



Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel, and the Apocalypse of St. John

ISAAC NEWTON

Plain English Translation

MOUSEIA



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the Apocalypse of St. John



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Translated by Michael Berardi

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Part I, Chapter 1, 1



Introduction concerning the Compilers of the books of the Old Testament.

When Manasses¹ set up a carved image in the house of the Lord, built altars in the two courts of the house for all the host of Heaven, used enchantments and witchcraft, and called up familiar spirits, the army of Asserhadon King of Assyria invaded the land because of his great wickedness, and he was carried off captive to Babylon. The book of the Law was then lost until the eighteenth year of his grandson Josiah. Then² Hilkiah the High Priest found it there while repairing the Temple. The King was grieved that their fathers had not followed what the book said. He ordered the book read to the people, and had the people renew the holy covenant with God. This is the book of the Law that still exists.

When³ Shishak came out of Egypt, plundered the Temple, and put Judah under the rule of Egypt (this was in the fifth year of Rehoboam), the Jews stayed in great trouble for about twenty years. They were without the true God, without a teaching Priest, and without Law. In those times no one who went out had peace, and no one who came in had peace either. Great troubles fell on all the people of the countries. One nation destroyed another, and one city another, because God troubled them with every kind of adversity. But⁴ once Shishak died and Egypt fell into troubles, Judah had ten years of quiet. In that time Asa built fortified cities in Judah and raised an army of 580000 men. In the 15th year of his reign he met and defeated Zerah the Ethiopian. Zerah

had conquered Egypt and Lybia and Troglodytica, and he came out with an army of 1000000 Lybians and Ethiopians to take back the countries Sesac had conquered. After this victory⁵ Asa removed his mother from the throne because of her idolatry. He renewed the Altar, brought new vessels of gold and silver into the Temple, and he and the people entered into a new covenant to seek the Lord God of their fathers, on pain of death for those who worshiped other Gods. His son Jehosaphat removed the high places, and in the third year of his reign he sent some of his Princes, and some of the Priests and Levites, to teach in the cities of Judah. They had the book of the Law with them, went through all the cities of Judah, and taught the people. This is the book of the Law that was later lost in the reign of Manasses and found again in the reign of Josiah. So it was written before the third year of Jehosaphat.

The Samaritans kept this same book of the Law and passed it down, so the ten Tribes had received it before they were taken captive. For⁶ when the ten Tribes were captured, the King of Assyria ordered a Priest of the captivity to be sent back to Bethel. His job was to teach the new inhabitants of Samaria about the way of the God of the land. The Samaritans got the Pentateuch from this Priest, because it held the law or way of the God of the land that he was to teach them. For⁷ they stuck to the religion he taught them and added the worship of their own Gods to it. By holding to what they had been taught, they kept this book of their Law in the original Hebrew writing, while the two Tribes, after their return from Babylon, changed the writing to that of the Chaldees, which they had learned at Babylon.

Both the two Tribes and the ten Tribes took the Pentateuch as the book of the Law. So they must have received it before they split into two Kingdoms. After the split they took no laws from each other, and they stayed at odds. Judah could not pull Israel back from the sin of Jeroboam, and Israel could not bring Judah to it. So the Pentateuch was the book of the Law in the days of David and Solomon. David and Solomon ordered the affairs of the Tabernacle and Temple according to the Law of this book. In the 78th Psalm David tells the

people to listen to the Law of God, and he means the Law of this book. When he describes how their forefathers did not keep it, he quotes many historical things from the books of Exodus and Numbers.

The list of the Kings of Edom, before any King reigned over Israel, is set down in the book of⁸ Genesis. So that book was not written all in its present form before the reign of Saul. The writer recorded the line of those Kings down to his own time, so he wrote before David conquered Edom. The Pentateuch puts the Law together with the history of God's people. The history was gathered from several books, such as the history of the Creation composed by Moses, Gen. ii. 4; the book of the generations of Adam, Gen. v. i.; and the book of the wars of the Lord, Num. xxi. 14. The book of wars covered what happened at the Red Sea and during Israel's journey through the Wilderness, so Moses began it. Joshua may have carried it on to the conquest of Canaan. Joshua wrote some things in the book of the Law of God, Josh. xxiv. 26, so he may have written his own wars in the book of wars, since those were the main wars of God. These were public books, so they were not written without the authority of Moses and Joshua. In the reign of Saul, Samuel had the time to put them into the form of the books of Moses and Joshua we now have. He inserted into the book of Genesis the list of the Kings of Edom, down to the time when a King reigned in Israel.

The book of the Judges is a continuous history of the Judges down to the death of Sampson, so it was compiled after his death out of the Acts of the Judges. Several things in this book are said to have happened when there was no King in Israel, Judg. xvii. 6. xviii. 1. xix. 1. xxi. 25. So this book was written after the reign of Saul began. When it was written, the Jebusites lived in Jerusalem, Jud. i. 21, so it was written before the eighth year of David, 2 Sam. v. 8. and 1 Chron. xi. 6. The books of Moses, Joshua, and Judges make up one continuous history, from the Creation down to the death of Sampson. The book of Joshua starts where the Pentateuch ends, and the book of Judges starts where the book of Joshua ends. So all these books were put together from the writings of Moses, Joshua, and other records, by one and the same hand, after the reign of Saul began and before the eighth year of David. Samuel was a sacred writer, 1

Sam. x. 25; he knew the history of Moses and the Judges, 1 Sam. xii. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12; and in the reign of Saul he had both the time and the authority to compose these books. He was a Prophet, and he judged Israel all the days of his life, and he was held in the highest esteem by the people. The Law by which he judged the people could not be published by an authority lower than his own, since the Law-maker is not below the judge. The book of Jasher, quoted in the book of Joshua, Josh. x. 13, was in existence at the death of Saul, 2 Sam. i. 18.

At the dedication of Solomon's Temple, when the Ark was brought into the most holy place, it held nothing but the two tables, 1 Kings viii. 9. So when the Philistines took the Ark, they had taken out of it the book of the Law, the golden pot of Manna, and Aaron's Rod. This loss, and other losses in the ruin of Israel at the hands of the conquering Philistines, may have led Samuel, once he had some relief from those enemies, to gather the scattered writings of Moses and Joshua, and the records of the Patriarchs and Judges, and to put them together in the form we now have.

The book of Ruth tells of things that happened in the days of the Judges. It can be read as an addition to the book of the Judges, written by the same author at the same time. It was written after the birth of David, Ruth iv. 17, 22, and not long after, because the history of Boaz and Ruth, the great grandfather and great grandmother of David, and the history of their contemporaries, could not be remembered much past two or three generations. This book traces David's genealogy from Boaz and Ruth, and it leaves out David's elder brothers and his sons. So it was written in honor of David, after he was anointed King by Samuel and before he had children in Hebron, and therefore during the reign of Saul. It does not go on to the history of David, so it seems to have been written right after he was anointed. So those who give the books of Joshua, Judges, and Ruth to Samuel judge correctly.

Samuel is also thought to have written the first book of Samuel, up to the time of his death. The two books of Samuel name no authors, so they seem to be originals. They begin with his genealogy, birth, and education. They may have

been written partly in his lifetime, by himself or by his disciples the Prophets at Naioth in Ramah, 1 Sam. xix. 18, 19, 20, and partly after his death by those same disciples.

