi non sunt qui mille annorum regnum terrenum esse confirmant; qui cum Cherintho hæretico sentiunt." *Ad flu. B.P.M.* iii. 421. On the Epistle to the Church of Thyatira, "I will give him the morning star," the explanation is given, "Primam resurrectionem scilicet promisit:" and again, on "I will give him power over nations," "id est, judicem illum constituet inter cæteros sanctos." p. 416.

⁴Speaking of the nations to be destroyed at Christ's coming, ("gentibus perituris in adventu Domini,") as signified by various figurations, such as the harvest and the vintage, the writer adds, "Sed semel in 'adventu Domini, et consummationis, et regni Christi, et apertione regni sanctorum futurum est." p. 420.

⁵"In Judæâ ubi omnes sancti conventuri sunt, et Dominum suum adoraturi." p. 415.

⁶For Jerome, in returning the copy of Victorinus sent him, says that he had not only corrected the transcribers' errors, but himself made additions: "Quia me literis obtestatus es...majorum statim libros revolvi; et quod in eorum commentariis reperi Victorini opusculis sociavi. Ab iota inde quæ ipse secundum literam senserit, à principio libri ad signum crucis quæ ab imperitis erant vitiata scriptoribus, correximus; exinde usque ad finem voluminis addita esse cognosce." (*ibid.* 414.) The antimillennarian addition, of which I gave in Note 1121 the concluding sentence, occupies near a column at the end of the Treatise as now printed. It gives Jerome's view of the first resurrection, to much the same effect as Augustin's; but only, in true Hieronymic style of sentiment, with special notice of the keeping of virginity, as characterizing those millenarian priests and kings unto God, in regard of whom the Devil is bound.

the true Victorinus' statement on a rather singular point; which precise statement we find in the extant Commentary.¹ In the edition given in the *Bibliotheca Patrum Maxima*, now before me, there is the farther disadvantage of transposition of various parts of the Comment from their right places. But the Revelation itself makes the rectification of this easy, as Victorinus' is evidently an orderly Comment on it. I have only further to premise, that the work is very short, occupying but seven folio pages, or fourteen columns in the *Bibliotheca*, Vol. III. pp. 414-421. Of these fourteen columns, three and a half are devoted to the Apocalyptic introductory Vision and Epistles to the Seven Churches; three more to the Apocalyptic scenery; four to the Seals, Trumpets, and Witnesses; two to the Vision of the Dragon and the two Beasts; and one only to all the rest: herein well agreeing with what Cassiodorus says of it, that it only explained the more difficult passages.² I now proceed to give an abstract of it: and this somewhat at large, as due to its chronological interest.

At Its opening Victorinus dwells on the particulars of Christ's first appearance to St. John: his head and hair white marking the antiquity of the Ancient of Days, for the head of Christ is God; and perhaps with reference, in the wool that it is compared with, to the sheep his members, in the snow to the multitude of baptismal candidates, white as snowflakes from heaven: his face as the sun serving not only to express his glory, but the fact of his having risen, and set, and risen again in life on this world; his long priestly robe marking his priesthood; his zone the golden choir of the saints; his breasts the two Testaments, whence his people's nourishment; and the sword from his mouth his preached word, by which men shall be judged and Antichrist slain: his voice being likened to many waters with reference not only to its power, as that of many people, but perhaps too to the baptismal waters of salvation issuing from him; and his feet to brass glowing from the furnace, in reference to the apostles purified in the furnace of affliction, by whom he walks as it were in his preached gospel through the world. Then, after a short notice of the Epistles to the Seven Churches (which seven he explains as representatives of the Church Universal),³ he proceeds to the second series of visions, on the door being opened in heaven, and John called up thither: the heaven once shut having by Christ's satisfaction been opened; and in St. John's person, originally of the circumcision, but now a preacher of the New Testament, it being apparent that alike the faithful of either dispensation

¹Especially at p. 417; where, Victorinus having mentioned twentyfour Books of the Old Testament, the gloss occurs; "*Sunt autem libri veteris Testamenti qui accipiuntur viginti quatuor, quos in Epitomis Theodori invenies*:" "in which the reference is to Theodorus, a writer of the sixth century.

²So Professor M. Stuart, in his *Apocalyptic Comment*, i. 454.

³Like Paul, he adds; who first taught that seven Churches represented the Church Catholic, by addressing epistles to just seven Churches. For Victorinus' appended List seems not to have included that to the Hebrews among St. Paul's Epistles.

were now invited.¹ In the heavenly scene presented to John's view, the throne was that of Divine royalty and judgment; its jasper color, as of water, signifying God's earlier judgment by the waters of the deluge; its fiery sardine color that to come by fire; and the sea before the throne the gift of baptism, and offer of salvation through it, previous to judgment. The twenty four elders he explains as the twelve patriarchs and twelve apostles, seated on thrones of judgment: agreeably to the patriarchal privilege, "Dan shall judge his people," and the apostolic, "Ye shall sit on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel;" while the four living creatures typified the four evangelists, and their preaching of the gospel: the eyes within signifying the insight of that preaching into man's heart; and the six wings of each (twenty four in all) having reference to the twenty four books of the Old Testament, because it is only by help of the previous testimonies of those books that the Gospel can fly abroad. The voices and thunderings from the throne meant God's preachings, and threats, and notices of Christ's coming to judgment; the seven torches of fire the Spirit, granted to men in virtue of Christ's crucifixion. As to the seven sealed book, it was the book of the Old Testament; a book, with its prophecies of things to occur in the last times,² opened by none but Christ: who alone, as the lamb that was slain, could fulfill its types and prophecies; alone as a lion, and through death, conquer death for man. Also the saints' new song of thanksgiving had reference to the new salvation and new blessings, now imparted to believers, especially of the glorious promised kingdom. Even if the opening of the Seals were simultaneous, (?) yet did the arrangement of them indicate order; the first Seal indicating what took place first,³ the foreshadowing of things that were to be in the last times.

Arrived thus at the opening of the Seals, Victorinus explains the four horses and riders of the first four Seals as indicating respectively the triumphant progress of the Gospel, begun from after Christ's ascension,⁴ and the wars, famines,⁵ and pestilences,⁶ which Christ said would precede his second coming: also the fifth Seal's souls under the altar, as marking the con-

¹Such seems to me his meaning; but it is obscure. Thus early is St. John's representative character on the Apocalyptic scene hinted.

²So I suppose we are to understand him. "Resignatio sigillorum, ut diximus, apertio est Veteris Testamenti, et prædicatorum prænuntiatio in novissimo tempore futurorum." p. 417.

³"Quæ licet Scriptura prophetica per singula dicit, omnibus [tamen] simul apertis sigillis, ordinem tamen suum habet prædicatio. Nam aperto primo sigillo, dicit se vidisse equum album et equitem coronatum, habentem arcum; hoc enim primo factum est." Ibid.

⁴"Postquam enim ascendit in cælos Dominus, et aperuit universe, misit Spiritum suum; cujus verba prædicationis, tanquam sagittæ ad corda hominum pergentes, [ut] vincerent incredulitatem." ib. Thus, though he refers in the preceding context (cited p. 288) to the last times, yet the vision is explained by Victorinus as having the beginning of its fulfillment from the time of Christ's ascension.

⁵"Hurt not the wine and oil" he explains, "Spiritualem hominem ne plagis percusseris:" the balance; "Statera in manu libra examinis, in quâ singulorum metita ostenderet." p. 418.

⁶He makes no mention of the limiting "fourth part of the earth," handed down to us in the present Greek text.

tinuous persecutions and martyrdom of Christ's saints; for whose consolation, till the last great day of retribution, white robes, or joys of the Holy Spirit, are given: the region under the brazen altar of vision figuring the place underground where the separate spirits rest;¹ while the place of the golden altar (as being that to which our offerings of prayer and praise are brought)² typified heaven. Further, the earthquake of the sixth Seal he makes to be the last persecution:³ that wherein the darkening of the true doctrine to the unfaithful would answer to the eclipsed sun in the vision, and the blood-shed of martyr saints to the moon like blood: the falling away of vain professors from the Church, under force of persecution, fulfilling the symbol of the falling stars from heaven; and the removal of the Church itself from public sight that of the rolling away of the figured firmament.⁴ In the sealing vision, Rev. 7, next following, the four angels of the winds (the same as the four winds of Rev. 9:14, bound in the Euphrates⁵ signified four nations, (*nations being ruled over by angels*) who were not to transgress their limits till they should come in the last era with the Antichrist; the Angel from the East meaning Elias; who would anticipate the times of Antichrist, turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, (*I.e. of the Jews to the Gentile believers*) and convert to the faith both many of Israel,⁶ and a great multitude of Gentiles: of all whom, now united in one as God's elect, the white robes signified their washing in the blood of the Lamb, and subsequent preservation of the grace then given.⁷ In Rev. 8 the half hour's silence figured the beginning of eternal rest; one half hour only being mentioned, to signify the subject's then breaking off. For chronological order is not followed in the Revelation:⁸ but the

¹"Sub arà, id est sub terriâ...Ara aërea terra intelligitur; sub quâ est infernus, remota poenis et ignibus regio, [an opinion like that of Tertullian and Jerome, cited p. 101 supra,] et requies sanctorum." On the idea of the separate spirits of the saints (saints in the Romish sense) not having the beatific vision of God, the Editor appends a Note, Cautè lege! Ibid.

²Matt. v. 23, "Therefore if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee;"

³He does not say the persecution by Antichrist: and one might almost suppose he meant one before his coming: as Elias' coming is next notified, who (according to Victorinus) was to precede Antichrist.

⁴Here, at p. 418, occurs the first marked disorder in the printed copy in the Bibliotheca: the comment there going on to Rev. 11 1," And there was given me a reed like unto a rod: and the angel stood, saying, Rise, and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein."; and the proper sequel, on Rev. 7, not occurring till p. 419.

⁵So Victorinus; agreeably with the Gloss in Griesbach, which on Rev. 9 14 reads *τεσσαρας ανεμους*, for *τεσσαρας αγγελους*.

⁶Elsewhere Victorinus explains the 144,000 as the elect out of the Catholic Church, converted in the last days of Elias. See p.144, Note 1155, *infra*.

⁷"Electorum numerum, qui per sanguinem agni baptismi purgati, suas stolas fecerunt candidas, servantes gratiam quam acceperunt," p. 419. The white robes given in the fifth seal Victorinus had explained, we saw, as the gift of the Holy Spirit.

⁸"Semihora initium est quietis aeternae. Sed partem intellexit quia interruptio. Eodem per ordinem repetit." p. 419. He here, and elsewhere, strongly insists on the retrogressive character of certain of the visions. "...licet repetat per phialas; non quissi bis factum dicit; sed, quoniam semel futurum est quod est decretum à Deo ut fiat, ideo bis dicitur. Quidquid igitur in tubis minus dedit hinc in phialis est. Nec aspiendus est ordo dictorum: quoniam

Holy Spirit, when he has come to the chronological end, returns often, and repeats, by the way of supplement.

Next comes the vision of the *incense offering Angel*. Victorinus supposes this incense offering to depict the prayers of saints: (especially, on Antichrist's reign approaching, the prayer that they may not enter into temptation) the Angel being figured, because Angels offer the prayers of the Church, as well as pour out wrath on Antichrist's kingdom; which wrath was signified alike in the seven trumpets and seven vials, the one set of symbolizations supplying what was omitted in the other.¹ As to the particular subjects of these Trumpets and Vials, he does not unfold it in detail. He only generally says of them, that they depict "either the ravages of plagues sent on the world, or the madness of Antichrist, or a diminishing of the peoples, or the variety and difference of the plagues,² or the hope of the saints' kingdom, or the ruin of states, or the destruction of the great city, Babylon, I.e. the Roman." And just expounding, as he passes, the warning cry of the eagle flying in mid heaven, after the fourth trumpet woe, to mean the Holy Spirit's warning voice to men by the mouth of the two prophets, against the wrath to come in the impending plagues, he so proceeds to the Angel vision of Rev. 10.

The first part of which vision he makes refer, as a parenthesis, to St. John personally. The Angel is explained to be Christ; the open book in his hand the Revelation revealed to John; his lion like voice, that declaring that now only is the time of repentance and hope; the seven thunders the mysteries of the future spoken through the prophets by the divine septiform Spirit; which voices John was not to write, because, as an apostle, of higher functions than that of interpreting Scripture mysteries; an office this latter belonging rather to Church subordinate functionaries after wards.³ Further, the charge to eat the book, and preach again to peoples and tongues, Victorinus explains of St. John's returning personally on Domitian's death to Ephesus, and publishing the Revelation;⁴ also his taking the measuring reed with which to measure the Apocalyptic temple and altar, of St. John's further publishing

sæpe Spiritus sanctus, ubi ad novissimi temporis finem percurrerit, rursus ad eadem tempora redit, et supplet ea quæ minus dixit. Nec requirendus est ordo in Apocalypsi, sed intellectus." Ibid.

¹Ibid.

²"Differentia plagarum." Or perhaps, delaying: with allusion to such passages as Rev. 9 12, "One woe is past; and, behold, there come two woes more hereafter."; 10 7, "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", 11 14, "The second woe is past; and, behold, the third woe cometh quickly." *ibid*.

³"Apostoli virtutibus, signis, portentis, magnalibus factis, vicerunt incredulitatem: post illos...ecclesiis datum est solatium prophetarum scripturarum interpretenda rum." p. 419.

⁴I have quoted this, Vol. i. p. 35.

his Gospel:¹ whereby, and by the creed laid down in it,² the orthodox and faithful were marked out and defined as true Church worshippers; and heretics, like Valentinus, Ebion, and Cerinthus, as to be excluded from the Church.

On the two Apocalyptic Witnesses Victorinus supposes a passing, in the resumed figurations of the future, into the last hebdomad of the last times;³ during the former 3½ years of which Christ's two witnesses, Elijah and Jeremiah,⁴ would prophesy: these witnesses to be killed in Jerusalem (called Sodom and Egypt) by the Beast from the abyss, Antichrist, at the commencement of his 3½ years' reign next succeeding, after many plagues inflicted on the world, answering to the fire out of the mouths in the symbol: but to rise again on the fourth day after; the fourth, not the third, so as not to equal Christ.

So he comes to the vision of the Dragon and Woman, Rev. 12; or rather to the concluding verse of Rev. 11, about the temple appearing opened, and the ark appearing, which he connects with it: to the chronological retrogres-

¹Victorinus' testimony to the fact of the publication of St. John's Gospel subsequently to his return from Patmos, and apparently too after the Revelation, should be noted. "Nam et evangelium postea scripsit;" his writing it being, it is said, at the request of the assembled Christians of the whole neighborhood of Ephesus, in consequence of the Gnostic heresies referred to.

²This is a curious early specimen of something like a creed; and one, not, I think, as yet noted by those who have written on creeds. "Mensura autem Filii Dei, mandatum Domini, (1.) Patrem confiteri omnipotentem. (2.) Dieimus et hujus filium Christum, ante originem seculi spiritualem spud Patrem genitum, hominem factum, et, morte devietà, in coelos cum corpore à Patre receptum, effudisse Spiritum sauctum, donum et pignus immortalitatis: hunc per Prophetas prædicatum, hunc per legem conscriptum, hunc esse mandatum Dei, et Verbum Patris, et conditerem orbis. Hæc est arundo et mensura fidei. Et nemo adorat [ad] aram sanctam, nisi qui hanc fidem confitetur." p. 418.

³Without any express reference however to Daniel's hebdomads.

⁴For, says Victorinus, Jeremiah had the original commission, "Before that I formed thee in the womb I knew thee; and sanctified thee to be a prophet among the nations" Now, argues Victorinus, during his recorded life Jeremiah was not a prophet among the nations; and also that there is no record of Jeremiah's death. He adds that his opinion is that of "all the ancients." A mistake, doubtless; as Enoch and Elijah were more generally supposed the two prophets. The Apocalyptic Expositor Ambrose Ansbert, B. P. M. 13 522, notices this opinion and reasoning at that of the Martyr Victorinus; a fact furnishing conclusive evidence of the Treatise under consideration being indeed that of Victorinus, inasmuch as the opinion appears to have been a singular one. At one point has not, I believe, been observed on before, and the question is so interesting a one, I subjoin the passage. "Victorinus hoc in loco duos testes Eliam vult intelligi et Jeremiam ...Dicit enim præfatus vir, et (ut debitam ei venerationem exhibeamus) martyr Dei,...quia mora Jeremiæ in Scripturâ sacrâ non ieperiatur, et quia Prophetam eum Dominus in gentibus posuerit, ille autrm nondum ad gentes missus fuerit; et ideireo ipsum cum Eliâ venturum credi debere, ut ecclesiam gentium contra Antichrist perfidiam roboraret."

sion in which, from the last times previously depicted, he calls special notice.¹ For he construes the Woman to signify the Judo-Christian Church of the Patriarchs, Prophets, and Apostles,² (like the sun glorious in hope of the resurrection, like the moon bright even when to man's sight dark in death, and only waning to grow again) travailing with desire of Christ's birth out of the Jews' nation, according to the promise. Then in Christ's birth, resurrection, and ascension, in spite of the Dragon or Devil, he sees fulfilled the mystic child's rapture to God's throne: the Dragon's color red being explained as that of a murderer from the beginning; the third of stars swept by his tail, as the third part of men, or rather of angels, seduced by him; and his seven heads and ten horns, as of the same significance with the Beast's seven heads and ten horns, of which more presently. Then the time changes.³ The woman fleeing into the desert is the Church, made up or inclusive of the 144,000,⁴ now in simply Christian guise: being forced by the Dragon's flood like armies of persecution into mountains and deserts; and upheld in her flight by the two wings of the two witnesses.⁵ The Dragon's fall from heaven, or interdiction from there appearing as before,⁶ is explained as following Elias' 3½ years of witnessing⁷ and being the beginning of Antichrist. For he (the Dragon) then stood on the sand of the sea,⁸ as if to evoke him: the Antichrist, accordantly with St. Paul's prophecy to the Thessalonians, having

¹"Diligenter et cum summâ sollicitudine sequi oportet prophetica prædicit, et intelligere quoniam Spiritus ex parte prædicit, et præposterat, et cum præcurrerit usque ad novissimum rursus tempora superiora repetit." p. 418. So again in the passage cited Note 1141 p. 143. I the rather call attention to this, because Professor M. Stuart not only says (Vol. i. p. 455) of Victorinus, that "no plan of the whole work is sought after," but that Ambrose Ansbert seems first to have noted that the Revelation is occasionally retrogressive." (Ib. p. 458.) Victorinus notes three retrogressions prominently: the first, after the sounding of the seventh Trumpet and halfhour's silence in heaven; the second, on the transition at the end of Rev. 11 to the visions of the Dragon and Beast; the third, with reference to the Vialout-pourings, which he identifies with the Trumpets.

²So Augustine viewed the Old Testament Church as one with that of the New Testament."

³"Tamen non uno tempore utraque facta sunt: [*sc. the Woman's parturition and flight into the wilderness:*] Christus cuim ex quo natus est scimus tempora intercessisse; ut illa autem fugiat à facie serpentis adhuc factum non esse." p. 420.

⁴"Ecclesiam illam catholicam, ex qua in novissimo tempore creditura sunt 144, millia hominum Heliaë." 419.

⁵"Alæ duo magnæ duo sunt Prophetæ." 420.

⁶"Ante oportet prædicare Heliam, et pacis tempora esse, et postea, consummato triennio et sex mensibus prædicationis Heliaë, jactari cum de coeio, ubi habuit potestatem ascendendi usque ad illud tempus, et angelos refugas universos." 420. So, I suppose, as described in Job i. Ibid.

⁷There seems here some confusion in the chronology. For as the two Witnesses were to be the supporting wings of the woman, her 3½ years in the wilderness would seem to be 3½ years of the Witnesses being alive. But Victorinus quotes in reference to the time, "Then let them that are in Judæa flee to the mountains;" a prophecy applicable to the time of the abomination of desolation being in the holy place; which abomination he explains afterward of Antichrist's establishment in Jerusalem: an event this not of the earlier, but the later 3½ years. Perhaps he meant the act of the woman's safe transmission into the wilderness to be the Witnesses' last act. pp. 419, 420.

⁸"Stetit," not "steti."

to rise from hell.¹ As regarded the Beast, or Antichrist, his likeness to the leopard signified the variety of nations that would be in the kingdom; his seven heads both Rome's seven hills, and also seven Roman Emperors;² viz. Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus, (which five had fallen at the time of the Revelation) the sixth Domitian then reigning, the seventh Nerva, who was to continue but a short time, (for he reigned but one year and four months) and the eighth Nero; who as a previous Roman Emperor, might be called one of (or of the same body with) the seven.³ Of this Nero St. Paul spoke, when he said, "The mystery of iniquity doth already work," for Nero was then reigning: and, having had his throat cut, and so his head wounded to death, he was to revive and reappear as Antichrist. Victorinus notes his Jewish as well as Roman connection. He would appear both under a different name, and in a different character from before. Professing before the Jews to be the Christ, with a view to gain them, and instead of patronizing idolatry, now inculcating the religion of the circumcision, he would by them be received as Christ: (a king and a Christ worthy of them!) moreover, whereas once most impure, now renouncing all desire of women, and so fulfilling Daniel's prophecy.⁴ His number 666 is explained as some name of Greek numerals to that amount; and two solutions offered, veiled in a corrupt text, yet not I think undecipherable:⁵ one, *αντεμος*, perhaps Victorinus' own; the other, *γενσηρικος* interpolated by some later copyist.⁶ Of his ally the False Prophet the two horns like a lamb's signified his assuming the form of a just man; the fire from heaven that same which sorcerers seem to men's eyes even now to evoke; the Beast's image a golden statue of Antichrist: which image the False Prophet would get placed in the temple of Jerusalem, and from which Satan will utter oracles. So will there be the abomination of

¹"Antichristum de inferno suscitari Paulus ait." ib. Victorinus distinctly identifies the Beast from the sea of Rev. 13, and Beast from the abyss of Rev. 11 and xvii

²"Septem capita septem reges Romanos, ex quibus et Antichristus est." p. 419. "Capita septem montes sunt in quibus mulier sedet; i.e. civitas Romana." p. 420.

³Such seems Victorinus' meaning: "Bestia de septem est, quoniam ante istos reges Nero regnavit." p. 420.

⁴So Dan. 11 37 is explained. An explanation noted by me p. 50 *suprà*.

⁵By previous writers who have noticed Victorinus' Apocalyptic commentary, the passage seems to have been abandoned as inexplicable. So e.g. by Malvenda, who, Vol. ii. 190, says of it, "Locus obscurus et depravatus, cui sanando non sum." Also by Dr. Todd of Dublin; who thus similarly abandons the enigma as insoluble; "Victorinus' explanation of the number 666 is evidently corrupt and unintelligible." Apocal. Comm. p. 281. And so indeed it at first struck myself; though soon the true explanation suggested itself.

⁶"Numerus ejus sexcenti sexaginta sex. Cum attulerit ad litteram Græcam hunc numerum explebit. ΑΙ. Ν.Λ.Τ. CCC. F. V. Μ. L. Ο. Λ. 20 CCC. Ι. ΙΙΙ ΕVΝ. LCC. Ν. V. Ρ. CΙΧ. Κ. 20 Ο. LXX. CC." ib. The two words meant are, as above stated Antemov and Genshrikov: of which the first is given by Primasius, in the sense (says he) of honori contrarius, as if for *Αντεμος* or *Γενσηρικος*; the other by Ambrosius Ansbertus, with reference to the Vandal persecutor of the fifth century, Genseric. The correspondence of these solutions with the text, slightly altered will appear by separating the Greek letters and their numeral values in Latin, instead of intermixing them. Thus: Ι Α Ν Τ Ε Μ Ο Σ Ι Γ Ε Ν Σ Η Ρ Ι Κ Ο Σ Ι. { Ι L CCC V XL LXX CC 2. { Ι Ι Ι V L CC VIII C X XX LXX CC.

desolation in the worship of idols instead of himself, and the introduction of heresy into Churches;¹ the desolation, because many men, previously stable, will by these false signs and portents be turned from the faith. As to the ten kings, Victorinus says that they would have already received royal power, when Antichrist should either have set out from the East Rome wards, or from Rome Eastwards;² and three of them would be eradicated by him, and the other seven become his subjects, and also the haters and burners of the harlot city, Rome.

The Commentary now hurries to a conclusion. Of the three angels of Rev. 19, flying in mid heaven, the first (the same as in Rev. 7) is Elias, anticipating Antichrist by his preaching; the other two, other prophets associated with him. The earth's harvest and vintage are meant of the nations destined to perish at Christ's coming: the blood shed to the extent of 1600 (= 4 x 400) stadia, bloodshed in all the four parts of the world. The seven vials are the same seven judgments before signified under the Trumpets; and poured out on the willfully disobedient, after the Church's retirement from the scene into the wilderness.³ Standing on the glassy sea signifies standing firm in baptismal faith. The Woman sitting on many waters, and borne by the seven headed ten horned Beast, is the Babylon alike of the Revelation, Isaiah, and Ezekiel: The city ROME seated on the Devil, as before explained, of Rome red with the blood of saints: her wickedness having been consummated by a Decree of the Senate,⁴ and extending to the prohibition of all preaching of the gospel in all nations. Then Christ (answering to him that was figured on the White Horse with his armies) will come and take the kingdom; a kingdom extending from the river even to the world's end: the greater part of the

¹Mark this point in Victorinus' view of the abomination in the temple.

²"Deeem reges accepisse regalem potestatem, cum ille moverit ab oriente, sut mittit ab urbe Româ cum exercitibus suis." *ib.* A thoughtful notice of a difficult subject.

³"Dicit quæ in ultimo futura sunt, cum ecclesia de medio exierit." *ibid.*

⁴"Vidi, inquit, mulierem ebriam de sanguine sanctorum. Decreto Senatûs illius consummata nequitia." *ib.* A passage this which suggests the question, What in Diocletian's time may have been the Roman Senate's part in the decrees of persecution against Christians? Probably Victorinus may have referred to the earlier Roman Emperors' custom of having their acts formally authorized by the Senate; generally a mere form. On a statement that "negotandi causâ ædificia demoliri, et marmora detrahare, edicto Divi Vespasiani et Senatûs Consulto cautum est," Burman *De Vectig.* pp. 110113 thus comments. "ita ferè Imperatorum mos fuit, postquam omnem potestatem quæ olim penes populum erat in se receperant, ut si quid novi juris promulgare vellient, orationem in Senatu haberent, quâ Patribus aperiebant quid statuere vellent, et simni quid ii statuerent consulebant...Deinde factum Sentûs Consultum ad Imperatorem perferebatur: qui, si illud approbat, exire et legis vim habere jubebat; ita ut omne robur non à Senatu sed à Principe accideret." (How similar to the case of the Roman Popes and Roman Councils afterwards! See my Vol. iii. pp. 232, 233.) So too Tillemont, ii. 160, on the reign of Aurelius Antoninus; "C'étoit le style ordinaire des Empereurs de faire presque tout par l'autorité du Senat."

earth being cleansed introductorily to it; the millennium itself not ending it. All souls of the nations will next, and finally, be called to judgment.¹

8. *Methodius*,

Bishop of Tyre, who like Victorinus suffered martyrdom in the Diocletian persecution, in his “Virginal Banquet” we find here and there an Apocalyptic expository notice that may be worth our observation: more especially his application of the Judaic emblems of the Revelation to the Christian Church. Thus he expounds the 144,000 sealed ones in Rev. 7 and 14, “out of all the tribes of Israel,” not as an election out of the literal Israel, but as a certain select company of the Christian Church, viz. Its company of virgins; the palm bearers in the same vision of Rev. 7 being the general body of the faithful in Christ.² On the same principle he explains also Mount Zion and the temple to mean the Christian Church:³ and again in Rev. 12 makes the sun clothed woman that brought forth the man child to be the faithful Christian Church, bringing forth sons by regeneration in baptism. For, argues Methodius, this symbol cannot mean Christ’s own birth into the world; seeing that John’s commission in the Revelation was to see and record not things past, but things present and things to come.⁴ Connected with which last mentioned vision Methodius broaches a very original idea as to the desert into which the woman fled for refuge from the dragon. It is the Church’s appointed sojourning place or state in the world: a scene and state deserted of the evil, and in which many pleasant fruits and flowers grow for her use, as a in a garden of spices:⁵ the 1260 days assigned for this meaning the whole times to come.⁶ With regard to which blessed times Methodius follows the generality of the Fathers before him in explaining them as the world’s seventh Sabbath millenary, beginning with the 6000th year from Creation, after the type of the six days of creation, and seventh day of Sabbath: “the first resurrection” being the literal resurrection of the saints to partake of it;⁷ but the body’s change to an angelic substance not occurring till the

¹Here comes the antipremillennial addition. As ten is the number of the decalogue, says the interpolator, and 100 signifies the crown of virginity, therefore the millenary number (= 10 x 100) indicates a perfect man; who may be said (i.e. while in his earthly state) to reign with Christ, and to have the Devil bound within him, &c. p. 421.

²B.P.M. iii. 678, 689.

³Ib. 692.

⁴Ib. 692, 693.

⁵Referring to Cant. 4 16. “Verè desertum à malis,” he calls it. p. 693.

⁶Ib. 694.

⁷Ib. 697699, 705, 714.

end of the millenary.¹ He also speaks of the conflagration as that by which the world is not to be annihilated but purified.²

9. *Lactantius*;

Notice a writer who, in his famous work on the "Divine Institutions," formed a kind of connecting link between that period and the Constantine era, when the establishment of Christianity took place in the Roman Empire: for his work was nearly all written before the end of the Diocletian persecution; though dedicated to Constantine in one of the closing Chapters.³ The time of his writing the Book determines me to place him in the first period, rather than the second. His sketch, towards the conclusion of his Treatise, of the ending of the great mundane drama, involved necessarily certain Apocalyptic notices. Of these the following are I think the chief; being however partly mixed up with ideas derived from the prophecies of Daniel, partly with others of mere imaginary origin.

He states, then, that the first grand preliminary to the consummation was the breaking up of the Roman Empire;⁴ an event to be hastened by the multiplication of emperors ruling it, with civil wars consequent, till at length ten kings should arise: whereupon an enemy from the extreme North should come against them,⁵ overthrow the three Asiatic dynasties of the ten, be received and submitted to by the rest as their head, change the name and transfer the seat of the empire from West to East, and by his cruelties introduce a time of grievous calamity, especially to persecuted Christians;⁶ portents on

¹Such seems his view. "Primà festi resurrectionis die, quæ dies est iudicii, simul celebraz cum Christo millenarium annorum requiem. Inde rursus sequens penetrantem cælos Jesum venio: . . . corpore meo non remanente tali quale prius erat; sed, post mille annorum spatium, mutato ex statu et habitu humano ac corruptionis in Angelicam magnitudinem et pulcritudinem." Ib. 699.

²p. 705.

³After Chapter 27 of the viith and last Book of the Institutes, he thus addresses Constantine: "Sed omnia jam, sanetissime Imperator, figmenta sopita sunt, ex quo te Deus summus ad restituendum justitiæ domicilium, et ad tutelam generis humani, excitavit."

⁴"Romanum nomen, quo nune regitur orbis, (horret animus dicere, sed dicam quia futurum est,) tolletur de terrâ; et imperium in Asiam revertetur; ac rursus Oriens dominabitur, atque Occidens serviet." Ib. 7 15.

⁵Ib. 16, ad init.

⁶"Tum repente adversus eos hostis potentissimus ab extremis finibus plagæ septentrionalis orietur: qui, tribus ex eo numero deletis qui tune Asiam obtinebunt, assumetur in societatem à cæteri, ac princeps omnium constituitur. Hic insustentali deominatione vexabit orbem; divina et humana miscebit; . . . denique, immutato nomine, atque imeril sede translata, confusio ac perturbatio humani generis consequetur." 7 16. A view derived, I presume, from Dan. 11 4043; where however the three kings subjugated are not noted as Asiatics, but those of Egypt, Ethiopia, and Libya. I infer Lactantius' belief that the Northern king would transfer the seat of empire to the East, from comparison of the language used in the citation above. [Very curious must have appeared to Lactantius, some ten or twenty years after his thus writing, a comparison with it of Constantine's course and history as during that ten or twenty years unfolded: himself a king from the extreme North, who thence bore down upon

earth and in the sky accompanying, and plagues such as once in Egypt:¹ that then, the consummation drawing on, a great prophet (Elias)² would be sent by God, with power of working miracles, shutting up heaven, turning water into blood, and by fire from his mouth killing such as would injure him; by whose preaching and miracles many would be turned to God: which done, that another king would rise from Syria, begotten of an evil spirit; and, after destroying that former evil one, (the king of the North?) would conquer and kill God's prophet aforementioned, his work having been completed;³ whose corpse, however, left unburied, would on the third day be reanimated, and rapt before the enemies' eyes to heaven: that the king his murderer would be prophet too, but a prophet of lies; and with the miraculous power of evoking fire from heaven, arresting the sun in its course, and making an image speak: whereby he would make multitudes of adherents; branding them like cattle with his mark, and requiring worship from them as God and the Son of God: for that this would be in fact the ANTICHRIST; falsely claiming to be Christ,⁴ but fighting against the real Christ, overthrowing his

and overcame the three Asiatic kings of the Roman world, and made preparation for transferring the seat of empire from Rome to the East; but all as the friend and protector, not enemy, of Christianity and the Christians!] Lactantius seems to suppose this King from the North an intermediate holder of the Roman empire, under a new name, between the then reigning imperial dynasty and Antichrist. A view distinctly exprest c. 17; (see Note 1083 *infra*;) and, in the *Epitome*, e. 11: which latter thus affirms the local transference of the empire to him, not to Antichrist. "Existet longè potentior ac nequior, (i. e. than the ten kings,) qui tribus deletis [viz. of the ten] Asiam possidebit;..Remp. suam faciet; nomen imperil sedemque mutabit." Amidst the evils of those reign another king still worse would arise and destroy him, viz Antichrist. "Inter hæc mala surget rex impious, non modo generi hominum sed etiam Deo inimicus. Hic reliquias illius prioris tyranni conteret, vexabit, interimet." Yet in 7 26 he writes as if he thought Antichrist would be the Roman empire's destroyer: "No citius quam putemus tyrannus ille abominandus veniat, qui tantum facinus molitur; se lumen illud offodiat, cujus interitu mundue ipse lapsurus est."

¹Ibid. The world (whether the Roman or the universal world) being then, says he, to the people of God, what Egypt was to God's ancient people Israel, 7 15. Compare Rev. 11 8, "the city which spiritually is called Egypt:" a passage which Lactantius probably had in his eye; as also the Egyptianlike plagues inflicted on the Apocalyptic world in the Trumpets and Vials

²So Lactantius' Fragment on the Last Judgment.

³"Peractisque operibus ipsius," i.e. the works of God's prophet, (agreeably with the Apocalyptic declaration, "When they shall have completed their testimony,") "alter rex oriatur ex Syria, malo Spiritu genitus, qui reliquias illius prioris mali, cum ipso, simul delet." Ib. 17. Is there in this an allusion to Daniel's predicative statement. "But tidings out of the east shall trouble him;" i.e. the king of the north? Dan. 11 43, "But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt: and the Libyans and the Ethiopians shall be at his steps." I presume the Syrian origin means Jewish origin: and from the Fragment of Lactantius on the "Last Judgment" infer that he expected Antichrist to profess the Jewish faith.

⁴"Hic est qui appellatur Antichristus: sed se ipse Christum mentietur." ib. 7 19.

temple the Church,¹ and persecuting unto the death his saints and true Israel:² that the fated time, the saints having fled in a last extremity to the mountains, the heaven would be opened for their deliverance;³ and Christ himself intervene to save them, and destroy this Antichrist and his allied kings. After which the saints, raised from the grave, would reign with Christ through the world's seventh chiliad; a period to commence, Lactantius judged, in about 200 years at furthest:⁴ the Lord alone being thenceforth worshiped on a renovated world; its still living inhabitants multiplying incalculably in a state of terrestrial felicity; and the resurrection saints, during this commencement of an eternal kingdom, in a nature like the angelic, reigning over them.⁵

Conclusion

On the whole, in reviewing this earliest Period of Apocalyptic Interpretation, the following points may remain in our minds as the most marked and important characteristics.

First, that the Apocalyptic figurations were supposed to be such as began to have fulfillment from the time of St. John, or commencement of the Christian era. I believe there is no one expositor of the period under review that entertained the idea of the Apocalyptic prophecy over-leaping the chronological interval, were it less or greater, antecedent to the consummation; and plunging at once into the times of the consummation, and of the then expected Antichrist. See e.g. Irenæus and Victorinus on the 1st Seal, Tertullian on the 5th Seal; and also Methodius, &c.⁶

As regards the 1st Seal, and the interpretation of its white horse and horseman by Irenæus, and then Tertullian and Victorinus, as symbolizing Christ's victories by the gospel, we have to note that though it is Victorinus who first conjoins this its explanation with that of the contrasted horse and horseman of the three next Seals, as symbolizing the "*bella famæ and pestis*" that were

¹"Tunc erueret templum Dei conabitur." ib. 7 17. That by this Lactantius meant the Church, appears from ib. 4 13; "ecclesia quæ est verum templum Dei;" and again, 14; where he speaks of Christ raising up to God an "æternum templum quod appellatur ecclesia." Compare Rev. 11 2; "the Gentiles shall tread down the temple, &c."

²"Israel non utique Judæos significat, quos abdicavit Deus; sed nos, qui ab eo convocati ex gentibus in illorum locum adoptione successimus." Ib. 4 20. It is hence clear, I think, that Lactantius interpreted the twelve Israelitish tribes of the Revelation, as well as the Apocalyptic temple, in a Christian sense.

³Ib. 7 17 Lactantius had here in his eye, apparently, both Christ's precept to flee to the mountains, on the abomination of desolation being set up, and the Apocalyptic notice of Armageddon, Rev. 19

⁴"Non amplius quàm ducentorum videtur annorum." Ib. 7 25. A passage noted by me, Vol. i. p. 396.

⁵Mark Lactantius' distinction between the two classes. See my citations p. 71, [especially Note 594] *suprà*.

⁶Against certain Præterists Methodius says; "Johannes non de præteritis, sed de iis quæ vel tunc fierent, vel quæ olim eventura essent, loquitur." B. P. M. iii. 693.

to follow after the first gospel preaching and triumphs, antecedently to Christ's second coming, so as predicted by Christ in Matt. 24, yet seems probable that Victorinus' predecessors, as well as his successors, like him combined this view of the 1st Seal with that of the next 3 Seals, and with similar reference to Christ's prophecy respecting those antecedents to his second coming. Which being so, and as this is a primary and cardinal point in Apocalyptic interpretation, it will be well here to bear in mind Irenæus' own caution, expressed with reference to another of the Apocalyptic mysteries; (I mean the Beast's name); that "if meant to be known at the time it would doubtless have been declared by him who saw the Revelation." As part and parcel of an interpretation of all the four first Seals taken from Matt. 24, whereof the explanation of the next three Seals as symbolizing war, famine, and pestilence constitutes another essential part, it is disproved at once by the impossibility of the 3rd Seal's symbol, with its choenix or 5 lbs. of barley for a denarius, together with plenty of wine and oil, ever meaning famine.¹

As to the great subject of Antichrist, while there was a universal concurrence in the general idea of the prophecy, there was in respect of the details of application a considerable measure of difference; these differences arising mainly out of certain current notions of the coming Antichrist as in some way Jewish as well as Roman, and the difficulty of combining and adjusting the two characteristics. The Roman view followed of course Apocalyptically from Antichrist's being figured as the Roman Beast's 8th head, after the healing of his deadly wound; (for all identified the Beasts of Rev. 13 and 17)² and joined also in closest union with the seven hilled Harlot: as well as from Daniel's depicting him as a little horn of the 4th or Roman Beast.

Of Antichrist's supposed Jewish connection *no Apocalyptic evidence* occurred to the early patristic expositors. Only that Irenæus thought Dan's omission in Rev. 7 from the sealed tribes might arise from that being the Jewish tribe of Antichrist's origin; a notion I believe, in which none followed him. The idea arose chiefly doubtless from a vague expectation of his being a Pseudo-Christ, such as Christ told of in Matt. 24:5, the thought being that the Jews might receive this impersonator as their long sought Messiah. This error was conjoined by some of the Fathers, as Irenæus and Hippolytus, with the idea that the abomination of desolation of which Christ then spoke as predicted by Daniel in the Jewish sanctuary, was not only the one prophesied of in Dan. 9:27 as what would synchronize with the end of the 70 Weeks, but that associated with Antichrist in the prophecy of Dan. 12:11; and the associated prediction which Matt. 24:5 refers to in Dan. 11:36. Thus

¹At P. 182 Mr. C. M., in explaining this Seal of "the severity of famine," notices the price of wheat only; and passes over what is said of the barley wine, and oil in total silence. Was he not aware of the decisive argument thence urged by me against all idea of famine? See Vol. i. pp. 164-166.

²Irenæus, v. 30, speaks of the Beast with the name and number as the Beast which was and is not. For the rest see pp. 139, 140, 141, 144, 146, 147, *suprà*.

the conclusion that the ending epoch of each, and ending epoch also of the 70 Weeks, would be at the end of Antichrist's 3½ years, at the consummation.

Was there not in the designation of the desolating abomination in Dan. 11:31 that which might serve to distinguish it from the desolating abomination of Dan. 12:11 and Dan. 9:27, that the latter be meant distinctively by Christ, not the former?¹ This question is answered by other patristic expositors of the era. Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, and I may add too Tatian, all before the end of the 2nd century, and also Julius Africanus, at the commencement of the 3rd century, all explained Daniel's 70 Weeks, and their abomination of desolation, as having had their full accomplishment from Christ's death to the consequent desolation of Jerusalem by the Roman armies; and so having no reference whatsoever to any desolation by the then future Antichrist.² Nor of the few who with Irenæus and Hippolytus referred

¹See p. 61.

²I subjoin a sketch of the statements of these Fathers; and, where given, of their chronological calculations of the hebdomads. 1. Tatian, a writer of the 2nd century, between Justin Martyr whose hearer he was, and Irenæus who cites him, thus (though without specific mention of the hebdomads) speaks of Daniel's prophecy about the abomination of desolation (the one referred to Matt. 24) as fulfilled in Jerusalem's then imminent destruction by the Romans. After mention of Christ's rebuking the disciples' vain pride in the beauty of the temple, by saying that in a little while not one stone would be left on another, he thus proceeds: "Mox abiens in monte Olivarum, urbem intuitus, paulisper consedit. Ubi secreto huic congressi discipuli initia futuræ hujus cladis condiscunt; viz. antichristos, bells, seditiones, terræmotus, pestilentiam, famem, terrificæ de coelo signa, idolum abominabile Danielis vaticiniis celebre, extremam denique calamitatem eorum qui docebunt evangelium. . . Hierusalem vero, captis habitatoribus, et quaquiversum abductis, tis, a gentibus tantisper calcatum iri dum evangelium universos illarum fines occupaverit: tum enim fluem instare mundi." B. P. M. ii. 209. Tatian, after Justin's martyrdom, became the author of the ascetic sect of the Encratites, and is mentioned among the early heretics. (See Irenæus i. 31, and Euseb. H. E. 4 29.) But the passage I cite from him has nothing of course to do with his heresy. He is spoken of by Jerome as a learned and very voluminous writer. 2. Clemens Alexandrinus states the interval from the end of the 70 years' captivity to Jesus Christ as 69 hebdomads, in the first seven of which the temple was rebuilt; and one hebdomad as that of Jesus Christ's ministry. Further in one 1/2 hebdomad Nero set up an abomination in the holy city of Jerusalem; and in 1/2 hebdomad was cut off, as well as Galba, Otho, and Vitellius: whereupon Vespasian, obtaining the empire, destroyed Jerusalem and desolated the sanctuary. Strom. B. i. Jerome (on Dan. ix), in sketching this exposition of the hebdomads by Clemens, calculates from the 1st of Cyrus; and observes that, instead of 490 years from that epoch to the destruction of Jerusalem by Vespasian and Titus, there elapsed on the most accurate computation 630 years. But Clement defines his commencing date as that of the 2nd of Darius Hystaspes: "Mansit captivitas annis 70, ut quæ cessavit anno secundo Darii Hystaspis filii." This makes the difference somewhat less. 3. Tertullian thus computes the period. From Darius (apparently Darius II, called Northus) to Alexander's overthrow of the Persian empire 106 years. Then Alexander and the Ptolemies, to Cleopatra's death and Augustus' incorporation of Egypt with the Roman empire, 290 1/2 years. Add 28 years under Augustus to Jesus Christ's birth; and the whole, says Tertullian, is 437 1/2 years = 62 1/2 hebdomads. Then was all prophecy fulfilled; and the vision and the prophecy ceased to the Jews. As regards the remaining 7 1/2 hebdomads, he reckons 52 1/2 years from Christ's birth to the 1st of Vespasian: (strangely omitting Claudius' reign of 13 years, and reckoning Nero's at 9 1/2 years instead of 14) and then concludes; "Atque ita in diem expugnationis suæ Judæi impleverunt hebdomadas 70 prædictas à Daniele." I am quite unable to follow

that last hebdomad and its abomination of desolation to the end of the world and Antichrist, do I find that any but Hippolytus expounded the 70th and last hebdomad as broken off from the preceding 69 by a great chronological gap. Certainly no such gap is spoken of by Irenæus.¹ And as Apollinarius of Laodicea, who lived a century and a half later under Valens, made the 70 Weeks to have had commencement with Christ's first advent, and so to come down continuously to an epoch 490 years later, which he expected might be the

either Clement's or Tertullian's calculations. 4. Julius Africanus, a writer placed by Jerome under Heliogabalus, or about A.D. 220, and who wrote expressly on Chronology. "Nulli dubium est," he begins, "quin de adventu Christi (i.e. Christ's first coming) prædicatio set; qui post 70 hebdomadas mundo apparuit." He makes the commencing date of these hebdomads to be the 20th Artaxerxes, when that prince issued his Decree (Hehem. ii. 18) for the rebuilding of Jerusalem; (the previous Decrees of Cyrus and Darius having been in considerable measure ineffective) this being the 115th year of the Persian empire, and the 185th year from the beginning of the 70 years' captivity. Now the Persian kingdom lasted in all (from Cyrus to Alexander) 230 years, i.e. 115 years from the 20th of Artaxerxes; and the Macedonian empire 300 years: (i.e. I suppose to the death of Cleopatra) and thence to the 15th year of Tiberius, when Christ was crucified, was 60 years: = in all to 475 years; i.e. 475 solar years. But the Jews often computed by lunar years, each of which is 11¼ days shorter than a solar year: so as to make the difference of one year in every 32, and 15 in the aforesaid period of 475 solar years. Then, at Christ's death, "consummata sunt delicta, et finem accepit peccatum, et deleta est iniquitas, et annunciata justitia sempiterna, quæ legis justitiam vinceret, et impleta est visio et prophetia." The desolation of Jerusalem followed as a consequence of the Jews' rejection of Christ. I abstract this from Jerome's full citation, in his Comment on Dan. 9 It is, as the reader will see, by much the most elaborate and accurate of any of the calculations by the earlier patristic Fathers. [*Mr. C. M., to my surprise, takes no notice of Julius Africanus' calculation; though with Jerome's citation from that writer before him. See 'his' p. 194.*]

¹For Hippolytus' view of the hebdomads see p. 140; for Irenæus' likewise p. 140, *suprà*. As regards Irenæus, a little fuller abstract of the only passage v. 25, in which he mentions Daniel's hebdomads, may be useful in showing how evidently his reference of the abomination of desolation spoken of by Christ to Antichrist as the author, and to Daniel's last half hebdomad as the time, arose out of his confusion of all the various predicted abominations of desolation, as if one and the same. Says Paul, Antichrist is to sit in God's temple: i.e. the Jerusalem temple of the true God, as no heathen temple is called in Scripture God's temple. And so too Christ; 'When ye see the abomination of desolation told of by Daniel standing in the holy place.' Which Antichrist is the little horn of Daniel's 4th or Roman Beast, Dan. 7. And he is to come in, Paul tells us, with lies; yet the Jews to receive him; as Christ said: 'If another come in his own name him ye will receive.' And then he will act as the unjust judge in the parable to the oppressed widow, who, forgetful of God, rested on an earthly helper; and avenge the earthly Jerusalem of its Roman oppressor, by transferring the kingdom to Jerusalem, and there sitting, as if Christ, in his temple. The same is the little horn from one of the goat's four horns, Dan. 8; which was to be the author of the transgression of desolation, and to tread the host and sanctuary under foot. And Daniel notes too the duration of desolation; viz. that for half a hebdomad the sacrifice should be taken away (Dan. 9 27, "And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week: and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate."), even till the consummation; i.e. for 3½ years. There is no chronological calculation, whatsoever in Irenæus, I believe, of the 70 hebdomads; or notice who he connected the last hebdomad with the hebdomads preceding.

time of Antichrist's coming and the consummation,¹ so might some such view very possibly have been that by which Irenæus referred the last week to the consummation. (I refer not to Judas Syrus, another and earlier writer on the subject mentioned by Eusebius, because how he managed to make the period of the 70 Weeks end nearly at his own epoch of the 10th of Severus, or about A.D. 203, does not appear: though I infer from Eusebius' words that he too computed continuously.)² Hippolytus stands alone, as I said,³ in the expressed view of the 69 hebdomads reaching to Christ's first coming, and the 70th beginning separately, at some vast chronological gap, just before his second coming.⁴

¹Apollinarius of Laodicea, taking the words of Daniel about the decree for the restoration of Jerusalem mystically, as it would seem, reckons the 70 hebdomads to begin from the going forth of the word on Christ's birth of the Virgin Mary, "ab exitu verbi, quando Christus de Mariâ generatus est virgine." (I cite his words, says Jerome, that I may not misrepresent him) hence for 7 hebdomads, or to the 8th of Claudius, when the Roman arms were taken up against the Jews, the repentance of that people was expected, Christ having meanwhile fulfilled his ministry, and preached his gospel. At the expiration of 62 additional hebdomads, or 43 ½ years, Elias would come, turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and rebuild Jerusalem and the temple, in the course of 1/2 week or 3 ½ years; then Antichrist come, and for 3 ½ years sit in the temple of God, thus restored, himself the predicted abomination of desolation; the last desolation and condemnation of the Jews following, because of their despising Christ's truth and receiving Antichrist's lie. After which, and the consequent expiration of the 70 hebdomads, Christ would destroy Antichrist with the brightness of His coming. Jerome adds that Apollinarius framed this his chronological conjecture about the hebdomads (*conjecturam temporum*) with reference to Africanus' stated opinion that the last hebdomad (separated from the rest) would coincide with the end of the world. But I presume this is a misprint, or slip of the pen, for Hippolytus, of whom he had just before been speaking as so expounding the hebdomads: where as Africanus' opinion had been stated quite contrariwise, as supposing that all the 70 hebdomads had been fulfilled at Christ's first coming. Apollinarius considered it preposterous to divide the hebdomads; and that in any case they must be construed continuously and connectedly: "Nec posse fieri ut junctæ dividantur ætates; sed omnia sibi juxta prophetiam Danielis esse temporum copulanda." This Apollinarius of Laodicea flourished in the 4th century; and was a contemporary and friend of Jerome's early manhood: being quite a different person from, and above 150 years later than, the Apollinarius of Hieropolis, who wrote an Apologetic Oration to the Emperor Marcus Antoninus, and of whom Eusebius speaks in his H.E. 4 27.

²*Εν τουτω και Ιουδας...σας τας παρα τω Δανιηλ εβδομηκοντα εβδομαδας εγγραφως διαλεχθεις επι το δεκατον του Σεβηρον βασιλειας ιστησι την χρονογραφιαν.* H.E. vi. 7.

³Origen, in his Treatise against Celsus, vi. 45, cited by Mr. C. Maitland, p. 171, like Irenæus, applies what is said of the abomination of desolation in Dan. 9 26, which reads: "And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself: and the people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary; and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end of the war desolations are determined."; to Antichrist; but, like him, without a word of the hebdomads generally. Elsewhere, as cited by Jerome, on Dan. 9, he seems inclined to reckon the whole period of the hebdomads from the first of Darius to Christ. "Studiosius requirenda sunt tempora, à primo anno Darii filii Assueri usque ad adventum Christi quoi anui sint;...et videndum est an ea possimus adventui Domini coaptare."

⁴What an utter contrast is this to Mr. C. Maitland's representation of "the primitive scheme" of the 70 hebdomads; or generally received scheme of them in the 2nd and 3rd centuries that we have been reviewing! "According to the primitive scheme," says Mr. C. M., "the sense of the whole passage amounts to this: 70 sevens of years are fixed in the history of

Reverting to those early expositors' notice about Antichrist, let me observe further that in regard to his religious profession, though the expectation of its being Judaism was prevalent among them, yet the idea was also ever kept up (an idea derived from St. John's epistles) that heretics professedly within the Church might be considered also as Antichrists: moreover that when the great and chief Antichrist came, he would sedulously affect external resemblance to Jesus Christ; agreeably with the lamb like Apocalyptic symbol.¹ Such a notion as that of a professedly atheistic or infidel Antichrist was as yet unknown. Again, as to Antichrist's Roman connection, while all admitted this, and thus the Pseudo-Sibyl and Victorinus spoke of him as the resuscitated Roman emperor Nero, and also Irenæus, and yet more strongly Hippolytus, suggested that he might very probably on this account have for his name and number Lateinos, yet then and thereupon their views differed. For the Pseudo-Sibyl and Irenæus thought that he would be prominent in Rome's destruction, transferring its empire to Jerusalem: Hippolytus, on the contrary, that he would be the restorer of the Roman Empire in a new form, somewhat like a second Augustus. To which his opinion I must again beg my readers' special attention; the rather, because, while expressing it, as I find from the original Greek,² he had the more usual reading before him in Rev. 17:16 of *τα δεκα κερατα και το θηριον* not, as his Latin translation first seen by me represents it, *τα δεκα κερατα επι το θηριον*; the reading adopted, as it seems, by Tertullian. But how so? Because it was the old imperial Rome that Hippolytus evidently looked on as that which both Beast and horns would unite to burn: this being a mere temporary burning from which the Beast would in a new form next resuscitate it; and quite distinct from the everlasting fire from God described in Rev. 18, as its subsequent and final doom. On the Apocalyptic Babylon's meaning Rome all agreed. Once more, as to the time of Antichrist's duration, though all reckoned it literally as 3½ years, (how but for this could they have looked for

the Jews and of Jerusalem. . . Between the edict to rebuild Jerusalem and the mission of Christ there will elapse two periods, 7 sevens and 62 sevens of years. In the course of the first the city will be rebuilt: [as recorded I presume in Ezra and Nehemiah:] and at the end of the second Messiah will be put to death. Afterwards the Romans under Vespasian will destroy both city and temple:...and until the end of God's warfare with his people it is determined that the desolations of the city and temple shall continue. [Here comes the great gap, according to Mr. C. M., in the primitive scheme."] But God will renew his covenant with many of his chosen people during a certain seven years, the remaining week of the 70: probably by means of Elias . . . But throughout the latter half of the week, i.e. for 3½ years, the daily sacrifice will be taken away, and on account of the abomination set up by Antichrist the temple will be made desolate...This is the plain working sense of the passage. Unlike its modern and fantastic rivals it has borne the burden and host of the day!!" pp. 203, 201. So Mr. C. M. makes two totally different abominations of desolation to have been included in "the primitive scheme," separated from each other by the interval of ages. Two questions here suggest themselves: 1. where the authority of a single primitive Father for such a scheme: 2. what the ground for such a view in the prophecy itself?

¹See .pp 284, &c.

²Viz. in Fabricius' Edition. Compare my Notes Vol. iii. 74, and p. 30 *supra*.

Christ's coming as near?¹) yet, very remarkably, the testimony of Cyprian and of his Biographer was incidentally given even thus early to the year day principle as a Scriptural one: all ready for its application to the prophetic chronological periods at God's own fit time after wards.²

As to the Apocalyptic Judaic symbols there seems to have been a general reference of them in this era to the Christian Church or worship. So Irenæus, Tertullian, Victorinus, Lactantius expounded the Apocalyptic temple and altar: so Tertullian, Methodius, Lactantius the Apocalyptic 144,000 sealed ones out of the 12 tribes, and Apocalyptic New Jerusalem. A point important to be marked in the primitive exposition.³

On which point, and the general subject of the intent of Scripture symbols and figures, we have to remember that Origen, already briefly noticed by me, lived and taught about the middle of the third century.⁴ And, had he fulfilled his declared intention of giving the Christian world an Apocalyptic commentary,⁵ we can scarcely doubt but that it would have been of a character more mystical than those we have yet had to do with; though Victorinus' exposition of the symbols of the primary Apocalyptic vision furnishes us indeed with a partial specimen. Origen's principle of anagogical⁶ or spiritualizing exposition, (a principle not altogether to be exploded, but needing in its application to Scripture analogy, and good sense, abundantly greater than Origen cared to use)⁷ could not but have been largely applied by him

¹See my Vol. iii. pp. 264, 265.

²See my Vol. iii. p. 281, where the citation from Pontius is given; together with a notice of Mr. C. M.'s strange objection to its parallelism or force on the yearday question.

³For it is, of itself, fatal to each Judaic futurist or semifuturist system of Apocalyptic interpretation.

⁴He died at Tyre A.D. 253, aged 70.

⁵"Omnia hæc exponere sigillatim de capitibus septem draconis (Rev. 12 3), which reads: "And cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years should be fulfilled: and after that he must be loosed a little season.") non est temporis hujus: exponentur autem tempore sue in Revelatione Johannis." In Matth. Tr. 30. Elsewhere Origen thus singularly notes this prophecy: "John wrote the Revelation; being commanded to keep silence, and not write what the seven thunders uttered." Comment on Joh. Tom. v. (Ed. Huet. ii. 88.) A passage noted by Eusebius, H. E. vi. 25. I suppose he had some anagogic solution of what is deemed an apparent contradiction.

⁶*αναγωγή*, a passing to a higher sense than the literal; i.e. to a more literal sense.

⁷Scripture, like man, said Origen, has a body, soul, and spirit: viz. the literal sense, useful to those who preceded the Christians, i.e. the ancient Israel; the internal sense (*intra literam*), to Christians; and the shadowing forth of heavenly things, to saints arrived in heaven. So he remarks on Lev. vi. 25, which reads: "Speak unto Aaron and to his sons, saying, This is the law of the sin offering: In the place where the burnt offering is killed shall the sin offering be killed before the LORD: it is most holy," about the sinoffering. Elsewhere he speaks of the historic sense, the moral, and the mystical. Bishop Marsh thinks that the three may be reduced to two; 1. the literal, grammatical, or historical; 2. the spiritual or allegorical. He also remarks on Origen's admission (T. i. p. 180) that the grammatical or historical applies in many more instances than the more spiritual interpretation. Lecture 11, on Scriptural Interpretation, p. 483. He carried his inclination to the anagogical so far, as to depreciate, and sometimes even nullify, the literal and historic sense. He often says that the literal

to the apocalyptic prophecy: especially as one involving constantly symbolic language, besides those allusions to Babylon, Israel, Jerusalem, which we saw, were always, according to him, to be construed anagogically in Scripture. But this commentary he in effect did not write: and it remained for others fully to apply his principles to Apocalyptic exposition in a later era. On the millenary question, all primitive expositors except Origen, and the few who rejected the Revelation as non-Apostolical, were premillennarians; and construed the first resurrection of the saints literally.

sense is “proculcandum et contemnendum.” So. 1. of things typical; as the sin offering, Lev. vi. 25, “Speak unto Aaron and to his sons, saying, This is the law of the sin offering: In the place where the burnt offering is killed shall the sin offering be killed before the LORD: it is most holy.”: *Hæc omnia, nisi alio sensu accipias quàm lines texta ostendit, sicut sæpe diximus, obstaculum majus Christianæ religioni quàm ædificationem præstabunt.*” 2. Of historic statements. So in his Hom. vi. on Genesis: “What the edification of reading that Abraham lied to Abimelech, and betrayed his wife’s chastity? Let Jews believe it; and any others that, like them, prefer the letter to the spirit.” So again on the Mosaic history of the creation; the statement of there having been three days without sun, moon, or stars, being pronounced by him impossible: and again on that of the devil leading Christ to a high mountain; &c. 3. Of precepts: e.g. that which says, “If a man smite thee on the one cheek, turn to him the other.” Now it is evident that St. Paul himself has authorized the ascription of an anagogical or spiritual sense, as well as the literal, to the types of the law. They were shadows of things to come. And to certain facts of Old Testament history he has also ascribed an allegorical, as well as literal sense. So in the allegory of Sarah and Isaac, Hagar and Ishmael. But surely in historical narratives to allegorize beyond what Scripture itself teaches, is unsafe; and to allegorize away a scripturally asserted historic fact, whether from judging it to be unedifying or impossible, most unjustifiable. As regards prophecy Origen lays down the rule: Whenever the prophets have prophesied anything of Jerusalem or Judea, of Israel or Jacob, then this (agreeably with St. Paul’s own teaching) is to be referred anagogically to the heavenly Jerusalem, Judea, and Israel; as also in what is said of Egypt, Babylon, Tyre: “*cum sint in eoele loci terrenis istis cognomines, ac locorum istorum incolæ, animæ scilicet.*” I presume he would have thus spiritualized, not merely where there was other evidence of the terms being figuratively meant, but even where the local reference was most pointed and precise. I have thought it well to abstract the above from a chapter in the Abbé Huet’s *Origeniana*; as there occurs so much of Origenic anagoge in subsequent Apocalyptic interpreters, such as Tichonius, Primasius, &c.

Period 2. Constantine to the Fall of the Empire, A.D. 476.

The great Constantine revolution, accomplished (as I before observed) just after Lactantius' publication of his *Institutions*, could hardly fail of exercising a considerable influence on Apocalyptic interpretation. A revolution by which Christianity should be established in the prophetically denounced Roman Empire, was an event the contingency of which had never occurred apparently to the previous exponents of Christian prophecy; and suggested the idea of a mode, time, and scene of the fulfillment of the promises of the latter day blessedness, that could scarcely have arisen before: That its scene might be the earth in its present state, not the renovated earth after Christ's coming and the conflagration; its time that of the present dispensation; its mode by the earthly establishment of the earthly Church visible. For it does not seem to have occurred at the time, that this might in fact be one of the preparations, through Satan's craft, for the establishment after a while of the great predicted antichristian ecclesiastical empire, on the platform of the same Roman world, and in a professing but apostated Church.

1. Eusebius

The first author of this era,¹ seems in earlier life to have received the Revelation as inspired Scripture; and interpreted its Seals, somewhat like Victorinus, of the difficulties of Old Testament prophecy opened by Christ.² When the extraordinary Constantine revolution established itself, though doubts now commenced as to its apostolic authorship, yet he still continued to refer to its prophecies; with an application changed however, accordant with the change in the times. Thus he applied to this great event both Isaiah's promises of the latter day, and also (as his language indicates) the Apocalyptic prophecy of the New Jerusalem;³ at the same time that the symbolic vision of the seven headed dragon of Rev. 12, cast down from heaven, was

¹The dates of Eusebius' life are as follows. Born in Palestine in the reign of Gallienus, about A.D. 267: after ordination to the Christian ministry studied with and assisted Pamphilus in his school at Cæsarea, whence his cognomen of Pamphili: in the Diocletianic persecution witnessed the martyrdoms in Palestine which he describes, and ministered to Pamphilus, who was for two years in prison: at the end of that persecution, about 314, was made Bishop of Cæsarea: soon after published his "De Demonstrat. et de Preparat. Evangelicâ: in 325 assisted at, and was appointed to address Constantine in, the Nicene Council: in 326 published his Chronicon, and then his Ecclesiastical History, both of which he brought down to that year. In the year 335 he assisted in the Council of Tyre, convened by Constantine to consider charges made by Arius against Athanasius; and thence went to the consecration of Constantine's new church at Jerusalem. Afterwards he visited Constantinople, to make report to Constantine about the Council; and then pronounced before him the tricennialian oration; about which time Constantine told him of his vision of the cross, and showed him the labarum made accordantly with it. After this he wrote his Book on the Eastern Festival, 5 Books against Marcellus, and last of all his Life of Constantine: then about the end of 339 died.

²Demonstr. Evang. B. 7

³See my Vol. i. p. 256, Note 4.

with real exegetic correctness (as I conceive) applied to the dejection of Paganism, and the Pagan emperors, from their former supremacy in the Roman world.¹ As regards Daniel's 70 Weeks, let me add, Eusebius, like most of the expositors before him, explained them contiguously; and as time past altogether fulfilled.²

But to carry out such views of the New Jerusalem must soon have been felt most difficult: the Arian and other troubles, which quickly supervened, powerfully contributing to that conviction. It resulted, perhaps not a little from this cause that the Apocalypse itself became for a while much neglected; especially in the Eastern Empire, where the imperial seat was now chiefly fixed. There occur however passing notices, directly or indirectly

¹See Vol. iii. pp. 30, 31, 34, 35, with the Notes. This his view of the vision we may compare with that of the expositor Andreas afterwards. Eusebius intimates that Constantine may have alluded possibly to Isa. 27 1, "The Lord shall punish Laviathan, that crooked serpent." But the casting down of the Dragon, which Constantine notes prominently, is not in Isaiah's prophecy, but that of the Revelation. In speaking of the dejection of Pagan emperors I mean of course that Eusebius, like myself, intended the Devil acting in them.

²But this is a point of view somewhat strange and peculiar. By the holy one to be anointed Eusebius understood the anointed high priests and rulers of the Jews, after their return from the Babylonish captivity. This is the point on which his explanation turns. And so he makes his chronological calculations in the form of the series of high priests and rulers afterwards succeeding: first Joshua and Zerubbabel, then Ezra and Nehemiah, Joachim, Eliasub, Hehoiada, John, Jaddus; (the same that showed Daniel's prophecy to Alexander the Great) then Onias, Eleazar, (in which time the Septuagint version was begun;) a 2nd Onias, Simon, (contemporary with the writing of the Book of Sirach,) a 3rd Onias, (the same that was high priest when Antiochus Epiphanes desolated the temple,) Judas Maccabeus, and his two brothers successively Jonathan and Simon, with whose death ends the 1st Book of Maccabees; then John, then Aristobulus, the first who assumed the royal together with the priestly diadem, and his successor Alexander. Now from the 1st of Cyrus to the death of Alexander the Great is 236 years; and of the Seleucidian kingdom down to Simon's death 277 [lege 177] years; in all, from Cyrus to the epoch with which the 1st of Maccabees ends, 425 years. Add 57 more for the high priests John, Aristobulus, and Alexander; and we have in all for the reign of Jewish anointed priests 483 years = 69 hebdomads. Also in the first 49 years, or 7 hebdomads of this period, from the 1st of Cyrus to the 6th of Darius, the temple and the street was built in troublous times; it being interrupted by the hostility of the Samaritans. So the Jews themselves said, "Fortysix years was this temple building;" to which Josephus adds three for the temple enclosure; making altogether 49 years. After the high priest Alexander's death, when the Jews were distracted with dissensions, Pompey came in the 10th year of the 2nd Aristobulus, entered and defiled the temple, and sent Aristobulus bound to Rome. Then first the Jews became subject to Rome; and, soon after, Herod was made King of the Jews by a Decree of the Roman Senate. As an alternative explanation Eusebius adds that the computation may be made to begin from the 6th of Darius, instead of the 1st of Cyrus. Thence to Herod and Cæsar Augustus in 483 years, or 69 hebdomads. Then Hyrcanus, the last pontiff of Maccabean race, was killed. Then the legal succession of priests ceased; the city and sanctuary was desolated by Herod; and also the covenant confirmed to many for a half hebdomad by Christ's preaching the gospel. After which 3 ½ years Christ was crucified; and the sacrifice ceased to the Jews: their temple sacrifices being thenceforward nothing better than sacrifices to the devil.

bearing on Apocalyptic interpretation, in the writings of the two chief champions of the orthodox Trinitarian faith in the East and the West, I mean of course Athanasius and Hilary, which must not be past over in silence.

2. *Athanasius*

In *Athanasius* the main point to be marked is his strongly pronounced opinion respecting the Antichrist of prophecy that a heretical anti-Trinitarian ruler of the Roman Empire, like Constantius, would well answer to him; albeit making a Christian profession and professedly in the Christian Church. Thus, in a general way, with reference to heretical leaders, he spoke of Antichrist coming with the profession, "I am Christ;" assuming Christ's place and character, like Satan transformed into an angel of light;¹ then elsewhere, in particular, spoke of Constantius as the precursor of Antichrist,² the image of Antichrist,³ nay as every way answering to Antichrist. For what mark, said he, does Constantius lack of the Antichrist of prophecy?⁴ I may add that he too seems to have construed the 70 Weeks of Daniel, like the majority of his predecessors in the ante Constantine age, as wholly fulfilled on the first coming of Jesus, the Holy One of Holies. For then, says he, the prophecy and the vision was sealed up, and the city and the temple taken.⁵

¹Vol. i. p. 500. (Ed Colon. 1686.) Cantra Arian. Orat. 4.

²Epist. ad Solitar. Ib. i. 842, 862.

³Ib. 860.

⁴Ib. p. 860. Tiv eti tolma legein Kwnstantion Cristianon, kai ou mallon Avticristou thn eikova; Te gar twn toutou gnwrismatwn paraleloipen; h pwv ou pantacoqin outuv ekeinov einai nomisqhsetai; ka keinov toioutuv an ukonohqeih, oiuv estin outov; oute en th megalh ekkhlsia th en tw Kaisareiw ginomenav quasiav, kai kata Cristou Blasfhmiav, wv ex entolhv autou pepoihkasiv Areianoι te kai Ellhev; Ouc h orasiv tou Danihl outwv shmainei ton Anticriston; dti poihsai polemon meta twn agiwn, kai is escusei prov antouv, kai uperoiei en kakoiv pantav touv emprosqen, kai treiv basileiv tapeinwsei, [*With reference to Vetrano, Magnentius, and Gallus, overthrown A.D. 350 353. So Constantius was now sole emperor; and the sevenhilled Rome one of his capitals.*] kai logouv prov ton Uyiston lalhsei, kai uponohsei tou allotriwsai kairun; So too p. 855; authn [awebeian] wn Cristomacōn hlemona thv asebeian epigraqomenhn Kwnstantion, wv auton ton Anticriston. I the rather give these citations, because Mr. C. Maitland represents the professedly Jewish view of the predicted Antichrist as still distinctively maintained by the Athanasian chiefs." This denial of the Father and the Son was styled by Athanasius Christ's enemy, Antichrist forerunner: but it does not appear that any one mistook Arrianism for actual Antichristianity." p. 211. And then, by way of confirmation, he gives an extract from "The Catechism written for Prince Antiochus," as one "which once bore the honored name of Athanasius' and, though not his, "is yet now attributed to some unknown writer of Athanasius' time;" stating that "Antichrist will come out of Galilee; as the Scripture says, Dan is a lion's whelp." ib. 215. Now in answer to Question 76 of this Catechism, "Why do the Gentiles (eqnh) rage?" the writer says that "by eqnh are meant the Romans, that is, the race of the Franks:" eqnh legei tw n'Rwmaiwn, hgoun tw n'Fraggw n to genovl. This could not have been till the time of Charlemagne. The date of the Catechism therefore, instead of the 4th, can scarcely have been earlier than the 8th or 9th century. "Post ævum Monotheletium," says Cave, in his notice of Athanasius; i.e. after A.D. 700.

⁵Vol 1 p.93: Iiarontov,tou,'Agiou,twn,agewn,esFragisqh,kai,orasiv,kai,profhteia,kai,h,th, Ie-rousalhm,basileia,pepautai,kai,h,poliv,kai,o,uaov,ealw.

3. Hilary

The Bishop of Poitiers in France, the contemporary and friend of Athanasius, the following particulars of Apocalyptic exposition may be worth our notice.¹

i. Somewhat like Victorinus and Eusebius he suggests the Apocalyptic seven sealed Book, written within and without, signifying the various things predicted in Moses, the Psalms, and the Prophets, concerning Christ, and which were opened and revealed by Jesus; some already fulfilled when St. John was in Patmos, others yet unfulfilled and future. Moreover he thus somewhat originally divides and classifies them; viz. As Christ's incarnation, passion, death resurrection, glory on ascension to heaven, reign, and final judgment: of which septenary, he says, the first five had been opened to the world on Jesus Christ's first coming; the rest would be opened on his second coming.²

ii. To the Jewish symbols in Scripture prophecy he supposed generally that a Christian sense attached. So, more particularly, with regard to the New Jerusalem of Rev. 21, 22;³ as also to the Zion, Jerusalem, Israel, and temple of the prophecies of the Old Testament.⁴

iii. On the subject of Antichrist he stated in a Treatise written before the year 356,⁵ and when the West had been comparatively undisturbed by the violent aggression of Arianism, that the predicted abomination of desolation was meant of a future Antichrist: the term abomination having reference to Antichrist's appropriating to himself the honor due to God, as (after reception by the Jews) he sat in the Jewish holy place or temple;⁶ that of desolation to his foreseen desolation's of the once holy land and place by war and slaughter. Moreover he expressed his opinion that Moses and Elias, the same that appeared to Christ "*ad sponsionem fidei*" in the transfiguration, would be the two witnesses figured in the Apocalyptic prophecy as slain by Antichrist.⁷ A little later, after the flood of Arianism had swept with violence into

¹I have just mentioned Hilary's name, Vol. i. p. 30, in my preliminary chapter, as witnessing to the authenticity of the Revelation. He testifies to St. John the apostle as its author in various places: e.g. in his Comments on Ps. ii. and cxviii., Vol. i. pp. 20, 292 At p. 292 he says; "*Scripturâ in Apocalypsi calumniatorem eum esse testante:*" and at p. 20; "*Quod autem folia ligni hujus. . salutaria sint gentibus sanctus Joannes in Apocalypsi testatur.*" So also ii. 132. (My Edition is the Benedictine, Venice, 1750.)

²Prologue on Ps. i. p. 4.

³i. 21.

⁴So of Zion, as the Church, on Ps. lxix. 35, "The Lord shall build up Zion;" Vol. i. pp. 199, 200; also *ibid.* pp. 347, 358, 373, 392: of Israel as the Israel of God, or Gentile Church, ("*plebs gentium, populus ecclesiæ,*") i. 329: and of the tribes of Israel spoken of in Ps. cxxii., ("*thither the tribes go up,*") as not those of the literal Israel, but the spiritual, i. 334: of the temple, as meaning all the saints, i. 429, &c.

⁵So the Editor in his Preface to the Treatise.

⁶i. 617.

⁷i. 600.

the Western part of the Roman Empire, the idea of Antichrist within the professing Christian Church forced itself on his mind, just as on that of Athanasius. Writing in 364 against Auxentius, the Arian Archbishop of Milan, he exclaims, "Is it a thing doubtful that Antichrist will sit in Christian Churches?"¹ And both there, and in his Treatise "De Trinitate," written a little before 360, during his exile, he both denounces the Emperor Constantius as a precursor of Antichrist,² and directly designates the Bishop Arius, and the Bishop Auxentius, as Antichrists.³

iv. While commenting on the transfiguration, ("After six days Jesus takes Peter and John, &c.,") Hilary refers to the old idea of a seventh sabbatical millenary: saying that as Christ was transfigured in glory after the six days, so after the world's 6000 years there would be manifested the glory of Christ's eternal kingdom.⁴ His great subject led him often to speak of the day and hour of the consummation being known to no man.⁵ But this fact (considering the measure of doubtfulness attaching to our world's chronology)⁶ he did not regard as militating against the idea.

4. Cyril, Ephraim Syrus, Chrysostom

Turning to the East again, a very passing notice will suffice, of the Eastern Church's three later patristic expositors of the 4th century, *Cyril, Ephraim Syrus, Chrysostom*: since, though acknowledging the Revelation as inspired, they made but little use of it.⁷ As regards *Cyril of Jerusalem* I may observe, that with reference to the expected Antichrist, he distinctly coupled together the two ideas of his being a ruler of the Roman Empire; (in fact the 8th head of the Apocalyptic Beast;) and his assuming to himself the title of Christ: "This man will usurp the government of the Roman Empire, and will falsely

¹See the extracts Note 20 *infra*.

²Contrâ Constant. Imperat. 7.

³"An cum Creatorem et creaturam Patrem et Fiiium prædicabis, per assimilatas nominum voces excludere posse te credis, ne esse Antichristus intelligaris?" So in his *De Trinit.* vi. 42 of Arius; on which passage see the *Benedictine Notes*. "Necesse est in ipsam nos ætatem Antichristi incidisse: cujus, secundum Apostolum, ministris in lucis se angelum transformantibus,...is qui est Christus aboletur." *Contrâ Auxent.* 5. And so again, *ib.* 12, in a striking passage just a little after: "Unum moneo, cavete Antichristum! Male enim vos parietum amor cepit: male Ecclesiam Dei in tectis ædificiisque veneramini: male sub sub his pacis nomen ingeritis. Anne ambiguum est in his Antichristum esse sessurum? Montes mihi, et silvæ, et lacus, et carceres, et voragines, sunt tutiores: in his enim prophetæ, aut manentes, aut demersi, Dei Spiritu prophetabunt... Congreget Auxentius quas voiet in me synodos; et hæreticum me, ut sæpe jam feicit, publico titulo proscribat, &c." A passage well deserving attention from all who with Mr. C. Maitland (p. 63) are inclined to denounce antipapal middleage confessors, like the Waldenses, as "an Antichristian rabble."

⁴On Matt. 17 1, "And after six days Jesus taketh Peter, James, and John his brother, and bringeth them up into an high mountain apart,"

⁵In Matt. &c.

⁶See my Vol. i. pp. 395397, and Vol. 4 p. 230, et seq.

⁷See my Vol. i. p. 30.

call himself the Christ.”¹ But in what temple would he sit; the Jewish rebuilt temple, or Christian professing Churches? “That of the Jews.” But why? “Because God forbid that the temple meant should be that in which we now are.” Such was Cyril’s only reason against the latter view of the temple meant by St. Paul in his prophecy to the Thessalonians. This Antichrist, Cyril judged, was to be Daniel’s abomination of desolation standing in the holy place. With regard to his contemporary *Ephraim Syrus* we may remark that he, like Hilary, noted how the wicked one, Antichrist, when come, would not cease to make inquisition for the saints by land and by sea; they seeking safety meanwhile in monasteries and deserts; the two witnesses Elijah and Enoch preceding him; and, on the Roman Empire’s fall, Antichrist, and the consummation.² As to *Chrysostom*, he judged that the temple of Antichrist’s enthronement would be not that which is in Jerusalem, but the Christian Church. “He will not invite men to worship idols, but will be himself an *antitheos*. He will put down all gods; and will command men to worship him, as the very God. And he will sit in the temple of God: not that which is in Jerusalem, but in the Churches everywhere.”³

Now it is time to turn Westward to *Jerome* and *Augustine*, those eminent expositors of the Latin Church, who, unlike the Greek fathers of the age, not only recognized the Revelation as a divine book, but continually referred to it: and in their passing notices on Apocalyptic interpretation threw out hints of much importance; and, on more than one point, with great and lasting influence.

5. Jerome.⁴

i. According to this father of the Church, the Revelation was a book that had in it as many mysteries as words, while sundry particular words had

¹Catech. 15. Cyril’s exposition of the eighth head of the Apocalyptic Beast must not be overlooked; that Antichrist, after subduing three out of the ten kings of the Roman Empire in its later form, would, as the head and chief of the remaining seven, be the Beast’s eighth head.

²I abstract from Mr. C. Maitland’s citations p. 217; not having myself the opportunity of referring to Ephrem Syrus. See too Malvenda, 424.

³On 2 Thess. ii.

⁴The chief epochs and events of Jerome’s life are as follows. Born at Strato on the Pannonian and Dalmatian confines, about A.D. 348; went to Rome while yet a youth to complete his education; was there baptized; and there exhibited his tastes, and prepared himself for his subsequent studies, in the collecting of a library, and visiting of the martyr’s crypts and catacombs: hence toured into Northern and Southern Gaul; and on return to Rome determined to become a monk: then, after a while removed to Jerusalem, taking his library with him, and accompanied by Rufinus, Heliodorus, Evagrius, and others, of whom we hear often in Jerome’s after life. This was when about 25. In Jerusalem and the neighboring desert he stayed 4 years; suffering perpetually alike from illnesses and temptations: a time this to which the famous painting of Jerome under temptation in the desert refer. He was then too assailed by Arian teachers; and, though professing the omoousion, was accused by some as an Arian heretic, and ejected from his cell. Hence a visit to Antioch, where he heard Apollinarius of Laodicea, and was ordained by Paulinus, being about 30 years old;

each in them a multi fold meaning:¹ and that the Revelation was to be all spiritually understood; because otherwise Judaic fables must be acquiesced, in such as those that the rebuilding of Jerusalem, and revival of its temple of carnal rites and ordinances.² In regard however of which his spiritual or

at which time he began his earliest prophetic Comment, that on Obadiah. The Arian dissensions continuing, he determined on going to Rome. This was by way of Constantinople; where he stopped a while, and received instructions from Gregory Nazianzen, shortly before the Constantinopolitan General Council, A.D. 381. At Rome Damasus was then Pope: and Jerome stayed their till Damasus' death in 384; admired and courted both by him and all the Christian body, from the fame of his austerities and sanctity in the desert; many noble ladies of whom we read afterwards, especially Paula (mother to Eustochium), coming under his influence, and being induced by him to renounce the world. Hence an uprising of calumny against him excited by both laics and clerics; though the general voice had pronounced him a fit successor to Damasus in the Pontificate: and he quitted Rome in disgust, to resume the monastic life near Jerusalem, followed by Paulla, Melania, and other Roman ladies; the former of whom, after 3 years, built a monastery at Bethlehem for the men, and four for female virgins; and also begun Comments on Ecclesiastes, Numbers, &c. He now completed these: having got a Jew to come to him by night to teach him Hebrew; and in a tour through Palestine visited all the sacred places mentioned in the Old Testament, as he had before visited the scenes of St. Paul's travels in Asia Minor. In the course of his first five years at Bethlehem he visited Egypt also, there receiving instructions from Didymus or Alexandria. On his return from Alexandria he wrote his Comments on Ephesians, Philemon, Galatians, Titus; all which he dedicated to Paula and Eustochium. Then next he composed Comments on the four minor Prophets, Micah, Nahum, Zephaniah, Haggai; and then on Habakkuk: those on Hosea, Joel, Jonah, Amos, Zechariah, Malachi being not written till some 20 years later; and those on the four greater prophets not till his old age. So Jerome states in a letter to Pammachius long afterwards. Meanwhile, his fame increasing more and more, the multitude of pilgrims to the Holy Land, and of visitors to himself, increased so as to be a burden; (among them Sulpicius Severus and Orosius are to be noted) and Jerome sent his younger brother Paulinianus to sell the wreck of his parental property, saved from the Gothic desolations of Pannonia, to help towards the expenses. About this time occurred his accusation as a supposed favorer of Rufinus and Origenism; and, in consequence, a sharp controversy ensued with Rufinus: also a new and friendly controversy, on a different subject, with Augustine, now famous as the Bishop of Hippo. Then followed the troubles of the Gothic invasion of Italy. In 407 Paulla died: in 410 Alaric took Rome; and Marcella died of injuries received from the Goths. He was stunned with the news; and he states alike in his Preface to Ezekiel and Epitaph on Marcella. The crowing to his retreat of multitudes of fugitive and beggared Romans added fresh calamity; and on this supervened that of an inroad of Huns into Syria. Notwithstanding, and though now "ætatis altimæ ac pene decrepidus," as he writes of himself to Augustine, he preserved all his mental energy, and continued his labors. So Ezekiel was finished. At length wearied and worn out in body, a slight fever carried him off; the brethren and sisters of the neighboring monasteries attending his last hours. This was about the year 420. He was first buried at Bethlehem. But afterwards his remains were translated to the Church now celebrated as that of S. Maria Maggiore at Rome. (My Edition is that of Antwerp. 1579.) I have given this biographical sketch more fully than I should otherwise have been warranted in doing; partly because of the peculiar and almost romantic interest of the biography; more because of there being so much of reference to the remarkable events and persons of the period of Jerome's writings.

¹Letter 103 to Paulinus, 7.

²So in the Letter 148 to Marcella; "Omnis ille liber aut spiritualiter intelligendus sit, ut nos existimamus; aut, si carnalem interpretationem sequimur, Judaicis fabulis acquiescendum sit; &c." And so in his almost latest Scriptural comment on Ezek. xxxviii.

figurative understanding of the Revelation, we should remember the check urged by Jerome himself against any undue license of fancy, at least in explaining the Old Testament; so as by those who with “*anagoge* veritatem historiae auferant.”¹

ii. The Apocalyptic 144,000 seen by St. John with Christ on Mount Zion, or sealed ones out of each and all of the tribes of the Apocalyptic Israel, are sometimes expounded by Jerome of the Christian apostles, martyrs, and saints generally, sometimes of Christian virgins or celibates more especially;² never of an election distinctively out of the Jews, or natural Israel.

iii. As regards the two Apocalyptic witnesses, though he has not given us his own opinion as to who or what made up his opinion about them, yet negatively he has pretty clearly intimated that in his judgment they were not Enoch and Elias;³ cautioning his questioning on the point, the noble Roman lady Marcella, in a passage already referred to by me against expounding the Revelation otherwise than as a book which is to be understood spiritually or figuratively.⁴

¹Epist. 126, Ad Evagrium. (spiritualize away the truth of history)

²Of Christian apostles and saints, generally, in his Letter against Vigilantius: “Tu apostolis vincula injicies, ut usque ad diem iudicii teneantur custodiā, nec sint cūm Domine suo de quibus scriptum est, Sequuntur Agnum quocumque vadit?” For, though apostles only are here specified, the argument is directed against Vigilantius’ general affirmation about the souls of departed saints and martyrs being unconscious of the prayers of men. Also on Is. lxxv. ad fin. “Agni credendi sunt omnes qui in vestibus candidis sequuntur Agnum quocumque vadit; vadit; quos Dominus Petro tradidit ad pascendum, dicens, Pasce agnos meos.” Of Christian virgins, specially, in his Adv. Jovianian. i. 25: “Legamus Apocalypsin Josanis, et ibi reperiemus Agnum super montem Sion, et cum eo 144,000...De singulis tribubus, exceptā tribu Dan., pro quā reponitur tribus Levi, 12 millia virginum signatorum creditura dicuntur. . . Ili Virgines primitiæ Dei sunt: ergo viduæ, et in matrimonio continentes, erunt post primitias.” So too in his Apology for the Anti-Jovinian Book, address to Pammachius, Ep. 50, ch. 3; and in the Treatise against Helvidius, ad fin.