Part I, Chapter 1, 2



The books of the Kings name other authors: the book of the Acts of Solomon, the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel, and the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah. The books of the Chronicles name the book of Samuel the Seer, the book of Nathan the Prophet, and the book of Gad the Seer for the Acts of David; the book of Nathan the Prophet, the Prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite, and the visions of Iddo the Seer for the Acts of Solomon; the book of Shemajah the Prophet, and the book of Iddo the Seer on genealogies, for the Acts of Rehoboam and Abijah; the book of the Kings of Judah and Israel for the Acts of Asa, Joash, Amaziah, Jotham, Ahaz, Hezekiah, Manasseh, and Josiah; the book of Hanani the Seer for the Acts of Jehosaphat; and the visions of Isaiah for the Acts of Uzziah and Hezekiah. These books were therefore gathered from the historical writings of the ancient Seers and Prophets. Because the books of the Kings and Chronicles quote each other, they were written at the same time. And that time was after the return from the Babylonian captivity, since they carry the history of Judah, and the genealogies of the Kings of Judah and of the High Priests, down to that captivity. The book of Ezra was originally part of the book of the Chronicles, and was later split off from it. It begins with the last two verses of the books of Chronicles, and the first book of Esdras begins with the last two chapters of it. So Ezra was the compiler of the books of Kings and Chronicles, and he carried the history down to his own time. He was a ready Scribe in the Law of God. To help him

with this work, Nehemias founded a library and gathered together the Acts of the Kings and the Prophets, and of David, and the Epistles of the Kings, about the holy gifts, 2 Maccab. ii. 13. By the Acts of David I mean here the two books of Samuel, or at least the second book. Out of the Acts of the Kings, written from time to time by the Prophets, he put together the books of the Kings of Judah and Israel, the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah, and the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel. In doing this he joined those Acts together in the proper order of time, copying the very words of the authors. We can see this because the books of the Kings and Chronicles often agree word for word for many sentences at a time. Where they agree in sense, they agree in words too.

In the same way, he gathered the Prophecies of Isaiah, written at different times, into one body. He did the same for those of Jeremiah and the rest of the Prophets, down to the days of the second Temple. The book of Jonah is the history of Jonah written by another hand. The book of Daniel is a collection of papers written at different times. The last six chapters hold Prophecies written at several times by Daniel himself; the first six are a collection of historical papers written by others. The fourth chapter is a decree of Nebuchadnezzar. The first chapter was written after Daniel's death, because the author says that Daniel continued to the first year of Cyrus; that is, to his first year over the Persians and Medes, and his third year over Babylon. For the same reason, the fifth and sixth chapters were also written after his death, since they end with these words: "So this Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian." Still, the collector of the papers may have added these words, and I take that collector to be Ezra.

The Psalms written by Moses, David, and others also seem to have been gathered into one volume by Ezra. I count him the collector, because in this collection I find Psalms as late as the Babylonian captivity, but none later.

After these things Antiochus Epiphanes looted the Temple, ordered the Jews to abandon the Law on pain of death, and had the sacred books burned wherever they could be found. In these troubles the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel was lost entirely. But after coming through this oppression, Judas Maccabæus gathered together all the writings that could be found, 2 Maccab. ii.

14, and in putting them in order, part of the Prophecies of Isaiah, or of some other Prophet, was added to the end of the Prophecies of Zechariah. The book of Ezra was split off from the book of Chronicles and set in two different orders: one order in the book of Ezra, which was received into the Canon, and another order in the first book of Esdras.

After the Roman captivity, the Jews wrote their traditions down in their Talmud in order to preserve them. To preserve their scriptures, they agreed on one Edition, added the vowel points to it, and counted the letters of every kind in every book. Because only this Edition was kept, the older variant readings are now lost, except for what can be found by means of the Septuagint Version. And the marginal notes, and other corruptions, that had crept into the text through the errors of the transcribers before this Edition was made, are now hardly to be corrected.

Before the Roman captivity, the Jews divided the sacred books into the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa, or holy writings, and in their Synagogues they read only the Law and the Prophets. Christ and his Apostles made the religion rest on the Law and the Prophets, Matt. vii. 12. xxii. 4. Luke xvi. 16, 29, 31. xxiv. 44. Acts xxiv. 14. xxvi. 22. Rom. iii. 21. By the Hagiographa they meant the historical books called Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, the book of Job, the Psalms, the books of Solomon, and the Lamentations. The Samaritans read only the Pentateuch. When Jehosaphat sent men to teach in the cities, they carried with them only the book of the Law, because the Prophecies we now have were not yet written. And after the return from the Babylonian captivity, Ezra read only the book of the Law to the people, from morning to noon on the first day of the seventh month, and then from day to day through the feast of Tabernacles. He had not yet gathered the writings of the Prophets into the volume we now have; he set up their reading only after the collection was made. Because the Law and the Prophets were read in the Synagogues, those books have been kept freer from corruption than the Hagiographa.

When the nation of Israel was young, God gave them a Law and made a covenant with them: he would be their God if they kept his commandments. Whenever they turned to other Gods, he sent Prophets to bring them back, and when they returned to him they sometimes renewed the covenant they had broken. He kept sending these Prophets until the days of Ezra. But once the Prophecies were read in the Synagogues, those Prophecies were thought to be enough. If the people would not listen to Moses and the old Prophets, they would listen to no new ones, not even if they should rise from the dead. At length, when a new truth was to be preached to the Gentiles, namely that Jesus was the Christ, God sent new Prophets and Teachers. But once their writings were also received and read in the Synagogues of the Christians, Prophecy ceased a second time. We have Moses, the Prophets, and Apostles, and the words of Christ himself, and if we will not listen to them, we will be more without excuse than the Jews. For the Prophets and Apostles foretold that, just as Israel often revolted and broke the covenant and renewed it after repenting, so there would be a falling away among the Christians soon after the days of the Apostles, and that in the latter days God would destroy the unrepentant rebels and make a new covenant with his people. And listening to the Prophets is a basic mark of the true Church. For God has ordered the Prophecies so that in the latter days the wise may understand, but the wicked will do wickedly, and none of the wicked will understand, Dan. xii. 9, 10. The authority of Emperors, Kings, and Princes is human. The authority of Councils, Synods, Bishops, and Presbyters is human. The authority of the Prophets is divine, and it takes in the whole of religion, counting Moses and the Apostles among the Prophets; and if an Angel from Heaven preaches any other gospel than what they have delivered, let him be accursed. Their writings hold the covenant between God and his people, with instructions for keeping this covenant, examples of God's judgments on those who break it, and predictions of things to come. While the people of God keep the covenant, they go on being his people. When they break it, they stop being his people or church and become the Synagogue of Satan, who say they are Jews and are not. And no power on earth has the right to change this covenant.

The predictions of things to come concern the state of the Church in every age. Among the old Prophets, Daniel is the clearest in order of time and the easiest to understand. So for the things that relate to the last times, he must be made the key to the rest.

Notes to Chap. I.

- ¹ 2 Chron. xxxiii. 5, 6, 7.
- ² 2 Chron. xxxiv.
- ³ 2 Chron. xii. 2, 3, 4, 8, 9. & xv. 3, 5, 6.
- ⁴ 2 Chron. xiv. 1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12.
- ⁵ 2 Chron. xv. 3, 12, 13, 16, 18.
- ⁶ 2 Kings xvii. 27, 28, 32, 33.
- ⁷ 2 Kings xvii. 34, 41.
- ⁸ Gen. xxxvi. 31.

Part I, Chapter 2



Of the Prophetic Language.

To understand the Prophecies, we first have to learn the figurative language of the Prophets. This language comes from the way the natural world matches an empire or kingdom taken as a political world.

So the whole natural world of heaven and earth stands for the whole political world of thrones and people, or as much of it as the Prophecy covers, and the things in that world stand for the matching things in this one. For the heavens, and the things in them, stand for thrones and honors, and the people who hold them. The earth, and the things on it, stand for the lower people. The lowest parts of the earth, called Hades or Hell, stand for the lowest or most miserable of those people. So moving up toward heaven and down to the earth stands for rising and falling in power and honor. Rising out of the earth or the waters, and falling into them, stands for rising from the lower state of the people to any dignity or dominion, or falling from it back down into that lower state. Going down into the lower parts of the earth stands for coming to a very low and unhappy condition. Speaking with a weak voice out of the dust stands for being in a weak and low condition. Moving from one place to another stands for moving from one office, dignity, or dominion to another. Great earthquakes, and the shaking of heaven and earth, stand for the shaking of kingdoms

until they fall into confusion or are overthrown. Making a new heaven and earth, and the passing away of an old one, or the beginning and end of the world, stands for the rise and ruin of the political body meant by it.

In the heavens, the Sun and Moon stand, for interpreters of dreams, for the persons of Kings and Queens. But in sacred Prophecy, which does not deal with single persons, the Sun stands for the whole class and line of Kings in the kingdom or kingdoms of the political world, shining with royal power and glory. The Moon stands for the body of the common people, seen as the King's wife. The Stars stand for subordinate Princes and great men, or for Bishops and Rulers of the people of God, when the Sun is Christ. Light stands for the glory, truth, and knowledge with which great and good men shine and light up others. Darkness stands for a low condition, and for error, blindness, and ignorance. The darkening, striking, or setting of the Sun, Moon, and Stars stands for the end of a kingdom, or for its destruction, in proportion to the darkness. Darkening the Sun, turning the Moon into blood, and the falling of the Stars stand for the same thing. New Moons stand for the return of a scattered people into a political or church body.

Fire and meteors apply to both heaven and earth, and they mean the following. Burning anything with fire stands for consuming it by war. A burning of the earth, or turning a country into a lake of fire, stands for the ruin of a kingdom by war. Being in a furnace stands for living in slavery under another nation. The smoke of any burning thing rising forever and ever stands for a conquered people continuing under the misery of endless subjection and slavery. The scorching heat of the sun stands for annoying wars, persecutions, and troubles imposed by the King. Riding on the clouds stands for ruling over many people. Covering the sun with a cloud, or with smoke, stands for the King being pressed down by the armies of an enemy. Stormy winds, or the movement of clouds, stand for wars. Thunder, or the voice of a cloud, stands for the voice of a multitude. A storm of thunder, lightning, hail, and flooding rain stands for a storm of war coming down from the political heavens and clouds on the heads

of their enemies. Rain, when it is not excessive, and dew, and living water, stand for the graces and doctrines of the Spirit. The lack of rain stands for spiritual barrenness.

In the earth, the dry land and the gathered waters, such as a sea, a river, or a flood, stand for the people of different regions, nations, and dominions. Making the waters bitter stands for great suffering of the people through war and persecution. Turning things into blood stands for the mystical death of political bodies, that is, for their breakup. The overflowing of a sea or river stands for the political earth being invaded by the people of the waters. The drying up of waters stands for their regions being conquered by the earth. Fountains of waters stand for cities, the lasting heads of political rivers. Mountains and islands stand for the cities of the political earth and sea, along with the territories and dominions that belong to those cities. Dens and rocks of mountains stand for the temples of cities. The hiding of men in those dens and rocks stands for Idols being shut up in their temples. Houses and ships stand for families, assemblies, and towns in the political earth and sea. A navy of warships stands for the army of the kingdom meant by the sea.

Animals and plants also stand for the people of different regions and conditions. In particular, trees, herbs, and land animals stand for the people of the political earth; flags, reeds, and fishes for those of the political waters; birds and insects for those of the political heaven and earth; a forest for a kingdom; and a wilderness for a people who are desolate and few.

If the political world, seen in prophecy, has many kingdoms, they are shown by as many parts of the natural world: the nobles for fear that by the frame of the heavens, and then the Moon and Clouds stand for the common people; the less noble by the earth, sea, and rivers, and by the animals or plants or buildings in them, and then the larger and stronger animals and the taller trees stand for Kings, Princes, and Nobles. Because the whole kingdom is the political body of the King, the Sun, or a Tree, or a Beast, or a Bird, or a Man by which the King is represented is used in a wide sense for the whole kingdom. And several animals, such as a Lion, a Bear, a Leopard, and a Goat, stand, according to their qualities, for different kingdoms and political bodies. Sacrificing beasts stands for

slaughtering and conquering kingdoms, and friendship between beasts stands for peace between kingdoms. Still, plants and animals are sometimes stretched to other meanings by certain epithets or circumstances, as a Tree when it is called the tree of life or of knowledge, and a Beast when it is called the old serpent, or is worshiped.

When a Beast or Man stands for a kingdom, its parts and qualities stand for the matching parts and qualities of the kingdom. The head of a Beast stands for the great men who lead and govern. The tail stands for the lower people, who follow and are governed. The heads, if there is more than one, stand for the number of leading parts, or dynasties, or dominions in the kingdom, whether side by side or in succession, in relation to the civil government. The horns on any head stand for the number of kingdoms in that head, in relation to military power. Seeing stands for understanding, and the eyes stand for men of understanding and statecraft, and in matters of religion for [Greek: Episkopoi], Bishops. Speaking stands for making laws. The mouth stands for a lawgiver, whether civil or sacred. The loudness of the voice stands for might and power, and the faintness of the voice for weakness. Eating and drinking stands for acquiring what the things eaten and drunk stand for. The hairs of a beast or man, and the feathers of a bird, stand for people. The wings stand for the number of kingdoms represented by the beast. The arm of a man stands for his power, or for any people in whom his strength and power lies. His feet stand for the lowest of the people, or for the end of the kingdom. The feet, nails, and teeth of beasts of prey stand for armies and squadrons of armies. The bones stand for strength and for fortified places. The flesh stands for riches and possessions. And their days of acting stand for years. When a tree stands for a kingdom, its branches, leaves, and fruit mean the same as the wings, feathers, and food of a bird or beast.

When a man is taken in a mystical sense, his qualities are often shown by his actions, and by the circumstances of the things around him. So a Ruler is shown by his riding on a beast. A Warrior and Conqueror by his having a sword and bow. A powerful man by his giant size. A Judge by weights and measures. A sentence of release or condemnation by a white or a black stone. A new

dignity by a new name. Moral or civil qualities by garments. Honor and glory by splendid clothing. Royal dignity by purple or scarlet, or by a crown. Righteousness by white and clean robes. Wickedness by spotted and filthy garments. Affliction, mourning, and humiliation by clothing in sackcloth. Dishonor, shame, and the lack of good works by nakedness. Error and misery by drinking a cup of his or her wine that causes it. Spreading any religion for gain by doing trade and business with the people whose religion it is. Worshiping or serving the false Gods of any nation by committing adultery with their princes, or by worshiping them. A Council of a kingdom by its image. Idolatry by blasphemy. An overthrow in war by a wound of man or beast. A long-lasting plague of war by a sore and pain. The suffering or persecution that a people endures while working to bring forth a new kingdom by the pain of a woman in labor to bring forth a man-child. The breakup of a political or church body by the death of a man or beast. And the revival of a broken-down dominion by the resurrection of the dead.

Part I, Chapter 3



Of the vision of the Image composed of four Metals.