³“De Enoch et Eliā, quos venturos Apocalypsis refert (i.e. as Marcella represented the thing in her question,) et esse morituros, non est istius temporis disputatio; (viz. of the time of the saints’ general resurrection;) cum omnis liber aut spiritualiter intelligendus est, ut, &c.” See Note 1235 p.155.

⁴Elsewhere, viz. on Matt. 11 14, “And if ye will receive it, this is Elias, which was for to come.”, he says; “Sunt qui propterea Joannem Eliam vocari putant quod, quomodo in secundo Salvatoris adventu juxta Malachiam præcessurus est Elias,...sic Joannes in primo adventu fecerit.” In regard of which Mr. C. M. remarks: “At some later time Jerome maintained the second coming of Elias; as when expounding Matt. 11” But this is incorrect. Jerome there speaks of others, not of himself. Mr. C. M. also refers to Jerome’s comment on Matt. 17 11, “And Jesus answered and said unto them, Elias truly shall first come, and restore all things.” where he writes: “Ipse qui venturus est in secundo Salvatoris adventu juxta corporis fidem, nunc per Joannem venit in virtute et spiritu.” This at first sight is like the expression of his own opinion to that effect. But comparing it with our other citations, it too seems to be the mere expression in that form of the opinion of others. On Malachi 4 5 itself Jerome wrote: “Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the LORD:” thus strongly expresses himself against it. “Judæi, et Judaizantes hæretici, ante hleihenon suum Eliam putant esse venturum, et restitutum

iv. On the local scene of the two witnesses' death, "the great city spiritually called Sodom and Egypt, and where also their Lord had been crucified," we find expressed in Jerome's works two different opinions. On the one hand, in the earliest written of his prophetic comments on Zeph. 2:9, "Surely Moab shall be as Sodom and the children of Ammon as Gomorrah," Jerome, in applying that designation and denunciation to heretical teachers within the Christian Church, fortifies that view of the passage by reference both to Isaiah's designation of the false teaching "*virī ecclesiastici*" of the Jews in his time as men of Sodom and Gomorrah, and also the Apocalyptic designation of the Christ crucifying Jerusalem as Sodom and Egypt.¹ Again, in a Letter to Hebidia, written in his latter years, in explaining Matt. 27:53, "Many saints which slept arose, and went into the holy city, and appeared unto many," he says that it was not until its rejection of the gospel message preached by the apostles, and consequent ending of its day of grace, and abandonment to "the two destroying bears from the wood," Vespasian and Titus, that the literal Jerusalem lost its title of the holy city:² it being the case thenceforward indeed, but not till then, that, instead of designation as the holy city, it was spiritually called Sodom and Egypt. On the other hand, in an elaborate argument on the whole Apocalyptic passage written by Jerome's disciples Paula and Eustochium from Bethlehem, shortly before Alaric's taking Rome, and which we cannot but suppose had the master's revision and sanction before its dispatch,³ a different view is argued for of the

omnia." To some such Christ himself, he adds, answered; "Elias quidem veniet; et, si creditis, jam venit: in Eliā Joannem intelligens."

¹The reader has in this a characteristic specimen of Jerome's application of such passages and figures in Old Testament prophecy, to persons and matters connected, whether as true members or enemies, with the Christian Church.

²Let the reader mark here Jerome's decidedly expressed opinion that after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans the appellation of the holy city attached no more to that literal Jerusalem. In order to the support of the futurist or semifuturist Judaic theory of the Revelation two points are needed in a patristic comment; 1st, that the literal Jerusalem be construed as the place of the two witnesses' death: 2nd, that the same literal Jerusalem, and its supposed to be restored temple, be construed as the holy city and temple of Rev. 11 2, trodden and defiled by the Gentiles. Thus Mr. C. Maitland himself, in his abstract of Jerome, contends at p. 238 for the identity of the literal Jerusalem with the holy city of Rev. 11 2; quite forgetful of Jerome's chronological limitations of the application of it of that latter appellation. Jerome's idea was that the local Jerusalem would never be rebuilt, though the Jews would be converted; but remain in ruins to the end of the world. "Obsessi sunt à Vespasiano et Tito; et civitas eorum, Hadriani temporibus, in æternos cineres collapsa est." So on Jer. 19 7, "And I will make void the counsel of Judah and Jerusalem in this place; and I will cause them to fall by the sword before their enemies, and by the hands of them that seek their lives: and their carcases will I give to be meat for the fowls of the heaven, and for the beasts of the earth."

³"in this little world [viz. that of which Jerome was the center, including specially the ladies of Bethlehem, Paula and Eustochium, &c.] whatever subject was discussed, ... every difficulty, was alike referred to this great man of his age." So Mr. C. M. most correctly, at p. 236. Yet at p. 238 he supposes that Paula's elaborate letter to her and Jerome's common friend Marcella, written with the view of inducing her to join Paula herself and Jerome, was written and dispatched without his seeing it!

local scene of the Apocalyptic witnesses' death. With reference to their urgent invitation to Marcella that she should quit the Romish Babylon and join them in their retreat at Jerusalem and Bethlehem, they anticipate her objecting that Jerusalem is branded in the Revelation as Sodom and Egypt; and urge against this the necessity of explaining the passage quite otherwise than of the literal Jerusalem. And this on two different grounds: 1st, because in the immediate Apocalypse context, in contrast to, not identification with, the great city of the witnesses' death, the Apocalyptic Jerusalem is designated as the holy city; ("the Gentiles shall tread down the holy city;") and that cannot consistently be called Sodom and Egypt, which is almost in the same breath called the holy city: 2nd, because in Scripture Egypt is never used figuratively for Jerusalem, but perpetually for the world. Hence, on the whole, they conclude that the great city of the witnesses' death means the world.¹ Anyone who consults Jerome's comments on the (Old Testament) prophets may see how exactly the view of the figurative sense of Egypt in them corresponds with this exposition of the Apocalyptic phrase.²

v. On the great subject of Antichrist we meet in Jerome the same inconsistency, puzzling, and confusion, from his conjunction of some supposed Jewish as well as pseudo-Christian element in the expected Antichrist, as in certain early expositors. In regard of Antichrist's political origin, he is marked by Jerome as the little horn springing from out of the midst of the ten horns, or kings, of the 4th or Roman Beast, that divide among themselves

¹I beg to refer to my notice in Vol. ii. p. 435 of Mr. C. Maitland's attempted answer to this argument of Paula and Eustochium, and justification of the application of all the terms of the prophetic verse to the literal restored Jerusalem.

²So e.g. of Egypt in his comment on Ps. lxxviii. 12, "Marvellous things did he in the sight of their fathers, in the land of Egypt, in the field of Zoan." Jerome writes: "Nos omnes cramus in Ægypto, et à Domino liberati sumus,...in tenebris istius seculi:" also on Ezek. 20 44, "And ye shall know that I am the LORD, when I have wrought with you for my name's sake, not according to your wicked ways, nor according to your corrupt doings, O ye house of Israel, saith the Lord GOD"; 11 1, "Moreover the spirit lifted me up, and brought me unto the east gate of the LORD's house, which looketh eastward: and behold at the door of the gate five and twenty men; among whom I saw Jaazaniah the son of Azur, and Pelatiah the son of Benaiah, the princes of the people." & xxiii. 19, "Yet she multiplied her whoredoms, in calling to remembrance the days of her youth, wherein she had played the harlot in the land of Egypt." Jerome writes: "Ægypto seculi hujus:" "ad tantam venimus rebiem ut post multa tempora Dominicæ servitutis revertamur ad Ægyptum, et ea faciamus quæ in seculo fecimus, anteaquam nomen fidei acceperimus:" &c. So of Sodom in his Comment on Zephan. ii. 9, "Therefore as I live, saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel, Surely Moab shall be as Sodom, and the children of Ammon as Gomorrah, even the breeding of nettles, and salt pits, and a perpetual desolation: the residue of my people shall spoil them, and the remnant of my people shall possess them.", which we already referred to Jerome writes: Hoe de hæretics intelligamus, quòd repententur quasi Sodoma et Gomarrha." &c.

the Roman Empire.¹ And his great city Babylon Jerome construes as distinctly Rome.² Moreover it is because of its ruler Antichrist's blasphemies, he says, that the Roman Empire is to be destroyed.³ Again the professedly Christian (pseudo-Christian) religious character of Antichrist is remarked on also by Jerome repeatedly. Antichrist, says he, when interpreting St. Paul's prophecy of the Man of Sin, "is to sit in the temple, that is in the Church:"⁴ "I think all the heresiarchs Antichrists:"⁵ "It is only by assuming Christ's name that the simpler ones of believers can be seduced to go to Antichrist; for then they will go to Antichrist, while thinking to find Christ"⁶ Yet Jerome also supposes Antichrist so to profess himself Messiah, or Christ, as that the Jews will believe on him as Christ:⁷ consequently as in profession a Jew.⁸

The same partially confused view as that of sundry earlier expositors about Daniel's abomination of desolation had no doubt its influence to this effect. Yet Jerome distinctly recognizes the alternative interpretations of this abomination of desolation. It may mean, says he, on Matt. 24:15, "When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place, (whoso readeth, let him understand) " that

¹ "Dicamus quod omnes scriptores ecclesiastici tradiderunt, in consummatione mundi, quando regnum destruendum est Romanorum, decem futuros reges qui orbem Romanum inter se dividant." out of whom Antichrist, "surrecturus de medio eorum," having subdued three, "septem alii reges victori colla submittent." And so he becomes a head to the revived Roman empire in this divided form. So the well known passage from Jerome, already cited in my Vol. i. p. 390, on Dan. 7

² "Filia Babylonis, non ipsam Babylonem quidem, [i.e. not the Euphratean Babylon.] sed Romanam urbem interpretantur: quæ in Apocalypsi Joannis, et in Epistola Petri, Babylon specialiter appellatur." So on Isa. xlvii. 1, "Come down, and sit in the dust, O virgin daughter of Babylon, sit on the ground: there is no throne, O daughter of the Chaldeans: for thou shalt no more be called tender and delicate." And so again in his Script. Eccl. on the Evangelist Mark.

³ He notices elsewhere the old idea, as if still current with some, that Nero revived would be the Antichrist: "Multi nostrorum putant ob sævitæ et turpitudinis magnitudinem, Domitianum Neronem Antichristum fore." On Dan. xi 30, "For the ships of Chittim shall come against him: therefore he shall be grieved, and return, and have indignation against the holy covenant: so shall he do; he shall even return, and have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant."

⁴ "In templo Dei; "vel Hierosolymis ut quidam putant, vel in ecclesiâ, ut verius arbitramur, sederit." So in reply to the 11th question of Algasia.

⁵ Thus on Matt. 24 5, "Many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ, &c." Jerome comments as follows: "Quorum unus est Simon Samaritanus . . . Ego reor omnes hæresiarchas antichristos case; et, sub nomine Christi, ea docere quæ contraria sunt Christo."

⁶ Ib.

⁷ Quando pro Christo Judæi recipient Antichristum, impletâ prophetiâ Domini Salvatoris, "Si alius venerit in nomine suo illum recipietis" On Obad. 17, "But upon mount Zion shall be deliverance, and there shall be holiness; and the house of Jacob shall possess their possessions."

⁸ So on Dan. 11 21, "and in Latin: "Nostri melius interpretatur et rectius, quod in fine mundi hæc sit facturus Antiochristus; qui consurgere habet [quod debet?] de modica gente, id est de populo Judæorum. . . Et simulabit se ducem esse fæderis, hoc eat legis et testamenti Dei. Et ingredietur urbes ditissimas, et faciet quæ non fecerunt patres ejus. Nullus enim Judæarum absque Antichristo in toto unquam orbe regnavit."

is, either Cæsar's image placed by Pilate in the Jewish temple, Or Hadrian's in the ruined temple's holy place, "which has stood there to the present day:"¹ or it may mean simply Antichrist; or "every perverse dogma which may stand in the holy place, that is in the Church, and show itself as God."² As to the prophecy of the 70 weeks, connected in the one passage of Daniel 9:27 with the abomination of desolation, Jerome only gives the opinions of others, (the same that I have a little previously abstracted principally from him)³ but shuns giving any of his own.⁴—Antichrist's time of duration he of course expected to be 3½ years, literally. But I must beg attention to the manner in which, in his exposition of Ezekiel's symbolic bearing of the iniquity of Israel 390 days, and that of Judah, 40 days, "a day for a year," Jerome incidentally supports the old Protestant view of its furnishing a Scriptural precedent for the year-day theory. For, like Venema, he supposes Ezekiel's lying prostrate for so many days to be typical of the penal prostration of Israel and Judah for so many years;⁵ not, like many late expositors, as typical of the previous prolonged duration of those nations' sins.

Jerome's view of the Apocalyptic millennium was much the same figurative view as Augustine's: his opposition to the literal view of the first resurrection being in his remarks on Victorinus' comment strongly expressed.⁶ At the same time he held the idea which the ancient premillennarians so much insisted on, that the world's destined duration, after the type

¹"Aut de Hadriani equestri statuâ, quæ in ipso sancto sanctorum loco usque in præsentem diem stetit."

²"Abominatio desolationis intelligi potest et omne dogma perversum; quod cum viderimus stare in loco sancto, id est in ecclesiâ, et se ostendere Deum, debemus fugere de Judæâ in montes: id est," as he adds with characteristic anagoge, "dimissâ occidente literâ, et Judaicâ pravitâ, appropinquare montibus æternis." Ibid.

³See the Notes, pp 148 150 *suprà*.

⁴Jerome adds that the Jews of his time reckoned the 70 hebdomads, or 490 years, as fulfilled first in the restoration of the city and temple, as under Ezra and Nehemiah; then the destruction of the temple, and cessation of the sacrifice, on occasion of the desolations of their people and city 62 hebdomads after by Titus, and again, yet 7 hebdomads later, by Hadrian. They are not very careful, he says, about the fact that, instead of 490 years from the 1st of Cyrus to Hadrian's war against the Jews, the real chronological interval is 696 years. Before the desolation Jerome makes them say that Christ will come and Christ be slain. But in what sense, as compared with Jewish notions, I cannot understand.

⁵"quæramus qui sint anni 390 qui pro diebus totidem supputentur; quibus in sinistro latere propheta dormicrit vinctus atque constrictus, . . . captivitatem et miserias decem tribuum, id est Israelis, ostendens." So he calculates from the time of Hosea's captivity to the time of the Jews' deliverance from their afflictions in the last years of Ahasuerus, (Or Artaxerxes Mnemon,) as related to the book of Esther, and makes the amount 389 years 4 months: during all which time Israel "fuit in angustia, et jugo pressus captivitatis."

⁶See my pp. 141 142 *suprà*. And yet in his Preface to Isaiah lxx., referring to different views of the Apocalyptic millennium, &c., Jerome says; "Which if I take figuratively I fear to contradict the ancients." On Ezekiel's xl. 5, "And behold a wall on the outside of the house round about, and in the man's hand a measuring reed of six cubits long by the cubit and an hand breadth: so he measured the breadth of the building, one reed; and the height, one reed." I may observe, he says in Latin; "Quod templum Judæi secundum literam in adventum Christi sui, quem nos esse Antichristum comprobamus, putant ædificandum: et nos

of the six days of Creation, was to be only 6,000 years, and then the saints' sabbatism to begin.¹

Ere passing from Jerome let me remind the reader of his famous Latin translation of the New Testament, the Revelation inclusive; that same which has ever since been so well known as the Vulgate: and let him mark in my biographical sketch of Jerome the favorable circumstances under which he made it; viz. While at Rome, in intimacy with Pope Damasus, with all Rome's manuscript stores at his command; also his indefatigable care in collecting books bearing on Biblical literature, as well as indefatigable labor in studying them. Hence the evidently high value and authority of the readings that we find in his translations, even when varying from our best present Greek manuscripts. Of these I will here notice three, which I wish my readers specially to remember: 1. the rendering of *bilibris* and *tres bilibres* in the Third Seal for one choenix of wheat and three of barley; this marking very strikingly to anyone who reflects on the so defined weight of barley that was to cost but a denarius, the absurdly of all idea of such a symbolization signifying famine: 2. that of *quatuor partes terræ* in the 4th Seal; four parts of the earth: not one forth part, *quartam partem*: 3. the reading in Rev. 27:16, "And the ten horns which thou sawest upon the beast, these shall hate the whore, and shall make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and burn her with fire." either of *cornua quæ vidisti in bestiâ*; so in most MSS. And Copies; or, as in the Laurentian Copy, *cornua quæ vidisti, et Bestiam*; (not *Bestia*) *hi odient Fornicariam, &c.*² On two of these I have remarked already, in the progress of my Apocalyptic comment.³

Yet once more let me advent a second time to the exceeding interest that attaches to Jerome's lively depicting of the grand event of the Roman Empire's predicted desolation by barbarian invaders, and incipient breaking up

ad Christi referimus ecclesiam; et quotidie in sanctis ejus ædificari cernimus." Where the words "in sanctis ejus" are to be remarked; and suggest an idea of Jerome's perhaps regarding the Church of the promises, like Augustine, as that made up only of true Christians. I say perhaps; because he sometimes used *santi* in the lower and merely ecclesiastical sense."

¹So in his Letter 139 to Cyprian, on the Psalm xc. 4, "For a thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday when it is past, and as a watch in the night.", after noticing St. Peter's saying that with the Lord one thousand years is as one day, he adds: "Ege artitror. . . ut scilicet, quia mundus in sex diebus fabricatus est, sex millibus annorum tantum credatur subsistere; et postea venire septenarium numcrum et octonarium,*[Compare the pseudo-Barnabas' *octad.*"] in quo verus exercetur sabbatismus." With which compare Jerome's notice of the twelve hours of the labourers in the vineyard, in the comment on Micah 4, cited by me Vol. i., p. 396.

²The accusative in the Laurentian MS. excludes the Beast from participation with the ten horns in the hating, &c. of the Harlot, just as much as the reading in *Bestiâ*. So translating Jerome must have regarded the *to qhrion* as an accusative. And so possibly also Hippolytus. See See p 151 *suprà*.

³On the extremely important reading of the 4th Seal, in my Vol. i. pp. 201, 202; on the reading in Rev. 17 16, "And the ten horns which thou sawest upon the beast, these shall hate the whore, and shall make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and burn her with fire.", in my Vol. 4 p. 16.

into the ten kingdoms, as in the course of fulfillment in his own time, and before his own eyes. "In our time the clay has become mixed with iron. Once nothing was stronger than the Roman Empire, now nothing weaker; mixed up as it is with, and needing the helping of, barbarous nations."¹ "He who withheld is removed, and we think not that Antichrist is at the door."² Again, among the invading Goths that desolated the empire, and after wards partitioned it between them, he significantly reckons ten nations.³ Jerome had no idea of any such mighty chronological gap, as some modern expositors would advocate between the removal of the "let" and the rise of Antichrist.

The reader will not, I think, regret my having dwelt thus long on Jerome: considering that he was the most learned of all the ancient Fathers; and lived at an epoch so transcendently interesting, especially to the students of Daniel's and the Apocalyptic prophecies.

6. Augustine.

My copious abstracts in the 1st Volume from this eminent and holy Father of the Christian Church make it unnecessary for me to do more than call attention here very briefly to three or four points in his detached Apocalyptic interpretations.

That the Revelation embraced for its subject of prefiguration the whole period from Christ's first coming to the end of the world.⁴

That the 144,000 of the sealing vision (as also of Rev. 14) depicted distinctively (not the earthly professing visible Church, but) the Church of the saints, or elect,⁵ the constituency of what he calls the City of God, ultimately united into the heavenly Jerusalem:⁶ while the appended palm bearing vision figured the blessed and heavenly issue assured to them of their earthly trials and pilgrimage.⁷

That the millennium of Satan's binding, and the saints reigning, dated from Christ's ministry, when he beheld Satan fall like lightning from heaven; it being meant to signify the triumph over Satan in the hearts of true believ-

¹On Dan. ii. See my Vol. i. p. 390.

²Epist. to Ageruchia. See my Vol. i. p. 303.

³See the citation *ibid*.

⁴"Per totum hoc tempus quod liber iste (sc. Apocalypsis) complectitur, à prime seilicet adventu Christi usque in sæculi finem." C. D. 20 8. 1. Elsewhere he notes the obscurity of the Revelation; very specially from its repeating the same objects under different figures." C. D. 20 17.

⁵So in his Doctr. Christ. iii. 51; "Centum quadraginta quatuor (mille), quo numere significatur universitas sanctorum in Apocalypsi."

⁶"Civitatem sanctam Jerusalem, quæ nunc in sanctis fidelibus est diffusa per terrus." C. D. 20 21. In which city he says, on Psalm cxxi. 2 that the angels will be fellowcitizens.

⁷See my Vol. i. pp. 309-313, with the extracts from Augustine in the Notes.

ers: and that the subsequent figuration of Gog and Magog indicated the coming of Antichrist at the end of the world; the 1000 years being a figurative numeral, expressive of the whole period intervening.¹

I may add that he expounded the woman clothed with the sun, in Rev. 12, of the true Church, or Civitas Dei; clothed with the sun of righteousness; trampling on those growing and waning things of mortality which the moon might figure; and travailing both with Christ personally, and Christ in his members.² Further the complemental set of martyrs, told of to the souls under the altar, he viewed as martyrs to be slain under Antichrist.³ As to Antichrist himself, like other Fathers, he viewed him as one that would arise, and reign 3½ years, at the end of the world; though meanwhile Antichrist's body, and his great city Babylon, might be considered realized in the world and its members. So, on this important point, Augustine endorsed in a manner with his great name the spiritualistic generalizing system of Tichonius.⁴

7. *Tichonius*

To which expositor, last of this æra, we now proceed: We know both from Augustine,⁵ and from the later expositors *Primasius* and *Bede*,⁶ that a Donatist of that name wrote on the Revelation; whose time of flourishing, according to Gennadius, was about A.D. 380;⁷ as was at any rate partially included within the 30 years of the Donatist Parmenianus' Episcopate from A.D. 361 to A.D. 391;⁸ as the latter took umbrage at certain anti-Donatistic sentiments expressed by Tichonius, though a Donatist, and wrote against them.⁹ Perhaps we might prefer to fix the date a little later than 380; as Tichonius had communication with Augustine, and indeed is by some said to have been reclaimed by him from Donatism: and we know that it was only in 391 that Augustine, was ordained Presbyter, in 395 Bishop. Now

¹See pp. 72, 73 *suprà*. So the Greek Andreas afterwards: as also Primasius of the Latin Church, before Andreas. It continued in fact the current opinion through the Middle Ages. That M. Stuart should have ascribed the origin of this opinion (as he seems to do in his Vol. i. p. 459) to Andreas, not Augustine, appears surprising.

²So on Psalm cxliii. 3. On Psalm xliii. 25, I observe, he explains the opened Book in Apocalypse 10, given to St. John to eat, not of the Revelation, but the Bible.

³On the Donatists claiming to be the complemental set of martyrs spoken of to the souls under the altar, Augustine observes: "Quid est stultius quàm quòd putatis prophetiàm istam de martribus, qui futuri prædicti sunt, non nisi in Donatistis esse completam? Quòd si a Joanne usque ad istos nulli occisi essent martyres veri, ut nihil aliud, vel temporibus Antichristi diceremus futuros in quibus ille martyrum numerus compleretur." Contra Gaudent. i. 31. In this he coincides with Tertullian. See p. 138. *suprà*.

⁴Daniel's hebdomads, let me here add, Augustine explained as fulfilled at the time, of Christ's first coming. So in his Letter to Hesychius.

⁵So Augustine, Vol. iii. p. 99, in his statement of Tichonius' seven Rules of interpretation given overleaf.

⁶Who both refer to him in their Apocalyptic Commentaries.

⁷So the Benedictine Editor of Augustine, Vol. ii. col. 371. Note.

⁸So the same Editor.

⁹He wrote a letter of reprehension to Tichonius. See my Note 1281 p. 160.

there is still extant an Apocalyptic Commentary bearing Tichonius' name, drawn up in the form of Homilies, in number nineteen; appended to the fourth volume of the Paris Benedictine Edition of Augustine. And the question has arisen respecting these, whether they are the real work of this afore-said Tichonius, or not. The arguments against (*as the Benedictine Editor observes*) are that, whereas Primasius says there were decided Donatistic statements in Tichonius' work,¹ in this such are wanting, and anti-Donastistic inserted against re-baptizing. that certain passages cited by Bede and Tichonius are here wanting; that on a point in which Tichonius' opinion is said by Augustine to have been illustrated with a copious argument, the opinion is here indeed given, but without any such copious argument in connection. To which I may add that there occur here and there brief quotations (*unless indeed Tichonius be the original*) from Augustine.² On the other hand there are the arguments following in favor of the substantial identity of the extant Treatise with that of Tichonius: (*arguments omitted by the Benedictine Editor*) 1st, that the expository principles followed in the Treatise agree well with Tichonius' expository rules, as recorded by Augustine:³ that one of the anti-Donastistic sentiments, which more than once occurs in these Homilies, is precisely such a recognition of the Catholic Church as was ob-

¹In the Prologue to his Apocalyptic Commentary, B. P. M. 10 287.

²Especially the two cited as from Tichonian Treatise in my Vol. iii. pp. 277, 221, respecting the Beast and the Beast's image; 1. "Non abhorret à fide [rectà] ut Beastia ista impia civitas intelligatur . . . populus infidelium contrarius populo fideli et civitati Dei." 2. "Image vero ejus simulatio est, in eis videlicet hominibus qui velut fidem Catholicam prolitentur, et infideliter vivunt." Which same explanations, almost totidem verbis, will be found in Augustine's C. D. 20 9. 3.

³They are thus enumerated by Augustine, Vol. iii. 99; and as rules intended by Tichonius to solve the difficulties of Scripture. De Domino et ejus corpore; there being sometimes a transition in the sacred writers from Christ the head to the Church his body, and inclusion of both under the same phrase or figure. A rule rightly applicable sometimes, says Augustine, De Domini corpore bipartito; the true members of Christ's body and the false. A view of things right, says Augustine, but wrongly expressed; because hypocrites and false professors do not really belong to Christ's body at all. De promissis et lege; otherwise expressed, like as by Augustine himself, De spiritus et literà; a reference to cases where figures are used; and one thing said, another meant. De specie et genere: where a species is spoken of, e.g. Egypt, Judæa, &c.; but the whole world, of similar gentilism, shown by the strength of the expressions to be meant. De temporibus: where, especially in chronological statements, a whole is said for a part, or part for a whole; as Christ's three days in the grave, when the actual time was only one full day, with part of the day preceding, and part of the following; and Jeremiah's seventy years of Israel's captivity, though applicable to the Church's whole time of earthly pilgrimage. Tichonius applied this Rule to other numerals also; e. g. to the Apocalyptic 144,000; which designated, as he says, the whole body of the saints. Recapitulation, De Diabolo et corpore ejus: things being said of the Devil when meant to the wicked that constitute his body, and vice versà. (Just the converse to Rule 1.), The agreement of the extant Homilies with the above will be noted from time to time in my abstract.

jected to the real Tichonius, as an inconsistency, by his Bishop Parmenianus:¹ that a particular clause on the horsemen of the second Woe, quoted by Primasius from Tichonius, appears in the precise words in these Homilies:² and also, substantially, three explanations taken by Bede from Tichonius.³ There remains to be noted a very important chronological indication in the tenth Homily, which speaks of Arianism as then dominant; “*Sicut videmus modo hæreticos esse in hoc sæculo potentes, qui habent virtutem Diaboli: sicut quondam Pagani, ita nunc illi vastant ecclesiam.*” and again, on the clause about all the earth worshipping the Beast, “*Utique habent potestatem hæreticos; sed præcipuè Ariani.*” statements possibly referable to the Arian Emperor Valens’ oppression of the Trinitarians in the Eastern Empire, which occurred during the life of the real Tichonius; yet not probably so: as Valens’ power extended only to the Eastern or Greek Empire; not to the Western Empire, in which evidently⁴ (and most likely in Africa) the writer of the extant Homilies resided. Hence more probably this indication points to the succeeding century; when the Arian Vandal kings Genseric and Hunneric⁵ did really desolate the orthodox African Church. On the whole,

¹Tichonius, says Augustine, Vol. 12 66, “vidit ecclesiam toto orbe diffusam;” and that for this (ib. 63) he was reproved by Parmenianus. So in Hom. xix: “Civitas ista [sc. the New Jerusalem] ecclesia est toto orbe diffusa;” and elsewhere.

²“Et numerus, inquit, exercituum bis myriades myriadam; audiui numerum eorum: sed non dixit quot myriadam.” So the Tichonian Homily 7 Primasius, after commenting on the clause as read in his copy, “numerus octaginta millia,” thus adds; “Alia porro translatio, quam Tichonius exposuit, habet, ‘Et numerus equestris exercitus bis myriades myriadam. Ubi, expositionem præteritus, hoc tantum adjecit, Non dixit quot myriadam.’” B. P. M. 10 312.

³Says Bede on Rev. 14 20, “And the winepress was trodden without the city, and blood came out of the winepress, even unto the horse bridles, by the space of a thousand and six hundred furlongs.”; “Tichonius messorum et vindemiatores ecclesiam interpretatur.” Says our Tichonius; “Si putandum est quod ipse Christus visus est in nube alba messor, quis est vindemistor nisi idem; sed in suo corpore, quod est ecclesia.” 2 Says Bede on Rev. 17 7, “And I heard another out of the altar say, Even so, Lord God Almighty, true and righteous are thy judgments.”; “Tichonius bestiam ad omne corpus Diaboli refert, quod decedentium et succedentium sibi generationum pro cursa suppleatur.” Says our Tichonius, Hom. 14, on the verse, “The beast was, and is not, and is to be;” “Hoc fit . . . dum filii mali parentes pessimo imitantur; et, aliis morientibus, alii succedunt eis.” (Copied by Primasius and Ambrose Ansbert.) 3 Says Bede on Rev. 19 21; “Hanc coenam Tichonius sic exponit; Omni tempore comedit ecclesia carnes immicorum suorum.” Says our Tichonius, Hom. 17; “Omnes enim gentes, quando in Christo credentes ecclesiæ incorporantur, spiritualiter ab ecclesiâ comeduntur.”

⁴There occurs a curious notice on Rev. 4 3, “And he that sat was to look upon like a jasper and a sardine stone: and there was a rainbow round about the throne, in sight like unto an emerald.”; in the second of the extant Homilies, on the resemblance of the word iris, or its accusative irin, to the Greek word *ειρηνή*; as by a writer, and for readers, to whom alike the Greek was a foreign language. “Cui nomini si una in fine aditur littera, et irini dicatur, utique hoc insum interpretatio sonare videtur: nam Græco vocabulo *eirnhn* rac appellatur.” Moreover it would seem that these Homilies on the Revelation were for reading in the Churches. (See e.g. the end of Hom. 1.) But the Revelation was a book, I believe, little read at that time in the Greek Churches.

⁵See my Vol. ii. p. 223, and Vol. iii. pp. 6163.

and adding to the other evidence in favor of this authorship the important fact of the manuscript's bearing his name, I feel little doubt in my own mind that the main substance of the extant Treatise is from Tichonius: though with certain alterations introduced, and an abbreviation into Homiletic form, by some Presbyter of the Latin Catholic Church after the first quarter of the fifth century, probably an African. Thus we may fitly note its scheme of Apocalyptic interpretation as one appertaining to the æra under review: albeit, in its present form, as rather post-Augustinian than pre-Augustinian.

To begin, there are in two different manuscripts two different introductions. In the one MS. (probably the original) the writer states at once the opening of his first Homily, the Origen interpretative principle of *αναγωγή* (reduction), as that adopted in the commentary. "*In lectione Revelationis beati Johannis Apostoli, fratres charissimi, secundum anagogen....explicare curabimus.*" The other thus speaks: "Respecting the things seen by St. John in the Revelation, it seemed to some of the ancient Fathers that either all, or at least the greater part, presignified the coming of Antichrist, or Day of Judgment. But they who have more diligently handled it, judge that the things contained in it began to have fulfillment immediately after Christ's passion; and are to go on fulfilling up to the day of judgment: so as that but a small portion may seem to remain for the times of Antichrist."¹ Both of which beginnings are quite consistent. For the writer's evident meaning in those words, "*consummanda usque ad diem judicii,*" is not that the Revelation was like a dramatic prefiguration of the great events of the coming future, to be fulfilled in succession and order until the consummation: but rather a representation (for the most part) of general truths, detached and unconnected, concerning the Church; all and ever in course of realization, and that will be so even to the end.

Thus, passing over his explanation of the primary Apocalyptic symbolization of Christ, the details of which he takes very much from Victorinus, and that of the Epistles to the seven Churches, which Churches he regards as representative of the Church universal,² in the Seals, the rider and horse are expounded of Christ riding to victory on his apostles and prophets, the arrows the gospel word preached, as pointed by the Spirit, in date from after the time of Christ's ascension: the three next riders as the Devil, riding on bloody minded, hypocritical,³ and wicked persecuting men, in antagonism

¹"Aliquibus ex antiquis Patribus hoc visum est, quòd aut tota, aut certè maxima pars, ex ipsà lectione, diem judicii, vei adventum Antichristi, significare videatur Illi autem qui diligentius tractaverunt, quòd ea quæ in ipsà revelatione continentur statim post passionem Domini Salvatoris nostri fuerunt inchoata, et ita sunt usque ad diem judicii consummanda; ut parva portio temporibus Antichristi remanere videatur." Cited by the Benedictine Editor, in his Introductory Notice to the Comment, from a very old MS. in the Abbey of St. Peter at Chartres.

²Hom. i.

³Hypocritical in the third Seal, because of the rider's carrying in false pretense the balance of justice. "Stateram habebat in manu, quia dum se fingunt mali justitiæ libram tenere, sic

to Christ's Church; the oil and the wine of the Third Seal signifying the righteous whom none can really hurt:¹ the souls under the altar as the cry of the martyred and persecuted against their persecutors. So far with reference to the times of the Christian dispensation generally. In the Sixth Seal, however, the earthquake is explained specially of the last persecution; and the falling of bad men from heaven, i.e. from the Church,² under it.

So arrived at the sealing and palm bearing visions he expounds the one of the Church's in gathering of its mystical number, the 144,000;³ the other of Church privileges enjoyed by them under the present dispensation:⁴ for he regarded the 144,000, and palm bearing company, as one and the same body,⁵ constituted of the elect out of both Jews and Gentiles. The half hour's silence he interprets, like Victorinus, as the beginning of eternal rest; the incense Angel as Christ: then thus proceeds to expound the Trumpets, or Church preachment's acted out:⁶ viz. the first, of luxurious men of the earth, burnt up grass like by the fire of concupiscence:⁷ the second, of the Devil falling like a burning mountain on the world: the third, or star falling from heaven, of the falling from the Church of proud and impious men; and its making the waters bitter, of the heretical doctrine of re-baptism: the fourth, of evil and hypocritical men in the Church struck with darkness by the Devil, through being given up to their pleasures:⁸ then the fifth, of evil men and heretics, fallen from the Church,⁹ and with the heart's abyss of wickedness

plerumque decipiunt." Of the wine and oil not to be hurt, he says, "In vine sanguis Christi, in oleo unctio chrismatis intelligitur."

¹Victorinus' explanation of the three last horses as "bella, fames, et pestis," is also given as an alternative; Victorinus being however nowhere mentioned by name. "Super quartam partem terræ," is Tichonius' reading of Rev. vi.

²This is an explanation applied in various similar figurations afterwards.

³"144,000 omnis omnino ecclesia est." A Tichoniasm. See Tichonius' Rule 5, in my Note p.160 *suprà*. The 144,000 of Rev. xiv are similarly explained by him not, as by Methodius, and sometimes by Jerome, of literal monks and virgins.

⁴On the verse, "I saw and behold a great company, &c.," he says, Hom. vi.; "Non dixit, 'Post hæc vidi alium populum; sed, Vidi populum; id est eundem quem viderat in mysterio 144 millium:'" including alike, he adds, both Jews and Gentiles.

⁵A singular explanation; but agreeable with that of the privileges of the New Jerusalem, noted p. 335 afterwards. Tichonius' remark on, "He shall lead them to living fountains of waters," stands thus: "Omnia hæc etiam in præsentī vitā spiritualiter ecclesæ eveniunt: eūm, dimissis peccatis, resurgimus; et vitæ prioris lugubris ac veteris hominis exspoliati, in baptismo Christum induimur, et gaudio Sancti Spiritūs implemur."

⁶"Septem angelos ecclesiam dixit; qui acceperunt septem tubas, id est, perfectam prædicationem: sicut scriptum est, Exalta sicut tuba vocem tuam."

⁷So Isaiah xl. 6, "The voice said, Cry. And he said, What shall I cry? All flesh is grass, and all the goodness thereof is as the flower of the field:" says Tichonius; "All flesh is grass." "Quos Deus justo iudicio permittit incendio luxuriæ vei cupiditatis exuri." There is erroneous transposition of part of the Exposition concerning the Seals, and part concerning the Trumpets, in the MS. of this 6th Homily, which should be noted by the reader. So too afterwards in the 7th Homily.

⁸The eagle crying Woe, that follows the 4th Trumpet, he explains of each and every minister's announcing of the plagues of the last days, and the coming day of judgment.

⁹"una stella corpus est multorum cadentium de ecclesiâ per peccata."

fully opened, so as to obscure the Church's light by their evil deeds and doctrine; the men disguised with crowns, like those of the 24 church representing elders, and with scorpion like stings in the tail, (for the false prophet he is the tail) striking both good, under devilish guidance, though only to quicken them to humility and repentance, and bad, so as to infuse the poison of their doctrine: also the sixth Trumpet,¹ and its horse borne myriads from the Euphrates, (the river of the mystic Babylon) of the last persecution: (that I presume, by Antichrist) the Angel's cry from the golden altar signifying that of the faithful who dare to resist the mandate of the cruel persecuting king; the smoke, fire, and sulfur from the horses' mouths symbolizing the chief's antichristian blasphemies; the serpent like tail, with head, the false teachers and their heretical poison; and the chronological *tetrad* of an hour, day, month, and year answering to the *tetrad* of a time, two times, and half a time, or the 3½ years of Antichrist's continuance.²

On the descent of the Covenant Angel, I.e. Christ, Tichonius explains his opened Book as the Bible; his lion like cry, after planting his feet on land and sea, as that of the universal gospel preaching by the Church over the whole world; and the seven answering thunders as the same with the seven Trumpet voices, or Church preachment, sealed to the bad, though understood by the good. Then the introductory charge, prior to the witness narrative, "Measure the temple," &c., is well and rather remarkably explained of a recension and preparation of the true Church "*ad ultimum*;" all other professors of religion except the true, whether heretics or badly living Catholics, like the Gentile outer Court, being shut out; and the sackcloth robed witnesses themselves as either the two Testaments, or the light giving Church fed by the oil of those two Testaments:³ their appointed time of prophesying being the whole time from Christ's death. For the phrase "these *have* power," not, *shall have*, marks the whole of time current till the last persecution: and the chronological term 1260 days, is one inexplicable as the numeral, not only "of the last persecution, and of the future peace, but also of the whole time from the Lord's passion; either period having that number of days."⁴ Thus we have here a view of the witnessing large and connected. And, during this prolonged time of the Church's testimony, the killing their injurers

¹Sed non dixit quot myriadum." The Tichoniasm noted above, p. 160, Note 1285.

²So I think he means: "Hæc sunt quatuor tempora triennii et pars [qu partis? temporis." Compare the Tichonian Rule 5.

³First the expositor says, "Duobus testibus meis, id est duobus Testamentis:" then, presently after; "Nam Zacharias unum candelabrum vidit septiforme; et has due olives, id est Testaments, infundere oleum candelabro, id est ecclesiæ."

⁴"Prophetabunt diebus 1260: numerum novissimæ persecutionis dixit, et future pacis, et totius temporis à Domini passione; quoniam utrumque tempus totidem dies habet, quod suo in loco dicitur." How this time, times, and half a time might come to be viewed as a fit designative of the whole Christian aera was explained by Ambrose Anabert. See my sketch p. (?) *infrà*. How Tichonius might have inferred from it a nearness of the consummation to his own age will appear from a certain particular value put by him on a prophetic time, stated in my next page. How it meant the time of the future peace, I know not.

with fire out of their mouths is well explained of the destroying effect of the Witnesses' prayers; and the heaven's not raining, of the absence of blessing on the barren earth. After which, and on their finishing their testimony, (a testimony carried on to the very eve of Christ's revelation) the Beast from the abyss, or "wicked ones making up the Devil's body,"¹ especially under Antichrist,² shall conquer them that yield, says Tichonius, and slay the steadfast, in the "midst of the Church:" till after 3½ days, meaning 3½ years,³ their dead bodies shall rise, and ascend to meet Christ at his coming.

Next let me sketch, in illustration of his Commentary, Tichonius' exposition of the connected visions of the Dragon, Beast, and Beast riding Harlot; given in Rev. 12, 13, and 17.⁴

The travelling Woman he says, is the Church, ever bringing forth Christ in his members: the Dragon, the Devil seeking to devour them; his seven heads and ten horns indicating all the world's kingdoms ruled by him;⁵ his dejection from heaven to earth by Michael, i.e. Christ, his being cast out of the Church, or hearts of saints, into the hearts of earthly men: the floods cast from the Dragon's mouth against the woman, the multitude of persecutors: the two eagle wings given to aid her flight from him, the two testaments, or perhaps the two witnessing prophets Elias and his companion: the woman's wilderness dwelling, the Church's desolate state in this world; the time, times, and half a time measuring it, a period on the scale perhaps of a year, perhaps of a hundred years to a time:⁶ (*on the smaller scale, I presume, the term of special suffering under Antichrist, on the larger that of the Church's whole tribulation, from Christ's first to his second coming*)⁷ the Dragon's rage and planning against the woman's seed, after the absorption of the floods from his mouth, the Devil's plan to raise up heresies against it, after the failure of the Roman Pagan persecutions: floods absorbed "ore sanctæ terræ;" i.e. through the prayers of the saints.

Further, as before, the Beast he expounds as the impious of the Devil's body;⁸ its leopard spots signifying the variety of the nations under his rule in the time of Antichrist, its seven heads and ten horns the same with those

¹"Bestiam...impious dicit, aui suut corpus Diaboli." Hom. 10. So the 7th Tichonian Rule.

²It seems plain that Tichonius refers the death of the Witnesses to this period.

³This early testimony for the year-day principle, and the reasoning added in its support, is noted by me in my Chapter on the year-day, Vol. iii. pp. 279, 280. Prosper, Leo the Great's secretary, about A.D. 440, concurred, we there saw, in the explanation.

⁴Part in Hom. 9, part in Hom. 10

⁵"Capita reges sunt, cornua vero regna: in septem capitibus omnes reges; in decem cornibus omnia regna mundi dicit."

⁶"Tempus et annus intelligitur, et centum anni." A statement this last peculiar to Tichonius, among the Christian Fathers; and borrowed probably from the Jews. (See my Vol. iii. p. 275, Note 5.) There is no Scripture authority for it, as for the year-day.

⁷On the one hundred years scale the end of the Church's 3 ½ times, just as that of the Witnesses, (see p. 162, Note 1305,) would occur not very long after Tichonius' own time; about the end (as was then thought) of the sixth millennium.

⁸Compare, as before, Tichonius' seventh Rule, p. 160.

on the Dragon figured previously: the head wounded to death, and reviving, being the revival of heresies and heretics in power through Satanic influence, after demolition by Scripture testimonies: and the Dragon's giving the Beast his authority, "what now we see;" in his time, heretics, especially Arians, vexing the Church, (the Devil's influence aiding them) so as formerly did the Pagans. A partial adoption this (as also on Rev. 12) contrary to his usual generalizing system, of the Constantinian explanation of the Dragon's dejection and discomfiture in the fall of Paganism.¹ Further, the second Beast he interprets to be a heretical church,² "feigning Christianity, in order thereby the better to deceive;" and setting up for adoration the Beast's Image; I.e. a system of Satan masked or disguised under a Christian profession.³ The Beast's mark and number is stated as χιζ', = 616 numerally;⁴ and which also indicated an affection of likeness to Christ: (whose monogram, Tichonius seems to hint, was χρς:⁵) the heretics designated by the Beast boasting to be of Christ, when persecuting him.⁶

As to the Woman on the Beast, it is explained thus. Corruptelam dici tsedere super populos in eremo. Meretrix, bestia, eremus, unum sunt; ... quod totum Babylon est:"⁷ and Babylonia, the great City, is expounded as the world and its evil population (*of the seven hills nothing is said*). The Beast that was, and is not, and shall be,⁸ is explained in the sense that bad people rise from bad, in perpetual succession. The ten horns hating the woman,⁹ means that the wicked will hate and tear themselves; and, under God's permissive anger, make the world desolate. Further, the cry "Come out of her, my people," is one daily fulfilled in the passage of some from out of the mystic Babylon to the mystic Jerusalem; (*while others pass from out of Jerusalem to Babylon;*)¹⁰ and again, the cry to the birds to congregate to the supper of the great God, figures out the conversion of nations; seeing that when they are incorporated into the Church they are spiritually eaten by

¹See the Notes in my Vol. iii. pp. 30-33; also p. 152, Note 1212, *suprà*.

²"Habebat duo cornua similia agni, id est duo Testamenta ad similitudinem agni, quod est Ecclesia." "Sub nomine Christiane agnum præfert, ut draconis venena latenter infundat: hæc est heretica Ecclesia."

³Such, I think, is the meaning.

⁴A reading observable; though unquestionably not the true one. See my extract from Irenæus, Vol. iii. p. 246, Note 1. Tichonius does not notice the other and truer reading, χϛς', 666. Nor does he propose any name, containing the number.

⁵See my notice of the monogram on Constantine's labarum, Vol. i. p. 239, 240.

⁶"616 Græcis literis flunt χιζ': quæ notæ solutæ numerus est: redatæ autem in monogrammum, et notam faciunt, et numerum, et nomen. Hoe signum Christi intelligitur: et ipsius ostenditur similitudo, quam in veritate colit ecclesia: cui se similem facit hæreticorum adversitas: qui cùm Christum spirituliter persequantur, tamen de signo crucis Christi gloriari videntur.

⁷Hom. 13, a statement twice made.

⁸So Tichonius reads, kai parestai. Hom. 14.

⁹"Et decem cornua quæ vidisti hi odio habent meretricem." Hom. 15. I presume therefore Tichonius' copy read epi, not kai, to qhrion, in Rev. 17 16, "And the ten horns which thou sawest upon the beast, these shall hate the whore, and shall make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and burn her with fire"; or perhaps et Bestiam. See p. 158 *suprà*.

¹⁰Hom 16.

it.¹ And so, as to the Beast's destruction, Tichonius makes it (agreeably with his system) that of the wicked who, from being constituents of the Devil's body, became members of Christ's body.²

So we advance towards the conclusion. Omitting lesser points,³ I may observe that in Rev. 20 the millennium is explained, on the Augustinian principle, as begun at Christ's first coming and ministry: the strong man armed being ejected out of the hearts of his people by one stronger, and bound from ruling over them: the first resurrection meaning that on remission of sin at baptism;⁴ the 1000 years, all yet remaining of the world's sixth chiliad; (*the whole for the part*);⁵ and the "little while," of Satan's loosing, the 3½ years of Antichrist.

As to the New Jerusalem, alike in Rev. 21 and Rev. 22, it is similarly explained of the Church in its present state; commencing from Christ's death:⁶ (though not without a passing counter view, given apparently by another hand, which applies it to the glorified Church after the resurrection:⁷) its four gates towards the four winds marking its diffusion over the world; the tree of life meaning the cross, and the river of life the waters of baptism.⁸ Agreeably with which view the palm bearers' blessedness in Rev. 7 was also explained, as we saw, of the Church in the present life; when Christians rise to new life at baptism, put on Christ, and are filled with the joy of the Holy Ghost.⁹

¹"Omnes gentes, quando in Christo credentes ecclesiæ incorporantur, spiritualiter ab Ecclesiâ comeduntur." Hom. 17.

²Ibid.

³Let me notice one. On Rev. 16 14, "For they are the spirits of devils, working miracles, which go forth unto the kings of the earth and of the whole world, to gather them to the battle of that great day of God Almighty."; speaking of the kings of the world as gathered to the war of the great day of the Lord, a primary explanation is given of the Lord's great day, as meaning "the whole time from Christ's death to the end of the world." Then, as an alternative, there is added a reference to the day of Jerusalem's destruction; which however I take to be an interpolation. "Potest hoc loco dies magnus intelligi illa desolatio, quando à Tito et Vespasiano obsessa est Hierosolyma; ubi exceptis his qui in captivitatem ducti sunt, quindecies centena millia mortua referuntur." Hom. 13.

⁴Hom. 16, 17, 18. On Augustine, see p. 159 *suprà*.

⁵So the Tichonian Rule 5.

⁶Hom. 3 and 19.

⁷This occurs in Hom. 18, after a quotation from Rev. xxi. 1, "I saw the New Jerusalem descending as a bride," &c.: the brief comment being thus added, "Hoc totum de gloriâ ecclesiæ dixit, qualem habebit post resurrectionem." But this is an insulated sentence: and in three other different places the prophecy is distinctly referred to the Church on earth. See for example the next Note.

⁸So in the Homily 19, where all the particular figures are gone into. Similarly in Homily 3, on Rev. iii. 12, "I will write on him the name of the city of my God, the New Jerusalem, which descendeth from heaven from my God," the comment is; "Novam Jerusalem eælestem ecclesiam dicit quæ à Domino nascitur. Novam autem dixit propter novitatem nominis Christiani; et quia ex veteribus novi efficitur."

⁹Homily 6: "Omnia hæc [viz. what is said of the living fountains of water] etiam in præsentī sæculo, et his diebus, spiritualiter ecclesiæ eveniunt: &c."

To this last expository view I must direct particular attention; as being now for the first time put forth in an Apocalyptic commentary; though not without a partial precedent, as we saw in Eusebius. At the same time it is to be observed that by the Church Tichonius meant Christ's true Church; perpetually distinguishing between it and the *ficti et mali* within, as well as heretics and Pagans without. In his explaining away of Babylon the seven hilled city, as merely meaning the world, though expressly defined by the Angel to mean Rome, he was supported, as we saw, by Augustine. This, with his correspondent generalizing view of the Beast, is another of the characteristic and notable points of Tichonius' commentary. With what misleading effect it past downward into the middle age, as the received system of interpretation, will appear in my next Section.¹

Period 3. Fall of the Roman Empire, A.D. 500 to 1100.

The period included in this Section comprises that of the early establishment, and growth to mature strength, of the Papal supremacy over the ten Romano Gothic kingdoms of the revived Western Empire; also in Eastern Christendom the reign of Justinian, and rise of the Saracens, and then of the Seljukian Turks, down to the first Crusade. Its history is sketched in my Part II., Chapters 3, 4, and 5. How the end of the eleventh millenary of the Christian æra constituted an important epoch in the history of Apocalyptic interpretation, such as to furnish a fit ending to the present Period, will appear at the close of this Section. We open on it with the important question, Did prophetic expositors now, after the breaking up of the old Roman Empire, recognize the signs of the times, and look out for a Roman Antichrist?

The Latin expositors that I shall first notice under this division are Primasius, Bede, and Ambrose Ansbert, of the 6th and 8th centuries: then (after a few passing words on Haymo) the Greek expositors Andreas and Arethas, also of the 6th and 8th or 9th centuries, respectively. And I shall close with another Latin expositor who flourished later, perhaps near about the end of the 11th century; I mean *Berengaud*.

1. Primasius

His name appears in the second Conference of the fifth General Council, held at Constantinople A.D. 553;² where he is noted as a Bishop of the *Byzacene* or *Carthaginian* province; in which province he is supposed to

¹Tichonius Latin version, let me here observe, was not Jerome's, called the Vulgate. Differences appear throughout. For notable particular exemplifications I may refer to Rev. 13:18, where Tichonius, as already stated, reads "sexcenti sexdecim," the Vulgate sexcenti sexaginta sex: "and Rev. xxii. 14; where Tichonius reads, "Beali qui servant niandata hcec" the Vulgate, "Beati qui lavant stolas suas in sanguine Agni."

²Harduin iii. 68.

have been Bishop of Adrumetum.¹ The manuscript of his works was discovered in the monastery of St. Thenderic near Lyons, in the 16th century; and was published, with a high eulogy on the author prefacing it, by the learned Gagnæus.² These works are all given in the 10th volume of the B. P. M.; that on the Revelation occupying from p.287 to p.339. There is so much of general resemblance in this Apocalyptic Commentary to that of Tichonius, (to which indeed he refers, as also to Augustine, as an exemplar before him at the outset,³) that there will be no need to enter so much at large into it, after the full sketch just given of Tichonius. His mention of Jerome's Origen like saying at the outset, that the Revelation has as many mysteries as words, and many hidden meanings in each word also,⁴ is ominous; and might well prepare us for the kind of commentary following. Indeed, his seeking for mysteries has imparted an air of mysteriousness and obscurity to parts of it, such that I do not wonder at Ambrose Ansbert's complaining of its frequent unintelligibility.⁵ What follows will give a sufficient notion of his general views, and of his more remarkable particular explanations.

He begins with stating the objects of the Revelation. It needed to be revealed how the Church, then recently founded by the apostles, was destined to be extended; (for it was to have the world for an inheritance;) that so the preachers of the truth, though few and weak and poor as regards this world, might yet boldly make aggression on the many and the great.⁶ Which Church, its great subject, was in different parts of the Revelation ever prominently though variously depicted: alike, he says, by the seven Asiatic Churches and seven candlesticks, and seven stars; (the fitness of the septenary to signify unity being fancifully accounted for;)⁷ also by Christ himself, as figured on the scene, the Church being Christ's body;⁸ and yet more by St. John as a representative: (even his opening act of falling as one dead before Christ, being but a type of the Church dead to the world)⁹ also, in the other and higher visions next given, alike by the heaven, by the figured throne placed in it, by Him that sat on the throne, by the twenty-four elders,

¹So Mosheim, &c

²So in his Dedication to the French king, Francis the 1st. B. P. M. 10 142.

³B. P. M. 10 287. Ambrose Ansbert notices this also. "Post quem (Tichonium) Primasius, Africanæ Ecclesiæ Antistes,...quinque prædictam Apocalypsim enodavit libris. In quibus, ut ipse asserit, non tam propria quàm aliena contexuit; ejusdem seilicet Tichonii bene intellecta deflorans." Ansbert adds that Primasius borrowed also from Augustine: "sed et beatæ recordationis Augustini quædam . . capitula annectens." B. P. M. 13 401.

⁴Ib. 10 288.

⁵"Fateor multa me in ejus dictis sæpissimè legendo scrutatum esse, nec intellexisse." Ibid. 13 404.

⁶Ib. 10 288.

⁷B. P. M. 10 289, 290. Seven being a complete number: as man is made up of body and soul; the soul with its three parts, heart, soul, mind; the body with its four, hot and cold, moist and dry!

⁸"Genus à parte," p. 290. So the Donatist Tichonius, Rule 1.

⁹"Joanes qui ista vidit, (and when he saw fell at Christ's feet as dead,) totius ecclesiæ figuram portat." Ib. 290. So also Victorinus and Tichonius.

and by the four living creatures which however may mean the four Evangelists:¹ "*Quod est thronus hoc animalia; hoe et seniores; id est ecclesia.*"² I need not suggest the confusion of ideas, and incoherence of interpretation, necessarily arising from this confused generalization, and identification in meaning, of the varied scenic imagery of the Revelation.

The Sealed Book he explains as meaning either Testament: the Old Testament being, like the side of the Apocalyptic scroll written without, outwardly visible; the other the New, like the side written within, hidden within the symbols of the Old.³ The successive symbols of its six Seals, as opened, he expounds very much like Tichonius; with additional conceits however, arising out of his straining to find out yet further mysteries.⁴ Like him, besides noting certain devilish agencies as meant figuratively in the second, third,⁵ and fourth⁶ Seals, opposed to Christ and his Church, after their going forth to victory, as figured in the first, he also adds Victorinus' literal solution of the *bella, fames, pestis* (wars, famines, pestilence): and like him joins Victorinus in explaining the fifth Seal of martyrs generally, the sixth Seal, both in general and in detail, of the last persecution,⁷ towards the end of the last age of the Church: the chronology here passing from the whole period of Christianity generally to its last epoch specially. By which persecution (a persecution I presume by Antichrist, though Antichrist is not indeed mentioned as its author) the world generally, Primasius supposes, is to be oppressed. The elemental convulsions in the Seal he expounds, as might be expected figuratively.

Like Tichonius, again, he interprets the 144,000⁸ and the palm bearing white robed⁹ company to mean the whole Church of the elect; and interprets the four angels of the winds (a point unnoticed by the former expositor) to

¹B. P. M. 294, 295.

²Ib. 301.

³Ib. 297.

⁴E. g. the fitness of a septenary, to signify completeness and unity, is illustrated by the seven moods of a verb in grammar: also by the seven ages distinguishable in the inward and spiritual history of a spiritual man: and yet other similitudes. pp. 297-299.

⁵He translates *chaenix*, like Jerome, by *bilibris*. Primasius' Latin version, let me here observe, is not Jerome's Vulgate. It is more like Tichonius' though different.

⁶In the 4th Seal he thus accounts for the specification of the fourth part of the earth, as a scene of injury. The world is divided into two parts, one for God, one for the Devil; and the latter subdivided into three, Pagan, heretics, and false orthodox professing Christians. Now it is the first of these four only, or true Church, that is assailed.

⁷"*Secta aetas mundi, circa ejus finem novissima persecutio nunciatur.*" p. 303. He refers to Isaiah ii. 21, "They shall go into the clefts of the rocks, &c." in illustration of the Church, and her Christian faith, being the world's refuge under present suffering and future fears.

⁸On the mysteries of the names of the twelve Jewish tribes, as applied to the Christian Church, Primasius has not less than three folio pages, from 305-308. He speaks of Dan as if a tribe included, not excluded, p. 306. Yet at p. 314 he notices the current notion of Antichrist's being born of the tribe of Dan.

⁹The robes being made white, after neglect of the grace of baptism, by the grace of the Lamb, or perhaps by martyrdom; the palms figuring the triumph of the cross. 308, 309.

be the four winds spoken of by Daniel as striving on the agitated scene of the four great empires: while the Angel from the East symbolizes Christ at his first coming, restraining by the power of his gospel preaching the hostile powers: this being the stone cut out of the mountain, which was to smite, and in fine destroy, the great image.¹ The great tribulation out of which the pallbearers were to come he explains generally by the text, "We must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God;" not with reference to any final tribulation. And their predicated happiness he does not, like Tichonius, confine to the Church in its present state, though he seems to include it; but refers such particulars as, "God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes," to the Church's future bliss. The half hour's silence he explains with his two predecessors of the beginning of the saints' eternal rest.

In the Trumpets he still follows Tichonius. Throughout the time of the Church's preaching voice, fulfilling the Angel's trumpets, there would be the destruction of the earthly minded temporally or spiritually in God's wrath; by the Devil's burning fury; by the falling to earth, and consequent embittering of the streams of doctrine, of many once in the ecclesiastical heaven: as also by the obscuration in part of the Church's light; and by heretical teachers too, and false prophets, with venom distilling tails, like those of the scorpion locusts of the 5th Trumpet: until, under the 6th Trumpet, or in the 6th age, the four winds (this should be marked) would be loosed from long partial confinement in the mystical river of Babylon; (this corresponding with the loosing of the Devil, mentioned in Rev. 20, after the millennium;) and with the force of eight myriads,² or myriads of myriads, including both heretics and the whole body of the wicked, urge during the fated "hour, day, month, and year," or quadripartite period of the 3½ years, the last and great persecution.

In the vision of the rainbow crowned Angel of Rev. 10, Primasius combines Victorinus' and Tichonius' explanations. The Angel he explains to be Christ; the opened book the New Testament; the seven thunders the Church's preaching; the sealing a proper reservation of its truths such as Christian discretion might dictate. Again, Christ's charge to John to eat the book, and prophesy again, he explains as true both of John personally, by the publication of his Revelation and Gospel, so as Victorinus would have it, and of the Church's preaching always, so as Tichonius; a sweetness resulting to the preacher where the word is received by the hearer, and pain and bitterness where it is rejected and in vain. The measuring the temple follows naturally; signifying, as it does, the informing and instructing the Church, especially in matters concerning the altar, or Christian faith. Further, as to the *two Apocalyptic Witnesses*, their testifying included both the

¹p. 304.

²I am not aware that any manuscript, or any Expositor but Primasius, exhibits the various reading, oktw muriadev. He notices the common reading of two myriads of myriads as that given by Tichonius.

Church's witness, with the two Testaments, throughout the whole time of Christianity; that being the mystical sense of the 42 months,¹ as Tichonius had previously set forth;² and also specially their witness, and that of Elias, in the first half of Daniel's last hebdomad;³ very much as Victorinus. The witnesses' death he explains as occurring in the literal Jerusalem: this death including the hiding of living Christians in secret refuge places from Antichrist's violence, as well as the death of others: the 3½ days of their exposure as dead being the 3½ years of Antichrist.

In the vision of the Woman and Dragon we still see Tichonius' track followed. It is the Church bringing forth Christ in his members; and the Devil wielding the supremacy of this world's dominion, and seeking to devour the new man: which new man is as it were caught up to God's throne; because his conversation, as Paul says, is in heaven. The wilderness where the woman is nourished is this world of her pilgrimage; the two wings sustaining her, the two Testaments; the 1260 days' period of her sojourning, both that of the Christian dispensation generally, and specially the 3½ years of Antichrist. Again, as to the Beast, of Rev. 13, it is the whole mass of the reprobate, making up the Devil's body; the last of its heads being Antichrist, under whom fully and specially the Devil will act out his purposes. Primasius, like others before and after him strongly marks this Antichrist's affected impersonation of, or substitution of himself for Christ; and blasphemous appropriation to himself of Christ's proper dignity.⁴ The Image of the Beast (the second two horned Beast) Primasius seems to view as the ecclesiastical *præpositi*, or rulers, hypocritically feigning likeness to the Lamb,

¹314. By construing the 42 months and 3 ½ years literally, as well as mystically, and speaking of its having reference to the last persecution, (see p. 162 *suprà*. Tichonius too seems to have intended to mark the witnessing under Elias; whom he makes to be the wings sustaining the woman of Rev. 12 of the last persecution. But he does not express this.

²The prophesied drought Primasius makes to be spiritual; also the killing by fire from the witnesses' mouths to be spiritual death, through the Church's anathema.

³Through which, adds Primasius, the Jews are to believe on Jesus Christ, p. 315. He means, I suppose, the Jews generally, not universally. For respecting the Beast that kills the witnesses, i.e. Antichrist, he explains the abyss whence he is to rise as the "*latebræ nequitæ cordis Judæorum*." 314. Primasius does not specify any individual companion to Elias. Daniel's seventy weeks' prophecy. let me observe, Primasius, pp. 314, 315, supposes to refer to Christ's first coming mainly. But he is so obscure in part of his explanations that I am unable clearly to comprehend his meaning. For, though speaking of the 70 weeks, he yet makes Christ's coming after 62, and then allots the last week to the events of the consummation. Did he suppose the remaining seven to be the time from Christ's birth to his death?

⁴"*Ut publicè audeat blasphemare, quando dignitatem ei (Christo) specialiter debitam sibi ausus fuerit adsignare; et, contrarius Christo, se velit pro eo accipiendum vel vi ingerere, vel fraude supponere.*" ib. 319. And again, p. 326; "*Contrarius Christo (quod et nomen ejus Antichristus indicat) se velit haberi pro Christo.*"

in order the better to war against him:¹ and (somewhat as Tichonius too explained it) by the mask of a Christian profession, under which mask the Devil puts himself before men, acting out the Mediator.² He gives for the Beast's name and number, 666, the words *αντεμος* and *αρνουμε*:³ the former from Victorinus; the latter from, or antecedently to, the pseudo-Hippolytus.

The Vials, now filled with God's wrath, he views as the same that were previously seen held by the twenty four elders, or seven Trumpet Angels, full of the prayers of saints:⁴ for, to the wicked such prayers "are a savor of death unto death in them that perish." They signify generally God's spiritual judgments on them. Under the sixth Vial Primasius speaks of Christ as the king (*regi*, in the singular), from the East, or sun rising:⁵ and of the way as now prepared for his coming to judgment, by nothing of good remaining, and the earth being, as in the parallel symbol Rev. 14:15, "And another angel came out of the temple, crying with a loud voice to him that sat on the cloud, Thrust in thy sickle, and reap: for the time is come for thee to reap; for the harvest of the earth is ripe," dried up in readiness for burning. In Rev. 17 the Woman means the worldly, reprobate, or evil body; the desert in which she appears God's absence: (a striking sentiment!)⁶ the ten horns of the Beast she rides on, Daniel's ten kings just preceding Antichrist; the diadems seen upon them marking them out as then the alone reigning powers. The seven hills indicate Rome; but Rome only as a type of the ruling power and dominion.⁷ The destruction of Babylon in Rev. 18 is of course the destruction of all worldly, Christ opposing powers.

The millennium Primasius expounds as Augustine and Tichonius; the new heaven and earth, and the new Jerusalem, as a new world, so changed

¹"Agnum fingit ut Agnum invadat." Ibid. The want of distinction between the two Beasts and the Dragon or Devil, continually appears. So of the second Beast. "Bestia cum duobus cornubus, quæ, est pars Bestiæ, facit Bestiam adorare Bestiam."

²"Sathanas transfiguratur se velut angelum lucis, exhibens suis fallaciter solo nomine Christum. Porro ipse et suum et mediatoris implet locum; quod mediatorem non habet, nisi simulacrum Christi. Ipsam insimulationem dicit Bestiam habere plagam gladil, et vivere...Tres itaque, diabolus, bestia velut occisa, populus cum præpositis suis, due sunt mediante imagine." Ibid. It is hard indeed in such passages to catch Primasius' meaning.

³For *αρνουμαι*, *I deny*; as a Christ-denying profession. The pronunciation of *ai* as *ε* is here indicated. Primasius here adds sundry other numeral conceits.

⁴So Primasius, p. 323, by a strange mistake; the Angel in Rev. 8:3, who had the incense of the prayers of all the saints, being quite distinct from the seven Angels of Rev. 8:2.

⁵So reading *τω βασιλει* for *τοις βασιλευσι*. p. 324.

⁶"Desertum ponit Divinitatis absentiam, cujus præsentia paradisus est." Ib. 325.

⁷p. 326. This view is a little like that which Dr. Arnold and the Rev. T. K. Arnold, following certain German expositors, have advocated in our own day: the thing symbolized being symbolic of something else.

from the old as may befit the saints in their new bodies; I.e. after their own resurrection, and the condemnation of the wicked.¹

2. Bede

The venerable Bede comes next in our list of Apocalyptic expositors; the date of his death, in the Northumbrian monastery of which he was the ornament, being A.D. 735, at the age of 63. At the outset of his Commentary his full citation of the seven rules of Tichonius prepares the reader for its general Tichonius character. It has however points of peculiarity in certain passages worth the notice.

The figures of the opening vision of Christ and the seven candlesticks, or Churches, together with the letters to those Churches,² are explained much as by Tichonius or Primasius; the latter of which expositors is also often referred to by Bede. Of the new vision commencing in Rev. 4 his expository views, as to order and subject, are thus stated.³

So the seven sealed Book, containing the mysteries of the Old and New Testament opened by Christ at his incarnation, is expounded as follows: the 1st Seal to figure the primitive Church in its triumphs; the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th the "*triforme contrà eam bellum*," of bloody persecutions, false hypocritical brethren, and soul destroying heretics such as Arius; the 5th the glory of deceased martyrs, under the golden altar of incense; the 6th the last persecution of Antichrist: all much as by Tichonius. In the 4th I observe that Bede, while reading, like Jerome,⁴ "*super quatuor partes terræ*," notices also that another Latin Version (evidently Tichonius' or Primasius')⁵ read "*super quartam partem*," answering to the *epi to tetarton* of our present Greek MSS.

In the sealing vision of Rev. 7 the four Angels of the winds are construed by Bede as the four great prophetic empires; whom Christ, the Angel from the East, restrains, in so far as the sealing or the care of his saints may require it: the 144,000 of Israel signifying the whole number of the redeemed;⁶ and

¹"Judicatis implis atque damnatis, figura hujus mundi mundanorum ignium conflagratione præteribit; .ut, cælo et terrâ in melius commutatis, . . . mundus, in melius innovatus, aptè accommodetur hominibus in melius innovatis;" i.e. with "bodies incorrupt and immortal." ib. 334.

²Some he says, on Rev. ii. 10, "Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer: behold, the devil shall cast some of you into prison, that ye may be tried; and ye shall have tribulation ten days: be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.", explained the ten days' tribulation of the ten Pagan persecutions from Nero to Diocletian. So Augustine, I think, somewhere suggests.

³"Descriptis ecclesiæ operibus, quæ et qualis futura esset, recapitulat à Christi nativitate, eadem aliter dicturus. Totum enim tempus ecclesiæ variis in hoc libro figuris repetit."

⁴See p. 324. Bede's version is in fact the Vulgate.

⁵For he gives their explanation with the reading.

⁶After 3 pages in development of this mystical and Christian view of the 144,000 of the sealed of Israel, Bede adds on the literal and Judaic view in 3 lines; "Potest et sic intelligi, quod enumeratis tribubus Israel quibus evangelium primo prædicatum est, salvationem quoque velit commemorare gentium." I observe that Mr. C. Maitland, p. 267, cites this from Bede

the palm bearing vision their glory after death, more especially that of the saints victorious over Antichrist. As to the half-hour's silence after the opening of the 7th Seal, Bede suggests that it may answer to the 45 days mentioned in Dan. 12, intervening, according to Jerome,¹ between Antichrist's destruction and the commencement of the saints' reign. An original explanation, I believe.

The Trumpets Bede explains generally like Tichonius and Primasius. The following points of detail may be remarked as interesting, and mostly original. The seven trumpet blasts of the Church's preaching he compares with those after which the walls of Jericho fell. In the 1st Trumpet, symbolizing the destruction of the impious by fire and hail, he refers it to the torments of hell, combining the transition from icy cold to fiery heat.² After the Forth Trumpet the voice of the eagle flying through mid-heaven, with its cry of Woe, is the voice of preachers forewarning men of Antichrist's being near at hand; "In the last days perilous times shall come:" "And then shall that Wicked One be revealed," &c.: after which the day of judgment. On Rev. 9:6, "In those days men shall seek death, &c.," he cites illustratively Cyprian's remark respecting the Decian persecution, "*Volentibus mori non permittebatur occidi.*" In the Sixth Trumpet the four Angels loosed are explained as the same with those holding the winds in Rev. 7; the plague being that of Antichrist and his heretical ministers loosed from the Euphrates, or river of Babylon, against the Church; and the hour, day, month, and year signifying the evil spirits' constant preparedness for destroying men. The rainbow crowned angel vision in Rev. 10 is inserted with a new recapitulation, to signify the preparation made by Christ's first coming for the destruction of the Adversary: Christ's feet like pillars of fire answering to Peter, James, and John, who seemed pillars of the Church; the planting them on sea and land, the preaching the gospel over either; and the seven thunders the Churchgoing's under influence of the divine septiform Spirit; with reservation of its mysteries from all but fit hearers. In this Bede follows Primasius.

In the Vision of the two Witnesses, Rev. 11, the measuring reed is explained by Bede as the gospel rule, whereby all but true professors are excluded from the Church, and counted with Gentiles. These tread down the

without any notice of Bede's other and evidently approved view; which other is repeated by him without any alternative explanation, on Rev. 14 1, "And I looked, and, lo, a Lamb stood on the mount Sion, and with him an hundred forty and four thousand, having his Father's name written in their foreheads."

¹"Quare autem post interfectionem Antichristi quadagesimum quantum dierum silentium sit, divinæ scientiæ est." So Jerome, using the word silentium; which probably suggested to Bede the explanation.

²"*Poenam gehennæ:...ad calorem nimium transibunt ab aquis nivium.*" Compare Milton Par. L. B. ii. Thither, by harpyfooted furies hal'd, At certain revolutions all the damn'd, Are brought: and feel by turns the bitter change, of fierce extremes, extremes by change more fierce, From beds of raging fire to starve in ice. When did this idea of helltorments begin?

holy City, or Church, not only especially during Antichrist's time, but also in a manner always; he being the proper head of which they are the body. Meanwhile the two Witnesses, or Church formed out of the two people of Jews and Gentiles, and with Christ as their head, perform their ministry;¹ the 3½ years' time of their sackcloth robed witness being commensurate with that of the treading down of the Holy City, and especially that of Daniel's abomination of desolation, or Antichrist. Their death signifies Antichrist's all but suppression of the witness during the time of his reign;² the great city of their death being the "*civitas impiorum*" which crucified Christ, and the 3½ days of their exposure as dead the 3½ years of Antichrist's reign; after the end of which the saints rise to glory.³

As to the Beast in Rev. 13 and 17, its body is the whole body of the wicked, its last head Antichrist: the second lamb like Beast, meaning Antichrist's pseudo-Christian false prophets;⁴ and what is said of their persuading men to make an image of the Beast, the persuading men to imitate and become like him. As to the city of Antichrist's origin Bede notes doubtfully the idea of its being the literal Babylon.⁵ His name he explains like Primasius. The contrasted 144,000 with the Lamb on Mount Zion, he explains (as before in Rev. 7) not as mere virgins, but the whole faithful Church of Christ.

Of the millennium Bede set forth of course the spiritual view, which had been first propounded by Jerome and Augustine.

¹At the end of this vision Bede notices the idea of Enoch and Elias' 3½ years of prophesying being the first half of the last of Daniel's 70 hebdomads, and Antichrist's 3½ year reign the last half. But this only as an opinion current with certain other expositors; "Quidam interpretantur."

²This view deserves to be remarked. Not, says Bede, that they do not still (i.e. after the Beast's conquering and killing them) resist the enemy with their testimony; but because the Church is then left destitute of its virtues, the adversary outshining it with his lying signs and miracles: "*Non quòd tunc eodem testimonio non nitantur hosti fortiter resistendo; sed quòd tunc ecclesia virtutum gratiâ destituenda credatur, adversario palam signis mendacii coruscante.*" The not suffering their bodies to be put in graves he thus explains. "*Votum eorum dixit, et impugnationem...Facient autem perspicuè de vivorum occisorumque corporibus: quia nec vivos sinent sacra celebrando in memoriam colligi, nec occisos in memoriam recitari, nec eorum corpora in memoriam Dei Testium sepeliri.*"

³"*Et post 3 ½ dies, &c. Angelus nunc inducit factum quod futurum audit, regno Antichristi perduto sanctos resurrexisse ad gloriam.*"

⁴So too Gregory i.; ap Malv. i. 425.

⁵"*De Babylone natum.*" So, he says on Rev. 17, "*quidam.*"

Bede introduces his Apocalyptic Commentary by a versified sketch of what he viewed as its general purport and more characteristic points:¹ and he concludes by a request to the reader for his prayers.²

3. Ambrose Ansbert

Our next Latin Expositor fixes his own æra to about A.D. 760 or 770. For he dedicates his Apocalyptic Commentary at its commencement to Pope Stephen; and at the end tells us that it was written in the times of Pope Paul, and of Desiderius, king of the Lombard's.³ Now Desiderius was king of the Lombard's from 756 to 774; in which year he was defeated, and the Lombard kingdom overthrown by Charlemagne. Also Pope Stephen III died in 757, Pope Paul in 767, Pope Stephen IV his successor in 772.⁴ He further tells us in his Postscript, that he was a native of Provence in Gaul; and had become a monk of the monastery of St. Vincent in Samnium.⁵ Elsewhere he mentions that he had to write the comment with his own hands, the aid of a notary not being afforded him.⁶ His Commentary is a copious one, occupying some 250 folio pages in the Bibliotheca from pp.403-657 of its xiiiith volume. He makes mention of Victorinus as the earliest Apocalyptic expositor among the Latins; and as expurgated and altered by Jerome: also of the two next as Tichonius and Primasius: a specification satisfactory, as showing us that we still possess all the earliest Latin expositors on this Book. A

¹The reader may be interested to see these introductory verses. I therefore subjoin them; *Exul ab humano dum pellitur orbe Johannes, Et vetitur Coici est cernere regna soli, Intrat ovans coeli Domino dilectus in aulam, Regis et altithroni gaudet adesse choris. Hic ubi subjectum sacra lumina vertit in orbem, Currere fluctivagas cernit ubique rates; Et Babel et Solymam mixtis conflagrare castris; Hinc atque hinc vicibus tela fugamque capi Sed mitem sequitur miles qui candidus Agnum, Cum duce percipiat regna beata poli. Squameus est Anguis: per Tartara cæca maniplos Submergit flammis peste fameque succs. Hujus quæ, quæ fanies, studiumve, ordove duelli, Ars quæ, quæve phalanx, palms, vei arma forent, Pandere dum cuperem, veterum (?) sata læta ragruns, Excerpsi campis germina pauca sacris. Copia ne potior generet fastidia mensis, Convivam aut tenuem tanta parare vetet. Nostra tuis ergo sapiant si fercula labris, Regnanit laudes da super astra Deo. Sin alias, animos tamen amplexatus amicos, Quæ cano corripiens pumice frange, rogo.*

²“*Explicato tandem tanto tamque periculoso labore, suppliciter obnixèque deprecor, ut si qui nostrum hoc opusculum lectione vel transcriptione dignum duxerint, auctorem quoque operis Domino commendare meminerint; ut qui non solum mihi, sed et illis, laboraverim. Illorum vicissim qui meo sudore fruuntur votis precibusque remunerer; lignique vitæ, cujus eos aliquatenus odore famâque aspersi, suis meritis faciant visu fructuque potiri. Amen!*”

³B. P. M. 13 403, 657.

⁴Trithemius strangely writes of his age; “Claruit sub Arnoldo Imperatore A.D. 890.” Quoted B. P. M. 13 403.

⁵Ibid. 657.

⁶“*Quia in hoc tam laborioso opere notariorum solatia deesse mihi videntur, ea quæ dictavere manu propria exarare contendo.*” p. 408. He was in this respect less fortunate than Joachim Abbas afterwards.

few detached notices on it are also mentioned by him as occurring in the works of Augustine and Pope Gregory I.¹

In his comment Ambrose Ansbert treads in the steps of Tichonius and Primasius so closely, that there seems to be as little need as in the case of Primasius to give lengthened details. At the outset he recognizes John's representative character, representative of the Church generally, of holy preachers, particularly:² also the principle of the Church (or at least its prelates) being figured in the twenty four elders: and all comprehended indeed in Christ himself too, as being his body; the 24 thrones being thus included, as if one with it, in the circuit of Christ's own throne.³ The seven sealed Book Ansbert views with his predecessors as the Old and New Testament; the Old written without.⁴ An ominous notice of the seven different modes of expounding, viz. The historic, allegoric, mixed historic and allegory, mystical, parabolic, that which discriminates between Christ's first and second coming, and that which "*geminam præceptorum retinet qualitatem, id est vitæ agendæ vitæque figurandæ*," is developed in some six folio pages preceding his exposition of the Seals.⁵ In which exposition of the Seals, while explaining the 1st, as usual, of the progress of Christ and his gospel, it is spiritual evils that he considers chiefly symbolized in those that follow. His chief differences from his predecessors is in making the rider of the black horse in the third Seal, with a pair of balances, to mean the Devil and his followers deceitfully weighing the world against Christ, so as to cheat men with the idea of the world being the more valuable;⁶ also, in the fourth Seal, in making Death and the pale horse that he rides to mean the Devil killing men's souls by means of heretical teachers. In which Seal, let me observe, he reads with Jerome and Bede "on the four parts of the earth," not "the fourth part."⁷ Further, it is observable that under the sixth Seal he makes the rocks of refuge in the last great persecution, and under fears of the approaching day of

¹p. 404.

²p. 407.

³Quia singulariter et principaliter universam Dominus, sive in prælatis sive in subditis, iudicabit ecclesiam, ideirco seniores et throni una sedes dicuntur." Ib. 464. I suppose the subditi meant here are the subordinate clergy.

⁴p. 469.

⁵Ib. 470475. I think Ambrose Ansbert will be found sometimes as difficult of understanding by modern readers as he tells us he found Primasius

⁶"Quibus (sc. malis hominibus) Principis sui affectus paratissimus servit; cùm, staterem in manu tenens, temporalibus stipendiis quorundam vitam mercari quærit, quæ illorum suamque esuriam saturare quest." In contrast with which he adds Christ's saying, "What shall a man give in exchange for his soul?" Ib. 483.

⁷"Hunc super quatuor partes terræ potestatem accepisse denuntiat." On which he comments, as meant of the four divisions on the Devil's side, heathen, Jewish, heretic, and that of false professions within the Church. Ansbert does not seem to have been aware of any other reading. This is the rather to be observed, because though he used the common Vulgate Latin version, yet it was here that there with variations; as in Rev. 17 16, noticed p. 170 Note 1397 infra.

judgment, to be “*suffragia sanctorum*,” that is, of departed saints and of angels. For, says he, even with regard to “the elect,” and the good works that may have preceded, yet “*necesse est ut semper ad coelestium civium confuginamus latibula; id est Agelorum intercessionibus ab irâ Judicantis nos deprecemur liberari.*”¹ So does the taint of angel and saint worship, then current, appear on the face of this Apocalyptic Exposition. In the scenic figuration next following the angels of the winds are explained as the evil spirits acting in the four great idolatrous empires, so as by Primasius; and the 144,000 as the mystic number of the elect: the numeral 12, here squared, having parallelism with the 12,000 stadia measure of the New Jerusalem.

Proceeding to the Trumpets, he makes the preparatory half hour’s silence to be that of the Church’s silent contemplation: (a half hour, not a whole hour, because in this state its contemplation can never be perfect) and then (first I believe of expositors) compares the seven Trumpet soundings with those of the jubilee trumpets under the old law: as also those sounded on the seven days’ compassing of Jericho; Jericho, the type in its fall of the fall of this world.² Inconsistently with what he had said before of the need of the “sufferings of the saints,” he explains the Angel Priest with the incense offering so as Tichonius, Primasius, and Bede before him, to be Christ our Mediator.³ In the 5th Trumpet he suggests that the specification of “hair as the hair of women” might refer to the fact of women having been so often misled by, and given patronage to, heretics: e.g. Constantine’s sister, and after wards Justina, in the case of Arius and the Arian heresy; Priscilla in that of Montanus; Lucilla in that of Donatus.⁴ In the 6th Trumpet he supposes the four Euphratean Angels to be identical with the four Angels of the winds of Rev. 7⁵ and the hour, day, month, and year to be equivalent to the 3½ years; like Primasius and other expositors before him.

After this I see no variation from Primasius worth noticing either in the exposition of the rainbow crowned Angel’s figuration in Rev. 10, or that of the Witnesses in Rev. 11. Indeed he often quotes at length from Primasius, though without acknowledgment; for example in the exposition of the verse, “Thou must prophesy again,” as applicable both to John specially, and the Church universally.⁶ The two Witnesses also he makes to be the Church

¹Ib. 487.

²Ib. 497. He notices this with usual brevity: “Has certe Angelorum tubes illæ præsignabunt quæ in Jubilæi usibus per Maysem factæ fuisse memorantur. Quibus septem dierum circuitu clangentibus, in typum hujus sæculi, muri Jericho cecidisse narantur.”

³This their concurrent explanation should be noted, in controversy with the Romanists. Ansbert cites 1 John ii. 1; “If any man sin we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous.”

⁴Ib. 503.

⁵“Eosdem angelos qui super quatuor angulos ventos, terræ ne flarent, alligatos tenebant, in flumine magne Euphrate vinetos perhibuit.” p. 505.