All the prophecies of Daniel relate to one another, as if they were only several parts of one general prophecy, given at different times. The first is the easiest to understand, and every prophecy after it adds something new to the one before. The first was given in a dream to Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, in the second year of his reign; but the King forgot his dream, so it was given to Daniel in a dream as well, and Daniel revealed it to the King. Because of this Daniel became famous at once for his wisdom and for revealing secrets; so much so that Ezekiel, who lived at the same time, spoke of him in the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar to the King of Tyre in these words: “Look,” he says, “you are wiser than Daniel; there is no secret that they can hide from you,” Ezek. xxviii. 3. And the same Ezekiel, in another place, puts Daniel together with Noah and Job as the ones highest in the favor of God, Ezek. xiv. 14, 16, 18, 20. In the last year of Belshazzar, the Queen-mother said this of him to the King: “Look, there is a man in your kingdom in whom is the spirit of the holy gods. In the days of your father, light and understanding and wisdom, like the wisdom of the gods, were found in him. King Nebuchadnezzar your father—the king, I say, your father—made him master of the magicians, astrologers, Chaldeans and soothsayers, because an excellent spirit, knowledge, understanding, the interpreting of dreams, the showing of hard questions, and the solving of doubts were found in the same Daniel, whom the king named Belteshazzar,” Dan. v. 11, 12.

Daniel was held in the highest credit among the Jews until the reign of the Roman Emperor Hadrian, and to reject his prophecies is to reject the Christian religion; for this religion is founded on his prophecy concerning the Messiah.

Now this vision of the Image composed of four Metals lays the foundation of all Daniel's prophecies. It represents a body of four great nations that would rule the earth one after another, namely the people of Babylonia, the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans. The stone cut out without hands, which fell on the feet of the Image, broke all four Metals to pieces, became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth; by this the vision further represents that a new kingdom would arise after the four, conquer all those nations, grow very great, and last to the end of all ages.

The head of the Image was of gold, and it stands for the nations of Babylonia, who ruled first, as Daniel himself interprets. "You are this head of gold," he says to Nebuchadnezzar. These nations ruled until Cyrus conquered Babylon, and within a few months after that conquest they turned to the Persians and set them above the Medes. The breast and arms of the Image were of silver, and they stand for the Persians, who ruled next. The belly and thighs of the Image were of brass, and they stand for the Greeks, who under the dominion of Alexander the great conquered the Persians and ruled after them. The legs were of iron, and they stand for the Romans, who ruled next after the Greeks and began to conquer them in the eighth year of Antiochus Epiphanes. In that year they conquered Perseus King of Macedon, the fundamental kingdom of the Greeks; from then on they grew into a mighty empire and ruled with great power until the days of Theodosius the great. Then, by the invasion of many northern nations, they broke into many smaller kingdoms, which are represented by the feet and toes of the Image, made part of iron and part of clay. For then, Daniel says,¹ "the kingdom will be divided, and there will be in it the strength of iron, but they will not stick to one another."

"And in the days of these Kings," Daniel says, "the God of heaven will set up a kingdom which will never be destroyed, and the kingdom will not be left to another people; but it will break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and

it will stand forever. For as you saw that the stone was cut out of the mountains without hands, and that it broke in pieces the iron, the brass, the clay, the silver and the gold.”

Notes to Chap. III.

¹ Chap. ii. 41, &c.

Part I, Chapter 4



Of the vision of the four Beasts.

In the next vision, that of the four Beasts, the prophecy of the four Empires is repeated with several new additions: the two wings of the Lion, the three ribs in the mouth of the Bear, the four wings and four heads of the Leopard, the eleven horns of the fourth Beast, and the son of man coming in the clouds of Heaven to the Ancient of Days sitting in judgment.

The first Beast was like a lion and had eagle's wings, to point to the kingdoms of Babylonia and Media, which overthrew the Assyrian Empire, divided it between them, and by that became powerful and grew into great Empires. In the earlier prophecy the Empire of Babylonia was represented by the head of gold; here both Empires are represented together by the two wings of the lion. "And I looked," says¹ Daniel, "until its wings were plucked, and it was lifted up from the earth and made to stand on its feet like a man, and a man's heart was given to it;" that is, until it was humbled and subdued, and made to know its human state.

The second Beast was like a bear, and it represents the Empire that ruled next after the Babylonians, that is, the Empire of the Persians. "Your kingdom is divided, or broken," Daniel says to the last King of Babylon, "and given to the Medes and Persians," Dan. v. 28. This Beast raised itself up on one side: the Persians were under the Medes at the fall of Babylon, but soon rose above them.² It had three ribs in its mouth, between its teeth, to signify the kingdoms

of Sardes, Babylon, and Egypt, which it conquered but which did not belong to its proper body. And it devoured much flesh, the riches of those three kingdoms.

The third Beast was the kingdom that succeeded the Persian; this was the empire of the Greeks, Dan. viii. 6, 7, 20, 21. It was like a Leopard, to signify its fierceness, and it had four heads and four wings, to signify that it would become divided into four kingdoms, Dan. viii 22. It stayed under one monarchy during the reign of Alexander the great, his brother Aridæus, and the young sons Alexander and Hercules; then it broke into four kingdoms, when the governors of provinces put crowns on their own heads and, by mutual consent, ruled over their provinces. Cassander ruled over Macedon, Greece, and Epirus; Lysimachus over Thrace and Bithynia; Ptolemy over Egypt, Lybia, Arabia, Coelosyria, and Pafor fear thatine; and Seleucus over Syria.

The fourth Beast was the empire that succeeded that of the Greeks, and this was the Roman. This Beast was extremely dreadful and terrible; it had great iron teeth, and devoured and broke in pieces, and stamped what was left with its feet; and such was the Roman empire. It was larger, stronger, more formidable, and longer lasting than any of the former. It conquered the kingdom of Macedon, with Illyricum and Epirus, in the eighth year of Antiochus Epiphanes, Anno Nabonass. 580; and it inherited that of Pergamus, Anno Nabonass. 615; and it conquered that of Syria, Anno Nabonass. 679, and that of Egypt, Anno Nabonass. 718. By these and other conquests it became greater and more terrible than any of the three former Beasts. This Empire continued in its greatness until the reign of Theodosius the great, and then broke into ten kingdoms, represented by the ten horns of this Beast; and it continued in a broken form, until the Ancient of days sat on a throne like fiery flame, and the judgment was set, and the books were opened, and the Beast was killed and his body destroyed and given to the burning flames; and one like the son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days³, and received dominion over all nations, and judgment was given to the saints of the most high, and the time came that they possessed the kingdom.

“And I looked,” says⁴ Daniel, “until the Beast was killed, and its body destroyed, and given to the burning flames. As for the rest of the Beasts, they had their dominion taken away; yet their lives were prolonged for a season and a time.” And so all four Beasts are still alive, even though the dominion of the first three has been taken away. The nations of Chaldea and Assyria are still the first Beast. Those of Media and Persia are still the second Beast. Those of Macedon, Greece and Thrace, Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt are still the third. And those of Europe, on this side of Greece, are still the fourth. Since the body of the third Beast is confined to the nations on this side of the river Euphrates, and the body of the fourth Beast is confined to the nations on this side of Greece, we are to look for all four heads of the third Beast among the nations on this side of the river Euphrates, and for all eleven horns of the fourth Beast among the nations on this side of Greece. And so, when the Greek empire broke into four kingdoms of the Greeks, we include no part of the Chaldeans, Medes and Persians in those kingdoms, because they belonged to the bodies of the first two Beasts. Nor do we count the Greek empire seated at Constantinople among the horns of the fourth Beast, because it belonged to the body of the third.

Notes to Chap. IV.

¹ Chap. vii. 4.

² Chap. vii. 5.

³ Chap. vii. 13.

⁴ Chap. vii. 11, 12.

Part I, Chapter 5



Of the Kingdoms represented by the feet of the Image composed of iron and clay.