⁶See the full quotation at p. 151 of my 2nd Volume.

preachers generally, as well as Enoch and Elias specially;¹ reproving Victorinus for suggesting Jeremiah in the special case, instead of Enoch.² The great city in which the Witnesses would be slain might be either the world, or the earthly literal Jerusalem: their witnessing time of 1260 days (= 3½ years) either, mystically, the whole time of Christ's Church witnessing; (a period borrowed from the 3½ years that was the whole time of Christ's ministry)³ or 1260 days literally: the 3½ days' apparent death of the witnesses being the 3½ years of the last persecution. Following speedily on which will be the 7th Trumpet of the last judgment, at Christ's coming.⁴ In Rev. 12 he expounds the travailing Woman, both of the Virgin Mary and the Church, especially and generally. On Rev. 13 he makes Antichrist to be the eighth head of the Beast, accordantly alike with the symbol of the Beast from the sea in Rev. 13, one of whose seven heads had been wounded to death but revived; and also with the Angel's explanatory observation to that effect in Rev. 17.⁵ The second or two horned Beast he explains distinctively from the other, like Gregory and Bede, as signifying the preachers and ministers of Antichrist:⁶ feigning the lamb, in order to carry out their hostility against the Lamb: just as Antichrist too, the first Beast's head wounded to death, would, he says, exhibit himself pro-Christo,⁷ in Christ's place. The "bringing fire from heaven," he explains as pretending, and seeming to men, to have the power of giving the Holy Spirit, such as Simon Magus wished to obtain by money;⁸ and that the second Beast would by its preaching, signs, and dogmas, make men believe that the Holy Spirit resided in Antichrist.⁹ (This idea seems to me original, and deserving of remark.) Also that the Beast's image meant Antichrist, as pictured to themselves by men (after the antichristian preachers' teaching) to be Christ's image, though really the Devil's image. On the Beast's mark he observes, that its being required on the forehead meant a man's profession; on the hand, his acts: and that this was the case even within the Church, in the case of false professors. Further, as names containing the number 666, he mentions Irenæus' *teitan*, as well as those in

¹So, he says, Jerome and Pope Gregory. Ib. 522.

²See my p. 107 Note 5.

³"So at p. 537, in his notice of the woman's flight into the wilderness for 3 ½ times. "Cur autem hoc totum ecclesiæ tempus tribus annis et sex mensibus generaliter designetur patet ratio; propter evangelicam scilicet prædicationem, [sc. by Christ,] quæ trium temporum et dimidii spatiis edita fuisse cognoscitur." I do not remember to have seen any such reason given for this mystical sense in Ansbert's predecessors. Elsewhere, p. 545, Ansbert compares the equivalent 42 months to Israel's 42 stations in the wilderness.

⁴pp. 526, 528.

⁵p. 542 (?).

⁶So p. 541: repeated again. p. 548, "Quia soli præpositi prædicatores atque ministri Antichrist." Here he also nearly follows Irenæus.

⁷Ib. 544.

⁸"Quos ut illi ministri Sathanæ facilius decipere possint, eorum ipsis Spiritum sanctum dare se simulant;...sicut dudum Simon Magus, &c." p. 549.

⁹"Quomodo intelligendum est dare illi spiritum, nisi quia sive prædicationibus, seu signis et miraculis, suadere hominibus conatur spiritu prophetiæ plenum esse Antichristum?" p. 550.

Victorinus and his interpolator, *αντεμος γενσηρικός*: there being added for the first time a Latin solution also, a very curious one) *DIC LUX*.¹

After the Vials, in which nothing appears to me observable, but that he makes the *ulcer* of the first Vial to be *infidelity*, (Such as with the Jews and Pagans,²) the subject comes up again in Rev. 17, of the Beast and the Harlot riding him. Here Ansbert speaks of the old notion that the Beast that was and is not meant Nero, once one of seven Roman emperors, and destined to rise again in the character of Antichrist as “absurd”³, adding that the Beast (answering to Antichrist’s body) had in fact existed from the beginning in Cain, and the wicked afterwards; and that it might be said to have been, and not be, and yet be, because of the fleeting and successive generations in whom he rose and fell of evil men.⁴ Of the seven kings symbolized by the Beast’s seven heads, of which five had fallen, his solution is certainly as “absurd” as that he ridicules: That, as in man the five senses exist before reason, and then, on reason’s unfolding, man’s sixth and mature age begins, to be improved to the man’s salvation, or abused to his destruction, so in its sixth age, then current, the world had come to its maturity; and, preferring error⁵ that so in the seventh would come Antichrist.⁶ On the millennium he of course follows his two predecessors and Augustine. And the New Jerusalem, and its blessings, he explains partly of the Church’s present blessings; partly of those to be enjoyed in its future and heavenly state.⁷

4. Haymo

Early in the ninth century, *Haymo* Bishop of Halberstadt wrote an Apocalyptic Comment which forms a thick substantial duodecimo, (I.e. in the princeps Editio printed at Cologne, A.D. 1529) which I have found upon examination, to be very mainly copied or abridged from Ambrose Ansbert. There is scarce a chapter in which the examiner will not observe this. I shall therefore only mention four notabilia in his Commentary; 1st that in Rev. 6:8 on the 4th Seal, he reads like Jerome,⁸ Bede, and Ambrose Ansbert, “*super*

¹p. 552. Mr. C. Maitland (p. 319) erroneously inscribes the invention of this to Rupert, three or four centuries later. Ansbert speaks of it as his own discovery; “*invenimus*.”

²p. 576. Let me add that the Euphrates, the river of Babylon, will, he considers, be dried up when its power to injure and persecute is dried up; and that thus the way will be prepared for Christ the King from the East, according to Primasius’ reading of the word in the singular; or, if in the plural, for the apostles and ministers of the Church. Ib. 580 and 581.

³Ib. 592.

⁴Ibid. So Tichonius .See p. 163 supra.

⁵p. 593.

⁶Ansbert reads in verse 16 “the ten horns and the Beast;” (*τα δεκα κερατα και το θηριον*) not, as the common copies of Jerome’s Vulgate, “the ten horns on the Beast,” *επι το θηριον*.

⁷“So on the river of life; “*Possunt cuncta hæc non inconveniēter ad præsens tempus referri, quo, ad instar Paradisi, prædicationis flumine saneta rigatur ecclesia.*” p. 646. At p. 647, however, on the absence of the curse, he explains it as fulfilled “*in illâ æternâ felicitate,*” &c.

⁸Ib. 592.

quatuor partes terræ, on the four parts of the earth,” not *the fourth part*; explaining it as meant either of the reprobates in all the four parts of the earth, or the four great kingdoms of prophecy: (he does not seem to have been aware of any different rendering); 2nd, that in support of his view of the 3½ days of the two Witnesses lying dead meaning 3½ years, he cites (first I believe of expositors) the well known passage from Ezekiel 4, as well as that from Numbers 14; 3rd, the reading first given by him in Rev. 17:16, is “*cornua quæ vidisti in Bestiâ*,” *ἐπὶ το ῥηπιον*; there being noticed however by him afterwards the other reading “*reges et Bestia*,” given by Ansbert, or *καὶ το ῥηπιον*; 4th, that on Rev. 18: 3, speaking of the reprobated merchandise of Babylon, he applies it to those who then sold their souls for lordships and bishoprics; “*comitatus et episcopatus, cæterasque dignitates hujus sæculi*.”

I now turn to Primasius’ and Ambrose Ansbert’s two chief contemporary expositors in the Greek Church and Empire:

Andreas, and his follower Arethas.

5. Andreas

Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia. His age is said by Bellarmine, and also by Peltan the Jesuit, in his Preface to the first printed Edition of Andreas’ Apocalyptic Commentary,¹ to have been uncertain; save only that it was later than Basil, the famous Father of the fourth century, since Andreas quotes him. By Cave and Lardner,² while admitting its uncertainty, he is assigned to the latter part of the fifth century. And so too Professor M. Stuart.³ But I think internal evidence is not wanting to fix his date a half century at least, if not a whole century, later.

For first, besides other authors, he quotes Dionysius, the so called Areopagite;⁴ one whose work is cited by no authority of known earlier chronology than the middle of the sixth century.⁵ Secondly, after noticing (under the fourth Seal) a pestilence and famine in the Emperor Maximin’s territory, at the close of the Diocletian persecution, in which dogs were wont to be killed that they might not prey on the unburied corpses, Andreas speaks of the very

¹Prefixed to the original Edition in Greek, which is appended to Commelin’s Edition (A.D. 1696) of Chrysostom’s Commentaries on St. Paul’s Epistles; also to Peltan’s Latin Translation in the B. P. M. 589635.

²Lardner cites Cave’s statement. “Vixisse videtur circa exitum seculi istius, acclaruisse anno 500. Incerta enim prorsus illius ætas.” Lardner v. 77.

³In Rev. Vol. i. p. 267. Prof. Hug, in his Introduction to the New Testament, Vol. i. p. 230, (Wait’s Translation,) speaks of Andreas’ age as not known; and that people vary in their conjectures from the 5th to the 8th century.

⁴Viz. on Rev. 4 8, “And the four beasts had each of them six wings about him; and they were full of eyes within: and they rest not day and night, saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come.”

⁵The earliest occasion, as Pagi admits, being the conference at Constantinople between the Catholics and the Severiani, A.D. 532. Lardner, v. 73, allowing a margin of forty years, supposes that Dionysius’ date may be perhaps set down at A.D. 490.

same things having occurred in his own time; “*Και εν τη ήμετερα δε γενενη τοιτων έκαστον συμβαν ενωμεν*” a statement scarcely applicable except to a time of very aggravated pestilence and mortality; and most exactly applicable to the æra of the great and almost universal plague and mortality under Justinian, prolonged from A.D. 542 to 594; during which it is expressly on record that corpses were frequently left unburied.¹ Thirdly, while recording generally the calamities experienced by the generation then living, from barbarians invading the province or empire,² Andreas more than once particularly specifies the Persians as long time persecutors and slaughterers of Christians, and even up to the time when he wrote; also their having been ever given over to magic (*μεγεια*) and superstitions;³ statements well applicable to the period of Nushirvan’s invasion of the Syrian province, A.D. 546, or of his last brief war with the Romans A.D. 572; and still more to that of Chosroes’ invasion and desolation of Cappadocia and other Roman provinces, in the year 611.⁴ On the other hand there is no notice whatever of

¹Gibb. 7 421. I have noticed this famous pestilence in my Vol. i. p. 309.

²So on the sixth Seal, speaking of Christian Churches, and rulers both secular and ecclesiastical, fleeing from place to place, in the time of the “PseudoChrist” or Antichrist, in order to escape his persecution, he adds; *ών και ήμεις προ της αυτου παρουσιας δι αμαρτιας...πεπειραμεθα*. And on the 4th Vial, Rev. 16 9, “And men were scorched with great heat, and blasphemed the name of God, which hath power over these plagues: and they repented not to give him glory.” he speaks of many of his fellowcitizens of the Eastern Empire impeaching God’s goodness for allowing such calamities to their particular generation; *ώς και νυν ορᾶν εξεστι πολλους τοις κυκλωσασιν ήμας εκ βαρβαρικων χειρων αρρητοις δειφοις ασχαλλοντας την θειαν αιτιασθαι αγαθοτητα ότι τας τοσαντας κακωσεις τη ήμεταρα γενα τετηρηκεν*.

³On Rev. 18 2124: “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; 23: 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. 24: And in her was found the blood of prophets, and of saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth.” after stating the reason of the Apocalyptic Babylon’s doomed utter destruction to be its having deceived all nations with its sorceries, and shed the blood of saints and prophets, Andreas thus states the applicability of these characteristics to the Persian capital Ctesiphon; *Δι ών άπαντων ασεβη παρα Περσαις Βαβυλωνα δηλουθαι εικος ως πολλων άγιων κατα διαφορους καιρους μεχρι του νυν δεξαμενην αίματα και ως μαγεια διηνεκος χαιρουσαν* through the distinctly Roman origin and local empire of Daniel’s Antichrist forbade his resting on this solution of the prophetic symbol. Again in Rev. 17 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.” he similarly characterizes the then Persian rulers and capital; *Κυριωτερους δε και ή παρα Περσαις το κρατος εχουσα και βαβυλων και πορνη προσαγορευεται adding; τας εν Περσιδι τουτων [μαρτυρων] κολασεις τις αν εξαριθμησαιτο*.

⁴The following chronological sketch (taken from Gibbon) of the Roman wars with Persia will illustrate what has been said: a sketch commencing from the æra of the great Theodosius, and his peace with Persia about 390 A.D. A.D. 422, a slight alarm of Persian war; which however scarcely disturbed the tranquility of the East. A Christian Bishop having in

Mahommedism or the Saracens; who in the year 636 A.D. Finally overthrew both the Persian Empire and the religion of the Magi. Fourthly, on Rev. 27:1-3, Andreas argues against ancient Rome being meant “as the city which now reigns over the kings of the earth” because of its having *some long time before* lost its imperial dignity:¹ a statement scarcely applicable to the time of Theodoric, A.D. 500, when Rome exhibited not a little of its ancient splendor;² but strikingly according with the period from after its ruin by Totilas, about the middle of the sixth century, till the accession by Gregory to the Popedom at the end of that century; when, to use Gibbon’s language, Rome had reached the lowest point of depression.³ Fifthly, he alludes to the Roman Emperors reigning at Constantinople, as those that had held a rod of power strong as iron for the depression of heathenism:⁴ a characteristic probably referable to the time of Andreas’ writing as well as to times previous. In which case the period of the Constantinople Emperor’s great depression at the time of Chosroes’ invasions, from A.D. 611 to 622, would so

420 destroyed a firetemple at Susa, (the then Persian capital,) the Magi excited a cruel persecution of Christians in Persia. This was in the last year of Yezdegerd’s reign, and first of his son Bahram’s. Armenia and Mesopotamia were filled with hostile armies; but no memorable acts followed. A truce for 100 years was agreed on; and the main conditions of the treaty were respected for nearly 80 years: i.e. till about A.D. 502. Gibbon v. 428. A.D. 502505. Nushirvan (also called Chosroes) invades Syria, takes Antioch, its capital, slaughters the people, pillages the churches, and sacrifices to the Magian god, the sun. A.D. 541542, he is forced beyond the Euphrates by Belisarius; and, Dara and Edessa having shortly afterwards successfully resisted a Persian attack, “the calamities of war were suspended by those of pestilence; and a tacit or formal agreement between the two sovereigns protected the tranquility of the Eastern frontier.” Gibb. 7 311318. In Colchoa the war still continued, till A.D. 561; when a peace of fifty years was agreed on. Ib. 339. A.D. 572579. Renewal of war. Dara taken; Syria overrun and despoiled; Cæsarea (in Cappadocia) threatened; till in the battle of Militene the tide of success turned in favor of the Romans. A.D. 579, Nushirvan’s death. Gibb. 8 175177. Shortly after this Chosroes, Nushirvan’s grandson, under the pressure of civil war, fled for refuge to the Romans; and was soon with their aid restored. On Phocas’ murder of the Emperor Maurice, and usurpation of the Eastern empire, Chosroes, A.D. 603, invades the empire; A.D. 611 conquers and desolates Syria; then takes and sacks Cæsarea; and then, A.D. 614, Jerusalem; the Magi and the Jews urging the holy warfare: the sepulchre of Christ is pillaged of the offerings of 300 years, and 90,000 Christians massacred. In 616 Asia Minor is overrun again to the Bosphorus; and for some six or eight years the Persian dominion, and its Magian worship of fire, established; the Christians meanwhile being persecuted and oppressed: till Heraclius’s celebrated repulse of the Persians, and victories in 622. Gibb. 8 217, &c.

¹ Ἡ γὰρ παλαιὰ Ῥώμη ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ βασιλείας κρατοῦς ἀπεβάλεν εἰ μὴ ὥποθωμεθα εἰς αὐτὴν το ἀρτην το ἀρχαίου παλιν ἀναστρεθεῖν ἀξίωμα.

² See Gibbon 7 29, 30.

³ Gibbon 8 158161.

⁴ Δί οὐ (viz the ἐκκλησίας λαός) ἡδὴ μὲν ταῖς τῶν δυνατῶν Ῥωμαίων χερσὶ ταῖς στραταιαῖς ὡς ὁ σιδηρὸς τα ἐθνη ἐποίμανεν Χριστὸς ὁ θεός. On Rev. 12 5, “And she brought forth a man child, who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron: and her child was caught up unto God, and to his throne.”

seem to be dismissed. Sixthly, he speaks of certain Scythian Northern Hunnish nations, as among the most powerful and warlike of the earth:¹ a statement perfectly applicable to the æra of the empire of the White Huns of Bachara and Samarcand: whose kingdom in 488 stretched from the Caspian to the heart of India, when Perozes the Persian king fell in an unfortunate expedition against them;² and continued till their subjugation, about A.D. 550, by the Scythian Turks of Mount Altai.³ On the whole we may date Andreas' Treatise, I think, with some measure of confidence, between A.D. 550 and 579: about 550, just before the Huns overthrow by the Turks, if Andreas' word Hunnish be construed strictly; about 575, if the word seem applicable also to the cognate race of the Turks.⁴

Let me now turn from this argument, which has indeed occupied us too long, to our Author's Apocalyptic Commentary. Like his predecessors, he speaks in the introduction of the tripartite sense of Holy Scripture, its body, soul, and spirit: and that the spiritual or anagogical sense is applicable in the Revelation, even more than in other Scripture.⁵ Yet in fact Andreas admits a larger mixture of the literal, here and there, than Tichonius, Primasius, or Ansbert: and there is also somewhat more of a consecutive historical view of its different parts; as of a prophecy figuring successive events from St. John's time to the consummation.⁶ Passing by the primary figuration of Christ, which he explains somewhat as Victorinus, and the Epistles to the seven Churches (representative of all Churches), on which I give two or

¹On the Gog and Magog of Rev. 20 8, "And shall go out to deceive the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them together to battle: the number of whom is as the sand of the sea." he writes thus: *Εἶναι δὲ τὸν Ἰὼγ καὶ τὸν Μαγὼγ τινὲς μὲν Σκυθικὰ ἀθὴν νομιζοῦσιν ὑπερβόρεια ἀπὲρ καλοῦμεν Οὐννικὰ τὰς ἐπιγίγιον βασιλείας ὡς ὁρώμεν πολυανθρωποτέρα τε καὶ πολεμικώτερα μὴν δὲ τῇ θεῇ χειρὶ πρὸς τὸ κρατῆσαι τῆς οἰκουμένης πάσης σπερχόμενα.*

²Gibb. 7 137.

³Of these Turks, the subduers of the White Huns, the power and empire were well known to the Greeks of the time, by means of the embassies that past between them and the Constantinopolitan Emperor, from A.D.569582. As to their Scythian nationality, Gibbon, ib. 288297, notes the Scythian language and character in which the letters of the Great Khan of the Turks to the Greek Emperor were written. Let me add another curious synchronism. Andreas, first, gives *βηεδίκτον* as a solution of the Beast's name and number. And the 1st Pope Benedict dates from 572 to 577 A.D.

⁴By his referring (on Rev. 20 7, "And when the thousand years are expired, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison,") to the 6000th year from the world's creation, as if an epoch not then elapsed, some might perhaps infer an earlier date to Andreas' Treatise than either of the two mentioned: as the Septuagint Chronology, usually received in the Greek Church, (i.e. according to the Alexandrian copy,) would have made the 6000th year expire about A.D.500. But there were other readings in certain copies of the Septuagint which made that epoch later: and moreover the Hebrew Chronology, which had by this time made progress in the West, may also not improbably have been preferred by Andreas in the East. See my Vol. i. p. 397.

⁵In the Prologue, p. 1.

⁶On Rev. i. 1, "things which must shortly come to pass," he says: *τὸ ἐν ταχείᾳ γενεσθαι σημαίνει τὸ τίνα μὲν αὐτῶν παραποδας γενεσθαι τῆς περιπρορρησεως καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ συντέλεια δὲ μὴ βραδυνεῖν διότι χίλια ἐτὶ παραθεῶς ἢ ἡμέρα ἢ ἐχθρὸς λελογισται.*

three of his detached remarks below,¹ he exemplifies in the heavenly scene next opened the literal tendency I spoke of, by explaining the glassy sea before the throne, not only anagogically of the virtues and blessed tranquility of the heavenly state, but literally also, as perhaps the crystalline heaven. Of the seven sealed Book (the Book of God's mind and purposes, or Book of prophecy) he explains the several Seals to signify as follows: 1st, the apostolic æra, and apostles' triumph over Satan, more especially in the conversion of the Gentiles: 2nd, the æra of anti-gospel war, and bloody martyrdom, next after the apostolic; when Christ's words were fulfilled, "I came not to send peace on earth, but a sword:" 3rd, that of Christians' grief for the falling away of professors through inconstancy, vainglory, or weakness of the flesh, and so, when weighed in the balance, being found wanting; the oil of sympathy for such being mixed by true Christians with the sharp wine of rebuke: (there being also perhaps, adds Andreas in a more literal sense, a famine at the time) 4th, a calamitous æra of joint famine and pestilence, in judgment on the apostate and impious,² such as Eusebius relates to have happened under Maximin the Eastern Emperor, when corpses lay unburied, and dogs were killed that they might not devour them:³ 5th, the martyrs' cry for vengeance against their injurers,⁴ and so for the consummation: in regard of whom, while waiting till the martyr number should be completed, it was shown that, white robed in their virtues, they now repose on Abraham's bosom, anticipating eternal joys: 6th, a transition to the times and persecution of Antichrist: (though some had suggested, Andreas says, both here in the

¹On the threat to the Ephesian Church of removing its candlestick, Andreas says that some referred it to the transfer of the earlier Ephesian Archbishopric (*τρον αρχιερατικον της Εφεσου θρονον*) to Constantinople! On the Epistle to Pergamos, he says that he had formerly read Antipas' martyrdom. The promise to the Church of Thyatira, "I will give to him the morning star," he explains as meant either of Isaiah's Lucifer, (i.e. morning star,) to be trodden under foot by the saints; or of Peter's morning star, viz. the light of Christ, to be received into the hearts; or of John Baptist and Elias, the heraldstars of Christ's first and second coming, with whom the conquering saints are hereafter to be associated.

²Andreas makes not the slightest allusion to any limitation of the scene of the judgment to the fourth part of the earth: whereas in the Trumpets he expressly notices the limitation to the third part of the earth. So that I doubt whether Andreas' copy did not read *τα δ' της γης*, like Jerome's; or rather, perhaps, *το τετραδιον* for *τεταρτον*.

³Brief headings are added, (such as on this Seal, *Αυσις της τεταρτης σφραγιδος εμφανιουσα τας επαγομενας τοις ασβεσι μαστιγας*, connecting each Seal, in a manner, with that preceding it.

⁴Lest otherwise, says he, "the righteous put their hand to iniquity." Ps. cxxv. "1: They that trust in the LORD shall be as mount Zion, which cannot be removed, but abideth for ever. 2: As the mountains are round about Jerusalem, so the LORD is round about his people from henceforth even for ever. 3: For the rod of the wicked shall not rest upon the lot of the righteous; lest the righteous put forth their hands unto iniquity. 4: Do good, O LORD, unto those that be good, and to them that are upright in their hearts. 5: As for such as turn aside unto their crooked ways, the LORD shall lead them forth with the workers of iniquity: but peace shall be upon Israel."

sealing vision, a retrogressive reference to Titus' destruction of Jerusalem:¹⁾ in reference to which times of Antichrist the earthquake figured a change of things, or revolution, as usual in Scripture; the obscuration of the sun and moon God's judicial blinding of men's minds; the falling stars the apostasy and falling away of those who were thought to be lights in the world; and the rolling up of the sky, perhaps physical changes in the natural world for the better,² such as Irenæus expected at the consummation; or perhaps, seeing that the unrolling of Hebrew scrolls (unlike that of our books, says Andreas) was the unfolding of their contents, the revelation and manifestation of the heavenly blessings laid up for the saints.³ After which the 144,000 of the sealing vision depicted the body of true Christians, distinguished on Antichrist's coming by the sign of the cross from unbelievers: (not the Christians saved at the siege of Jerusalem) the winds held signifying some deadly stagnation of the aerial element then to occur;⁴ and the palm bearing vision the happiness of the heavenly and everlasting rest, by God's throne, of the innumerable company of both earlier martyrs and the martyrs under Antichrist: when (*the wicked having been cast into hell*) the angels and saved ones of men will constitute but one family.

At the opening of the seventh Seal, a regression is supposed from this palm bearing scene: its loosing, as of the 7th and last Seal, indicating as its result the dissolution of each polity of this world;⁵ the silence in heaven, the angelic hosts' reverential awe, or perhaps their ignorance of the time of the consummation; the half hour of its duration the brief space intervening before the end; and the Trumpet figurations judgments in the interval. Of these Trumpet woes he explains the first, which was to fall upon the land, literally,⁶ (and I think rightly) of the burning's and slaughters through invading barbarians, by which the third part of things inland would be consumed:⁷ the second, on the sea, figuratively, as meaning the Devil and his burning wrath, falling on the world, especially near the time of consummation:⁸ the

¹Now however on any presumption of the Revelation having been revealed before the destruction of Jerusalem, so as some of the Præterist expositors would argue from our expositor: any more than in the case of other expositors, who explained the 7 Seals as figuring the seven successive events of Christ's birth, baptism, ministry, accusation before Pilate, crucifixion, burial, and descent to hell. Of these expositors Andreas makes mention under the 1st Seal. Probably he may have alluded to Hilary. See p. 154 supra.

²οιον εὐλιγμον τινα και ἀλλαγὴν ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον.

³A very curious explanation! *Εἰλιταριοις γὰρ οἱ Ἑβραιοὶ ἀντὶ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν βιβλίων ἐκεκρηγντο ὧν ἡ ἀνείλιξις οὐκ ἀφανισμόν ἀλλὰ τῶν γεγραμμένων φανερώσιν ἀπειρηγασατο.* In the Revelation figuration it was a rolling up, not unrolling, of the heaven.

⁴Somewhat like Pollok's description of the winds' stagnation just before the consummation, in his Poem entitled, *The Course of Time*.

⁵Andreas seems to have regarded the 7th Seal as containing within it the seven Trumpets.

⁶Not (as some, he says, explained it) helltorments. See p. 167. supra

⁷*Τὰς ἐκ βαρβαρικῶν χειπῶν γινομένας πυρπολήσεις τι και ἀνδροκτασίας ὁσημαραι.* See my p.172, just before.

⁸Some explained it, he says, of the sea and those living in it, as destined to burn with expiatory fire after the general resurrection: *τῇ καθαρσίῃ πυρὶ...μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν* And so, Andreas

third, again, similarly, of sufferings through the Devil fallen star like (as Isaiah's Lucifer) from heaven: and the eclipses in the fourth of very much the same judgments as in Joel 2:31, mercy however restricting their duration to the third part of the day and the night. Then the Angel's warning cry, next heard, he speaks of as marking Angel's pity for men's woes.¹ And he interprets the fifth Trumpet's scorpion locusts of demons, (once bound by Christ, but now loosed a little before the consummation)² with influences darkening the soul, and for some fated quintuple of time³ wounding with a poison sting, which being that of sin, is death:⁴ also the sixth Trumpet's four angels from the Euphrates of hell's most evil demons,⁵ bound (like those of the previous plague) at Christ's coming; but now let loose, to stir up nation against nation, as well as against Christians: and urging on either spiritually destroying suggestions to sin, or literally destroying barbarian armies; perhaps locally from the Euphrates, as Antichrist would come from the East.⁶

In the vision of the *rainbow crowned Angel* of Rev. 10, (a created Angel, according to Andreas) the planting of his fiery feet on land and sea is curiously explained of indignation to be manifested against robbers by land, and pirates by sea:⁷ the opened book, as the record of names and deeds of such specially wicked ones: the seven thunders, as seven voices prophetic of the future, either by this one Angel, or by seven others taking up the subject in response: the sealing them up, as tantamount to Daniel's sealing *till the time of the end*; the issues of futurity being till then uncertain: the oath, as to the effect that no long time after, at the conclusion of the sixth age,⁸ and in the days of the seventh Trumpet, all would end, and the saints rest begin. Then, in what ensues, Andreas follows his predecessors in applying it personally

intimates, he might himself have preferred to explain it, but for the circumstance of its being said to be the 3rd part only that was burnt up: whereas, in fact, the number of the lost is more than of the saved.

¹Thus Andreas reads here *αγγελου*, not *αετου*.

²*δαιμονας ους ο Χριστος εναν θρωπησας εδησιν οπως προ της συντελειας τα οικεια ενεργασαντες κ.τ.λ.*

³So defined perhaps because of the five senses through which sin enters the soul!

⁴Some, Andreas says, explained the 5th Seal of helltorments; the sunlight all hid from the sight of the condemned by the smoke of hell: the five months being some certain defined time of intense anguish; continued afterwards, however, though less intensely: (the reader may remember my similar division of the period of the 5th Trumpet's plague into that of 5 months of chief intensity, and a subsequent undefined time of less intensity) the locuststings symbolizing the neverdying worm of the punishments of the wicked.

⁵Some, Andreas writes, explained these four Angels of the Archangel's Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Uriel; ere while bound to the presence and contemplation of God, but loosed at the day of judgment, for the destruction of wicked men. A fancy repeated afterwards by Arethas

⁶On Rev. 9 21, "Neither repented they of their murders, nor of their sorceries, nor of their fornication, nor of their thefts." next following, "The rest repented not of the idolatries," &c. Andreas notices religious hypocrisy and avarice, as included in that charge.

⁷Were any such notable in the Eastern empire towards the middle of the 6th century?

⁸*μετα την εξ αιωνων παραδρομην*. I suppose six millenniums, agreeably with the view of the early Fathers.

to St. John: John's eating the book, (a book sweet for the joyous things predicted in it, bitter for the bitter things)¹ and charge to prophesy again, being significant of his personally prophesying again to the end of the world, by the publication of his Apocalypse and Gospel. In the Witness vision the temple meant the Christian Church; its outer court, the concourse to it of Infidels and Jews;² the Holy City (or New Jerusalem), the faithful Church;³ the 3½ years of the Gentiles trampling it, those of Antichrist's persecuting the faithful: the two Witnesses, Enoch and Elias; endowed by God's mercy with miraculous powers antagonistic to the Satanic supernatural powers of Antichrist: the time of their slaughter by Antichrist, that of their warnings against him being completed: the scene of their lying dead, the old and desolate Jerusalem: (Antichrist there fixing his royal seat probably, in order to seem the fulfillment of the prophecy, "I will raise up the tabernacle of David that is fallen," and so deceiving the Jews into a belief on him) the rising of the Witnesses, 3½ days after death, their literal resurrection: the tenth part of the city falling, and seven thousand slain, the judicial fall and ruin of the impious of the seventh age of the world, not even the Witnesses' resurrection having induced repentance: the rest that glorified God, those that, when the martyrs rose to glory, might be deemed not unworthy of salvation. Then the seventh Trumpet figured the general resurrection; the temple's concomitant opening, the manifestation of the heavenly blessedness of the saints; and the lightnings and thunderings, the torments of the damned.

In the vision of the Dragon and Woman, Rev. 12, Andreas (following "the great Methodius," whom he cites)⁴ makes the Woman to signify the Church, bringing forth (just as in Isa. 66, which the citation refers to) a Christian people: the moon under foot meaning either the world, or the Jewish ritual law; and the male child, and his iron rod, having fulfillment in the Roman Christian people and emperors, ruling the heathen.⁵ Further, the Dragon was the Devil: his seven heads symbolizing seven chief devilish powers, from conquering which the Christian warrior wins his diadems; his ten horns, the ten anti decalog sins, or decuple division before the consummation of the mundane empire: his symbolical fall, that when he was first

¹Or, adds Andreas, (taking the book as before in the sense of a record of gross sinners and their sins,) John was taught by eating, &c., the sweetness of sin at the first, and its bitterness afterwards.

²Some, observes Andreas, otherwise expound the temple of God [the inner temple] as the Old Testament; the outer court, with its larger circuit, as the New Testament, so greatly more comprehensive: the 3½ years signifying the short time in which its mysteries are to be in force; viz. from the time of Christ 1st to his 2nd coming.

³*εἴτε τὴν νεαν Ἱερουσαλημ.* In which clause either expression seems intended by Andreas of the Christian Church; for he explains himself to mean the *πιστοὶ* and *δολιμοὶ* oppress by Antichrist's tyranny. See Note 2 p. 1473 *infra*.

⁴See p. 146 *supra*.

⁵*Ἀρρην δε νίος ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας...δὶ οὐ ἤδη μὲν ταῖς τῶν δυνατῶν Ῥωμαίων χειρὶ ταῖς κπαταιαῖς ὥς ὁ σιδηρὸς τα ἐθνη ἐποιμανι Χριστὸς ὁ θεός.* An explanation similar to my own. Andreas adds that the people of God are moreover to rule the nations after the resurrection of the dead.

cast out of heaven on his transgression; or that spoken of by Christ as fulfilled on his coming, when Satan seemed like lightning to fall from heaven. During Antichrist's 3½ years' reign, the Church's abstraction from the world is to fulfill the figure of the Woman's flight into the wilderness, with perhaps a literal flight into deserts: the two Testaments being in God's providence the wings supporting and preserving her from the waters, or multitude of the impious, (whether men or demons) ejected by the Dragon against her.

Then, on the Beast of Rev. 13,¹ Andreas, professedly, but not really, following Hippolytus,² interprets it as Antichrist: stating that this Antichrist, or pseudo-Christ,³ is to rise after the ten kings' rising, answering to the ten toes of the prophetic image: and, coming with the title of Roman king,⁴ to overthrow their principdoms; like Augustus healing and restoring the Roman kingdom, when (like the Beast's wounded head) as it were dissolved by its division into ten.⁵ The second Beast with the two horns like a lamb, he prefers to explain, after Irenæus, as Antichrist's *προδρομος*⁶ and false prophet: exhibiting a show of piety; and with pretense of being a lamb, when in fact a wolf. The image of the Beast he supposes to be literally meant of some image of Antichrist made by the False Prophet; through which the Devil would speak, as by the heathen idols. Antichrist's miracle he explains as Satanic impostures: his name, with the number 666, as either a personal noun, such as *Δαμπετις Τειταν Δατεινος Βενεδικτος*; or an appellative, as *κακος εδηγος αμνος αμνος αδικος παλαι βασκανος αληθης βλαβεπος*; of all which names the number is 666.⁷ With regard to the Harlot seated on the

¹In Rev. 13 1, "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.", Andreas reads *εσταθην*.

²See p. 140 *suprà*.

³So Andreas calls him three or four different times, on Rev. 12, 13, 16, &c.

⁴*ών* (viz. of the Greek, Persian, and Babylonian empires, signified by the Beast's likeness to the leopard, bear, and lion,) *κρατησει ο Αντιχριστος ως Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ἐλενδομενος*. So again on Rev. 17 11, "And the beast that was, and is not, even he is the eighth, and is of the seven, and goeth into perdition.", 18 24, "And in her was found the blood of prophets, and of saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth."

⁵*Τὴν Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας τῇ διαίρεισιν τροπὴν τινὰ ὑπομενονσαν τὴν μοναρχίαν τε τεθεραπευσθαι δοκουσαν κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα Αὐγαστοῦ Καίσαρος*. So again on Rev. 13 11, "And I beheld another beast coming up out of the earth; and he had two horns like a lamb, and he spake as a dragon.": just as Hippolytus, before him. See p.140 *suprà*. Of which restoration of Rome's empire, however, Mr. C. M. in his notice of Andreas says nothing. Andreas offers the alternative solution of the revival of one of the *αρχοντες* of the empire, after being killed, by Antichrist's magical arts.

⁶4274 *pródromos* (from 4253 /*pró*-, "before" and 1408 /*drómos*, "a race-course") – properly, a person running ahead (a forerunner) to reach the destination before others – i.e. arriving safely in advance for the benefit of others who also need to get there.

⁷We have here in Peltan's Latin version a most extraordinary perversion of the sense of the original Greek. The Greek is; *Ονοματα πολλά εστιν ευρειν, τον απιθμον τουτον περιεζοντα, προσηγορικα τε και κυρια. Κυρια μεν οιον Δαμπετις, Τειταν, εκ του τεινω, καθ Ιππολυτον, Αατενος, ομοιως διαδεφοργου, Βδνεδικτυς, οπερ ερμηνευεται ευλογη μενυς*. The Latin translation; "Multa confingi possunt nomina quæ numerum illum complectantur, cum propria, tum etiam appellative, idque in omni propemodum lingua Proprium, e.g. Græcè sit

Beast in Rev. 17, he observes that Rome had been judged by certain earlier writers to be the city intended; because of its being built on seven hills; and having also had seven chief persecuting emperors, from Domitian to Diocletian inclusive. But he objects its having then for some time lost its imperial majesty: unless, indeed, he adds, very remarkably, this should in some way be restored to her;¹ “a supposition involving the fact of a previous overthrow of the city now ruling,”² I.e. Constantinople. Further he notices the fact of ancient Babylon and Jerusalem having been each called a harlot; and that the old Rome was called Babylon by St. Peter: also the special fitness of either appellation to the then *Persian capital* (Ctesiphon). So too the characteristic “drunk with the blood of saints,” applied alike to Old Rome, under the emperors, down to Diocletian; to New Rome, or Constantinople, under Julian and the Arian Emperors: and to the Persian capital: for who can calculate the sufferings of the saints in Persia? Thus the harlot city meant might be any one of those, if at the time of the end invested with the world’s supremacy: or perhaps, Andreas adds, generically the dominion of the world. The “Beast that was, and is not, yet shall be,” he explains to signify the Devil; broken in power by Christ’s death, and banished into the abyss or elsewhere, yet fated at length to revive in Antichrist. The Beast’s seven heads he interprets to mean the seven successive seats of the world’s supremacy, Nineveh, Ecbatana, Babylon, Susa, Pella, Rome, Constantinople; or the first kings reigning in each respectively, the representatives of the respective empires. He adds however Hippolytus’ alternative explanation of them as seven ages: and Irenæus’ suggestion that as seven is a sacred number, so there might be fated a septenary of dominant empires in the world; the old Roman Empire being the 6th, and perhaps that of new Rome or Constantinople the 7th: but in this, and in every case, the seventh having in St. John’s time not come. The Beast, or Beast’s eighth head, is Antichrist; called “one of the seven,” because of springing from one of the heads, or kingdoms, viz. The Roman; for he is to rise and flourish not as a foreigner, but as *king of the Romans*.³ The Ten horns or kings that were to reign one hour with the Beast, he identifies with Daniel’s ten horns: and construes the one hour to mean either some short time, or perhaps a quarter of a year; because *ωρη* in Greek means not only an hour, but also one of the four seasons. In verse 16 he reads “The ten horns and the Beast (*kai to qhrion*) shall hate the whore.” But in his comment he speaks as if the ten horns did so, under the Devil’s influence,

Aampethv, Latinè Benedictus, Persicè Sarmnæus. Similis in cæteris linguis effornatio fiat.” This is copied into the B. P. M. In my Vol. iii. p. 249, not then having access to the original Greek, I noticed the evident mistakes about the Benedictus in Latin, and the Sarmnæus.

¹So too on verse 7; εἴτε τὴν παλαιὰν Ῥώμην, αὐτῇ τὸ ἀρχαῖον κράτος ἀναλαμ-βανούσαν.

²Because of its being said of the great city meant, “This is the city which ruleth over the kings of the earth,” in the present tense.

³ἐκ τῶν ἑπτα ὅς ὡς ἐκ μίας αὐτῶν [βασιλείων] βλαστάνων οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἄλλου ἐθνους .. ἀλλ ὡς Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς .. ἐλευσεται.

not Antichrist's: and marvels at his so acting against a harlot antichristian city.¹

Reverting to Rev. 14, I may observe that Andreas views the 144,000 with Christ on the Mount Zion (or Christian Jerusalem) as the virgin saints of the New Testament; a body different probably from those of Rev. 7, because of the fact of the former being noted (which the others are not) as virgins. The three flying angels are warning against Antichrist, and the Babylon of this world. The earth's harvest he makes to be Christ's gathering of the good (like wheat, with its increase of 30, 60, or 100 fold); while the vintage in the gathering of the bad to judgment.² Then, advancing to the Vials in Rev. 15 & 16, he explains the harpers by the glassy sea to be the saved ones; and the glassy sea itself, mixed with fire, to symbolize their tranquil happy state, yet as those that had been saved by fire: the song of Moses being that song by the saved ones of the Old Testament dispensation, that of the Lamb by the saved ones of the New.³ The statement that none might enter the temple till the plagues of the seven Vial Angels⁴ had been fulfilled, he expounds to mean that the saints might not enter on the rest of the heavenly Jerusalem, till after the finishing of God's indignation against the wicked. The plague of the first Vial he makes to be the inward corroding ulcer of heart grief at the plague suffered; and perhaps also literally outward ulcers, the fit symbol of that within.⁵ Again, the statement under the sixth Vial respecting the way of the kings from the East being prepared he expounds as meaning that a way would be opened for Gog and Magog to come across the Euphrates: or perhaps for Antichrist coming from Persia, whither the Jewish tribe of Dan, whence he is to spring, was once carried captive: he, together with other kings from the East, bringing death with him; whether to men's souls, or bodies, or both. The pouring out of the seventh Vial into the air, he supposes to indicate lightnings and elemental convulsions, such as once at Mount Sinai; in fulfillment of Heb. 12:27, "Yet once more I shake not the earth only, but also heaven." As to the great city tripartited, as the result of this seventh Vial's outpouring, he judges it to be Jerusalem, great from its religious celebrity, rather than from its actual extent; and which is then and thereupon to be divided, in respect of its population, into Christians, Jews, and Samaritans.

¹διο συνεργήσει διαβολος τοις υπ ηνιοξοζουμενοις δεκα κερασι . . την εκπορνευσασα ελ τωμ θεσωμ εμτυλων πολιν ... ερημωσαι.

²The vine to be trodden without the city of the just, της των δικαιων πολεως.

³Compare my own remarks on the passage Vol. iii. pp. 474, 475.

⁴In referring to the dress ascribed to the Vialangels, he notices the curious reading of liqon, as well as of lenon, like Jerome before him: "clothed in stone pure and white."

⁵εικος δε και αισθητως τα τουτων τραυματιζεσθαι τα σωματα, προ ελεγχον της ελκωθεισης αυτων ψυξης. Let the reader mark this. It is much the same idea that I have often expressed about a symbol being drawn from the life and times; and which I have indeed on this very passage illustrated from the facts of history. See Vol. iii. pp. 357, 375.

I need only add that, as to the millennium, he explains it anagogically, as Augustine: notes there being two deaths, that of the flesh and of sin temporary, that of hell eternal: also two resurrections, that by baptism, and that to in corruption; the first, and its accompanying millennial rule of the saints over sin and Satan, being but an introduction to the other. Gog and Magog meant the Scythian or Hunnish nations; even in Andreas' time a mighty power, and only restrained by God till the time of Antichrist: that these will, on Antichrist's coming, gain the empire of the world; surround the Church, or camp of the saints; and also assail "the new Jerusalem," the city loved by God, whence the Gospel went forth.¹ The heavenly Jerusalem he explains as the saints' heavenly state; then when St. Paul's prophecy of the creation's deliverance is to take place from the bondage of corruption: the state being one of perfect union, many mansions, and eternal joy; its full fruition taking place not till after the saints' rising again.² Such expressions as that the kings and nations of the earth bring their glory into it, he expounds of the then manifested glory of the good deeds of such as have reigned over their passions, and have pleased Christ.³ On the "sea then being no more," he explains it both literally and figuratively. What need any more of the sea, when men need not to sail on it, for fetching from other regions the earth's fruits and merchandise? And what can there be of the troublesome tossing of life, which the figure means, when no more of fear or trouble is ever to betide the saints?

¹Thus Andreas unadvisedly here gives the title of New Jerusalem to the literal earthly Jerusalem; though explaining the New Jerusalem of Rev. xxi. distinctly of the Christian Church. Indeed he virtually suggests the same here too as an alternative. For, he adds, there also they say that Antichrist will sit in the temple of God; whether the old Jewish one restored by Antichrist, or the Catholic Church, which is the true temple: εἰτε ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαίῳ τῷ παλαιῷ θείῳ, καθαιρεθῇ διὰ τὴν κατὰ Χριστὸν τολμάν, καὶ νῦν αὐτὸν (Ἀντιχριστὸν) ἀνορθοῦσθαι προσδοκώμεν τοῖς θεομυχοῖς Ἰουδαίοις εἰτε ἐν τῷ ἀληθῶς θείῳ ναῷ, τὴν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

²That it is to this time that Andreas mainly refers the symbol appears continually. Thus on the call on all to praise God, both small and great, Rev. 19 5, preparatorily to the introduction of the bride or New Jerusalem, he speaks of those who have died young, as rising to partake in the song: Οἱμαὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ νῦν μικροὶ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ ἀτελεῖς πνίδες θνήσκοντες, μεγάλοι ἀνίσταμενοι τὸν μεγαλουργὸν θίον υμνησοῦσιν. Again, the glory of the New Jerusalem is on Rev. xxi. 8, "But the fearful, and unbelieving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whore mongers, 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." defined as the saints' eternal glory: and again, speaking of the 12,000 furlongs of the city, xxi. 16, "And the city lieth foursquare, and the length is as large as the breadth: and he measured the city with the reed, twelve thousand furlongs. The length and the breadth and the height of it are equal." Andreas thus mystically explains the number: τῶν μὲν χιλῶν δηλούντων τῆς ἀπεραντοῦ ζωῆς τὴν τελειότητα, τῶν δὲ ἐπτακοσίων τὸ ἐν ἀναπαύσει τελεῖο, τῶν δὲ δεκατεσσαρῶν τὸν διπλοῦν σαββατισμὸν, τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματος. Yet here and there we find a reference in his comment to the Church's present state: e.g. on the leaves of the tree being even now for the healing of the nations; contrastedly with the fruit of perfect knowledge to be enjoyed in the world to come.

³οἱ ἐν τῇ γῇ τῶν παθῶν βασιλεύσαντας τῇν τῶν ἀλαθῶν πράξεων δοχὰν καὶ τιμὴν ἐν αὐτῇ οἰσοῦσι. κ.τ.λ.

In concluding summary Andreas states very distinctly his view of the Revelation being a prophecy of the things that were to happen from Christ's first coming even to the consummation.¹ I observe in fine that there is an air of much piety in this Commentary. I may exemplify in Andreas' remark on the sin of adding to, or taking from divine Scripture, Rev. 22:18-19.² He here waxes quite warm in speaking of the superiority of Scriptural to all classical or dialectic or reasoning knowledge.³

6. Arethas

A successor of Andreas in the Bishopric of Cæsarea, was his follower also in great measure in the Commentary that he wrote on the Revelation. Thus much he tells us himself.⁴ Respecting his date there seems to me to have been a considerable mistake on the part of most that have expressed an opinion about it. Alike Coccius, the Editor of the B. P. M. (which work gives a Latin translation of Arethas' Commentary in its Ninth Volume⁵), and Cave too, and Lardner, and just recently Professor M. Stuart,⁶ assigned to his the date of A.D. 540 or 550. On the other hand Casimir Oudin and Fabricius incline to identify him with a Presbyter of the same Cappadocian Cæsarea, of the name Arethas, who, about A.D. 920, translated a work of the Constantinopolitan Patriarch Euthymius. But, says Cave,⁷ Oudin had no argument or evidence to adduce in favor of his conjecture. Nor Indeed Fabricius either; if (*not having access to his work*) I may judge from the reference to him in Lardner.⁸ I have observed, however, very decisive evidence in the Commentary itself, of Arethas having lived as late at least as near the end of the eighth century. For he speaks of the capital and palace of the Saracens

¹ βιβλον (i.e. the sevensealed Book) των απο της αυτου (Christ's) παρουσιας μεξπι της συντελειας γεγεννημενων.

² So Andreas understands the passage; and not as referring simply to taking from, or adding to, the Book of the Revelation. Φοβρτι η κατα των παραζαρακτων των θειων γραφων καταρα.

³ Τα γραφικα εδιωματα των Αττικων συνταξεων, και των διαλεκτικων συλλογισμων, αχιπιστοτιρα και σεμφοτεπα οσον δε το μεσν των παρ ημιν και εκεινοις ενδοχων και το εν νο λαβειν αμηξανον ομαι γαρ ειναι πλεον η οσον φως σκοτους διεοτηκε.

I must add that Peltan's Latin translation, to which alone I had access in my three first Editions, is often disgracefully incorrect. A notable example has been given p. 362 supra.

⁴ On Rev. 8, speaking of the incense Angel, he says; "huie angelo Andreas, qui ante me digne Cæsareæ Cappadociæ eposcopatum sortitus est, quemque pontificem assimilat." And the heading title to his Commentary in the Latin translation, and I presume in the original Greek also, is as follows: "Aretæ, Cæsareæ Cappadociæ Episcopi, in D. Joannia Apocalypsim compendiarie explanatio, ex beatissimi Andreas Archiepiscopi Cæsareæ, Cappadociæ Deo gratis, commentariis concinnata." Dupin is evidently mistaken in saying that there is no ground for regarding this Arethas as a Bishop of Cæsarea.

⁵ Pp. 741-791.

⁶ On the Revelation, Vol. i. p. 268: "Arethas . . who lived near the middle of the 6th century."

⁷ Hist. Litt. i. 408, ad ann. 540. "Verum id gratis affirmat Oudinus; nec enim præsto ei est argumentum quo sententiam suam confirmet."

⁸ Hug too, i. 230, assigns him to the xth Century; but without giving his reasons.

as being then still at Babylon, evidently meaning Bagdad:¹ a capital not built till A.D. 762;² and where the Saracen Caliphs continued to hold a waning empire through the ninth century, till its extinction A.D. 934 by the Bowides.³ A curious reference to Constantinople,⁴ may possibly appear to furnish a further indication. The identity of our Cæsarean Bishop with the Cæsarean Presbyter that translated Euthymius seems to me more than doubtful. The very appellative of the one as a Bishop, the other as only a Presbyter, constitutes a presumption against that idea. Moreover, Arethas' reference to the Saracens and Bagdad seems to indicate the fact of their empire being still powerful there. I say still, after Arethas' "in hoc usque tempus;" and powerful, because of his representing it as in place of the old lion like Babylonian empire. Hence, on the whole, we may I think reasonably reckon his date as somewhere within the limits of the first half of the 9th century; between A.D. 800 and 850.⁵

In the heading of his Apocalyptic Commentary there is, as hinted by me just before, an intimation of its having been very much taken from that of Andreas. He generally indeed gives the opinions of the latter; sometimes in the form of direct quotation, and by name; more often silently: adding however from time to time some strange conceits of his own⁶ It is only the more important variations from Andreas that need here to be noticed. And these are as follows.

Under the sixth Seal he singularly explains the earthquake, &c., there figured, of the literal earthquake and elemental convulsions at Christ's death and resurrection:⁷ *particularly dwelling on the adjective ὅλη attached to σελήνη in his copy*:⁸ the moon having been (just agreeably with it) *whole*, and *at the full*, on the occasion of its eclipse at the time of Christ's death,

¹On Rev. 13 2: "Peros leonis regnum designatur Babyloniorum: cui Saracenorum reguum manifestè successit; quòd, in hoc usque tempus, regia eorum Babylone sit." B. P. M. 771. I have noted this already in my Vol. i. p. 39.

²See my Vol. i. pp. 461, 462, and Vol. iii. p. 439.

³See my Vol. i. p. 466.

⁴Note 1495 p. 180 infra.

⁵Mr. C. Maitland (p. 276), while noticing after me (though without acknowledgment) the passage in Arethas about the Saracens and Bagdad, yet strangely dates him A.D. 650; i.e. above 100 years before Bagdad was built!

⁶Of these his explanation of the 3rd Seal may furnish a specimen. Besides symbolizing famine, it may have a moral signification. The chænix of wheat for a denarius means faithful witnesses for Christ, each counted worthy of a denarius; "quasi datæ sibi divinæ imaginis custodes exactissimi commonstrati:" while the three choenixes of barley are the weak ones who have failed in the day of trial, but repented; and who altogether are only valued at a denarius!

⁷Like those alluded to by Andreas on the first Seal, as observed by me. p. 174, Note 1437, and who explained the sixth Seal of Christ's sepulture.

⁸So the best critical Editions, *καὶ ἡ σελήνη ὅλη ἡ ἐγενετο ὡς αἶμα* the ὅλη being alike in the three most authoritative MSS. A, B, C, i.e. the Codex Alexandrinus, Codex Vaticanus, and Codex Ephraemi.

and so the eclipse miraculous. He adds, however, a notice of the interpretation by certain other expositors, explaining it “tropice” of the destruction of Jerusalem; and that of Andreas, referring it to the convulsions under Antichrist.

Under the *Sealing Vision* he suggests the possible reference of the four angels of the winds to the desolation’s of Judæa by the Romans; or, yet more probably, to the desolation’s of Antichrist: then, in speaking of the sealing itself, more distinctly and decidedly explains and sealing 144,000 as meaning the Jews converted to Christianity before the destruction of Jerusalem, asserting that Jerusalem was not destroyed when John received these revelations; the Virgin Mary having only lived fourteen years after Christ’s ascension, and John immediately after her death removed to Ephesus.¹ Which passage has been naturally adduced by the advocates of an early date to the Revelation, in support of their opinion: but of which the value as an authority, small in itself because that of so late a writer, is rendered yet smaller by the fact of Arethas having not once only, but twice, stated from Eusebius, that it was under Domitian’s reign that John was banished to Patmos.² On the Angel’s charge, “Thou must prophesy again,” Arethas observes that it was hence that the vulgar opinion arose that John was to live to the end of the world; and then to prophesy with Enoch and Elias, and with them suffer martyrdom, in the time of Antichrist.³ In the first part of Rev. 12 he interprets the travailing Woman to mean the Virgin Mary; and the Woman’s flight of 3½ years into the wilderness to have been fulfilled in the Virgin’s flight into Egypt, and stay there near 3½ years till Herod’s death: adding however the alternative solution also of the Woman’s signifying the Church; and the wilderness flight her retirement from the world during the 3½ years of Antichrist’s reign. With regard to the Beast of Rev. 13, or Antichrist, he suggests

¹“Nondum cuim vastatio à Romanis illata Judæos involverat, ubi hæc Evangelista oracula suscipiebat; neque Hierosolymis, sed Ioniâ quæ apud Ephesum. Equidem post passionem Domini quatuordecim tantum annis permansit in Hierusalem theotocum Domini tabernaculum in hac temporatiâ vitâ, post passionem inquam ac resurrectionem incorruptæ suæ prolis; cui etiam (Joannes), tanquam matri sibi à Domino commendatæ, semper aderat. Post hujus enim mortem nequaquam jam in Judæa mansisse fertur; sed Ephesum commigrasse;” &c. A statement which is palpably incorrect.

²First on Rev. i. 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 word of God, and for the testimony of Jesus Christ.”; B. P. M. 743: “Relegatum autem ipsum in Patrum Insulam sub Domitiano fuisse, Eusebius Pamphili in Chronicâ suâ citat.” Next on Rev. iii. 10, “Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I also will keep thee from the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth.”; B. P. M. 751: “Horum tentationis...persecutionem illam dicit quæ secunda post Neronem sub Domitiano excitata fuit, quemadmodum in Historiâ suâ Eusebius Pamphili testatur: quando etiam idem Evangelista in Patrum ab eodem Domitiano exillie relegatus fuit.” In which last passage he does not state it simply as Eusebius’ opinion, that St. John was then banished to Patmos; but rather propounds it as his own also. See my Vol. i. p. 40.

³The idea of St. John’s living to the end of the world arose rather, we know, from Christ’s saying, (John xxi. 22, “Jesus saith unto him, If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? follow thou me.”;) “If I will that he tarry till I come, &c.

the same solutions of his name and number as Andreas; viz. λαμπετις, τειταν, λατεινος, ό νικητης, κακος οδηγοφ, αληθης βλαβερος, παλαι βασκανος, αμφος αδικος: and suggests that the second Beast would act the same part as forerunner to Antichrist that John the Baptist did to Christ. On the declaration that the great city was to be divided into three parts, he notices Andreas' idea, that it was the literal Jerusalem that was to be so tripartited: and also as an alternative, that it might mean the world and its empire, as subjected successively after Christ, in chronological tripartition, to Pagan kings, Christian kings, and Antichrist.¹ The Babylon there mentioned he prefers to understand of Constantinople; with reference apparently to some recent domineering of the civil power over the ecclesiastical; which made that city answer, in his view, preeminently to the type of Babylon.² On the summons to the birds in Rev. 19, to gather to God's great supper, he strangely explains them to mean the souls of saints, called from a state of depression to meet Christ in the air.³ And, finally, he makes the New Jerusalem to represent the habitation and polity of the saints after the resurrection, conjunctively with Angels: "*Civitas quod omnium tum Angelorum tum hominum futura sit domicilium.*"⁴

7. Berengaud.

I now return Westward from Greek Christendom, to note a somewhat later Latin Expositor of the Revelation;⁵ one whose epoch, I now think, was

¹A curious notion.

²"Et quænam hæc (Babylon)? Nulla sanc alin quàm Constantinopolis; in qua olim colebatur justitia, nunc autem in eà homicidæ habitant, ex mutuà contentione, dum cives laici ecclesiasticis æquari contendunt: imo ne æquales quidem fieri contenti sunt, nisi aliquis etiam ex eis premium referat, ad majorem divinæ indignationis accensionem." B. P. M. 778.

³"Aves quæ per medium coeli volant animas dicit sanctorum; quæ, à depressis humi rebus emergentes, juxta magnum Paulum procedunt ad occurrendum obviæ Domino in acra." B. P. M. 783.

⁴p. 786.

⁵In passing let me here briefly notice a curious passage that occurs in a Treatise on Antichrist by Adso, a monk of the monastery of Derve in Champagne; dedicated to Gerberga, Queen of Louis d'Outremer, and consequently of about the date of 950 A.D. Having spoken of Babylon as Antichrist's birthplace, of his being educated by sorcerers at Bethesda and Chorazin, then coming to Jerusalem, proclaiming himself the Son of God, by gifts, miracles, or terror converting kings and people to acknowledge him, and then at length persecuting the saints, and commencing the great tribulation of 3 ½ years, Adso proceeds to state that the precise time for his manifestation would be marked by the 'discessio' of its constituent kingdoms from the Roman Empire: (so, like some of the early Fathers, he explained the apostmsia of St. Paul) which time had not then as yet come: because, says Adso, though the Roman Empire has been in chief part destroyed, yet, so long as the Frank kings last, **[Compare the statement by the PseudoAthanasius, pp. 151, 152 supra.]* to whom belongs the empire, so long the Roman dignity will not altogether perish. And then he adds; "Some of our doctors affirm that there will arise in the last times a king of the Franks, who shall again reunite under his rule all the Roman empire: and after a prosperous reign shall go to Jerusalem, and lay down his sceptre and crown at Mount Olivet: that this will be the end of the Roman empire, and then immediately will follow Antichrist." † *[This tradition is noted in the Encyclopedic Methodique: and it may perhaps remind some of the French*

near about the conclusion of the period included in this Section. I had stated originally that the writer (probably, from his reference to the Rules of that order, a Benedictine monk) had in a singular manner intimated his name under the enigmatic form of Greek numerals;¹ also that by his noting the facts of the Saracens who had overrun; Asia, as well as the Lombard's who had conquered Italy, having had their kingdoms overthrown when he wrote,² his æra seemed fixed as not earlier than the end of the ninth century. An approximation this to his real age which well agreed with that drawn by the Benedictine editors of Ambrose, from his specification of archdeacons receiving hush money for overlooking the fornication of the priesthood, as a sin of the then times: this crime being prominently noticed in Synods held at Paris, Chalons, and Aquisgranum, in the same ninth century.³ But the crime continued flagrant long after, so as to be by no means any certain or specific chronological designative.⁴ And a notice as to the then existing Jerusalem being inhabited by Christians⁵ seemed to me afterwards to mark a much later æra than the 9th century; in fact one subsequent to the taking of Jerusalem by the crusaders. A lateness of date corroborated by the late epoch at which Berengaud's comment is said to have come into notice.⁶

The Commentary is one too original to omit noticing; and goes on a regular connected chronological plan, which (however unsatisfactory it may be as an exposition) makes it easy to read, in comparison with the other Latin

Chief Bonaparte's mighty empire, and Syrian expedition, in these latter days; as also of certain prophetic speculations propounded thereon, by expositors that deemed him to be Daniel's so called willful King.] Adso further observes, that the Antichrist would sit either in the Jewish temple, rebuilt by him, and there receive worship; or perhaps in the Christian Church; also that after killing the two witnesses, Enoch and Elias, he would be slain on Mount Olivet by Michael, or Christ, with the breath of his mouth. Soon after which (not immediately) would follow the last judgment.

¹"Auisquis nomen auctoris seire desideras, literas expositionum in captibus septem visionum primas attende. Numerus quatuor vocalium quæ desunt, si Græeas posueris, est 81. Now the first letters of these seven parts, or visions, are B R N G V D S: and if eao be inserted, which together make up (5+5+1+70 = 81,) the name will resut, Berengaudus.

²"Saraceni totam Asiam subegerunt, Gothi Hispaniam, Longobardi Italian, &c. Hæc regua, co tempore quo visio ista Johanni demonstrata est, potestatem nondum acceperant: sed unâ horâ tanquam reges potestatem acceperunt, quia singularum istarum gentium potestas pauco tempore permansit." So on Rev. 17

³Berengaud, a Benedictine monk of that ajra, reprobates it in his Comment on Rev. xviii, as a crying sin of the time: "Scelus pessimum ab iis qui archidiaconi appellantur committitur; ab adulteris presbyteris pretium accipiunt, et tacendo in malum consentiunt." The passage is well worth referring to. The Benedictine Editor refers to the Councils of Paris, Chalons, &c., in illustration. See too in D'Achery, i. 347, &c., Ratherius de Contemptu Canonum, A.D. 950.

⁴See my Vol. ii. p. 14.

⁵See p. 182, Note 1581.

⁶I copy what follows from Mr. C. Maitland's book, p. 349: "About this time (viz. 1400 A.D.), without name or date, the Apocalyptic Commentary of Berengaud stole into notice. It was first copied from by the Block Book Apocalypse, published soon after 1400: and next quoted by Dionysius the Carthusian, who wrote not later than 1470." So too Dr. S. R. Maitland, before him; Reply to Morning Watch, pp. 19, 20.

Commentaries of the æra under review. This chronological plan is sketched at the outset, and adduced repeatedly, even to the end. It is founded on the frequent septenary division of the Apocalyptic prefigurations: to all which seven (except the seven epistles to the churches) Berengaud supposes that substantially the same chronological reference and order attaches; a chronology commencing from the creation, and reaching to the consummation.

Thus in the opening figuration of Christ he remarks on eight particulars as given in the description; his priestly garment, his zone, his head, his eyes, his feet, his voice, his sword, and his face as the sun; and of these the first seven are expounded as typical of that “*civitas Dei quæ ex omnibus electis constat;¹ et quæ ab initio usque ad finem tendit, in septem partes divisa.*” Which seven parts are: 1. the elect from the Creation till the Flood; 2. the patriarchs and saints from the Flood to the giving of the Law; 3. the multitudes saved under the ministry of the Mosaic Law; 4. the prophets; 5. the apostles; 6 the multitude of the Gentiles that believed in Christ; 7. the saints that are to conflict with Antichrist at the end of the world. The 8th particular noted in the symbol, viz. Christ’s face as the sun, he makes to prefigure the Church of the elect after the resurrection; when they too shall all shine as the sun in the firmament. The testifying of the saints in these seven ages of the world would be, he suggests after Bede and Ansbert, like Israel’s seven day compassion of Jericho; and that during their preaching in the seventh age its end would come suddenly.

After this, the seven Epistles to the Churches having been expounded as lessons of warning and instruction to the Church in general,² Berengaud explains the heaven that was afterwards opened to St. John as the Church, Christ being the door to it; the twenty four elders as the twenty four fathers of the Old Testament dispensation; the four living creatures as all the doctors of the Church; (Victorinus’ explanation of their twenty four wings being here, though without mention of him, adopted;³) the seven sealed Book as the Old and New Testament; (the New that written within;) and the seven horns of the Lamb that opened it, as the elect of the same seven ages of the world that were before enumerated. The Lamb’s opening the seals of the book signified his opening, or explaining to the faithful, the spiritual meaning of the same successive æras and histories. A very characteristic feature

¹Observe how Augustine’s view of the Civitas Dei, as made up only of the elect, had traveled influentially downward.

²On the promise, “I will write on him the name of the New Jerusalem,” &c., Berengaud observes that it may seem marvelous that this New Jerusalem should be described as descending from heaven, when it is known that the elect continually ascend from earth to heaven, instead of descending. But he solves the enigma by explaining it of Christ’s descent; in whom all the saints (the constituency of the New Jerusalem) were even then federally existent.

³See p. 142. Here Berengaud contrasts the incessant occupation in divine worship of the twentyfour elders and four living creatures, with the earthlymindedness and earthy occupation of many in monasteries.

this in Berengaud Commentary; and which what follows will sufficiently explain to the reader.

1st Seal. The white horse meant the righteous before the Flood, white in token of innocence; the rider, God; the bow in hand, his token of vengeance and conquering, as against Adam, Cain, and the world destroyed by the flood. The Lamb having opened the Seal, it became understood how Adam typified Christ, Eve the Church, Cain the Jews, Abel the Christians; and so on.

2nd Seal. The red horse meant the righteous from the Flood to the Law: red, as the golden color, with references to their wisdom; or red as blood, because of their persecutions: the peace broken being that evil peace with the heathen which God put aside; those killed, alike the just and unjust in their mutual contentions. By Christ's opening this Seal the spiritual mysteries of the ark were unfolded; and those also of the patriarchal histories, as of Abraham offering Isaac, Jacob's vision at Bethel, &c.: on each of which mysteries Berengaud dilates.

3rd Seal. The black horse was the Doctors of the Law till the rise of the Prophets: the black marking the severity of the Mosaic Law; the balance, its rigid requirements of justice, as of eye for eye, &c. the intent of the wheat and barley was very obscure. Perhaps the choenix (or two pounds) of wheat meant the two Testaments, the food for souls; the denarius marking its connection with Christ;¹ while the barley might signify the good works of saints. Or the wheaten *bilibres* might be the precepts of love to God and man; the denarius, the eternal life that is their reward, as in Christ's parable of the workmen in the vineyard, Matt. 20; the Church (in the voice from the four living Creatures) praying Christ to give the denarius of eternal life to them that observe those precepts.² By the wine guaranteed from hurt might be meant Christians of active life; by the oil those given to contemplation.

4th Seal. The pale horse symbolized the Prophets; pale through fear of the evils they denounced on sinners: the rider, still Jehovah Jesus; He being death to the reprobate. (A rather harsh appellative this for Christ, Berengaud allows; and that, but for the requirements of the Seal's chronological place and order, its symbol might naturally have been expounded rather of Anti-christ.) By Christ's apostles the prophets' writings had been spiritually explained. Therefore, it being needless to enter on that, Berengaud confined his spiritualizing illustrations to the history and doings of the prophets; as of David, Elijah, Elisha, &c. &c.

¹"Denarius Dominum designat. Binæ ergo libræ tritici denario copulantur; quia quod sancta Scripture loquitur ad unius Dei omnipotentiam, magnitudinem, bonitatem, atque severitatem pertinet. "I suppose Berengaud meant the denarius to figure Christ, somewhat like Arethas, on the 6th Seal, p. Note 1488. p. 179 *suprà*.

²Compare Arethas on the same 6th Seal, p. 179 *suprà*.

5th Seal Souls under the altar. This vision referring to the martyrs under the New Testament dispensation, Christ opened its seal, when he explained to the doctors of the Church his parables and dark sayings about the suffering of his disciples and their after glory.

6th Seal. The elemental convulsions, &c., here enacted, figured the destruction of Jerusalem, falling of its priests and governors, darkening of its nation, once bright by the revelation granted it, even as the sun in the world's system, and passing away of God's covenant and the Old Testament dispensation from the Jews to the Gentiles. The cry to the hills and rocks for covering was illustrated by the actual hiding of many of the Jews *in the cloacæ* from the Romans' fury: as Christ hath said, "Then shall ye begin to call upon the hills, &c. In the Sealing Vision the four angels are explained to mean the four great empires, combined at length into the Roman, which desolated other lands, restraining the winds of life and happiness: Christ being the sealing angel, and the 144,000 the number of elect alive at one and the same time.¹ Berengaud expounds the Christianized meaning of each of the names of the twelve Jewish tribes; last of all that of Benjamin, meaning the son of my right hand. Whence, says he, a natural transition to the palm bearing vision. "Having brought down the saints history in their mystical names to this point of their co-location at God's right hand in heaven, it is fit that this vision should next, in the 7th place, represent their heavenly blessedness."

His first chronological septenary thus ended, Berengaud makes a singular break between it and the next by interpreting the 7th Seal as a kind of parenthetic notice of Christ's first advent: the half hour's silence figuring the general peace under Augustus, and Roman toleration of the Church, continued till Nero's persecution.² Then, coming to the septenary of the Trumpet Angels, he explains them of divinely taught preachers, sounding forth the brazen trumpet, under nearly the same septenary of eras as was noted before; the six first being the patriarchal,³ the law giving,⁴ the prophetic,⁵ Christ's own era,⁶ that of the Gnostic confuting primitive doctors,⁷ and that

¹This explanation of Berengaud is cited by me in support of my own, Vol. i. p. 297, Note 1.

²"But why Christ's advent under the seventh and not the fifth Seal?" A question which Berengaud thus answers: Because on the seventh day God rested from creation; and Christ is our rest.

³The fire of the symbol being the fire of the Holy Spirit, burning up what was evil in the heart.

⁴The fiery mountain cast into the sea being explicable of Mount Sinai cast among the Jews; the faithful amongst whom, dead to the law, lived as God.

⁵The prophets themselves being like burning stars to light the people; and with threats that had bitterness in them, acting so as to produce repentance.

⁶By whose doctrine the elect Jews were struck, and Judaism eclipsed in them.

⁷Doctors preaching against the first of the three woes; viz. heretics, lapsed like a fallingstar from heaven: during five months of which æra, a period meant to signify the present life, men that sought death by mixing in the world would be sickened at it; and so return, and live.

of the Rome subduing martyrs.¹ And, after a parenthetic exposition of Rev. 10, as depicting the source of the Church's support and light, like as of Israel in Egypt, under all the trials above noted, the Angel's descent in which is construed of Christ's incarnation, veiled in the cloud of humanity, with the iris of mercy and light of divine glory attendant, his feet the two Testaments, the Book opened in hand that of the Scriptures, the seven thunders figures of the seven virtues, unknown in their full spirituality except through Christ, and sealed up partially from weaker Christians, unable to bear them, the charge to eat the book, and prophesy again, being true both of John personally, when returned from Patmos, and of all the apostles and Christian teachers, after this Berengaud supposes a sudden transition to the times of Antichrist, and of the two Witnesses against him: the transition, he says, being not unnatural; as passing from Christ's ministry when the Jews were cast out, to that of Enoch and Elias, which is to restore them.

And, in the account of the Witnesses, Berengaud expounds the measuring the court and its worshippers to signify Christian ministers, ministering to their edification: the reed being the gospel; the rod, church discipline; and those cast out as Pagans, the Jews: the fire from the Witnesses' mouth signifying their doctrine kindled by God's Spirit; their heaven shutting, a judgment literally to be understood, it might be, but rather spiritually: their place of death, the street of the world's great city, Babylon,² consisting of all the reprobate; and its duration 3½ days, meant in the sense of 3½ years.

Then, their revival and resurrection described, the prophecy passes, says Berengaud, to describe the history and evils of the great Witness slayer, Antichrist: a commencement being however made from the Devil's first injuries to Christ and the Church, at his first advent; prior and preparatory to the last injuries through Antichrist. In Rev. 12 the travailing Woman might mean both the Virgin Mary and the Church:³ Christ himself being the male child born of the one, Christians of the other; the one snatched up to God at his ascension, the others at death: the opposing Dragon's [or Devil's] seven heads figuring the reprobate of the same seven ages, as before specified; and his dejection effected by Michael, through Christ's ministry, casting him out of the hearts of the elect, into the reprobate. The Woman's 3½ times' nourishment in the wilderness, after the Dragon's dejection, means first, and on

¹Martyrs opposed to the four angels; i.e. (these being the same as the four angels in Rev. 7) to persecutors out of the Roman empire; an empire signified also by Babylon's river, the Euphrates. These martyrs he supposes by their invincible resolution and gospelpreaching to have stirred up the Roman Pagans to persecute them; the horses' heads being the Roman emperors; the sulphur from the horses' mouths their blasphemy; and the fire their persecuting proclamations.

²It is not Jerusalem, says Berengaud, for three reasons: 1. that the great city of the Revelation is always Babylon: 2. because the present Jerusalem is not built precisely on the site of the old: 3. because the present city of Jerusalem, being inhabited by Christians, cannot justly be called Sodom and Egypt." See the citation in my Vol. ii. p. 430.

³So Arethas.

the scale of literal time, the early disciples feeding on Christ's doctrine, separate from the world;¹ as also the feeding of the souls of the faithful ("*dapi-bus gloriæ coelestis patriæ*") on the glories of a heavenly home, during the whole time from Christ's passion to the world's end: while the wilderness of her refuge symbolized heaven; (such is Berengaud's singular explanation)² somewhat like the wilderness of the ninety nine sheep in Luke 15:4. Then at length the Devil goes against the remnant of the Woman's seed left at the end of the world; and attacks them through the *Beast*, i.e. *Antichrist*.

Of which Beast Berengaud explains the seven heads as the seven principal vices, affixed like the seven wicked spirits in the parable; and the ten horns wearing diadems, as the nations subjugated by him: his mouth speaking great things, as of one boasting himself to be the Son of God; his blasphemies, as of one denying Jesus Christ's godhead, asserting the worthlessness of Christ's religion, and inability of martyrs and saints to profit men: also as arguing from the fact of men's passions being implanted by God, in proof that they might abandon themselves to licentiousness. (This is, I think, the earliest suggestion I have noticed of Antichrist being in any way an avowed infidel, and open advocate of licentiousness.) The second Beast he interprets as the Preachers of Antichrist: its two lamb like horns signifying his constituency of Jewish and Gentile reprobates; just as the Lamb's seven horns figured all the elect: and the Beast's image, images of Antichrist, which Antichrist's priests will make men worship. As to his name and number, says Berengaud, I know it not: for any one might at baptism have a name of that number given him. Then, passing on to the vision of Rev. 17, the Beast riding Harlot is explained (besides her general signification as the world) to be especially Rome; and her predicated burning and spoiling by the ten kings, as the destruction of ancient Rome by the Gothic barbarians:³ (with reference however, as Rome was professedly Christian at that time, to the reprobate in her) also the Beast (here the Devil) ridden by her, as that which "was" during his unquestioned sovereignty of the world before Christ's coming; which "is not," i.e. in the same power as before, since Christ's overthrow of Satan; and which "is to be" again, on Antichrist's revelation. As to the Beast's heads, they meant the same as the Dragon's in Rev. 12. Of these the first five had passed away when John had the Revelation revealed to him, the fifth being the Jews just then destroyed by the Romans; the sixth signified the then existing Roman Pagan persecutions; and the seventh, Antichrist. The eighth, or Beast itself of Rev. 17,⁴ was, as just before observed, the Devil.

¹The 3 ½ years' duration of Christ's ministry being the groundwork of the larger interpretation of the 3 ½ years, so as with Ambrose Ansbert. See pp 5, 6, *suprà*.

²Compare Methodius' "*à malis desertum*;" See p. 146. *suprà*.

³I beg my readers to mark this.

⁴He seems to make the Beast of Rev. 13 Antichrist; of Rev. 17 the Devil.

On other lesser points I have only to add that Berengaud makes the 144,000 of Rev. 14 to be the elect in heaven,¹ while the 144,000 of Rev. 7 were the elect alive on earth; explains the earth's harvest of the good, its vintage of the bad: in Rev. 15 reads *λιθον* for *λινον*, like Jerome and Andreas, said of the dress of the Vial Angels; and interprets the Angels themselves as preachers of the same seven eras as before. In Rev. 16 he makes the Euphrates' drying up to mean the drying up of persecution, that so the way be opened to the Gentiles to believe; explains the millennium like Augustine; and, on the Angel's showing St. John the New Jerusalem, notes very distinctly John's representative character; "*Johannes typum gerit cæterorum fidelium.*"

Conclusion

On considering retrospectively the character of the Apocalyptic exposition of this our 3rd Period, from A.D. 500 to A.D. 1100, or thereabouts, the question following may naturally suggest itself; How was it that when the "let," so much talked of by the earlier Fathers, had just before this period's opening been so strikingly taken away, by the utter breaking up of the old Roman Empire proper, and its division into something ominously like the ten predicted subdivisions of prophecy, there was yet wanting among prophetic expositors all recognition of that sign of the times;² and little thought or care being manifested about the apparently necessary consequence of Antichrist's development occurring even then synchronically. And we shall find, that three causes connected with prophetic interpretation powerfully contributed to that result: 1st, the universal prevalence in the West of the Origen or Tichonian Anagogic principle of interpretation, throughout almost the whole of the period under review,³ and indeed to a considerable extent in the East also; whereby all that was topographically or chronologically most definitely applicable to Papal Rome in the prophetic symbols of the Beast, and Beast's seven heads, and Beast's ten horns, and Babylon, in Primasius, Bede, Ambrose Ansbert, Andreas, as if respectively the body of the Devils' regnant, the world's successive ages, the world's kingdoms, and world itself;⁴ 2nd, the fact of the Greek Byzantine ruler being still called and

¹Without spot, says Berengaud, because of the pollution contracted from the world having been washed away by penitence and tears, or by works of charity, or per flagella, by scourging, or at any rate "post mortem igni purgatorio." Purgatory was now established.

²At least till Berengaud; see p. 183.

³Mr. C. Maitland says (p. 279), with reference to the mediæval æra, which he dates from Rome's separation from the Byzantine dominion, accomplished A.D. 730, "Once more the popular style of [prophetic] exposition is entirely changed." My readers will naturally be surprised at such a statement: as they will have seen that in the West, for some two or three centuries after that date, all the chief expositors, as Bede, Ambrose, Ansbert, Haymo, did but follow the same mystical anagogic style of exposition as Tichonius and Primasius before them; while in the East Arethas professedly followed Andreas of the 6th century. Possibly Mr. C. M. may have meant that it changed after Jerome.

⁴See pp. 166, 167, 168, 171, 176, 177, *suprà*.

thought of as Roman emperor, after the Gothic catastrophe, albeit not having Rome itself as the seat and center of his power, like the Beast of the Revelation; as also, some three centuries later, Charlemagne and the Frank emperors in the West: whence the reasoning, as if the “let” still remained, that we see exemplified alike in Adso of Western Europe,¹ and the pseudo-Athanasius,² and Theophyl act and (Ecumenius too, who were Greek Biblical expositors of the 10th and 11th centuries³ the generally received idea of the time they lived in being a part of the Apocalyptic millennium, precursive to the little 3½ years’ season of Satan’s loosing, and the manifestation of Antichrist.⁴ To all which there is to be added the political fact that the Bishops of Rome, (the true Antichrist, as I doubt not) rose gradually and almost surreptitiously, furtively, in the first centuries of this era, to political power; and with such admixture too of lamb like pretensions to sanctity, as well as lion like pretensions in character of Christ’s Vicegerent, that is, they considered themselves as the administrative deputies of the King, Christ Jesus,⁵ serving in that dark and unintellectual era to blind the minds of expositors to the Pope’s real answering to the prophetic Antichrist: though this was but in truth what Hippolytus and others had inferred from prophecy respecting the mode of Antichrist’s incoming. Further the moral fact is to be remembered, that the corruption of Christian doctrine and worship enforced by Papal Rome,⁶ which was one grand mark of the antichristian apostasy, was participated in, more or less, by the expositors themselves, alike in the West and in the East:⁷ whence the rather their blindness to the great fact of the already developed Antichrist.

But, as the 11th century wore away, everything prepared for, and symptoms very significant betokened, that a new era of prophetic interpretation

¹So Adso of the 10th century: abstracted p. 180 *suprà*. So too Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury in the 11th century, on 2 Thess ii. 7: “He who now letteth: he means the Roman empire; after the destruction of which Antichrist will come.”

²For the pseudoAthanasius, see pp. 153, Note 1217.

³Theophylact was Archbishop of Bulgaria in the 11th century. Speaking of the let being the Roman empire, and of its taking away as of an event still future in his time, he says; “Eo dissoluto, vacuo insidiabitur [Antichristus] imperio, eique instabit; conabiturque cum hominum tum Dei imperium rapere.” So too Ecumenius; an expositor who was his contemporary, or nearly so. (See *Malvenda* i. 396.) In their exposition of St. Paul these both follow Chrysostom generally; and, like him, forbore from writing any direct Apocalyptic commentary. It may be well to compare on this point the surmises of Andreas and Arethas. See pp. 176, 179.

⁴So all the expositors after Tichonius and Augustine.

⁵So Gregory I. See my Vol. i. pp. 401403.

⁶See my Vol. i. p. 473. Mr. C. Maitland (p. 291) well cites the Papal jurist of the 14th century, Marsilius of Padua, in testimony to the otherwise well authenticated fact that Papal Rome’s revolt from the Byzantine emperors, under Gregory III, was a consequence of the emperor proscribing, the Pope affirming, the worship of images.

⁷See, for example, Ambrose Ansbert’s expressed approbation of angel mediatorship, p. 349 *suprà*.

was approaching. The Papacy had risen under Gregory VII, ere the conclusion of the 11th century, to such a height of power as well as of pretension,¹ and abused it to the enforcement of such unchristian dogmas, albeit in the professed character of Christ's Vicar, as to force on the minds of the more discerning surmising about the Popes and Papal Rome, and their possible prefiguration in Apocalyptic prophecy, scarce dreamed of before. Already, just before the year 1000, Gherbert of Rheims had spoken in solemn council of the Pope upon his lofty throne, radiant in gold and purple; and how that, if destitute of charity, he was Antichrist's sitting in the temple of God.² And Berenger in the 11th century, as if Apocalyptically instructed, and with special reference to the Popes' enforcement of the Antichrist dogma of transubstantiation, declared the Roman See to be not the apostolic seat, by the seat of Satan.³ The passing away of the millennial year 1000, without any such awful mundane catastrophe, loosing of Satan, and manifestation of Antichrist, as had been popularly expected,⁴ tended to make earnestly reason and question both on the long received millennial theory, and on that of the Antichrist intended in prophecy, more than before.⁵ Moreover the incoming of the 12th century from Christ promised (should the world last through it) to open to expositors the first possible opportunity of some way applying the year day principle (which had never been unrecognized) not to the smaller 3½ days' prophetic period only, but also to the great prophetic period of the 1260 days, without abandonment of the expectation, ever intended, of Christ's second advent being near.⁶

Such, I say, were the new circumstances of the times, which promised to operate powerfully in the new opening era on prophetic interpretation. Besides that the very intellectual expansion of men's minds necessitated a change from the long established mystical system of interpretation, for one more definite and explicit. Even in the Commentary by Berengaud, with its seven successive eras, (however unskillfully applied to the Apocalyptic prophecy) we yet see an illustration of the natural tendency of expositors' minds, then already acting, towards the adoption of some chronologically consecutive scheme of Apocalyptic interpretation: in place of that so long

¹Especially in Gregory's mighty contest with the emperor Henry.

²See my Vol. ii. p. 78, Note 1.

³See Vol. ii. pp. 280, 281. Let me observe that it is stated by Bishop Hurd that Berenger wrote a Commentary on the Revelation: and he ascribes Berenger's antiRomish sentiments on the subject of transubstantiation to this origin; as I have observed in my Vol. ii. p. 281, on the Witnesses. How much could we have desired that this Commentary should have been preserved to us! But I am aware that it is anywhere extant.

⁴See my Vol. i. p. 470.

⁵Mr. Faber (On Waldenses p. 394) speaks of Tissington, a writer of the 14th century, saying that it was a daydream of Berenger's (Berengarium somnium) that at the expiration of 1000 years from Christ's death Satan was loosed; and his loosing evidenced in the promulgation of before unequalled heresies and errors by the Romish Church, especially that of transubstantiation.

⁶See my Vol. iii. p. 265.

prevalent in Christendom, which explained it as mainly significant of general and constant Christian truths or doctrines: some one more consonant in this respect with common sense; and also with the precedent of Daniel's prophecies, as expounded in great part by inspiration itself.

Period 4. From 1100 A.D. to the Reformation

IN this fourth Period it is my purpose to sketch most prominently the partially contrasted and partially accordant views of the Apocalyptic prophecy, propounded very influentially by the Romanist Joachim Abbas and his followers, on the one hand, and the very early pioneers of the Reformation on the other. A briefer notice will suffice of Anselm of Havelburg before Joachim, and of Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas after him. I have already just hinted the various new and important characteristics of the new opening era which combined to exercise a considerable influence on Apocalyptic interpretation, and to give a new and increased interest to the Apocalyptic Commentaries that now appeared: besides that, in the progress of time, new and important acts had occurred in the history of Christendom, with which to compare the details of prophecy. Germs of thought now arose that were to receive afterwards a fuller development; and prophetic views destined, ere very long, to help towards producing great and unexpected results.

1. Anselm.

Let me briefly notice a short Treatise on the Apocalyptic Seals by Anselm, Bishop of Havelburg in the Magdeburgen Diocese:¹ a Treatise composed A.D. 1145, as appears on the face of the document; and on the following occasion. It seems that Anselm (who had been previously Secretary to the Emperor Lotharius the Second) having been sent on an embassy to the Greek Emperor Manuel at Constantinople, was challenged by some Greek bishops there, publicly to discuss the points of difference between the Latin and the Greek Churches; with which request he complied: and that having successfully defended, as was thought, the Latin cause, he was desired by Pope Eugenius to write an abstract of the discussion; which he did, in the form of dialogue. By way of introduction to this discussion, and with a view to answer difficulties on religion, which might arise in some minds, from the circumstance of so many different forms of religion existing in different countries and different ages, he prefixed to the Dialogues a preliminary book, showing that there had been from the first one body of the Church, governed by one Spirit; that in the Old Testament times, from Abel even to Christ, the Church had ever held the rite of sacrifice, though with ceremonies often varied; and been under the influence of faith, though with imperfect knowledge of the articles of Christian faith: also, with reference to New Testament times, that various different successive states of the Church had been

¹It is given in D'Achery's *Spicilegium*, Vol. i. 161.

expressly foreshown, indeed seven different states from Christ to the consummation; the prefiguration of them having been given in the Apocalyptic Seals. In this curious manner it is that Anselm's views on this prophecy were given to the world. It may perhaps be called the earliest Church Scheme, properly speaking, of the Apocalyptic Seals; and is, in brief, as follows.

1st The *white horse* typifies the earliest state of the Church, white in the luster of miraculous gifts:¹ the rider Christ, with the bow of evangelic doctrine, humbling the proud, and conquering opposers; so that the Church (Acts 5:14) was then daily increased.

2nd The *red horse* is the next state of the Church, red with the blood of martyrdom; from Stephen the proto-martyr to the martyrs under Diocletian.

3rd The *black horse* depicts the Church's third state, blackened after Constantine's time with heresies, such as of Arius, Sabellius, Nestorius, Eutyches, Donatus, Photinus, Manes; men pretending to hold the balance of justice in their discussions, but falsely weighing words and arguments:² while on the other hand, Church Councils laid down what are rightly called Canons, (so Anselm seems some way to have understood the voice from among the Cherubim in the Apocalyptic vision) by which the faith was defined.

4th The *pale horse* signified the Church's fourth state, colored with the hue of hypocrisy too generally prevalent afterwards; "as pale is neither white nor black, but either falsely." And so, adds Anselm, has the Church suffered from these, that the rider may well be called Death, Death the slayer of souls. This state he makes to have commenced from the beginning of the fifth century, and to have continued even to his own time. Nor will it terminate, he asserts, till the time when the tares shall be separated from the wheat in judgment, and the saints follow the Lamb whithersoever he goes.

5th *Souls under the altar*. Here is the Church's fifth state. Then the souls of the saints which will have shed their blood for Christ, considering the infinite miseries of the Church in its three previous states, moved with compassion will cry out, "How long, O Lord, dost thou not avenge our blood?"

6th The *sixth* state of the Church is when there shall arise the most vehement persecution in the times of Antichrist,³ answering to the great earthquake of the sixth seal. Then Christ, the Sun of righteousness, shall be hid; Christian professors fall from the Church into earthly mindedness; and

¹"Equus albus primus est status ecclesiæ, candore miraculorum nitidus et pulcher rimus." 166.

²"Hæretici...qui, dum in manu suâ dolosam stateram trutinantes habent, æquitatem de fide disputando proponunt; sed minus cautos levissimo unius vel minimi verbi pondere fullunt, et in partem sui erroris pertrahunt."

³Norbert, a contemporary of Anselm, and friend of the celebrated Bernard, is an example of the expectation entertained at this point by some persons of reputation, of the speedy appearance of Antichrist. See my Vol. ii. p. 368, Note 2.

the heaven, or Church itself, pass away, together with its sacraments, altogether from the public view.

7th The *seventh* state is that of the saints' rest; a rest in the beatific vision: as it is said, "When he had opened the seventh seal there was silence in heaven for about the space of half an hour. So Anselm of the seven Apocalyptic Seals: a scheme chiefly exhibiting views of the Church's successive trials and evils. I may observe, further, that in one or two passing notices of the vision of the Dragon and travailing Woman, Rev. 12, he makes what is said of the Dragon's persecution of the Woman, or Church, after she had brought forth Christ her male child, to be chronologically parallel with the times of the red horse of the second Seal; also the Dragon's going forth to persecute the rest of the Woman's seed, (Rev. 12:17) to have been fulfilled in the heresies introduced after Constantine's overthrow of Paganism,¹ by heretics that bore on their hearts *the mark of the Beast*.

2. Joachim Abbas

I now pass on to *Joachim Abbas*; a person of greater repute and greater influence, than any other whatever in the middle age in prophecy. He was a Calabrian by birth, and in early life had made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem: a city at that time still held by the successors of the Crusaders; though threatened by Mussulman enemies surrounding it. The lively recollection of what he then saw had probably not a little influence on Joachim's interest and views of prophecy. Indeed it was there and then, in the Holy Church and Sepulcher, that the idea was first impressed on his mind of having a call to the illustration of prophetic Scripture.² About the year 1180 he had been elected Abbot of the monastery of Curacio in Calabria, near Cosenza: but, having already at that time become famous for his gift in Scriptural research and explication, he received express permission from Pope Lucius III, in the year 1182, to retire a while from the Abbacy and its active occupations, in order to give himself more entirely to these studies. In 1183, at the Convent of Casemaire, Luke, then a monk of the monastery, and afterwards Archbishop of Cosenza, tells us that he was assigned as secretary to Joachim:³ and that night and day both himself and two other monks were employed by Joachim, as his assistants and scribes in two works on which he was then busy; one of the Concord of the Old and New Testament, the other on the Revelation.⁴ It was for a year and a half, according to this informant, that Joachim thus occupied himself at the convent, "dictating and correcting."

¹Compare pp. 154, 155, 162, 163 *suprà*.

²See Moreri in his Dictionary, on the article Joachim.

³I take my account from Fleury's *Histoire Ecclesiastique*, Liv. lxxiv. Luke makes this year 1183, the date of the commencement of Joachim's writing: "Il en obtint In permission d'écrire, et commença à le faire." Ibid.

⁴"L'Abbè me donna à lui pour lui servir de secretaire; et j'écrivis jour et nuit dana des cahiera ce qu'il dictoit et corrigeoit sur des brouillons, avec deux autres moines ses écrivains." The intimate connection of the two Works will appear at my p. 187.

At what time he finally finished his Apocalyptic comment seems uncertain. In A.D. 1190, when our king Richard was at Messina, on his way to the Holy Land, he was full of the subject. We have in Roger de Hovenden an interesting account of the king's sending for him, and hearing him lecture on it, induced by his high reputation for prophetic lore;¹ together with a sketch of certain views as to the future which he then propounded from the Revelation: views partially contradicted however by the event soon after; and which in the commentary, as finally corrected by him, appear, as we shall see afterwards, considerably modified. In the copy of the commentary handed down to us,² I observe a notice of something that he states himself to have heard in the year 1195.³ Hence I conceive that he corrected and improved the Work till near the time of his death; which happened, according to Fleury, in the year 1202. I now proceed to give a sketch of his exposition.

A brief Prologue, and then an Introduction Book, are prefixed to the Exposition; which Exposition is itself divided into Six Parts. In the Prologue he takes care prominently to state, that he had not entered on the work presumptuously, and merely from his own judgment; but by the authority, and at the command, of the Roman See; a brief Monitory of Pope Clement on which point, and one which alludes to the previous mandates of the two Popes preceding, is inserted.⁴ And, in the same spirit of deference to the Roman See, he leaves also prefixed a solemn charge to the Priors and Brethren

¹"The same year (1190) Richard hearing by common report, and by the relation of many persons, that there was a certain ecclesiastic of the Cistercian order in Calabria, named Joachim, abbot of Curacio, who had the spirit of prophecy, and predicted future events to the people, sent for him; and took pleasure in hearing the words of his prophecy, and wisdom, and learning. For he was a man learned in the Holy Scriptures; and interpreted the visions of St. John the Evangelist, which the same John relates in the Revelation, which he wrote with his own hand: in hearing which the king of England and his followers took great delight." What follows in Roger respecting Joachim's explanation of Rev. 12, 13, 17, and of the Woman, Dragon, and Beast Antichrist, there symbolized, is given at p. 202 *infra*.

²My edition is that of Venice, 1527; of 221 leaves.

³See pp. 397 *infra*. Again, he is one place seems to allude to A.D. 1200, as the date of his final recension. See my Note 2 or possibly 4, p. 388.

⁴"Breve Admonitorium seu Preceptorium Summi Pontificis, ut quàm citius perficiat expositionis Apocalypsis, et se Pontifici presentet." "Clemens Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilecto filio Joachim Abbati de Curatio, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Canonis suadet, et debitum evangelicæ charitatis, ut in cunctis actibus nostris ad id plurimum intendamus, aualiter secundum veritatis evangelicæ testimonium opera nostra bona luceant coram hominibus; ut ex eis proficiendi materiam capiant, et exemplum. Quum igitur, jugente et exhortante honæ memoriæ Lucio Papa prædecessore nostre, expositionem Apocalypsis et Opus Concordiæ inchoasse, et postmodum auctoritate Damini Papæ Urbani successoris ipsius composuisse dicaris, caritatem tuam monemus et exhortamur in Domino, per Apostolica Scripta mandantes, quatenus laboribus tuis in hac parte peroptatum et debitum finem imponens, (gratiâ Domini prosequente,) ad utilitateni preximorum opus illud complere, et diligenter studeas emendare; veniensque ad nos quàm citius opportunitas aderit, discussioni apostolicæ sedis, et judicio, ut præsentem. Sin velis in abscondito retinere, diligenti curâ prospicias quâ possis Summi Patrisfamilias offensam de talento scientiæ tibi credito satisfactione placare." Leaf 1/2 **[N.B. In what ensues a numerai so marked, 1/2*

of his Abbey, to have his writings immediately and formally submitted to its judgment; in case of his death occurring before this was done.¹

From the Introductory Book, (one of several chapters, preceding the main Commentary)² it may suffice to note what he says of the Three Ages, the Apocalyptic seven sealed Book, and the Concord of the Two Testaments. Noticing the old Jewish threefold division of time: before the law, under the law, and under the Messiah or gospel, he observes that the last period of these three may be itself divided into three: that of the gospel letter, gospel spirit, and vision of God; so making up five in all;³ and that, omitting the first and last of the five, he would mean by the three states of the world,⁴ when spoken of in his Treatise, the three intermediate eras: 1. from Abraham to John the Baptist and Christ; 2. from Christ to the time of the fullness of the Gentiles; 3. from that to the consummation. He states that certain mysteries of the Old Testament history were depicted by the seven Seals of the Revelation seven sealed Book: and that these mysteries were opened by Christ after his resurrection.⁵ He illustrates the concord of the two Testaments; and correspondence of certain events affecting the Old Testament Church, with certain that affected the New Testament Church, the latter being a kind of fuller expansion and accomplishment of the types of the former: and this in the seven eras following, signified under the seven Seals.⁶

“Apertio sexti sigilli,” he concludes, “nuper initiata, in paucis anis vel diebus consummationem accipiet. Exinde erit sabbatum, sicut in diebus Johannis:⁷ et in eo status iste secundus consummationem accipiet. Ut autem in tempore sexti signaculi percussa est vetus Babylon, ita et nunc percutietur nova. Et sicut tunc Assyrii et Macedones deterruerunt Judæos, ita et nunc Saraceni, et qui post eos venturi sunt pseudoprophetæ, facient mala multa in terrâ, et talem tribulationem qualis non fuit ab initio. Consummatis autem pressuris istis adveniet tempus beatum:” a time when “the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea.”⁸

signifies the second page of the Leaf.] Datum Late, secto Idus Junii, Pontificatus nostri anno primo. (i.e. A.D. 1188.)

¹The date given is MC; which is evidently incorrect. I presume it should be MCC. Leaf ½.

²It occupies from Leaf 2/2 to 26/2.

³Leaf 5/2.

⁴Leaf 6

⁵Leaf 6/2.

⁶See his Leaf 6 to 10.

⁷What Sabbath in St. John's days?

⁸Leaf 9/2.

We have here the key to Joachim's Apocalyptic views.

Seal.	Old Testament.	Seal.	New Testament.
1.	From Abram or Jacob, to Moses and Joshua; in which sera occurred Israel's war with the Egyptians.	1.	From Christ to death of John the Evangelist. Conflict of the Church with the Jews, under the N. T. Moses.
2.	Joshua to David. Wars with the Canaanite's.	2.	Death of St. John to Constantine. Persecutions of Pagan Rome.
3.	David to Elias and Elisha. Schism of Israel and Judah, and civil wars.	3.	Constantine to Justinian. Persian oppression of the Church. Schism of the Greek Church from the Latin.
4.	Elisha to Isaiah and Hezekiah. Wars first with Syrians, then with Assyrians, resulting in Israel's ten tribes' destruction.	4.	Justinian to Charlemagne. Persian persecutions. Saracens overrun and desolate the Greek Church and nation.
5.	Hezekiah to Judah's captivity by the Babylonians; after previous partial suifering from the Egyptians under Pharaoh Necho. Meanwhile there had been settled in the Samaritan countries a mixt people; half heathen, half not.	5.	Charlemagne to the time now present. The Greek Church now separated from the Roman. German Emperors from Henry I (men worse than heathens) endeavour to destroy the liberties of the Church. The Roman Empire answers to Babylon.
6.	Jews' return to Malachi's death. Babylon overthrown by the Persians. Jews suffer from Assyrians under Holofernes, and Syro-Macedonians under Antiochus. ¹	6.	Times just about beginning, in which the Romafi Babylon (or Babylon of the Roman empire) will be struck to death.
7.	Malachi to John the Baptist and Christ. World's first state ends.	7.	End of the second state in the world's conversion and sabbath? ²

Other chapters are on "the Dragon and Antichrist;" "*De duplici intelligentiâ distinctionis*;" "*Pulchrum mysterium*;" "On the difference of Sabbath's;" "On the perfection of the numbers five and seven," &c., not now needful to enter on. Let me only in passing call attention to the heading of one; "*De vitâ activâ designatâ in Petro, et de contemplativâ in Joanne*."³ On various occasions this view of Peter as type of the priestly order, John of

¹An evident anachronism; as it was not till long after Malachi and the Syro Macedonians oppressed the Jews. But (L. 8) he calls Haman a Macedonian.

²At Leaf 9/2, he allows two generations, or some 60 years, from A.D. 1200, as the interval of transition from the second to the third state. I shall have to remark afterwards on certain inconsistencies and obscurities in his statements about his 6th and 7th Periods.

³Leaf 17/2.

the monastic, is put forward by Joachim. In proceeding I omit noticing the Part I. of Joachim's Commentary,¹ relative to the Epistles to the seven Churches, as not to my point: and pass on to its Part II,² Leaf 114, where it enters on the subject of the Seals: observing, as we pass on, that he explains the four Cherubim around the throne to signify the four Ecclesiastical orders of pastors, deacons, doctors, and the contemplatives:³ or, with a certain reference to chronological succession, first, the apostles; second, the martyrs and confessors; third, the doctors of the 4th and 5th centuries; fourth, the virgins or monks.⁴

The 1st Seal then having been opened by Christ, its white horse was the primitive Church: the rider Christ, as man, with his crown of righteousness, in person conquering alike the world, death, and Satan; and to the disciples triumphantly assigning the kingdom, the Jewish perfidy being overcome. (Just as Israel emerged from, and conquered, the Egyptians.) It was the first Cherub, or Apostolic Order, which, as with a voice of thunder, here invited the world to contemplate.

In the 2nd Seal, the red horse symbolizes the Roman Pagan priests and armies: the rider the Devil, that great homicide, or the Roman persecuting Emperors actuated by him. So were wars kindled, and peace disturbed. And especially what bloodshed of the saints in the Roman persecutions; till the Church's victory over Paganism under Constantine and Pope Sylvester! (So, in Jewish history, the conquest of the Canaanites under the Judges, to Samuel and David.) The Order of Martyrs by their sufferings invited attention to this Seal.

3rd Seal. The black horse was the Arian Clergy, masters of error and darkness: the balance symbolizing the "*disputatio literæ*,"⁵ and cunning dialectics of the Arians. "*Sed tu tene tuum pondus: tu serva numerum quem audisti!*" viz. "*a choenix of wheat for a denarius*." This choenix, or two pounds, (*bilibres*) of wheat (*the food of man*), Joachim explains as having reference to the two Testaments, of which the perfect doctrine well corresponds with the Denarius, as the perfect number: while the three choenixes or bilibres, i.e. the six pounds of barley (more properly the food of cattle), might refer to the "*sex tempora laboriosa*" from Abraham to John the Baptist, "*quibus indicta sunt omnia servilia ad sanum atque perfectum intellectum perducere!*" Or perhaps the two pounds' weight of wheat, announced from among the four living creatures, might allude to the cry of the two Seraphim, Holy, Holy, Holy! "Which cry had the wretched Arius heard, he

¹From L. 26/2 to L. 99.

²Extending from L. 99 to L. 123.

³So. L. 106, on Rev. 4 6.

⁴So on the opening of the four successive Seals, L. 114116.

⁵Joachim often cites St. Paul's saying, "For the letter kills, but the Spirit giveth life."

would never have impeached the Deity of the Son or Holy Ghost.”¹ The Order of the Catholic Doctors here proclaimed the truth.

4th Seal. The pale horse signified the Saracens, those destroyers of much of the Greek Church and Empire; the rider Mahomet. For, “*Quis tam rectè More appellari potuit quàm ille perditus Maometh, qui tot millium hominum factus est causa mortis!*” (Joachim identifies this with the little horn of Daniel’s fourth Beast; and supposes the subject to be continued to the 5th and 6th Seals, as well as referred to again more fully afterwards.) By “Hades following” was perhaps meant Meses Mutus; a Mahommedan persecutor of Christians, then ruling in Mauritania.² It was the Order of Monks and Virgins that here answered to the fourth Cherub, crying, Come and see! (Israel’s fourth tribulation, from the Syrians and Assyrians, is the Jewish, parallel referred to by Joachim.)

5th Seal. By the altar of God, which is associated with this Seal, as the four Cherubs were with the Seals preceding, is meant the Romish Church, including both clergy and monks. As the four primary persecutions originated in Judæa, Rome, Greece, and Arabia, so this fifth in Mauritania and Spain; where many Christians of the Romish communion have been killed even until now. For, whenever the Saracen powers might seem to have fallen, they have always remarkably been revived, like the Beast’s head in Rev. 13: much as was also revived the Assyrian power, again persecuting Israel, under Holofernes.³ To which are to be added the injuries suffered by the Romish Church from the Latin Emperors.⁴ “And they cried, How long, O Lord, dost not thou avenge, &c.” A different cry this from that of the proto-martyr Stephen! For of the just, some, like him, are more patient. The white robes given signify how the martyrs pass from mourning to joy. The words, “till their brethren be judged, that are to be slain even as they,” show that after the fifth Seal, “*in cujus extremitate nos sumus*,”⁵ there remains still to be accomplished a final martyr conflict and suffering.

6th Seal. Earthquake, &c. Here is the beginning of the Apocalyptic Babylon’s Day of Judgment. “*Perpende verba hæc misera Babylon; ecce enim appropinquat desolatio tua; à sæculis predicta est...Necesse est enim ut in*

¹Joachim suggests various other fanciful analogies.

²Joachim omits the last clause of the verse. “And power was given over the fourth part (or over four parts) of the earth, to kill with the sword, and with famine, and with pestilence, and with wild beasts.” So that we cannot clearly tell which reading he followed, the 4 parts, or the 4th part. I suppose however that he read four parts; because, in explaining the symbol of Mahomet and the Saracens, he says, “*Gentem crudelem cujus detestanda germina terræ latitudinem occupasse dolemus*.”

³So Joachim, L. 116/2.

⁴I add this from Joachim’s general sketch of the Seals (see p. 187 *suprà*), though here omitted; because it is referred to in the next Seal, and was therefore omitted by oversight.

⁵L. 117/2.

sexto recipias quod in quinto tempore contulisti.” But who or what is Babylon? Whoever by moral or physical influence opposes the Church of Peter.¹ Specially he includes here all false Christians or false members of the Roman Church in the Germanic Roman Empire; those princes inclusive who are to tear the Harlot, as stated in Rev. 17, and who are afterwards openly to fight with the Lamb: *“Ipsi enim reges qui percussuri sint Fornicariam, ut emudent superficiem terræ, pugnaturi sunt cum Agno; et Agnus vincet illos.”*² This Day of Judgment, he says, is to be understood in a larger sense, as well as stricter: the large for a certain indefinite period of judgment; as Paul, “Us on whom the ends of the world are come.”³ a stricter, when the just shall rise to eternal life, the wicked to eternal punishment. Here the earthquake is an earthquake of terror in the hearts of men: the sun and moon darkened, the spiritual eclipse of Christian doctrine, as set forth both by the monastic and the clerical orders: (of which, as even now almost commencing, fearful symptoms appear) the heaven passing away, the passing away of the light dispensing Church, so as that there be no more public preaching: (though some will still exhort in secret) just as it is said in Rev. 13, “that none might buy or sell,” i.e. none offer (Professedly) the priceless gospel, but they that had the Beast’s mark. The islands and mountains fleeing away means the dissolution of episcopal churches and monasteries. The kings of the earth noted are the same that in Rev. 19 are seen to gather against the Lamb; being God’s instruments, bad though they be, for purging the Lord’s threshing floor of its chaff in the mystic Babylon. At which time many thousands will fall in martyrdom, to complete the martyr number, as intimated in the fifth Seal.⁴ Then, Babylon having thus been judged, the Mahommedan nations (jointed) by false prophets apostated from Christianity) will prophecy triumph to their law. But the Lamb shall conquer them.

Sealing Vision. The four angels here are the same evil angels as those that (Ps. 77) once afflicted Egypt; and which use infidel nations that surround the Church as their agents: judicially permitted to withhold the life giving influences of the winds; i.e. of the preaching of spiritual doctrine. (Or, if good angels, they may signify the four preaching orders, judicially withholding the word, under God’s direction; like as in Amos 8, and in the rain withholding of the two witnesses.) The sealing angel is either Christ, risen from the dead, and having the name of the living God as the Divine Author of life: or perhaps the Roman Pontiff, charged like Zerubbabel of old to re-

¹“Quieumque Petre ecclesiam moribus viribusque impugnant, Babylonis se filios contremiscant.” 117/2.

²On Rev.xvii. Joachim more fully explains himself about Babylon, and the Beast, and the kings that loved the harlot; the latter including wicked antipapal prelates, as well as princes. Babylon, it must always be remembered, is supposed by Joachim to mean the Western Roman Empire; and so to include what he calls Jerusalem, i.e. the true Romish Church, within it. But see the Comment on that Chapter.

³118.

⁴See again the Comment on Rev. 17

build Jerusalem and the temple; Christ acting and triumphing in him “*maximè cum ipse solus principal teneat locum ejus.*”¹ Whichever it be, he will arise as with the influence of the morning sun; at which the wild beasts, or adverse powers of darkness, will get them away to their dens (Ps. 104), while he preaches with certain evidence the near resurrection of the dead: that so, in this breathing time between the two last tribulations, the faithful ones may be prepared with the armor of light, to resist in the evil day; to complete the mystic number of the elect 144,000, including both converted Jews and Gentiles (these being the same that are again mentioned in Rev. 14, and figured also in the 144 cubits of the Holy City) and to fight the remainder of the battle, under the Lamb and his followers, with the Beast and kings of the earth. The interval will be like the six years after the return from Babylon, in which the Temple’s rebuilding was completed. Besides which 144,000, an innumerable number will be killed for Christ’s name, whose blessedness is declared in the palm bearing vision; a blessedness partly in this world, where they begin the ascription of praise to God the Savior, and lasting afterwards through eternity: the angels (here meaning all the elect ones)² crying Amen! Their serving him alike day and night in his temple, means serving him in times alike of joy and sorrow, in his Church,³ for no temple appeared in the New Jerusalem; nor is servitude known in heaven. And so at length they reach heaven afterwards; when they drink of the fountain of life in his presence, where there are no tears.

7th Seal. As in Luke 23 it is said that “the women rested (*siluerunt*) on the Sabbath according to commandment,” so the half hours silence of this seal may mean the sabbath keeping, especially in a contemplative life. So in Ps. 84, “I will be silent to hear what the Lord God may say concerning me.” In the corresponding era under the Old Testament, viz. after Ezra and Malachi, there was a cessation too from writing Scripture. So under the coming 7th Seal the time of expounding Scripture will be ended: the mysteries of the Old Testament being solved “*per concordiam,*” or manifest concord, I suppose, with those of the New Testament dispensation. (Did Joachim believe the prophetic Expositor’s office closed in himself?) He adds, “The half hour specified I deem to be the seventh and last half time of the 3½ prophetic times, whether literally or mystically understood.”⁴

With the Trumpets Joachim makes the chronology of the Visions to retrogress to the commencement of the Gospel dispensation in his Part III: the seven Trumpet Angels being New Testament preachers, appointed to raise their voice like a trumpet; just as Israel’s trumpet priests around Jericho.

¹120/2.

²“Omnes angeli in hoc loco omnes illi electi homines intelligendi sunt; qui, etsi non sint enumerati inter quinque ordines qui specialius pertinent ad civitatem, pertinent tamen ad suburbana et vicos.” L. 121/2.

³“Non quidem post finem seculi, cum cessabit servitus et nox deloris; sed in omni tempore isto quo perseverat edificium templi, et ignis purgatorius aliquantos affligit.” 122/2.

⁴L. 123.

With what those priests did in one week we may compare what has been done in the sixth age of the world: the world being fated to fall, together with Antichrist, on the completion of seven times from Christ's birth; which seven times are all included under the world's sixth age.¹

The incense Angel is explained as Christ, after his death and ascension, offering (together with the saints) the prayers of his people;² then sending down fire of the Holy Spirit on the apostles, and all others of spiritual understanding. Whereupon, like the thunderings and voices in vision, the voice of the Gospel sounded forth to the world; and a movement of men's hearts and souls resulted, like to the earthquake. This stated, Joachim next proceeds to expound the Trumpets.

Trumpet 1. The Trumpet Angel here is the Apostolic band, and chiefly St. Paul, preaching against Judaism the spirituality of the law; which the hail, mixed with fire and blood, cast on the earth, signifies the spirit of hardness of heart, mixed with fiery and bloody zeal, infused into the Jews:³ the result being that a third of professedly believing Jews (the vain carnal minded of them) apostate from the faith to Judaism or heresy.

Trumpet 2. This Trumpet Angel signifies the Martyrs and Doctors of the post apostolic age, preaching against the Nicolaitan heresy: Nicolaus with the zeal of his hot malice, who taught doctrines like those of Balak, being like a burning mountain cast into the sea of Gentilism; through which a third were caused to die from the faith.

Trumpet 3. The third Trumpet Angel symbolizes the Christian Doctors from the time of Constantine. The falling meteor was Arias: whose pestiferous error fell on bishops and priests, from whom should flow forth streams of wisdom; and embittered the waters, Scripture being now perverted by them. The Arian error, and Arian persecution too, continued till the time of the Saracens.⁴

Trumpet 4. The Trumpet Angel in this case typifies the Holy Monks and Virgins: who, like celestial luminaries, walking in the high pathway of contemplation, gave light to the world; but were in a large measure quenched by the outburst of the licentious Mahometan heresy, and of the Saracens. The Woe denouncing Angel that next followed, I think, says Joachim, to have signified Pope Gregory I: who wrote so much, and so earnestly, on the

¹"Notandum quod non corruerunt muri Jerico, nisi in septimo, vei post septimum circuitum, et quasi in consummatione diei. Completis septem temporibus ab incarnatione Domini, cum ruinâ Antichristi ruet præsena mundus . . . Etenim septem illa tempore sub sectâ continentur ætate." L. 124.

²Christ is the one mediator between God and man, says Joachim distinctly; just as says the Scriptures. But not, he presently adds, the only intercessor. Else "decipitur (quod absit) et errat universa ecclesia; quæ quotidie sanctorum suffragia confidenter expostulat." (!) 124/2.

³Facta est grando duritæ, mixta cum igne zeli, et cruore odii, et missa est in cor Synagogæ, semper terrena quærens." 127/2.

⁴129/1.

worlds end as near at hand, and the coming trials of the consummation.¹ If his predictions were not fulfilled, the failure arose, not from Gregory's having been deceived, but from God's mercy in withholding judgment, and prolonging the time of probation.

Trumpet 5. "And who the scorpion locust of this Trumpet but the heretics commonly called Pathareni,² the modern Manichees?" So Joachim expounds the symbol. Take notice the earliest application of such Apocalyptic emblems by Romish writers to anti-Romish schismatics.

And here observe, Joachim gives the current account of these heretics (the commingled Waldenses and Cathari apparently) just as it had reached him: nor can I pass on without briefly sketching it, as being a testimony hitherto unnoticed. He tells then that they believed all bodies and flesh to have been created by the Devil,³ and Christ not to have come in the flesh; condemned lawful marriages, and enjoined abstinence from eating flesh:⁴ though plausibly professing all the while to be the holders and teachers of the apostolic faith:⁵ that they lived a simple life, supported by their own labor; and made great pretense to purity and righteousness;⁶ yet, when meeting at night in their synagogues, did there the deeds of darkness:⁷ that their origin was of ancient date, beyond known record:⁸ that they were divided into believers and perfect men; the latter alone bound to observe their stricter rules of life:⁹ that they were bent on proselyting;¹⁰ using, or rather abusing

¹Such, the reader may remember, is in part my own explanation of the vision. It is interesting to find it suggested so early. But, so viewing it, how could Joachim place the Saracens, as he does, not after, the woedenouncing angel?

²130/2. So A.D. 1179, in the third year of the Lateran Council: "Hæreticorum quos alii Catharos, alii Patarinos, alii Publicanos vocant." Also, in A.D. 1183, Pope Lucius III.; "Imprimis Catharos, et Patarinos, et eos qui se Humiliatos, vel Pauperes de Lugduno, falso nomine mentiuntur." Hard, vi. ii. 1683, 1878. and again the Letter of Innocent III, A.D. 1199, which has been referred to by me Vol. ii. pp. 354, 425: "Quosdam qui Valdenses, Cathari, et Paterini dicuntur."

³"Omnia corpora," 130/2; "omnem carnem," 133.

⁴132/2.

⁵131. "Verbis verisimilibus." "Hæc quasi rationabiliter concinantes. 131, 132.

⁶"Justitiâ præditos." 131. Compare what I have said of the heretics examined at the Council of Arras, early in the 11th century, in my Vol. ii. p. 276.

⁷"Nocturno, ut fertur, tempore." 130/2.

⁸"Diu est ex quo confuta fuit seeta illa: licet nesciamus à quo fuerit inchoata vei aucta." 131/2. Hence the 5 months, or 150 years, assigned to the locusts figuring them. Compare my remarks on this point Vol. ii. pp. 357, 381384.

⁹Compare what is said in my Vol. ii. p. 398, of the twofold division of the Waldenses into the Perfection, and the general body of the disciples: also ib. 287, of the division of the heretics examined at Cologne in 1147, into the general body, called believers, and those especially set apart, called the elect.

¹⁰131.

Scripture (like the lamb like horned false Prophet) for the purpose;¹ affirming that the poor man, on joining them, became instantly rich;² urging from their own simpler and more primitively Christian life, in contrast with that of the Catholic clergy;³ that in doing this they made light of the risk incurred; even as if they despised the present life, and counted on eternal life, if punished with death in consequence;⁴ in which case, and when burnt as heretics by the Catholic authorities, they were esteemed by their brethren as men crowned with martyrdom.⁵ Is not all this very corroborative of the view given by me of these so called heretics, and other cognate sects, in my second Volume?

As to the Apocalyptic details, they are thus applied to the Pathareni. The original opener of the abyss God only knew. That it was some of the clergy however was evident,⁶ taught by the father of lies to probe the depths of worldly science; the scorpion locusts being the Pathareni heretics, emerged out of the smoke of the heresy: again the trees and grass, which the locusts are bid not to hurt, are the perfect and the simpleminded Catholics; the latter of whom, when interrogated by the heretics, turn a deaf ear, saying it is not for them, but the clergy, to dispute on questions of faith.⁷ On the other hand the men converted by the Pathareni into “believers” soon feel the venom of the sting of their perverters; the very “paleness of their face” showing them to be so wretched that they would rather die than live:⁸ conscience meanwhile accusing them of having joined the heretics only from regard to temporal benefit: it being a custom of these Pathareni to make collections at their meetings;⁹ and to hold out to poor Catholics, with whom they express sympathy, that by joining them they may both temporarily profit, and also, keeping the apostolic faith, gain eternal life.¹⁰ The breastplates indicate the hardheartedness of the Perfection: the rushing locust wings their noisy arguing from Scripture: the five months of their commission, a period probably of so many generations: five months being equivalent to five times thirty

¹“Utuntur auctoritatibus Scripturarum; immo non utuntur, sed abutuntur.” 132/2.

²“Qui pauper venit ad illos protinus, inquit, efficitur divers.” 131. Compare what is stated in my Vol. ii. pp. 272399, &c.

³p. 131.

⁴“Ut, quasi equi preparati ad prælium, nihil vereant adversi: despicientes penitus vitam temporalem, ac si per supplicia adepturi eternam.” 132. See my Vol. ii. pp. 311313.

⁵“Nam et martyres Dei nominant suos, qui forte (!) a Catholicis concremati sunt igne; existimantes illos principes scetæ suæ, gloriâ et honore coronatos in coelis.” 132. “Ut. . . vei occisi (sicut asserunt) coronentur martyrio.” 131/2.

⁶“Clericum fuisse...apparet.” 130/2.

⁷131. Compare Sergius’ remark in my Vol. ii. 257.

⁸131/2.

⁹Collectas bonorum suorum.” 131. A statement deserving observation; as not, I think, noted elsewhere about the Sect.

¹⁰131.

days, and sometimes a day used for a year.¹ For it is long since the sect first began; indeed no one knew when.² Finally, the locust king Abaddon might be the pseudo-Apostolic man whom these heretics all profess to obey.³

On the whole, adds Joachim, considering what St. John says, that “who-soever denies Jesus to have come in the flesh is an Antichrist,” and also what St. Paul prophesies of apostates in the last days, “forbidding to marry, and that there should be abstinence from meats,” we may probably conclude that Antichrist is even now in the world, though the hour of his revelation has not yet come: the time for this being under the sixth Trumpet, after the desolation of the Roman Empire,⁴ which still offers him resistance. But the fifth Trumpet woe is indeed but a preparation for the sixth: so that Antichrist must anticipate the latter in his rise, so as under the fifth, either by himself or by his messengers, to have begun to spread his poison.⁵

Trumpet 6. The voice from the four horns of the altar means the concurrent voice of the four evangelists, declaring the evils fated to occur at this epoch of the consummation: the four angels bound, the same four evil angels as in Rev. 7, waiting only the summons to do evil, on the summons of their father the Devil, at any time, and for any time, whether “the hour, day, month, or year:”⁶ the Trumpet Angel, Christian preachers; whose it is to loose the evil angels, either by ceasing to pray for Christendom, or simply (so as Isaiah in what is said of his making the heart of the Jews hard) in the sense of announcing their being loosed:⁷ whereupon the four angels are to lead on deceived myriads, as believers in the Antichrist, or rather Antichrist, of prophecy. Among these, some of the Saracens will be eminent; the same that constituted the fourth Trumpet plague; now revived, after a temporary decline, like the Beast from the earth: many Jews too joining, and also the Pathareni. “Indeed,” adds Joachim, “a sensible and God fearing man, escaped from captivity, in Alexandria, told me last year, i.e. A.D. 1195, at Messina, how he had been assured by a certain eminent Saracen, that the Pathareni had sent envoys thither to conclude an alliance with the Saracens, which had in effect been concluded.”⁸ Thus was a foundation laid for the mystery of iniquity. By these other savage nations are to be led on; as the

¹“Solet aliquando dies des gnare annum.” 131/2. The reader will mark this application of the year-day principle by Joachim Abbas. Another similar one will be found at p. 193 *infra*: also p. 196. See my Vol. iii. p. 282.

²I have already noted this on the preceding page.

³“Nempe et Apostolicum cui omnes obediunt so fatentur habere; de quo in præsentī loco subsequenter adjungitur:” (L. 133) i.e. in the next verse about Abaddon. Compare what I have said of the Pope of the Paulikians, Vol. ii. p. 289.

⁴Mark here another instance of the mistake about the Roman Empire, as if still unbroken and undivided, on which I have observed. pp. 183, 184 *supra*.

⁵133.

⁶134.

⁷133/2

⁸134.

Turks from the East, the Moors and Berbers ¹ from the South, and from the North savage nations north of Germany: all which until the sixth Trumpet blast, continue bound in, or by, the great river Euphrates, or Roman Empire; an empire intended to be a bulwark to the Church. But when the sixth Vial has been poured out, and the Euphratean waters dried up, then these powers are to fall on Rome, the proud city, the mystic Babylon. (Would that it may take warning!) A prelude to which has been seen recently in the case of its Emperor Frederic: who (in 1189) crossed the sea with multitudes; but returned (in 1191) with a mere remnant, nothing done.² The lion like heads of the symbol, adds Joachim, indicate open force; the serpent tails, secret poison; whereby (the numbers being irresistible) the enemy will both dominate over the body, and by torments seek to quench faith in the soul. Joachim further intimates the identity of these powers, especially the Saracen, with the ten toes of Daniel's image; as also with the ten horns of the Beast; or ten kings in Rev. 17, that are to tear the desolate the harlot city Rome.³ And he observes that he is not to be thought inconsistent or absurd in thus a second time supposing the Saracen power to be an actor on the scene; in the 6th, as well as in the 4th Trumpet: because the Beast's last head but one, after seeming to be dead, revived again as its last head, to do worse evils than before.

In (Rev. 9:20, "And the rest of the men which were not killed by these plagues yet repented not of the works of their hands, that they should not worship devils, and idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and of wood: which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk") a notice having been added of men's general unrepentance after the plagues above mentioned, and of their worshipping demons, and idols, &c.,⁴ there is given in Rev. 10 a vision of an angel of light, sent to improve the respite before the last and greatest tribulation: the elect being thus helped to salvation, and the condemnation of the impenitent increased.

But who meant by this Angel? Doubtless some eminent preacher, in the spirit and power of Enoch, if not Enoch himself,⁵ descending from heaven to earth, i.e. from the contemplative to the active life: the iris (rainbow) about his head indicating his spiritual intelligence; his face like the sun, the communication of the light of spiritual intelligence; his feet as pillars of fire,

¹Or Meselmuti: 134/2.

²131/2.

³Ibid.

⁴On this there occurs a curious applicatory passage in Joachim. "Sed forte dicit aliquis, Numquid ego dæmones et simulaera colo.ut timeam super hoc iudicium Dei? Ego non dæmonia sed Deum colo. Idola enim muta et surda intoto poene orbe contrita sunt." Yes, but, says Joachim, covetousness is idolatry. (136/2.) Did the thought never occur to him of the saints' images, ("surda et muta" as the heathen idols,) and their worship; a worship enjoined under pain of anathema by the 2nd Nicene Council?

⁵Joachim says, Enoch or Elias, but prefers Enoch: Elias being one of the witnesses according to him; Enoch no so 137.

the firmness of his tread (through recognition of their concord ¹) in either Testament, Old or New, the land or deeper sea; as also his shedding forth luster on either: his lion like voice being a cry directed against the infidels remaining; and the seven thunders the accordant answering voices of doctors inspired by the seven spirits of God: voices sealed however from the carnal; as says the apostle, “The natural man understandeth not the things of the Spirit of God,” and Christ, “Cast not your pearls before swine:” though the book of Scripture will be still opened to all. The Angel’s oath indicates that it will be one part of the answering preacher’s mission to proclaim the last time and day of judgment must begin, as near at hand: though till the event it must remain uncertain, as Augustine says,² how long may be the last day spoken of in Scripture, or in what order the details of judgment; save only that the judgment must begin, and that speedily, at the house of God; and that the subsequent “time being no more,” means the ending of the troublesome times of the world in the final Sabbath:³ which warning cry, however, the children of this world will not hear; but say, “Where is the promise of his coming (*parousia*)?”⁴

In the charge “Go take the Book and eat it,” John is the representative of the monastic order,⁵ as Peter elsewhere of the clerical. And, the latter being almost effete and worn out,⁶ it will be the special office of the former, when enlightened by the spiritual expositions of the messengers to truth, to preach the Gospel of the coming kingdom. This will be the third preaching course opposed by the enemy: the other two being that by Moses, and that by Christ and his apostles.⁷

Rev. 11:1; “And there was given me a reed like a rod: and the Angel said, Rise and measure the temple, &c.” The holy city here mentioned means (not Jerusalem and the Jewish synagogues, nor yet the Greek Church and empire, which are rather Samaria, but) the holy Roman Church and empire, ‘tota

¹“Quid in pedibus ejus, aui erant quasi columna ignis, nisi sensum concordiae duorum Testamentorum?” 137/2, 138. This, concurrently with what he says of the Angel being a great preacher, descending from the contemplative to the active life, makes me think that Joachim regarded himself as mainly the Angel intended: one grand point of his views being the concord of the Old and New Testament; as stated p. 187 *suprà*.

²“In fine mundi, vei circà ipsum finem, has(?)res didicimus affuturas: Helyam Tesbyten venturum, fidem Judæcorum, Antichristum persecuturum, Christum judicaturum, mortuorum resurrectionem, bonorum malorumque discretionem, mundi conflagrationem, ejusdemque renovationem. Quæ omnia quidem ventura case eredendum est; sed quibus modis, et quo ordine veniant, magis tune docebit rerum experientia, quàm nunc ad pefectum hominum intelligentia valet.” Quoted too in Joachim, L. 140.

³L. 140.

⁴130/2.

⁵141/2, 142. “Monachis designatis in Joanne.” So too in Joachim’s Introductory Book, 17/2, &c.

⁶De hâc serotinâ prædicatione, quam facturus est ordo ille quem designat Joannes, consummato jam pene illo ordine quem significat Petrus, &c.” 142/2.

⁷*Ibid.*

Latinitas:"¹ the temple symbolizing the ecclesiastical order, generally; the altar, especially the consistory of cardinals.² To this Church was the promise given, "Thou art Peter, and on this rock, &c;" while the Greek Church, because of its schism from the Universal Shepherd, and not being under the apostolic reed or discipline, is but like the temple's outer court, which is cast out and given to the Gentiles. Already we see this in great part fulfilled; the Saracens having widely laid waste the Greek churches. And it must be desolated yet more;³ just as the ten schismatic tribes of Israel were in Old Testament times wasted, and carried captive, by the Assyrians.⁴ And, adds Joachim, (here more fully stating his view of the judgments coming on Rome and the Popedom, which views, already hinted under the sixth Trumpet, will occur again at Rev. 13 and 17, and call for the reader's special notice) because of the Latin Church not repenting, but adding sin to sin, therefore the Gentiles, after desolating the Greek or outer court, are also to tread for 42 months the holy city, or Latin Church and Empire:⁵ the so defined period being identical with the 3½ times of the reign of Daniel's little horn, or eleventh king.⁶ On the Apocalyptic Witnesses there arise, says Joachim, the two questions; 1. Who the two? 2. Whether to be taken personally or figuratively? On the primary question he states the general patristic opinion that they were to be Enoch and Elias; but, with deference, expresses his own opinion that they meant rather Moses⁷ and Elias: the same that appeared together at Christ's transfiguration, and whom what is said in the Apocalyptic sketch of the Witnesses better suits: viz. their turning the waters into blood, which

¹Ibid. Compare what I have observed on Lateinos, as the name and number of the Beast, Vol. iii. pp. 252, 253.

²142/2.

³On the capture of Constantinople, and overthrow of the Greek Empire by the Turks, whom Joachim and others regarded as very much identified with the Saracens, this exposition of Joachim's might naturally be recalled to mind, as if then having its fulfillment.

⁴Compare again the Concord of the Old and New Testament; as noted by me p.187, Note 5 supra., from Joachim's Introductory Book.

⁵At L. 143, 145, Joachim distinguishes between the being given to the Gentiles, so as was the Greek Church, and the trodden down, which was to be the punishment of the Latin; the latter being still, "in respect of faith, a virgin."

⁶Under the 11th king, says Joachim, (L. 145/1,) or as a contemporary with him, I think, there is to rise also the king of fierce countenance told of in (Dan. 8 23, "And in the latter time of their kingdom, when the transgressors are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences, shall stand up."): the two combining in persecuting the Church, as did Pilate and Herod: the one, like Pilate, a Gentile chief; the other, like Herod, a heretic. At L 143 Joachim draws out a curious analogy between the Jews, Greeks, and Latins, on the one hand, and on the other Mary Magdalene, John, and Peter, successively visiting Christ's sepulcher: Mary Magdalene first approaching it, while yet dark, (so as the Jews are in the dark,) and reporting to John and Peter: John, who was to become episcopal head of the Greek metropolitan city, Ephesus, next approaching it, but not entering in; until after Peter, the future Bishop and head of the Latin Church, had first entered. So, ultimately, the Greeks are to be recovered from their schism and heresy; and to join the Latin or true Church of Christ and Peter. L. 143/145.

⁷Whose death is not recorded, adds Joachim, like other deaths; it being said that none knows his sepulcher.

Moses did, conjointly with other plagues in Egypt; and inducing a drought of 3½ years, which did Elias. As to the second question, he quotes Jerome, saying, when asked about Enoch and Elias, the then supposed Witnesses to come, “that all the Revelation was to be spiritually understood: because otherwise Judaic fables would have to be acquiesced in; such as the rebuilding of Jerusalem, and renewal in its temple of carnal ceremonies.”¹ Whence, argues Joachim, we must suppose that Jerome only expected two individuals, or perhaps two spiritual orders, to come in the spirit and power of Enoch and Elias, so as did John the Baptist previously; to preach, and have the fight with Antichrist.² On the whole the leaning of Joachim’s mind seems to be to Jeremiah’s view; and that the spiritual or figurative significance was to be attached to the indicated witnesses, Moses and Elias; the two orders of clerics and monks being perhaps thereby intended: (the latter by Elias who was unmarried:³) some individual preacher having also previously appeared, as in Rev. 10, or some spiritual preaching order, answering to Enoch: which three he further identifies⁴ with the three angels in mid heaven with gospel voice and warning cry, before the fall of Babylon, described in Rev. 14. At the same time, when coming to the notice of the 42 months of the prophesying, he enunciates both as regards the Apocalyptic Witnesses, and the Beast also that they are to conflict with, a larger and more general explication, as well as the more special: “the 42 months in which they are to preach, clothed in sackcloth, signifying so many generations, of the cleric and monastic witnessing orders;”⁵ i.e. according to his own explanation elsewhere,⁶ on the year day principle 1260 years. During all which time, says he, the Gentiles and antichristian unbelievers, even till Antichrist, are to tread the Holy City; though but partially, and not so as under Antichrist proper: just

¹So, respecting Jerome, at my pp.155, 156 *suprà*.

²Joachim mentions another thing stated by Jerome, as both his own and an earlier patristic notion respecting Enoch and Elias; viz. that in their not dying these two were typical of those that at the consummation are not to die, but only to be changed at Christ’s coming. But how could they be such a type, argues Joachim, if they have yet personally to conflict with Antichrist, and die in the conflict? L. 148, 148/2. Hence the probability that, if these two were meant in the Revelation, it was only in a figurative sense.

³“Moses fuit vir Levita, et pastor populi Israel; Helyas vir solitarius non habens filios aut uxorem. Ille ergo significat ordinem clericorum; iste ordinem monachorum.” 148/2.

⁴L. 147/2.

⁵“Quadragesima duo menses, quibus prædicant induti saccis significant totidem generationes; quibus (et verbis et exemplis) clamant dicentes, Penitentiam agite; appropinquavit enim regnum coelorum.” 148/2.

⁶Viz. on the five months of the scorpion locusts. See p.191 *suprà*. Hence no doubt, in part, and from Joachim’s notice about the two generations from A.D. 1200, noted pp.188, Note 1561, the Benedictine Editor of Bernard draws his inference; “Abbas Joachim existimabat Antichristum intra sexaginta annos à suo tempore ad futurum. Vixit autem circa annum 1200.” (Vol. i. p. 846. Paris 1839.) Besides that elsewhere, viz. in his *Lib Concord.* ii. 16, and v. 118, Joachim writes, ‘Accepto haud dubiè die pro anno. et 1260 diebus pro totidem annis.’ So *Brit. Mag.* 16 370, 371, referred to by Todd and Harrison, *Warb. Lect.* 432. I have not observed any more direct expression of opinion to that effect elsewhere in Joachim’s Apocalyptic Commentary.

as we have already seen the outer court (or Greek Church) many years trodden by them.¹ The Witnesses' shutting heaven during the time of their prophesying is to be understood figuratively; so as in Isaiah, "Make the heart of this people fat, &c.," and, "I will command the clouds that they rain on my vineyard;" also the fire evoked by them from heaven, of the power of the Spirit in their words to confound their adversaries.² Their being said to stand before the Lord of the whole earth, may mean before Daniel's *little horn*, or *eleventh King*; (just as Moses and Aaron stood before Pharaoh;) seeing that he, as Prince of the world, is to reign for 3½ times, in judgment on the sins of men. Or, if Christ be meant as the Lord of the whole earth, their standing before him may indicate that in the time of their witnessing, (or at least before its conclusion) Christ is to appear in that character, and to take to himself this earth's dominion: as it is said in Psalm 2:8, "I will give thee the heathen for thy inheritance, and uttermost parts of the earth for a possession."³

"And when they shall have completed their testimony, the Beast, &c." By this Beast (as will be again stated on Rev. 13 and 17) there seems to be meant "the unbelieving multitude that were to persecute the Church, from Christ's death down to Antichrist inclusive:" the same as the fourth Beast of Daniel.⁴ Which Beast, towards the end of his reign,⁵ (false prophets assisting) with both by fraud and force make war upon the two witness leaders, and the body of the saints, too, more generally:⁶ first however inflicting a deathblow on the Babylon (or Roman) power resisting him.⁷ As to the place of their slaughter it might be the literal Jerusalem, were the two Witnesses to be slain two men literally. Against this, however, stands the fact that Jerusalem is never called the great city, so as Nineveh of Babylon.⁸ Therefore we may rather understand generally by the phrase the kingdom of this world; the body of the citizens of which have had part in slaying the saints, and in spirit participated in Christ's crucifixion: also by the witnesses slain, all the

¹L. 148/2.

²L. 149.

³Ibid.

⁴L. 149/2. See Joachim on Rev. 9, p.192 *suprà*.

⁵"Cicà finem regni sui factura est praelium contrà sanctos." 150.

⁶"Priecunitibus cos (santos) duebus viris qui sint duces eorum." *ibid*.

⁷"Prius dabit operam resistantem sibi diutius percutere Babylonem; et postea eriget contrà Deum cornu contumacæ suæ." *ibid*.

⁸*Ibid*. (Jer. xxii. 8, "And many nations shall pass by this city, and they shall say every man to his neighbor, Wherefore hath the LORD done thus unto this great city?"), was either overlooked by Joachim, or considered inapplicable. And, if the latter, not without reason. See my Vol. ii. p. 435. It is never to be forgotten on this point that the Revelation has itself most expressly defined "the city the great one" in it to mean the seven hilled Rome: and to suppose any other quite different city to be also intended in it by that selfsame appellative is to suppose its writer a patron of Babylonian confusion.

preachers of truth.¹ At the same time, if the prophecy is meant specially about two individual witnesses, the city may be (though still not necessarily so) the literal Jerusalem; Daniel's 11th king having then proclaimed himself savior of the Jewish people, and led them back to Jerusalem. As to the 3½ days of the witnesses lying dead, the meaning is affected by the same considerations. If the witnesses be two bodies or successions of men, and the 1260 days of their prophesying be meant typically of the whole time from Christ to the consummation, (already in Joachim time near 1260 years) then the 3½ days must mean some lesser time, after which the kingdom under the whole heaven is to be given to the saints. But if they be two individuals, and the larger specification of time is to be taken literally, then there must be meant the two literal witnesses' literal resurrection at the brief literal interval of 3½ days: though not the general resurrection of the dead, which is to be not till the end of the world.² He speaks of a large gathering of people, on the occasion, and to the place: and says that in the earthquake following, the tenth part of the city (the holy city or Church) which fell meant those clerics who, though professedly in Rome, are yet really infidels, belonging to Antichrist; and who will then openly apostatize from the faith: also that the seven thousand are laymen deceived by these clerics of Antichrist's faction, and who will also similarly apostatize. But if Enoch (or perhaps Moses) and Elias are thus to come in the third state before the consummation, how need we to watch and beware, lest any enemy come saying, "We are Enoch and Elias," and deceive many! Because it is as clear as the light that a Beast with two horns like a lamb is to come; symbolizing false prophets, such as Christ bids us to beware of.³

Trumpet 7. Now the mystery hidden in the Old Testament, from Moses to John the Baptist, will be consummated. The great voices in heaven are preachers of that era in the Church, announcing and rejoicing over the coming good; the 24 typical elders representing the union of all prelates in the song.⁴ The time of the dead being judged is that of the Beast and False Prophet being cast into the lake of fire; Antichrist and his fellows being specially meant in the corruption's of the earth then to be exterminated:⁵ at

¹150, 150/2. Joachim thus observes on the adverb where; ("where also their Lord was crucified;") "Hoc adverbium ubi plerumque in divinâ paginâ non tam loci situm, quàm aut populum qui aliquando fuit in loco. aut populi ejusdem similitudinem signat." 150/2

²Ibid.

³148. About the False Prophet see p. 197 *infra*.

⁴152.

⁵"Ad Antichristum et socies ejus referendum est; quod, sicut, præter solitum corrupturi sunt terram, ita præter solitum exterminabuntur de terrâ." He compares this, and makes it parallel, with Zechariah's prophecy: "I will gather all nations; and I will pour out my spirit on the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and supplication;...and I will take away the false prophet from the land." 153.

which time will begin the third or Sabbath state;¹ corresponding, perhaps, with Rev. 20:4, "I saw thrones, &c.:"² until the saints in the new bodies ascend to inherit the kingdom prepared for them. I think, adds Joachim, that there will elapse but a brief interval between the sixth trumpet's sounding and the seventh's.³

Rev. 12. The travailing Woman here figured, Joachim makes to mean the Church generally in his Part IV; but specially that Church of hermits and virgins, the children of which are the 144,000 of Rev. 14: this Church answering to the prototype of the Virgin Mary, "Queen of heaven;" being clothed with Christ the Sun of righteousness, trampling on all sublunary glory, and bearing the crown of the twelve virtues.⁴ Of the figured Dragon, or Devil, the body are the multitudes of the reprobate; the Dragon's seven heads, the seven chief Church persecuting successive kings of the reprobate;⁵ his ten horns, ten kings that have yet to reign;⁶ his tail, the last anti-christian tyrant at the end of the world; the third part (said of the stars drawn by the tail), the same third as in the four first Trumpets.⁷ The Apostolic Church having brought forth Christ, its male child, (as He said, "Who is my mother? Are not these?")⁸ the Devil tried to kill him; but he rose, and ascended into heaven. In the first battle of martyrs ensuing, Michael, the invisible protector of the Church, acted chiefly through Peter and his successors;⁹ the invisible Dragon through the Dragon's two first heads, Herod and Nero. This great battle may seem to have ended in the days of Constantine. And so the Apocalyptic song of exultation is to be referred to that emperor's

¹"Ad tempus illud referendum est in quo Bestia et Pseudopropheta mittentur in stagnum ignis ardens sulphure; et ad tertium statum mundi, qui erit in sabbatum et quietem: in quo, exterminatis prius corruptoribus terræ, regnaturus est populus sanctorum Altissimi; quousque induti novis corporibus, et paeto iudicio generali, ascendent simul cum Domino suo ad paratum sibi regnum ab origine mundi." 152/2.

²"Puto autem quod mox, ubi completa fuerit passio sanctorum, incipiet septimus Angelus exaltare vocem suam; ostendens jam omnino consummata esse mysteria regni Dei: apparentibus signis in sole et lunâ et stellis (Luke xxi.);.. nempe et quod dictum est in hoc loco, 'Et tempus mortuorum,' in septimâ parte hujus libri scriptum; 'Vidi sedes, et sederunt super eas,...et reguaverunt cum Christo'" 152/2.

³Ibid.

⁴L. 154, 154/2, 155.

⁵"Septem capita septem sunt nomina tyrannorum aui sibi persequendo ecclesiam per tempora successerunt." Who the kings meant "in summâ hugus libri sufficienter digessimus." 156/2. Joachim thus distinguishes the Dragon's seven heads from the Beast's: "Capita Draconis reges, non populi, intelligendi sunt; capita vero Bestiæ populi, non reges." *ibid.*

⁶Joachim notes the fact of the diadems being distinctively on the ten horns in the Beast's case. *ibid.*

⁷See p. 190 *suprà*.

⁸157.

⁹158/2 The same mystical sense Joachim (*ibid.*) makes to attach to Michael in Dan. 12 1, "And at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince which standeth for the children of thy people: and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time: and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book."

time, when the saints then surviving were crowned with glory.¹ Thereupon the Devil, (cast down to the earth, or into the hearts of the earthly minded) persecuted the woman by means of the Arian heretics and heresy;² and she fled to a life of retirement and contemplation: the two wings helping her being wisdom and the love of God; the time of her sojourning in the wilderness (like Elias' 3½ years of seclusion) being 42 months, or 1260 days; i.e. the while time of the Dragon, and that in which all mysteries are to have their consummation; the water cast out of the mouth against her being Arian heresies and persecutors.³ The Dragon's first war having thus been against Christ and his apostles, the second against the early martyrs under Pagan Rome, the third against the confessors against Arianism, his fourth was to be against those that were given to contemplation, psalms, and prayers.⁴

Rev. 13. The Beast here figured is a compound and combination, says Joachim, of Daniel's four Beasts. In Daniel the first Beast was the Jewish Anti-Christian body; the second the Roman Pagans; the third the Arians; the fourth the Saracens: the first resembling a lion, with two wings, answering to the Pharisees and Sadducee's; the second a bear; the third a leopard, with four heads; (signifying the Arian Greeks, Goths, Vandals, and Lombard's;) the fourth very terrible, and having ten horns.⁵ How terrible Daniel's fourth, or Saracen, is told by its desolation of the churches in Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Africa, Mauritania, and the islands of the sea; where Christ's name is abolished, and Mahomet acknowledged as the prophet of God.⁶ Besides that the other Beasts submitted after a while to the Christian Church: but this, though once humbled and apparently dead, has revived, and is as terrible as ever. The ten horns with diadems are ten kings yet to be, at that closing time of the calamitous period, when the Beast's kingdom shall end.⁷ "I saw one of the heads as it were wounded to death, and the deadly wound was healed." The Jewish, Pagan, and Arian heads were actually wounded to death;⁸ and

¹L. 160. The reader will do well to mark Joachim's adoption of Constantine's own historical explanation of this part of the vision. So, very much, Eusebius, as we saw p. 152 supra; Andreas, p. 175, 176, and Anselm, p. 186.

²160/2 Still I conceive Joachim is on the right track.

³161, 161/2.

⁴162.

⁵162/2, 163. One might be curious to know how Joachim satisfied himself in not applying Daniel's four Beasts, (signifying as they did the world's four great empires,) the inspired explanation of the parallel four parts of the symbolic image, previously exhibited: as these were also to signify the four great empires, destined to rule successively till the consummation. Joachim's solution is quite original.

⁶"Alas indeed!" adds Joachim, "if Antichrist, when he appears, shall do as much evil as this Mahomet, his precursor and preparer!" 163/2.

⁷So he reserves his explanation of them to the 6th part of this Treatise, on Rev. 17 L. 164.

⁸164/2, 164/2. On his Arian tetrakephalous Beast's wounding to death, Joachim twice specifies three chief Arian powers subdued thus: "Gothi et Vandali et Longobardi et alii Ariani heretici partim deleti sunt ab exercitu Romano, partim ad Catholicam fidem conversi." 163/2, 164/2. With which compare my notice of the three horns plucked up by the Papal Antichrist, in my Vol. iii. p. 167.

who ever heard of their revival? Though the Beast itself indeed, (or anti-christian body) survived under another head. But with the Saracen head many may think the prophecy of the wounded head's revival to have been already fulfilled. In the time of Pope Urban and the early crusaders, A.D. 1095,¹ when Jerusalem had been taken by the Christians, the Saracens in Egypt and Asia made stipendiary, the African neighboring cities conquered by the Norman kings of Sicily, and the Moors repeatedly vanquished in Spain, the Saracen supremacy seemed wounded to death. But how, says Joachim, it is revived, and as terrible as ever.² He prefers, however, to understand the deadly wound as still future when he wrote, and to be effected by spiritual weapons rather than temporal:³ also the revival to be in a power answering to Daniel's eleventh or little horn: a horn unspecified by St. John; probably because of his prominent specification of the Dragon, or Devil, who was in fact most specially to inspire and rule in it.⁴ Joachim dwells on the fearfulness of the consequent apostasy; "All the world wondered after the Beast:" commiserating those that might then be alive; urging mothers to teach their children to flee for safety to the deserts; and answering the arguments of infidelity, drawn from the enemy's success and dominancy, by reference to God's faithfulness and wisdom. "Here is the faith and patience of the saints." As to the Beast's 42 months, 3½ years, or 1260 days of duration, taken generically, with reference to the "*totius Bestiæ universitatem*," the length is stated as 1260 years in Joachim's *Book De Concordiâ*:⁵ besides which there is to be a final paroxysm of the Beast's persecution for 3½ years literally.⁶

The second Beast, says Joachim, is plainly explained by John himself to signify a false prophet, or pseudo prophetic sect or body;⁷ the two horns being not improbably, he adds, Satan's counterfeits of the Enoch and Elias that are expected: just as Antichrist will be his counterfeit for Christ. Hence the double danger of receiving the counterfeit as true, rejecting the true as

¹He tells of signs and prodigies accompanying. "Anno etenim 1095 (ut fertur) incarnationis Dominicæ, signum in aere satis apparuit admirandum; stellas scilicet innumeras circumque discurrere, et velut in modum avium acreas semitas pervagari." "Quo præcedente signo, ad exhortationem Urbani Popæ, &c." In my Edition it is printed 1015, plainly by mistake.

²Ibid.

³Ib. Compare the report of what Joachim said to the king Richard on this point, as given p. 202 *infra*, from Roger de Hoveden. The address to Richard was in the year 1190: the Apocalyptic comment transmitted to us, with Joachim's last corrections, was sent forth not till after the year 1195, (see my p.191), or perhaps 1200, (see p. 187,) after the failure in main results of the English and French's king's expeditions.

⁴Ibid.

⁵165/2. "Qualiter anni isti ad totius Bestiæ universitatem pertineant in opere Concordiæ dictum est." "Accepto haud dubiè die pre anno, et 1260 diebus pretotidem annis." So Joachim's *Liber Concordiæ*, 2. c. 16, and 5. c. 118: a passage cited by Dr. Todd on Antichrist, p. 458, from a Paper in the *British Magazine*; and here expressly referred to by Joachim. I have already at p. 194 noted this.

⁶165/2.

⁷166/2, 167.

counterfeit! “What if Enoch and Elias were to knock at thy door tomorrow?”¹ It would seem that these false prophets will issue out of the bosom of the Church; knowing and speaking the Christians’ language, and so more powerful to deceive.² These may confederate with the former Beast, Daniel’s eleventh Horn, and make the earth worship it: as Simon Magus confederated with the Pagan Nero against Christianity, the Jews with the Romans, and Arians with the secular emperors; or as the Pathareni, “the dregs of heretics,” now sustain themselves through worldly potentates.³ And so soon as “the new Babylon” (i.e. Rome)⁴ shall have been given into the hand of the Beast to be desolated, and Daniel’s eleventh king (the last of these kings) have begun to reign in the Saracen kingdom,⁵ then the false prophets may seize the occasion of making an alliance with the Gentile king; and preach up his religion as true, the Christian as false.⁶ But why two Beasts? Because, as Christ is both anointed king and priest, so Satan may put forth the first beast to usurp his kingship, the second to usurp his priestly dignity: the latter having at its head some mighty prelate, some Universal Pontiff, as it were, over the whole world; who may be the very Antichrist, of whom St. Paul speaks as being extolled above all that is called God and worshiped; sitting in the temple of God, and showing himself as God.⁷ This may be while making use of the strength of the Beast for his purposes. Other doctors regard the first Beast, or Daniel’s eleventh king, and also Gog, as Antichrist: which I, says Joachim, regard as thus far true, because there are, as St. John says, many Antichrists; and what may be wanting of fulfillment in the one, may be supplied in another.⁸

The Beast’s image Joachim makes to mean “some tradition composed by false prophets in memory of the first Beast,”⁹ saying that this is the kingdom that is to endure for ever; some expression, I suppose he means, of the

¹166/2, 167/2.

²167/2.

³“Pathareni, hæreticorum fex, mundi potestatibus so tuctur.” 167/2. So Joachim writing near the year 1200 A.D. It will interest the reader, I think, to compare my historical notices, Vol. ii. pp. 357, 403.

⁴Or Rome’s reprobates. See Joachim’s explanation on Rev. 17 pp. 198, 199 *infra*.

⁵“Tempore quo rex ille undecimus et ultimus in regno Saracenorum regnaturus est.” 167/2.

⁶167/2 Joachim suggests the resemblance of this second Apocalyptic Beast to the earthborn goat’s little horn in Dan. 8; where as the first Apocalyptic Beast is to be resembled to the little horn of the seaoriginating fourth Beast in Dan. 7

⁷I must give the original of this remarkable passage, 168. “Sei verisimile videtur quòd, sicut Bestia illa quæ ascendet de mari habitura est quendam magnum regem de sectâ suâ, qui sit similis Neronis, et quasi impertor totius orbis, ita Bestia quæ ascendet de terrâ habitura sit quendam magnum Prelatum, qui sit similis Symonis Magi, et quasi Universalis Pontifex in tote orbe terrarum; et ipse sit ille Antichristus de quo dicit Paulus, Quod extollitur, etc.” So Bernard thought the Antichrist might be an AntiPope; and Theodoret, much earlier, said that the Antichrist en th ekkhlisia arpasei thn proedreian. See my Vol. i. p. 394; iii. p. 99.

⁸168.

⁹Aliqua specialis traditio, quam component pseudprophetæ in memoriam ipsius Bestiæ; dicentes hoc esse regnum illud quod mansurum est in eternum.” *ibid*. So too 168/2; “image significat nephandissimam traditionem ipsius.”

Beast's mind, profession, and doctrine.¹ It's receiving breath and speaking is when the malignant spirit shall do miracles by it. The character to be impressed is some edict of his commands:² the sellers and buyers that must bear it, preachers and hearers. The name and number 666, said to be "the number of a man,"³ is mysterious. "We must wait and know the name, before speculating as to the number; which name however is not revealed." This premised, Joachim proceeds to a passing speculation on the subject, as fanciful surely as any of the speculations of his predecessors. The number 666 may be fitly typical, he says, of the whole time from Adam to the end of the world. For 600 may represent the six ages of the world, or whole time of the Beast; 60 the six periods of the sixth age from Christ, in which the Beast has more grievously persecuted the Church of God; 6 the time (42 months) of Daniel's eleventh king, or little horn, in which the persecution is to be consummated. This however he admits to be speculation. "*Expectanda usque tempus revelatio hujus nominis; et tunc ei qui habet intellectum licebit numerum computare.*"⁴

Rev. 14 through 16. I must hasten over these intervening chapters to resume and complete the abstract of Joachim views on the Apocalyptic Beast, as again described in Rev. 17, and the Babylon connected with it. The 144,000 on Mount Zion he expounds as the monks and virgins of the Church, opposed to those that had the Beast's mark; and who in the fourth period have to sustain the chief burden of the conflict against the Saracen Beast:⁵ the first of the three Angels flying in mid heaven as identical either with the woe denouncing eagle of Rev. 8:13, (i.e. "the holy Pope Gregory I, whose voice of warning of God's coming judgment was just before the false prophet Mahomet's deceptions,"⁶) or the Angel prophet with the little book of Rev. 10:1; the other two with the Witnesses of Rev. 11 respectively;⁷ the voice of the first synchronizing with the opening of the 5th Seal, and 5th period; the other two with the opening of the 6th;⁸ the last (perhaps the two last) sounding after the destruction of Babylon by the Beast and ten kings;⁹

¹At 183/2, on the clause on Rev. sv., "I saw the conquerors over the Beast's image," Joachim thus varies the explanation: "In imagine doctrina Bestæ designatur."

²"Quid per characterem, nisi aliquod scriptum, vei edictum, preceptorum ipsius." 168/2.

³Some Latin codices for "numerus hominis," read "numerus nominis," Joachim tells us. 169.

⁴Ibid.

⁵So on Rev. 7 See pp. 189, 190 *suprà*. The Beast here meant, of the Church's 4th period, he defines as the Saracenic Beast previous to the healing of the deadly wound; and so under his last head but one. 170.

⁶173. See p. 190 *suprà*.

⁷See p. 198 *suprà*.

⁸See Joachim's Scheme of the Seals, pp. 187, 188 *suprà*.

⁹Joachim must have remembered that the Witnesses are to be slain in the street of the great city Babylon. How then, it may be asked, prophesy against the Beast after Babylon's destruction? But in that verse about the Witnesses he inconsistently explains the great city as the empire of that world.

and when, the Roman Christian Empire having thus fallen, they will be hoping to destroy Christ's name from off the face of the earth.¹ The voice, "Blessed are the dead, for they rest, &c.," intimates the glorious Sabbath awaiting both those who, after the completion of the sufferings of Christ's body in the sixth period, shall then reign with Christ; and those too who, Antichrist having fallen, shall remain on earth in this life until the last day:² in which day at length will be the harvest of the good, and the vintage treading of the bA.D.

So Joachim comes to his Part V, and to the Vials of wrath poured out by the seven Angles:³ which, though specially called the last plagues, yet had reference to the same six or seven periods, and same evils, that were before noted under the Seals' and Trumpets' septenaries; with this difference however, they were now depicted distinctly as effusions of God's jealousy and wrath against those who suffered from them.⁴ Of these Vials the first was poured on Judaizers, who worshiped the Beast under his first head of Herod and the Jewish synagogue: the 2nd on the Gentile Church's recreants, unfaithful from the Christian faith before Constantine: the 4th on the hypocritical of the contemplative orders: the 5th on false ones in the Clergy and Conventuals, who, thought they ought to be God's seat, have yet yielded themselves to be the seat of the Beast:⁵ the 6th on the Roman State or Empire, as being the New Testament Babylon; the drying up of its Euphrates figuring the weakening of its strength, through God's just judgment, so as to disable

¹173/2.

²"Adjunctum est de requie sabbati: quod uimirum, ut sextà die passus est Dominus, sabbato autem requieuit à laboribus suis, ita in sexto tempore (ut sæpe jam dictum est) complebitur passio corporis Christi: et erit post hoc sabbatum glriosum: seu in illis qui jam reguabunt cum Christo; seu in his qui, Antichristo ruente, remanebunt super terram, mansuri in hâc vitâ pro velle Dei, quousque compleatur illud tempus quod vocatum est novissimus dies. In quo novissimo die, consummatia universis mysteriis et laboribus sauctorum, quid jam nisi messis et vendemia restat?" 175. The above is important as bearing on Joachim's millennial views. Compare the Note 1654 p. 195; also p. 188 supra.

³It is to be observed with reference to these angels, that Joachim, like Andreas and others before him, had in his Latin Version the curious reading, "vestiti Lapide mundo;" agreeably with the Greek reading *liqon* instead of *linon*, in (Rev. xv. 6, "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 which like them he explains of Christ, the rock: (so L. 184/2) also that he explained the *oi nekwntev*, in (xv. 2, "And I saw as it were a sea of glass mingled with fire: and them that had gotten the victory over the beast, and over his image, and over his mark, and over the number of his name, stand on the sea of glass, having the harps of God."), of those that received no other doctrine than that of the Roman Church, and who were thus triumphant over the Beast. (L. 183.)

⁴A long and obscure disquisition precedes Joachim's comment on the vials, with reference to the reasons and objects of God's outpouring of his jealousy. So from 177 to 182. It springs not from hatred on his part against those who suffer from them; but from desire of, and with a view to, their conversions. 186/2.

⁵189/2.

it from resisting the kings of the East that are to come and desolate it. ¹After which its desolation that “Wicked One” is to be revealed, of whom Paul speaks; the three spirits like frogs, next figured being meant of him and his associates. And then who can tell how soon Christ may come? “Behold I come as a thief.” Finally, by the air on which the 7th Vial is poured out, there is meant that spiritual Church which will remain after the judgment on Babylon; a judgment by which it will be cleansed, and made meet for the bridal. ² So Joachim comes to the vision of the Harlot and Beast in Rev. 17

Rev. 17. The Angel reveler of this vision is the 6th Vial Angel in his Part VI.; the 6th period, current at the time referred to, being the time of its right understanding. ³ By the harlot he meant Rome: not indeed the Church of the just that sojourn in Rome, but rather the multitude of Rome’s reprobate or opposing members; the harlot’s place moreover being not in one province or kingdom, but over the whole area of the Christian empire. The kings of the earth that fornicate with her, Joachim makes to be bad prelates with the charge of souls: the Beast (as before) the infidel powers, in connection with the Roman Empire that have persecuted the Church, from the apostolic age till now. ⁴ Its seven successive heads are as follows: 1. Herod and his successors’ Judaic kingdom: 2. the Roman Pagan empire, to Diocletian inclusive: 3, 4, 5, and 6, the four Arian empires, Greek, Goth, Vandal, and Lombard: 7th, the Saracen or Mahommedan empire, now still existing. Besides which, says Joachim, seven kings are mentioned: not as identical with the heads, but simply thus, “And there are seven kings;” i.e. kings eminent among the persecutors. Which kings chronologically correspond with the seven periods of our era; though neither chronologically nor politically correspondent with the seven heads: being 1. Herod; 2. Nero; 3. Constantius; 4. Mahomet, or rather perhaps Chosroes; 5. The German Emperor who first troubled the Church about investitures; 6. Daniel’s little horn, or eleventh king; i.e. Saladin, the reigning Saracen or Turk, who has just taken Jerusalem. ⁵ This is the “one that is,” (the 6th period of the Christian era being the standard time present, used by the Angel in his statement;) and under and by whom the Roman Babylon is to be desolated. After which, alike the 6th king and 7th

¹Joachim in his explanation refers this 6th vial specially to the mundani, or Christian professing men of the world without the inner sanctuary of the Church: “quatenus inchoato tempore sexto, sentiant saltem exterius plagam, quam intus, pro consuetà cæcitate, gravioris plagæ vulnera sentire non possunt.” The descriptive phrase from the East, or sunrising, Joachim distinctly explains as to be taken literally. 190/2. The subject is referred to again in his Comment on Rev. 17 16, “The ten horns shall hate her.” &c. see L. 199/2.

²“In aere spiritualis illa ecclesia designatur, quæ relinquetur velut r(?)unda seges; excisis de terrâ tribulis, et cunctis reliquiis Babylonia.” 192/2.

³Joachim notes at the outset both the importance and plainness of the vision. “Qui nescit quod passura sit meretrix pro “Bestia significat universas gentes infideles quæ aliquando subjectæ fuerunt Romano imperio, et persecutæ sunt Christum, et ecclesiam ejus.” 196.erroribus suis, de facili decipitur nutibus oculorum suorum.” 194.

⁴“Bestia significat universas gentes infideles quæ aliquando subjectæ fuerunt Romano imperio, et persecutæ sunt Christum, et ecclesiam ejus.” 196.

⁵196/2, 197.

head having perished, (the latter wounded unto death) a brief respite will be granted for the faithful, then the Beast arise under its revived 7th, i.e. its 8th head,¹ and the 7th king,² to make one more persecution, and after it to perish for ever. With regard to the ten horns, or ten kings, that have not yet received power, but receive it one hour after the Beast, there is a difficulty: for, according to Daniel, it is while these ten are reigning that the eleventh is to arise. Here however it is said, after the Beast; not, after the 6th king.³ That the harlot city reigning over the kings of the earth, and to be spoiled by them, means Rome, is undoubted; this being told us not by other Fathers only, but Peter himself:⁴ but in the sense of including the members of its empire, not those within the city walls only. The comfort is, adds Joachim, that Jerusalem tarries in Babylon;⁵ and that to it the promise is given, "Thou art Peter, &c.:" so that it is only the sons of Babylon, within the Roman Church and

¹One of the seven, says Joachim, as uniting all the errors of the seven. 196/2.

²Probably, says Joachim, "sub nomine sexti regis alius surgere intelligatur post alium: [*quillum?*] quatenus post illum de quo dicit Joachim's Unus est;" (197) i.e. Saladin. It is rather difficult to understand Joachim's meaning. Probably Joachim was puzzled by his mistaken reading of "post bestiam;" referred to in my next Note.

³"post Bestiam." So Joachim reads. An evident mistake in the Latin translation; as the Greek is not meta to *qhrion*, but meta ton *qhriou*.

⁴Referring to 1 Peter v. 13; "The Church which is in Babylon;" meaning, it was understood, Rome. 198.

⁵"In hoc verbo [*'the Church which is in Babylon'*] consolatio non modica fact, est populo qui vocatur Romanus; quandoquidem in ipea urbe quæ vocatur Babylon peregrinatur civitas Jerusalem." 198. A writer in the British Magazine for 1839 strongly marks this distinction in Joachim. Joachim's plan, says he, was the ultraGuelfic plan of regenerating society by means of the Pope, as Peter's successor, and the monastic orders; with supersession of all the Church meddling power of Roman or German emperors, (the Apocalyptic Babylon,) and of the secular clergy, who "fornicated with" or favored it. The result was to be, adds this writer, "that Babylon, with the aid of many clerici, men of the expiring [2nd] status, was to lay waste the courts of Jerusalem; yet she herself perish by the hands of the Bestia Patarena and of Antichrist; and every remnant of the Clerici, or Church secular, perish likewise: but a remnant of the eremitic order to survive all tribulation, and reign with the Holy Ghost in the 3rd status." Todd. p. 455. In the expression Bestia Patharena, and its identification with Antichrist, the writer seems to me incorrect. See on Rev. 17 The writer in the B. M. further observes that Joachim and the Joachites spoke of an Antichristian mixtus, or mysteus, Reipublicæ, in contradistinction to the Antichristus verus. The former he supposes to be not one Antichrist or Pseudopropheta, but many: one already born, and which "was destined to subvert the Babylonian empire, put forth ten horns, afflict the Church during 56 1/2 years of the two generations of the period of transition: [or time of the end:] then at last, "reguantibus decem regibus illis, singulis in suis locis," to put forth its horn of blasphemy, being the xith king, and Antichristus verus, of 3 1/2 years. Todd 461. The writer refers to a Commentary of Joachim on Jeremiah, as well as that on the Revelation. The former, which I have seen, supplies what is wanting in the Apocalyptic Comment to the completeness of this view. The writer adds, however; "Whether the tenhorned empire was the Bestia itself, still future, or a future form and predicament of a Beast which had long existed, is a point on which the Abbot of Flore does not express himself with perfect consistency." Ibid.

empire, to whom the doom belongs.¹ So long as the waters she sits on remain, the kings cannot prevail against her. But when her Euphrates is dried up, then they will attack her;² God having put it into the hearts of these “*exteri reges*” to give their kingdom to the Beast, or ruling chief of the Beast, on seeing his success against the subjects of the Roman Empire: the result of which alliance will be the tearing and spoliation of Roman Christendom, together with persecution of Christians and Christianity; whence a general apostasy, though not without some faithful martyrs.

In Rev. 18 the kings of the earth that wail over Babylon are wicked prelates: the fire spoken of, that of the eternal punishment of her reprobate members, of which the temporal is but a pledge; the merchandise of ecclesiastical functions, bought or bartered by priests for money.³ The song of exultation on the fall of Babylon, given in Rev. 19, Joachim expounds as the song of the Church on earth; escaped out of, and freed from, the New Testament Babylon: a song which he compares with that of the Jews restored with Ezra from the ancient Babylon; and “such as had been never heard in the Church since the days of Constantine.”⁴ Its two subjects of congratulation are “the destruction of the Harlot, and the liberty of the Church:” and alike converted Jews, (“for then the Jewish people will be converted to the Lord,”) and Greeks too and Latins will join in it; crying “Hosanna! Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.”⁵ The song of the twenty four elders, &c., is explained to include the answering Alleluia in heaven, as well as of the earthly ecclesiastical orders symbolized by the four living creatures, for the liberation of the righteous, the conversion of the Jews, and bringing in of the fullness of the Gentiles.⁶ And so, adds Joachim, will begin that kingdom for which we continually pray, “Thy kingdom come.” Oh how good, says he, will it be for us to be there: Christ being our shepherd, king, meat, drink, light, life!⁷ But, after this so solemn a rejoicing, there remains yet another tribulation,⁸ depicted in the chapter following.

¹198. Joachim here speaks of some that rested on Benedict’s words, quoted by Pope Gregory I: “Rome shall not perish by the assaults of kings: but by earthquakes, &c.” This however, says he, had reference to the Gothic kings then attacking Rome.

²197/2 He refers to the 6th Vial.

³He exemplifies in those who refused to impart the divine sacraments entrusted to them “pro salute vivorum et mortuorum,” “nisi aut accipiant aliquid, aut accipere sperent.” 201. Also in these who “inhiant temporalibus lucris,” and seek the favor of the rich; (199;) and altogether resemble Judas, who for thirty pieces of silver betrayed Christ. 201/2. Compare (Rev. 9 20, “And the rest of the men which were not killed by these plagues yet repented not of the works of their hands, that they should not worship devils, and idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and of wood: which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk:”); and my historic illustrations of it, in reference to the time when Joachim wrote, Vol. ii. pp. 1720.

⁴203, 203/2.

⁵203/2.

⁶204.

⁷205.

⁸This second tribulation of the 6th period is to follow, he says, “post gaudium illud tam sollemne, quod post hebdomadam quæ intitatur de passione:” i.e. after the Easter sabbath,

Rev. 19 “And I saw heaven opened, and behold a white horse, &c.: and I saw the Beast, and the kings of the earth, and their armies, gathered to make war, &c.” Parallel with this, says Joachim, is the prophecy of Zech. 14:2; “I will gather all nations to Jerusalem to battle: and the Lord shall go forth and fight against those nations.” Here is the Beast “which had been, and was not, and is to ascend from the abyss and go into perdition:” i.e. the Beast under his last head: also the seventh king, which had not yet come, but was about to come, and to continue a short space;” though indeed this king is not here mentioned; as if to intimate that this is the Antichrist, in whom the red Dragon dwells bodily.¹ This last point however, says Joachim, is doubtful; and whether this seventh king, or the sixth, (the one which is, or he that is called Gog, or any other, be properly Antichrist. What we know is that the sixth king will be worse than the five preceding, and the seventh than the sixth; and that these will be the two last heads of the Dragon. I think, too, that the first will be king over the Beast from the sea, the second over the Beast from the land, or False Prophet.² Whether Christ’s figured manifestation on the white horse, to destroy the Beast in this his last form, be a personal coming, or only providential, is a point doubted by Doctors. At first Joachim inclines to decide on the view of its being a personal coming: both because of what Paul says, “Whom the Lord shall destroy by the brightness of his coming;” and what Christ, “Immediately after the tribulation of these days, they shall see the sign of the Son of Man, &c.”³ Afterwards he admits that it may be explained of Christ’s acting invisibly in his Church militant. And what the armies of saints following him on white horses? I think, says he, they must signify either distinctively the saints that rose from the dead when he rose, (Matt. 27:52, “And the graves were opened; and many bodies of the saints which slept arose,”) or all the saints dead in Christ generally, as now to appear with Him; i.e. if Christ’s coming be personal.⁴ If not, then they may be Christ’s saints on earth.⁵ The sword from the rider’s mouth is

succeeding the Church’s Passion Week. 206. Compare Luther’s somewhat similar use of the figure, as cited in my Vol. ii. p. 136.

¹207.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴“Unum è duobus arbitror esse tenendum: quòd aut mortui qui sunt in Christo cum eo protinus apparebunt viventes, secundum suprascriptam Apostoli auctoritatem; (1 Thess. 4 1517, “For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them which are asleep. 16: For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first: 17: Then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord.”;) aut illi apparebunt suscitati cum ipso, qui cum eo pariter resurrexerunt à mortuis:” viz. as in (Matt. 27 52, “And the graves were opened; and many bodies of the saints which slept arose,”) referred to just before. P. 207/2. The first view is the premillennial theory.

⁵For saints in the mortal state may conquer even in suffering: “qui, sequentes passionem Domini sui, ita pugnaturi sunt in corporibus suis tradendis pro nomine Crucifixi in tempore sexto, quomodo ipse in die sexto in candide illo eque suc superavit et vicit.” Ibid. What is

expounded as what St. Paul speaks of, "Whom the Lord shall consume with the breath of his mouth:" (a parallelism deserving notice) his eyes like fire, as indicating the all revealing brightness thrown on things at the day of his judgment; like that spoken of by Paul, 1 Cor. 4:5, "Therefore judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts: and then shall every man have praise of God."¹

Rev. 20 So, says Joachim in his Part VII, we come to the seventh Part, in which we have to treat of that great Sabbath which is to be at the consummation: a period which I have called The third State, or "seventh age of the world;" and which may be termed the Age of the Spirit, as the two former were of the Father and of the Son.² The idea of all secular time and things ending with the fall of Antichrist had been overthrown, he adds, by St. Remigius; who had shown that a certain time, of uncertain length, would still remain after that event: the idea itself having arisen from want of observation that the last day of Scripture is not to be understood as signifying the last moment of the world; but rather the world's last age, or time of the end: a point illustrated by St. John's saying above a thousand years before, "It is the last hour."³ Whether Christ's coming is to be the beginning of this Sabbath time, or the end of it, has seemed to some doubtful: but, says Joachim, again reverting to the pre jubilean theory, both St. Paul's and Christ's own words, referred to above, seem to fix it at the commencement of the Sabbath period.⁴ As to this constituting the seventh millenary of years from the world's creation, Joachim speaks of the idea as set aside by both the Greek and Latin mundane chronology: much more than 6000 years from the world's creation having past, according to the Greek chronology: and much less (though the time, Joachim thought, must be close at hand) according to the Latin.⁵ His own view was, that the Apocalyptic millenary period was specified simply as being a most perfect number: that the binding of Satan

said of the heaven appearing opened, in order to the exhibition of the vision, may be meant, he adds, of the opening of Scripture truth at the time; so that all that the vision relates to may appear clear. 208.