Dacia was a large country, bounded on the south by the Danube, on the east by the Euxine sea, on the north by the river Neister and the mountain Crapac, and on the west by the river Tibesis, or Teys, which runs south into the Danube a little above Belgrade. It included the countries now called Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia, and the eastern part of the upper Hungary. Its ancient inhabitants were called Getæ by the Greeks, Daci by the Latins, and Goths by themselves. Alexander the great attacked them, and Trajan conquered them and turned their country into a Province of the Roman Empire; this greatly advanced the spread of the Gospel among them. They were made up of several Gothic nations, called Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Vandals, Gepides, Lombards, Burgundians, Alans, and others, who all had the same customs and spoke the same language, as Procopius describes. While they lived under the Romans, the Goths or Ostrogoths were seated in the eastern parts of Dacia, the Vandals in the western part on the river Teys, where the rivers Maresh and Keresch run into it. The Visigoths were between them. The Gepides, according to Jornandes, were on the Vistula. The Burgundians, a Vandalic nation, were between the Vistula and the southern source of the Boristhenes, some distance north of the mountain Crapac, where Ptolemy places them by the names of Phrugundiones and Burgiones.¹ The Alans, another Gothic nation, were

between the northern source of the Boristhenes and the mouth of the river Tanais, where Ptolemy puts the mountain Alanus and the western side of the Palus Mæotis.

These nations stayed under the dominion of the Romans until the second year of the Emperor Philip, and then, for lack of their military pay, they began to revolt; the Ostrogoths set up a kingdom, which under their Kings Ostrogotha, Cniva, Araric, Geperic, and Hermanaric grew until the year of Christ 376; then, with an invasion of the Hunns from beyond the Tanais and the death of Hermanaric, it broke into several smaller kingdoms. Hunnimund, the son of Hermanaric, became King over the Ostrogoths; Fridigern over the Visigoths; Winithar, or Vinithar, over a part of the Goths called Gruthungi by Ammian, Gothunni by Claudian, and Sarmatæ and Scythians by others; Athanaric reigned over another part of the Goths in Dacia, called Thervingi; Box over the Antes in Sarmatia; and the Gepides also had their King. The Vandals fled over the Danube from Geberic at the end of the reign of Constantine the great, and were given seats in Pannonia by that Emperor, where they lived quietly forty years, that is, until the year 377, when several Gothic nations fleeing from the Hunns came over the Danube and were given seats in Mæsia and Thrace by the Greek Emperor Valens. But the next year they revolted, called in some Goths, Alans and Hunns from beyond the Danube, routed the Roman army, killed the Emperor Valens, and spread themselves into Greece and Pannonia as far as the Alps. In the years 379 and 380 they were checked by the arms of the Emperors Gratian and Theodosius and made a submissive peace; the Visigoths and Thervingi returned to their seats in Mæsia and Thrace, the Hunns withdrew over the Danube, and the Alans and Gruthingi were given seats in Pannonia.

About the year 373, or 374, the Burgundians left their seats on the Vistula with an army of eighty thousand men to invade Gallia; meeting resistance, they settled on the north side of the Rhine opposite Mentz. In the year 358, a body of the Salian Franks, with their King, came from the river Sala, were received into the Empire by the Emperor Julian, and settled in Gallia between Brabant and the Rhine; and their King Mellobaudes was made Comes domesticorum by the

Emperor Gratian. Richomer, another noble Salian Frank, was made Comes domesticorum and Magister utriusque Militiæ by Theodosius, and, A.C. 384, was Consul with Clearchus. He was a great favorite of Theodosius and went with him in his wars against Eugenius, but died on that campaign, and left a son called Theudomir, who later became King of the Salian Franks in Brabant. During this war some Franks from beyond the Rhine invaded Gallia under the leadership of Genobald, Marcomir and Suno, but were driven back by Stilico; and after Marcomir was killed, his son Pharamond succeeded him in Germany. While these nations stayed quiet inside the Empire, subject to the Romans, many others did the same beyond the Danube until the death of the Emperor Theodosius, and then rose up in arms. For Paulus Diaconus in his *Historia Miscell.* lib. xiv., speaking of the times just after the death of this Emperor, tells us: Eodem tempore erant Gothi & aliæ gentes maximæ trans Danubium habitantes: ex quibus rationabiliores quatuor sunt, Gothi scilicet, Huisogothi, Gepides & Vandali; & nomen tantum & nihil aliud mutant. Isti sub Arcadia & Honorio Danubium transeuntes, locati sunt in terra Romanorum: & Gepides quidem, ex quibus postea divisi sunt Longobardi & Avars, villas, quæ sunt circa Singidonum & Sirmium, habitavere: and Procopius at the beginning of his *Historia Vandalica* writes to the same purpose. Until then the Western Empire stayed whole, but now it broke into many kingdoms. Theodosius died A.C. 395; and then the Visigoths, led by Alaric the successor of Frigidern, rose from their seats in Thrace and wasted Macedon, Thessaly, Achaia, Peloponnesus, and Epirus with fire and sword for five years together; then turning west, they invaded Dalmatia, Illyricum and Pannonia; and from there they went into Italy A.C. 402; and the next year they were so beaten at Pollentia and Verona by Stilico, the commander of the forces of the Western Empire, that Claudian calls what was left of Alaric's forces *tanta ex gente reliquias breves*, and Prudentius, *Gentem deletam*. Alaric then made peace with the Emperor, so humbled that Orosius says he did *pro pace optima & quibuscunque sedibus suppliciter & simpliciter orare*. This peace was confirmed by mutual hostages; Ætius was sent as a hostage to Alaric; and Alaric stayed a free Prince in the seats now granted to him.

When Alaric took up arms, the nations beyond the Danube began to move; and the next winter, between A.C. 395 and 396, a great body of Hunns, Alans, Ostrogoths, Gepides, and other northern nations crossed the frozen Danube, having been invited by Rufinus; at the same time their brethren, who had gotten seats inside the Empire, took up arms as well. Jerome calls this great crowd the Hunns, Alans, Vandals, Goths, Sarmatians, Quades, and Marcomans, and says that they invaded all the places between Constantinople and the Julian Alps, wasting Scythia, Thrace, Macedon, Dardania, Dacia, Thessaly, Achaia, Epirus, Dalmatia, and all Pannonia. The Suevians also invaded Rhætia; for while Alaric ravaged Pannonia, the Romans were defending Rhætia, which gave Alaric a chance to invade Italy, as Claudian mentions:

Non nisi perfidiâ nacti penetrabile tempus, Irrupere Getæ, nostras dum Rhætia vires Occupat, atque alio desudant Marte cohortes.

And when Alaric went from those parts into Italy, some other barbarous nations invaded Noricum and Vindelicia, as the same Poet Claudian thus writes:

---Jam foedera gentes Exuerant, Latique auditâ clade feroces Vendelicos saltus & Norica rura tenebant.

This was in the years 402 and 403. And among these nations I count the Suevians, Quades, and Marcomans; for they were all in arms at this time. The Quades and Marcomans were Suevian nations; and they and the Suevians came originally from Bohemia, and the river Suevus or Sprake in Lusatia; and they were now united under one common King called Ermeric, who soon after led them into Gallia. The Vandals and Alans might also about this time extend themselves into Noricum. Uldin also with a great body of Hunns passed the Danube about the time of Chrysostom's banishment, that is, A.C. 404, and wasted Thrace and Mæsia. Radagaisus, King of the Gruthunni and successor of Winithar, bringing over more barbarians from beyond the Danube, invaded Italy with an army of more than two hundred thousand Goths; and within a year or two, A.C. 405 or 406, was defeated by Stilico, and perished with his army. In this war Stilico was helped by a great body of Hunns and Ostrogoths, under the command of Uldin and Sarus, who were hired by the Emperor

Honorius. In all this confusion it was necessary for the Lombards in Pannonia to arm themselves in their own defense and assert their liberty, the Romans being no longer able to protect them.