¹208, 208/2.

²209/2, 210.

³"Maximè cum jam sint transecti amplius quàm mille anni, ex quo dixit beatus Joannes, Filiioli novissima hora est." 210. A sentence which cannot but suggest the opening of the Waldensian Noble Lesson; "Well have 1100 years been completed since it was said, it is the last time." See my Vol. ii. pp. 365, 390. I have already observed, at p. 188 Note 1561 *suprà*, that between this second and third status Joachim supposed a transition interval (common in some sort to both states) of two Apocalyptic months or generations, = 60 years; viz. from A.D. 1200 to A.D. 1260. This was to be an æra of great tribulation to the Church; and more especially the 3 ½ years at its conclusion.

⁴210. Let me here again remark how, immediately that the Christian æra had so far advanced as to allow of the year-day principle being applied to the 1260 days' prophetic period, without placing Christ's second advent necessarily at a distance, it was so applied. Compare again Note 1561, p. 188.

⁵211.

spoken of might possibly have had an incipient fulfillment from the time of Christ's resurrection; and in that sense the Apocalyptic millennium extend from that epoch to the world's consummation: but that its perfected fulfillment would be in the Sabbath time the Beast's destruction:¹ which Sabbath might be longer, or shorter, as God pleased;² indeed, so short perhaps that the real and chief Antichrist might possibly exist and act in the great anti-christian battles both before and after it.³ But time would unfold this. As to the first resurrection he conceived it identical with Daniel's prediction that, after the destruction of the Beast and its little horn, the kingdom and power under the whole heaven should be given to the saints of the Most High;⁴ and with that too in Ezek. 37, which speaks of a resurrection before Gog's coming.⁵ Perhaps, he says, on the clause, "The rest of the dead lived not till the 1000 years were ended," the saints are then to rise, and enter at once on life eternal, without that terrible ordeal of the judgment of the white throne which others must go through.⁶ But he admits difficulties in the view: and the need of waiting for further illustration. As to Gog, he might very possibly be the Antichrist.⁷ The new heaven and new earth Joachim expounds to mean the final blissful state, when the tares shall have been gathered from the wheat, and the just shine as the sun in the kingdom of their Father;⁸ the new Jerusalem, on the other hand, to figure the Church even in its earthly state, and from its first beginning at Christ's birth.⁹

So I conclude my abstract of Joachim; an abstract which I have made at greater length and in more detail than any other, because of its peculiarly, importance, and interest.¹⁰ For the same reason I subjoin in a Note Roger de

¹"Secundùm aliquam sui partem incarcereatus fuerit Draco ex eo tempore quo superavit cum Christus in die mortis suæ; secundùm vere universitatem capitum suorum, ex eà die, vei horà, quà Bestia et Pseudopropheta mittentur in stagnum ignis." And again: "Secundùm partem incepit ab illo sabbate quo requievit Dominus in sepuchro: secundum plenitudinem sui, a ruinà Bestiae et PseudoProphetæ 211.

²"Tunc erit magna pax. . .cujus terminus erit in arbitrio Dei." 210/2. "Quis scit quàm breve esse poterit sabbatum ipsum?" *ibid*.

³"Ista tria praelia" (viz. that of the ten kings destroying Babylon, or Rome, that of the Beast against the Lamb, and that of Gog, the two first presabbatical, the last postsabbatic) "tam fortassis erunt vicina, ut ille Homo Peccati possit omnibus interesse; maxime autem in secundo et tertio." At the last, I presume, in his resurrection state, after the healing of his deadly wound. 210/2, 211.

⁴L. 212.

⁵L. 212/2.

⁶Forte intelligamus sanctos protinus post resurrectionem suam absque terribilis illius iudicii examine, et absque intervallo dierum, intraturos ad veram vitam; cæteros vero nou statim, sed post consummationem iudicii." *Ibid*. Compare Joachim on Rev. 19 14, pp. 200, 201 *suprà*.

⁷213.

⁸215/2.

⁹"Non est referenda visio, et iste desecensus, ad horam illam ultimam in quà manifesta erit gloria Hierusalem; sed ad tempus nativitatis ipsius (Christi)." *Ibid*.

¹⁰Let me quote from Fleury a brief obituary sentence on this remarkable, and I trust sincere, though on many points deluded man. "Ver ee tems là mourut in Calabrie l'Abbé Joachim,

Hoveden's account* of Joachim Exposition of Rev. 12:13, to our King Richard; whereby we shall be enabled to compare his prophetic views in the year A.D. 1190 with those in A.D. 1196 or 1200.¹

*The interpretation of this vision according to Joachim, Abbot of Curacio, is as follows: The woman clothed with the sun, with the moon under her feet, signifies the Holy Church covered and clothed with the Sun of Righteousness, which is Christ our God: under whose feet the world, with its vices and lusts, is ever to be trampled. "And upon her head a crown of twelve stars." Christ is the head of the Church: her crown is the Catholic faith which was preached by the twelve apostles. "And bringing forth, she was in pain to be delivered." Thus the Holy Church, which is continually blest with new offspring, is in pain from day to day, that it may bring forth souls to God; whom Satan endeavors to snatch away, and draw down with himself to hell. "And behold a great red Dragon, having seven heads and ten horns." That Dragon signifies the Devil: who is well said to have seven heads; for every wicked one is a head of the Devil: who is well said to have seven heads; for every wicked one is a head of the Devil. He puts seven as the finite for the infinite, for the heads of the Devil are infinite, nevertheless this Joachim in his exposition specified seven persecuting powers; whose names are Herod, Nero, Constantius, Mahomet, Melsemut, Saladin, Antichrist. St. John also says in the Revelation; "These are seven kings; five have fallen, and one is, and one is not yet come:" which the same Joachim thus explains: There are seven kings, namely, Herod, Nero, Constantius, Mahomet, Melsemut, Saladin, Antichrist. Of these, five have fallen; namely, Herod, Nero, Constantius, Mahomet, Melsemut: and one is: namely Saladin; who at this time oppresses the Church of God, and keeps possession of it with the sepulchre of our Lord, and the holy city Jerusalem, and the land in which the feet of our Lord stood. But he shall in a short time lose it. Then the king of England asked, "When shall this be?" To whom Joachim answered, "When seven years shall have elapsed from the day of the taking of Jerusalem." "Then," said the king of England, "Why have we come here so soon?" To whom Joachim replied, "Your coming is very necessary; because the Lord will give you victory over his enemies, and will exalt your name above all the princes of the earth." It follows: "One of them is not yet come;" namely, Antichrist. Concerning this Antichrist the same Joachim says that he is already born in the city of Rome, and will be elevated to the Apostolic See. And concerning this Antichrist the Apostle says: "He is exalted and placed in opposition, above all that is called God:" and "then shall be revealed that wicked one, whom the Lord Jesus will slay with the breath of his mouth, and destroy with the brightness of his coming." And the king turning to him said: "I thought that Antichrist would be born in Antioch, or in Babylon, of the tribe of Dan; and would reign in the temple of the Lord, which is in Jerusalem; and would walk in that land in

fameux par ses propheties. Il avait environ 72 ans quand il tomba malade a Pietrafitta, près de Coscuze; et mourut au milieu de trois Abbez et de plusieurs moines: a qu'il recommanda de s'aimer les uns les autres, comme Jesus Christ nous a simiz; ce qu'il repeta plusieurs fois. Il mourut le trentieme jour de Mars 1202; et son corps fut porté en son Abbaye a Flore." Fleury H. E. Liv. lxxv. chap. 41.

¹See Note 1 p. 386, and Note 2 p. 388. Ere closing this notice of Joachim, let me recall to my readers' recollection his contemporary Pope Innocent III's interpretation of the Apocalyptic number 666, as signifying the time of the duration of Mahommedism; an interpretation given by him A.D. 1214 to the 4th Council of Lateran, and which I have referred to in my Vol. iii. p. 257, on the Number of the Beast. It is as follows. "Post tempora Gregorii perditionis filius Machometus pseudopropheta surrexit: ejus perfidin etsi usque ad hæc tempora invaluerit, contidamus tamen in Domino qui jam fecit nobiscum signum in bouum, quòd finis hujus bestię appropinquat: Cujus numerus," secundum Apocalypsim, 'intra sexcenta sexaginta sex clauditur:' ex quibus jam pæue sexcenti sunt anni completi." Hard. 73. And so too, as we saw *ibid*, Roger Bacon, referred to by Mr. Foster in his *Mahommedanism Unveiled*, 232. The agreement of this view of the coming future, chronologically, with that of Joachim will be evident; and, no doubt, helped it on to a more general reception and belief.

which Christ walked; and would reign in it for three years and a half: and would dispute against Elijah and Enoch, and would kill them; and would afterwards die; and that, after his death, God would give sixty days of repentance, in which those might repent who should have erred from the way of the truth, and have been seduced by the preaching of Antichrist and his false prophets." It follows; "and ten horns." The ten horns of the Devil are heresies and schisms; which heretics, and schematics set up in opposition to the ten commandments of the law, and the precepts of God. "And unto his head seven crowns." By crowns are signified kings, and princes of this world, who will believe on Antichrist. "And his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven:" because of the great multitude of men believing on him. "And cast them upon the earth." He calls the inferior persons who shall believe on Antichrist stars; and says, "the third part of the stars of heaven," because of the great multitude of men believing on him. "And cast them unto the earth." that is, he casts all into hell, who shall continue to believe on him. "Which stood before the woman who was about to bring forth; and when she had brought forth, he might devour her son." The Devil is always practicing against the Church; that he may seize her offspring, and devour what he has seized: and he is properly said to "stand," because he never declines from his wickedness, but always stands stiff in malice, and inflexible in the craft of his fraud. Or, in another sense, his tail signifies the end of this world: in which certain wicked nations shall arise who are called Gog Magog; and shall destroy the Church of God and subvert the Christian race. And after that shall be the day of judgment. And in the time of the Antichrist many Christians abiding in caverns of the earth, and in the solitude of the rocks, shall keep the Christian faith in the fear of the Lord, even until the destruction of Antichrist. And this is what he means when he says, "The woman fled unto the wilderness of Egypt, where she had a place prepared by God, that they should there feed her 1260 days. But "her man child, who should rule all nations with a rod of iron," is especially our Lord Jesus Christ: who, after his passion and resurrection, ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty, and shall come again to judge the quick and the dead, and the world by fire. Whose followers if we are, and persevere in the way of his commandments, we shall be caught up to meet him in the air, and shall be with him for ever. And although the said Abbot of Curacio maintained this opinion concerning the coming of Antichrist, nevertheless Walter, archbishop of Rouen, and Girard, archbishop of Auxerre, and John of Worms, and Barnard, bishop of Babyonne, and other ecclesiastics well versed in the Scripture, endeavored to prove the contrary: and, although many plausible arguments were adduced on each side, the matter still remains undecided. Maitland's Translation, Letter to Digby, p. 70.

Moreover, on account of this its peculiarity and interest, I have thought well worth the while to draw up, and append on the following page, a Tabular Scheme representing it; though certainly no very easy task to me. This will, I think, much facilitate an acquaintance with it on the part of my more intelligent and inquisitive readers:

JOACHIM ABBAS' APOCALYPTIC SCHEME.

A.D.	1-100.	100-310.	310-550.	550-800.	800-1200.	1200-1260.	1260.
SEALS.	I. Christ and Apostolic Church triumphing over Judaism.	II. Roman Pagan Persecutions and Blood-shedding.	III. * Arians, with false balance and Scripture perversion.	IV. Mahomet and the Saracens' desolations.	V. Persecutions and Martyrdoms by Saracens in Spain and Mauritania.	VI. * Judaea's fall begins. Christianity vainly suppresses.	VII. Half-hour's silence, the Sabbath, the last half of the 14 times.
TRUMPETS.	I. Judaisers' indurated as hail, of Christianized Jews apostatize.	II. Nicolaitans' burning mountain, in the sea of Gentilism.	III. Arius' falling star.	IV. Light of Monks and Virgins quenched by the Saracens.	V. Locusta, or Pathareni.	VI. * Condemnation of Saracens, Turks, Moors, and Nations. Grace against Rome. - Mystery of Iniquity preparing.	VII. Mystery ended. Sabbath begins. - Millennium in Apoc. XX.
VIALS.	I. on Jews & Judaisers.	II. on Gentilizing recruits.	III. on Arian Bishops and Doctors.	IV. on vain and hypocritical Monastics.	V. on Monastics apostatizing to the Beast.	VI. * Exposure of Rome's power, decay, - Absorption & Reg.	VII. Air purified for Church's trial.
WITNESSES AND TRAVELLING WOMAN.	The 42 months or 1260 days of the City of Christendom, partially Gentile-trod.	The 42 months or 1260 days of the City of Christendom, partially Gentile-trod.	III. 42 days of the 42 generations, partially Gentile-trod.	Christ's gen. in 1260 or 1260 Greek Church ejected.	Witnessing the years, and given to Gentiles.	Body. Moses, Elias, & others.	Kind: to God.
BREAST'S SEVEN AND EIGHT RIGHT HEADS.	I. Antichristian Jews, under Herod. (= Daniel's 1st Beast.)	II. Roman Pagans, Nero to Diocletian. (= Daniel's 2nd Beast.)	III. IV. & V. Arian Greeks, Goths, and Vandals. (= Daniel's 3rd four-headed Beast.)	VI. Arian Lombards.	VII. Mahometan, Saracen, or Turkish Empire; now under Saladin. (= Daniel's 4th Beast.)	VIII. The 7th head wounded, revive as Daniel's Little Horn; still under Saladin.	of the 7th head.
SEVEN CHIEF KINGDOMS.	I. II. Herod. Nero.	III. Constantius.	IV. Mahomet.	V. GermanGhibelline. "He who is," Emperors.	VI. Saladin. A.D. 1190.	VII. * Roman over-empire, - English, - French, - Antichrist.	Age of the Time when to end known only

The observant reader cannot but have remarked the novelty of many of Joachim views; alike on some of the latter Seals, Trumpets, and Vials; on the year day construction of the 1260 prophetic days of the Woman and Witnesses; and on the Dragon, Beast, Harlot, and Millennium: views not only conceived with much originality of thought; but also propounded and urged with a measure of earnestness, and conviction of their truth, abundantly greater than had attached to any previous Apocalyptic Exposition, subsequent to the grand epoch of the Gothic overthrow of the Roman Empire. And could these new opinions on the Revelation, promulgated thus publicly and earnestly by one so venerated as the Abbot Joachim, fail of exercising a marked influence on the subsequent interpretation of this wonderful prophecy? In truth we find the effect marked and speedy. In the Romish Church itself, while some held mainly to the old generalizing views of Tichonius, Primasius, Ambrose Ansbert, Bede, and Haymo, of which class Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas, both of the 13th century, were much the most illustrious others, as Almeric, Pierre d'Olive, &c., quickly followed in the track of Joachim with yet bolder innovations. Moreover certain open dissidents from the Romish Church, despised nearly up to this time as contemptible heretics, began too to make their voice effectively sound forth, on two points at least in which Joachim had innovated; a voice which, after one temporary suppression, has even to the present day never ceased. The fullness with which I have sketched the views of the Tichonian commentators, makes it needless for me to enter at all prominently into others on the same principle: and I shall therefore content myself with placing a brief notice of the Apocalyptic views of *Albertus Magnus* and those of *Tomas Aquinas* below.¹ It is to these innovators just mentioned, whether within or without the

¹ 1. *Albertus Magnus*. The celebrity of this man is handed down to posterity in his surname, Albert the Great. In Rev. 12 the woman is explained as either the Church, or the Virgin Mary: the twelve stars of the coronet meaning, on the former hypothesis, the twelve apostles; on the latter, the twelve prerogatives of the blessed Virgin: while the Dragon's seven heads figure the seven evils spirits, and his ten horns the ten kings, as In Dan. 7 In Rev. 13 the Beast is Antichrist: (or possibly, as Haymo, the Devil) the seven heads signifying all powers adhering to him; or else the chiefs of iniquity from the beginning, Cain, Nimrod, the four empires, Antichrist. God's tabernacle, blasphemed by him, meant Christ's flesh, perhaps, in which dwelt the fullness of the Godhead bodily: (might not questions about transubstantiation have suggested themselves to Albert as he wrote this?) or else Christ's saints. The second Beast signified the preachers of Antichrist: the image of the Beast, a conformity to Antichrist, urged on men by the preachers: ("sic dicit Glossa et Haymo") or perhaps a material image. The name and number 666, construed in Greek words, might be, as Bede says, *αυτεμων* or *τειταν*: the latter as the sun of righteousness, which Antichrist would call himself: or perhaps, adds Albert, with the same idea, in Latin words, *Dic Lux*; in the sense "Die me esse Lucem." A conceit this last copied from Ansbert.¹

The seven Vials are described as the seven last plagues on the reprobate, in the times of Antichrist; though the specification following might lead us to suppose a succession of plagues was meant from the earliest promulgation of Christianity: "In primâ continetur damnatio Judæorum reproborum; in secundâ Gentilium reproborum; in terriâ hæreticorum; in quartâ

damnatio Antichristi; in quintâ suorum ministrorum; in sextâ falsorum Christianorum; in septimâ dæmonum.” The great city Babylon is stated to mean that “vanitatis mundanæ:” the seven mountains, all the proud: the seven kings, those of chief wickedness in the course of all time; 1. those before the flood; 2. those from Noe to Abraham; 3. those from Abraham to Moses; 4. those from Moses to the Babylonish captivity; 5. those from that captivity to Christ; 6. those from Christ to the time then present; 7. Antichrist. The ten horns might either ten kingdoms into which the Roman Empire was to be divided in the time of Antichrist, or all the reprobate. On the millennium Albert repeats the old Augustinian explication. The New Jerusalem he interprets as a figure of the saints’ glorified state.

2. Thomas Aquinas. This angelic doctor of the Romish Church was a pupil of Albertus: but ran a shorter career than his master: the date of his birth being 1224, of his death 1274. The scene of his literary labors and triumphs was Italy; chiefly Naples, where he died. His canonization, or (as the recent Popish Editor and Annotator ¹ of his work *De Antichristo*,¹ which is the subject of my present notice, characteristically expresses it) his apotheosis, was solemnized in 1323. Whence a question as to the supposed early date of the MS.; superscribed as it is as a work of St. Thomas. But, it seems, his fame was such, that the Pope’s act was anticipated by the public voice; and the title saint attached to him ever before the year 1330, per proleps in his subject Antichrist, leads him necessarily to speak of Rev. 11, 13, 17, concerning the Apocalyptic Witnesses, Beast, and Babylon.

He begins by noting what is to precede the preaching of the two witnesses, Enoch and Elias: viz. a universal agitation of the people, as predicted by Christ, (Luke xxi. 25, 26, “And there shall be signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars; and upon the earth distress of nations, with perplexity; the sea and the waves roaring; 26: Man’s hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth: for the powers of heaven shall be shaken.”); a general religions hypocrisy, as predicted by St. Paul, (1 Tim. 4 1, “Now the Spirit speaks expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils;”); and, agreeably with St. Paul’s prophecy to the Thessalonians, an *apostasia*, or defection of the nations included in its empire from the Roman rule: the Roman Empire meant being still existent, having only changed from a temporal empire into a spiritual; and thus a defection indicated from the Roman ecclesiastical government and faith, as well as from its temporal rule.¹

In the Apocalyptic prophecy of the Witnesses, he explains the fire out of their mouths figuratively of their “scientia spiritualis;” the city of their slaughter, like Albertus, as the literal Jerusalem;¹ the Lord’s crucifixion spoken of by the narrating Angel, like him also, as both literally and figuratively meant; and the witnesses “tormenting them that dwell on the earth,” as those “quorum damnationem prædixerunt, et contradicendo iniquitati eorum.” On their And, in so doing, it will be with special reference to these two grand hermeneutic innovations which I alluded to as so important in Joachim explanation; viz. 1. that of the Apocalyptic Babylon being in a certain sense Papal Rome; 2. that of the predicted Antichrist’s probable elevation to the throne of a Universal Pontiff, in fact the Papal throne. The careful guards with which Joachim fenced resurrection he discusses the question whether they are so to rise, like Lazarus, as to die again? and concludes in the negative: and, on the earthquake concurrent with their ascension, explains the tenth of the city that fell to mean many just that will then fall by the sword of the enraged Antichrist; the 7000 being the number that never bowed the knees to him. Thus he regards that city here meant as the holy city spoken of (Rev. 11 2, “But the court which is without the temple leave out, and measure it not; for it is given unto the Gentiles: and the holy city shall they tread under foot forty and two months.”); which, as well as the temple of (Rev. 11 1, “And there was given me a reed like unto a rod: and the angel stood, saying, Rise, and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein.”), he interprets (p. 121) to signify the Church.

Then, on Antichrist, he makes the literal Babylon his birthplace; explaining what is said in Rev. 17 about Babylon “being drunk with the blood of the saints,” of the blood of saints killed in Old Testament times, before Christ’s coming; also, like Adso ¹ (after Augustine,¹) tells of his nourished in Chorazin and Bethsaida, and infused with the Magian philosophy of Babylon.

Romish Church, that I wish to draw my readers chief attention, in all that remains of this 4th section. And in doing so, it will be with special reference to these two grand hermeneutic innovations which I alluded to as so important in Joachim's explanation; viz. 1. That of Apocalyptic Babylon being in a certain sense Papal Rome; 2. That of predicted Antichrist's probable elevation to the throne of Universal Pontiff, in fact the Papal throne. The

The Beast's (or Antichrist's seven heads he makes all bad princes adhering to him; the ten horns (like Andreas ¹) his anti decalogic enmity. The second Apocalyptic Beast he expounds, after Albert, to be Antichrist's false apostles and preachers: the two horns like a lamb indicating their (professedly) preaching Christ, holding Christian doctrine, and professing Christ's miracle working power; but all in falsehood.¹ "They will in fact exalt their head Antichrist, as we exalt Christ," he speaks (p. 87) of Antichrist making war with the saints, "per blandimenta et promissiones et exhortationes," and this even (p. 114) by urging the authority of Scripture, as well as by violence; repeats the old patristic notion that he will pretend to be Messiah to gain the Jews, and build the temple at Jerusalem: also (p. 92) that, to gain the Gentiles, he will utter oracular statutes, answering to the Apocalyptic Beast's speaking image, and to Daniel's maozim. Elsewhere (p. 82) he adds Albert's explanation of the Beast's image, as meaning resemblance to him in heart. He alludes to some of the Vials in the course of his argument. The 4th Vial poured out on the sun, (p. 101,) means poured out on Antichrist; because Antichrist "*se solem existimabit, et diest mundum illuminatum per cum esse: ipse enim sibi usurpabit, nomen veri solis, id est Christi.*" (I have elsewhere quoted this viz. in my Vol. ii. p. 69, in illustration of the notable fulfillment in the Roman Popes of some of the chief Roman doctors' own declared anticipations about Antichrist.) Further, on the 6th Vial, he advances the extraordinary fancy, that by "the waters of the Euphrates being dried up" we are to understand the interdiction of the waters of baptism, in order thereby to a preparation of the way of Antichrist. The denounced going into captivity of those that send into captivity, &c., he explains of Antichrist's being sentenced to the prison of hell; so perishing by "the sword" of divine justice. (129.) I may add that in one place, (ii. 67,) he makes the scorpion locusts' tormenting power in Rev. 9, (elsewhere, i. 99, expounded of Antichrist's false preachers,) to signify the tormenting power of bad angels over the lost in hell; so that these wretches shall "wish to die, and not be able."

Finally, with reference to the consummation, he, like Bede and Albert, explains the half hours silence, in (Rev. 8 1, "And when he had opened the seventh seal, there was silence in heaven about the space of half an hour."), of a certain respite time of tranquility for the gospel preaching of the 7th trumpet, before the end of the world; and with Bede too makes it to include Daniel's last 45 days of the 1335, following on Antichrist's reign during the 1290: a tranquility soon issuing in a general state of carnal security, such as in (1 Thess. v. 3, "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."). Of the millennial binding of Satan he in one place (i. 119, 120) gives the old Augustinian explanation, as having reference to time past, and commencing from Christ's ministry: yet seems elsewhere (ii. 63) to apply it to a judgment on the Devil after Antichrist's destruction. "In illà sententiā ultimi iudicii præerunt executioni Michael et omnes angeli, qui præerunt malis angelis ad torquendum: qui et religabit Sathanam et omnem virtutem ejus; Rev. 20 1, "And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit and a great chain in his hand." It was another step, in the track of Joachim Abbas, to the abandonment of the so long received millennial theory of Augustine. Once more the New Jerusalem symbol and state is explained of the saints' heavenly state after the judgment: (ii. 88;) and among the hallelujahs of praise attending its introduction (90), Thomas Aquinas somewhat fancifully expatiates on the music of the seven planetary spheres.

careful guards with which Joachim fenced these opinions, so as that they should neither impeach, nor be inconsistent with, his fidelity to the Romish See, are almost amusing. Though Babylon meant Papal Rome, including its subject states, yet this was chiefly with reference to the imperial Ghibelline Romanist, both princes and priests, and the evil minded multitudes existing in it; so as still to leave to Rome's Papal Church itself its promised prerogative of infallibility; "Thou art Peter, &c."¹ Again, though Antichrist, it would seem, was to sit on the Papal throne, yet this, in Joachim view, would of course be as a usurper of that throne.¹ But the fitting of Scripture prophecy with the living reality of Papal Rome, in respect not of the disaffected and evil minded in it, but of the religious system, ecclesiastical government, and head there actually enthroned, enthroned in mighty supremacy over Western Christendom, (for the contingency of Rome's revived empire, looked on by Andreas some six centuries before as scarce imaginable,¹ had indeed now more than had fulfillment) this fitting, I say, when the idea had once been bruited, was too striking not to impress itself deeply on many a thinking mind in Christendom. Scarce had Joachim rendered up his last breath among his brethren, when one and another and another, more or less following Joachim, took up and expressed the view.

3. Almeric

First Almeric and his disciples (teachers alluded to, I see, by Thomas Aquinas) declared that Rome was Babylon, and the Roman Pope Antichrist.¹ At the same time they proclaimed, agreeably with the predictions of Joachim, that the Third Age, the Age of the Holy Spirit, a time of light and reformation, had even then begun to dawn with the opening of the new 13th century:² the rumor being also widely and influentially circulated by them, that the Fran-

¹ "Quem (sc. Bestiam Antichristum, Rev. 13) quidam hæreticorum jam sequentes dicunt omnes confessores qui fuerunt in ecclesiâ a tempore Silvestri Papæ esse damnatos, et in inferuo." On which says Aquinas' recent Roman editor, Hyacinthe de Ferrari: "Ex Amalrici discipulis crant isti; qui dicebant Romam case Babylonem,*[In this, I ought to observe, Amarric had for a supporter the Parisian "irrefragable doctor" of the Schools himself, Alexander de Hales. (Died 1245.) In his Comment on (Rev. 17 2, "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.") he thus writes: "The Franciscans dwelling on earth, that is, loving the things of earth, were made drunk, that is, were turned aside from their right path, by the wine of her corruption; i.e. of the city of Rome, or of some prelates of the Church." Cited by Mr. C. Maitland, 338. I have not myself had an opportunity of consulting his Apocayptic Commentary] et Romanum Pontificem Antichristum; sanctorum cultum idolatriam esse, &c." He refers for authority to Berti, Brev. Sec. 13: and adds; "Ideo tempore Silvestri Papæ, &c., quia ipse excommunicavit eos à quibus exulavit." Th. Aquin. De Antichristo, i. 102. Mosheim states that Amalric was sometimes Professor of Logic and Theology at Paris: that his disciples received with the utmost faith Joachim's predictions; that he held sundry heretical opinions: and that his bones were dug up and publicly burnt in the year 1209. Mosh. 13 2, 5, 12, 13.

²Mosh. *ibid.*

ciscans, in their revival of preaching, were the fulfillment of the prefigurative Apocalyptic vision of the Angel flying abroad with the everlasting gospel, to preach to every nation under heaven.¹ Then, a few years later, Jean Pierre d' Olive, another professed follower of Joachim, and leader in Languedoc of the austere and more spiritual section of the recently formed Franciscan body, in a Work entitled Postils on the Revelation, affirmed that "the Church of Rome was the Whore of Babylon, the Mother of Harlots, the same that St. John beheld sitting upon a scarlet colored Beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns:"² and the chief and proper Antichrist a pseudo Pope:³ also, very remarkably, that some reformation, with fuller effusion of gospel light, might probably be expected prior to Rome's final predicted destruction; in order that, through its rejection of that light, of God's destruction of it might be the rather justified before the world.

The same view of Papal Rome was echoed by not a few other professed Romanists. And so, however inconsistent these its propagators, it traveled down through the 13th century; to be stereotyped in the 14th for all literary posterity, in Dante's *Inferno*,⁴ and the Epistles of Petrarch.⁵ Moreover, near about the same time with Pierre d' Olive, by another professedly Romanist expositor, the usual strange oversight as to the predicted disruption of the old Roman Empire into ten kingdoms having long before taken place was in a certain manner corrected. I allude to Eberhard, Bishop of Salzburg: who, in the Council of Ratisbon, held A.D. 1240, while declaring that the Popes under a shepherd's skin concealed the wolf, and that Hildebrand, 170 years, before, had laid the foundations of the Babylonian Empire of Antichrist, declared also that the old Roman Empire had been long taken away from the

¹See my Vol. ii. p. 34.

²So Mosheim 13 2. 2. 36. Vitringa p. 1007, says, "Legi excerpta interpretationis ejus Apocalypticæ (i.e. P. Olivi) cum admiratione." He refers to Baluzius' Miscell. as containing it. In his Section 54, selected for condemnation by the Papal inquisitors, I see the Apocalyptic Harlot is made to comprehend both Rome Pagan and Rome Papal. "The woman here stands for the people and empire of Rome, both as she existed formerly in a state of Paganism, and as she had since existed in the [professed] faith of Christ, though by many crimes committing fornication with this world." ap. Gieseler ii. 304.

³"Quòd Antichristus proprius et magnus erit PseudoPapa, caput PseudoProphetarum." Gieseler ii. *ibid.* To whose abstract of Pierre d'Olive's 60 Articles I beg to refer the reader. Pierre d'Olive died, according to Gieseler, A.D. 1297.

⁴*Inferno*, Canto xix. 106.

*Di voi pastor s'accorse 'l Vangelista,
Quando colei che siede sovra l'acqua
Puttaneggiar co regi a lui fu vista:
Quella che con le sette teste nacque,
E dalle diece corna ebbe argomento.*

This with reference specially to the simony and avarice of the Popes and Roman Church. On which says his Commentator, Pompeo Venturi; 'Dante empicamente intende qui nell' infame donna la dignità Pontificia, come residente in Roma; e, per meglio dire, stesse Pontifici simoniaci.'

⁵In his xxth Epistle he calls the Papal Court the Babylonian Harlot, Mother of all idolatries and fornication's.

earth, according to St. Paul's prophecy, the new Western Empire being but a name and shadow:¹ and that there had risen in its place ten horns, Tureæ, Græci, Ægyptii, Afri, Hispani, Galli, Angli, Germani, Siculi, Itali; "and among, and over them, the Pontifical little horn, having eyes and speaking great things."² Further, a century or so later, another expositor, Oremius, in a Treatise about Antichrist, suggested with reference to "the great city" of the death of the Witnesses, "spiritually called Sodom and Egypt," that, though more probably Jerusalem, yet it might also very possibly be Papal Rome; and, as to the place of Antichrist's birth, that although Babylon, yet this might be Babylon in its figurative sense of Rome.³

4. Waldensian Witnesses

Meanwhile, in a different and purer channel, I mean among the Waldensian Schismatic, or rather Waldensian Witnesses for Christ, the same idea, quite independently taken up, was never thenceforth forgotten; and was thus transmitted downwards by them to the Wicliffites and Hussites of the 14th

¹Compare Hippolytus, p. 140suprà.

²Aventinus' Annal. Boiom. B. 7

³Martene's Collect. Ampl. I borrow this from Mr. C. Maitland, p. 347; not having myself access to Martene's book. He dates him A.D. 1360. Of the few Romanistic Apocalyptic expositions between T. Aquinas and the Reformation, unnoticed in my text above, the most eminent perhaps were Petrus Aureolus the Franciscan, who wrote A.D. 1317, Nicholas de Lyra of the 14th century, (died 1340,) and Dionyus Cathusianus about the middle of the 15th century. As regards the latter, I believe there was nothing very new or remarkable in his Apocalyptic view. In Petrus Aureolus I infer from Mr. C. M's notice of him, p. 349, that the Saracens, Byzantine Emperors, and Turks, figured prominently among the Church's enemies, supposed to be Apocalyptically predicted. But Lyranus' scheme was more peculiar. He explained the prophecy as continuously historical, (without break even at the 7th Trumpet's sounding,) in reference to the history of Roman Christendom from the Apostolic æra to the time of the end. Thus the Seals run on to Diocletian's time:: the 6th Seal figuring the terrors of Diocletian's persecution; the sealing vision, the saved Church's conversion under Constantine. The six Trumpets are the voices of Councils, or Church, against the chief successive heretics, Arius, Macedonius, Pelagius, Eutyches, Valens, and those of A.D. 493 in Italy and Greece; the Angel of Rev. 10, the emperor Justin interposing with his little book of decrees in favor of Catholic truth; the two witnesses, Pope Sylvester and the Bishop Mena, exiled or imprisoned for 3 ½ years (answering to the Apoclyptic 3 ½ days) by Justinian; **[The common explanation, says De Lyra, expounds the two witnesses as Enoch and Elias, the future witnesses against Antichrist; and that their bodies, after slaughter by Antichrist, will be "in medio civitatis magnæ; i.e. Congregationis Antichristo adhærentis, quæ erit valdè magna."*] the manchild of Rev. 12, Heraclius; the Beast of Rev. 13, Chosroes' son wounded in conflict with Heraclius; the 144,000 of Rev. 14, monks and virgins to that number slain by the Saracens soon after Heraclius' death, the Vials, acts of Roman Popes, or of princes sanctioned by them, against iconoclastic or Ghibelline emperors, heathen people, or false Popes, from Adrian's iconoclastic bulls, A.D. 740, to Peter the Hermit and the 1st Crusade A.D. 1094. The 5th Vial Lyra construed of the emperor Otho's vial of wrath on Pope John, thrust by Crescentius into the Papal see: so says Purcus, making Papal Rome the "seat of the Beast"†*[The Babylon of Rev. 17, however, De Lyra explains, I think, to be the Turkish empire; the seven hills its seven chief provinces, and seven kings those provinces, ruling Pashas.]* Further, Lyra expounded Daniel's 45 days as 45 years Malv. ii. 244.

and 15th centuries. Already before Joachim had published his Apocalyptic Book, as it would seem, the Waldenses in their Noble Lesson had hinted that whereas the Antichrist was to come, “even then there were many Antichrists;” meaning, but as opposers of Christ.¹ In 1207 we find the Waldensian Arnold asserting and defending in a public disputation at Carcassonne, the proposition that Rome was the Babylon and Harlot of the Revelation.² About A.D. 1250 Reinerius tells us that this representation of Papal Rome, and of the Pope being the head of all errors, was one of the Waldensian heresies:³ and somewhat later, perhaps a century or more, the whole theory is developed in their treatise on Antichrist.⁴

5. *Walter Brute*

And then next, turning to another country, but to religionists of perhaps Valdese origin,⁵ and certainly on main points of Valdese principles, we find the same mighty truth (for such I must beg permission to call it) proclaimed by Wycliffe,⁶ and his followers. Among whom, A.D. 1391, Walter Brute’s testimony stands so conspicuous, as detailed to us by the venerable Foxe from original documents,⁷ written and registered on his being brought before the Bishop’s Court at Hereford, that I think I cannot better conclude this Section than by a brief abstract of it, as exhibiting the Wycliffe Apocalyptic views.

It seems then that this Walter Brute, by nation a Briton or Welshman, who was “a layman and learned, and brought up in the University of Oxford, being there a graduate,” was accused of saying, among sundry other things, that “the Pope is Antichrist, and a seducer of the people, and utterly against the law and life of Christ.” Being called to answer, he put in first certain more brief “exhibits:”⁸ then “another declaration of the same matter after a more ample tractation;”⁹ explaining and setting forth from Scripture the grounds of his opinion. In either case his defense was grounded very mainly on the Revelation. For he at once bases his justification on the fact, as demonstrable, of the Pope answering alike to the chief of the false Christs prophesied of by Christ, as to come in his name; to the Man of Sin prophesied of by St. Paul; and to both the first Beast, and Beast with the two lamb

¹See my Vol. ii. pp. 370, 303.

²See Ibid. 371.

³See my Vol. ii. p. 371.

⁴Ibid. p. 394.

⁵See my Vol. ii. p. 428.

⁶Wicliff’s days were passed in incessant warfare against ‘this Master of the Emperor, this Fellow of God, this Deity on earth.’ And whatever may at any period have been his respect for the Pope in the ideal perfection of his character, of the actual Pope he scruples not to pronounce that he is “potissimus Antichristus,” the veriest Antichrist.” Le Bas, 333. Among Wicliff’s writings Le Bas mentions one in Apocalypsin Joannis. This I have not seen.

⁷Foxe, Vol. iii. pp. 131138.

⁸Ib. 136.

⁹Ib. 139.

like horns, in the Revelation: the city of Papal Rome answering also similarly to the Apocalyptic Babylon.

No doubt, he admits, this had been a mystery long hidden. But if so, and only recently revealed, it would be in accordance with God's dealings and declarations.¹ "Make the heart of this people fat, that seeing they may not see, &c.," was said by Isaiah of a long permitted judicial blindness on the Jews; and again by Daniel, ch. 12, in one of the selfsame visions that would now come into question, "Seal up the vision till the time of the end:" (let my reader mark this just application of that prophetic statement) also, as to the revealer of them, Rev. 2, "He hath the key of David, and openeth and no man shutteth:" and, with reference to the persons revealed to, Dan. 2:30, "As for me, this secret is not revealed to me for any wisdom that I have:" and Luke 10:21, "Thou hast revealed them unto babes." Nor was reason wanting why the revelation should be made now, in respect of time, said Walter Brute; and here, in the British nation.² 1. Now: because there are signs of Christ's coming being near at hand, to reform his Church; and by the disclosing of Antichrist to call men again to the perfection of the gospel, from their heathenish rites, and ways of the Gentiles, by whom the Holy City was to be trampled for 42 months."³ 2. Here, in Britain, as being by God's special favor the earliest kingdom converted to the Christian faith; under King Lucius, when Eleutherius was Bishop of Rome:⁴ and in effect the very wilderness (here begin Walter's special Apocalyptic interpretations) in which the Woman, the Church, (after by faith bringing forth Christ into the world, who was soon taken up to God and his throne) did, on the Dragon or Devil's persecuting her, thus early take refuge: where too, when the Serpent, especially under Diocletian, sent waters of persecution after her to drown her, "the earth, i.e. the [*British*] stableness of faith,"⁵ helped the Woman by supping up the water of tribulation;" and where subsequently, for the 1260 days, or, as was meant, 1260 years of the prophecy, (a period otherwise expressed by a time, times, and half a time,)⁶ the true faith had ever since continued.

Then he passes to the great subject of Antichrist. Very vain, he says, had been the usual and long received ideas about Antichrist:⁷ ideas as of one that was to be born in Babylon of the tribe of Dan, to circumcise himself, give himself out as the Messiah, or Christ, come for the Jews' salvation, and

¹Foxe, vol. iii. pp. 139, 140.

²Ib. p. 141.

³Ib. p. 142.

⁴About 180, A.D.

⁵Compare Tichonius' explanation, "ore sanctæ terræ," noted. pp. 162, 163 *suprà*.

⁶His mode of identifying this with the 1260 days is curious. The time first mentioned is the greatest time that we speak of, i.e. 1000 years; the times next mentioned 100 years each, of which we have here indicated, these together with the former making 1000 + 260 years; then the half time added being about 50 years. Foxe, 143.

⁷P. 144.

preach 3½ years where Christ preached; then in three ways to seduce the people of Christendom, viz. “with miracles, and gifts, and torments;”¹ and to fight with the two Witnesses, Enoch and Elijah, and kill them, and be himself finally slain by lightning. Vain too what often added, as to Daniel’s 1290 days, or 3½ times, of the abomination of desolation, having application to Antichrist’s being worshiped for that number of days in God’s temple; and then the 45 days additional of the 1335 signifying 45 days of repentance granted to such as should have worshiped Antichrist:² also the explanation of the Beast with seven heads and ten horns; as meant of a yet future Antichrist. For all this, argues Walter, both Scripture and reason contravene. How is it likely that one avowedly of the tribe of Dan should propose himself, and be believed on both by Jews and Christians, as Christ when it is notorious to both that Christ is of the tribe of Judah?³ Or how again, when coming as a man of war and bloodshed: whereas the character of Christ’s coming is foretold as one of peace, under which men should beat their swords into plough shares and pruning hooks?

Then he opens his own view of those prophecies. 1. That in Dan. 12:11, which says that “from the time of the sacrifice being taken away, and the abomination of desolation set up, there shall be 1290 days,” refers plainly to what was said in Dan. 9: how that “after 70 weeks Christ should come; and that he would confirm the covenant with many for one week; and in the half week the sacrifice and offering should cease; and in the temple there should be an abomination of desolation: and even to the fulfilling up of all, and to the end, shall the desolation continue.” For, as the 70 weeks after which Christ was to be slain meant weeks of years, not days, so, similarly, the 1290 days of the desolation meant 1290 years: and the prophecy had fulfillment in the fact of the Romans destroying Jerusalem; and, on its last desolation which has ever since continued, now nearly about 1290 years; and which was to continue till the revealing, or in other words the exposure, of Antichrist. 2. In Rev. 13 the first Beast there figured in vision with seven heads and ten horns, which men explain of an imagined yet future Antichrist, meant rather the Roman emperors; who did much persecute the Lord’s people, both Jews and Christians. For the Woman seen seated on this Beast afterwards was expounded by the angel to mean the city on seven hills, “which then reigned over the kings of the earth,” i.e. Rome; “a city supported by her cruel and beastly emperors.” and its power was to continue 42 months, or 1260 days, i.e. 1260 years; a day being (as before) meant for a year: just as also the ten days of tribulation predicted to the Church of Smyrna signified the ten years of Diocletian’s persecution; and the 5 months, or 150 days, of the scorpion locusts of Rev. 9 the 150 years of the locust like begging friars

¹So Adso, p. 180, Note 1498 *supra*.

²Compare T. Aquinas, p. 207 *suprà*.

³How well and justly argued!

from their first rise to their primary exposure by Armachanus.¹ And the prophecy was fulfilled in the duration of the Roman Empire just 1200 years; from its commencement under Julius Caesar, to the death of its last emperor, Frederic.²

But then “who is the Antichrist, lying privy in the hid Scriptures of the prophets?” “I now pass on to the declaration of that conclusion,” says Walter Brute; “bringing to light the things which lay hid in darkness. For what was said in the darkness let us say in the light; and what we have heard in the ear let us preach upon the housetops.” If then, proceeds he, the high Bishop of Rome, calling himself God’s servant, and Christ’s chief Vicar in this world, do make and justify many laws contrary to Jesus Christ, then must he be the chief of those false Christ’s foretold by Christ, as to come in his name, and deceiving many. Now 1st, as to the fact of the Popes calling themselves Christs, it is evident: since Christ means anointed, a characteristic and appellation specially applied in Scripture to kings and priests; both of which the Popes claim to be, as both high priests and chief kings, invested authoritatively alike with the temporal and spiritual sword. Then 2nd, as to the difference of Christ’s laws and the Pope’s, the first of Christ’s laws is that of love; but the Pope wagheth war both against infidels and against Christians. And though it be alleged that miracles have been done by those who have preached or engaged in such crusading wars, yet does not this justify them; because “for no miracles may we do contrary to the doctrines of Christ.”³ And, as to miracles, did not the Egyptian magicians perform them? Is it not said by Christ that false prophets would rise, that would do them? By Paul, that Satan was transformed into an angel of light? By Christ again, that at the last day he would have to reject many saying to him, “We have prophesied in thy name, and in thy name done wonderful works?” even as the second Apocalyptic Beast was said to do miracles? The standard of truth must be God’s word. “Is not my word like fire, &c?” Further, Christ’s second law might be said to be that of forgiveness and mercy: mercy to sinners. But here too how contrary the Pope’s and priest’s law: giving judicial sentence of death, and perhaps exciting crusading wars against heretics. In which last act there is a practical antedating of times, too. For Christ said that here the tares were to grow with the wheat; and the separation to be made by himself only at the time of the Day of Judgment.⁴ Whereas the Pope would have the separation made by himself now; so changing times, as well as laws.

¹i.e. Fitzralph, a great enemy to the Friars; in 1333 Chancellor of Oxford, in 1317 Bishop of Armagh.

²Here Walter Brute is less happy. His own theory of Antichrist required his application of this chronological period as the measure of Papal Rome’s duration in power.

³175.

⁴162.

Then next our confessor and prophetic expositor proceeds to argue against the Romish doctrines of the keys, auricular confession, transubstantiation, and a sacrificing priesthood.¹ And, after describing the universal and awful habit with all classes of the priesthood, of “selling prayers, pardons, &c,” in direct contradiction to Christ’s charge, “Freely ye have received, freely give,” he breaks into the exclamation;² “I would to God that all the buyers and sellers of spiritual suffrages would with the eyes of their heart behold the ruin of the great city Babylon, and that which they shall say after that fall. For doth not the prophet say, ‘And the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn for her, because no man shall buy any more their merchandise; crying, Alas! That great city Babylon, because that in one hour she is to become desolate?’” Then he expounds the second Beast as the Popes, with their assumed kingly and priestly power; speaking like a dragon, and allowing none to sell their spiritual pardons, &c., but such as bore their mark; interprets the Beast’s name, with the number 666, to be DVX CLERI; and concludes³ with another earnest word of warning from Rev. 19: “My counsel is, let the buyer be aware of those marks of the Beast! For, after the fall of Babylon, ‘If any man hath worshiped the Beast and his image, and hath received the mark on his forehead or on his head, he shall drink of the wine of God’s wrath, and be tormented with fire and brimstone in the sight of the holy angels and of the Lamb; and the smoke of their torments shall ascend evermore.”

Period 5. The Era and Century of the Reformation

At the Reformation the light which had previously gleamed here and there on the subject of Antichrist, and then been at length for a while all but extinguished, burst into a blaze; and the voice of the Waldenses, Wicliffites, and Hussites, protesting against Popes as the Apocalyptic Beast, and Rome as the Apocalyptic Babylon, revived, after a temporary suspension, in power hitherto unparalleled. Vain was the authoritative prohibition of writing or preaching on the subject of Antichrist, by the 5th Council of Lateran.⁴ There was an energy in the impression and the voice, as if derived not from books or earlier traditions, but from the Spirit’s own teaching. Alike in Germany, Switzerland, France, Denmark, Sweden, England, it was received as an almost self-evident and fundamental truth by the founders of the several Protestant Churches: indeed as, in itself, a sufficient justification of the mighty act of their separation from Rome.⁵ But the difficulty remained to

¹171, 174.

²183.

³185.

⁴*Tempus quoque præfixum futurorum malorum, vel Antichristi adventum, aut certum diem iudicii, prædicare vel asserere nequaquam præsumant.* Harduin 9 1808. I have already quoted this in my Vol. ii. p. 84.

⁵On this principle [viz. “that the Man of Sin, or Antichrist, could be no other than the man that fills the Papal chair”] “was the Reformation begun and carried on; on this great sepa-

adjust and explain certain details of the Apocalyptic prophecies respecting the Beast, Antichrist, and Babylon; as well as to offer a satisfactory and consistent solution of the many other mysteries of this prophetic Book. Nor was the difficulty slight; or one soon, or as yet fully, to be overcome. It is my purpose in the present Section primarily, and at large, to set forth the Apocalyptic views in the 16th century of the Fathers of the Protestant Reformation; then very briefly, in conclusion, to sketch the views of Apocalyptic exposition with which, after long reflection, the Papal Doctors, as that century drew to a close, thought best to meet the arguments so fearfully urged against them from the Apocalyptic Book.

I. The Protestant Fathers.

1. *Luther.*

Under this period my illustrations of the history must commence of course with a brief sketch of the views of the great Father of the Reformation. In my *Horae* I have described the time and the manner in which the idea of the Popes being the Antichrist broke upon the mind; and how it was primarily from Daniel's prophecies respecting the little horn and the abomination of desolation, that he drew this conclusion. It was also there intimated that in 1522, at the time of concluding the translation of the New Testament, he had come to doubt of the genuineness of the Revelation as an Apostolic or inspired Book.¹ But it would seem from a Latin Treatise of his, now in my hands, "*De Antichristo*," dated by himself at its ending, Wittenberg, April 1, 1521,² (the very day, I believe, before his setting out for Worms)³ that the doubt had not then fixed itself in his mind: for he not only alludes in more than one place to the Revelation,⁴ as an inspired prophetic book, but interprets the prophecy of the scorpion locusts in Rev. 9 in considerable detail. And other evidence appears to the same effect in the writings of the year 1520 just preceding.⁵ A few years later, 1528, he is stated to have found and republished an Apocalyptic Commentary, expounding the Beast to mean the Popedom; written some hundred years,⁶ or rather, as Pareus shows, some

ration from the Church of Rome conceived and perfected. For, though persecution for opinion would acquit those of schism whom the Church of Rome had driven from her communion, yet on the principle that she is Antichrist, they had not only a right, but lay under the obligation of a command, to come out of the spiritual Babylon." Warburton's Works, p. 408.

¹Ib. p. 135 Note 1.

²"Vale in Christo, mi Vineilae! Vvtttenbergæ, Anno MDXXI., prima Aprilis."

³"So merle d'Aubigué.

⁴"In nobis impleri oportet quæ Daniel, Christus, Petrus, Paulus, Judas, Joannes in Apocalypsi, prædixerunt." E. (The original Edition before me so distinguishes its pages by the letters of the alphabet, four pages to each letter.)

⁵He argues from the Revelation in his answer to the Pope's Bull, dated Dec. 1520. See Foxe v. 675, Waddington i. 288.

⁶Such is the general statement.

150 years before Luther's time:¹ an evidence of his incline then again, as at first, to view the Revelation as inspired Scripture. Finally, in 1534, he prefixed to the Revelation in his great Edition of the German Bible a brief explanatory sketch: from which, and from certain notices found elsewhere in his writings;² I may give what follows as in the main his views on the subject.

Like most of his predecessors, he judged that the Book must be more or less a prefiguration of the chief events and eras of Church History: the Seals chiefly prefiguring the physical or political evils under which the Church and world connected with it was to suffer, the Trumpets the spiritual; and either septenary running on from the commencement of the Christian era to the consummation. Thus in the Seals, the 1st, or white horse and rider, indicated (as in Zech. 1:6) the persecutions of tyrants; the 2nd, or red horse, wars and bloodshed; the 3rd, or black horse, famine; the 4th, or pale horse, pestilence and mortality: all to have fulfillment, from time to time, to the last day: the 5th Seal figuring martyrdom's of the saints, early begun, and ever and anon repeated, even to the end; the 6th, great political revolutions; and its sealing and palm bearing visions, the preservation and ultimate salvation of the saints. The 7th Seal's half hour's silence he does not explain. Of the Trumpets he makes the 1st to figure the heretic Tatian and his Encratites, enjoining righteousness by human works of merit, so as did afterwards the Pelagians; the 2nd, Marcion, and the Manichees and Montanists, exalting their fancies about Scripture; (so as to late Munzer and his Anabaptist's;) the 3rd, Origen and the false philosophy, revived in our own high schools; the 4th, Novatus and the Donatists, denying repentance to the lapsed;³ the 5th, Arius and the Arians;⁴ the 6th, Mahomet and the Saracens: contemporary with whom was the Woe of the Papacy: depicted alike in Rev. 10, 12, and 13.

And here, on Rev. 10 and 11, is the most curious particular explanation in Luther's Commentary. Deeply impressed with the Pope's and Papacy's mock show of Christ and Christianity, and with an impression also, probably, even then, of the resemblance of those seven thunders, which sounded in sequence to the rainbow crowned Angel's cry, to the Papal mandates and

¹"The Author disputing on Rev. 20 touching the 1000 years, testifies that he wrote A.D. 1357; which, saith he, is our present date." So Parcus, p. 12, English Translation. (Amsterdam, 1644.) - It seems from him that it contains the same Prologue which Lyra in his Postill had noted, and which is prefixed also to Joachim Abbas' Treatise; in which latter it is ascribed to Gilbert of the xiiith century.

²Where not otherwise stated, the interpretation given will be found in Luther's Preface, or marginal explanatory Notes to the Revelation, in his German Bible.

³Among these four," says Luther, "nearly all our clergy may be classed."

⁴So in Luther's Preface to the Revelation. In his earlier Treatise "De Antichristo," spoken of a little before, he explains the locusts to mean the Romish Schoolmen, "Scotist, Thomists, and Modernist:" who, headed by Aristotle, introduced the dogmas of freewill, merits and the efficacy of good works for salvation. The star that fell from heaven, and opened the pit whence the locusts emerged, he makes to be Alexander de Hales, or Thomas Aquinas himself. G. ii.

thunders,¹ he was led to explain the whole vision, including the Angel himself, of the Popes and Popedom. "The mighty Angel," he says, "with a rainbow and a little bitter book, is Popery;" Popery in the speciousness of its spiritual forms and pretensions. So the Popes, he thinks, are figured as a mock Christ on the scene of vision; the opened book being that of Papal laws, given the Evangelist to eat, as representative of the Church visible; the lion like voice and seven thunders, the great swelling words and thunders of the Popedom. Moreover, it is the Popes that are still symbolized² at the commencement of Rev. 11 As measuring the temple, or Church, with their laws and regulations; casting out the court without; (in the sense, I presume, of anti-papal heretics) and establishing a mere formal kind of Church, with outward show of holiness. The subject having to be renewed and more fully developed in the vision of the two Beasts, Rev. 13, Luther speaks of the interposition, for the comfort of God's people, of two intermediate and very different visions: 1st, of the two Witness preachers, signifying a succession of faithful witnesses kept up for Christ; 2nd, of the Woman with child, meant of Christ's true Church, and God's provision for her, during the Beast's reign, in the wilderness. In Rev. 13, Luther explains the first Beast to mean the Papist secular revived Roman Empire, the second Beast the Pope's ecclesiastical or spiritual empire: Popery now ruling by the sword, as before by the book; and constituting the third and last Woe, proclaimed by the seventh Angel. Of the seven heads of the Beast the five that have fallen are, he says, those in Greek Christendom; the sixth, "which is," that of Papal Germany; (the head wounded to death, or old Roman Empire, having been thus revived) the seventh, or "that which is to come," he considers to be Spain; the eighth, ("which is of the seven") Rome or Italy. The ten horns are Hungary, Bohe-

¹A remarkable explanation of the seven thunders; and which I have already cited in my Vol. ii. p. 122. "Great was the tyranny of the Pontiff: who, without law, to gratify his own arrogance, has ever lightened and thundered with ample puffed-out cheeks. It was all in vain for a man to give credence to the four Gospels, if he did not receive the Decretals of the Roman Church. These are the great swelling and loud-trumpeted words of which St. Peter speaks: these the seven thunders of Papal intimidation in Rev. 10" - The fact of Luther's having so explained the symbol, was of course the more interesting to me, when brought to my knowledge, from the circumstance of my having long previously arrived at the same understanding of it; though with quite a different view of the context from that which Luther took; and without an idea that such a view had been taken of the symbol by any previous expositor. The citation is given by the Rev. C. Smith from Luther's Treatise on the Keys, and also from the Frankfort Edition of his Tischreden, or Table Talk. In my English Editions of the Tischreden it does not appear. The Table Talk exhibits Luther's views generally as expressed in later late. That he had some such idea however of the Apocalyptic symbol here referred to when he wrote the "De Antichristo" in 1521, seems to me probable from his so explaining the seven trumpet-angels' voices,*[*Illud angelorum genus quod tubā canit, quorum sunt septem Rev. 8, non nisi Romano Episcopo Convenire potest. Tubā enim canere e textū consequentiā, et effectibus secutis, aliud esse non potest quā Decreta condere, id quod nullus prāter Romanæ ecclesiæ Episcopus sibi unquam arrogavit.*] So page G. ii; just after speaking of the Pope's "larvalem faciem."] as well as for other reasons.

²So the Tischreden, or Table Talk.

mia, Poland, France, England, &c.; which, though Popery's professed defenders, are sometimes to attack and desolate it. The Beast's image is the new empire, which is but the shadow of the old.¹ The number of the Beast, 666, Luther explains to signify the number of years that the Beast may be destined to endure; measured, he says in his Table Talk, from Gregory, or perhaps Phocas.² The seven Vial Angels he interprets of the gospel preachers of the latter days: the seat of the Beast being thereby darkened; and the Euphratean drying up, under the sixth Vial, also figuring the exhaustion of the wealth and power of Papal Rome, the modern Babylon: while the three frog like spirits depicted Papal sophist, like Faber, Eck, and Emser, stirring up opposition to the Gospel. Finally, the millennium is the 1000 years between St. John and the issuing forth of the Turks: (these latter being the anti-type to the Apocalyptic Gog and Magog) Satan's incarceration and binding meaning only that Christianity and Christians will, during that whole period, subsist in spite of him. I may add that he in various places notes his view of the predicted Antichrist as one that should be an ecclesiastical person. So in his "De Antichristo;"³ saying, "The Turk cannot be Antichrist, because he is not in the Church of God." And again, "Who ever so came in Christ's name as did the Pope?"⁴

On the whole it will be seen that Luther did not advance far towards the solution of Apocalyptic mysteries. His explanation of Rev. 10-11:2, seems to me the most observable of what is peculiar to him; and that of the two Beasts of Rev. 13, as signifying respectively the secular Roman Empire and the ecclesiastical. Of these opinions, the former, about the rainbow crowned angel and the seven thunders, was never, I believe, adopted by any other expositor of note:⁵ the other has had its advocates and followers even to the present day.⁶

It will have been observed that Luther does not enter on the question of the meaning of the several *Apocalyptic periods*; more especially the 3½ times, 42 months, and 1260 days. But it was quite impossible that Apocalyptic interpretation could go on without that question being considered, and concluded on. Accordingly we find that, almost immediately after Luther's publication of his Bible, it, was discussed by the chief Protestant prophetic exposition that followed; and in most cases the year day question, I have illustrated the somewhat curious ground on which they fancied that his view might be partly based, from Osiander's Book entitled *Conjecture Of The Last Times, And The End Of The World*⁷ a Book first published at Nuremberg, A.D. 1544, and dedicated to Albert Marquis of Brandenburg and

¹So Eberhard, pp. 207, 208 *suprà*.

²Table Talk, ii. 12. (English Trans.)

³P. 10, Smith's Translation.

⁴*Ib.* p. 41.

⁵*i.e.* till my own unconscious adoption of that part which regards the seven thunders.

⁶A practical improvement of the whole subject ends Luther's Comment.

⁷*Conjecture de Ultimis Temporibus, ac de Fine Mundi*

Prussia.¹ So that to an Angel's view (as outside, I suppose, of our solar system) the only mundane revolution observable would be the annual; and consequently our year be to them a solar day.² Aretius of Berne, who taught theology with much reputation at Marburg, and died A.D. 1574, urged the same explanation a little after Osiander:³ and so too Chytræus, in his Apocalyptic Exposition published in 1571, of which more presently. And, advanced so far as they now were in the Christian era, it became a primary element with all such expositors, in calculations of the probabilities of the future, to consider what the probable commencing date of these same fateful prophetic periods: as the lapse of 1260 years from it might be supposed to fix the epoch of the consummation; except, indeed, in so far as the Lord might in mercy shorten the days. By help of the last consideration the earliest Reformers, German, Swiss, and English, even though taking the year day view, might yet hope for a speedy consummation to the world. Others looked to an epoch further forward, as supposable. Said Aretius: "We may reckon Antichrist's beginning from Constantine's establishment of Christianity, A.D. 312; 1260 years from which end in 1572." Said Chytræus; "If numbered from A.D. 412, when Alaric took Rome, and overthrew its empire, the end will be in 1672; or, if from the time of Phocas, A.D. 606, when the Pope's supremacy began, (I beg the reader's attention to this) then the end may be expected A.D. 1866."⁴ Other Protestant Expositors however of this era construed the prophetic periods less definitely.

Reverting to the more general subject of Apocalyptic interpretation, I shall select *Bullinger* and *Bale*, as two of the more eminent and characteristic of the Apocalyptic Expositors of the middle of the period under review, in Germany, Switzerland, and England respectively.⁵

2. *Bullinger*

Bullinger's work, which is in Latin, is made up of the *Conciones* delivered by him at Zurich; and dedicated, as a book well fitted to furnish them

¹"Sunt duo genera annorum magnorum in sacris litteris; unum Angelicum, alterum Mosaicum. Annus Angelicus constat ex tot annis civilibus nostris ex quot diebus nostris constat annus noster civilis. Nobis enim qui coelo inclusi sumus cursus solis ab occidente ad orientem, et rursus ab oriente ad occidentem, diem absolvit; id quod fit spatio 24 horarum. Angelis autem, qui extrâ et suprâ globos æthereos versantur, dies est quem sol in zodiaco ab austro in aquilonem, et ab aquilone rursus in austrum, circumvolvendo conficit."

²Mr. C. Maitland, p. 431, says "that Luther allowed the possibility of 1290 years from A.D. 38 to 1328." He does not give reference or authority; and I have not observed it in the few writings of Luther that I have myself read. But supposing this correct, then Luther may be numbered as among those to whom the application of the year-day principle to the great prophetic periods suggested itself, as possibly the true one.

³So Foxe reports of Aretius: "Vaticinium hoc (de Testibus) non de communibus, sed de angelicis mensibus et diebus, interpretatur."

⁴How this epoch of Phocas' Decree was referred to by others of the Reformers has been noted already, Vol. iii. p. 302.

⁵For a brief notice of Leo Juda, another contemporary Protestant expositor, see my Vol. ii. p. 141.

with consolation, to all the exiles from France, England, Italy, and other kingdoms, taking refuge in Germany and Switzerland. The date of the Preface is Jan. 1557: a date during the reign of our Popish Queen Mary; which explains those terms in the dedication, and adds to the Book's interest.¹ The following are in brief the heads of his exposition.

Of the Seals he makes the first to signify the triumphant progress of the Gospel, even under suffering, whether from Pagan or Papal powers, from its beginning to the end: the second, wars, including alike the Roman civil contests, the Gothic and Saracen desolation's, the *Bellum Sacrum* begun in the 11th century, and then the Turkish Othman wars: the third, scarcities, inflicted from time to time, from that mentioned in the Acts under Claudius the Roman emperor, even till now; e.g. that in 1529: the fourth, pestilence, as under Decius, Justinian, Gregory, &c. &c: the fifth, martyrdom's of the saints, begun by the Roman Pagan emperors, continued by the Arians, and then for above 500 years by Antichrist, even unto now, and which must be expected till the completion of the elect: the sixth, "corruptela doctrine *sanæ* in ecclesiâ," from the heresies of Valentinus down to those of Mahomet and the Papal Antichrist: heresies whereby men's minds had been agitated, the Sun of righteousness been obscured, the doctors of the Church fallen, like falling stars, by apostasy, and the heaven of Christ's true Church been withdrawn.² In the Sealing Vision there was figured the hindrance of the breathing of God's Spirit in gospel preaching and Bible reading; a hindrance enacted by Pagan Roman emperors first, then by Popes: while the sealing itself told of the multitudes saved all along, even in Papal Anti Christendom;³ and the palm bearing, of the saints' ultimate blessedness in heaven.

Proceeding to the Trumpets, (the silence in heaven having been explained simply of the waiting on God's revelations in admiration, and the Incense Angel as Christ the intercessor, the great remedial object in all heresies and troubles about to be noted under the Trumpets) he thus expounds

¹"Ad omnes per Germaniam et Helvetism Gallia Angliæ aliorumque regnorum vel nationum Christi nomine exules, atque adeo ad universos ubique fideles, Christi Domini Judicisque adventum expectantes." The reader will I think feel with me the interest of this touching dedication. The last clause, in Italics, is a further illustration of my view of the Angel's oath made before St. John, (Rev. 10 5-7, "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.") (My Edition of Bullinger is that of Basic 1557.)

²The true Church contradistinctively to the Roman. - In reference to a different view of this Seal, as figuring the last judgments, he observes that while not objecting to it, yet in the immediate sequel (viz. in the sealing vision) some of the Apocalyptic details were such as to make the application inadmissible.

³"Etiam in Anti-Christianismo." This is stated broadly and strongly, p. 99.

them; premising that the use of trumpets in Israel was for convoking assemblies, moving the camp, and war. The 1st was the Trumpet of alarm, as sounded by the apostles and early Christians, against Judaizers and pseudo Christian philosophers: 2, that against Valentinus, the Manichees, and Montanists: 3. against the star fallen from heaven, or Arias: 4. against Pelagius and Pelagianism: 5. against the first Woe, Popery: Gregory the Great's successor, Boniface, having, under Phocas, opened the pit of the abyss, with his Papal clergy, the king of the locusts the Pope; the time mentioned (five months) having reference to that brief duration of the natural locusts; and indicating that the time of the plagues figured was defined and limited by God. In Trumpet 6, the second Woe, or Mahomedan Saracens and Turks, was figured with reference to their course of universal desolation:¹ the Euphrates being taken literally; and the four angels loosed explained as Arabs, Saracens, Turks, Tartars; the previous four great Euphratean powers of Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes, Persians, having had their power long bound.

After a curious interpretation of "the rest of men non repenting," in (Rev. 9:20, "And the rest of the men which were not killed by these plagues yet repented not of the works of their hands, that they should not worship devils, and idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and of wood: which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk:") as if meaning people, both nationally and individually, that were spiritually killed neither by the Papal nor Mahomedan plague, I.e. who, though neither Mahomedans nor Pagans, had yet not given themselves to God,² and must consequently not expect to escape God's judgment, Bullinger proceeds to Rev. 10 and 11, a part relating (as I believe in common with him and other Reformers) to his own times; and which he appears to me to have explained better than all else in his Commentary. The Angel vision in Rev. 10 he explains of Christ's intervention through the Reformers,³ against the Papal Antichrist and Mahomedans; the antithesis between Christ, as here figured, and the Papal Antichrist, being drawn out in detail. The book opened is the Gospel, opened to men by gospel preachers, and with the aid of printing, in spite of the Pope: the seven thunders, the gospel preaching by Christ's faithful servants, as by men with the spirit of those two apostles who were called sons of thunder; the sealing them being meant in the sense of authentication to the good, and that of being hidden to the wicked: the oath (one deeply to be noted⁴) alluding to the 3½ times of Dan. 12; and showing to Christians at that time living that their redemption, as to be effected at Christ's coming and the resurrection,

¹He quotes Nicephorus; *τοτε οι Σαρακημοι ηρξαντο της του παντος ερημωσης* p. 120.

²"Colligimus ex his non sufficiens ad vitam piam et beatam ne quis sit Papista aut Mahumedius, &c." p. 123. He explains the various sins specified in their spiritual fullness, as against the first or second code.

³As beginning however before Luther.

⁴"Est enim res maximi momenti, consolatione plenissima, omnibusque omnino salutaris et necessaria hominibus." p. 129. See my Vol. ii. p. 142. Another passage to the same effect occurs a little before in Bullinger, on his p. 126, ad init.

was even then drawing nigh: the charge, “Thou must prophesy again,” meant of preachers of St. John’s spirit and doctrine against Antichrist and Mahommedism in the last times;¹ and showing (I beg attention to this, as a point in which I now first see that Bullinger anticipated me) that God’s own legitimate commission attached to the ministers of the reformed Protestant Churches, although not ordained by bishops.² He notes how by translation into German, Spanish, French, Italian, English, besides sundry Eastern languages, John’s doctrine might be said to be preached by faithful ministers over a large part of the world. This is the case even now; says he: “Hodiè ista et audimus et videmus.”³ Finally, “the court within”⁴ cast out, he takes to be the Roman Pontifex and Pontifices, “excommunicated by God;” but does not apparently follow up his own principles by explaining it, in the manner I have done, of the excommunication as acted out by the Doctors of the Reformation.⁵

So Bullinger comes to the Witnesses. The number two indicated these Witnesses for Christ to be but few, yet sufficient. The 1260 days of their witnessing in sackcloth, and of the Gentiles treading the Holy City, are an uncertain, yet, in God’s purpose, definite time. For above 700 years we know that there have existed such, who opposed themselves to Papal abominations. The statement, “When they shall have completed their testimony the Beast shall kill them,” he applies individually; in the sense that none shall be cut off till they have done their appointed work. The great city of their slaughter is the empire of Papal Rome, spread over the world: analogously with the fact of their Lord’s place of crucifixion having been within the old Roman Empire: the Papists’ prefigured joy at Christ’s Witnesses’ death being ever notorious; and just recently illustrated from the rejoicings of the Romanists, even then when Bullinger wrote, at the news of Queen Mary’s persecutions of the Protestants in England:⁶ the 3½ days of their lying dead, the short time before their revival in others; so as Huss and Jerome, for example, killed at Constance, were quickly revived first in the Bohemians, then in Laurentius Valla, Savanarola, Luther.⁷ The Witnesses’ ascent to heaven he makes that of their departed spirits entering Paradise; and the falling of the tenth of the city, and killing of the 7000, to mean the mighty defections already begun from the Papal Church and empire. He notes also the taking and sack of Rome itself in 1527, by the Constable Bourbon.⁸ On

¹John bearing here a symbolic or representative character. So, Bullinger says, the Gloss and T. Aquinas: the latter thus; “In ipso Joanne intelliguntur alii prædicatores, quos Dominus ad tempus Antichristi vult instantè prædicare.” p. 133. So also others.

²p. 134.

³pp. 135, 136.

⁴Bullinger takes first the reading *eswqen*; but refers to *exwqen* also.

⁵p. 137.

⁶p. 146.

⁷p. 148.

⁸p. 149.

the 7th Trumpet he says, "It must come soon: therefore our redemption draweth nigh."

Passing on to Rev. 12, Bullinger explains the travailing Woman, like most of his predecessors, of the Church;¹ the triumph and ascent of Christ's members being assured and involved in that of Christ himself; who is here figured not merely as the Child caught up to God's throne, but also as Michael the Church's protecting Angel. But he gives a new interpretation to the Woman's flight into the wilderness; as meaning that of the Church from Judæa and the Jews, (who of old constituted God's enclosed vineyard) to the Gentiles.² The 3½ times are expounded generally, as before. And so too, in a general sense, the Dragon's seven heads and ten horns; as indicating that the Devil "præfuit omnium seculorum monarchis impiis, et omnium cornuum vel regnorum sanguinolentorum præsulor fuit."³ Then, in Rev. 13, the first Beast is rather, remarkably made by him the old Pagan Roman Empire; remarkably, I mean, for Bullinger, a *Protestant*. (As offered by Papal expositors, e.g. Bossuet, the explanation was quite natural.) The seven heads had allusion to Rome's seven hills: and also to seven of its kings; whether the seven earliest kings, or the seven Julian Emperors, ending with Nero: in whom (sc. Nero) the Beast suffered a *deadly wound*; which however was healed by Vespasian.⁴ The ten horns might indicate that Rome's empire was then made up of many kingdoms, or perhaps that it at last was to be dissolved into many: viz. Under the desolation of the Goth and Vandal invaders of the 5th century; as it was said in the prophecy, "He that killeth with the sword shall be killed with the sword," &c.⁵

The second Beast is explained to be the Papal Antichrist, (being the same as Daniel's little horn and St. Paul's Man of Sin) rising up under Gregory I, and his successor Boniface, to be Universal Bishop, soon after Totilas' utter destruction of old Rome; just as this second Beast was seen to rise after the first. The Beast's two lamb like horns indicated his claims to both sacerdotal and royal supremacy, in heaven too and on earth: agreeably with which the Pope has the two swords, and Boniface VIII, at the first Jubilee, A.D. 1300, appeared one day in the pontifical habit, another in the imperial purple. Bullinger draws out here a contrast of this Antichrist and Christ: and notes his changing times as well as laws; substituting his *feriæ* for Christ's Sabbath, his traditions for Christ's written Scripture. In short, one must be blinder than Tiresias, he says, not to see in the Popes the great predicted Antichrist.⁶ *The Image of the Beast is the new Roman or Western Secular Empire:* which

¹The Church "of all times," p. 156. He hints an allusion also to the Virgin Mary, in the passage on the child-bearing.

²p. 158. Compare W. Brute, p. 209 *suprà*.

³p. 157.

⁴p. 166.

⁵pp. 171, 172.

⁶p. 174.

is, indeed, says he, but the shadow of the old one.¹ The explanation of the second Beast's giving breath to the image is, on this hypothesis, obvious. Unless the Pope confirm the new emperor's election, his election is invalid; and in the ceremony of his confirmation he has to take an oath of allegiance to the Pope. So is the emperor in a manner the Pope's creature; and in case of Councils alike, general or national, (so Bullinger all but touches on what I believe the true explanation) the Council "Papæ spiritu regitur."² But already he has had to meet difficulties from his explanation of the first Beast. The second was to exercise all his power *ενωπιον*, *before*, or *in presence* of, the first. How does Bullinger get over the difficulty? He refers to Aretas, saying, that it might be in the sense of following and imitating.³ I need not say how incorrectly. Again, it was to make the earth adore the first Beast. How so? By making men regard the Roman Empire, says Bullinger, as something divine. Further, the miracles of the second Beast, said to be done in sight of the Beast, meant in sight of the first Beast's image, or ghost. And his causing that all who adored not the Beast should be killed, was meant of not adoring the decrees (the Conciliar decrees) of the new Roman Empire, as inspired by the Pope. On the name and number he prefers Irenæus' solution of *Ααπεινος*: dwelling on the Latinism of the Papacy, much like Dr. More afterwards.⁴

Proceeding onward through the next three chapters, it may suffice to observe that he interprets the Angel with the everlasting Gospel in Rev. 14, and also the two Angels following him, of gospel preachers then in existence; the invention of printing aiding their progress;⁵ that the Vials of Rev. 16 Are explained as the closing judicial plagues on the Papal Egypt: the 1st being the "posca Gallica," which first broke out, he says, A.D. 1494, in the Neapolitan war between French and Spaniards, and was rife especially in the Romish convents;⁶ the 2nd, pestilences generally; the 3rd. Popes and Papal princes, stirring up bloody wars in which themselves were slain; the 4th (on the sun), heat and drought; the 5th (that on the Beast's seat), the darkening of Rome's majesty through the progress of the Reformation; the 6th, on the Euphrates, the drying up of the resources and powers of the Papal Babylon; while the three frogs consequent thereon were the Papal legates *e latere*, issuing forth to the kings of the earth, (and so, like the frogs of Egypt, even in king's houses) to stir them up to war against Christ's gospel ministers. The 7th, or Vial on the air, meant elemental convulsions, like those predicted

¹Very much as Luther. See pp. 197, 198 *suprà*. Compare too Hippolytus, p. 140, Note 1108 *suprà*.

²p. 181.

³p. 175.

⁴See my Vol. iii. p. 253. - On the number 666 Bullinger further intimates a chronological solution. It was about 666 years from the revelation of the Revelation to Pepin's endowment of the Papal See. p. 193. - Under the witnesses he says; How long the duration of the Pope is to be from the fated 666 God only knows.

⁵p. 199.

⁶p. 215. Compare my solution Vol. iii. pp. 358, 363, 374.

by Christ, Matt. 24, as to precede his coming: and the three parts into which the great city would fall in consequence, those of true Christians, Papists, and “neutrals.” Further, on Rev. 17, feeling the difficulty of his original solution of the first Beast as the old Roman Empire, he speaks of the Revelation as here conjoining in the figured Beast, whereon the Woman sat, both the Beast and Beast’s image, old and new Rome, the empire and the Papacy.¹ The “was and is not” he thus explains. The old empire was from Julius to Nero, in the Julian Cæsars; then, after a while, became great under Trajan.² The “five heads that have fallen,” were the five emperors that had followed after the deadly wound under Nero; viz. Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus: the one “that is,” Domitian; the 7th, that was to last but a short time, Nerva; (so does Bullinger unconsciously fall in with Victorinus;) the 8th Trajan: which last might be called of the seven, as having been adopted by Nerva.³ The statement that the ten kings received power at one hour with the Beast, he makes to have reference to the second Beast, or Popes, not the first; (so again showing, indeed now confessing, the difficulty from his solution of the first Beast)⁴ these being the ten horns, among which the Papacy was as the dominant little horn; also, while explaining the ten kings desolating Rome primarily of old Rome’s desolation in the days of the Goths and Vandals, he suggests (after Luther) that there may not improbably be a second and future sense, as well as a primary one; and that these kings may be ultimately instruments for desolating Papal Rome too, though none but Christ will destroy it. Finally, the bridal in Rev. 19 Bullinger makes to coincide with the saints’ resurrection;⁵ the vision of Christ and his army on white horses to symbolize the last judgment; the Beast then taken with the False Prophet to be the Papal Roman Empire:⁶ (mark again this necessary inconsistency resulting from his former explanation of the seven headed Beast) also the millennium to be the 1000 years either from Christ’s ascension to A.D. 1034, when under the pontificate of Benedict IX Satan seemed loosed to deceive the nations; or from A.D. 60, when Paul speaks of the Gospel having been preached over the whole world, to the pontificate of Nicholas II, A.D. 1060; or from A.D. 73, the date of the destruction of Jerusalem, to the pontificate of Gregory VII, A.D. 1073. At the same time he objects not, he says, if any prefer to follow the chiasm of Papias.⁷ The Gog and Magog loosed he of course interprets of the Turks: makes the first resurrection to be that from sin, the second that from the grave: and in the figured new heavens and earth recognizes the renovation of this our world.

¹“Conjungit Bestiam et imaginem Bestiæ, Bestiam et insidentem Bestiæ, superbum scortum, ut dirimere non liceat. De utroque ergo imperio locus est exponendus.” p. 225.

²Or perhaps, he says, (*we must mark this his alter,*) it was as the old Roman empire; and “is not, and yet is,” as the new western empire, which is of the old but the shadow and image.

³p. 230.

⁴p. 231.

⁵p. 252.

⁶p. 261.

⁷p. 265.

3. Bale

Bishop of Ossory under Edward VI, and twice an exile from England: in 1540 under Henry VIII, and in 1553 under Mary.¹ He published his Apocalyptic Commentary, under the significant title “Image of both Churches,” i.e. of the true and the false, shortly, as it would seem, before Bullinger’s.² It consists of three Parts, published at three different times, and paged as separate volumes: the first with frequent marginal references to previous authors, of the incorrect printing of which he complains grievously;³ the other two, in consequence, without. His first Preface gives a very copious list of Apocalyptic expositors, from the earliest period.⁴

¹So Part i. B/4 “John Bale, an exile also in this life for the testimony of Jesus.” See Bale’s Life, prefix to the Parker Edition of his works.

²He alludes frequently to the persecutions of Protestants in England at the time when he wrote; and this in his first Volume and Part, as well as the others. So in the primary Preface; “The boystuous tyrantes of Sodoma, with there great Nemroth Winchester, (i.e. Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, mentioned Part 2, § 6, on Rev. 13,)...have of long time taken much pain; and many have they cruelly burned; as was scene of late years in Coventrie, London, and other places.” Of these Anne Askew is mentioned, p. 170, who was martyred in London under Bonner, in 1546. Again, at the conclusion of the whole work, on the last page, there occurs the following passage, as written while Henry VIII was still living. “In the which daily prayer is that most worthy minister of God King Henry the 8, for all other to be remembered; which hath so sore wounded the Beast that he may before his departure, or Prince Edward after him, throw all his superstitions into the bottomless lake agayne.” Hence it is evident the English persecutions and martyrdoms of Protestants that Bale refers to are those of the later years of Henry VIII, after Cromwell’s fall. **[As regards Bullinger his Treatise is dated, we saw, 1557: but Bale does not mention it in his list of neoteric Apocalyptic Expositors, given in my Note 1856 below. Later, however, in the Work he refers to Bullinger himself as a contemporary. See p. 220, Note 1875, infra.]* In the Parker Edition the allusion to Henry VIII is omitted; being copied from some later Edition than mine.

³“Two cruel enemies have my just labours had: The Printers are the first; whose head hast negligence and covetousness commonly corrupt all books. These have both displaced them; (sc. my many allegations, both of the Scriptures and doctors, in the merger of the first Part or Volume) and also changed their numbers, to the truths derogation.” Preface to the 2nd Part. - Bale was of a rather choleric temperament.

⁴*Patristics.* - Justin Martyr, Melito, Irenæus, Hippolytus, Victorinus, Tichonius, Jerome, Augustine, Primasius, (“which volume I have redde,”) Aprigius, Cassiodore, Isidore. (The Aprigius spoken of was, he says, Bishop of Pace in Spain, and made a notable work on the Revelation, A.D. 530.) *Benedictines.* Bede, Alcuin, Haymo, Stabius Fuldensis, Rabanus Maurus, (qu. Adso?) Ambrose Ansbert, Robert of Tuy, Joachim Abbas, a certain Benedictine monk of Canterbury, and Easterton, also Auglus. *Regular Canons.* - Ricardus de Sancto Victore, Gaufredus Antisiodorensis. *Carthusians.* Henricus de Hassia, Dionysius Rikel. *Secular Priests.* - Ambrose on the seven Trumpets, Berenger, Gilbert, an English “Auctor à centum annis,” John Huss, Paulus Burgensis, Mathias Dorinck. *Jacobus Stralen Carmelites.* - Baconthorpe, Tytleshale, Thomas de Ylleya, John Barath, John de Vernone, Nicholas of Alsace, Bloxam, Elyne, Tilneye, Winchingham, Thorpe, Egidius, Haynton. *Augustinians.* - Augustin de Anchona, Jordanes Saxo, Bertrand of Toulouse, Augustin of Rome, Philip of Mantua, John Capgrave, Sylvester Meoccius of Venice. *Dominicans.* - Jordanes Botergius, Hugo Barchinonensis, Albertus Magnus, Stephanus Bisuntinus, Nicholas Gorham, Bernard de Trillia, Paganus Bergomensis, Alvarus de Cuturco, Frederic of Venice, John Annius of Viterbo, Savanarola. *Franciscans.* - Alexander de Hales, Helias de Hani-balis, Petrus J. Cathalanus, John Walleys, Petrus Aureolus of Toulouse, Nicholas Lyranus,

The Seals he explains, much like other Reformers, to prefigure, as they were opened, the mysteries of the seven ages of Christ's Church, though not without certain peculiarities in the details: 1. Christ and his apostles' triumphant progress: 2. the earlier heretics figured by the red horse, and Pagan Roman persecutors figured by its rider with the great sword: 3. the Arians, Pelagians, and all false Prelates; with the Devil, holding his deceitful pair of balances, for their rider: 4. Popery as commencing with Boniface I, and Mahommedism with Mahomet; the horse symbolizing "the universal synagogue of hypocrites, or dissembling Church of Antichrist; pale as men without health," and ridden by "Death and Damnation."¹ 5. the martyrdom of Christ's saints, especially by the Papal Antichrist: those of the Publicans,² Albigenes, and Waldenses: 6. the convulsions of Antichrist's kingdom, now at length revealed in its real character: convulsions begun under Wycliffe,³ continued under Huss, and now experienced yet more: the true sun Christ eclipsed in it; the moon figured Church, once fair, now taugth only of flesh and blood; the stars, or doctors, fallen from Christ's heavenly doctrine, &c.; the heaven of true doctrine past away; their mountains too of strength passing from before them, under the preaching of the Word and with fearful looking for of judgment.⁴ In the Sealing Vision the Angels of the winds are

Astesanus Astensis, Bernardinus Senensis, Theodoric Andree of Thoulouse, Franciscus Titelman. Neoterici. - Luther, Sebastian Meyer, George Emilius, Francis Lambert, (died 1530,) Zwingle, John Brencius, Calvin, Melchior Hofman, "and many other more." In this long list not merely direct Apocalyptic Expositors are included, but those also that have in works on other subjects commented indirectly on any part of the Revelation.

¹Compare Bishop Hooper, p. 158. "Read the 6th of Rev. and ye shall perceive that at the opening of the 4th Seal there came out a pale horse, and he that sat on it was called Death...This horse is the time wherein hypocrites and dissemblers entered into the Church, under pretense of true religion, as monks, friars, nuns, massing priests, etc.: that have killed more souls with heresy and superstition than all the tyrants that ever were have killed bodies."

²i.e. the Paulikinans.

³"Anon I beheld a marvelous earthquake arise. Most lively was this fulfilled such time as William Courteney the Archbishop of Canterbury, with Antichrist's sinagoge of sorcerers, sate in consistoric against Christes doctrine in John Wycleve. Mark the year month day and houre; and ye shall wonder at it." This was in 1382. During the sitting of the Synod, held at Grey friars in London, an earthquake shook the city, and alarmed some of the members of the Synod. Wicliff, who did not attend, used to call it afterwards, in irony, "the earthquake Synod."

⁴Let me here give a specimen of Bale's style and Commentary. "When they have done all mischief,...and can doe no more, then run they to those hypocrites [the Papal priests], then seek they up those Antichristes. There must they be confessed; there must they hide their sinnes. They must be covered with his dirty merits, and with his holy whore dome. And, to be prayed for, that monastery must be build; that prebendary or chauntry must be founded. There must be masses and dirges; there must be anuaries and beadmen. He must be buried in S. Frauncis' gray coat; and he is our Ladies holy habit. He must have S Dominike's hood: and he S. Augustine's girdle. And thus the cry to those earthly hills and rocks, to those filthy dung heaps,...Fall on us with such stuff as ye have! Cover us with your works more than need! Pray, pray, pray; sing, sing, sing; say, say, say; ring, ring, ring! Give us of your oyle, for our Lamps are out! Help us with Requiem eternal! Pour out your Trentall masses! Spew out your commendations! Sing us out of that hot fierie Purgatorie, before we come

explained to mean Antichrist and his agents, seeking to withhold the Holy Spirit: and the sealing of the 144,000 as figuring Christ's intervention to mark and seal his true Church; an intervention especially evident at the time then present. In the 7th Seal the half hour's silence betokened the peace then to be given to the Christian Church, when Babylon shall have fallen, the Beast been slain, and the Dragon tied for 1000 years. For, as all the age after Christ is called by John "the last hour,"¹ this half hour may well mean the 1000 years of Rev. 20 "In the time of which sweet silence shall Israel be revived, the Jews be converted, the heathen come in again; and Christ seeks up his lost sheep, and bringing him again to his fold; that they may appear one flock, like as they have one shepherd."

The eras of the Trumpets Bale, like others before him, identifies with those of the Seals:² the 1st being figurative of the wicked Jews and Gentiles, opposed to and persecuting the Christians in the apostolic era; the 2nd of false brethren, inciting the Roman emperors against Christians; the 3rd of heretics, such as Arius, Eutyches, Valens, that fell by apostasy from Christ's Church, and poisoned by their heresies the streams of religious doctrine; the 4th of the progress of superstition, image worship, and hypocrisy, obscuring the light of truth, and ending in Popery and Mahommedism. Then the Woe denouncing Angel he makes to be men like Joachim Abbas, raising their warning voice; followed after wards by such as Arnold and Savonarola. The fallen star of the 5th Trumpet Bale explains as "the shying multitude of prelates, pastors, and religious fathers, fallen away from the doctrine of the Spirit" in the middle age: darkening the light by false teachers, as by smoke from hell: and from which came swarms of Cardinals, Popes, Abbots, monks of every order, school men, &c., like beasts. The 6th Trumpet's horsemen from the Euphrates (the river of Babylon) he expounds to mean the Anti-Christian Papists, ever prepared for evil, whether at the hour, day, month, or year: many, however, from among the four angels (whom he pretty much identifies with the horsemen) "that were sometime Antichrists, hypocrites, tyrant, and murderers, having been loosened from Euphrates by the present age's gospel Trumpet's sounding;" "the Lord having anointed many with his Spirit in this age to preach deliverance to the captive, and to pen the prison to them that were in bondage."³

there! The reader will see above a characteristic sketch of Bale's own style, and also his hot temperament. But let the passage also further bring home to his mind the wretched delusions, under the name of Christ's religion, which prevailed for ages in England: and from which, in God's mercy, the glorious Reformation was our deliverance. For Bale's sketch is a sketch from the life.

¹ John ii. 18, "Little children, it is the last time: and as ye have heard that Antichrist shall come, even now are there many Antichrists; whereby we know that it is the last time." A passage often alluded to, we have seen, by the earlier fathers Jerome, Augustine, &c.: see my Vol. i. pp. 396, 397: and also by later expositors: see my Vol. ii. pp. 365, 391, and p. 201, Note 1727 *suprà*.

²p. 109/2

³p. 129.

The Vision of Rev. 10 Bale explains clearly and strikingly, just as Bullinger, of the Reformation: the book opened being the Scriptures; the Angel, the gospel preachers of the Reformation, whose light is to be seen alike in the isles and on the continent; the seven thunders, God's fearful coming judgments: which fact was to be noted, though the mysteries were sealed up and hid; such as about the hour and day of judgment, of which knoweth no man. As to the time, times, and half a time of Daniel, which seemed alluded to in the Angel's oath, the time was that from Daniel to Christ; the times, the ages from Christ to the 7th Seal's opening, and 7th Trumpet's sounding; the halftime, that from thenceforth, wherein the days shall be shortened for the elect's sake. Of which 7th Trumpet the sounding must be near, though when we know not. And then in that 7th age of the Church all shall be finished. So "are the faithful to be ascertained that their final redemption is at hand."¹

In Rev. 11 (which begins his second Part and Volume) Bale makes the measuring rod to be God's word, "now graciously sent us out of Zion, by men having his special grace, as by John, to have dominion here in the midst of his enemies:"² the temple, God's congregation or Church, defined and discriminated by his word from the synagogue of Satan; the altar, Christ; the Gentiles cast out, Popish prelates and priests that forsake Christ; the Holy City, "the living generation of them that fear and love God;" the two Witnesses, faithful protesters for Christ, that continue with God's people all through the time of the Church's oppression by the Gentiles; and that were never in more power than now, in this sixth age of the Church. Of the Witnesses' slaughter by the Beasts Antichrist, when they have individually finished their testimony, and their reviving in others, much, says he, has been already fulfilled, though something remains to be accomplished yet. The 3½ days of their exposure, or 7 half days, he supposes to be the seven ages of the Church. The Witnesses being seen by their enemies to ascend to heaven, is illustrated from the acknowledgment often made even here by Romanists, to their having been godly men. The "tenth part of the city falling," is the decay of the riches of the Papal Church. "Thus," says Bale, in concluding this subject, "have we here what is done already; and what is to come under this six Trumpet, where under we are now, which all belongs to the second woe."³ The 7th Trumpet, he adds, is to introduce the full declaration of God's word, and peaceable time figured by the half hour's silence. Which, however, will not always continue; as there is to follow in that last age the outbreak of Gog and Magog, and the last judgment.⁴

Passing to Rev. 12, Bale interprets the vision of the Woman and Dragon much as others before him. The woman is the Church bringing forth Christ in his members; the Dragon, the Devil; the Dragon's seven heads having a

¹p. 147. A passage cited by me more fully, Vol. ii. p. 144.

²Part ii. p. 7

³p.25/2.

⁴p.27/2.26.

probable reference, he conjectures, 1. (and before the flood) to the serpent, in which form he first tempted man; 2. to the calf, as the early object of idolatry; 3, 4, 5, 6, to Daniel's lion, bear, leopard, and terrible Beast; 7. to man; this last figuring the Papacy. In Rev. 13 He makes the first Beast to be "the universal or whole Antichrist;" including all Antichrist's members, from the beginning of the Christian era. And thus "none other is this Beast, here described, than was the pale horse in the 4th age, the cruel multitude of locusts in the fifth age, and the horses of incomparable lewdness for the six." His seven heads he makes the same as the Dragon's; the deadly wound of the 7th head, that by the Reformation,¹ the healing of it accomplished by the partial reestablishment of Popery, as now in England under Bishops Bonner and Gardiner, "with authority to hang and burn at pleasure, by act of Parliament:"² the duration of which healed head however will be but short, as shown us in Rev. 17 As to the second Beast, it figures false prophets and teachers, such as have been even from the world's beginning; the lamb's horns indicating their counterfeiting of Christ and Christianity: the Beast's image, Popish emperors and kings,³ now especially, speaking as dictated by their Confessors: the Beast's name and number perhaps (as earlier Expositors suggest) the names *αντεμος*, *αρνουμε*, (this Bale specially affects)⁴ *τειτυν*, or Dic Lux: or perhaps *Diabolus Incarnatus*, or Filius Perditionis; which two last want but 4 and 6 respectively of the fated number 666. Bale also adds, as adopted from "a certain unnamed disciple of Wycliffe," (he should have rather said from Joachim Abbas,⁵) a suggestion of the 600 indicating the world's 6 ages till Christ's coming, the 60 the 6 eras since Christ to the ending Sabbath, the 6 that ending Sabbath itself.

In Rev. 14 he explains the 144,000 as "the universal congregation of Christ, (contradistinctively to that of Antichrist) all clear from the superstitions of men:" their song of harmonious voice, of God's holy word. The three flying Angels, next following, he interprets very much as Bullinger, and with special reference to the time of the Reformation: also the earth's harvest and vintage as close at hand. The seven Vials Bale makes to synchronize with the seven eras of the Seals and Trumpets. Passing over the rest, the drying up of the Euphrates in the 6th, under which Bale supposed men then were, was the drying up of the worldly spirit; "pompes, possessions, and pleasures of the Anti-Christian church of Babylon:" not till the completion of which will the way of the kings from the sun rising be prepared, or "governors rule according to Christ's doctrine." Also the three frogs he explains as the spirits of idolatry, filthy superstition, and hypocrisy; even then gathering the Anti-Christian powers to battle against Christ and

¹"If this be not a deadly wounding of one of the Beasts heads, I think there is none."

²Both Bonner and Gardiner are named by Bale.

³Somewhat like Bullinger; but in a larger and more general sense of Popish princes.

⁴Like Mr. C. Maitland, p. 149.

⁵Please see pp.197, 198 *suprà*.

Christ's ministers. In Rev. 17 John's being carried by the Spirit into the wilderness, to behold the vision of the Harlot, is resembled to the then recent escape of many of the Reformers out of Babylon:¹ that the Beast "*was*" is explained of the Anti-Christianism of the prejudice and Judaic times: that it "*is not*" refers to the destruction in St. John's time of the Anti-Christian Judaic power; and "*yet is*", was meant of its revival in the Popes and Mahomet. Also its seven heads meant alike the Seven Hills of Rome, and the seven monarchies of the seven climates of the world: 5 heads having fallen from Rome's universal monarchy, viz. All in Africa, Asia, and part of Europe; the 6th being the feeble Roman Western Empire remaining; the 7th the spiritual empire of the Popedom raised by Phocas.² As to the ten kings (which, says he, some think to be England, France, Spain, Portugal, Castile, Denmark, Scotland, Hungary, Bohemia, and Naples) they received authority at one hour with the Beast, when at the 4th Lateran Council they were allied together for a crusade, and had Papal confession enjoined on them. And, while omitting all primary reference of the statement about the ten horns tearing the whore to the Gothic and Vandal desolation's of Old Rome, he anticipates Bullinger's other view of the prophecy's reference also to the time of the end: saying that it is reserved as their destiny to tear and desolate the harlot Rome: a thing already indeed begun, not only by secular rulers, but even ecclesiastical, as Cranmer, Latimer, Luther, Zuingle, Calvin, Bullinger,³ &c.

In Rev. 19, Bale says, on the Lamb's bridal; "Sense the beginning of the world have the faithful prepared for this heavenly marriage; and in the resurrection of the righteous shall it be perfectly solemnized, celebrated, and magnified; such time as they shall appear in full glory with Christ. In this latter time will the true Christian Church be of her perfect age, when all the world shall confess his name in peace, and apt unto this spousal." Yet on the millennium, Rev. 20, contrary to his previous identification of it with this coming period of rest and evangelization of the world,⁴ a period destined to follow on the destruction of the Popedom, he reverts to the old Augustinian solution: making it the 1000 years from Christ's ascension to Pope Sylvester II: so Wycliffe, says he, in his book *De Solutione Sathanæ*. Then was the Devil loosed in the Papal supremacy; and the Turks also, as Gog and Magog; though no doubt the foundations of the Popedom were laid 400 years earlier by Phocas. It was now at length a plenary loosing; but only "for a little

¹"Blessed be the Lord whose word in this age hath admonished many, as the Angel did John, and brought them also clean from his abominations into a secret consideration of the Spirit, unknown to the world, where both to see her pride, and to understand her judgments. For it followeth in the text that the Angel conveyed John away into the wilderness in the Spirit." A Little before Bale, speaking of John's exile to Patmos, had said: "And so did I, poor creature, with my poor wife and children, at the gathering of this present Commentary; flying into Germany for the same testimony of Jesus."

²The reader will again observe how often this epoch of Phocas' decree is referred to by the early Protestant expositors.

³Mark this notice of Bullinger.

⁴See p.218 *suprà*.

while:" as Berenger, and then the Waldenses, Wicliffites, &c., very soon after opposed the Papacy; and subsequently, yet more, the Reformers Luther, &c. "And I doubt not but within few dayes the mightie breath of Christ's mouth, which is his lyving gospele, shall utterly destroye hym."

On the new heaven and earth Bale professes to look for an earth purified and renovated by the fire of judgment, "gong before the Judge;" very much as in King Edward's Catechism.

4. *Chytræus and Marlorat*

A brief notice may suffice of the two interpreters Chytræus and Marlorat, published some twenty years later, in the middle era of the Reformation; for they both very much followed in the track of their predecessors.

Thus in *David Chytræus' Explicatio Apocalypsis*, published Wittenberg 1571, the six first Seals are made to depict the gospel progress, wars, famines, pestilences, persecutions, and political commotions, &c., as from time to time repeated, or continued, throughout the whole time of the Church; and the Sealing Vision the multitudes sealed and saved through all this same period. Of the Trumpets the four first Chytræus interprets of the heresies of Tatian, Marcion, Origen, and Novatus; so as Luther, says he, in his Bible, "ad marginem Editionis Germanicæ:" the 5th, of the Papacy, as established by Gregory and Phocas' Decree; the 6th, of the Saracens and Turks; the Euphrates being specified, says Chytræus, with a more specific geographical reference than others, because of the Saracen capital Bagdad being situated by it. The Angel vision in Rev. 10 is Christ's succoring the Church in those times of darkness, by opening the Scriptures and raising up true preachers:¹ John's charge to prophecy again being given him, not so much in his personal as in his representative character: the office assigned to these gospel preachers being to attack the Papal and Mahometan errors, till the 7th Trumpet's sounding, or the end of the world. In Rev. 11 The figuration of the temple showed that even in the worst times, under Popery and Moham-medism, there would be a Church of God, recognizing the true altar, or Christ in his characters of Priest and Mediator; and the exclusion directed of the outer court meant God's own exclusion of Papists; boasting themselves to be the true Church, but rejected by the measuring rod of God's law. The 1260 days of the Gentiles treading the holy city are to be explained, Chytræus adds, as angelic days, I.e. as 1260 years: and to be calculated (I noted this a little previously²) perhaps from Alaric's taking Rome, A.D. 412, perhaps from Phocas' Decree, A.D. 606; on the former of which suppositions the date of ending would be A.D. 1672; on the latter, 1866 correspondently with which view of that mystic period the two Witnesses signified all Christ's successive witnesses during the 42 months of Antichrist's reign;

¹The seven thunders Chytræus makes the seven-fold gifts of the Holy Spirit.

²p.213 *suprà*.

such, says he, as have been recently detailed in the “Catalogus Testium.”¹ Their death and speedy revival he explains, like Bullinger and others, to signify the speedy revival of other witnessing and witnesses, on each individual occasion of their temporary suppression by Antichrist. In Rev. 13 He follows Bullinger in making the first Beast the old Pagan Roman Empire; explaining also its seven heads after him: only he makes the wounding of the seventh head to be that of the Goths. I should have observed that he notes on the 1260 days, how some had explained them of the Interim, from May 15, 1548 to the beginning of 1552: the first introduction this, I believe, of the Interim into Protestant Apocalyptic interpretation. The second Beast is Rome Pontifical; the image of the Beast the Western Empire, the shadow of the old one. The Beast’s name and number some, he says, explained as a title, e.g. *Αατεινος*; some as chronologically marking the time from Christ to Phocas or Pepin. The millennium is 1000 years from Christ to Gregory VII and the Turks.

Augustin Marlorat’s Exposition of the Revelation of St. John, published A.D. 1574, with a dedication to Sir. W. Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer under Queen Elizabeth, is professedly collected out of divers notable writers of the Protestant Churches; viz. Bullinger, Calvin, Gaspar Meyander, Justus Jonas, Lambertus, Musculus, Ecolampadius, Pellicanus, Meyer, Viret. The first novelty that I observe in it is on the 2nd Trumpet; where the figure of the burning mountain cast into the sea is explained of the Roman Empire swallowed up, as in the sea, by Christ’s kingdom. The 5th Trumpet is applied to Mahomet and the Pope; the 6th to the Papal Antichrist yet more strongly. On Rev. 10 mark the clear decisive explanation of its Angel Vision usual among the Reformers, as figuring the opening of the Scriptures, and revived gospel preaching at the Reformation: also the exclusion of the outer court in Rev. 11, as signifying the exclusion of Papists: there being here, however, in Marlorat this variation, that on the Angel’s oath, living securely as he did under the Protestant Queen Elizabeth, he not unnaturally expresses a strong opinion that the 2nd Woe had passed in time, even though the 7th Trumpet might not have sounded. In Rev. 12 He interprets the Dragon’s seven heads like Bale: in Rev. 13, the first Beast as Antichrist and his kingdom: (the deadly wound, made by Mahomet, being healed by the Popes) the Beast’s image as the images of saints; the Beast’s name and number, much as Chytræus. Finally, in Rev. 20 he explains the millennium as the period from Christ to Antichrist; during which Satan, he says, was restrained: and he takes occasion on it to reprobate the errors of the Chiliasts (millenarians).

A word, ere I pass to the last quarter of this century, on *Bibliander*: an expositor contemporary with the two former; and who, in his exposition of the Seals, as I learn from Foxe,² offered certain noticeable novelties. Like Berengaud he supposed them to symbolize successive ages of the world

¹Compare my notice of this Catalogue, Vol. ii. p. 204.

²Foxe, pp. 43, 44.

from the beginning: but not the same as Berengaud. According to Bibliander the 1st Seal figures the age from Creation to the Flood; the 2nd from the Flood to Moses; the 3rd from Moses to Christ; the 4th from Christ to Constantine; the 5th from Constantine to the commencement of Papal supremacy by Phocas' grant, and of Mahommedism by Mahomet about A.D. 606; the 6th (including Pepin and Charlemagne's acts of aggrandizement to the Roman Church) from Phocas to the Councils of Constance and Basle A.D. 1431;¹ the 7th from thence to the consummation.

Of Protestant Apocalyptic Expositors of the century and era of the Reformation, I shall now briefly state the opinions of *Foxe*, *Brightman*, and *Pareus*; expositors who published in the last quarter of that century, as dated from A.D. 1517.

5. Foxe

The Exposition by Foxe, our venerable English Martyrologist, was written (as appears by two chronological notices in the book) in the year 1586;² and had been only advanced to Rev. 17, when the work was interrupted by his death.³ The next year it was published by his son, under the modest title of *Eicasmī in Apocalypsin*; (Conjectures on the Revelation) with a Dedication to Archbishop Whitegift; in size making a thin folio of about 400 pages. It seems to me to deserve attention, not merely from the venerable character of the writer; but also from the learning and original thought and views manifest in the Commentary itself.

Thus, to begin,⁴ he makes the horses and horsemen of the four first Seals to signify the same four great empires of the world that were previously symbolized by Daniel's four beasts, the Assyrian, Persian, Greek, and Roman:⁵ the fifth picturing primarily the Christian martyrdom's under Pagan

¹There is a little obscurity here; but I think this is Bibliander's meaning. Compare what Foxe says, p. 60, on the 7th Seal's not figuring the events of the 7th millennium, but rather of the 6th.

²First, on the 6th Seal, where he speaks of the current year as A.D. 1586; secondly, where he states it as 286 years from A.D. 1300, on Rev. 11 - *Eicasmī*, pp. 60, 123. (*My Edition is the original Edition of 1587.*)

³See the notice at the conclusion of the Commentary, p. 396.

⁴Let me premise that just before beginning the Seals (p. 46) he has some excellent observations on the careful use necessary of the allegorical meaning, so as not to set aside the historical. "Non me fugit istud, nullo modo fustidiendas esse omnes in Scripturis allegorias." Both Christ and Paul, he says, uses them; "at maximè in exhortando, consolando, doccudo." "In prophetando non ita propriè luditur allegoriis; aut, si in prophetiis usu ita veniat quandoque, ut per similitudinem collationem parabolæ adhibeantur, at non ideo tamen scusus historicus per allegorismos et tropologias evertendus est; praesertim ubi res ipsa ad historias nos mittit, non ad allegorias."

⁵The same view that Mr. Foxe. has in our own days advocated; whether as an original idea, or adopted from Foxe. See his *Sacred Calendar of Prophecy*. It seems from Foxe that Petrus Artopæus had so construed the 1st Seal before him. Foxe (pp. 46-50) criticizes, and shows the inconsistency and untenableness of, the old Church-schemes of the Seals at some length.

Rome, from Nero to Diocletian: secondarily, and by the intimation added, “till their brethren should be killed even as they,” the later succession of martyrs also, slain under Antichrist, whereby was to be made up the Christian martyr complement: which later succession, having commenced from the time of Satan’s loosing 1000 years after Constantine,¹ or near about the era of Wycliffe, had when Foxe wrote amounted to the same number ten,² as the successive persecutions of the Christian Church under Rome Pagan. On the sixth he compares its symbols of the earthquake and the elemental convulsions with similar ones in Isaiah and Joel, denoting Babylon’s overthrow and Jerusalem’s respectively; as well as others figuring the last judgment. And he thence infers that it may signify primarily the overthrow, following on the completion of the first set of martyrs, of the Roman Pagan persecuting emperors and empire accomplished by Constantine: yet so as to symbolize also, secondly and chiefly, the greater day of judgment; on the completion of the second and final set of Christian martyrs, slain by Antichrist. Which judgment, Foxe thought, might be regarded as very near at hand.

The Sealing Vision, included in the same sixth Seal, showed the preservation of the saints at this period of the judgment, amidst the physical disturbances of the mundane system, (for the stagnation of the winds, the literal winds, indicated a stop in the usual course of nature)³ and conflagration of the world; just as the fate of the antichristian and wicked had been depicted in the previous figuration: the 144,000 sealed, whom Foxe identifies with the innumerable body of the palm bearers, being the universal church of the redeemed. Then, the half hours silence in heaven, Foxe, dissatisfied with other views, conjectures to mean the peace of the world under Augustus,

How is Christ the rider of the 1st horse, when represented otherwise as on the throne, opening the Seals? How on a war-horse, and with bow in hand, as a warrior; when going forth (according to those expositors), not to inflict judgment, but simply in the peaceful progress of the gospel? How in the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Seals one and the same rider, the Devil, when the different horses, with different colours and characteristics, might seem to require different riders to each? Moreover, how could the Devil be supposed the rider, when the time at which he would be so riding was that at which in the millennial vision [such being Foxe’s idea of Rev. 20] he was figured as bound in the abyss? Again, in the 2nd Seal, “the killing one another” could only be applied to civil wars and slaughter, not to dissensions of Christians. And, as to the 3rd Seal, the small price *[Foxe does not enter on the question of the size of the *chaenix* measure.] of a denarius for the measure of wheat and three measures of barley, conjoined with the intimated abundance also of wine and oil, might rather signify a dearth of men to buy, than a dearth of the provisions to be bought.

¹Such will be seen to be Foxe’s view, p. 55.

²Viz. 1. under Henry IV and V in England; 2. in the Council of Constance, and in Bohemia; 3. under the Roman Pontiffs in Italy; 4. under the Emperor Charles V in Germany; 5. under Henry VIII in England; 6 under Henry II in Gaul; 7. under James II in Scotland; 8. under Charles IX in France; 9. under Mary in England; 10. under Philip II in Spain and Flanders. p. 55.

³If any preferred to take it metaphorically, then the winds might mean the gospel-preaching stop by four evil angels, chiefly the Papal agencies.

preceding Christ's birth: and that the prayers of all saints that followed, being prayers of the saints after Christ's death and ascension, while under persecution from Jews and Romans, brought down on their persecutors the judgments symbolized in the Trumpets. Thus Trumpet 1 was the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans; Trumpet 2 the plague and other troubles under Aurelius, after the fourth Pagan persecution: Trumpet 3 the plague under Decius of which Cyprian wrote, and that far greater one, together with all the other troubles, under Gallienus; Trumpet 4 the convulsions and quenching of the political lights of the Roman Empire by Goths, Vandals, and Lombard's;¹ Trumpet 5 the woes possibly of the Papacy, but more probably in Foxe's opinion of Mahommedism, the one from Phocas, the other from Mahomet;² (the five months specified having reference simply to the time of the natural locusts, that constituted the figure, making their ravages;)³ Trumpet 6 the Turks. On which last point Foxe is very strong. "It is clearer than the light itself," he says, "that this is the main intent of the Trumpet."⁴ He dates the Turks' power in Asia from A.D. 1051, when the alliance was formed by them with the Caliph of Bagdad;⁵ and traces their history thence downward to A.D. 1573.

"And the rest," it is said, Rev. 9:20, "repented not of worshiping idols, &c." The Anglo-Rhemenses, observes Foxe,⁶ explains this of heathen idols. But were the Greeks that have been slain and enslaved by the Turks, worshippers of such idols? Then he proceeds to the vision of Rev. 10, 11; all under the same sixth Trumpet, "*in quâ hactenus versamur*."⁷ In Rev. 10 the magnificent vision of Christ, there given, signified chiefly two things: 1st, the restoration of gospel preaching, "Thou must prophesy again;" the book in the Angel's hand figuring God's word, and John being a representative person on the scene of vision: 2nd, a declaration of the surely approaching judgment under the seventh Trumpet.⁸ He explains both these of his own era, though as begun indeed earlier, even from the time of Wycliffe: (times included likewise in the Turkish woe period, or 6th Trumpet) and he refers in one place, as illustrative, to the wonderful discovery of printing. Mark especially, he observes more than once, the word "Prophesy again."⁹ It implies there having been previously a cessation of it; so as in fact for centuries

¹So falling on what I believe the right interpretation of this 4th Trumpet. He adds, as an alternative, that if any prefer to understand the obscuration of the firmamental luminaries ecclesiastically, it may be explained of the darkening of heaven by Mahommedanism.

²Here again, I conceive, Foxe is in the right.

³p.90.

⁴p. 98. Rightly, I doubt not, again. I have noticed this in my Vol. ii. p. 145, on the Angel's oath.

⁵p. 94. So Mede afterwards.

⁶p.99.

⁷p.99,100.

⁸pp. 102, 105. See the joyous citation given from Foxe in my Vol. ii. p. 144.

⁹p. 107, &c

under the Papacy. Then, preparatory to the next vision, Foxe has a dissertation to show that the great Antichrist of Scripture prophecy is the Pope, not the Turk; and the temple he was to sit in, the Christian Church. Accordingly in Rev. 11 the temple is the Church; its inner court true worshippers, its outer false: also the measuring it indicated its reparation and reformation, during the then current woe of the sixth Trumpet, “as in our day.” This reformation implied a previous corruption of it, he adds, by Antichrist: the progress of which he traces. As to the 42 months, during which the Holy City was to be trodden down, it was no doubt the same as the 42 months of Rev. 12 and 13. And this, arguing from the length of the Jewish and Roman Pagan persecutions of the Church, from Herod’s beheading of St. John to Constantine, and which he computed at 294 (?) years,¹ he deemed to be on the scale of one month to seven years; a singular scale, applied however by him to the number in Daniel also! This then would be the duration of the Turks and Pope jointly oppressing the Church; a term equal to that of the Jews and Pagan’s oppression of it, till Constantine. And as from Satan’s loosing and the rise of the Ottomans, A.D. 1300, 286 years of the term had, when Foxe wrote, elapsed, there would now remain of it but eight years more. Similarly the Witnesses’ 1260 days of prophesying in sackcloth, dated by Foxe from A.D. 1300, would on the scale before mentioned have to end in 1594. At the same time he mentions Aretius’ and Chytræus’ view of the period, as one of angelic days, I.e. of years: ending, if measured from Constantine, in 1572; if from Alaric, (A.D. 412) in 1672; if from Phocas, in the year 1866.² The witnesses prophesying 1260 days in sackcloth, and then being killed by the Beast, he explains of the proceedings of the Council of Constance in the condemnation of Huss and Jerome: (so too, he says, Bibliander) its first Session having been Dec. 8, 1414; and last, May 22, 1418, just 3½ years after. After which time their principles, thought to have been suppressed, soon revived. Foxe dwells long and minutely on this history; deeming it evidently a very remarkable fulfillment of the prophecy.³ Since which time the revived Witnesses had come down to the time of Luther and the Reformers. All this had been under the sixth or Turkish Trumpet; which Foxe regarded as then, when he wrote, near its end: the 7th Trumpet being thus close at hand; when the Church would have its time of blessedness accomplished, in Christ’s coming and the saints’ resurrection.

In Rev. 12 the Woman travelling was God’s true Church, that same of which David in his 87 Psalm described the glory:⁴ the Dragon, the Devil; seeking through Herod to destroy Christ at his birth, and persecuting him after wards till his death and ascension. After which event Woman flying

¹See on Rev. 12, next page.

²pp.144,145.

³At p. 180 Foxe briefly notices Huss’ dream and prophecy, as I more fully have done, Vol. ii. pp. 459, 460; not aware, when I did so, that any other expositor had noted it before me.

⁴“Glorious things are spoken of thee, thou City of God.” p. 197. Foxe contrasts this with the Romish pseudo-Church.

into the wilderness, which from the more immediate observation and fury of the enemy, like the caves and dens of the earth spoken of in Heb. 11:38,¹ had for 1260 mystic days, meaning 294 years, as stated before, I.e. until the time of Constantine, (and the Devil's coincident millennial binding) to undergo oppression and persecution.² The first Beast of Rev. 13 is explained by Foxe, as by Bullinger, of the heathen Roman emperors: his seven heads, besides their primary signification of Rome's seven hills, meaning either, so as Bullinger had interpreted them, the seven original kings of Rome, or, as Chytræus, the seven Julian emperors to Nero; or perhaps, as Peter Artopæus and D. Fulco, (Foxe should have added the earlier Osiander) the seven orders of chief ruling magistrates, Kings, Consuls, Decembirs, Dictators, Triumvirs, Cæsars, and Emperors of foreign ancestry.³ (Let my readers mark this very important step of progress in Apocalyptic interpretation.) The ten horns Foxe inclines to interpret as the emperors who originated the ten Roman Pagan persecutions of the Church. The 42 mystic months of his ruling as a persecutor were to be taken, as before, to signify 42 x 7, or 294 years. And here Foxe recounts, somewhat mysteriously, that his secret of the mystic numbers, and true scale of computation intended, had been revealed to a friend of his, a martyrologist; meaning, I presume, himself.⁴ The Beast's head wounded was fulfilled in the Goths' destruction of old Rome; its healing, in the uprising of the Roman Papal supremacy. So he comes to the second Beast; which he interprets of course as the Popes, or Antichrist: who, while reviving the old Roman Empire that had been wounded to death,⁵ fulfilled also the symbol of two horns like a lamb by their hypocritical pretensions to Christianity; as also indeed, agreeably with the Apocalyptic sketch, to miracles. It had in Hebrew the name (Romanus) = 666; a name which Foxe preferred to others of the same numeral value in Greek or Latin: and in the oaths of fealty to the Romish Church, imposed on all functionaries, secular and ecclesiastical, stamped them as it were the Papal character or mark.⁶

Of the Apocalyptic Vials the five first were explained by Foxe as woes poured out on the old Roman Empire; the other two on that of Papal Rome: 1. Gallienus' *ελκος* or plague; 2. and 3. the bloodshed in the civil and foreign wars of the persecuting emperors; 4. the plagues of drought and famine

¹p.205.

²p. 206. Foxe here hints that "the little season" of the Devil's loosing may indicate a second 294 years of oppression from after the end of that millennium; or epoch of the Turks loosing against Christendom about A.D. 1300.

³p. 214. Osiander published A.D. 1544. See my Vol. iii. p. 116. Note 2.

⁴p.216.

⁵The Beast's image he seems at p. 268 to make the restored greatness of the old Roman Empire. But he does not enter on the point distinctly.

⁶pp. 269, 270. In his discussion of Rev. xiii Foxe devotes some 40 pages, or more, (from p. 224 to 268) to a controversial discussion with Romanist on the great subject of the Antichrist and Apocalyptic Beast.

about the same era;¹ 5. Rome's destruction (the seat of the Beast) by the Goths; 6. the Turkish plague from the Euphrates, the same as in the 6th Trumpet.²

The millennium, or 1000 years of Satan's binding, he explains, as I before observed, of the 1000 years from Constantine to the acme of Papal supremacy, and the outbreak of Ottoman Turks, about 1300, A.D.

On the whole, the following points seem to me chiefly notable in Foxe's very valuable and interesting Commentary: viz. His reference of the fifth and sixth Seals, partially at least, to Diocletian's persecution and the revolution under Constantine; his strong and distinctive application of the 6th Trumpet to prefigure the Turks; his application of the visions in Rev. 10 and 11, of the Angel's descent, John's prophesying, and the measuring of the temple, to the Church's revival in the Reformation; and his explanation, after Fulco and Artopæus, of the seven heads of the Beast; all advances in the right path, I conceive, if not altogether correct: also his date of Satan's binding, as one to be computed from Constantine; Foxe being, I believe, the first so to compute it. He was followed herein soon after by the Romanist Alcazar. Here I conceive him to have been quite in error; as also in that on which he thought himself favored with peculiar discernment; the scale on which the prophetic periods were to be calculated.

6. *Brightman.*

His Commentary, which is dedicated to "the holy reformed Churches of Britany, Germany, and France," appears to have been written and first published in the year A.D. 1600, or 1601, before the death of Queen Elizabeth.³ It is one of great vigor both in thought and language; and deservedly one of the most popular with the Protestant Churches of the time. He himself gives a brief summary of it; which I here subjoin, with a few illustrative Notes.⁴

"Rev. 6. The *Seals*. 1. The truth is first of all opened, and overcometh, [this is the *white horse*,] under Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius;⁵ at the voice of the first Beast, Quadratus, Aristides, and Justin Martyr. 3. At the voice of the second Beast, (viz. The same Justin Melito of Sardis, and Apollinarius) cometh forth the red horse under Marcus Antonius Versus, confounding all things with wars.⁶ 5. The third seal being opened, the third Beast, Tertullian, crieth out under Severus the emperor, when the black horse scourgeth the world with famine and barrenness. 7. The fourth seal is

¹So very similarly, says Foxe, p. 362, the expositor Fulco.

²p.373.

³See e.g. p. 525; also the 2nd page of the Preface. My Edition is the 4th, Loudon, 1644. Brightman.

⁴In Rev. 4 the Book with seven seals is supposed to have been the whole Apocalyptic Book.

⁵The triumph of Christ's truth Brightman illustrates from Hadrian's Edict, that no Christian should be condemned unless guilty of some violation of the civil laws. Euseb. 4 3.

⁶Especially the wars with the Parthians and the Marcomanni.

opened; and then speaks the fourth Beast Cyprian, Decius being emperor; when the pale horse wasted all with war, famine, pestilence, and wild beasts. 9. The fifth is opened,¹ and some intermission of the public persecution given under Claudius, Quintilius, Aurelian, and the rest, till the 19th year of Diocletian. 12. The sixth is opened, when Diocletian and Maximian Herculeus rage: till at length they were cast out of their empire by the power of the Lamb; for fear of whom those tyrants fled, and hid themselves.²

“Rev. 7. The seventh seal offers first a general type of all the ages following. 1. When wicked men were ready to trouble all the world with contention, ambition, heresy, war, they are restrained by Constantine the Great; till he had sealed the elect, by providing for the faithful (who were few and living in obscurity) in that great calamity of the Church which straightway followed, which rueful time being at least passed over, the prosperity and happiness of the faithful grew great.³

“Rev. 8. Secondly, to this seventh seal belongeth the silence that was in heaven: I.e. peace procured by Constantine. 2. The trumpets are prepared, and Constantine calleth the Nicene Council to cut off troubles; which yet by it are more increased. 6. The Angles sound the trumpets; at the sound of the first whereof the contentions of the Arians about the word coessential arose. 8. At the sound of the second, the burning mountain of ambition is cast into the sea, by the decree concerning the primacy and dignity of bishops. 10. At the third the star falleth from heaven; the Arian heresy being defended by Constantius and Valens. 12. At the fourth, the third part of the sun (the Church of Africa) is smitten by the Vandals. 13. The world is warned concerning more grievous Trumpets to ensue by Gregory the Great.

¹The opening epoch of the fifth Seal, is, according to Brightman, the persecution under Galienus: the white robes given being an emblem of the temporary respite for 40 years; and the intimation about other martyrs to be sacrificed, before God’s promised vengeance, having reference to the martyrdoms of the next and last Pagan persecution under Diocletian.

²The elemental convulsions of the 6th Seal are supposed to be those of Diocletian’s persecution, when the very Church itself seemed to be blotted out of the visible heaven; the kings’ subsequently figured flight and terror, on the other hand, the overthrow of the Pagan emperors by Constantine, and their awful deaths.

³Bright man places the Sealing Vision distinctly under the 6th Seal; but makes its figured symbolization to give an anticipative view of what was to happen afterwards under the Trumpets and Vials. (p. 240.) The contention, ambition, heresy, and war, specified in his summary, are made by him the four evil angels of the sealing vision: the same, he says, that were developed in the four first Trumpets; and arrested all four by Constantine, the sealing angel. The sealing was by means chiefly of the Council of Nice; into the spirit of which, however, few entered; so that the true Church, or number really sealed, was small. The 144,000, depicted as the first sealed, were the first-fruits and representatives of a true church of the elect, similarly sealed, down to A.D. 1300; (p. 254;) when the palm-bearing vision began to have fulfillment, in the gathering of a larger multitude of Gentile converts, after the Waldenses, &c.; it being intended to include ultimately also the converted Jews, restored to the privileges of Christ’s Church, (not Jewish temple, as of old,) after their great tribulation.

“Rev. 9. 1. At the fifth sounding the bottomless pit is opened,¹ and swarms of locusts crawl out: that is, of religious persons in the West, of Saracens in the East.² 13. At the sixth the Turks invade the world, which is punished for the Romish idolatry.³

“Rev. 10. 1. At what time the Turks rise up, the study of the truth⁴ in many in the Western parts is kindled. By whose endeavor the interpretation of Scripture is restored again to the earth.⁵

¹The key-bearing opener of the pit is, according to Brightman, the Pope. “Doth not the Pope worthily boast of his keys, and carrieth them instead of an ensign?” p. 289.

²The five months, or 150 days of the locusts, he explains of two or three different periods of that duration, marked in the Saracen ravages; such as that from their first ravages of Syria, about A.D. 630, to their overthrow by the Emperor Leo, A.D. 780. “We define this first overrunning of the earth by the Saracens in 150 years, not because at the end of these years they were straightway cast out of those countries which they had conquered; but because they had ill success afterwards in their battles against the Romans; being often conquered, put to flight, and slain, hardly holding that which they had gotten, much less getting any more.” p. 300. This resembles the view afterwards given by Doubuz; and adopted by myself from him, as well as by many others.

³“The hour, day, month, and year,” Bright-man reckons on the year-day principle to be the 396 years of the Turks’ duration, measured from their revival under the Othmans, A.D. 1300; and thus that the year 1696 would see their destruction. (Compare, at pp. 222, 223 *suprà*, Foxe’s commencing date, A.D. 1051.) This anticipation was naturally called to mind on Prince Eugene’s victories about that same year; (indeed one of our Bishops had repeated Bright-man’s prediction previously;) and the overthrow of Turkish supremacy consequent.

⁴This prefigured revival of the study of the truth is supposed to date from the times of the Waldenses: the little book opened being the Scriptures, especially the Revelation: a book now little, because so much of the whole seven-sealed Apocalyptic Book had been already developed. This is notable, as the first step, if I mistake not, towards Mede’s remarkable and I doubt not erroneous view of the little book, as a separate and detached Part of the Apocalyptic prophecy, of which more in the next Section. The main and most important idea, however, of the symbol figuring the opening of the Scriptures at the particular time figured, viz. under the 6th Trumpet, Bright-man, unlike Mede, loses not. The seven thunders Bright-man explains as the voices of the three angels flying through mid-heaven, and the others after them, in (Rev. 14 6, “And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people,”) &c;*[*But, says Pareus (p. 202), with reference to this idea of Bright man’s, “there (viz. in Rev. 14) only six angels are mentioned.” Bright-man includes, I conceive, the one like the Son of man on the bright cloud of (xiv. 14, “And I looked, and behold a white cloud, and upon the cloud one sat like unto the Son of man, having on his head a golden crown, and in his hand a sharp sickle.”): which included, there are four mentioned in the closing part of that chapter, to be added to the three before.*] of which the mysteries were for a while to be kept secret. “There shall be time no more,” he construes as, “There shall be no more delay.”

⁵He allots 200 years to the Waldensian and Wickliffite time of preparation, as included in this chapter 10, their earnest desire of spiritual learning being figured in the eating of the book by John: (for John was a type of Christ’s ministers) and that then a fuller prophecy was given; and through the unfolding of history by Luther, Melancthon, Guicciardini, &c., the faithful were prepared for understanding the state of the church and of Christian witnesses in former times, as figured in the next chapter, ‘Rev. 11 (p. 345.) - All this too seems to me very observable.

“Rev. 11:1. Prophecy being restored, there was a more full knowledge of the age part: namely, that the Church from Constantine’s time for 1260 years was hidden in the secret part of the temple;¹ the Romans in the meantime boasting of the holy city and out most court. 7. And that, at the end of those years,² the Bishops of Rome shall wage war against the Church, cut the throat of the Scriptures with his Council of Trent, yea, make very carcasses of them, and triumph over them for three years and a half; and should also, by the help of force and arms from Charles the Fifth, tread upon the saints in Germany: who yet, after three years and a half, lived again in the men of Magdeburg and Mauritius;³ struck the enemies with a great fear; and overthrew the tenth part of the empire of Rome. 15. The seventh Angel soundeth; and about the year 1558, Christ getting himself new kingdoms; England, Ireland, Scotland embracing the Gospel.⁴

“Rev. 12. The first part of the seventh trumpet giveth yet a more full light into the state of the age past; the century writers of Magdeburg being raised up by God.⁵ The whole matter is repeated from the beginning: and we are taught; 1. that the first Church of the Apostles was most pure, yet most of all afflicted by the Dragon,⁶ I.e. the Roman heathenish emperors, who endeavored with all their might that no way might be given to any Christian to the highest empire: 5. at length that Constantine the Great was born, the male child of the Church; at whose birth, though the first purity fled into the wilderness from the eyes of men, yet this Constantine threw down the Dragon from heaven, the heathenish emperors being driven out, and put from ever reigning again in or against the Church: that, all hostile power

¹Retrospectively Bright-man supposes the subject figured in the temple-measuring to join on to the time of Rev. 7 So the reed like a rod had reference to Constantine’s rod of authority; but whom there was the first defining of the temple. Another point observable. “The reed’s being like a rod teacheth us that the truth was to be greatly helped and underpropped with the authority of princes: for a rod is often put for a sceptre...that sceptre which kings carry.” (p. 347.) I was quite unacquainted with Bright-man when I first took a similar view of this point in the symbol.

²The two witnesses Brightman makes to be the Scriptures, and the assemblies of the faithful. (p. 356.) - Their 1260 lunar years he explains as but 1242 Julian years. These, measured from Constantine’s accession A.D.304, ended in 1546, (pp. 353, 364,) the year of the assembling of the Council of Trent; which in its third Session slew the Scriptures, by making the Vulgate the only standard, and the authority of tradition equal to that of Scripture. The slaying of the assemblies of the faithful was by Charles the Vth’s victory over the Protestants, April 22, 1547: against whom the Protestants of Magdeburgh rose in Oct. 1550, 3 ½ years from the former date; and in 1555, having united with Maurice, overthrew Charles’s anti-Protestant plans, and procured freedom to the Reformed religion. (pp. 366, 375, 376.)

³So Cuninghame, afterwards.

⁴p. 381. This view of the epoch of the 7th Trumpet’s sounding was peculiar, I believe, to Brightman.

⁵p. 389. Mark this reference to the Centuriators of Magdeburgh, and their “Catalogue of Witnesses;” noted also p. 220 *supra*

⁶The Dragon’s ten horns are explained as alluding to the Roman ten Prætorian or imperial Provinces.

being taken from the Dragon, he persecuted the Church under the Christian name by Constantius and Valens: and that he sought to overwhelm her, fleeing from him, with an inundation of barbarians rushing in upon the West; 17. Which flood being dried up, he stirred up the war of the Saracens.

“Rev. 13. 1. The Dragon being cast out of heaven by Constantine, he substituted the Beast to be his Vicar there; which Beast is the Pope of Rome, who sprung up at once with Constantine, was made great by the Nicene Council, was wounded by the Goths invading Italy, was healed by Justinian and Phocas, and thenceforth made greater than ever before. 11. The second Beast is the same Pope of Rome, enlarged in his dimensions by Pepin and Charles the Great; who gave him a new kind of springing up, whence he grew extremely wicked.¹

“Rev. 14. For 1000 years from Constantine, the Church abiding in most secret places, was hidden together with Christ, but did no great matter famous and remarkable by the world. 6. Those 1000 years being ended, Wycliffe preached the Gospel in the world. 8. John Huss and Jerome of Prague succeeded him, who threatened the fall of Rome. 9. After these followed Martin Luther, inveighing most bitterly against the Pope of Rome. 14. After that there is a harvest made in Germany by Frederic of Saxony, the rest of the Protestant Princes, and the free cities. 17. After that a vintage in England by Thomas Cromwell and Thomas Cranmer.

“Rev. 15. Hitherto reacheth the first part of the 7th Trumpet concerning things past. 1. A preparation of things to come is of the seven Angels with their Vials. 2. The reformed Churches dissent amongst themselves; yet all triumph over the Pope of Rome, he being vanquished. 5. The temple is opened, and knowledge increaseth, and the citizens of the Church are made the ministers of the last plague; the issue whereof the new people of the Jews expect, before they come to the faith.

¹Mark here, 1st, Brightman’s singular distinction of the two Beasts, as each alike the Popes and their empire, only at two successive times; the earlier from Constantine to Pepin, the second from Pepin and Charlemagne; the one being the primary seventh head, the other the secondary seventh, or eighth: 2nd, the notice (the first I have observed) of Justinian’s Decree as an epoch of Papal greatness: (p. 433) that Brightman makes the Beast’s ten horns here to be the ten Christian emperors, on the Beast’s seventh head, from Constantine to Theodosius the 2nd that gave power to the Pope: whereas those that would in God’s time hate the whore and tear her, as he considers foretold in (Rev. 17 16, “And the ten horns which thou sawest upon the beast, these shall hate the whore, and shall make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and burn her with fire.”), were a later succession of them, on the Beast’s eighth head; the first being Charles V. (pp. 605, 609.) As regards the Beast’s seven heads, besides the sense of Rome’s seven hills, Brightman, like Foxe and others, supposes them to signify Kings, Consuls, Dictators, Decemvirs, Tribunes, Emperors, Popes: the Popes reigning on Rome’s seven hills for “a little while,” viz. 100 years from Constantine’s removal to Constantinople; then being overthrown by the Goths; then restored again as Popes in the time of Phocas, or Pepin: so being the 8th head, and yet one of the seven. pp. 589, 590.

“Rev. 16. The Vials are poured out. The first, our most gracious Queen Elizabeth, and other Protestant princes; by means whereof the Popish crew are filled full of ulcerous envy. 3. The second by Martin Chemnitius upon the Council of Trent; whereby the sea of Popish doctrine was made full of filthy matter, and carrion like contagion, by the Jesuits, the masters of controversies. 4. The third by William Cecil upon the Jesuits, who are the fountains of Popish doctrine; until when our times proceed. The rest of the Vials are to come; yet shortly to be poured out. 8. The fourth upon the sun, i.e. the Scriptures; with the light whereof men shall be tormented, and shall break out into great anger and contentions. 10. The fifth upon the city of Rome, the throne of the Beast. 12. The sixth upon Euphrates; whereby a way shall be prepared for the Jews of the East, that, after they have embraced the faith of the Gospel, they should return into their own country: when there shall be a great preparation of war; partly by the Turk against these new Christians in the East, partly by the Pope in the West. 17. The seventh upon the air, whereby the mystery shall be made perfect: the Turkish and Popish name being both quite destroyed; and the Church also being established in as great happiness as can be looked for upon the earth.

“Rev. 17. 1. The first execution of the fifth Vial upon the throne of the Beast; wherein it shall be demonstrated by most certain arguments, by some man of no great account in the world,¹ both that Rome is the seat of Antichrist, and that it became the seat since the Roman emperors were banished thence.

“Rev. 18. The second execution of the fifth Vial is final destruction of the city of Rome by three angels: 1. the first descending out of heaven; 4. the second exhorting the Romans to fight, [*qu. flight?*] and describing both the lamentations of the wicked, as also the joy of the faithful; 21. the third confirming this everlasting destruction of a great millstone cast into the sea.

“Rev. 19. The joy of the saints is described because of the destruction of Rome. The sixth Vial is explained, and the calling of the Jews is taught. A preparation likewise of war: partly in respect of Christ the captain, and soldiers; partly in respect of the enemies. 20. The seventh Vial is declared by the destruction of the false prophet, the Pope of Rome, the Western enemy and his armies.

“Rev. 20. 1. The whole history of the Dragon is repeated, such as he was in the heathen emperors before his imprisonment: 2. such as he was in prison, where into he was cast by Constantine, and bound for 1000 years; all which space there was a contention between the elect and the Pope of Rome: and after that was at length ended, the first resurrection is brought to pass; many from all places in the West, with all their endeavor, seeking to attain to the

¹Meaning himself, I suppose; for between Rev. 17 and 18 Brightman inserts an admirable Treatise on Antichrist against Bellarmine. If so, a little time is allowed by him for the Treatise having its effect; the 4th and 5th Vials being, he says, “shortly to come.” See above.

sincere religion.¹ 7. Together with this resurrection Satan is loosed, and the Turk, with the Scythians Gog and Magog: who now, destroying a great part of the earth, shall at length turn their forces against the holy city, I.e. the Jews that shall believe; in which battle the Turkish name shall be quite defaced. 11. The second resurrection is brought to pass by the second and full calling of the Jews.²

“Rev. 21. The last part of the seventh Vial describeth the happiness of the Church, after all the enemies of it be vanquished; by the new Jerusalem descending out of Heaven, being of a most glorious workmanship.

“Rev. 22. 1. It is declared how this happiness shall abound both with drink and with meat, to the use of others, and shall remain forever.³ 6. The conclusion confirmeth the whole prophecy, with many most effectual arguments.”

7. Pareus

His Commentary followed not long after Brightman's. It was the substance of Lectures, delivered in the year 1608⁴ to the Academy of Heidelberg, over which he presided; but seems not to have been published till the year 1615.⁵ My own edition is an English translation by Elias Arnold; printed Amsterdam, 1644.

In the *four first Seals* he makes the *horse* the Church, Christ being its *rider*: First *white*, with reference to its primitive purity; chiefly for the first 200 or 300 years:⁶ next *red*, with reference to its persecutions and blood shedding of martyrs by the Pagan emperors, early begun, and running on to Constantine; indeed beyond him to the Arians Constantius, Valens, &c.: thirdly *black*, with reference to the heresies that soon darkened it; Christ holding the balance of his word with which to try them, and the words about corn, wine, &c. indicating a spiritual scarcity: fourthly *pale*, as with the deadly disease of the hypocrisy and apostasy of Anti-Christianism: a disease prepared in the clerical and prelate luxury and pride consequent on the Constantine revolution; and developed, as having then taken hold of the whole body ecclesiastical, in the time of Gregory and Boniface III; the latter made

¹Mark this.

²An explanation of the rising of the dead, small and great, and the judgment of the great white throne, in which Brightman, I believe, stands alone.

³i.e. as he explains, all the time the world shall last after this.

⁴Pareus' Preface notes the date, being thus headed; "The Author's Preface on the Revelation of St. John, happily begun and propounded unto his auditory in the University, Anno 1608." - It was the result of thirty years' thought, he tells us, Pref. p. 20.

⁵At p. 18 of the Preface, (English Edition,) Pareus gives an extract from a letter received by him, apparently while preparing the work for publication, or while passing it through the press, dated March, 1615.

⁶In a measure, he says, the time might be extended to Gregory I; though before that time "the whiteness was somewhat changed, and black spots begun to appear." p. 108.

Universal Bishop by Phocas, and so sitting in the chair of “universal pestilence.”¹ The fifth Seal depicts the blessedness of the martyrs slain in Christ’s cause “from Nero unto Boniface, the first Antichrist;” with intimation added of another set of martyrs to be slain under Antichrist before the time of vengeance: the sixth Seal, 1. the horrible confusions and calamities from which the Church was to suffer, for 1000 years and more, under the reign of Antichrist; 2. the day of the Lamb’s wrath and judgment against the Antichristians; 3. the preservation meanwhile of a true Church to himself during Antichrist’s reign, viz. “the Church militant,” figured under the 144,000 sealed ones; 4. their ultimate blessedness and songs of victory, “as the Church triumphant,” in heaven. On the seventh Seal’s opening, Pareus explains the half hour’s silence to be merely a break and pause, during which St. John rested from the contemplation; a new series of visions being then marked as commencing.

For he makes these visions to retrogress to the times of the beginning of the Christian Church. First, Christ, as having ascended, is seen acting as the High Priest for his people; and sends down the fire of the Holy Ghost on his disciples, in answer to their prayers: consequent on which are the voices, thunderings, and lightning; typifying what before was typified under the red, black, and pale horses; and an earthquake, moreover, answering to the revolution in the church and world, caused by the rise of the Papal Antichrist and of Mahomet.

The Trumpets Pareus refers to the same time respectively as the corresponding Seals: the 1st being significant of the injuries to the faithful, from the time of Nero to Domitian; the 2nd, of the bloodshed of the subsequent fiery Pagan persecutions to Constantine; the 3rd, of the preparation for Antichrist, in the rapidly developed ecclesiastical apostasy; an apostasy fitly figured as a star falling from heaven, and embittering the streams of Church doctrine: the 4th being the darkening of the Church for some 300 years, from Silvester to Gregory I, under the advancing apostasy; the 5th and 6th, the rising of the Western and Eastern Antichrist, or the Popes and Mahomet: the desolation’s by the former of whom were depicted under the figure of locusts; (the time five months having only reference to the usual time of locusts making their ravages;) those by the latter under that of horses and horsemen from the Euphrates. In the case of the Euphratean horsemen the four angels bound were Arabians, Saracens, Tartars, and Turks: the “hour, day, month, and year,” for which they were prepared, designating only their preparation at any day that the Lord should send them. For Pareus, while noticing Brightman’s notable view of this clause, as meaning a period of 396 years from A.D. 1300, measuring the Turkish Empire’s duration, hesitates to admit it. The non-repenting remnant, Rev. 9:20, is explained (quite

¹p.118.

rightly I perceive) of the Papists still persisting in idolatry, after all the Turkish desolation's of Christendom.

In Rev. 10 the vision of the Covenant Angel shows Christ's provisions for the preservation of a Christian ministry, and for the opening of his word,¹ during all the long times of opposition, especially that under Antichrist. (So that Pareus, like Brightman before him, made a less definite application of this prophecy to the times of the great Lutheran Reformation than some of his Protestant predecessors had one.) By the seven thunders were meant the thunders of Christ's servants against tyrants and Antichrist, during the time spoken of.² By the Angel's oath it appeared, he says, that both but one Trumpet more remained after the Turkish woe to the consummation. "Thou must prophesy again," is applied by him to all the preachers of truth who lived near the end of the 5th and 6th Trumpets; a reformation of the Church being thereby promised, to take place in the last time, so as stated in the next vision of Rev. 11 accordingly the temple measuring he explains of the Church's reformation, (Antichrist's followers being excommunicated) as begun about the time of Huss, continued A.D. 1517. The 1260 days of the Gentiles treading the Holy City he inclines to reckon as 1260 years, beginning from Boniface's grant of the title of universal Bishop to the Roman Pope, A.D. 606; a period ending, says he, A.D. 1866.³ But he leaves the decision of this point with God. The two Witnesses he understands indefinitely for all true Christian witnesses: their Anti-Papal witness being developed more and more clearly as Antichrist's tyranny and iniquity was more and more manifested.⁴ Their symbolized slaughter, when individually they had completed their testimony, and the 3½ days' exposure of their dead bodies in the great city of the Papal empire, had respect to the repeated slaughter, and as repeated revival very speedily, of Christ's witnessing servants: Foxe's particular case of Huss and Jerome at Constance, and Brightman's case of the Council of Trent's temporary triumph over Protestantism till its revival through Prince Maurice, both included. The Witnesses' resurrection he explains of the martyred saints' resurrection literally: and makes the tenth part of the city that fell, to be the part that fell off from the great city of Papal Christendom at the time of the Reformation.

In Rev. 12 the Woman (as usual) he makes to be chiefly the Church bringing forth Christ in his members; though the literal view of Christ's birth of the Virgin Mary might be also in St. John's mind: the Dragon, the Devil; his seven heads and ten horns symbolizing indefinitely the multitude of earthly

¹Pareus (p. 199) explains the Book in the Angel's hand as both the Apocalyptic seven-sealed book and the gospel.

²He notices the emphasis in the expressions, *tav iautwn Fwnav*: p. 202.

³Again my readers will mark how the early Protestant expositors referred to this epoch. But, adds Pareus, for the elect's sake the Lord will shorten the time. p. 220.

⁴p. 225. A just view of the thing in my opinion; and which I have myself urged. See my Vol. ii. pp. 423, 424.

powers under him. The battle, or rather war in heaven, is explained 1st spiritually and literally, of the conflict of Christ and Satan; 2nd historically, of Constantine's being advanced to the throne of the Roman Empire. The waters cast after the Woman are both heresies, such as the Arian; and also the flood of invading barbarians. The Woman's 1260 days in the wilderness are to be dated from the Papal Antichrist's constitution by Phocas, as before; she having been for 300 years, from Constantine to Phocas, in movement thither ward. In Rev. 13 Pareus considers and rejects the idea of the first Beast out of the sea symbolizing the Old Roman Pagan empire; and applies it to the Poppedom, with reference to the Pope's asserted imperial power and authority; his deadly wound being that of the 40 years' Papal schism, begun A.D. 1378, and healed at Constance. The second Beast was the Papal Antichrist in his character of a seducing Prelate; the head with the members, or whole crew of his seducing priests. The image of the Beast Pareus deems to be one image for many; meaning the images of saints, which the Papal Beast requires men to worship. The name and number he makes with Irenæus and Foxe, respectively, to be *Αατεινος* and the Hebrew. In Rev. 14 the first preaching Angel is explained as Wycliffe and Huss; the second as Luther; the third all faithful preachers since Luther. In Rev. 16 the seven last plagues are the plagues under the last of the four periods into which the Christian era is divided: 1. that to Constantine; 2. that to Phocas; 3. that to Leo and Luther; 4. and last, that after Luther. The first Vial is the ulcerous sores that fell on the Papists from Luther's Reformation; the 2nd, the deadly decrees of the Council of Trent; the 3rd, the persecuting Papal Bishops and Doctors becoming blood for having shed the saints' blood, a plague yet future; the 4th, a fresh heat and light from the Scriptures opened by Christ, yet with the result of only the more enraging the Papists; the 5th, the darkening of Rome from its former luster; the 6th, the drying up of the resources of the Anti-Christian Babylon or Rome; the 7th, the smiting of the air or natural atmosphere with pestilence, and the universal destruction thence following.

On Rev. 17 Pareus explains *the Beast* to designate Antichrist not simply, but as clothed with the skin of the Roman Empire: an empire which "*was*" under the old government of kings, consuls, &c.; which "*is not*" because of the Roman ecclesiastical hierarchy not having begun in St. John's time; and which "*is to ascend out of the bottomless pit*" at the time of Phocas. Further, the *seven kings*, answering to the *seven hills*, are construed by him, after Aretius Napier and Brightman,¹ to signify Kings, Consuls, Dictators, Decemvirs, Military Tribunes, and Emperors, according to the enumeration of

¹This explanation has been ascribed to James I. (So Daubuz, p. 514, on Rev. 12 3.) In King James's comment I find the explanation stands thus: "The seven heads of the Beast signify as well seven material hills, whereupon the seat of this monarchy is situated; as also seven kings, or divers forms of magistrates that this empire hath had, and is to have hereafter." He is said by the Editor of the Edition of his Works in 1616, the then Bishop of Winchester, to have written this commentary on the Revelations before he was twenty years old; which would be A.D. 1586. And I see in Watt's Bibliotheca that 1588 is put down as the date of

Rome's ruling magistrates given in Tacitus; five having passed away, and the sixth, or Pagan Emperors, holding rule at the time when St. John saw the vision: the seventh head being the Roman Christian Emperors from Constantine, and the eighth the Popes or Antichrist. "And is of the seven," Pareus understands to mean that this eighth would have the same ruling power as the seven previous (He notes, in passing, that other Protestant expositors made the eighth to be the *French and German Emperors of the West*) With regard to the ten horns symbolized, he supposes them to have sprung out of the 7th head, that of the Christian Cæsars. The statement that the ten kings, after rising at one and the same time with the Beast, are to strip and make bare the Woman, or Rome, he speaks of as a thing still future.¹ But they are not, he adds, therewith to destroy the Papal Antichrist; he being destined to survive Rome's destruction, and to be destroyed only by the brightness of Christ's coming.

On Rev. 20 The Millennium is explained nearly on the Augustinian principle; Satan having no power, says Pareus, after Christ's first advent and ministry effectually to maintain Paganism: and that his destined post millennial loosing was at the time of Antichrist's full development in Gregory VII; I.e. A.D. 1073. Meanwhile the saints and martyrs did all reign with Christ in heaven after death, during that earlier part of Antichrist's reign which lasted from 606 to 1073; in which although he was not then fully developed, they had yet to encounter and resist him. (Pareus here takes occasion to controvert the Chiliasts, the first resurrection being spiritual, he says, not corporal.) Then Gog and Magog are explained as the Turks loosed about the time of Gregory VII; and finally that it was the heavenly glory of the redeemed that was typified under the figure of the New Jerusalem.

There is much that is valuable in Pareus' exposition. One point in it that specially deserves notice is his explanation of the two Beasts; distinguishing between them, as he does, as symbolizing the Papa Antichrist the one in his imperial supremacy, the other in his ecclesiastical and prelatic supremacy. He seems however to have overlooked the agreement of the Papal pretensions as Christ's Vicar with the character of the Antichrist of prophecy: on which pretensions in fact the Pope's grand super imperial supremacy was wholly grounded. Nor was he more successful than his predecessors, as I think, in solving the difficulties of the Beast's seventh head; though clear as to the eighth. On certain other points he appears to me to have retrogressed, rather than advanced.

its first publication. Now this was the same year that Foxe's *Eicasm* was published, giving the same solution; and giving it as from Peter Artopæus and Dr. Fulke, both some years King James seniors. See my p. 223 *suprà*. Fulke published on the Revelation A.D. 1573, and died 1589; Artopæus earlier. And, as I observed at p. 223, Osiander suggested nearly the same solution yet earlier.

¹On this passage Pareus strongly insists that the right reading is *ewi to qhrion*; not, what Bellarmine would have, *kai to qhrion*.

The reader has now before him pretty much the state in which Apocalyptic interpretation was left among the Protestants, at the close of the era and century of the Reformation. The advance made by them in it seems to me to have been very great: at least in those parts of the prophecy with which they were most concerned, respecting the Beast Antichrist, the witnesses, and vision of the rainbow crowned Angel who held the opened biblion, or biblia-ridion, in hand, and recommissioned John to prophecy.

But what meanwhile as to the Romish divines and expositors? This was to be our second head of inquiry in the present Section.

II. The Romish Apocalyptic Expositors of the Era and Century of the Reformation.

It seems, as both Foxe and Brightman report to us, that for some time following the Reformation the Romish Doctors were very shy of the subject.¹ At its first outbreak indeed, on Luther's anti-Papal protest, some unguarded Doctors of the Papacy, in the true spirit of the 5th Council of Lateran, just then concluded, which had solemnly identified the then existing Romish Church with the New Jerusalem of the Revelation.² I say there were certain Doctors, as Prierio and Eck, so unguarded as to take up the Lateran theory, and broadly declare the Papal dominion to be Daniel's 5th monarchy, or reign of the saints.³ But what then of the little horn, or Antichrist, that was to intervene, according to Daniel's declaration, between old Rome's iron empire and the saints' reign? The question was so puzzling that it must have been abundantly palpable to all thoughtful Romanists that such a Daniel theory was untenable; and that some better one must be taken up, if the Papal citadel were to be defended on prophetic grounds. The same of the Revelation. So at length, as the century was advancing to a close, two stout Jesuits took up the gauntlet; and published their respective, but quite counter, opinions on the Apocalyptic subject: the one Ribera, a Jesuit Priest of Salamanca, who about A.D. 1585 published an Apocalyptic Commentary, which was on the grand points of Babylon and Antichrist was we now call the futurist scheme: the other Alcazar, also a Spanish Jesuit, but of Serville, whose scheme was on the main points what may be called that of the wholly præterists. Either suited the great object of the writers nearly equally well; viz. That of setting aside all application of the prophecies of Antichrist from the existing Church of Rome: the one by making the prophecy stop altogether short of Papal Rome; the other by making it over leap almost altogether the immense interval of time (that of the Popedom dominancy inclusive) which

¹"Post Thomam illum haud quisquam fere sit ex totâ illâ cohorte Pontificiâ, infinitâque scribentium multitudine, qui vel verbum in hanc Apocalypsim commentre sit ausus." Præfat.

²See my Vol. ii. pp. 442-444.

³So Merle d'Aubigne, ii. 138, of Silvestre Mazzoline de Prierio, Master of the Sacred Palace at Rome; writing against Luther, "que la damnation Papale étoit la cinquième monarchie de Daniel, et la scule véritable." Also of Eck, in the Leipsic dispute; *ibid.* 61. (3rd Ed. Paris.)

had elapsed since the prophecy was given, and plunge in its pictures of Antichrist into a yet distant future, just before the consummation. Ribera's futurist Commentary, when first published, excited vehemently the indignation of our countryman Brightman; and indeed served to hasten on his own antagonistic and masterly exposition of the Revelation.¹ Again, Alcazar's was published just in time to receive the notice, criticism, and rebuke of the Protestant expositor Pareus.² From the notices in which latter author, and a few that have met my eye elsewhere, I now abstract a brief sketch of either exposition. I so borrow from others because of my not having had access personally to the commentaries themselves.

8. Ribera.

And let me at the outset beg my readers to observe, respecting this expositor, that he had not the resoluteness which has been manifested by modern Futurists, to suppose the plunge into the distant future of the consummation to be made by the Revelation at its outset. For while, as Pareus states, Ribera has thought good to explicate the argument of the Revelation as if it were nothing else but certain commentaries upon our Lord's prophecy in Matt. 24,³ he makes it begin with the early period of the Church. So his 1st Seal's white horse and rider signify the gospel triumphs of the apostolic era; his 3rd Seal's black horse and rider, heresies; his 4th Seal, the violence of Trajan's persecutions of the Church, and multitude of deaths of Christians under it, by sword, famine, wild beasts, &c. At length in the 6th Seal Ribera explains the phenomena there figured as meant of the signs before Christ's second coming spoken of in Matt. 24 and Luke 21:⁴ and construes the sealing vision too, with all that follows in the Revelation, to have reference to the times of Antichrist: the four winds (life giving winds) being meant literally; and their restraint by the four good Angels indicating the calamities

¹So in the Dedication of his Comment "to the Holy Reformed Churches of Britain, Germany, and France." Says Brightman: "But mine anger and indignation burst out against the Jesuits. For when as I had by chance light upon Ribera, who had made a Commentary upon this same holy Revelation, Is it ever so? said I. Do the Papists take heart again; so as that book, which of a long time before they would scarce suffer any man to touch, they dare not take in hand, to entreat fully upon it? What! was it but a vain image or bug, at the sight whereof they were wont to tremble a few years since, even in the dim light, that now they dare be bold to look wishly upon this glasse in the clear sunshine; and dare proclaime to the world that any other thing rather is poynted at in it than their Pope of Rome?"

²Pareus' notices appear partly in his Preface, partly in the body of his Commentary.

³Pareus, Pref. p. 16.

⁴Ibid. pp. 112, 115, 123. - On the 5th Seal Ribera says that the Apocalyptic figure of souls under the altar had respect to the ancient custom of Christians laying up the relics of saints under the altar. 'For when,' saith he, 'an altar is builded, there is made under it a sepulchre for to keep the relics: and the priests, dipping his finger in the chrism, makes thee sign of the cross upon the four corners of the sepulchre, &c.'" But in this, remarks Pareus, "Ribera is to be hissed at...for this custom is superstitious and gross idolatry, idly invented many after." p. 119.

then destined to fall on the persecutions of the saints.¹ The 144,000 of Rev. 7 he makes to be the Jews converted to Christ at the consummation, though inconsistently after wards explaining the 144,000 in Rev. 14 of both Jews and Gentiles under Antichrist; and taking the number 144,000 literally.

Passing to the 7th Seal Ribera explains the incense offering Angel to be Gabriel; and the thunderings, &c., consequent to signify generally the judgments impending. Which judgments of the four first Trumpets he explains literally: as plagues respectively of hail, of some great fiery globe (qu. As of a comet?) cast into the sea; of a fiery exhalation falling from heaven; and of signs in the sun and moon, such as in Matt. 24 the locusts of the 5th Trumpet however he expounds figuratively of a woe of cruel and barbarous invading armies, (as barbarous as the Goths and Vandals of old) with their crowned kings leading them on against the Church. In the 6th Trumpet the four angels are evil angels, bound at Christ's first coming, but now at length let loose to hurt men.² In Rev. 10 the descending angel is the same that proclaimed about the book in Rev. 5; and who swears that, because of men's not having been led to repent by the six previous Trumpet plagues, the end of the world and last judgment are now at hand.³ St. John's direction to prophesy again meant simply that he had still many things to predict against the Gentiles. In Rev. 11 Alike the temple and holy city figured the Church: and the city's being given to be trod by Gentiles meant that it would be obtained and occupied by Antichrist with armies consisting of heathenish men.⁴ Ribera's slaughter place for the two witnesses, (I presume, Enoch and Elias) when slain by Antichrist, or the Beast from the abyss, is the city Jerusalem:⁵ their 3½ days of death denoting Antichrist's 3½ years.⁶ The 7th Trumpet is that of the last judgment: but it is here noted by anticipation; as the prophecy reverts to a description of Antichrist's kingdom and doings.⁷

In Rev. 12 Ribera acts out the futurist. The Woman is the Church travail-ling in the last times, just before the 3½ years of Antichrist; seeing that her 3½ years in the wilderness coincides with those of Antichrist's reign: for he identifies the Dragon with the Beast Antichrist.⁸ Then, as to the Beast and his great city Babylon, in Rev. 13 and 17, here is the main point in Ribera's system. He admits that the Woman in Rev. 17 is Rome, Papal Rome; and argues from 17:16, that *shortly before the consummation* the ten kings, figured in the Beast's ten horns, shall overthrow Rome; this being probably before the coming of Antichrist. But how so, seeing that the Woman is seen

¹Ib. 137, 138.

²Ib. pp. 153, 159, 162, 176, 185.

³Ib. 197.

⁴Ib. 212, 215.

⁵Ib. 235

⁶Cressener, p. 176: who adds that on Rev. 20 Ribera inconsistently objects to the year-day principle.

⁷Ib. 217.

⁸Ib. 256, 260, 265.

sitting on the Beast from the abyss, which in Rev. 11 Ribera had admitted to be Antichrist? Because in this chapter 17, with marvelous inconsistency, he makes the Beast to be the Devil reigning. Yet in Rev. 19, just after, when the Beast is taken, (of course the same as in the preceding chapters) and the Dragon, and False Prophet, he admits the Beast to be Antichrist, just as in Rev. 11.¹ Elsewhere Ribera doubts whether it will be the ten kings before Antichrist, or Antichrist himself, that will destroy Rome, after having his seat a while there.² But what of the Pope when Rome is destroyed? Ribera, admitting that the Papal seat will be destroyed, says that notwithstanding the Pope will still be the Roman Bishop, though he sits not at Rome; just as during the absence of 70 years at Avignon.³ In Rev. 16 the vial plagues are expounded literally, as those on Egypt. In Rev. 18 Rome's burning is explained to be in judgment on the sins both of old Pagan Rome, and of Apostate Rome.⁴

On the millennium Ribera follows Augustine. It is the whole time from Christ's resurrection to Antichrist's kingdom: the New Jerusalem being viewed by him, Pareus seems to hint, as a figure of the Church of Rome.⁵

9. *Alcazar.*

Of this expositor, and his *Præterist* system, Pareus gives a very succinct yet clear sketch, which I cannot do better than copy. Alcazar, he tells us,⁶ explained the Revelation of John as teaching, "that Rome, of old the head of Pagan idolatry, by an admirable vicissitude was to be changed into the metropolis of the Catholic Church; that the Roman Church was gloriously to triumph both in respect of the Roman city and the whole empire; and that the sovereign authority of the Roman Pope should always remain in the height of honor." Alcazar exults, and congratulates the Pope, that he first out of the darkness of the Revelation should have showed this light. But surely, observes Pareus, this might cause laughter or shame even to the Roman Court itself.

Further, Pareus states that Alcazar's general argument is that the Revelation describes a twofold war of the Church; one with the *Synagogue*, the

¹Ib. 438, 411, 450 of Rev. 16

²Ib. 456.

³Ib. 441. - And so Bellarmine, says Malvenda; i. 350.

⁴Ib. 456.

⁵Ib. 507, 549. - Ribera, says Malvenda, i 402 contends strongly that it is absurd to suppose that the old Roman empire has not been taken away (*defect*), so as the old Fathers expected, because of the German empire being still called the Roman empire. This is but, says he, in rather curious accord with Luther, the simulacrum or ghost of the old empire. Let me here add that Bellarmine closely followed Ribera in time and prophetic views. Only, instead of partially applying the year-day principle, as Ribera had done, he declares absolute war against it; anticipating Dr. S. R. Maitland in some of this arguments. So far as I know it was now for the first time since St. John that the principle was formally denounced.

⁶Pref. p. 16.

other with *Paganism*; and twofold victory and triumph over both adversaries. More particularly the development of the subject was thus: 1. from Rev. 1-11 The rejection of the Jews, and desolation of Jerusalem by the Romans:¹ 2. from Rev. 12-20, both inclusive, the overthrow of Paganism, and establishment of the empire of the Roman Church over Rome and the whole world; the judgment of the great Whore, and destruction of Babylon, being effected by Constantine and his successors: 3. in Rev. 21 and 22, under the type of the Lamb's Bride, the New Jerusalem, a description of the glorious and triumphant state of the Roman Church in heaven.²

Period 6. 1610 to the French Revolution

The century and era of the great Reformation had past: that Reformation on gospel principles of which Pierre d'Olive had expressed his expectation as a probable final testing to the Romish Church; in order, by her rejection of it, to justify even before men her divinely doomed utter destruction.³ And so the now separated powers of Protestantism and Popery in professing Christendom stood face to face in opposition; with their armory and weapons of argument, as well as of political force, outdrawn, or preparing against each other. Among which ofcourse was the argument from scripture, especially of the Revelation, which both parties professed to receive as divinely inspired: and which, according to its own opening words, as well as according to the early Christian Fathers' acceptance of them, was to be regarded as God's prefiguration of the things destined after St. John's time to befall the Church and the world; and consequently as involving his view and judgment respecting them. Long had this been lost from view. For 700 or 800 years after the fall of the old Roman Empire the Apocalyptic prophecy had been expounded, we have seen, as if little more than a repetition of mere general common-place enunciation respecting the world's wickedness, the Church's sufferings, and God's consequent judgments, under the form of a store-

¹Yet Alcazar confesses the later Domitianic date of the Revelation. Ib. 17.

²Ib. 17. - Alcazar's Commentary was the result, as Malvenda tells us, (i. 333,) of above 40 years' study. It was the prototype of the Præterist system of Grotious, and the more modern German rationalistic expositors. The general character of Alcazar's Commentary is given in the text. It may be well perhaps to add one or two less important particulars here. - And 1st. let me state, with reference to the 3 ½ days of the witnesses lying dead, that Alcazar applies it to the Jewish persecution of Christians; leaving it indifferently to be taken either for so many years, or months. (Par. 240.) Thus Bellarmine's attack on the year-day principle had not convinced Aleasar. - 2. He strongly impugns the interpretation of the Beast of Rev. 13 as Antichrist: declaring it to be indubitably the Roman Pagan Empire. On this he has a battle with Malvenda; i. 429 - 431. - 3rdly, he has another battle with Malvenda on account of his patronizing in any measure Ribera and Bellarmine's idea that the Babylon of Rev. 17 might mean Rome in the last days, becoming heathen again, ejecting the Pope, and persecuting Christians. Ib. 350 - 4. Alcazar makes the Church's millennium of rest to date from the destruction of old Pagan Rome, his Apocalyptic Babylon. Ib. 433. Alcazar's contemporary, the monk Pinto, made Daniel's 45 days = 45 years: like Lyranus. So Malvenda ii. 244.

³See p. 207 *suprà*.

house of figures in which the expositor's fancy might luxuriate without check or limit:¹ without any definite prediction of coming events, anything of chronological order and succession in the predictions; any possibility of a gathering from them of the lessons of real prophecy as to the things which already had been, since St. John's seeing the visions in Patmos, or the things which were still to be thereafter.²

So, I say, it was through seven centuries of the middle age; till at length, about A.D. 1200, Joachim Abbas opened the way, however imperfectly, to its explanation, as a foreshadowing, distinctly and definitely, of the history of the Church and world from Apostolic times to the time then present, and still beyond it: - an opening followed up with more light, both spiritual and intellectual, and better advantage, though still very imperfectly, by the expositors of the era, in its foreshadowing: I mean, 1st, the glorious sudden light-bearing descent of the covenant-Angel, with the opened gospel in his hand, Rev. 10, just in the deepest and most hopeless state, as prophetically depicted, of Christendom under the 6th Trumpet of the judgment of horsemen from the Euphrates, which they could not but construe very generally of the Euphratean Turks;³ a vision including the oath that but one more Trumpet remained to be sounded ere the consummation:⁴ 2nd, the predictions concerning the Roman seven-headed Beast, or Papal Antichrist, and Christ's true Church, and its destined persecutions and sufferings under him: 3rd, concerning the sackcloth-robed Witnesses raised up to protest against it; all for apparently the same mystic period, however and whence so ever to be measured, of 1260 days, 42 months, or 3½ times.⁵ It was just as Tertullian, in the time of the early Christians' persecution under Pagan Rome, had seized on the true intent of the 5th Seal's vision of the souls under the altar, with a kind of special instinct, as specially concerning them;⁶ and the Constantine expositors of the 4th century had specially and instinctively seized on the prophecy of the Dragon's dejection in Rev. 12, as meant of them and their era.⁷ And this strongly of course helped to strengthen the conviction in the minds of the Reformers of the whole prophecy being indeed, when rightly understood, a prophecy definitely historical; and, with

¹Compare Rev. 4 1, "After this I looked, and, behold, a door was opened in heaven: and the first voice which I heard was as it were of a trumpet talking with me; which said, Come up hither, and I will shew thee things which must be hereafter."

²Let my readers refer back to Tichonius, Primasius, Ambrose Ansbert, &c., in illustration.

³So Bullinger, Chytræus, Foxe, very decidedly; also, though less definitely, Brightman, Pareus. See pp. 214, 215 *suprà*.

⁴See the extracts in my Vol. ii. p. 145.

⁵The year-day measures of the 1260 days being most generally taken; but the terminus *à quo* doubtfully suggested as either the date of Constantine's triumph, that Aleric's destruction of Rome, or (what has always seemed to me a remarkable choice for Protestant expositors of a time, considering that it necessarily made the ending date as late as 1866) that of the Decree of Phocas.

⁶See my Vol. i. p. 232.

⁷See my Vol. iii. p. 34.

the master hand of divine philosophy, picturing in it the intermixed fortunes of the Church and the world from St. John's time to the consummation.

But much beyond this they progressed not. On the fundamental point of the structure of the Revelation, and order and relationship of its several parts, they held the most diverse opinions. Did the seven-sealed Book contain in itself the whole of the Apocalyptic predictions, or but a part? Were the Seals, Trumpets, and Vials chronologically continuous, the one set of figurations chronologically following the other in what they prefigured? Or were they of range chronologically parallel; each reaching to the consummation? Had the killing and resurrection of the Witnesses been yet fulfilled; or were they events still future? Were the figurations always definite figuring's of the era symbolized; or sometimes mystically; and, if so, whether on the year-day principle of measure, or what other; and whence moreover to be measured, and when terminated? Again, finally, what of the 1000 years of Satan's binding, told of in Rev. 20; and, if already fulfilled, or fulfilling, how to be reconciled with the other statements in the prophecy? On all these points opinions the most different had been expressed by the Reformers; the questions remained *sub judice* (that is, 'not yet legally decided'), the difficulties unsolved.¹ They were problems, apparently, for the Protestant interpreters of the next age; that of which I am not to speak.

Our 6th Section of the History of Apocalyptic Interpretation opens naturally with Mede in England, Pareus' immediate successor, and from him passes to Jurieu the French Protestant: then (after brief notice of the anti-Protestant expositors, though themselves Protestant, Hammond and Grotius) to Cressener, Vitranga, and Daubuz, as the next expositors of chief repute among Protestants, and Bossuet among Roman Catholics; then next to Sir Isaac Newton, Whiston, and Bishop Newton; the last-mentioned a summarize of the most generally received Protestant prophetic views at an epoch immediately prior to the French Revolution.

I. Mede.

It was in 1627 that Mede first published his *Clavis Apocalyptica*, in 1632 his *Commentary*; the *former* laying down from internal evidence (independent of any particular historic system of explanation) the "synchronisms" and mutual relationships of the several parts of the prophecy; the latter his historical explanation, conformably with those synchronisms. The reputation of these works, especially in England, is well known. He was looked on, and written of, as a man almost inspired for the solution of the Apocalyptic mysteries. And certainly of his general discernment and theological learning, as well as of that which he brought to bear on prophecy, there might well be entertained a high opinion.

¹On all these points it will be useful for the Reader to refer to the sketches of the Reformers' Apocalyptic explanations given in the Section preceding.

Yet, if it be permitted to express freely my judgment on so great a man, I must say that I think his success was at first over-estimated as an Apocalyptic Expositor. For if on various points he much advanced the science, especially as regards his principle of inferring the structure of the prophecy from its own internal evidence, prior to any historical application, and thence laying down of its synchronisms and the mutual relationship of its several parts, (the place of the millennium of Satan's binding inclusive) and last (scarce least) his appending of a Tabular Scheme of the Prophecy, according to his view of arrangement and connection of its parts, - an appendage attached by him to his Commentary first I believe of Apocalyptic Expositors, and without which, in my opinion, no Apocalyptic Commentary can be complete, - while, I say, on these points, and certain historical illustrations also of the prophecy, he advanced the science of Apocalyptic interpretation, on others I conceive him to have caused it very materially to retrograde.

So, above all, in regard of his idea, prominently marked in the Tabular Scheme, of the Revelation having been divided into two separate Parts, written respectively in two separate Books: 1st, *the seven-sealed Book* given into the hand of the Lamb to open, Rev. 5:7; 2nd, the *Little Book* given opened into the hand of St. John by the Covenant Angel, Rev. 10:9-11, each having a general parallelism of chronology with the other, and each its own proper synchronisms.¹ More on this as I proceed.

¹ It may be well to append a list of these his Apocalyptic synchronisms; a notice being added where Mede seems to me to have been in error.

1. The 85 times, 42 months, or 1260 days, of the woman's being in the wilderness, the ten-horned resuscitated Beast's reigning, the outer court of the temple being trod by Gentiles, and Christ's two witnesses witnessing in sackcloth.
2. The coincident duration of the ten-horned Beast and the two-horned of Rev.xiii. (Qu. in Mede's sense?)
3. Ditto of the ten-horned Beast and mystic Babylon.
4. Ditto of the 144,000 of Rev. vii. and xiv. with the above.
5. Of the time of the inner temple-court's measuring, Rev. xi., and of the Dragon's War with the travelling woman, Rev. xii. (Qu. ?)
6. Of the Seven Vials, and Babylon's and the Beast's verging to destruction.
7. Of the 7th Seal, and 7 Trumpets evolving it, with the ten-horned and two horned Beasts of Rev. xiii, (Qu. ?) Mede dates the rise of the ten-horned Beast too early, I conceive, viz. from the time of Alaric's capture of Rome, figured in Trumpet 1.
8. Of the measuring of the inner temple Court, (as also, according to synchronism of the Dragon's war with the travelling Woman,) with the six first ISeals. In order to this the Dragon's war with Michael and the woman must be regarded as extending to the whole two centuries of the war of Christianity and Heathenism in the Roman empire, between St. John's time and Constantine : not as that of the last crisis of the war.
9. Of the seven vials with Trumpet 6. —A manifest error, I conceive; and in marked inconsistency with Mede's own view of the 7th Seal as unfolded in the 7 Trumpets ; a view which suggests the similar evolution of the 7th Trumpet in the 7 Vials.
10. Of the millennium of Satan's binding, Christ's reign, and also of the New Jerusalem, and Palmbearers' ovation, with the 7th Trumpet, after the Beast's destruction: (Rather with the concluding a-ra of the 7th Trumpet.)