And now Stilico, planning to make himself Emperor, secured a military prefecture for Alaric and sent him into the East in the service of Honorius the Western Emperor, putting some Roman troops under his command to strengthen his army of Goths, and promising to follow soon after with his own army. His pretense was to recover some regions of Illyricum, which the Eastern Emperor was accused of wrongly keeping from the Western; but his secret design was to make himself Emperor with the help of the Vandals and their allies, because he himself was a Vandal. To make this design easier, he invited a great body of the barbarous nations to invade the Western Empire while he and Alaric invaded the Eastern. These nations marched under their own Kings: the Vandals under Godegisilus, the Alans in two bodies, one under Goar and the other under Resplendial, and the Suevians, Quades, and Marcomans under Ermeric. They marched through Rhætia to the Rhine, left their seats in Pannonia to the Hunns and Ostrogoths, joined the Burgundians under Gundicar, and harassed the Franks as they went on. On the last of December A.C. 406, they crossed the Rhine at Ments and spread themselves into Germania prima and the neighboring regions; among their other actions, the Vandals took Triers. Then they advanced into Belgium and began to waste that country. At that the Salian Franks in Brabant took up arms and, under the command of Theudomir, the son of Ricimer, or Richomer, mentioned above, made such a strong resistance that they killed almost twenty thousand of the Vandals, with their King Godegisilus, in battle; the rest escaped only because a body of Resplendial's Alans came to their help in time.

Then the British soldiers, alarmed by the rumor of these things, revolted and set up Tyrants there; first Marcus, whom they killed at once; then Gratian, whom they killed within four months; and lastly Constantine, under whom they invaded Gallia A.C. 408, with the favor of Goar and Gundicar. And Constantine, having taken a good part of Gallia, made his son Constans Cæsar and sent him into Spain to handle his affairs there, A.C. 409.

Meanwhile Resplendial, seeing the disaster of the Vandals described above and that Goar had gone over to the Romans, led his army from the Rhine; and together with the Suevians and the rest of the Vandals he went toward Spain, while the Franks in the meantime followed their victory far enough to retake Triers, which, after they had plundered it, they left to the Romans. The Barbarians were first stopped by the Pyrenean mountains, which made them spread into Aquitain; but the next year the passage was betrayed to them by some soldiers of Constans; and entering Spain 4 Kal. Octob. A.C. 409, each conquered what he could; and at last, A.C. 411, they divided their conquests by lot: the Vandals obtained Boetica and part of Gallæcia, the Suevians the rest of Gallæcia, and the Alans Lusitania and the Carthaginian Province; the Emperor, for the sake of peace, confirmed them in those seats by grant A.C. 413.

The Roman Franks mentioned above, having made Theudomir their King, began right after their conquest of the Vandals to invade their neighbors as well. The first they attacked were the Gauls of Brabant²; but meeting strong resistance, they asked for their alliance; and so those Gauls broke away from the Romans and made a close league with the Franks to be one people, marrying one another and adopting each other's manners, until they became one without distinction. In this way, with these Gauls added, and also the foreign Franks who came across the Rhine afterward, the Salian kingdom soon grew very great and powerful.

Stilico's expedition against the Greek Emperor was stopped by the order of Honorius; and then Alaric came out of Epirus into Noricum and asked for a sum of money for his service. The Senate leaned toward refusing him, but granted it through Stilico's mediation. But after some time Stilico was accused of a traitorous conspiracy with Alaric and killed 10 Kal. Sept. A.C. 408; Alaric by that failed to get his money and was treated as an enemy of the Empire; he then went straight into Italy with the army he had brought out of Epirus, and sent word to his brother Adolphus to follow him with whatever forces he had in Pannonia, which were not great, but not to be despised either. At this Honorius, afraid of being shut up in Rome, withdrew to Ravenna in October A.C. 408. From then on Ravenna remained the seat of the Western Emperors.

In those days the Hunns also invaded Pannonia; and seizing the empty seats of the Vandals, Alans, and Goths, founded a new kingdom there. Alaric advanced on Rome, besieged it, and took it 9 Kal. Sept. A.C. 410; and afterward, while trying to cross to Africa, he was shipwrecked. After that Honorius made peace with him and raised an army to send against the Tyrant Constantine.

At the same time Gerontius, one of Constantine's captains, revolted from him and set up Maximus Emperor in Spain. At this Constantine sent Edobec, another of his captains, to bring to his help the Barbarians under Goar and Gundicar in Gallia and reinforcements of Franks and Alemans from beyond the Rhine; and he put his son Constans in charge of Vienne in Gallia Narbonensis. Gerontius advanced, first killing Constans at Vienne, and then began to besiege Constantine at Arles. But Honorius at the same time sent Constantius with an army on the same errand; Gerontius fled, and Constantius continued the siege, strengthened by the arrival of most of Gerontius's soldiers. After a siege of four months, Edobec having gotten reinforcements, the Barbarian Kings at Ments, Goar and Gundicar, made Jovinus Emperor and set out with him to relieve Arles. At their approach Constantius withdrew. They pursued him, and he beat them by surprise; but he did not follow up his victory, and the Barbarians soon recovered, though not enough to stop the fall of the tyrants Constantine, Jovinus and Maximus. Britain could not be won back to the Empire and remained ever after a separate kingdom.

The next year, A.C. 412, the Visigoths, beaten in Italy, were granted Aquitaine to withdraw into; and they invaded it with much force, driving back the Alans and Burgundians, who were then laying it waste. At the same time the Burgundians were brought to peace, and the Emperor granted them, as their inheritance, a region on the Rhine which they had invaded; and I suppose he did the same for the Alans. But not long after the Franks took and burned Triers again, Castinus, A.C. 415, was sent against them with an army, which routed them and killed Theudomir their King. This was the second taking of Triers by the Franks. It was therefore taken four times, once by the Vandals and three times by the Franks. Theudomir was succeeded by Pharamond, the

Prince or King of the Salian Franks in Germany. From there he brought new forces, ruled over them all, and was granted seats for his people inside the Empire near the Rhine.

By now all the Barbarians were quiet and settled in several kingdoms inside the Empire, not only by conquest but also by the grants of the Emperor Honorius. For Rutilius, in his *Itinerary*, written in Autumn, Anno Urbis 1169—that is, according to Varro’s computation then in use, A.C. 416—laments the wasted fields in these words:

Illa quidem longis nimium deformia bellis;

And then adds,

Jam tempus laceris post longa incendia fundis Vel pastorales ædificare casas.

And a little after,

Æternum tibi Rhenus aret.

And Orosius, at the end of his history, which was finished A.C. 417, describes a general pacification of the barbarous nations with the words *comprimere, coangustare, addicere gentes immanissimas*; he calls them *imperio addictas*, because they had obtained seats in the Empire by league and compact, and *coangustatas*, because they no longer invaded all regions at will, but by the same compact stayed quiet in the seats then granted them. And these are the kingdoms of which the feet of the Image were henceforward composed, and which are represented by iron and clay mixed together, which did not stick to one another and were of different strength.

Notes to Chap. V.

¹ Procop. l. 1. de Bello Vandalico.

² Galli Arborici: from which the region was named Arboricant, and by contraction Brabant.

Part I, Chapter 6, 1



Of the ten kingdoms represented by the ten horns of the fourth Beast.

The wars described above broke the Western Roman Empire into ten kingdoms, about the time the Goths besieged and took Rome.

- ¹ The kingdom of the Vandals and Alans in Spain and Africa. 2. The kingdom of the Suevians in Spain. 3. The kingdom of the Visigoths. 4. The kingdom of the Alans in Gallia. 5. The kingdom of the Burgundians. 6. The kingdom of the Franks. 7. The kingdom of the Britons. 8. The kingdom of the Hunns. 9. The kingdom of the Lombards. 10. The kingdom of Ravenna.