The Tabular Scheme of his views copied from his own Book on my next page, (itself, as I said, the first of its kind, and so of the more especial value) combined and compared with the observations on them scattered through the *Horæ*, will do away with the necessity of entering into them so much in detail as might otherwise have been desirable. In general he considered the 6 first Seals to be a figuration of the successive fortunes of heathen Rome, after St. John down to the overthrow of heathenism in it by Constantine; then the Trumpets to be the unfolding of the 7th Seal, and figuring of the subsequent history of the Roman world and Christian Church to the consummation: a most important, and I doubt not true, view of the structure of that part of the prophecy. More particularly the 1st Seal is supposed by him to depict the early gospel victories; the 2nd, the wars of Trajan and Hadrian; the 3rd, the severe justice, and procurations of corn, notable in the reigns of the two Severi; the 4th, the famine pestilence and murderous wars of the era of Gallienus; the 5th, Diocletian's persecution; the 6th, the overthrow of Paganism and its empire by Constantine.

11. The speedy sequence of the things figured in the first Seal on, or after, the time of the revelation of the visions to St. John in Patmos. "I will show thee the things which must shortly come to pass."

MEDE'S APOCALYPTIC SCHEME.

THE SEVEN-SEALED BOOK.									
SIX FIRST SEALS.						THE SEVENTH Seven TRUMPET.			
SEAL.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	UNIVERSAL	
1	Victory; CHRIST.	Slaughter; ADRIAN.	Balance; SEVERI.	Death; GALLIENUS.	Altar; DIOCLETIAN.	Earthquake; CONSTANTINE.		The MYSTERY OF GOD is finished, as foreshown to the Prophets.	Loosed.
2									
3									
4									
5									
6									
7									
Sealing of 144,000 out of all the tribes of Israel.									
Hail; ALARIC.									
Burning Mountain; GOTH and VANDALS.									
Falline Star; QDOACER.									
Eclipse of Luminaries; LOTIAS.									
Locusts; SARACENS.									
Euphratean Horsemen; TURKS.									

Again of the Trumpets, the 1st is explained of Alaric; the 2nd of the Gothic and Vandal desolation's of the Empire, that followed, down to Genseric; the 3rd of the extinction of the Hesperus, or Western Empire, by Odoacer; the 4th, of the ravages of Totilas, whereby imperial Rome received its last desolation's; the 5th, of the Saracens; the 6th, of the Turks. - In most of which particulars I conceive Mede to have made advances to the true interpretation: adjusting the 5th and 6th Seals, as he did, to the times respectively of Diocletian and Constantine, not of Claudius and Diocletian like Brightman; while following Brightman mainly in the exposition (the heathen Rome-referring exposition) of the four Seals previous:¹ also in the four earlier Trumpets, instead of Brightman's "contention, ambition, heresy, and war," his applying the emblems to prefigure the successive epochs in the Goth's desolation's and overthrow of the Western Empire. In the evolution, however, of the particular details he seems to me unsuccessful: the first three of the four first Trumpets having no definite explanation; and the land, sea, and rivers being expounded loosely and figuratively. The two prophetic periods in the fifth and sixth Trumpets are explained by him, as are all the other prophetic periods, consistently on the year-day principle: - the locusts' 150 days of the ravages of the Saracens on the Italian coast from A.D. 830-980: (a solution certainly anything but happy; for as much as all the main strength of the Saracens had in 830 passed away:²) the Euphratean horsemen hour day month and year, more happily, of the 396 years' interval, from the Turkman investiture with the sword by the Caliph at Bagdad, A.D. 1057, to the destruction of Constantinople, A.D. 1453.³ In his reference of the smoke and sulfur of the sixth Trumpet to the Turkish cannon, he well, in my judgment, follows Brightman: explaining the figures definitely, and according to the analogy of Scripture prophecies, from visible appearances: and he adds too, as confirmative of the meaning of the emblem in the fifth Trumpet, a notice from Pliny of the flowing hair of the Saracens, on the same interpretative principle;⁴ a principle often greatly helpful towards the discovery and confirmation of the truth.

¹On the third Seal, I should observe, Mede, though explaining it to refer to the times of Severus, yet makes it signify, not as Brightman, a scarcity then occurring, but the justice and procurations of corn by the Emperor.

²So I have shown in my Chapter on the subject.

³Mede, like his follower Dr. Keith, dates indeed from the epoch of the immigration of Thogrul Beg; and is, like him, incorrect in his calculation, although in a different way. He knew the true year, A.H. 449, of the inauguration, from Elmakin, but not the month: and, supposing it might be the very beginning of that year of the Hegira, inferred a coincidence between the historic period thus commenced, and the prophetic, which did not exist. But this is a comparatively unimportant difference. The main point is the reference of the commencement of the prophetic period to the Turkman's connexion with the caliphate under Thogrul Beg. Of this Mede is the originator. And certainly it was due to Mede, on the part of Dr. Keith, to have so mentioned him.

⁴A principle which I have expanded, and copiously illustrated, in justification of my application of the fifth Trumpet to the Saracens.

But now comes what seems to me, as before observed, to have been a most unfortunate step of retrogradation in Mede's Commentary:¹ his explanation of the little book in Rev. 10, not as the gospel book opened to the world, in the times, when somewhat advanced, of the Euphratean or Turkish Woe, so as, according to the earlier reforming Fathers, at the Reformation, but as a book of (somewhat as by Brightman before him) new and distinct prophecy from that of the seven-sealed book: the Covenant-Angel's descent and lion-like cry, the seven answering thunders, the Angel's oath, and the giving John the book to eat, being acts merely introductory to, and the ushering in of, this new prophecy. "The former prophecy," says Mede, "was of the fates of the Roman Empire; this, by far nobler, of the fates of religion and the Church." Hence, besides a departure from all simplicity of Apocalyptic arrangement,² the setting aside of that which had been the most striking as well as most true feature in the Protestant Commentaries of the preceding era: the application of the vision of the Covenant-Angel's descent, with John's prophesying again, and his measuring of the temple, more or less to the great Protestant Reformation. Reasons Mede gives none; except that the charge, "Thou must prophesy again," indicated a new prophecy: that which assuredly the word prophesy need not indicate:³ and which involves too the setting aside of the representative character of St. John; a view so early taken, so long cherished, and so excellently applied by the Reformers on this particular passage, though never indeed fully carried out. Unfounded, however, as was Mede's view of this vision, and of the little book, it has been repeated and perpetuated by Apocalyptic Expositors, to the great obscuration of the Revelation, even to the present day.⁴

The fact was, I little doubt, that Mede saw the need of some Book or Chart, separate from that on which the series of Seals and Trumpets were outstretched, on which to have visibly written the evidently chronological parallel term (in his view) of the 1260 years' visions; and seeing nothing else in the prophecy that could by any possibility be turned to his purpose, seized on the Little Book of Rev. 10 for it. How was it that he did not see that the very fact of its being given to St. John opened, not to open, precluded the idea of its being a prophecy to be unfolded in the chapters subsequent; and that to the Lamb alone belonged the honor of unfolding the events of the coming future? I might add, how was it that he overlooked the simple obvious fact of the Apocalyptic prophecy being said to be written without,

¹By the old expositors Victorinus and Andreas, &c., the symbol was explained to indicate St. John's personal prophesying again, after his temporary exile in Patmos, by the publications of his Gospel and Book of Revelation on returning to Ephesus. See pp. 143, 144, 166 *supra*. This was quite a different thing.

²E.g. mark how the 6th Trumpet, which belongs to the seven-sealed book, and occupies from Rev. 9:13 to 11:14, is, on this system, cut in two by the prophecies of the little book. See the Tabular Scheme on p. 237.

³See my Vol. ii.

⁴Alike Jurieu, Vitringa, Bishop Newton, and in our own days Faber, Frere, &c., have more or less followed Mede in this view of the little book.

as well as within; so offering the exact thing that he wanted. See my own Apocalyptic Chart of the writing within and without prefixed to this Commentary. But, very strangely, the thought of this seems never to have occurred to anyone but myself.

The prophecy of the little Book thus introduced, Mede begins its development by the very singular interpretations, first of John's measuring of the inner court and temple, then of his casting out of the outer-court and not measuring it, as indicating two chronologically successive states of the Church of lengths proportional,¹ the first the more primitive Church of the first three or four centuries, (answering chronologically to the period of the six first seals) which was conformed to the rule of God's word; the second that which succeeded, and was in character gentile and apostate. With which latter coincide, according to him the 1260 days, or years, of Christ's two Witnesses' prophesying in sackcloth; the two signifying many, or sufficient at least to keep up a valid testimony.- So Mede comes to the clause, Rev. 11:7, "When they shall have completed," or, as he renders it, "when they shall be about finishing, their testimony, the Beast shall kill them," &c.: a passage which he construes as predicting what was still in his time future; and that which would immediately precede the fall of Papal Rome. For the tenth part of the city, whose fall is mentioned immediately after the Witnesses' resurrection and ascension, (ascent to political eminence, says Mede) is made by him to mean the whole city of modern Rome, as being in size but the tenth part of ancient Rome. A curious notion; and which he illustrates by an ichnographical plate, exhibiting the comparative local extent of the two cities.

In Rev. 12 the vision of the Woman and Dragon is explained (I doubt not truly explained retrogressively) of Constantine's war with, and overthrow of, the Roman Pagan Emperors and Paganism. - In Rev. 13 And 17 The first Beast is the Papal Secular Empire, or Decem regal Body of Western Christendom,² under the Pope, as the Beast's last ruling head:³ the five heads of the old Roman Empire, that had fallen in St. John's time, being Kings, Consuls, Dictators, Decemvirs, and military Tribunes, so as they had been interpreted by Fulke, Foxe, and others; the 6th, or head reigning when St. John saw the vision, the Imperial Caesars; (Caesars then Pagan, but destined in time to be changed into Christian Caesars, which last might be reckoned a new head to the Beast, says Mede, or might not;⁴) the seventh the Popes; the Beast's deadly wound having remained unhealed in passing from the sixth

¹See the preceding Tubular Scheme.

²"Bestia decem-cornupeta, scu Secularis, est Universitas Illa decem plus minus regnorum in unam denuo Rempubicam Romanam, redintegrata Draconis impletate, coalescentium." He adds that all the horns were on the 7th or last head, Pp. 498, 499.

³"Decem illa regna, Pseudoprophetae capitis sui auspiciis, cum Agno pugnabunt." So on Rev. 17 16, "And the ten horns which thou sawest upon the beast, these shall hate the whore, and shall make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and burn her with fire."

⁴See my Vol. iii. p. 120.

to the seventh or last head.¹ As to the Beast's destined duration, it was that of 1260 days, or 1260 years, measured from the Gothic desolation's of ancient Rome. The second Beast was the Pope patriarchally viewed, and Papal clergy:² the image of the Beast the first Beast itself, or secular decem regal Empire; as being (if I rightly understand Mede) but the shadow and revived ghost of the old imperial Roman Empire, or Beast under its sixth head.³ The Beast's name and number is *Αατεινος*. In Rev. 14 The first flying Angel Mede makes to be Vigilantius and the early iconoclastic Emperors; the second, the Waldenses; the third, Luther. - In Rev. 16 The Vials, which he considers to figure the destruction of Antichrist, are, 1st, the wound given to the Poppedom by the Waldenses, Wicliffites, and Hussites; 2nd, Luther's secession and protest; 3rd, Queen Elizabeth's secession and protest; these three Vials being past, the rest future. Of which last the fourth, on the sun, would be on the German Emperor, as chief luminary in the Papal Imperial system; and, while I write, says Mede, news is brought of a Prince from the north (meaning Gustavus Adolphus) gaining victories over the Emperor, in defense of the afflicted German Protestants: the 5th Vial, that on the seat of the Beast, meaning one on Rome; the 6th, that of the drying up of the Euphratean flood, the exhaustion of the Turkish Empire;⁴ by the which the way of the Jews from the East would be prepared: the 7th and last, on the air, being one on Satan's power, as the Prince of the power of the air.

Finally, as all know, the millennium is construed by Mede, like as by the oldest patristic expositors, Irenæus, Justin Martyr, &c., as a binding of Satan on Christ's second coming: - a mighty step of change this from the long long-continued explanation of the symbol as meant of his 1000 years' binding from Christ's time, or Constantine's:⁵ the first resurrection being the lit-

¹"In transitu à sexto capite ad novissimum Bestia lethali vulnere occubuit." P. 501.

²Bestia Bicornis, seu Pseudo-Propheta, Pontifex Romanus cùm suo Clero." P. 505.

³Bestia Romana capitia novissimi est image Bestiæ sexto capite mactatæ" P. 560. And again, p. 505; "Qui (viz. the Pseudo-Propheta, or Second Beast) "co sensim reges, ex dissipato Cæsarum Imperio numero in orbe Romano natos, induxit, ut sibi, cassæque jam alioquin imperio Romæ, colla unanimiter submittentes, pristini jamque demoliti Imperii ethici imaginem induerent." - See my Vol. iii. p. 220.

⁴In the local application of the 4th, 5th, and 6th Vials, Mede seems to me to have been correct; though antedating the times of their historical fulfillment.

⁵When first Mede applied himself to the study of the Revelation he came, as he told a friend of his, with a mind rather prejudiced against it: (i.e. the old Chiliastic view of the 1000 years) and tried all ways imaginable to place the millennium elsewhere; and, if it were possible, to begin the 1000 years, like Brightman and others, (as a period of the past,) at the reign of Constantine. But after all his strivings he was forced, as he confessed, to yield to the light and evidence of this (the Chilliastic) hypothesis. He was forced to it by the irresistible law of synchronisms, according to which the millennium could not possibly be placed otherwise than it is by him...Besides that the great deceiving of the world by Mahommedism (a most vile and yet prevailing imposture) began before less than half of the millennium from Constantine was run out, and strangely prospered in the world for 600 years within the millennium: and not this only, but Antichristian idolatry and cruelty against the faithful servants of Christ fell out within the same millennium: wherein the Devil was

eral resurrection of the saints, fulfilled also on Christ's coming and Antichrist's destruction before it. As to the New Jerusalem, Mede regards it as of millennial chronology; at least in its commencement.¹

2. *Jerieu.*

It was in 1685, just after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, that Jurieu, who was one of the exiled French Calvinists ministers, published his work on the Revelation:² a work mainly based on Mede's views; but with various new particular applications to his own time and country.³ A brief notice of these will suffice.

In the *Seals* Jurieu only differs from Mede by expounding the first Seal not of Christ, but of a Roman subject, and Roman emperors:⁴ of Vespasian's

so far from being chained and shut up, that he never deceived the world more grossly nor raged more furiously; and consequently was never more loose, and at liberty to do mischief. - So the Life prefixed to his Works by Dr. Worthington, p. 10.

¹In reference to the New Jerusalem Mede notices with approbation Potter's argument, showing the equal circuit of the Apocalyptic city with Ezekiel's city, described by Ezekiel: (Ezek. xlviii. 16, "And these shall be the measures thereof; the north side four thousand and five hundred, and the south side four thousand and five hundred, and on the east side four thousand and five hundred, and the west side four thousand and five hundred.") Of the latter "the north side, we read, was 4500 measures, the south 4500, the east 4500, and the west 4500, "in all 18,000. And these measures appear to be cubits from (Ezek. xliiii. 13, "And these are the measures of the altar after the cubits: The cubit is a cubit and an hand breadth; even the bottom shall be a cubit, and the breadth a cubit, and the border thereof by the edge thereof round about shall be a span: and this shall be the higher place of the altar.") where the cubit is also described as one larger than the common cubit, it being "a cubit and a hand-breadth:" which common cubit Potter, and Villalpandus, makes to be 2 1/2 feet. This admitted, and that the proportion of the large cubit to the common is as 5 to 4, then the length of each side of Ezekiel's city will be. $4500 \times 5 \times 2 \frac{1}{2} \text{ feet} = 112 \times 5 \times 5$, or 14,012 feet. 42 as St. John's 12,000 furlongs are considered as giving the cubit dimensions of the Apocalyptic New Jerusalem, "its length and breadth and height being equal," therefore the cubic root of 12,000, which is 23 nearly, (for $23 \times 23 \times 23 = 12,167$.) gives the length of one of the sides: which 23 furlongs being $23 \times 625 = 14,375$ feet, this measure will only by a very little exceed the length of one of the sides of the Apocalyptic City

²Jurieu's date is given at Vol. ii. p. 254 of my English edition: (London, 1687) at the latter page as the year of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

³Jurieu avowedly takes Mede as his master in Apocalyptic interpretation; except in the parts of latest application.

⁴P. 45. On this point Jurieu has the following just and important observations. "I can't be of that opinion (viz. that the horsemen of the 1st Seal is the Lord Jesus), 1st, because the equipage of this horseman is not magnificent enough to represent Jesus Christ. . . In all the places where the prophet makes Jesus Christ to appear, (Rev. 10 1, "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:"; 14 14, "And I looked, and behold a white cloud, and upon the cloud one sat like unto the Son of man, having on his head a golden crown, and in his hand a sharp sickle.;" 19 11, "And I saw heaven opened, and behold a white horse; and he that sat upon him was called Faithful and True, and in righteousness he doth judge and make war.") he is extraordinarily magnificent: clothed with fire, with the light, with the sun, with the rainbow, riding on the clouds, having not one simple crown but many diadems, and his eyes casting out flames. Here there is nothing more plain and average or mean: 'tis a man sitting on a horse, with a bow and

and Titus's victories and general prosperity;) this consisting well with Mede's explanation, which Jurieu adopts, of the horses and horsemen of the three next Seals, as having reference to the times of the Roman emperors Hadrian, Severus, and Gallienus, respectively. The 5th and 6th Seals are explained by him of the times of Diocletian and Constantine.

In the Trumpets, while otherwise following Mede, Jurieu improves on him by expounding the fallen star in the 3rd Trumpet that made bitter the third part of the rivers, not of the extinction of the Western Empire by Odoacer, but of a certain part of the Gothic ravages of Western Christendom: (viz. Of those in the provinces, which were like the empire's rivers; Rome and Italy being as the sea) the extinction of the Western Emperors being symbolized by the darkening of the heavenly lights in the 4th Trumpet.¹ The 5th and 6th Trumpets he explains, after Mede, of the Saracens and Turks.

The little book, in the hand of the iris-crowned Angel, Rev. 10, he interprets with Mede as a new prophecy: and adopts the idea also thrown out by our English expositor, that as the unmeasured state of the court, or Church, was to be for 3½ times, i.e. 1260 years, so the proportion of the Jewish temple proper to the court indicated the Church's previous better and measured state to be about 360 years; an indication agreeable with fact.² The Beast moreover he explains like Mede: making its 7th head to be Papal Antichrist; and the possible two-fold division of the 6th or imperial head into Pagan and Christian emperors, to be the solution of the enigma of the last being both the 8th and the 7th.

In his 12th Chapter, on the Witnesses, Jurieu expresses his opinion that the last persecution of Christ's people had commenced in the year 1655, "when the Duke of Savoy undertook to destroy the faithful of the valleys of Piedmont;" and which had, when he wrote, "already lasted 30 years." This was followed in 1671 by "the persecution of the Churches of Silesia, Moravia, Hungary;" and then, in 1685, by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. In which last act he considers the death of the two Apocalyptic Witnesses to have begun at least to have fulfillment: their prefigured resurrection being anticipated by him either in 3½ years from that date, or 3½ years from some further act of the same persecution, as extended perhaps to the Waldenses, or other Protestant Christians:³ an act such as might furnish a kind of extended commencing date to the 3½ mystic days of the Witnesses lying dead

crown. That which hath deceived interpreters is the color of the horse, white, which they have taken for an emblem of holiness. But white is the emblem of prosperity as well as holiness." - Compare Foxe: 461 *suprà*; also my own objections as drawn out Vol. i. p. 124, Note 2.

¹The third part he makes the Roman Empire; as mainly in Europe, the 3rd continent.

²i. 78, 87.

³Connected with this is an interesting extract in Evelyn's Memoirs. In June 18, 1690, Mr. E. mentions a visit paid by him to the then Bishop of St. Assaph - Lloyd. Speaking of the death and resurrection of the Apocalyptic Witnesses, the Bishop mentioned how he had persuaded two exiled Vaudois ministers to return home, when there was no apparent ground

in the street of the great Papal city, or empire; I.e. as he judged, in France¹ which would fall from the Poppedom by embracing the Reformation. After this, some time might probably elapse in order to the full effect of the exposure of Antichrist: and thus the epoch of the fall of the Poppedom might probably occur about A.D. 1710 or 1715; this being the end of the 1260 years, as computed from A.D. 450 or 455.²

In the details of the Vials Jurieu altogether deserts Mede and other expositors; though agreeing with Mede in placing them mainly under the 6th Trumpet.³ “I am persuaded,” he adds, “that God hath heard and answered the very ardent desire which I have had to pierce, penetrate, into these profound mysteries; to the end that I might descry, (that is, to discover by observation and investigation of) the deliverance of his Church.”⁴ So, the Vials generally being regarded by him as “the steps by which the Babylonish (or Papal) empire passes to come to its ruin,”⁵ the 1st Vial is explained by him as the gross corruption of Popery, and the sudden, violent eruption of its sores, in the 10th century: Vials 2 and 3 figured the blood shedding in the earlier and later crusades: Vial 4 was the intolerable scorching of the Papal despotism, from the 11th to the 14th century: Vial 5, on the seat of the Beast, was the transference of the Pope’s residence from Rome to Avignon: Vial 6 was the drying up, as it were, of the Bosphorus, before the Turks, and their consequent overthrow of Constantinople and Eastern Christendom which Bosphorus had been previously the Eastern barrier to Greek Christendom, so as had been the Euphrates in old times to the Roman Empire: Vial 7 was the earthquake of the Reformation; the great City, or Papal Christendom, being after it divided into the three divisions of Papists, Lutherans, and Reformed; for as to the English Church, since it was in communion with the Reformed, it could not be considered a fourth division.⁶ As to the time remaining after this, before the final judgment on Babylon, it could not, added Jurieu, be long. “The 7th Vial hath already lasted longer than any of the rest; and it is probably that it must last about 200 years [*I.e. from 1517.*] But the reason of this is that this 7th period is itself divided into three other periods,

of hope for them, giving them £20 towards the expenses, and which return was wonderfully accomplished.

¹ii. 245 - 250, 254 - 257.

²This subject occupies ch. 13 in Jurieu’s 2nd volume. See pp. 200-267, 276.

³i. 92.

⁴ii. 67.

⁵i. 92.

⁶ii. 220. The Vials occupy the 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th chapters, in Jurieu’s 2nd volume.

the harvest, the vintage, and the time that is betwixt the harvest and the vintage. The harvest is already past;¹ the time betwixt the harvest and the vintage is almost expired. We are approaching the vintage; and at this day ought to say, Come, Lord Jesus, Come.”²

On the millennium Jurieu, like Mede, shows that it never yet had had fulfillment; and anticipated from it a reign of the saints on earth, the Jews’ restoration, and fulfillment concurrently of the prophecies of the blessedness of the latter day in the Old Testament. He also decidedly inclines to think that the first resurrection is a literal resurrection of the departed saints; then at length to take part in the glory of the manifested kingdom of Christ.

3. Dr. Cressner.

Jurieu’s English contemporary, during the reigns of Charles II and James II just ended, a mighty change had come over the spirit of the dream, at least among the ministers and adherents of the established Church of England, from that which had rested on the minds, and dictated the acts, of the founders and chief ornaments of that Church in the century of the Reformation. The religion of Rome had become not only fashionable at court, but the religion covertly or avowedly of the reigning kings themselves. Moreover, the sufferings of the episcopal clergy during the 15 years’ ascendancy of Cromwell and the Puritans had tended to make them look on the latter as their nearest and principal enemy; and, by a consequence not unnatural, to regard Popery with less of disfavor, and sometimes even with the thought and desire for friendly approximation and union. This feeling could not have its effect on the current view of the prophecies in Daniel and the Revelation, which had been hitherto by the Reformers, like German, Swiss, and English, applied undoubtedly to the Roman Popedom. By the celebrated Dutch scholar and politician Grotius, and by our English Dr. Hammond, a præterist view was adopted of the Apocalyptic prophecy about the Beast and his great city Babylon, very like Alcazar’s;³ referring it all to the old Pagan Roman city and empire. Dr. Cressener himself, writing in the year 1690, strongly speaks of the change: (I subjoin the passage,⁴ as well worth perusal) and

¹Jurieu explains the harvest of the partial destruction of the Papal Empire at the Reformation. “Divide [the Beast’s] 1260 into seven parts, and each 7th part is exactly 180 years. If now you reckon these 180 years from A.D.1517, this brings us to A.D. 1697.” So 1690 is about the time that I judge must be the beginning of the vintage.” ii. 229.

²ii. 223, 224.

³So Bossuet traces the parentage of this view: - “Le savant Jesuite Louis d’Alcazar, qui a fait un grand commentaire sur l’Apocalypse, où Grotius a pris beaucoup de ses idées.” He speaks also of its being the view of the learned Romanist Genebrard, A.D.1580, (in his *Chronography*, 5 Sæc. Ann. 415,) as well as of Grotius and Hammond. Pref. sur l’*Rev.* § 11, 13.

⁴After speaking of Grotius, Hammond, and some other “great names of late among ourselves, who have excused the Church of Rome from any concern in the judgments of this (Apocalyptic prophecy,” and the shifts they had been obliged to resort to, such “that the most skillful of the Romish interpreters themselves had cried out against them” he notes it as the

tells moreover how the very study of those prophecies had in consequence fallen into disfavor.¹

His own Book, which was first published in 1690, and is dedicated to the Queen Mary, then reigning with her consort William of Orange, is entitled “A Demonstration of the first Principles of the Protestant Applications of the Revelation,” and well answers to its title. Its one grand subject is the Apocalyptic Beast of Rev. 13 and 17. And in a series of connected propositions he incontrovertibly establishes, against Alcazar and Bellarmine, that the Apocalyptic Babylon is not Rome Pagan, as it existed under the old Pagan Emperors; nor Rome Paganized at the end of the world, as Ribera and Malvenda would have it to be; but Rome Papal, as existing from the 6th century. For, he argues, it is Rome idolatrous and antichristian, as connected with the Beast or Roman Empire in its last form, and under its last head;² which last head is the seventh head revived, after its deadly wound with a sword: with and under which the Beast exists all through the time of the old empire into ten kingdoms, until Christ’s second coming to take the kingdom. The 6th, or imperial head ruling in St. John’s time, must, he argues, have fallen at the latest at the time of Herulian chief Odoacer, and Ostrogoth king Theodoric, reigning in the 5th century.³ And he concludes (though here, I conceive, exception might be taken against him) that the 7th head was the Heruli and Ostrogoth, which continued but a short time: the 8th being the revived secular imperial, confederated with a Roman ecclesiastical head,

result of a foregone determination so to interpret the prophecy as to set aside the old Protestant views. “Their expedient for Catholic union of all Christian Churches by the compliance of the Roman, their assurance of the conveyance of a right succession and ordination by a Church that was not formally idolatrous, &c., were altogether inconsistent with the Protestant sense of the Revelation.” And then Dr. Cressener goes on to say; “The present age is so generally prepossessed with the interpretations of these learned men, that it is necessary to remind (the approvers) that these are great novelties in the doctrine of the Church of England...It is manifest by the Homilies approved of in our Articles as the faith of our Church of England: *[In the Homilies he refers to the 3rd Part of the Sermon against Idolatry, and 6th Part of the Sermon against Rebellion. Of other writers he specifies Bishop Jewel, p. 373; Bishop Abbot, *Antichristi Demonstratio*; Archbishop Whitgift, *Tract. 8*; Bishop Andrewes, *Tortura torti*; Bishop Bilson, p. 527; Bishop Morton; and Hooker’s *Treatise on Justification*, § 10, 57] and it continued to be the current judgment of all the best learned members of it till the end of the reign of King James the 1st.” Indeed, “in his time it was believed to be so clear and important a part of the faith, that both the Church and the Court did applaud the King in his public defense of it.” But, adds Cressener, “after that time this doctrine of the Homilies came to be more out of fashion: either to be civil to the marriages of the succeeding reigns, or to take away all the advantage that the Separatists might have from thence against the necessity of an uninterrupted succession and ordination in every lawfully-constituted Church.” Pref. pp. ii. - 14.

¹“The enquiry into these matters is so out of fashion, and lies under so general a prejudice, that I found the Press everywhere affrighted from undertaking the charge of this publication.” Epist. Dedicatory to Queen Mary.

²This involves the entire identity, as is stated in his argument, p. 59, of the Beast in Rev. 13 and Beast in Rev. 17

³p. 160.

somewhat as under the old emperors;¹ I.e. the secular Western emperors combined with the Popes. And he suggests Justinian's era as that of the commencement of the last head.² The image of the Beast he makes to be the Roman Church, the name *Δατεινος*.³ The death of the two Witnesses, caused by the Beast, he explains, after Jurieu, as probably occurring at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the nearly contemporary expulsion of the Waldenses.⁴ Altogether Cressener's book must be regarded as an important accession to the Protestant cause, and Protestant argument, against the Romanists.

4. Bossuet.

The Apocalyptic Comment of this Roman Catholic Prelate deserves the more attention from us, as being written by one who is, I believe, confessedly the ablest as well as the most eloquent of controversialists on the Papal side; and written by him, deliberately and avowedly, in order to wrest out of the hands of Protestants a weapon used so often and so powerfully by them against his Church. And when in 1685, just after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, M. Jurieu, one of the exiled French Calvinist Ministers, had published that work on the Apocalyptic prophecy, of which I have just given an abstract, the Bishop of Meaux thought it well to take up the matter; and to apply his great talents to the drawing up of an Exposition, such as might be conformable with the dogmas and requirements of the Romish faith, and sufficiently strong and solid (so he expected) to withstand the criticism of Protestants.⁵ I now proceed to give a sketch of it. It is framed very much more on Alcazar's plan, and that of Grotius and Hammond who had followed Alcazar on that of the præterists (not Ribera's⁶ of the futurists). The grand subject of the prophecy he conceives to be the triumph of Christianity over Judaism and Paganism: i.e. over Paganism as established by the Roman Empire; and, in the Jewish part, with reference only to the later calamities of the Jews, not to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. For as Bossuet judged the Revelation to have been written under Domitian, that destruction by Titus had happened, in his opinion, before the giving of the Revelation. The details are as follows.

The six first Seals exhibit the subject in the general. There is 1st Christ's moving forth as a conqueror; then, in the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Seals, his judgments of war, famine, and pestilence, on the enemies of Christianity; then, in the 5th Seal, persecutions of Christians, and the reason of God's delay of judgments: Till the number of his martyrs be completed and his elect taken out

¹The Emperor being Pontifex as well as Imperator.

²p. 192.

³p. 274, 275.

⁴Epistle Dedicatory, and Pref. p. 17

⁵Bossuet's exposition was first published in 1690.

⁶The date of Grotius Treatise about Antichrist was A.D. 1640: that of Hammond's on the New Testament, 1653-1656.

from the infidels, wherever they might be hid: further, in the 6th, a picture of political convulsion and revolution; applicable, first, to the overthrow of the Jewish people; secondly, to that of the Roman Empire; thirdly, to what the others might be considered in a manner typical of, that is, the general judgment.

Then to particulars: After an illustration in the 7th chapter of what was said to Seal 5 of the cause of the delay of God's judgments, by a representation of the sealing of such as were elect unto salvation among the Jews, and also of the salvation of Gentile martyrs innumerable, from out of the empire of Pagan Rome,¹ the first four Trumpets, according to Bossuet, thus depicted the progress of God's judgments against the Jews. Trumpet 1 showed the primary victory over the Jews by Trajan; Trumpet 2, the victories over them by Adrian; Trumpet 3, and its following star, the impostor Barchochebas, ("son of a star,") declaring himself the Messiah, and so stirring up his countrymen to the war; Trumpet 4, the obscuration of the Scriptures, especially of the prophetic Scriptures, (which were as luminaries to the Jews) by the compilation of their Talmud: the subjects particularly obscured being Christ who is the sun, and the Church the moon. In all which Trumpets the third part, spoken of as affected, meant that not all the Jews would be killed, not all the light extinguished, &c. Then the subject passed from the Jews; the 5th Trumpet being one of transition from the Jews to Jewish heresies and errors. For in Trumpet 5 the scorpion-locusts were Judaizing heresies introduced into the Christian Church about 196 A.D., soon after Adrian's destruction of the Jews by Theodotus of Byzantium, and continued on towards to Artemon and Paul of Samosata; heresies concerning the Trinity and Christ's Divinity: the commission not to kill, but only to torment, showing that this plague was not one of invading warrior-foes.² About A.D.

¹The incense-angel of (Rev. 8 3, "And another angel came and stood at the altar, having a golden censer; and there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne."), I should observe, Bossuet makes to mean a created angel; and speaks of the idea of its meaning Christ as a mere Protestant interpretation. "Les Protestans, offensés de voir Pintercession angelique si clairement établie dans ce passage, voudraient que cet ange fût Jesus Christ même:" and he says that there is nothing of the majesty that distinguishes Jesus Christ in the visions. (How then, we ask, make the rider of the 1st Seal's white horse to be Christ; though surely of no distinguished majesty?) Now how little the interpretation he objects to can be called a mere Protestant interpretation will appear from my remark. Please see p.170 *suprà*. Bossuet, who frequently refers to Tichonius and Primasius, can hardly but have known that it was the almost universally received interpretation for above 1000 years before the Reformation. In order to discriminate where Christ is meant by an Angel, we must, I think, either look for marks of higher dignity than in a created angel; or else for his having some function assigned him, such as is expressly assigned to Christ, and Christ alone, in Scripture. So here: since Jesus Christ is declared in the Hebrew to be the one great High Priest, of offer our offerings before God. And observe it is "the prayers of all saints" that the Apocalyptic Angel offers; not that of one particular saint, or one particular people: whereas all the functions assigned to created angels are definite and limited.

²In Illustration of the scorpion-sting of the heretics he mentions Tertullian's entitling of his work against heretics *Scorpiace*.

260 or 270 this woe passed away; the Council of Antioch A.D. 264 ending it. Then, just at that time, Trumpet 6 exhibited the woe of an invading enemy of horsemen from the Euphrates: The Persians; who after a while overthrew, and took captive, the emperor Valerian.

In Rev. 10, Bossuet, like Mede, makes the little book a prophecy; but only as the remainder of that of the seven-sealed Book, after the 6th Trumpet: the contents being developed in the chapters following. Thus in Rev. 11, after the measuring of the temple, or Church, by St. John, indicating that whatever the violence of persecution, there was a temple they could not destroy, - we have then first a general view of Christ's witnesses and martyrs, during the persecutions of Pagan Rome; some (for example that of the emperor Valerian) lasting about 3½ years:¹ though that particular term of time, or its equivalent 42 months, was used rather by borrowing from the history of the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, or the drought under Elias; besides signifying a certain limit of time, ordained by God to one and all of them. Next, and when the Witnesses should have finished their testimony under Pagan Rome, there is the prophecy of Diocletian's persecution of them, (Diocletian the Beast from the abyss) and temporary suppression of the Christian worship, in the great city of Rome and the Roman Empire;² followed, however, quickly by a figuration of the revival under Constantine: the tenth of the great city falling, and 7000 slain, figurative of the overthrow of the Pagan emperors and forces; and the song in heaven, on the 7th Trumpet's sounding, "The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our God and of his Christ," having reference to the establishment of Christianity then effected in the Roman Empire. A more particular figuration of which, and of its consequences, followed in the next chapter. For the male-child of the travailing Woman, or Church, was Constantine and other Christian emperors succeeding him: the war of the Dragon against the Woman before her child-birth being that of the Diocletian persecution; the war in heaven, immediately after wards, that which ended in the fall of Paganism under Galerius and Maxentius; the floods cast out of the Dragon's mouth, when the Woman was fleeing to the desert, that of Maximin; and the Dragon's next war against the remnant of the Woman's seed that of Licinius against Constantine. Then, in Rev. 13, came the figuring of the revival as it were of Diocletian (the Beast that had killed the Witnesses) in the apostate

¹"Precisement trois ans et demi." So, he says, Eusebius.

²"C'est Rome, et l'empire Romain." So Bossuet on (Rev. 11 8, "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."). Elsewhere, in a notice of Jurieu in his Preface to the Apocalyptic Comment, he strongly insists on this point. The Protestant expositors, says he, "ont bien vu que cela me se pouvoit dire:" i.e. that Jerusalem could not be called the great city. And then he thus insists on the point; "Pour dire quelque chose de plus fort, la grande cité est partout dans l'Apocalypse l'empire Romain." § 8. I beg my readers to mark this. Christ, he adds, on Rev. 11 8, was literally crucified in the Roman empire, and by Roman authority: and he was also spiritually crucified in his persecuted members, during the Roman Pagan persecutions.

Julian;¹ though the 6th head wounded to death was Macimin; the second Beast, with two lamb-like horns, figuring Julian's Pagan priests and philosophers, pretending to miracles and moral maxims like those of Christianity; the image of the Beast, images of Pagan gods made to speak oracles, &c., by the Pagan priesthood: while the Beast's name and number (here, we see, Bossuet refers to the original, not the revived Beast) was Diocles Augustus.

Then in Rev. 14 the prophecy proceeds to announce the fall of Rome and of the Roman Empire, through the Gothic invasion. The harvest-judgment is that by Alaric; the vintage that by Attila. - The Vials trace out the same subject more particularly, and as beginning from an earlier date. The *ελκος* of the 1st Vial was the great plague in the time of Valerian and Gallienus; the 2nd Vial figured the bleeding empire, as if dead; the 3rd, the civil wars and thirty tyrants; the 4th, the drought and famine of that period, commemorated by Cyprian; the 5th, Valerian's defeat by the Persians; the 6th, the drying up of the Euphratean barrier, and opening of a passage into the empire to the kings from the East, I.e. the Persians; the frogs, the magicians, &c., who urged on Valerian to his fated Armageddon, I.e. the field of battle where he was captured by the Persians; the 7th, on the air, with its earthquake and hail, the capture of Rome by Alaric.

Yet again, Rev. 17 reveals other important points in this subject, more in detail. The Beast's seven heads were Diocletian, Galerius, Maximian, Constantius, and Chlorus, the four emperors in those joint names the first Edict of persecution went forth; together with Maxentius, Maximin, and Licinius, three persecuting emperors afterwards added. At the precise time to which the vision related, A.D. 312, five of these had fallen, viz. The first-mentioned four and Maxentius: one was, viz. Maximin: Licinius, the seventh, had not yet come; I.e. as a persecuting emperor. It was further said, "The eighth king is of the seven, and goes into perdition." This was Maximian; who was of the original four, but had abdicated; and then become emperor again. - (Julian is not here brought forward by Bossuet.) Further, in this chapter, Rev. 27:16 and 17, there was the very striking prophecy about the ten horns on the Beast. They were to give their power to the Beast till the words of God were fulfilled; yet to hate the Harlot, and tear her. So were the Goths, Vandals, &c., long admitted as soldiers into the Roman armies, and as allies into the Roman territory: (does not Bossuet here make the Beast to be *Rome*?) yet did they after wards tear and desolate the Woman; I.e. ravage Rome and its empire.² The millennium Bossuet explains as the period of the Church's supremacy until Antichrist's short reign, on Satan's loosing, near

¹Bossuet, on verse 5, says that the Church is not stated to have now retired into the desert, so as in former persecutions; "parceque du tems de Julien il n'y eut. aucune interruption dans son service public."

²Bossuet hints his opinion that Jerome, in naming ten Gothic invading peoples, had Rev. 17 16 in his eyes. Pref. to Rev. § 22. See pp. 158, 159 *suprà*.

the end of the world:¹ the new heavens, new earth, and New Jerusalem, as figures of the saints' heavenly glory.²

5. *Vitringa*

He was Theological Professor in the Academy of Franeker for many years, till his death in 1722: and from that petty Dutch town, near the mouth of the Zuyder Zee, sent forth those masterly and learned works on Isaiah and the Revelation, which have always been regarded as placing him on a high rank among Biblical expositors. His Apocalyptic Commentary, under the title of *Διακρίσεις* Apocalypseos, was first published at Franeker, A.D. 1705. My notices of it in the body of my *Horae* are frequent.

Alike the seven Epistles, seven Seals, and seven Trumpets, (though not the seven Vials) were deemed by him to be representations of the successive states and fortunes of the Christian Church, from St. John's time to the consummation: with reference however not to the same, but to very different eras, in the respective seminaries. The Scheme above will best exhibit to the eye the mutual relations, in time and subject.³ It will be seen that though the main subject of the Seals is made by him the external state of the Church, that of the Trumpets the fortunes of the Roman world, connected with the Church, yet they sometimes essentially infringe, so as might have been anticipated, on each other. The third Seal, the example, has the Arian heresy for one main part of its subject; and so also the third Trumpet. The fourth Seal refers to the desolation's of Greek Christendom by the Saracens and Turks; and so the sixth Trumpet. - Having elsewhere referred to his Epistles and Seals,⁴ let me here only add an observation or two on his Trumpets. It seems to me than, 1st, that his Gothic reference of the 5th Trumpet was that which very much fixed his general scheme of the Trumpets. Mede's chron-

¹I must transcribe Bossuet's short ideal sketch of the future Antichrist: "On doit attendre sous l'Antichrist les signes les plus trompeurs qu'on ait jamais vus; avec la malice la plus cachée, l'hypocrisie la plus fine, et la peau de loup la mieux convertie de celle des brebis." (On Rev. 20 14, "And death and hell were cast into the lake of fire. This is the second death.") How different from the Futurists' idea of a supposed future professedly infidel Antichrist?

²In his *Abrogé*, or Brief Summary, appended to the Comment, Bossuet divides the Apocalyptic historic chronology into 3 periods: - 1. that of the Church's beginning, and early trials, from Jews and Gentiles: from Rev. vi to Rev. 20: - 2nd, that of the Church's reign on earth, being the millennial period of Rev. 20: - 3rdly, that of Satan's loosing, and the future Antichrist. - Thus Bossuet, like Alcasar, makes the Apocalyptic Beast quite a different power from the Antichrist of prophecy. Only in some certain manner, he intimates in his Preface, § 15, the whole Apocalypse might possibly have some secondary and mystical reference to the times of Antichrist.

³In the Epistles it is to be observed that Vitringa explains the "ten days" tribulation," predicted to the Church of Smyrna, to mean the ten years of the Diocletian persecution. - In the Seals, the 3rd Seal's subject must be understood to run 100 years and more into the chronology of the 4th; though I could not represent this in the Scheme.

⁴On the Epistles in my Vol. i. p. 77; on the Seals in the Appendix to my Vol. i. pp. 549-553.

ological application of the five months, or 150 years' period of the emblematical locusts, to designate the Saracens' latest and feeblest ravages,¹ justly appeared to Vitringa untenable: nor moreover had any satisfactory solution of the locusts' not touching the grass and trees appeared in Mede's Saracen view. But the Gothic ravages, from Alaric to Totilas, did not last nearly 150 years. And, if the grass and trees were figuratively construed to mean Christians, (professing Christians) then Alaric's sparing the Christian Churches at Rome, and those who took refuge in them, might be supposed, Vitringa thought, a sufficient and obvious explanation, on the Gothic view, of that clause also. Which being so, he evidently rests with much confidence on this solution of the 5th Trumpet; more so than on almost any other part of his Trumpet Scheme.² And, this point settled, what preceded the Gothic invasion must of course be ascribed to the Trumpets previous; what followed to those subsequent.

So the Saracens, as well as Turks, were crowded necessarily into the sixth Trumpet. Yet not without obvious difficulties and inconsistency. For example, in this Gothic application of the 5th Trumpet Vitringa explains the locusts' hair being like women hair, with reference to the personal appearance of the Goth's yellow hair; (though certainly this was no feminine characteristic among Jews, Greeks, or Romans;) but "the faces as of men," he felt unable to explain of personal appearance; and so fell back on the moral characteristic, (one surely scarce applicable to the Goths) of humanity.³ 2nd, as regards, "the third part," six or seven times noted in the first four Trumpets, he suggests that it might perhaps be intended of one of the three continents of the Roman Empire, and so explains it of the Eastern or Asiatic third in some of the Trumpets: yet in the 4th Trumpet of the Western region, and sometimes too rather as meaning some notable part:⁴ moreover, after throwing out an idea in the first Trumpet, that the "land" might be meant distinctly of the Roman Empire, the "sea" of the barbarians, construes land, sea, and rivers all alike of Roman Christendom; mainly in a figurative sense, sometimes like Mede.⁵

In Rev. 10 Vitringa so far follows Mede as to make the little book opened a Prophetic Section: not (so as the earlier Reformers) the opened Bible, or New Testament. The special subject however of the new prophecy (herein differing from Mede) being part, he thinks, of the seven-sealed book, he expounds of the increased corruptions of the Church, and the rise, power, and persecuting acts of the Beast in Western Christendom, contemporarily

¹See p 234 *suprà*.

²So at p. 485 Vitringa argues from the undoubted application of the 5th Trumpet, to the right meaning of the 4th: "Gothos enim esse illas locustas quæ sequentis tubicini vise depinguntur, si Deo placet, clarissimè evincemus." And so previously, p. 455.

³Vitr. pp. 526, 525. - Compare Jerome's statement on this point, quoted in my Vol. i. p. 436, Note 1.

⁴Vitr. pp. 456, 463, 476, 487, 550.

⁵See my Vol. i. p. 355: a passage referred to also by me at p. 234 *suprà*.

with the Turkish woe of the 6th Trumpet:¹ - the seven thunders being significant of the seven Crusades; the charge, Thou must prophesy again,” of the prophetic knowledge imparted to, and taught by, Christian ministers under the sixth Trumpet; the Witnesses prophesying in sackcloth, (one grand part of the new prophecy) of the anti-papal testimony from Peter Valdez to the Reformation; their 42 months or 3½ years, being perhaps, so as Scaliger had suggested, on the scale of a year for a century.² As to Witnesses’ prefigured death and resurrection, it had been already partially fulfilled in the four cases following: 1. In the death of Huss and Jerome, and their revival in the Hussites immediately after wards, about the time of the 3½ years session of the Council of Constance:³ 2. In the massacre of the Waldenses remnant in the Valleys of Cabrieres and Merindol, A.D. 1545: 3. In the anti-protestant Interim of Charles V, and Prince Maurice’s quickly-following victory and consequent treaty of Passau:⁴ 4. In the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and the Edict of Toleration obtained from Henry III within four years after.⁵ Vitringa notices Jurieu’s views also;⁶ calculating the slaughter of the Witnesses from the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, or some other persecuting act following it up: which view, however, had not so far been verified by any such rising of the Witnesses, or Protestant revolution in France, as Jurieu had expected. And, on the whole, Vitringa inclined to look to the prophecy as being one up to his own time still mainly unfulfilled. I may observe that he considered that the tenth part of the great city, which fell concurrently with the two witnesses’ ascent, ought to be construed to mean one of the ten kingdoms of Papal Christendom. Which being so, how was it that the fall of Papal England did not fix itself more deeply in his mind, as an indication of the intent of the whole prophecy?⁷ After this, and the Witnesses’ political

¹p. 568.

²“Quàm hoc doetè et piè cogitatum!” exclaims Vitringa, at p. 620, in reporting this explanation of the 1260 days of the Witnesses prophesying in sackcloth, suggested by Sealiger. He adds, however, that he cannot think of any scriptural justification of it; unless what is said in Gen. xv. 10-13, “And he took unto him all these, and divided them in the midst, and laid each piece one against another: but the birds divided he not. 11: And when the fowls came down upon the carcases, Abram drove them away. 12: And when the sun was going down, a deep sleep fell upon Abram; and, lo, an horror of great darkness fell upon him. 13: And he said unto Abram, Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them; and they shall afflict them four hundred years;” - might be deemed such: where, the sacrifices having been divided into four parts to the four winds, the time prophesied of is stated to be 400 years.- Vitringa seems not to have been aware of Tichonius’ similar idea. See 162 *suprà*.

³p. 652. So Foxe. Please See p.223 *suprà*. Vitringa, p. 657, notices Cocceius as having taken this view; and, in connection, explaining the tenth of the city falling of France under Henry 4; (when however, as Vitringa justly observes, Papal Gaul did not fall, but Henry became a Papist;) and the 7000 slain of the 7 Belgian states and bishop-ricks: the latter like myself. See my Vol. ii. p. 481, Note 3.

⁴Like Brightman. See p. 225 *suprà*.

⁵p. 664

⁶p. 668. See pp.237, 238 *suprà*.

⁷Vitringa, p. 647. The opinion is thus exprest. “Quid commodius quàm per to dekaton thv polewv hic intelligere regnum aliquod illustre, quod inter decem regna Europæa, religioinis

ascent, Vitringa expected that the 6th Trumpet's or Turkish woe (in the which all about the rainbow-crowned angel's descent, and witnesses' death and resurrection, had been included) would cease;¹ and the sounding of the 7th Trumpet introduce God's judgment on the enemies of the Church, and the blessed times predicted by all the prophets.

In Rev. 12 the vision of the Dragon and Woman is expounded, 1. of Diocletian's persecution, followed by Constantine's establishment of Christianity; the Dragon's seven heads, (like those of the Beast) symbolizing both Rome's seven hills, and the seven persecuting emperors of that period, Diocletian, &c.: (such is his view of the allusion in the clause, "and they are seven kings") 2. of the Arian persecutions of orthodox Christians after the fall of Paganism: - both explanations very much as in my *Horæ*. But the wilderness, into which the Woman then fled, Vitringa makes otherwise to mean the barbarous nations of the West;² and the waters cast by the Dragon after the Woman, the Saracen inundation, swallowed up in France on occasion of the victory of Charles Martel. In Rev. 13, after a somewhat elaborate notice and refutation of Bossuet's explanation of the first Beast, agreeably with certain Protestants, as meaning Rome Pagan, Vitringa interprets it of Rome Papal: its seven heads however not including heads of the old Roman Empire as well as of Rome Papal, as had been generally thought by Protestants: but only heads of it in its last Papal form. So he makes the five first to be five most eminent Popes before the Reformation: (the Reformation era being the point of time to which the Angel's words, "five have fallen," is to be referred;) viz. Gregory VII, Alexander III, (wounded to death by Fred Barbarossa, but soon revived) Innocent III, Boniface VIII, (the Beast's middle head) and John XXII:³ the sixth and seventh being two Popes after the Reformation, viz. Paul III and Paul V; while the eighth and last was the one that would be ruling at Rome at the time, yet future, of the last persecution. The second Beast Vitringa explains, after many of the old as well as the then more recent expositors, to signify Papal preachers and doctors, especially the Franciscans and Dominicans: the Beast's image as the tribunals of the Inquisition.⁴ Of the Beast's name and number *Αατημον*

causâ Romæ subjecta, excellebat, ejusque hactenus superstitioni fuerat patrocinstum? Id hic casurum dicitur mystico sensu, quando per majores illos motus quibus concutiendum erat, avelleretur à corpore Imperii Antichristiani. Caderet sic eorum respectu in quorum gratiam hactenus steterat et floruerat." I quote this, because, as Vitringa believed the event still future, it gives his unbiassed opinion on the real meaning of this prophetic clause: and strikingly confirms my application of it to the fall of Papal England at the Reformation. So too Jurieu, pp.237, 238 *suprà*.

¹p. 649.

²p. 745. The 1260 days, or 3 ½ times, of the persecuted Woman's destined seclusion there he does not attempt to explain on Scaliger's measure, previously praised by him, of one time = 100 years; but only as a period borrowed from the 3 ½ years of Antiochus Epiphanus' profanation of the temple.

³pp. 794, 805.

⁴p. 833.

was deemed by him almost too simple a solution; and he proposes some strange far-fetched Hebrew phrases from Scripture, which it is not worthwhile to repeat.¹

I pass to Rev. 14, here the 144,000 are explained of the Waldenses and Albigenses: the harpers, next noted as sympathizing with the 144,000, of the Wicliffites and Hussites: the first flying Angel, that had the everlasting Gospel, of Luther, Zuingli, and the other Fathers of the Reformation: the second, of the Reformers' voice of triumph over the Popedom at the time of the Treaty of Passau, in the second period of the Reformation, and the disruption of the English Church from Rome:² the third, of the Protestant doctors in the third period of the Reformation; at a time of affliction to Christ's Church, such as even then partially existed, especially with reference to France and the French Reformed Churches. In entering on the Vials in Rev. 16, Vitringa acknowledges the plausibility of Launeus' opinion, that these Vials were all contained in, and the development of, the 7th Trumpet: Launeus having noted, 1. that these were the last plagues, and the 7th Trumpet the last and finishing woe; 2. the fact of the temple (the heavenly temple, says Launeus, in the same sense of heavenly as when applied to the heavenly Jerusalem) appearing opened introductorily to their effusion, just as it was described in (Rev. 11:19, "And the temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was seen in his temple the ark of his testament: and there were lightning, and voices, and thunderings, and an earthquake, and great hail."), as appearing at the sounding of the 7th Trumpet; 3. their answering, on the view, to the type of the seven compassing of Jericho on the 7th day; besides that, 4thly, Launeus thought the 5th Vial on the seat of the Beast looked very much like the blow on the Papacy at the Reformation.³ But Vitringa could not make up his mind to suppose all these Vials, if not six, as already fulfilled in certain judgments on the Popedom. Thus the 1st, that of the grievous sore's appearing, he traces in the Waldensian exposure of the deep corruption of the Papacy; the 2nd, that of the sea-becoming blood, in the bloody wars between the Emperors and Popes, more especially from the times of Frederic II and Lewis of Bavaria;⁴ the 3rd, that of the rivers of blood, in the Hussite and Bohemian wars under Zisea, &c.; the 4th, on the sun, (the regal emblem) in the great heat with which the two French kings Charles VIII and Louis XII had scorched Italy; the 5th, on the seal of the Beast, in the darkening of the Popedom by the Reformation, and taking and sack of Rome by the constable Bourbon. In the 6th Vial Vitringa curiously explains the Euphrates' drying up of the exhaustion of the power of France, as the chief bulwark of the Papal Roman Empire;⁵ an event perhaps even then begun, by the banishment of its multitude of industrious Protestant citizens at the Revocation of

¹p. 848.

²p. 876.

³pp. 936-938.

⁴p. 946. Frederic II. made emperor A.D. 1212; Lewis 1314.

⁵p. 973.

the Edict of Nantes. The three frogs, issuing forth contemporaneously, he supposes to mean the Jesuits: and expounds the 7th Vial, on the air, as typifying the dissolution of both the political and the ecclesiastical Papal Empire.¹

On the Apocalyptic millennium Vitringa adopts the view that had just before for the first time been propounded by his contemporary Whitby, to whom indeed he refers;² an alternative view to the two between which opinions had been hitherto divided, of the greatest importance; viz. The old chiliasm of the earliest Fathers, and the Augustinian: - a view which regarded it as a spiritual millennium, yet future; one in which the world would be thoroughly evangelized; and the Church, the bride, assume a character over the whole earth answering to the description of the New Jerusalem.

On the whole, Vitringa seems to me by no means to have contributed directly to the solution of the many previously remaining difficulties of the Revelation, so much as from his ability and various learning one might have anticipated. Indeed, his explanations are often singularly arbitrary and unsatisfactory. Indirectly however the value of his Commentary has doubtless been considerable: illustrating each subject handled, as he does, by a wide-ranging erudition, alike in secular and ecclesiastical, Hebraic and Greek literature; and often applying a just and acute criticism to show the untenableness of opinion, more or less plausible, adopted by expositors of note before him.

6. *Daubuz*

It is chiefly in an indirect way, that *Daubuz's* almost contemporary, and yet more copious commentary, contributed to the advancement of the Apocalyptic science. For it is a Commentary quite redundant with multifarious research and learning.³ It is to be understood that Daubuz was by birth a French Protestant; found refuge in England on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes; there took orders in the Anglican Church; and, while Vicar of Brotherton near Ferry Bridge in Yorkshire, wrote his "Perpetual Commentary on the Revelation," which was first published in a solid folio, A.D. 1720. The following may serve as an abstract in brief of his opinions. The reader of my *Horæ* must already have formed a measure of acquaintance with him.

The seven Epistles he explains, not like Vitringa as prophetic; but in the natural way, as depicting the actual state of the seven Asiatic Churches

¹See Vitringa's opinion on this point quoted at p.13 of the present Volume.

²"Observavi aliunde cùm voluptate numpr hoc argumentum accuratè esse pertractatum ab crudito quodam viro, (sc. Daniele Whitby,) cujus sententiæ à nostra nihil dissident." Vitringa, p. 1141.

³There has been published an abridgement of Daubuz, I think, by a writer named Lancaster: but it can give no idea of the research and learning of the original.

respectively: albeit with application to the Church Universal, in its earthly suffering state, to the end of time.

In the Seals Daubuz, though admitting A.D. 95 or 96 to be the year of the Revelation's having been given to St. John, yet antedates the subject of the 1st Seal; and makes its white horse and rider depict the victorious progress of Christ gospel, even from his ascension. Thus he is enabled to explain the red horse in the 2nd Seal of the wars by which Jerusalem and the Jews were destroyed, from A.D. 66 to A.D. 135; including as well the Jewish wars of Vespasian and Titus, as those of Trajan and Adrian. The 3rd Seal, beginning A.D. 202, he expounds of scarcities begun in the reign and era of Severus,¹ much as Brightman before him; the 4th (like Brightman also) of the Decian and Valerian era of war, famine, and pestilence; the 5th (as Mede, &c.) of the Diocletian persecution; the 6th of the Constantine Revolution, and fall of Paganism from its supremacy in the Roman Empire. - Then comes the first considerable peculiarity in Daubuz's Commentary. He explains both the Sealing Vision and the Palm-bearing Vision of the happy constitution of the Church under God's sealing Angel, Constantine: a Church including both many converted Israelite's, and multitudes innumerable of Gentiles; now alike admitted, from out of times of great tribulation, to the peaceful enjoyment of Church-privileges: - a peace and liberty this further indicated by the half-hour's silence, or stillness from hostility, at the opening of the 7th Seal; and its accompanying representation of an act of peaceful public worship.

The Trumpets, which Daubuz supposes to mark a new period, following on, not contained in, the 7th Seal,² are explained by him mainly as by Mede and Jurieu, of the desolation's and fall, first of the Western empire, then the Eastern; under the assaults successively of the Goths, Saracens, and Turks. More particularly he thus divides the four first: 1. Alaric's ravages from A.D. 395 to 409; 2. Alaric's capture of Rome, A.D. 410, and the ravages of Gaul and Spain by the Goths and Vandals; 3. Attila's ravages, 442-452, A.D.: 4. the fall of the Western Empire under Genseric and Odoacer, from 454 to 476. In the 5th Trumpet he made an important step of advance, as I conceive, in true Apocalyptic interpretation, by explaining the locusts' five months, or 150 days, of the 150 years from Mahomet's public opening of his mission, A.D. 612, to the Saracen Caliph's removal to Bagdad, "the City of Peace," A.D. 762. On the other hand, he seems to me to have retrograded by not adopting Mede's definite chronological view of the hour, day, month, and year, predicted of the Euphratean horsemen; but explaining it, like some before him, as if only meaning that the four angels were all ready at one and the same hour, or time.

¹*Και το ελαιον και τη οιση μη αδικησιν* he renders, like Mede, Heinrichs, and myself, "Thou shalt not do wrong about the oil and wine."

²p.347.

The Vision in Rev. 10 he applies, even more distinctly than the early Reforming Expositors themselves, to the great Lutheran Reformation: with the particular notion added of its figured Angel signifying Luther, as the Angel of the sealing vision had figured Constantine; and the seven answering thunders to his voice being those of the seven States that received and established Protestantism within them: viz. 1. the German Protestant States; 2. the Swiss Cantons; 3. Sweden; 4. Denmark; 5. England; 6. Scotland; 7. the Dutch Netherlands: John's sealing up the thunders intimating a stop to the progress of the Reformation, soon after the times of Luther, and the first sounding of those thunders. "Thou must prophecy again," was a charge given to Protestants as the time of the Reformation, as represented by St. John. And so too the meaning of the temple:¹ the outer court given to the Gentiles indicating that there would still exist paganized Christians, to tread the holy city: and "both the reformed and the corrupted Christians keeping to their own lots (separately), till the term of the 42 months is lapsed since the Gentiles began."² The clause *ὅταν τελώσωσιν*, &c., "when they shall have finished, or completed their testimony," Daubuz construes, "whilst they shall perform it:" and so the 3½ days of their apparent death as equivalent to the 1260 days, or whole period of their prophesying in sackcloth. He cites in Illustration Rom. 8:36; "For thy sake we are killed all the day long; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter." But the Greek of the original forbids the translation. Construing the passage as he does there is no special historical explanation needed, or offered by him, so as by Foxe, Brightman, or Jurieu, of the Witnesses' death and resurrection. - "And the same hour there was a great earthquake, &c.," he interprets to mean the same hour as that of the measuring the temple; in other words, that of the Lutheran Reformation. And the predicted fall of a tenth of the great city in it is explained to be the fall of the Greek State under the Ottoman Turks; this having been a part of the old Roman Empire for some centuries, and one of the Beast's ten horns in Daubuz' view afterwards:³ a fall begun indeed A.D. 1453, but advancing to completion by the Turks' subjugation of Rhodes and Cyprus in the years 1522, 1570; not to note that of Candia much later, A.D. 1669. The 7th Trumpet, yet future, Daubuz explains as the signal trumpet of the resurrection of the just; that same that is spoken of by Paul in (1 Cor. 15:51, "Behold, I shew you a mystery; We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed,"): that which would also introduce a time when God's Church would be freed from all idolatry and oppression, and a full accomplishment of all his designs made manifest; the one being symbolized by the opening of the temple in heaven; the other by the ark of the covenant appearing⁴ all evidently with reference to the times of the millennium.

¹p.496.

²p.501.

³pp. 537, 538.

⁴p.554.

In Rev. 12 he interprets the vision of the travelling Woman and Dragon, much as others before him; with reference to the crisis of the Diocletian persecution, and Constantine's immediately following elevation to a Christian throne, and casting down of Paganism from its supremacy in the Roman Empire.¹ Only of the Dragon's seven heads he offers a peculiar solution. These were the subjugated kingdoms, or rather their capital cities, which then constituted the Roman Empire: the metropolises of Italy, of the Carthaginian Empire, of the kingdom of Greece, of that of Methridates, of that of Gaul and Britain, of Egypt, and finally Thrace; this last Byzantium, or Constantinople. The flood out of the Dragon's mouth he explains to be the Goths; the two eagle's wings helping the Woman, the Roman Christianized Eastern and Western empires. Then in Rev. 13 the first Beast is the decem regal Republic of Western Christendom,² under Rome as its head; Rome the earliest head of the Dragon, excised by the Gothic invaders, but revived under the Popes. The Beast's 42 months of supremacy Daubuz reckons from the fall of the Western Emperor, A.D. 476, and consequently as to the end in 1736.³ The second Beast is the Beast Ecclesiastical, or False Prophet; its two horns being the Roman Popes, and the Constantinopolitan Patriarchs. The Pope himself is the *Beast's image*,⁴ as representing the Beast's power; the name and number in the feminine; I.e. the Roman Church.⁵

In Rev. 14, as in Rev. 7, Daubuz interprets its primary vision of the 144,000 to mean the Constantine Church, especially as gathered together at Nice in Council: its bishops there gathered being to the exact number of 318, the number answering to IHT, the abbreviation for Jesus Christ crucified, or mark of the Lamb on the foreheads of the 144,000 in vision.⁶ Further he explains the 1st flying Angel of Vigilantius' and Augustine's warnings against the increasing superstitions and coming judgments;⁷ the 2nd of the cry on the actual destruction of old Rome (here meant by Babylon) by the Goths; the 3rd of warnings against the Beast, whose empire was now about to be established, especially that by Gregory I:⁸ also the harvest as meaning the reformation of the Church, which had separated the good corn from the earth; and the vintage, of the wars and victories in Queen Anne's time over the Papists.⁹ Then in the Vials there was, he thought, a retrogression again to early times. The plague of Vial 1 was the noisome sore of out breaking superstition in the image-worship that more and more established itself, from the seventh to the tenth century; Vail 2 the earlier crusades; Vial 3 the

¹p. 520 on Rev. 12 (N.B. on Rev. 12 a wrong paging commences in Daubuz; the first being 481, instead of 565.)

²Here, p. 556, Daubuz notes Whiston's list of the ten kings, as one that had preceded his.

³p.620.

⁴p.592.

⁵p.611.

⁶pp. 624, 325. A very curious application of the *σωτηρια*! On which see my Vol. iii. p. 243.

⁷p.630.

⁸p.637.

⁹pp. 646, 664.

later; Vial 4 the wars of Popes and Emperors; Vial 5 the taking of Constantinople by the Latins, and the Popes' removal from Rome to Avignon; Vial 6 the drying up of the power of the Eastern or Greek empire, which was, as it were, the Euphratean barrier to Christendom; and thereby a preparation for the kings of the East, or Turks. The three frogs, issuing forth coincidentally, are explained of the secular Papal clergy, the monks, and the religious orders of knights of the time. Vial 7 on the air, or power of the Devil, depicted the Reformation by Luther: the great city being tripartited about this time into the Greeks, the Latin Papists, and the Protestants.¹

Finally, in Rev. 19 Daubuz interprets the hallelujahs and thunderings heard on the fall of Babylon, (I.e. here of Papal Rome) to indicate the conversion of the Jews, and incoming of the fullness of the Gentiles: explains the first resurrection in Rev. 20 Literally, of the saints and martyrs rising from the dead, and millennial reign with Christ: also the New Jerusalem as the habitation and state of the Church after the resurrection of the saints, both during the millennium and after wards; the Church being in the saints' moral state betrothed to Christ; but after the resurrection his *gunh*, or wife.²

7. Isaac Newton

Newton's brief Apocalyptic Comment, appended to his Treatise on Daniel, was not published, I believe, till the year 1733; six years after his death. It seems, however, to have been written some considerable time before; his thoughts having been seriously directed to these prophecies as early as 1691.³ Brief as is the comment, being of not much more than seventy pages, it yet contains much valuable matter, and exhibits much careful and original thought; so as might have been expected from such an author. Alike on the Seals and Trumpets he expresses his general agreement with Mede. But certain differences occur. 1, as regards the Seals, he expounds the rider in the first seal, as well as in the three next, not of Christ, but of Roman emperors:⁴

¹p.733.

²p.967.

³In the biographical Notice of Sir I. Newton in the British Cyclopedia, a letter of his is given, dated Cambridge, Feb 7, 1690-1, containing the following extract: "I should be glad to have your judgment on some of my mystical fancies. The Son of Man, Dan. 7, I take to be the same with the Word of God upon the white horse in heaven, Rev. 19; for both are to rule the nations with a rod of iron. But whence [or from what source] are you certain that the Ancient of Days is Christ?"

⁴He says indeed at p. 278 of Edit. 1733); "The four horsemen, at the opening of the four first seals, have been well explained by Mr. Mede:" who made, we have seen, the first horseman to be Christ. But this was a mere lapse of the pen. For Sir I, expressly elsewhere give to the first Seal, as well as to the other three, a Roman solution. So p. 256; "The visions at the opening of these (the first four) Seals relate only to the civil affairs of the heathen Roman empire." At p. 274 he speaks of "the wars of the Roman empire, during the reign of the four horsemen that appeared on the opening the first four Seals:" and at p. 277; The Dragon's heads are seven successive kings; for of them being the four horsemen, which appeared at the opening of the four first seals." So too p. 278. (I cite from the Reprint in the Investigator.)

(I presume with reference to the triumphs of Vespasian and Titus, as I shall have to observe again presently) also he makes the limits of the 4th Seal to range from Decius to Diocletian's accession. He agrees with Mede in making the sealing of the 144,000 synchronize with the visions that followed on opening the 7th Seal. Again, in regard of Mede's view of the seventh Seal, as comprehending the seven Trumpets, Sir Isaac adds, and also the half-hour's previous stillness from the threatened four winds of heaven: (the same that were let loose after wards under the four first Trumpets) which stillness he explains historically of the respite during Theodosius's reign, from 380 A.D. To 395:¹ an important approximation, I conceive to the true meaning.² 2. Dissatisfied with Mede's particular and somewhat fanciful distribution of the Gothic ravages over the four first Trumpets, he makes the distinction of the four winds the principle of distinction in them; 1st, as figuring Alaric's ravages on the Greek provinces East of Rome; 2nd, as the Visigoths' and Vandals' on the Western Gallic and Spanish provinces; 3rd, as the desolation's of Southern Africa by the Vandal wars, from Genseric down to Belisarius; 4th, as the Ostrogoth and Lombard wars in Northern Italy.³ 3. In the 5th Trumpet he thinks the double mention of the locust five month period of tormenting, in Rev. 9:5 & 10, may be meant to signify two periods of 150 years each, as the times of the Saracens.⁴ 4. The Turks' hour, day, month, and year he calculates as 390 years; not 396, as Mede: viz. From Alp Arslan's first conquering on the Euphrates, A.D. 1063, to the fall of Constantinople, in 1453.⁵

In Rev. 12 and 13 Newton generally agrees with Mede; explaining Rev. 12 of the times of Diocletian and Constantine,⁶ Rev. 13 of those of the Latin Papal empire: the first Beast being this Latin Papal decem-regal empire; its

¹"These wars [at the beginning of which Valens perished] were not fully stopped on all sides till the beginning of the reign of Theodosius, A.D. 379, 380; but henceforward the empire remained quiet from foreign enemies, till his death A.D.395. So long the four winds were held; and so long there was silence in heaven." He adds; "And the 7th Seal was opened when the silence began." Pp. 294, 295.

²Till my present abstracting of Sir. I. Newton's Treatise, I had not been aware of the near resemblance of my own views on the holding of the winds and the half-hour's silence to Sr. I. Newton's. See my Vol. i. pp. 258, 321, 325. Only I judge the time of silence intended to have begun at Theodorus' death, not his accession. pp. 296 - 302.

³Sir I. Newton, pp. 296-302.

⁴"About five months," he says, "at Damascus, and five at Bagdad;" altogether 300 years, from A.D. 637 to 936 inclusive. Ib. 305.

⁵p.307.

⁶p. 279-281.

name and number *Λατεινος*, *Lateinos*;;¹ the second Beast however (a singular explanation!) the Greek Church.² And then he intimates peculiar structural views on the seven Epistles, seven Vials, and little Book. The Epistles he adjusts to the states and times of the Church indicated in the figurations of the Seals that followed: the particulars being as stated below.³ The Vials ought, he judges, to have been made synchronal with, and explanatory of, the Trumpets. The little Book he considers, like Mede, to be a new prophecy; the Angel-Vision of Rev. 10 being an introduction to it: but that, as being sweet when first tasted, and after wards bitter, its commencement should be considered as agreeing with Rev. 12, and the glorious prefiguration there given of the fall of Paganism in the Roman Empire; the sequel of it being the bitter times of the Beast's 1260 years, and the Witnesses' prophesying in sackcloth.⁴

Besides all which, I wish to direct particular attention to two characteristic and important points in this Comment of Sir I. Newton; the one regarding the distant past, the other the then quickly coming future. 1. He, first of Expositors, if I mistake not, instituted a careful and critical investigation into the evidence external and internal of the date of the Revelation;⁵ inferring it thence to be coincident with Nero's persecution, not Domitian's: incorrectly, however, as I think I have proved.⁶ Which being supposed, a Roman explanation was obvious of the 1st Seal, in harmony with Mede's Roman explanation of the 2nd; this latter having reference to the wars of Trajan and Adrian. He insists, with regard to the so far evident imperfection of the understanding of the Revelation and of some of Daniel's prophecies, that it was itself

¹Pp. 282-284. - Sir I. Newton gives us in his connected Treatise on Daniel historical abstracts illustrating the division of the ten kingdoms, and progress of the Papal power in respect of imperial law and historic fact, so careful and valuable, that no Apocalyptic student should be without them. I have referred to them in my Vol. iii. at pp. 141, 160, and elsewhere.

²"The second Beast, which rose up out of the earth, was the Church of the Greek empire." P. 283. In the distinction of earth and sea, he elsewhere makes the earth the Greek empire. So p. 281.

³The Epistle to Ephesus Sir I. Newton makes to depict the state of the Church previous to the fifth Seal, and before Diocletian's persecution; when the only "somewhat" of charge against it was, "Thou hast left thy first love:" - that to Smyrna, with its ten days' tribulation, had reference to Diocletian's persecution, depicted in the 5th Seal: - those to Pergamos, Thyatira, and Sardis, wherein mention is made of the heresies and evils of Balaam and the woman Jezebel, and of the Church's works not having been found perfect before God, figured the gradual apostasy under Constantine and Constantius: - that to Philadelphia, the faithful under Julian's persecution: - that to Laodicea, the Church's subsequent lukewarmness, so increased as that God would spew it out of his mouth; a state answering to the development of the apostasy soon after the opening of the 7th Seal, or at the end of the 4th century.

⁴Pp. 271, 272.

⁵At the beginning of his Apocalyptic Treatise, pp. 236-246. Grotious, if I remember right, took Epiphanius' Claudian date simply on Epiphanius' authority. Alcasar had taken the Domitianic.

⁶Viz. in my opening Treatise on the Date of the Revelation, Vol. i. p. 34, and the additional notice on it, p. 533, in the Appendix to that Volume.

a thing foreseen and predicted; Daniel having been directed to seal up his last prophecy till the time of the end. And he adds that this time of the end was Apocalyptically marked as that of the 7th Trumpet, at whose sounding the mystery of God should be finished: (the preaching of the everlasting Gospel to all nations being further marked, both in the Revelation and in Christ's prophecy, as a preliminary sign accompanying it) and that the measure of success, albeit imperfect, that had crowned the prophetic researches of the immediately preceding age, seemed to him an evidence that the last "main revolution" predicted, when all would be explained was "near at hand."¹

I must add, not from his own published Comment, but from Whiston's the further remarkable fact, that Sir Isaac expressed a strong persuasion, - with reference of course to the expected "main revolution" of the seventh Trumpet, wherein "they were to be destroyed that destroyed or corrupted the earth," that the antichristian or persecuting power of the Popedom, which had so long corrupted Christianity, must be put a stop to, and broken to pieces, by the prevalence of infidelity, for some time before primitive Christianity could be restored.² Which anticipation, fulfilled as it was soon after in the facts and character of the expected great Revolution, when it actually broke out, must surely be deemed quite remarkable?

8. Whiston

The Apocalyptic "Essay" by *Whiston* (Newton's successor in the Mathematical Professorship of Cambridge) was first published, as appears from the date appended to Whiston's original Preface, in the year 1706: a second Edition followed in 1744, under Whiston's own eye, improved and corrected.³ The following points in it appear to me deserving of notice. While strongly contending for the Domitian date of the Revelation, he yet explains the 1st Seal retrospectively of Christ's triumphing in Vespasian and Titus' overthrow of Jerusalem; the other Seals as Mede, Jurieu, and Newton. - In

¹"The time is not yet come for understanding the old prophets, (which he that would understand must begin with the Revelation,) because the main revolution predicted in them is not yet come to pass. In the days of the voice of the seventh Angel the mystery of God shall be finished. . . . Among the interpreters of the last age there is scarce one of note who hath not made some discovery worth knowing; whence I seem to gather that God is about opening these mysteries." Pp. 252, 253.

²"Sir I. Newton had a very sagacious conjecture, which he told Dr. Clark, from whom I received it, that the overbearing tyranny and persecuting power of the Anti christian party, which hath so long corrupted Christianity, and enslaved the Christian world, must be put a stop to, and broken to pieces, by the prevalence of infidelity, for some time before primitive Christianity could be restored:" - which, adds, Whiston, writing A.D. 1744, "seems to be the very means that is now working in Europe for the same good and great end of Providence." (2nd Ed. p. 321.)

³Whiston died A.D. 1752. - The title-page of his Essay's 2nd Edition bears date, London 1744; Whiston's own conclusion of its 3rd Part, at p. 324, Jan. 20, 1743-4. A little before his death he drew up a brief Addendum to his Second Edition, occupying in my copy of that Edition from p. 325 to 332; and bearing date at the end, May 7, 1750.

the Trumpets, dissatisfied like Newton with Mede's vague principle of distribution, he takes another, and I think better plan, for giving definiteness and precision to the several shares of the several Trumpets in the Gothic ravages: his principle being drawn from the third part said to be affected; which he construes as the European part of the empire, (in contrast with the African and Asiatic) and the land, sea, and rivers, literally taken, that are specified in it. Thus the subjects of Trumpets 1, 2, and 3 are made respectively to be the ravages of Alaric and Rhadagaisus in the landward interior, those of the Vandals and Goths on the maritime European parts, and those of Attila on the European rivers: (the last a real advance, as I conceive, to the truth;¹) the quenching of the third part of the sun, the *Imperial Sun*, &c., being that of Odoacer. - In the 5th Trumpet, after other previously given solutions of the locusts' five months, he at length concludes on the reading being faulty, and St. John having written *τε μηνας*, not *ε*; I.e. 15, not 5: 450 years measuring the whole duration of the Saracens, till their entire supersession by the Turks.² (Whiston does not seem to have been acquainted with Daubuz' simple and satisfactory solution of these five months.)³ - In his exposition of the Turks' "hour, day, month, and year," the exactness of the astronomer appears. Asserting that Othman could not be properly recognized as Sultan till the Hutbe prayers had been put up for him in the mosques, and that this was first done for Othman May 19, 1301, he calculates the prophetic period of an hour, day, month, and year, or 396 years 106 days, as reaching to Sept. 1, 1697, O.S.: the very date of Prince Eugene's great victory over the Turks, which was followed by the peace of Carlowitz.⁴ - On the Beast of Rev. 13 Whiston, after suggesting that the 7th head, which was to continue for but a short time, might be the five emperors noted by Lactantius as reigning over the Roman world just before Constantine's victories, (another approximation, I conceive, towards the truth) makes the 8th head to be that of the ten kings of the revived Romano-Gothic Empire; these ten kings being as it were a revival of the old decemviral head:⁵ an original idea this, that I have not seen elsewhere.⁶ - The Papal supremacy he dates distinctly (and quotes Archbishop Laud affirming the same) from Phocas's Decree A.D. 606.⁷ Besides all which points what I deem particularly to be noted in Whiston is his strong stand against Mede's classification of the Vials: and assertion that on every principle of consistency and congruity of

¹This view has been followed in the main by Bicheno and Keith. I have also myself mainly adopted it.

²p. 196.

³Whiston's 1st Edition, being published in 1706, was before Daubuz.

⁴All this has been closely followed by Mr. Faber in his *Sacred Calendar*. See his Vol. ii. p. 293-301.

⁵Compare Mr. Cuninghame's View, noticed in my Vol. iii. p. 121.

⁶P. 126.

⁷Pp. 275-277. Prof. M. Stuart (i. 469) is thus incorrect in saying that Whiston assigned the year 1766 as that of Christ's second coming.

things, as the seven Trumpets are reckoned to be contained in, and the evolution of, the seventh Seal, so the seven Vials ought to be deemed contained in, and the evolution of, the seventh Trumpet. A very important and surely most obvious step of progress.¹

Conclusion and the Præterist Scheme

And so we advance nearer and nearer to the epoch of the great French Revolution. - I do not purpose stopping at the names of *Bengel* and *Bishop Newton*, *Whiston's* immediate Protestant successors, who, publishing about the middle of the 18th century,² served as connecting links in Germany and England, between the generation of Apocalyptic expositors just described, and those on whom the French Revolution broke; that epoch of a new era. Bengel's most characteristic principle: Of expounding the prophetic periods in the Revelation on the scale of a prophetic day to 15 years,³ is so totally and plainly arbitrary and groundless, that no one can now think of attaching weight to it; highly valued though Bengel himself must be for learning and piety. And, as for Bishop Newton's Treatise, it is too universally known to need description; besides that, however valuable as a compendium, (and I deem it eminently so) it does yet scarcely put forth any original thoughts on the subject handled. Nor again with the Roman Catholic Comment of Bishop Walmsley, that soon after followed, need any more to detain us; it being already pretty much forgotten by Romanists themselves.⁴ - But it does need, I think, that I call attention to the German Præterist School that was about this time rising more and more into notice and influence: a School characterized by considerable mental acuteness, research, and philological

¹So Launæus. See p. 245 *suprà*; also pp. 235, 236.

²Bengel, A.D. 1740: (died 1752) Bishop Newton, A.D. 1754.

³His fundamental principle, one altogether conjectural, was that the Beast's number 666, construed of years, must equal the Beast's numeral period 42 months; in other words, that one prophetic month = 666 = 15 6 years. Hence, after various calculations, he inferred that the year 1836 would be the year of the final and great crisis; an expectation, I need not observe, never realized.

⁴It was published under the fictitious name of Signor Pastorini in the year 1771: was in 1778 translated into French by a Benedictine of St. Maur, and into Latin and German soon after. Its principle is, that the Seals, Trumpets, and Vials all relate to the same seven ages of the Church: 1. the first 300 years of the Christian æra, to Constantine, the age of Christian purity; 2. the next 100 years, marked by the Arian heresy; 3. from 406 to 620 A.D., marked by God's judgments on ancient Rome and the Western Empire; 4. from 620 to 1520 marked by three great events, - viz. the rise of Mahomet and Mohammedanism, the schism of the Greek Church, and the consequent judgments on it in the fall of Constantinople; whereon, however, the spared Greek remnant "did not penance to give God glory," but perished in their schism; 5. that began A.D. 1520 in the Lutheran Reformation, which is to last "till the pouring out of the 6th Vial, twice 5 months, or about 300 years:" of which 300 years 250, says Pastorini, are now elapsed; so that the pouring out of that vial seems soon approaching, and the cry heard, "Come out of her, my people." The 6th age is the last of the Church militant on earth; probably till the end of the world's 6000 years: 7. the 7th age, that of eternity.

learning; and at the same time by much of the hardihood and rashness of religious skepticism. I therefore at once proceed to it.

As early as Bengel's time, the celebrated Genevese writer, *Firmin Abauzit*,¹ their precursor and harbinger, had published a work entitled *Discours Historique sur l'Apocalypse*, written to show that the canonical authority of the Revelation was doubtful. On reading Dr. Twells' reply to it,² however, he was satisfied; and honorably wrote (though in vain) to stop the reprinting of his work in Holland. But soon after the middle of the century the skeptical spirit broke out more freely. A work by Oeder, which Semler published after Oeder's death, about the year 1765, entitled "A Free Investigation into the so-called Revelation by John," "denied not only its apostolicity, but even its literary beauty; charged it with all the extravagances of its wildest expositors, and maintained that its real author was the heretic Cerinthus. So began what has been called the Semlerian controversy. Semler was replied to, and opposed, by Reuss of Tübingen, A.D. 1767, 1772, Schmidt of Wittenberg, in his "Vindicatio Canonis," A.D. 1775, and Knittel of Wolfenbüttel, A.D. 1773; to which works he and his friends made vigorous answer. The controversy lasted to the year 1785.³ The celebrated Michael was so far influenced by what had been written by Abauzit and Semler's partisans on the canonical question that he concluded with Eusebius on reckoning the Revelation not among the undisputed canonical books, but among the *αντιλεγόμενα*. The work of Herder, published 1779, vindicated with great earnestness and ability the literary merits and beauty of the Revelation; indeed, with such ability and enthusiasm as to act strongly on the literary German mind; yet vindicated it only as Herder might have vindicated a neglected beautiful Poem of classic origin; not as a work of divine inspiration.⁴ In 1786 Hermschneider published his Comment on the Revelation; explaining it as a Poem describing the three things following: The overthrow of Judaism, the overthrow of Heathenism, and the final universal triumph of the Christian Church. This was the model, in respect of general plan, of the more celebrated work of Eichhorn, published shortly after, A.D. 1791; a work of which Professor M. Stuart, to whom I am indebted for this rapid sketch of the German Apocalyptic Expositors of the last half of the last century, thus reports; - that although not equal to Herder's in respect of

¹He was originally French, but became a refugee in Geneva on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He was in earlier life a friend of Sir I. Newton; in later life the subject of the eulogies of both Voltaire and Rousseau. His Apocalyptic Discourse was first published about 1730.

²An Answer approved and translated into Latin by Wolf, and inserted in his "Curæ Philologicæ."

³Professor Stuart Particularizes Corrodi and Markel on Semler's side, against the genuineness and apostolicity of the Revelation; Storr and Hartwig in defense of it.

⁴Entitled "Maran Atha, or Book of the Coming of the Lord." Professor Stuart almost warms into enthusiasm in speaking of this book; (i. 471;) and at the end of his Second Volume gives a large specimen of it. It seems to me calculated to excite feelings of a very different kind in the devout Christian, for the reason stated above.

the perception or the development of æsthetic beauties, it is yet, in regard of philology, and real explanation of words and phrases, far Herder's superior: adding, moreover, that it is substantially correct in its exegesis, I.e. in its view of the general tenor and meaning of the Apocalyptic Book; a statement meaning that it is substantially in agreement with Professor Stuart's own views. As this scheme had not only then preponderance in Germany, but is one of the grand rival schemes that still claim acceptance, I think I cannot better conclude the present Section of my Sketch of Apocalyptic interpretation, than by placing it before the readers eye, as drawn up by Professor Hug, professedly from Hernnschneider and Eichhorn: its characteristic view being this, that the two cities, Rome and Jerusalem, whose fate (as they would have it) constitutes the most considerable part of the Revelation, are only symbols of two religions whose fall is foretold; and that the third, which appears at the end: The heavenly Jerusalem, signifies Christ's religion and kingdom.

The Præterist Scheme of Hernnschneider and Eichhorn, as sketched by Prof. Hug.

"There are three cities in this book, on account of which all the terrible preparations above, and here below, and all the commotions of the early and heavenly powers, take place. One of them is Sodom, called also Egypt; the other is Babylon; and the third is the New Jerusalem, descending from heaven.