Sigonius mentions seven of these kingdoms: “Honorio regnante, in Pannoniam Hunni, in Hispaniam Vandali, Alani, Suevi & Gothi, in Galliam Alani, Burgundiones & Gothi, certis sedibus permissis, accepti.” Add the Franks, the Britons, and the Lombards, and you have ten, because these three arose at about the same time as the seven. Now let us look at each one in turn.

- ¹ The kings of the Vandals were: A.C. 407 Godegisilus, 407 Gunderic, 426 Geiseric, 477 Hunneric, 484 Gundemund, 496 Thrasamund, 513 Geiseric, and 530 Gelimer. Godegisilus led them into Gallia A.C. 406. Gunderic led them into Spain A.C. 409, and Geiseric into Africa A.C. 427. Belisarius conquered Gelimer A.C. 533. In Gallia, Spain and Africa together their kingdom lasted 126 years, and in Africa they were very powerful. The Alans had only two kings of their own in Spain: Resplendial, and Ataces, who was also called Utacus or

Othacar. Under Resplendial they went into France A.C. 407, and into Spain A.C. 409. A.C. 419 Vallia, king of the Visigoths, killed Ataces together with almost all his army. The rest of these Alans then submitted to Gunderic, king of the Vandals in Boetica, and afterward went with them into Africa, as I learn from Procopius. That is why the kings of the Vandals called themselves kings of the Vandals and Alans, as can be seen in the Edict of Hunneric, which Victor recites in his Vandalic persecution. Together with the Chatti, these Alans gave the name Cathalaunia, or Catth-Alania, to the province that is still called by that name. These Alans also had Gepides among them, so the Gepides came into Pannonia before the Alans left it. There the Gepides were subject to the Hunns until the death of Attila A.C. 454, and in the end the Ostrogoths conquered them.

- ² The kings of the Suevians were: A.C. 407 Ermeric, 458 Rechila, 448 Rechiarius, 458 Maldra, 460 Frumarius, and 463 Regismund. Then, after some other kings who are unknown, there reigned A.C. 558 Theudomir, 568 Miro, 582 Euboricus, and 583 Andeca. Once this kingdom was settled in Spain it always stayed in Gallæcia and Lusitania. After the Alan kingdom fell, Ermeric enlarged it to cover all Gallæcia, forcing the Vandals to withdraw into Boetica and the Carthaginian Province. According to Isidorus this kingdom lasted 177 years. Then Leovigildus, king of the Visigoths, subdued it and made it a province of his kingdom A.C. 585.
- ³ The kings of the Visigoths were: A.C. 400 Alaric, 410 Athaulphus, 415 Sergeric and Vallia, 419 Theoderic, 451 Thorismund, 452 Theoderic, 465 Euric, 482 Alaric, 505 Gensalaric, 526 Amalaric, 531 Theudius, 548 Theudisclus, and so on. I date this kingdom from the time Alaric left Thrace and Greece to invade the Western Empire. Near the end of Athaulphus's reign the Romans humbled the Goths, and the Goths tried to cross from France into Spain. Sergeric reigned only a few days. Early in Vallia's reign they attacked the Romans again, but were driven back once more. Then they made peace on this condition: on behalf of the Empire, they would invade the barbarian kingdoms in Spain. Together with the Romans they did this in the years 417 and 418, overthrow-

ing the Alans and part of the Vandals. After that the Emperor granted them Aquitain in full, and they handed their conquests in Spain over to the Emperor. The seats of the conquered Alans therefore came into Roman hands. In the year 455 Theoderic, helped by the Burgundians, invaded Spain, which was then almost entirely subject to the Suevians, and took a part of it from them. A.C. 506 the Franks drove the Goths out of Gallia. A.C. 585 the Goths conquered the Suevian kingdom and became masters of all Spain. A.C. 713 the Saracens invaded them, but in time they recovered their lands and have reigned in Spain ever since.

- ⁴ The kings of the Alans in Gallia were Goar, Sambida, Eocharic, Sangibanus, Beurgus, and so on. Under Goar they invaded Gallia A.C. 407, and A.C. 412 they were given seats near the Rhine. Under Sambida, whom Bucher makes the successor of Goar if not his son, they were given the territories of Valence by Ætius, the Emperor's general, A.C. 440. Under Eocharic they conquered a region of the rebelling Galli Arborici, which Ætius also gave them. This region took its name from them: Alenconium, quasi Alanorum conventus. Under Sangibanus they were invaded, and Attila, king of the Hunns, besieged their capital city of Orleans with a vast army of 500000 men. Ætius and the barbarian kings of Gallia came to lift the siege, and beat the Hunns in a very memorable battle A.C. 451, in campis Catalaunicis, so called from these Alans mixed with the Chatti. The region is now called Campania or Champagne. In that battle 162000 men were killed on both sides. A year or two later Attila returned with a huge army to conquer this kingdom, but the Alans and the Visigoths together beat him again in a battle that lasted three days, with a slaughter almost as great as the first. Under Beurgus, or Biorgor, they ravaged all the country around Gallia until the reign of the Emperor Maximus. Then they crossed the Alps in winter and came into Liguria, but there Ricimer, commander of the Emperor's forces, beat them and killed Beurgus A.C. 464. Later the joint forces of Odoacer, king of Italy, and Childeric, king of the Franks, beat them again about the year 480, and Theudobert, king of the Austrian Franks, beat them again about the year 511.

- ⁵ The kings of the Burgundians were: A.C. 407 Gundicar, 436 Gundioc, 467 Bilimer, 473 Gundobaldus with his brothers, 510 Sigismund, and 517 Godomarus. Under Gundicar they invaded Gallia A.C. 407, and A.C. 412 the Emperor gave them seats near the Rhine in Gallia Belgica. They had Saxons among them, and by then they were so powerful that Orosius wrote of them A.C. 417: “Burgundionum esse prævalidam manum, Galliæ hodieque testes sunt, in quibus præsumpta possessione consistunt.” About the year 435 Ætius dealt them great defeats, and soon after the Hunns did too. Five years later Savoy was granted to them, to share with the inhabitants. From that time they again became a powerful kingdom, bounded by the river Rhodanus and afterward reaching much further into the heart of Gallia. Gundobald conquered the regions around the rivers Araris and Rhodanus, together with the territories of Marseilles. He also invaded Italy in the time of the Emperor Glycerius and conquered all his brothers. Godomarus made Orleans his royal seat, which is why the kingdom was called *Regnum Aurelianorum*. Clotharius and Childebert, kings of the Franks, conquered him A.C. 526. From then on this kingdom was sometimes joined to the kingdom of the Franks and sometimes separated from it, until the reign of Charles the great, who made his son Carolottus king of Burgundy. From that time it kept its own kings for about 300 years together. Then it broke up into the Dukedom of Burgundy, the County of Burgundy, and the County of Savoy, and later those broke up into other lesser counties.
- ⁶ The kings of the Franks were: A.C. 407 Theudomir, 417 Pharamond, 428 Clodio, 448 Merovæus, 456 Childeric, 482 Clodovæus, and so on. Windeline and Bucher, two of the most diligent searchers into the origins of this kingdom, place its beginning in the same year as the barbarian invasions of Gallia, that is, A.C. 407. Of the first kings there is this record in Labbe’s *Bibliotheca M.S. Historica quædam excerpta ex veteri stemmate genealogico Regum Franciæ*. Genobaldus, Marcomerus, Suno, Theodemeris. Isti duces vel reguli extiterunt à principio gentis Francorum diversis temporibus. Sed incertum relinquunt historici quali sibi procreations lineâ successerunt.