"The whole affair of the seven Angels with the seven Trumpets, 8-12, refers to Sodom. But we soon see that this city, long since destroyed, only lends its name to denote another. For in this Sodom our Lord was crucified; *ὅπου ὁ κυριος ἡμων εσταυρωθη* 11:8. In this Sodom is the Temple; the outer court of which is said to be abandoned to the Gentiles. Thus it is the Holy City itself, *πολις ἁγια* of which foreign nations will take possession; 11:1. As two martyrs have perished in it, its destruction is decided; 12:1, (Josephus the Jew likewise compared Jerusalem to Sodom at the same epoch. Bell. Jud. v. 10.)

"After a long episode, in which a matron appears in the pains of childbirth, persecuted by a monster, and after the description of two more monsters, which torment the adherents of this distinguished woman, Rev. 12, 13, 14, the destruction of Babylon also is decided in heaven, 14:8.

"The seven Angels with the seven *Vials* of wrath are appointed to execute the decision, 16:17-19: although indeed Babylon had stood for centuries before desert, and amidst but half-distinguishable remains of its magnificence. But this Babylon is built upon seven hills; *ὅπου ὁπη εἰσιν ἑπτα*. 17:9-18. It is an *urbs septicollis*; a mark of distinction renowned throughout the world, which renders it easy for us to guess the city which is peculiarly intended. But the other criterion that it possesses, the *imperium orbis terrarum*,

βασιλεια επι των βασιλευων της γης perfectly assures us, 17:18, that this Babylon on the Euphrates is *Rome on the Tiber*.

Consequently Jerusalem and Rome are the two cities whose destruction is here seen in the Spirit. These cities, however, do not exist in reality as cities, in the poetical composition; but they are images of other ideas. Rome, or Babylon in particular, is by the author conceived to be opposed to the everlasting gospel *εναγγελιον*, 14:6-8. In this opposition to Christianity it could hardly signify anything but Heathenism; to represent which the capital of the heathen world is most eminently and peculiarly qualified. Hence John further also describes it with such phrases as were used by the Prophets to denote false gods and their worship. It is the habitation of demons; the seducer to infidelity from the true God, I. e. *πορνεια*: from the cup of whose fornication all nations and kings of the earth drink; 18:2, 3; 17:1, 2, 5.

“If the capital of the heathen world symbolizes the religion of the heathens, we shall easily ascertain what the capital of the Jews represented. What else but the Jewish religion? Therefore Heathenism and Judaism, the two prevailing religions of the ancient world were destined to perish.

“And what should now succeed to them? A New Jerusalem, the kingdom of the blessed, after this life (21. 22:6.)? The New Jerusalem is certainly so described: and such is usually considered to be its meaning. But if these cities be religious, and Rome and Jerusalem represent Heathenism and Judaism, the new Sion can only be Christianity; which has an endless dominion, and blesses mankind. This the unity of the whole demands; nor would it be consistent, if the idea of it was compounded of such an unequal representation of its parts, as Heathenism, Judaism, and Eternal Blessedness.

“For what purpose should this kingdom of the blessed after wards forsake that long-beloved abode in the higher spheres, and in heaven; and descend among men, unless it were an earthly institution? (21:23) It could only descend upon earth as a religion; for the sake of supplying the place of the two former religious.

“The previous openings of the graves, and the return of the dead, is here only one of those awfully terrible images, which the prophets sometimes used to represent a total change of things; the revival of the national state, and of the religious constitution of the Jews. (Ezek. 37; Isa. 26:19)

“And, if a last judgment also be connected with it, we well know that such also is figuratively convoked by the prophets, for the purpose of executing the punishment of those who have oppressed and ill-treated the people of God; or for the purpose of expressing Jehovah’s designs of introducing a new epoch of glory for his religion and his people. (Joel 3:2, Zeph. 3:8) This being admitted, the whole passage of the seven Seals is only an introduction to the three principal descriptions: - to the dissolution of Judaism, to the abolition of Heathenism, and the occupation of the dominion of the world by the doctrines of Jesus. (5-7:2) For a prophecy, according to the

ancient prophetic language, is a sealed book (Isa. 29:11): of which the mysteries can only be developed by the Lamb, who is on the throne of God; the co-Regent with Jehovah, in whose hands the events are. Terrible plagues, famine, pestilence, war, and an entire revolution of states are impending; from which those however are exempted who belong to the chosen of the Lamb.

“But the *Epistles*, which are preludes to the whole as far as Chap. 4, are Dedications or Addresses to those communities which were particularly connected with the author in the district of his ministry.

“Then the Episode (12,13), which follows the judicial punishment of Jerusalem, the Episode relating to that noble Woman who struggles in the agonies of labor, and who is persecuted by the Dragon, (Isaiah’s ancient metaphor of idolatry) exhibits to us Judaism, which is still in the act of bringing forth Christianity: so as all the circumstances, and the individual traits in the description, prove. But the other monsters which ascend from land and sea, and which are in the service of the Dragon, signify, according to very recognizable criteria, the Roman land and sea forces which protect the dominion of Paganism (13:1- 14:6).

“Opposed to this, after the punishment is executed on Rome (17:1-18), another Woman appears on a scarlet Beast. The former Woman, after her new-born child, had been taken up to the throne of God, henceforth repaired to the deserts and pathless regions; which is an excellent metaphor of wandering Judaism. But the fate of the latter Woman is not so mild. Her destruction is soon after celebrated in jubilees and triumphant songs. That this typifies *idolatry*, as the former the Jewish religion, is evident from the representation.”

Period 7. French Revolution to the Present Time.

Such was the state pretty much of Apocalyptic interpretation among Protestants and Romanists, in England, Germany, and the Papal European States respectively, when the French Revolution burst like a thunderclap upon the startled world. In every way a mighty epoch, whether as regards the world of politics, of society, of religion, or of mind, it could scarcely but constitute an important epoch also in prophetic interpretation. Among Protestant expositors of the historic school, in England more especially, such as followed more or less in the track of their Protestant precursors, of Pareus, Foxe, Mede, Vitringa, Daubuz, and the Newtons, the impression was very strong and general that this was probably the commencement of that self-same last revolution, or earthquake of the 7th Trumpet, which Isaac Newton had so confidently anticipated as in his time near at hand:¹ and of which, among other grand results proclaimed by the heavenly voices at the sounding of the Trumpet, one was to be the establishment of Christ's reign on the earth. As our review of Apocalyptic interpretation in this momentous æra is to be extended in my 5th Edition² as far down as the present epoch of 1862, and, in England at least, very notable points of change and innovation occurred in the more or less current interpretation after its first half had past away, it will be well, I think, to consider it under the division of two separate Sections; the 1st from the epoch of the outbreak of the Revolution in 1789 to the peace of Paris, and cessation of the military occupation of France by the Allies about 1820; the 2nd from 1820 to 1862.

§ 1. From 1789 to 1820.

And, before referring to the English Apocalyptic expositions of this period, I must beg to direct my reader's attention to two expositors of the Romish connection, on whom, in other countries and under very different circumstances, the *millennial question* had forced itself near about the same time as preeminently the important one: not without new views (at least for Romanists) about the predicted apostasy, Antichrist, and Babylon, which made and still make their Treaties doubly remarkable. I allude to the French *Père Lambert*, and the Spanish Jesuit *Lacunza*; the latter better known by his assumed Jewish appellative of Ben Ezra.

1. *Père Lambert*

He was, I believe, a native of Provence, in the south of France. He belonged to the Dominican Order, and died at Paris in 1813. His prophetic book which I refer to, entitled "*Exposition des Prédications et des Promesses faites à l'Eglise pour les derniers temps de la Gentilité*," appears to have

¹ See p. 249 *suprà*.

² *Horæ Apoc.*

been commenced before the end of the 18th century.¹ But it was not completed till 1804, or a little later;² and was at length published in 1806 at Paris, in two small 12mo volumes. It has not, I believe, been reprinted.

The title of the Treatise explains in a measure its main subject and object. Considering attentively what then was, and what had been previously, ever since the first formation of the Christian Church, - the then all general corruption and infidelity, even among professed Catholic Christians, so as to reduce it to a mere "phantom Christianity,"³ and manner in which in the ages previous Christianity had been almost ever exhibited in corrupted form by its professors, been conquered and triumphed over moreover in many countries by Mahommedanism, and in regard of the number of its adherents been ever left by Heathenism in a comparatively small minority, - it was felt by Lambert that a skeptic might well sneer at Christ's mission as a failure, and at the promises of his Church's universal establishment on earth in all purity and blessedness as little better than falsehood:⁴ i.e. supposing the Roman Catholics' generally received views of prophecy respecting the millennium, and the only yet remaining future of the Church and to the world, to be correct.⁵ For, as to the millennial Apocalyptic figured reign of the saints it was, according to those views, nothing but the Church's or individual Christians' very partial successes, such as had been accomplished since the apostles' first preaching of the gospel.⁶ And, as to the future, all that was anticipated was Antichrist's 3½ years' manifestation and reign on Satan's loosing: and that then, for some very brief term after Antichrist's destruction, just before the world's ending, (a term answering perhaps to Daniel's 45 days) the conversion of the Jews and whole Gentile world have its fulfillment; but only to come and pass away, (together with the world's destruction and final judgment) as rapidly almost as a flash of lightning.⁷ So the usual process of Scripture investigation was gone through by Lambert, and is in this Treatise set forth before his readers, by which so many both before and after him

¹In Vol. i. p. 115 Lambert speaks of the passage there having been written "dans les dernières années du 18me siècle."

²Ib. p. 56, Lambert says, "J'éris ecci en 1804."

³On this point I have already cited Lambert's language, as singularly illustrative of the symbol of the 1st Vial, in my Vol. iii. p. 373, Note 1. Besides the direct infidelity and "practical atheism" of many, (avowed atheism had just then rather gone out of fashion,) he notices other principles of evil manifest in professing Christendom: the rationalistic Christianity of some, the adoption of it by others as a mere political engine of state, and the pharisaism and "fausse justice" of the more devout i. 39 - 43. In the expression practical atheism, as applicable to their times, Lambert and Wilberforce agreed. See my Vol. iii. 447, Note 2.

⁴Vol. i. Pref. ii. pp. 146, 219, 220, 242, &c. Lambert strongly expresses his view of the promises of indefectibility and triumph being made to the visible earthly Church, i. 20, 140. "En fuyant eete eglise visible ils fuyent Jesus Christ lui même." In this indiscriminating and exaggerated view of the Church visible we see a weak point in Lambert.

⁵P. 255, &c.

⁶See generally his Ch. 14 on the Millennium; Vol. iii. p. 89, &c.

⁷Et que eette grande revolution, si long temps attendue, . . ne seroit qu' un eclair pour ainsi dire:" "un eclair qui brille un instant, et qui disparoit aussitot." i. 233, 223. Also i. 245.

have been convinced that the Apocalyptic millennium of the saints' reign on earth, and corresponding Old Testament promises times of blessedness, are yet to come: how that they are to be introduced by Christ's second personal advent; the destruction of Antichrist with his apostate Church and Babylon, and resurrection of Christ's departed saints and martyrs accompanying: and that then, the Jews' conversion having taken place coincidentally, the earthly Church now extended over the whole earth is to flourish under the rule of Christ and his saints gloriously; Jerusalem being the new center of light and unity, accordantly with the multitudinous prophecies of Jerusalem's destined future glory and blessedness: and this not for 1000 years only, but a much longer period; the Apocalyptic 1000 years being probably "prophetic years," perhaps sabbatic, perhaps Jubilian, each of 7 or 50 years.¹ - The development of this argument occupies the greater part of Père Lambert's book.²

But what the apostasy, Antichrist, and Babylon, so to be destroyed at Christ's second coming, introductory to the promised establishment of the Christian Church in its purity and glory over the earth? Again, how the transference of its center of unity from Rome, St. Peter's see, to Jerusalem? On these points Father Lambert propounded views new and strange for a Romanist; except in so far as Lacunza might have anticipated him. The Apocalyptic Babylon, he says, (confessedly the city of the seven hills) did not symbolize, so as Bossuet would have it, Pagan Rome. In such case, besides other objections,³ what reason was there for St. John to wonder at it with so great amazement? Nor again did it symbolize Rome as falling into some quite new and infidel apostasy, at the end of the world, and this after expelling the Pope, so as Ribera and Bellarmine would explain the prophecy.⁴ The Apocalyptic symbols sufficiently indicated a professedly Christian body; and history also told too plainly that Papal Rome and the Papal priesthood might well, by only further developing the corruptions which already in part had been, answer to the prophetic indications. It was the conviction on Lambert's mind that the mystery of iniquity spoken of by St. Paul was a principle, or principles, of corruption and evil within the professing Church, sown even in the apostle's days: that this had gone on ever working more and more influentially within it through the centuries that followed, being nourished by all the abuses, vices, errors, and impieties that were admitted into the Gentile Church, as those centuries went on; and was at length to

¹ii. 67, 80, 139.

²Out of its 20 Chapters it occupies from Ch. v. to Ch. 16 inclusive.

³The objections of Lambert I find to be some of those which I have myself made in my criticism on Bossuet, as published in my 2nd and 3rd Editions, before I was acquainted with this Dominican, Father. In the criticism, as now republished in the 2nd part of this Appendix, I may note where Lambert had preceded me in the critical objections to Bossuet's theory.

⁴I am not sure whether Lambert mentions Bellarmine anywhere specifically.

become the consummated “apostasy,” by infecting the whole body of Gentile Christendom, headed by a personal and Papal Antichrist.¹ But not without a series of previous Popes having preceded and prepared for him, by exhibiting and acting out gradually more and more the spirit of Antichrist. The Prince of Tyre prophesied of in Ezekiel evidently symbolized this Papal Antichrist; in respect both of his original state, and that into which he would fall by corruption. Endowed with authority at first as one seated in God’s seat, and on the holy mountain, (i.e. in the Church) anointed too with the holy ointment, and adorned with precious stones, like the Jewish High Priest, this Prince was depicted as at length being seduced to say in heart, “I am God;” to usurp God’s honor, worship, and prerogatives; and then, abandoned to avarice, becoming a “marchande,” and giving himself up to the amassing of gold and silver. Such precisely had been the case in the Christian Church. “*Le roi de Tyre n’est ici qu’un personnage allegorique, l’emblemme d’une suite de ministres du Tres-Haut, qui succedent les uns aux autres, mais que le Prophete reunit et represente comme une seule personne moral; qui d’abord fidele à son ministere en viole ensuite tons les devoirs; et dont l’iniquité, montée par degres à son comble,..est enfin punie avec eclat aux yeux de toutes les nations.*”² Lambert sketches thereupon the change in the Roman Pontiff’s, from the piety of the earlier centuries to their manifold corruptions afterwards: - “the spirit of domination, the outrages often on the principle truths of Christianity, the avarice and traffic in holy things;” corruptions that had already taken deep root in the time of St. Bernard;³ and which would assuredly bring down on the Papacy, as on the Prince of Tyre, God’s terrible vengeance. At length, in fine, it would be a Roman Pope, at the head of the consummated apostasy of Gentile Christendom; who, in heart an atheist, would as God, or God’s delegate, or God’s

¹“Le mystere d’iniquité, dont parle St. Paul, est comme un abeés qui commeneoit des son tempa à se former dans le corps de l’Eglise, mais d’une maniere peu sensible, qui devoit ensuite recevoir divers accroissemens de siecle en siecle; parvenair enfin à as consommation, eclater alors...d’une maniere effroyable, et couvrir et infecter de son mortel venin toute la Gentilité Chretienne.” “Par papostasie on doit entendre la multitude des mechans qui abandonneront Jesus Christ et sa religion, qui se moqueront de ses mysteres, faouleront aux pieds son evangile et ses lois, ou aux sentiments d’une pieté humble et reconnoissante substitueront la presumption et l’ingratitude de la fausse justice.” “L’apostasie precedera l’Antichrist: et, quand elle sera montée à son comble, l’Homme de péché, on l’Antichrist, sera manifesté.” ii. 318, 271.

²ii. 278.

³Mark how Lambert makes the Anti-christian apostasy to have been already developed in the middle age: and compare my historic comment on (Rev. 9 20, 21, “And the rest of the men which were not killed by these plagues yet repented not of the works of their hands, that they should not worship devils, and idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and of wood: which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk: 21: Neither repented they of their murders, nor of their sorceries, nor of their fornication, nor of their thefts”), at the beginning of Vol. ii.; referring at p. 24 to the same St. Bernard, in illustration of the subject.

Christ, sit in God's temple, i.e. (so as Hilary has said) in *professedly Christian Churches*:¹ exacting divine honors from men on pain of death; and so fulfilling alike what was predicted of the Man of Sin, and of the Apocalyptic Beast:² all this being done in Babylon, or the Papal Rome; of which Lambert, in a separate Chapter, traces in similar mode the falling away from Primitive sanctity into antichristian apostasy.³ One grand help to this Papal Antichrist's subjection of men's minds would be his false miracles; more especially, Lambert suggests, his apparent resurrection from the state of death: (accordantly both with the symbol of one of his heads being wounded to death, yet reviving; and with his two-fold designation also as the *Beast from the sea* and *Beast from the abyss*, which was, and is not, and yet shall be) a miracle, observe, apparent, not real; for God cannot do miracles in support of a lie.⁴ - Of the near approach of the consummation, and of Antichrist, Lambert says it was to be expected that God would give some signal warning signs; so as he had done before the destruction of Jerusalem, and before the rebellion of Mahomet.⁵ And one such striking sign Lambert thought to see in the terrible infidelity of the half century previous, and horrors of the French Revolution.⁶ Moreover, besides this, there was to be expected quite another in the coming and preaching of Elijah, to Gentile Christendom as well as Jews: and the result of being rejected and slain (just as Christ had formerly been) by united sentence of ecclesiastical and civil powers; "par tout le corps de la Gentilité, et par la foule des prêtres et des pasteurs, présidés par le premier Pontife de la religion:"⁷ this Elias being in fact one of the two Apocalyptic witnesses; and the great city of his death, not Rome, but Paris, where the truth and Christ had been so markedly crucified.⁸ There-

¹ii. 295, 311. - At p. 270 Lambert says that the statements as to their end, the one destroyed by Christ's coming, the other cast alive into the lake of fire, are not contradictory; analwsei meaning only détruire. He might have referred to the case of Korah in Illustration. Was not Korah killed? - "And the sons of Eliab; Nemuel, and Dathan, and Abiram. This is that Dathan and Abiram, which were famous in the congregation, who strove against Moses and against Aaron in the company of Korah, when they strove against the LORD: 10: And the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them up together with Korah, when that company died, what time the fire devoured two hundred and fifty men: and they became a sign." (Num. xxvi. 9, 10.)

²See pp. 153, 154 *suprà*.

³Ch. 18 See especially p. 334.

⁴Ib. 284-297.

⁵On the sign before Mahomet, and which caused Antichrist to be expected in Phocas' time, see Malv. i. 117.

⁶i. 62-65, 71, 72.

⁷i. 171. On Elias Lambert broaches the curious idea that he is going through a perpetual martyrdom of feeling for his apostate countrymen, indeed a kind of propitiatory holocaust. i. 159, 163.

⁸i. 40, 175, ii. 338. On the "crucifying Christ" Lambert says again, (i. 212,) "nos irreverences, profanations, sacrilèges, qui ont tant de fois crucifié notre Sauveur."

upon would follow the consummation of judgment: the Gentile Christendom be destroyed by fire;¹ the scepter revert to Jerusalem; (for the localization of the Church's center of unity in Rome was but for the Gentile interval;) and in the converted and blessed state of all that is now heathen, connectedly with converted Israel, the magnificent symbolizations of Isaiah's and St. John's new heaven and new earth have their realization.²

Such is an abstract of Lambert's main views of prophecy, as unfolded in his Treatise. There are observable further a few individual points of Apocalyptic explanations. In the 6th Seal, Rev. 6, he would have the elemental convulsions to be taken literally, as signs in heaven and earth before the consummation;³ in Rev. 8 the half-hour silence is a brief respite before the last fearful Trumpet judgments;⁴ in Rev. 10 the seven thunders mean the mysteries of Christ's judgments, now secret, but to be revealed during Christ's reign on earth.⁵ Again it is to be observed that, though not of the historic school of interpretation, he yet more than once speaks agreeably with it, of the French Revolution as like a trumpet-voice of alarm, "the last trumpet's alarm," to Christendom;⁶ also of Christians as at the time when he wrote participating in the song of the harpers by the fiery sea, introductory to the Vials outpouring in Rev. 15;⁷ and, as elsewhere noted, of the then reigning infidelity as an ulcer in Christendom;⁸ all exactly in agreement with the symbols of the 7th Trumpet's Vial-preparation song, and 1st Vial, as explained by me.⁹ But the main views are those which I have detailed above: - the terrible approaching destruction of the Gentile Church, as utterly, hopelessly apostate, under the headship of its Papal Antichrist;¹⁰ and its blessed renovation, under Christ's own headship and that of his risen saints, connected with a converted Israel.

My readers may well wonder with me how, with such views of the Papacy, that Père Lambert could himself have continued in communion with it. It would seem as if he dated its apostasy from the faith somewhat later

¹So 2 Pet. iii. 10. - How there could be a preservation of any of the living from such a conflagration as Peter foretells God alone knew. i. 100, 101.

²So Lambert's last Chapter.

³i. 108, 117.

⁴i. 109.

⁵Rev. 10 4, "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."

⁶i. 5, 72: "Le signe étonnant dont ils'agit est comme le dernier coup de trompette qui appelle le saint prophete (Elic)."

⁷i. 13, 14.

⁸Vol. iii. p. 373, Note 1.

⁹See my Vol. iii. 339, 340; and ib. 464 -475.

¹⁰This, says Lambert (i. 84), was the mystery meant by St. Paul in (Rom. 11 25, "For I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery, lest ye should be wise in your own conceits; that blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fullness of the Gentiles be come in."); not the recovery of the Jews, but the utter destruction of the Gentile Christendom.

than prophecy as well as history indicates. Now the prophetic clause, “Only he that letteth shall let until he be taken away,” was a prophetic indication, as all the early Fathers explain to us, that the removal and division into ten of the old Roman Empire was to be the chronological sign and epoch of the development of the Man of Sin. But Lambert escapes from that chronological indication by a very curious different translation of the clause. *Και νυν το κατεχον οιδατε εις το αποκαλυφθηναι αυτον...μονον ο κατεχων αρτι εως εκ μεσου γενηται*. This, says Lambert of the first clause, means, “Vous savez à quoi il tient, ou, ce qui est necessaire pour qu’il paroisse dans son temps:” and of the second: “Que celui qui sait (*ο κατεχων*) maintenant en quoi consiste ce mystere, le retienne bien, jusqu’à que ce mystere sorte de son secret.”¹ So the *κατεχον* and *οκατεχων* are taken in quite different senses; and the *εκ μεσου γενηται* in a sense the Greek phrase will not bear. It will be felt by my classical readers that Lambert has been but little successful in escaping from the difficulty of this clause.²

2. Lacunza.

Lacunza, as I learn from the Preface to Mr. Irving’s Translation of his Book, was born at Santiago in Chili in the year 1731; in 1747 became a member of the Jesuit college in that city; and there continued till the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Spanish South American States: whereupon he came to Europe; settled finally at Imola, a little south of Bologna in Italy; and there died suddenly in 1801, while on a solitary walk, according to his habit, by the riverside.³ His great work on The coming of Messiah in Glory and Majesty, (written under the assumed name of Ben Ezra, a Jewish convert to Christianity,⁴ in consequence probably of the then existing prejudice against his Order) was written as early as the first outbreak of the great French Revolution. For the Fra Pablo de la Concepcion, of the Carmelite Convent in Cadiz, writing a criticism on it in 1812, speaks of having first read the work in manuscript, about 21 years before, or about the year 1791⁵

¹ii. 313-318.

²I should add that Lambert presses strongly on all the duty of reading and studying the Holy Scriptures. The Chanoine of the French Church, mentioned by me Vol. iii. pp. 347, 373, expresses a similar judgment to his contemporary Lambert’s in reference to the nearness of Christ’s second coming: - a judgment founded not merely on the then signs of the times, as specified in my notices of him Vol. iii., but on other prophetic considerations also; especially that of Mahommedanism having the duration of 1260 years, attached to it in Dan. 7 and Rev. 13, where, says he, it is figured under the symbol of the Little Horn, and of the Beast from the Sea; (he is here somewhat fanciful;) and that those 1260 years, reckoned from the Saracens taking Jerusalem, A.D. 637, if counted as solar years, would expire in 1807; if as lunar years, in 1800. “Then is to come the last judgment; and the kingdom in which Christ is to reign with his saints for ever.

³From Pref. p. xxiii., 24

⁴Ib. 19 In his prayer of dedication to the Messiah Jesus Christ, Vol. i. p. 10, Lacunza says, “my own brethren the Jews.” So too p. 29.

⁵Vol i. p. 3. Where it was written does not appear; whether in South America, Spain, or Italy. Mr. Irving, at p. 17, says, “under the walls of the Vatican:” but I know not on what authority.

of which Lacunza complains.¹ Judging from the admiration it at once excited in his mind, Fra Pablo's copy was probably a complete one. And both the fact of the laborious manuscript multiplication of these copies, and the strong statement by the learned critic above referred to as to the impression made by it on his own mind, unite to show that it excited very considerable interest as soon as attention was called to it. When however the Work was first printed and published does not appear. Lucunza's own observations in the Preface imply an expectation that in its then completed form it would soon come into general circulation;² of course, I presume, through the medium of printing. Yet, according to the notices that I find in Irving's translation, it seems to have been first printed and published at Cadiz in 1821;³ i.e. eleven years after Lacunza's death. Subsequently in 1816 another Edition of 1500 copies in its original Spanish was printed in London, in four Volumes, under the direction of the Agent for the Buenos Aires Government; which Edition seems to have been wholly transhipped from England.⁴ - At the time of its presumed first printing, in 1812, Cadiz was under the government of the Cortez, and the press in a measure free. But, on the dissolution of the Cortez, restoration of Ferdinand, and re-institution of the Inquisition, intolerance returned: and Lacunza's book was classed among the *Libri prohibiti* in the Roman Index, and the circulation as far as possible suppressed.⁵ So the book became rare. Surreptitiously, however, individual copies were obtained and read in Spain:⁶ and moreover an abridgment was made;⁷ and whether in the original, or in a French translation, was carried into and much read in France.⁸ At length in the year 1826 a copy brought by an English

- The reader will remember the comparative freedom of mind among Roman Catholics in the countries open to French influence from 1790 to 1813.

¹Ib. 11.

²"I did not venture to expose this Treatise to the criticism of every sort of readers without making trial of it, &c." Ibid.

³Tournaehon Moulin, the Cadix publisher I presume in 1812, on printing Fra Pablo's criticism, dated Dec. 1812, as a kind of Prefix or Appendix to Lacunza's book, (Vol. i. p. 1,) says that Lacunza's work "was first published in this city (Cadiz) in the Spanish tongue." At p. 24 a Spanish officer's notice to Mr. Irving is given, stating that "an abridgment was published in the Isle of Leon in two small octavo volumes." I suppose this was subsequent to the complete Edition of 1812.

⁴Ib. pp. 16, 24

⁵Ib. xv. Compare my brief notices of Spain, Vol. iii. pp. 414, 415, 421.

⁶So Mr. Irving's friend, the Spanish refugee officer. "When the inquiring mind of the Spanish youth was hindered from the food which it desired, and had been entertained with during the Cortez, they formed secret Societies, of which the object was to procure and read those books expressly which were prohibited by the Inquisition. In the number of which, finding the work of Ben Ezra, the Society to which he belonged obtained it, and read it with delight." Ibid.

⁷See above Note 2145 supra.

⁸Ibid. 16 "Among certain of whom (the members of the Gallican Church) I am informed," says Mr. Irving, "it is a common thing under the term of the apostate Gentility to express the first of the three positions I have laid down." This phrase is the very one so common and prominent in Lambert; and suggests the question, Had Lambert seen, and been led to his prophetic views by, an early MS. copy of Ben Ezra?

Clergyman from Spain was communicated to the well-known and eloquent minister of the Scotch Church in London, Mr. Irving; and by him a translation made into English, which soon made the work extensively and very influentially known and read in England.¹

Turning to the Treatise itself, its author's main strength and argument is of course directed to the establishment of his professedly main great subject: Christ's Premillennial Advent,² and subsequent glorious universal reign on earth: the Jews having, he supposed, been previously converted, and brought to recognize the Messiah Jesus. And to the masterly and convincing manner in which he has done this, we have not the testimony of English critics only like Mr. Irving, but that of his learned Spanish critic, Fra Pablo: "These two points," says he, notwithstanding all a Romanist's natural prejudices, "seem to me to be theologically demonstrated."³ It was by resorting to Holy Scripture itself, when utterly disappointed and disgusted at the absurdities and incongruities of the best known Roman Catholic expositors of the millennial prophecy, that the view broke upon him in all its grandeur and simplicity: and, like Lambert, he strongly urges investigators, those of the priesthood more especially, to resort as he had himself done to the Book of God, which had so long and so generally been well-nigh consigned to oblivion.⁴ On this his great subject however there is no need of my sketching his arguments, any more than in the case of Lambert. They are the same that are now well known, and widely received.

But what his views as to Antichrist; a subject necessarily connected with the Millennium, as being he whose destruction by Christ's coming was to precede and introduce it? Here Lacunza makes reference to Daniel, as well as to the Revelation. And, in commenting on the former, he offers some original and curious views as to the symbols of the quadripartite image, and of the four wild Beasts from the sea. The image's golden head, he says, included both the Babylonish and the Persian empires, considered as one, because Babylon was retained as one of the Persian capitals: the breast of silver was the Macedonian empire: the brazen thighs figured that of the Romans, long since come to an end; the iron ten-toed legs that of the Roman-Gothic professedly Christian kingdoms of Western Europe.⁵ At the

¹While Mr. Irving was prosecuting his English translation, another Edition in Spanish was being printed in London. *Ib.* xxi. Hence we may infer the large demand for it, and large circulation of it, among those who spoke the Spanish language.

²Not a second intermediate advent, before the third and last to final judgment, so as Lambert: but, as Mede, Christ's one second advent; continued to the final judgment.

³*i.* 7. In the Section beginning at p. 83 Lacunza anatomizes, and exposes the absurdity of, the received idea of Satan having been bound every since Christ's ascension. What, bound when Peter says that he goes about as a roaring lion; and moreover when the Church had to exercise its exorcising power "*ad fugandos dæmones!*" Surely the modern followers of this Augustinian solution of the millennial prophecy have not sufficiently weighted these obvious considerations.

⁴*i.* 20-32.

⁵*i.* 141. - This prophecy is called by Lacunza the 1st Phænomenon, i.e. vision.

ending time of these the stone without hands, or empire of Christ and his saints, would utterly destroy the image in that its last form; henceforth itself becoming the universal empire on earth. How near to the generally received Protestant interpretation, and I doubt not the true one, is Lacunza's of the ten toes! As to the four Beasts his idea is as novel as unsatisfactory. They meant four religions; viz. Idolatry, Mahommedism, Pseudo-Christi-
 anity, (with its four heads of heresy, schism, hypocrisy, worldly-mindedness) and the Anti-Christian Deism already then unfolding itself in the world. For Antichrist meant, not an individual, but that embodied principle, power, or moral body, which "solvit Christum," (so the Vulgate of (1 John 4 3, "And every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is not of God: and this is that spirit of Antichrist, whereof ye have heard that it should come; and even now already is it in the world.") dissolves Christ in the Church.¹ - At this point Lacunza stops a while to dissect, and expose the absurdity of, those ideas of Antichrist which were usually received among Romanists; as if he was to be an individual Jew, of the tribe of Dan, born in Babylon, received by the Jews as Messiah, thereupon establishing his kingdom at Jerusalem, and with 10 or 7 kings held subject, in fulfillment of the Beast's 7 heads and 10 horns: an argument well worth perusal and consideration, by all such Protestant expositors as are inclined to adopt the same strange hypothesis. The Antichrist, or Apocalyptic Beast, he then traces from its first existence in the germ, as the mystery of iniquity even in St. Paul's days,² within the Church, and side by side with Christ's true servants; and which had come down as a body more and more corrupt and apostate, century after century; till now at length perfected in apostasy. The second Apocalyptic Beast has been with great reason, he says, explained as the false prophet of Antichrist: with the mistake however of supposing him one individual person, perhaps "an apostate bishop;"³ whereas it is the body of "our priesthood" that is meant by

¹i. 197. - Mr. C. Maitland, p. 392, makes Lacunza, like himself, expect an infidel, Antichrist. This, as his readers must understand him, is a misrepresentation of Lacunza's views. Lacunza's Antichrist is not a mere individual, nor professedly infidel, but Papal, (like Michélet's Romish "prêtre athée,") nor wholly future. Mr. C. M. would have done well to read and study this Chapter in Lacunza.

²Compare Lambert's very similar views p. 254 *suprà*. Only Lambert more correctly makes the Antichrist the suite, or series, of individual Pontiffs, that had successively headed the every-growing apostasy.

³"Seeming to see," says he, "in the Beast's two horns as of a lamb a proper symbol of the mitre [or miter]." i. 218, 224. The question is thus suggested, What was the origin of the particular form of the episcopal mitre, with its two apices or horns? and when first introduced? See my Vol. iii. 209.

the emblem.¹ His name and number Lacunza inclines to think ἀρηούμε:² being evidently not as strong in Greek as in Latin. As to the Apocalyptic Harlot, (“I would wholly omit this,” says he, “did I not fear to commit treason against truth,”) it is not Rome Pagan, but apostate Rome Christian and Papal; drunken at length in vain carnal self-security, when on the very eve (so Lacunza judged) of her utter tremendous destruction. It is objected that she is the spouse of Christ? So too was old Jerusalem. But, on the consummation of its apostasy, though without a heathen idol in her, she fell, and fell remedilessly.³

In his general view of the Revelation Lacunza is a futurist. He construes the seven-sealed Book opened by the Lamb as the Book of the Father’s Covenant; and the giving it into his hand as the act of investiture, whereby he is constituted King and Lord of all.⁴ The visions of the Seals next following are therefore, I presume, understood by him with reference to the times of consummation. But he does not enter on them particularly. He discusses however the vision of the sun-clothed woman in Rev. 12, in the same general Jewish and futurist point of view; with much that is ingenious and novel in his exposition. The woman is the Zion of Isaiah, God’s ancient spouse, long cast off and sorrowful, but now clothed in beautiful garments; and at the precise crisis described by Old Testament prophets, “like a woman with child drawing near the time of her delivery.” She has already in a figurative sense conceived Jesus Christ in her womb; i.e. by believing on him. But something more is needed; viz. to bring him to light, or publicly to manifest this conception by declaring for him; for “with the heart men believe unto righteousness, and with the lips confession is made unto salvation.” But difficulties, embarrassments, and persecutions here occur. Besides the world and devil, two-thirds also of the Jews probably oppose the believing third. She “cries out in pain.” Satan, the red Dragon, unable to prevent the conception, (which may probably have arisen from Elias’ preaching) tries to hinder her delivery: i.e. “to hinder her from publicly professing her faith in Jesus.”⁵ But in vain. The child is born; the confession is made. And then, so born in figure, he is caught up to God and his throne: a symbol answering to Daniel’s symbol of the Son of Man coming to the Ancient of Days to receive investiture of his kingdom; and corresponding too with that of his

¹“Yes, my friend, it is our priesthood, and nothing else, which is here signified, and announced for the last times, under the metaphor of a beast with two horns like a lamb’s.” i. 220. He strengthens his position by reference to the Jewish priesthood; who, though professing God’s true religion, and with the Old Testament Scriptures in their hands, did yet reject and crucify Christ: also by reference to the actual corruption of the professedly Christian priesthood, but in earlier times, (as that of the Arians,) and more especially in Lacunza’s own time. ib. 221.

²Ib. 232.

³248-253.

⁴I presume Mr. Burgh borrowed the view from Ben Ezra.

⁵ii. 90. Compare Mr. Biley’s explanation, noticed by me Vol. iii. pp. 23-26, but with reference to the Christian Church of the 4th Century, as the Church and time intended.

receiving the seven-sealed book of his investiture from Him that sate on the throne, in the earlier vision of the fifth chapter of the Revelation.¹ - But, if so, we must ask, what the sequel? And here in truth the weakness of Lacunza's view of the vision appears. Messiah's investiture by the Ancient of Days in Daniel is coincident with, or immediately consequent upon, the doom and destruction of the little horn Antichrist; not at an epoch preceding Antichrist's reign and blasphemies. But in the vision of Rev. 12, after the man-child's being caught up to God's throne, there is described a war in heaven as occurring; then the Woman's fleeing into the wilderness, being furiously pursued thither by the Dragon; and then next, but not till then, the raising up by the Dragon of the Anti-Christian Beast against the remnant of the Woman's children that continue faithful. How can this order of events consist with Lacunza's Judæo futurist interpretation of the Vision? I see nothing in the details of his exposition to meet the difficulty. For he professedly makes all this persecution subsequent to Christ's receiving investiture of the earth's empire. And his identification of Michael's warring in Rev. 12 with Michael's standing up for Daniel's people in Dan. 12 only adds to the difficulty.² - Proceeding with the vision Lacunza describes the Woman, or Jewish Church, as taken to a quiet and sweet solitude, Moses and Elias furnishing the two wings of her escort; and being there taken care of by God, while the Dragon raises up the Beast against the faithful remnant of her children.³ These Lacunza seems to identify, like myself, with the witnesses of Rev. 11 for the two sackcloth-robed witnesses are not Enoch and Elias; but two religious bodies of faithful men protesting against the corruptions of the age,⁴ i.e. the latter age, just before the Jews' conversion. As to the place where the Anti-Christian Beast, after making war against them, kills them, i.e. the street of the great city, this is not meant of Jerusalem: (in fact Christ was crucified outside of, not within, the literal Jerusalem) but of the whole world, and specially of professing Christendom.⁵

These, I believe, are the chief Apocalyptic explanations given by the soi-disant Ben Ezra, or Lacunza. I may add that, like myself, he considers Peter's conflagration to be one introductory to the millennium, and moreover not universal: also that he explains the new heaven and earth of St. Peter and

¹See p. 258 just preceding.

²Michael's standing up in Dan. 12 is subsequent to Antichrist's rise; in Rev. xii prior to it.

³See p. 258 *suprà*.

⁴ii. 117. So Lacunza of the two Witnesses. And so he seems to identify them with the faithful remnant of the Woman's seed: for they "can only mean the remains of true Christianity among the Gentiles." *ib.* 131. - But how could these faithful Gentiles be a remnant of the Jewish woman's children? Moreover, it is only on her being in the wilderness that the Lord fully accomplishes her conversion, according to Lacunza; "speaking comfortably to her in the wilderness." And yet she will some time before not only have believed, according to him, but made public confession for Christ.

⁵*ib.* 118.

the Revelation (like Lambert and myself) to be millennial in their date of commencement.

Thus, in the Roman Catholic countries of France, Spain, Italy, there had already begun to sound forth a voice answering alike to that on the blast of the 7th Trumpet in the Revelation, which proclaimed the commencement of the judgments of the consummation of “those that had corrupted the earth,” and imminence of Christ’s coming kingdom: as also to that of the first Angel seen synchronously (as has been shown) flying in mid heaven, with the cry, “Fear God, for the hour of his judgments is come;” and to that recorded in Rev. 18, “Come out of her (Babylon), my people, that ye be not partakers of her plagues.”¹

II. I now turn to England. - And here the names first of Galloway and Bicheno, then of Faber, Woodhouse, Cuninghame, and Frere, are perhaps the most notable; each one marked by certain peculiarities of exposition. The three last mentioned, having continued publishing from time to time on prophecy till the middle of the present century, constituted a link of connection between the first and second divisions of the still uncompleted great French Revolution era

3. Joseph Galloway

Mr. Galloway’s book is entitled “Brief Commentaries on such parts of the Revelation and other Prophecies, as immediately refer to the present times;” and was published in London in the year A.D. 1802.² He was himself, it seems, a British Loyalist in the North American Colonies, who was forced to flee that country on the States successfully accomplishing their war of revolution and independence. Nor, probably, was he wholly uninfluenced by this his previous history in regard of the feeling most prominently expressed throughout his Apocalyptical Commentary: that of intense abhorrence of the revolutionary and infidel principles of Republican France. Hence his application to it of the symbol of the most hateful of all enemies of the Church prefigured in the Revelation: that of the Beast from the Abyss, the slayer of Christ’s two faithful sackcloth-robed witnesses. To bring out this result, he thus in brief explains the structure of the prophecy and history intended by it; herein at first following most of his Protestant predecessors. The seven-sealed book contains the history of the Church generally, in its various vicissitudes of fortune; from its first partial triumphs in Apostolic times to its final and complete triumph at the consummation; the 6th seal symbolizing the overthrow of heathenism before it, in the Roman Empire,

¹In Germany, throughout the whole of the 25 or 30 years of which I am speaking in this Section, Eichhorn’s *Præterist* system continued to reign supreme. So M. Stuart, i. 472.

²Bichenl’s first publication was in 1793, before Galloway. But, as he continued to write and publish after Galloway till 1808, I have noticed Galloway first. Mr. Bicheno was thus a connecting link between the earlier Apocalyptic students of the Revolutionary æra and the later, such as Faber, Cuninghame, &c.

under the Constantine Emperors. The seven Trumpets, which are the development of the seventh Seal, represent God's judgments against the then already corrupt and apostatizing Church; the four first depicting that of the Gothic invasions in the West; the 5th and 6th, or two first Woe-Trumpets, those of the Saracens and Turks in the East; which last-mentioned woes originated, according to the prophecy, with the opening of the pit of the abyss. Then, presently, comes Mr. Galloway's peculiarity of historic application. The "little book" opened in the hand of the angel (Rev. 10) being viewed by him, as in Mede's scheme, as a separate, supplementary prophecy descriptive, for its main subject, of the treading down of the holy city, and history of Christ's two witnesses during their days of sackcloth-robing, he notices the long-continued treading down for 1260 years of the holy city, or faithful Church of the Gentiles, as alike that by the long-dominant Mahometan power in the East, and the dominant Papal idolatrous power in the West; dating these from the nearly synchronic times of Phocas and Mahomet respectively. But the slaying of the two witnesses, which he supposes to symbolize the Old and New Testaments, is, he observes, at a later time: near the end of the Witnesses' 1260 years of sackcloth-robed witnessing; and to be accomplished by another new and terrible enemy than any before, the Beast from the Abyss. This, says he, is the infidel power of atheistic, revolutionary France. The street of the great city in which they were slain, he explains to be Paris; the date of their death, about September 1792, when Christianity was abolished, the ignominious expulsion of the Christian clergy from France well-nigh completed, Christ declared an impostor, and atheism publicly professed by the French Government and nation. So for 3½ years, answering to the 3½ days of the Apocalyptic prophecy; at the end of which there was predicted the resuscitation of the two witnesses. And this was also fulfilled by the French Government decrees, passed in 1797, which declared free and full toleration thenceforward to all religions, true Protestant Christianity expressly included.

It does not need that I should say more of Mr. Galloway's exposition; save only that, in conformity with the above explanation of the earlier Apocalyptic chapters, he explains the seven-headed Dragon, the Beast from the Sea, and Beast from the earth, in Rev. 12 and 13, as respectively the earlier Pagan power, and the French infidel power; the Beast from the Sea, or Pope-dom, being that which had assigned to it the duration of 1260 years, which would be nearly covered by the interval from Phocas to the French Revolution. The name and number of the beast he makes Ludovicus, the most common title of Kings of France; the Latin numeral letters which make up 666 - I must just add that Mr. G. interprets the Millennium as in his days still future; and as to be introduced by, and to synchronize with, the personal reign of Christ and his saints on earth.

4. James Bicheno

Quite pronounced was the contrast with which Mr. Bicheno marked the progress of the Revolution in his "*Signs of the Times*" (in three parts, first published in 1793, and which came to its 6th edition in 1808), with his "Restoration of the Jews" in 1806. The sub title on Part I. itself tells this feeling: "*The overthrow of the Papal tyranny in France, a prelude of destruction to Popery and Despotism, but of peace to mankind.*" He looked in fact with something like religious complacency, from the very first, on the awful judgments that the Revolutionists seemed God's appointed agents for inflicting on the Papal power which had been for ages the bloody persecutor of Christ's saints, and enemy of Christ's truth: judgments inflicted more especially in France on the social orders which had been its chief abettors and assistants: the royalty, nobility, and the clergy. The same was his feeling afterwards when, in the course of the next 14 or 15 years, he saw the vials of God's wrath poured out, through the same instrumentality, upon the German Empire which had been for many centuries as zealous a cooperator with the Papal Beast in the persecution of Christ's truth and saints as royal Papal France itself. So strongly did Mr. B. feel the righteousness of God's judgments, through the agency of the French Revolutionists, on those saint-persecuting nations of the Continent, that he could not suppress his protest against what he called "the ravings of Mr. Burke," and the energetic anti-revolutionary course of action of our British Government: the rather as the Papal Antichrist's removal was all that had to intervene before the Jews' conversion, and the establishment of Christ's kingdom on earth.

As it was on these two great subjects of the Papal tyranny of past ages, and the judgments of Popery then passing before the eyes of men, as prefigured in the Revelation, that he founded his earnest and heart-stirring appeal to British Christians, (subjects copiously illustrated by him from time to time, alike the one and the other, from past and contemporaneous history) it was not to be expected that his books would offer any very thoroughly digested scheme of Apocalyptic interpretation. Nor, consequently, do I deem it needful to refer particularly to what we find in them on this head. Suffice it to say that the 1260 destined years of the Papal Beast, prefigured in Rev. 11, 13, and 17, he views as beginning from Justinian's decree, A.D. 529; and consequently, as ending in 1789 at the French Revolution. (1789 minus 529 = 1260 yrs.) The killing of Christ's sackcloth-robed witnesses, or faithful saints protesting against Popery, he refers chiefly to the revocation of the *Toleration Edict of Nantes* by Louis XIV in 1685; especially accompanied, as it was, by the nearly contemporary ruin of the cause of Hungarian Protestantism through the persecution's of Papal Austria and banishment also of the faithful Vaudois from their valleys in Papal Piedmont. But how, then, their resuscitation after 3½ days? On this point, as no answering event presented itself in French history 3½ years after that Revocation-Edict, or, indeed, till 100 years later, he suggests the singular notion that, instead of each day standing here for a year, it may stand for the thirty that make up a month;

and consequently altogether figure the interval of $3\frac{1}{2} \times 30 = 105$ years. Then the prophecy would have its fulfillment in the free and full toleration of Protestantism in France, A.D. 1707, of which we have before spoken. - To Mr. Bicheno's interesting illustration of the Trumpets, and especially of the 3rd Trumpet in the desolating progress of Attila along the Rhine and Danube, I have had occasion to allude in my 1st Volume.¹ The 5th and 6th Trumpets he explains, like most other Protestant interpreters, of the Saracens and Turks. In the opened book of the light-bearing angel (Rev. 10) he sees no new and separate book of prophecy; but only a figuration of the dawning light of the Reformation, as beginning with Wycliffe.

Finally, he applied our Lord's prophecy (Matt. 24) to the terrible commotions of those revolutionary times; inferred from the same prophecy, even in 1795, before Evangelic Missions from England had effectively begun,² that there would speedily follow the preaching of the Gospel throughout the world, even as with the sound of a Trumpet, to gather together Christ's elect from the four winds, and that then the conversion and restoration of the Jews would begin. By the concurrent fulfillment of all which signs of the latter day, and "all those things coming to pass," he judged that yet clearer and clearer light would accrue to show that the consummation, and kingdom of God, were indeed nigh at hand.

Though, as I said, it was scarce to be expected that any well digested general historical scheme of Apocalyptic interpretation would be furnished by Bicheno or Galloway, comparatively absorbed as were their thoughts and interests in that part of the prophecy which more immediately related to the events of the then present awful drama, as gradually unfolded more and more before their eyes, yet certainly it was not unreasonable to expect this (if the historical view of the prophecy was the right one) from the three well-known expositors who, as before stated, were their most prominent successors on the field of Apocalyptic interpretation:

5. Faber, Cuninghame, and Frere

First, that they entered on their intense study at a later era in the Revolutionary wars, after the first fury of the tempest had lulled, and the feelings consequently of English observers were less fearfully excited than before: and 2nd, also that they actually professed each one, after mature study, to give a comprehensive view of the whole Apocalyptic prophecy, including both its internal structure, and its historic explanation; i.e. down to the 7th Trumpet, and its partial evolution in the earlier Vials, which they all, like Galloway and Bicheno, regarded as fulfilled in the events of the Revolution. But, if such his expectation, the prophetic student of the era under review was doomed to disappointment. In regard both of the fundamental structure

¹Horæ Apocalypticae.

²Compare my sketch of the rise of Evangelic Missions. Vol. iii. p. 483.

of the prophecy, and many important details of its proposed previous accomplished fulfillment in history, the three expositors were seen to differ most widely one from the other. Said Mr. Faber of the internal structure of the prophecy,¹ "The seven Trumpets are the evolution of the 7th Seal, as the seven Vials are of the 7th Trumpet; these three series constituting the main contents of the Seven-sealed Book (Rev. 4) placed in the hand of the Lamb to open: while the Little opened Book, put into St. John's hand by the heaven-descended Angel of Rev. 10, with the charge to prophesy again, is a distinct supplemental prophecy, inclusive of chapters 10-14, and containing within it the predictions of the four several great events to which, all alike, was to attach the duration of the 1260 years' period: that of the sackcloth prophesying of Christ's two witnesses, that of the Gentiles treading the Holy City, that of the Woman (the Church's) exile in the wilderness, and that of the reign of the ten-horned Beast:² - a prophecy this chronologically parallel with the 5th and 6th or two first Woe Trumpets of the Seven-sealed Book, and which needed inscription in the new prophetic Book to show the parallelism.³ Then further, as regarded the historic fulfillment of the Revelation, said Mr. F., "The series of the six first Seals carried down the history of the Roman Empire to the Constantine Revolution, and overthrow of Heathenism in the 4th century; the six first Trumpets (evolving the 7th Seal) figured its subsequent history under the successive desolation's of Goths, Saracens, and Turks; which last mentioned extended to the times of the 7th Trumpet, or French Revolution." Besides which, Mr. F., in his Sacred Calendar, insisted on another very important point in the prophecy, viz. that concerning the ten-horned Beast's two last heads, as historically elucidated by the concluding events of the great Revolutionary War: i.e. the termination of the sixth or Imperial Headship (which had been perpetuated, he judged, in the Byzantine, Frank, and Austrian dynasties) by the Austrian Monarch's resignation of the Emperorship of the Holy Roman Empire in 1804; and Napoleon Bonaparte's institution into the Beast's 7th headship by his assumption of the Emperorship, until struck down after a little space by the sword at

¹What follows, though within inverted commas, is of course only my abstract of Mr. F.'s opinions, as expressed in his Calendar of Prophecy. And the same of what I say of Mr. Cuninghame and Mr. Frere. It should be observed that I give Mr. F.'s prophetic views, not as expressed in his earliest Dissertation, but as expressed, after more mature reflection, in his Sacred Calendar of Prophecy. The former was published as early as 1806; the latter written, as he tells us in the Preface, in 1818, 1819, 1820, though not published till 1827. This he wished to be read as the substitute (a substitution which included many very material alterations of interpretation) for his original Dissertation on the Prophecies.

²Indeed, as Mr. F. puts it, five, including what is said Rev. 14 of the 144,000 contemporarily with the Lamb on Mount Zion. Vol. i. p. 272, 273.

³Ib. pp. 271-273. Compare what is said of Mede, the first suggester of the view on this subject. See 'Period 6. End of Century 1610 To the French Revolution.' p. 3 *suprà*. Mr. F.'s proof of the 1260 years beginning with the 5th or first Woe Trumpet is anything but satisfactory. How awkwardly, on this view of the Little Book, come the last verses of Rev. 11 in it, which tell of the 2nd Woe having past, and then, after a while, of the 3rd Woe's announcement by the sounding of the 7th Trumpet! Ought not the Little Book to have ended with the ending of the 2nd Woe Trumpet?

Waterloo. But, as the head thus struck down was prophetically figured as resuscitated, so would the Napoleonic dynasty revive, as a new head of the Beast, or Roman Empire:¹ (here Mr. F. indulged in prediction of the future) no longer however thenceforth as a Papal power, but as a professedly infidel or atheistic power, the same as the “Willful King” of Dan. 11:36, and as St. John’s Antichrist, “denying the Father and the Son;” the destined head of the last antichristian confederacy, and opposer of the Jews’ restoration in Palestine; who, as described in Rev. 19, would be met and destroyed fearfully by Christ in the final war of Armageddon.

So Mr. Faber. But by no means so, according to Mr. Cuninghame. “The Seals and Trumpets,” said he, “are chronologically parallel, each reaching from St. John’s time to the great earthquake symbolized alike in the 6th Seal and 7th Trumpet, immediately before the consummation; the Seals prefiguring the history of the Church, the Trumpets of the secular Roman Empire, including both East and West. As to the Little Book of Rev. 10, it is no new and separate book of Apocalyptic prophecy, so as Faber affirms; but only the 7th part of the seven-sealed Book, which at the epoch just preceding the French Revolution (the epoch of the rainbow-vested Angel’s descent)² might be considered “opened.”³ Additionally, as regards the Roman Beast’s 7th and 8th heads, though at first advocating a Napoleonic view of them, Mr. C. had come on fuller reflection to discard it as altogether untenable; and mainly to acquiesce in, and adopt, the earlier received Protestant view of the subject: regarding the old 6th Imperial Head as wounded to death by the sword of the Heruli, and revived in the decem regal confederacy of Roman Popedom.⁴

So Mr. Cuninghame. But, “Not so,” again replied Mr. Frere to both Faber and Cuninghame. “The Seals depict the history of the Western Secular Roman Empire, from St. John’s time to the earthquake before the consummation; the Trumpets in parallel chronology, that of the Eastern Empire; while the Little Book of Rev. 10, which is a new and supplemental part of the Apocalyptic prophecy, (containing Chap. 10-14) depicts that of the Church, still in chronological parallelism with the former. Once more, as to the Roman Beast’s two last heads, Napoleon was the 7th head, cut down by the

¹So too Mr. Frere. On the origination of this view see Mr. Faber writes; “The two Witnesses are the Waldensis and the Albigenses; and their death and resurrection accomplished in their banishment from the Piedmontese valleys in 1686, and glorious return 3 ½ years after.”

²So altogether missing the reference of the vision to the Reformation!

³See Cuninghame, pp. 89, 90, (4th Edition). To show how all the supposed contents of the Little Book might be arranged, and its chronological parallelisms exhibited in one and the same seven-sealed Book, Mr. C. prefixed a diagram of the seven-sealed Book to his Dissertation, arranged according to this his view. But certainly it is a Book of such a form, with its cycles and epicycles, &c., as never Book was formed in, either in ancient or modern times.

⁴Cuninghame, p. 149. (4th Ed.)

sword at Waterloo; and destined to revive again in some revival of the Napoleonic dynasty; only as a professedly infidel atheistic power, the last headship of the Roman Beast against the Church of Christ.”¹

With such fundamental differences of view between these three expositors, (not to speak of those before them) and others equally important might be added, (as e.g. concerning the two witnesses, and their death and resurrection,²) who could wonder that considerate students of prophecy at the time should be sorely perplexed; and many prepared in mind not only for distrust of these historic expositors, but distrust too as to the general truth of the historic system of interpretation: and this, notwithstanding the agreement of these expositors alike with each other, and with most previous Protestant historic expositors of note, on many most important points of accomplishment of the prophecy; especially as to the Gothic, Saracen, and Turkish invasions of Roman Christendom, the Papacy as the great Anti-Christian power prefigured in Rev. 11, 13, and 17, and the French Revolution. The universal reception hitherto given to the historic system of Apocalyptic interpretation in England just kept back for a while the public development of such doubts. But, as the Continent was now open, and intercourse more and more cultivated with it, and its views in theological and prophetic as well as other literature better known, there could scarce but be soon a strengthening of them. Of all which more in the next Section.

As to the millennium, I must not conclude this Section without observing that here too our expositors fundamentally differed: Mr. Faber holding

¹Who was the first originator of this view I know not. Mr. Cuninghame, in the 1st Edition of his Dissertation on the Seals and Trumpets, which was published in 1813, after the great Russian campaign, but before the battle of Waterloo, went so far as to express his opinion that the Beast's 7th head was “the French Imperial Government of Napoleon Bonaparte, the 8th being still future.” *Ib.* 148. Which opinion, as before said, he withdrew in his subsequent Editions as “manifestly erroneous.” He had been partially preceded, it has been seen, by Mr. Galloway; who made the Beast of the Abyss, the slayer of Christ's two Witnesses, to be the French infidel democratic power. Mr. Frere's view was first published, I believe, in 1815; but with subsequent modifications.

²Said Mr. Faber, the two Witnesses are the Waldenses and the Albigenses; and their death and resurrection accomplished in their banishment from the Piedmontese valleys in 1686, and glorious return 3 ½ years after. Said Mr. Cuninghame, they are the protesters generally against Papal super situation; and their death and resurrection accomplished in the defeat of the Protestants by Charles V., A.D. 1547, in battle of Muhlburg, and the subsequent success of Prince Maurice, which led to the Peace of Passau. Said Mr. Frere, (following in the wake of Galloway,) they are the two Testaments; and their death and resurrection fulfilled in the French renunciation of Christianity, 1793, and Toleration Edict, 1797. The comparatively narrow range of original research and learning in the English prophetic writings of this period, - comparatively I mean with reference either to the times previous or time following, - must, to a modern reader, competent to judge on such a subject, appear very striking. Always excepting Davidson's noble Work on Prophecy, being the substance of his Warburton Lectures, first published soon after 1820; and in which the old Protestant view of the great predicted Apostasy and Anti Christian Beast of Daniel and St. John were strongly upheld. The Apocalyptic part however of his Book (*Disc.* 10.) was but very brief and partial.

strongly to the truth of Whitby's and Vitringa's view, which till the close of the period now under review was all but universally known as upholders of the newly revived Patristic view of its premillennial Advent. I have already elsewhere noted (and who can wonder at it?) that the wide-spread hopes and expectations of the world's speedy evangelization, which arose at this time out of the institution and progress of the various Bible and Missionary Societies shortly before formed in our own favored country, contributed powerfully at the time I speak of to make Whitby's pre-advent millenary view more and more undoubtingly credited and popular.¹

§ 2. From 1820 to 1862.

On which new era, extending from about 1820 to the present time (1862), I shall now make a few observations; and with them conclude this my History of Apocalyptic Interpretation.

Near about the same time that the two-fold battle began in England, which, I said, a sagacious observer might have already prognosticated: 1st, as to the truth on the great millennial question; 2nd, as to the truth of the general Protestant historic principle of Apocalyptic Interpretation.

1. As to the former point, the Treatise of Lacunza had not a little to do in the matter. *Mr. Irving*, the able and eloquent translator of the Treatise already spoken of, tells us, in his Preface to the Translation, of the circumstances under which he was brought to an acquaintance with it: how in 1826, after he had been led to the recognition of Christ's premillennial advent, and consequent personal reign on earth, as a great Scriptural truth, and under that impression had been preaching it in London with all earnestness, he found himself painfully insulated thereby from most of his brethren in the ministry, even as if he had been advocating a doctrine not only novel, but foolish, and almost heretical: and then, and in that painful state of insulation, had this elaborate Treatise by a writer of another Church and country brought before him; showing that he was anything but alone in the view, and so confirming his mind in it, and cheering his heart. And very soon he found that in England also similar convictions had been about the same time wrought upon the minds of one, and another, of the earnest investigators of prophetic Scripture.² The then recent reconstruction of the Society for the Conversion of the Jews, upon a more proper Church basis,³ and with new life and vigor infused into its operations, contributed in no little measure to the promotion of these opinions. For, in searching the Scriptures, with a view to the answering of Jewish arguments against Christianity as a purely spiritual system, and Jewish arguments for the Messiah's personal reign on earth and at Jerusalem, the evidence of Scripture was felt more and more by many to be

¹See the end of my Chapter on the Evangelic Missions, Vol. iii. p. 490.

²See Irving's Pref. pp. I-xix.

³It was founded originally in 1809; but on principles of mix agency of Churchmen and Dissenters, that rendered it so far little effective.

in favor of the Jewish idea, rather than their own. And thus many of the earliest and warmest friends of the Jews' Society became known, as the next ten years ran on, as premillennarians; e.g. Marsh, M'Neil, Pym, G. Noel, Lewis Way: more especially the last-mentioned noble-minded man, the munificent patron of the Jews' Society; and whose often grand, though too discursive, Poem of the "Palingenesia," still remains as record of the devotion of his whole mind and heart to the anticipation of his Master's speedy personal advent, to assume the kingdom of a regenerated world. Then, too began Prophetic Journals, mainly on the pre millenarian principle: first the *Morning Watch*; then, from 1833 to 1838, the *Investigator*. Individual Treatises moreover, on the same views, more or less influential, began also to multiply: I may specify particularly "Abdiel's Letters," by the Rev. J. W. Brooks, Editor of the *Investigator*; and the Prophetic Treatises of the much-loved Edward Bickersteth. In fine, 1844, the date of the first publication of my own Work on the Revelation, so rapid had been the progress of these views in England, that, instead of its appearing a thing strange and half-heretical to hold them, so as when Irving published his translation of Ben Ezra, the heaven had evidently now deeply penetrated the religious mind; and, from the ineffectiveness of the opposition hitherto formally made to them, they seemed gradually advancing onward to triumph.

So I say in England, to which country I have a particular respect in these my closing remarks. But let me not forget to remind my readers that, while such as the progress of the question in England, and while in France and Spain the works of Père Lambert and Lacunza remained (except in so far as the Inquisition might have suppressed the latter) a testimony each one to the same millennial view, there was one remarkable expression to much the same effect even in rationalistic Germany; and from a quarter whence it might little perhaps have been expected. I allude to Frederic Von Schlegel's Lectures on the Philosophy of History, delivered in 1828 at Vienna, and soon after published, and most rapidly and widely circulated; the same of which an abstract has been given in the concluding Chapter of my Apocalyptic Commentary. It may be remembered that I there noticed Schlegel's eloquently expressed opinion, as to the palingenesia, and new heavens and earth of Isaiah and the Revelation, figuring not any mere Church triumph already accomplished over Roman Paganism, so as the Eichhorn school, and many Romanists too, (the latter with a view to the Papal supremacy in the world) expounded the prophecy, nor again any heavenly state of blessedness for the saints, so as Bossuet: but a blessed personal reign of Christ on this our renewed earth; a reign future indeed, but probably near at hand: with the completed triumph of good over evil attending it, and to be introduced by his own personal advent.¹

¹See p. 123 *suprà*.

2. Next, as to any change or progress of opinion on the general subject of Apocalyptic interpretation, more especially in England, in the course of the same 20 or 25 years, from about 1820 to 1844.

It was in 1826, the self-same year as that of Irving's Translation of Ben Ezra, that the first prophetic Pamphlet of the Rev. S. R. Maitland (now Dr. Maitland) issued from the press; its subject, an "Enquiry" into the truth of the then generally received year-day view of the 1260 days of Daniel and the Revelation: followed in 1829 and 1830 by "A Second Enquiry" into the same subject; a short Treatise on Antichrist; and a Defense of his former Pamphlets, in reply to the Morning Watch. In these, as is well known, he energetically assailed the whole Protestant application of the symbols of the Daniel 4th Beast's little horn, and the Apocalyptic Beast and Babylon, to the Roman Papacy, it being his idea that a quite different personal and avowedly infidel Antichrist was meant; asserted that the prophetic days were to be construed simply and only as literal days: and advocated an Apocalyptic exegetic scheme even yet more futurist than Ribera's; seeing that he supposed the Evangelist St. John to plunge in spirit even in the very first chapter into "the day of the Lord," or great epoch of judgment at Christ's second coming and the consummation. - Nearly contemporarily with Dr. S. R. Maitland's first Pamphlet Mr. Burgh published in Ireland on the Antichrist, and the Apocalyptic Seals, much to the same general effect: Lacunza's idea being adopted by him of the seven-sealed book being the book of Christ's inheritance; a book now at length opened, and about to have fulfillment. - To a thoughtful reader of Lacunza and Lambert on the one hand, and of Maitland and Burgh on the other, the contrast of the views expressed about Popery must have appeared very strange: the two Protestant writers excusing the Papacy from any concern with the predicted antichristian Apostasy, or Beast of Daniel and the Revelation; the two Romanist writers, alike the Dominican Father and the Jesuit, deeming its resemblance to that Apostasy and Anti-Christian Beast, for many centuries previous, to have been so marked, that (although some yet further development might be expected of its evil) yet it was manifestly to Papal Rome, as it long had been, and Papal Rome even as it would be to last, that the application of the prophecies was due.¹ One strong point with the new English futurist school was the great discrepancy (already noted of many chief Protestant expositors of the historical school on sundry points of Apocalyptic interpretation; e.g. on the Seals, the two Witnesses' death and resurrection, &c.;² and manifest inadequate explanation on some of those points, as given alike by one and all. Here Mr. Maitland dashed in, it has been said, like a falcon into dovecote, that is, a small peaceful pigeon, and made havoc of them. Another influential argument for

¹See § 1

²Some bringing the 7th Seal only down to the Constantinian revolution, and viewing the seven Trumpets as the 7th Seal's evolution; others making the Seals, Trumpets, and Vials parallel in chronology, and the 7th of each to reach to the end, &c. See, besides what was said in my last Section, Vol. iii. p. 287.

a while in its favor was the asserted utter novelty of the year-day principle, as if never dream of before Wycliffe in reference to the prophetic periods; and additionally the asserted utterly anti-patristic character of the views held by the Protestants respecting Antichrist. The progress of pre millenarian opinions, and great change of view operated in many minds upon that great prophetic point, predisposed them doubtless to change in others; and made not a few more ready to abandon the Protestant theory on the year-day question also, and that of Antichrist. Another and quite different occurrence operated soon after, and with very great power, to spread and give fresh weight to these anti-Protestant opinions.

In 1833 began the publication of the Oxford Tracts. One chief object of the chief writers, soon developed, was to de-protestantize the Church of England.¹ How then could they overlook, or help availing themselves of, the assistance of these laborers in the futurist school: whose views set aside all application to the Roman Papacy of the fearful prophecies respecting Antichrist; and left Protestantism consequently all open to the charge of unjustifiable schism; and the Papacy all open to the Catholic desires, and aspirations, of the Tractators² so as regards the new English futurist school, and its gradual but rapid advance in England in the period spoken of. Nor must I omit to add that in the course of the same 18 or 20 years the gradual influx of German literature into England, including its theology among other branches, began to familiarize the English mind more and more with the most popular German views of Scripture prophecy: As Eichhorn's scheme in its main points still had sway,³ with that Præterist Apocalyptic Scheme of which a sketch was set before my readers in the preceding Section.⁴ Professor Lee at Cambridge adopted a Præterist view (one somewhat like Bossuet's though with marked peculiarities) quite independently of German theorists, if I mistake not.⁵ But many more were directly influenced to the view by German theologians, alike among Germanizing English Churchmen and English Dissenters, until at length in 1845 there came forth the Anglo-American stereotype of the theory in the elaborate Apocalyptic comment of Professor Moses Stuart.⁶

It was after perusal of some of the publications of Maitland and Burgh that the question first pressed itself on the mind of the writer of the *Horæ*,

¹See Part v. Ch. 9 in my 3rd Volume.

²On some of these points the reader may remember my notice in the Chapter on the Year-day, beginning Vol. iii. p. 260. Others will be noticed in my review of the futurist theory in the 2nd and next Part of this Appendix.

³Ewald, Heinrichs, and others, had meanwhile written in the same view.

⁴See pp. 251-253 *suprà*.

⁵See my notice of Lee in the next Chapter of this Appendix.

⁶I should add that in Germany a very peculiar futurist view of the Revelation has been advocated by Dr. Züllig But, after toiling through half a volume of his crabbed German, I must beg to say that, what with its strange conceits, inconclusive conclusions, and neological absurdities, it seems scarce worth the while to present any abstract of it to my readers. And indeed I have not the book, or my notes on it, now by me.

as one too important to be lightly passed over, whether, in very truth, the long received Protestant anti-papal solutions of Daniel and the Revelation were mere total error, or whether the main error lay with the assailants. And this was the result. The fitting of the prophecies of Daniel's little horn and the Apocalyptic Beast to the Roman Papacy seemed to him (as to Lambert and Lacunza) on main points so striking, as to render it incredible that the agreement could be a mere chance agreement, or anything but what was intended by the Divine Spirit, that indicted or composed the prophecies. But, if so, then he felt also persuaded that on sundry points on which the deficiencies in the Protestant solutions had been proved, (more especially on the Apocalyptic Seals, the Sealing Vision, that of the rainbow-crowned Angel of Rev. 10, and its notification about the two Witnesses' death and resurrection, also on the Beast's 7th head, the image of the Beast, and the Apocalyptic structure itself) some new and better solutions, accordant with the main Protestant view of the Beast and Babylon, must be intended, and by diligent thought and research discoverable.

For it is to be understood that on these points the modern Interpreters of the Protestant Scheme had, up to the time of the publication of the *Horæ*, added nothing, at least nothing of importance, to the laborious study of their predecessors. It seems to me to have been their chief office, and no unimportant one surely, to awaken attention to the fact of the seventh Trumpet's having sounded at the French Revolution; and to arouse and keep up an interest, often too ready to flag, in the great subject of Scripture Prophecy. So in the case of Faber, Cuninghame, and Frere. So to in that of Bickersteth and Birks, however fanciful, in my opinion, not a little of their originally joint-propounded Scheme of Apocalyptic Interpretation.¹ More especially, as regards Mr. Birks, not only has he by his masterly work on the First Elements of Prophecy advanced the cause of truth, and shown himself its mortar and hammer, against what I must beg permission anticipatively to call the reveries of the Futurists: but moreover, by his exquisite description of the City that is to be revealed at Christ's second advent, has done much to enlist each hallowed feeling of the heart on the side he advocates; a description such that one might almost suppose the golden reed to have been given him, with which to delineate it, by the Angel that showed to the beloved disciple the Lamb's bride, the New Jerusalem.

So in 1844 the "*Horæ Apocalypticæ*" was first published; its four subsequent Editions being sent forth in 1846, 1847, 1851; its 5th now in 1862. The views and anticipations with which I began and prosecuted my researches were more particularly as follows.

1st, I was persuaded that, if the Revelation were indeed a Divine revelation of the things that were afterwards to come to pass, (i.e. from after the

¹Mr. Birks, as I have had occasion elsewhere to state, has since then abandoned the peculiarities of that scheme, (see my Vol. i. p. 519, and Vol. iii. p. 192,) and united himself very much with myself in the general view of Apocalyptic interpretation.

time of St. John's seeing the vision, or close of Domitian's reign,¹ to the consummation) then the intervening eras and events prospectively selected for prefiguration must necessarily (just as in the case of any judicious historian's retrospective selection) have been those of most importance in the subsequent history of Christendom; and that the prophetic picturings in each case, especially if much in detail, must have been such as to be applicable perfectly to those events and eras distinctively and alone. If applied, as I saw they had been in previous expositions, to the most different events, eras, and subjects, this must have arisen, I felt sure, from the expositors not having explored the peculiarity and force of the prophetic figurations with sufficient research, care, and particularity: whether on principle, so as in the case of some,² or indolence, ignorance, and want of discernment, so as in that of many others. This was a lesson to me of the necessity of noting most carefully every peculiarity of indication in each of the sacred figurations, and of sparing no pains in the investigation of whatever might elucidate it. And certainly a success beyond all that I could have anticipated seemed to myself to result from these researches. First there presented itself to me, in the more perfect elucidation of each and every point of detail in the figuration of the four first Seals, in part from medallic, in part from other previously unnoticed sources of illustration, an anticipative prophetic sketch, singularly exact, of the fortunes and phases of the secular Roman Empire from St. John's time to near the end of the third century: then, by the light of similarly new and peculiar evidence, the fixing of the long previously suggested application of the 5th and 6th Trumpet symbolization to the Saracen and Turkish invasions respectively; and fixing too, as applicable to the times of the Reformation, of the intent of the rainbow-crowned Angel's descent and doings, and of St. John's measuring of the Apocalyptic temple, and of Christ's two sackcloth-robed witnesses' death, resurrection, and ascent in Rev. 10 and 11, in the era of the same 6th Trumpet. After which again came up before me the admirable use of medallic monuments of the times in elucidation of the prophecy. In Rev. 12 the long before supposed application of the symbol of the seven-headed Dragon, with diadems on his heads, seeking to devour the sun-clothed Woman's child when born, to the Roman Heathen's last warring against the Christian Church, and Constantine the elders kingly son of the Church, at the opening of the 4th century, received confirmation from the fact of the diadem having just as that very time been adopted as the chief imperial head-badge. Besides which in this my present Edition there will be found similarly illustrated, and confirmed, the truth of the application of the ten diademed horns of the Beast from the sea in Rev. 13 to the ten Romano-Gothic kings of Western Europe in the 6th century: they having just then

¹That this was the date of the Revelation I had already well assured myself.

²So e.g. by Cuninghame, Preface to 1st Edition, p. vi. "I do not attempt to explain every minute part of a symbol, but content myself with endeavoring to seize its great outlines. I consider the symbol of the Revelation in the light of prophetic parables." And so too Mr. Frere, and others.

adopted the diadem as their royal head-badge, as seen in the notable Plate of their barbaric coins of about the date given in my Vol. III.

2nd, as Scripture prophecy generally, instead of separating what it might have to say on the Church (Jewish or Christian), and the world's secular powers any way connected with it, was apt to intermingle those sayings, so it seemed to me likely that it would be in Apocalyptic prophecy; however contrary to the expository principles acted on by other prophetic expositors, such as I have lately been speaking of.¹ The fact, which I soon ascertained in my primary Apocalyptic researches, of a Temple or Tabernacle, with its triple division into Altar-Court, Holy Place, and most Holy, ever standing as the perpetual foreground before the Apostle, throughout the revelation of the prophecy, with Mount Zion and the Holy City adjacent, and all in connection with the pictured world around, this,² suggesting as it did the facility of turning at any time from one to the other, strengthened my *à priori* expectation, and was in fact found by me afterwards to be so taken advantage of perpetually in the prophetic figurations.

3rd, the circumstance of the prophecy being written (as is expressly stated) on the seven-sealed scroll's two sides, "within and without," offered, I saw, in the most obvious and simple manner, a form of the prophetic Book in which, side by side, there might be inscribed the chronological parallelisms of parts so parallel, but separated in the prophecy from each other; and consequently that there was no need of seizing on the Little opened Book of Rev. 10, so as had been done by Mede, Faber, and many others, without any warrant in the prophecy itself, in order to supply that particular want:³ therewith canceling, as I have more than once observed that they did, that most true application of the inestimably important figurations in Rev. 10 and 11, made by the Protestant Reforming Fathers of the 16th century, to the re-opening of the Gospel in their own times. And indeed in the very remarkable evidence of allusive contrast, drawn by me from the history of the times of Leo X and Luther, the truth of the application of the whole prophecy of Rev. 10 to the outburst, and subsequent progress, of the great Protestant Reformation of the 16th century seemed, and still seems, to me to be made certain.

It was to be expected that an exposition in many respects so new and important would be met by adverse criticisms and objections. And accordingly, in the course of the three or four years in which the three first Editions of the *Horæ* were published, many adverse strictures appeared: especially those written by the late Rev. T. K. Arnold, by the Rev. W. G. Barker, and by Dr. Keith; each followed, or course, by a reply from me. It does not need here to say more of those three controversies than that, while furnishing occasion for the correction of certain smaller errors in detail, the satisfaction

¹E.g. Faber's declaration about the Seals as symbols of the Roman Empire generally, Frere of the Western secular Empire, Cuninghame of the Church. Please see pp 261-267 *suprà*.

²This is enlarged on in my Preliminary Chapter, Vol. i. pp. 98-104.

³See my notice of the point, as first suggested by Mede, pp. 234, 235 *suprà*.

was left me by them of seeing, as the result, confirmation of the soundness of the main points in my exposition. In proof of which it may be mentioned that when called upon, after a few years' continuous controversy in the pages of the *British Magazine*, to sum up, so as it had been given me to expect, the result of the controversy, Mr. Arnold declined to do it:¹ and that Dr. Keith, after having advertised in 1848 the speedy publication of a refutation of my very elaborate reply to him in the "*Vindiciæ Horariæ*," has never published it to the present day. Besides which, I am happy to say yet further, that as, in the earlier days of the *Horæ*, it had to undergo the sifting of continuous criticisms, so, quite lately, it has had to meet the continuous criticisms of *Dean Alford* in his *Commentary on the Revelation*: criticisms more generally adverse than favorable; but given for the most part as mere dicta ex cathedrâ, without any refutation, and very often without any notice, of the proof and evidence on which my opinions were founded. This too had called forth a reply from me,² challenging, from him a notice and confutation of that evidence, or else a retraction of his adverse criticisms. As to the result of which challenge, it needs no very sanguine temperament on my part to assure me that the Dean will be found just as unable to justify his objections as even Dr. Keith.

Let me add, that on the great Millenary question I had the real advantage, before publishing the 4th Edition of the "*Horæ*," of seeing my own views contested, and the Whitbyite hypothesis advocated, by Dr. Brown, of Glasgow. And, certainly, he seems to me to have said all that can be most effectively said against the one, and in support of the other. After most careful consideration, however, of his book, my judgment on the question has remained unchanged. For the strength of his argument consists in the exhibition of the difficulties in detail which encompass the idea of the millennium such as I suppose prophecy to foretell, under Christ's personal reign on earth; difficulties which (as in the case of the prediction of the Noah Flood of old), if insoluble by man now, may be left to God in his own time to answer: the strength of my own in the many more or less express declarations asserting or implying it in Holy Scripture.

As might have been expected, various Apocalyptic commentaries have issued from the press since my first publication of the *Horæ*: among those wholly or mainly dissentient from it, those of Desprez, W. H. Scott, and, more lately, of the Rev. Frederick Maurice, of course, as one thing of the past, the Apocalyptic millennium;³ of which the very basis, being the baseless presumption of a Neronian date attaching to the Revelation in Patmos,

¹See *British Magazine* for 1847.

²The "*Apocalypsis Alfordiana*."

³The fact of the millennium having long past involves naturally with it that of the saints' promised premillenary resurrection being a thing of the past also. So accordingly Mr. D. boldly states his view. "Why," argues he, with reference to Christ's personal second coming, and the saints' resurrection and ascension spoken of by St. Paul in 1 Cor. xv., "might it not have taken place at that time when Josephus tells us that heavenly apparitions of chariots

would of itself be decisive against them,¹ were other grounds of refutation wanting, such as in fact abound, as we shall see: those of Dr. Wordsworth, and of Hengstenberg in Germany, on more or less of the continuous historic system, admitting the Domitian date, but regarding the millennium as a period of the past, or past and present, not of the future; historic schemes that we may designate as Millenario Præteristic: Also, on the Futurist system, not a few smaller treatises; such, more especially, as “Israel’s Future,” by the Rev. Capel Molyneux; “Plain Papers on Prophecy,” by Mr. Trotter of York; and, quite recently, the Apocalyptic Commentary by Mr. W. Kelly, of Guernsey. As I am not aware that they have any one on any point of importance added further light to apocalyptic exposition, or suggested new objections of any real weight to my own exposition, I might perhaps fairly be excused the task of dwelling here longer on any of them, and content myself by referring to my notices of several in the Appendix to my Warburton Lectures, and elsewhere.² In one or other, however, of the several Chapters devoted to the review, and I trust refutation, of the chief Apocalyptic counter-Schemes to my own, (primarily the wholly Præteristic and the Futuristic, and further too the Millenario Præteristic of certain of the historic school) fitting opportunities will occur for noticing both Mr. W. Kelly’s recent Commentary, on the principle of Modified Futurism; and also Dr. Wordsworth’s, and (more at large) Hengstenberg’s millenario-præteristic system, conjunctively with the advocacy of it by the respected name of Bishop Waldegrave.³ Finally, as Dean Alford, in the Commentary on the Revelation in his last Volume, has commented continuously and generally unfavorably on my exposition, I have thought it well, as already said, to publish a reply to him in a separate Pamphlet.

For, in conclusion, the readers of this Historic Sketch will see that there are but three grand Schemes of Apocalyptic interpretation that can be considered as standing up face to face against each other: with any serious pretensions to truth, or advocacy supporting them of any real literary weight.

The 1st is that of the Præterists; restricting the subject of the prophecy, except in its two or three last chapters, to the catastrophes of the Jewish nation and old Roman Empire, one or both, as accomplished in the 1st and

and soldiers in armor were seen in the clouds, shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem?”
Yet St. John left behind!!

¹“If the Neronian date be not the true one,” says Mr. Desprez, “the edifice (i.e. of his Exposition) erected at so much cost and care will fall headlong to the ground.” Does Mr. D. then attempt to support the Neronian, and gainsay the Domitianic, with any effect better than his predecessors in the same theory? By no means. In fact he seems unaware of the strength of the argument against him, alike from internal and external evidence.

²See especially my review Desprez in the Appendix to my Warburton Lectures; and that of the late Mr. Beale’s Apocalyptic Commentary called Armageddon, in the January No. of the “Christian Observer,” 1860.

³The bearing of Professor Fairbairn’s able Book on Prophecy, not long since published, on the point in question will also come under review.

2nd, or 5th and 6th centuries respectively: which Scheme, originally propounded, as we saw, by the Jesuit Alcasar, and then adopted by Grotius, has been under one modification, and on the hypothesis of a Neronian date of the Revelation, urged till quite of late alike by most of the more eminent of the later German prophetic expositors, by Professor Moses Stuart in the United States of America, and by the disciples of the German School in England; also, under another modification, and on the hypothesis of a Domitian date, by Bossuet. —

The 2nd is the Futurists' Scheme; making the whole of the Apocalyptic Prophecy, (excepting perhaps the primary Vision and Letters to the Seven Churches)¹ to relate to things even now future, the things concerning Christ's second Advent: a Scheme this first set forth, we saw, by the Jesuit Ribera, at the end of the 16 century; and which in its main principle has been urged alike by Dr. S. R. Maitland, Mr. Burgh, the Oxford Tractator on Antichrist, and others, in our own times and era, not without considerable success: also other expositors of late, but with certain considerable modifications, which too ought not to be passed over without notice. —

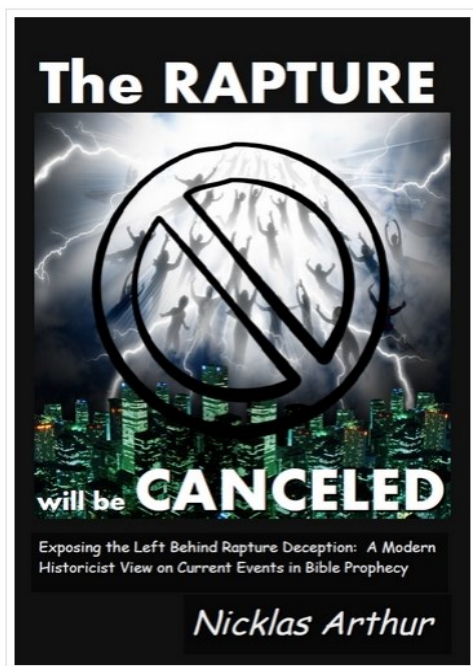
The 3rd is what we may call emphatically the Protestant continuous Historic Scheme of Interpretation; that which regards the Revelation as a prefiguration in detail of the chief events affecting the Church and Christendom, whether secular or ecclesiastical, from St. John's time to the consummation: a Scheme this which, in regard of its particular application of the symbols of Babylon and the Beast to Papal Rome and the Popedom, was early embraced, as we saw, by the Waldenses, Wickliffites, and Hussities; then adopted with fuller light by the chief reformers, German, Swiss, French, and English, of the 16th century; and thence transmitted downwards uninterruptedly, even to the present time.

It is this last which I embrace for my own part with a full and ever strengthening conviction of its truth. Of each of the other two counter-Schemes, in each of their two forms, the original unmodified and the modified, there will follow a critical review, and I hope decisive refutation, in my Volume IV. Appendix of the *Horæ Apocalypticæ*.

THE END

¹Dr. S. R. Maitland, as before observed, and also the Rev. James Kelly and others, would have even the first Chapter refer to the distant and closing future. Others however begin the future only with Ch. 4

Suggested Reading



The RAPTURE will be CANCELED. Exposing the Left Behind Rapture Deception: Some may even regard as conspiratorial, the mainstream re-release of the Left Behind Movie with Actor Nicholas Cage portraying the main character as an attempt to further reinforce in the minds of all, this perception of biblical prophecy in order to condition the masses for the play about to begin...

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"The Last Prophecy" was the abridged version authorized by E. B. Elliot himself. The editors of this revised version humbly admit the primary credit to E. B. Elliot and those who went before us in this great work. With great trepidation we have sought to bring up to date the last several chapters hereof with the same method of which we hope Mr. Elliot would approve were he present. You will come away with a fresh and very compelling view of the Book of Revelation and an overview of the greater work from which the text is derived. "Horae Apocalypticæ" (Hours with the Apocalypse) is doubtless the most elaborate work ever produced on the Apocalypse. Without an equal in exhaustive research in its field, it was occasioned by the

futurist attack on the Historical School of interpretation. Begun in 1837, its 2,500 pages are buttressed by some 10,000 invaluable references to ancient and modern works.

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