Pharamundus: sub hoc rege suo primo Franci legibus se subdunt, quas primores eorum tulerunt Wisogastus, Atrogastus, Salegastus.

Chlochilo. Iste, transito Rheno, Romanos in Carbonaria sylva devicit, Camaracum cepit & obtinuit, annis 20 regnavit. Sub hoc rege Franci usque Summam progressi sunt.

Merovechus. Sub hoc rege Franci Trevirim destruunt, Metim succendunt, usque Aurelianum perveniunt.

As for Genobaldus, Marcomer and Suno: they were captains of the Transrhenane Franks in the reign of Theodosius, and they do not concern us here. We must begin with Theudomir, the first king of the rebelling Salii. Ivo Carnotensis calls him Didio, and Rhenanus calls him Thiedo and Theudemerus. His face survives on a gold coin that was found bearing this inscription, THEUDEMIR REX, published by Petavius and still, or until recently, extant, as Windeline records. This shows that he was a king, and a king in Gallia, because at that time rough Germany did not understand the coining of money and used neither Latin words nor letters. He was the son of Ricimer, or Richomer, the favorite of the Emperor Theodosius. Being a Roman Frank of the Salian royal blood, they made him king when the rebellion broke out. You can find the whole span of his reign in *Excerptis Gregorii Turonensis* è *Fredigario*, cap. 5, 6, 7, 8. There, set down in order as a linked series, are his making king, the tyranny of Jovinus, the slaughter of the associates of Jovinus, the second taking of Triers by the Franks, and their war with Castinus, in which this king was killed: “Extinctis Ducibus in Francis, denuo Reges creantur ex eadem stirpe qua prius fuerant. Eodem tempore Jovinus ornatus regios assumpsit. Constantinus fugam versus Italiam dirigit; missis a Jovino Principe percussoribus super Mentio flumine, capite truncatur. Multi nobilium jussu Jovini apud Avernis capti, & a ducibus Honorii crudeliter interempti sunt. Trevirorum civitas, factione unius ex senatoribus nomine Lucii, à Francis captà & incensa est.—Castinus Domesticorum Comes expeditionem accipit contra Francos, &c.” Then, returning to Theudomir, he adds: “Franci electum à se regem, sicut prius fuerat, crinitum inquirentes diligenter ex genere Priami, Frigi & Francionis, super se crearunt nomine Theudemereum filium Richemeris, qui

in hoc prælio quod supra memini, à Romanis interfectus est;” that is, in the battle with Castinus’s army. Of his death Gregory Turonensis adds this further note: “In consularibus legimus Theodemerem regem Francorum filium Ricimeris quondam, & Ascilam matrem ejus, gladio interfectos.”

After this Roman victory, the Franks and the rebelling Gauls, who had been at war with one another in the time of Theudomir, joined together to make themselves stronger, as Ordericus Vitalis¹ relates: “Cum Galli prius contra Romanos rebellâssent, Franci iis sociati sunt, & pariter juncti, Ferramundum Sunonis ducis filium, sibi regem præfecerunt.” Prosper fixes the time: “Anno 25 Honorii, Pharamundus regnat in Francia.” Bucher makes a good observation: this refers to the end of the year 416 or the beginning of the next year, counting the years of Honorius from the death of Valentinian. He argues well that at this time Pharamond was king not only by the constitution of the Franks, but was also crowned with the consent of Honorius, and had a part of Gallia assigned to him by covenant. This may be why Roman writers counted him the first king. Some who did not understand this have thought he founded the kingdom with an army of the Transrhenane Franks. He may have come with such an army, but he succeeded Theudomir by right of blood and with the consent of the people. The passage of Fredigarius cited above, “Extinctis Ducibus, in Francis denuo Reges creantur ex eadem stirpe quâ prius fuerant,” implies that the kingdom passed on to this newly elected family and continued through the reigns of more than one king. If you count the years of Honorius from the death of his father, Pharamond’s reign may have begun two years later than Bucher assigns. The Salique laws made in his reign, which still survive, show by their name that he reigned over the kingdom of the Salii. Their money fines also show that the place where he reigned had a great deal of money, and therefore lay within the Empire, since rough Germany did not know the use of money before they mixed with the Romans. The Preface to the Salique laws, written and prefixed to them soon after the Franks converted to the Christian religion, that is, at the end of the reign of Merovæus or soon after, describes the origin of this kingdom: “Hæc enim gens, quæ fortis dum esset & robore valida, Romanorum jugum durissimum de suis cervicibus excussit pugnando, &c.”

This kingdom was therefore set up not by invasion but by rebellion, as described above. Prosper, listing their kings in order, tells us: “Pharamundus regnat in Francia; Clodio regnat in Francia; Merovæus regnat in Francia.” Who can suppose that in all these places he meant one and the same Francia? And yet it is certain that the Francia of Merovæus was in Gallia.

Yet Pharamond’s father was king of a body of Franks in Germany in the reign of the Emperor Theodosius, as noted above. So Pharamond may have ruled over those same Franks in Germany before he succeeded Theudomir in the kingdom of the Salians within the Empire, and even before Theudomir began to reign. Suppose this began in the first year of Honorius, or when those Franks, repulsed by Stilico, lost their kings Marcomir and Suno, one of whom was Pharamond’s father. After the death of Theudomir, the Roman Franks may have invited Pharamond and his people over from beyond the Rhine. But we are not to count Pharamond’s reign in Germany. We must date this kingdom from its rise within the Empire, and treat it as strengthened by the arrival of other Franks coming from beyond the Rhine, whether that happened in the reign of this king or in the reign of his successor Clodio. In the last year of Pharamond’s reign Ætius took from him a part of his possessions in Gallia. But his successor Clodio, whom Fredigarius makes the son of Theudomir and whom some call Clogio, Cloio, and Claudius, called a great body of Franks over from beyond the Rhine, recovered everything, and pushed their conquests as far as the river Soame. Those Franks then shared the conquests with him and set up certain new kingdoms at Cologn and Cambray, and some other cities. Clodovæus afterward conquered them all. He also drove the Goths out of Gallia and fixed his seat at Paris, where it has remained ever since. This was the origin of the present kingdom of France.

⁷ The kings of Britain were: A.C. 407 or 408 Marcus, Gratian, and Constantine in succession; then A.C. 425 Vortigern, 466 Aurelius Ambrosius, 498 Uther Pendraco, 508 Arthur, 542 Constantinus, 545 Aurelius Cunanus, 578 Vortiporeus, 581 Malgo, 586 Careticus, 613 Cadwan, 635 Cadwalin, and 676 Cadwallader. The first three were Roman tyrants who revolted from the

Empire. Orosius, Prosper and Zosimus link their revolt to the barbarian invasions of Gallia, as a consequence of them. Prosper places the revolt in the year that began the day after that invasion, and Zosimus agrees with him. I gather the exact time this way: Marcus reigned only a few days, Gratian four months, and Constantine three years. He was killed the year after the taking of Rome, that is A.C. 411, 14 Kal. Octob. So the revolt was in the spring of A.C. 408. Sozomen links Constantine's expedition into Gallia with the death of Arcadius, or with a time a little after, and Arcadius died A.C. 408 May the 1st. Though the reign of these tyrants was short, they began the kingdom of Britain, and so may be counted as its first three kings. This is especially so because the family of Constantine reigned afterward: his sons Aurelius Ambrosius and Uther Pendraco, and his grandson Arthur. From the time of the revolt of these tyrants, Britain continued a distinct kingdom, free from submission to the Empire. The Emperor could not spare soldiers to send there to take and hold the island, and so he neglected it, as we learn from unquestionable records. Prosper tells us: "A.C. 410, Variante Cos. Hac tempestate præ valetudine Romanorum, vires funditus attenuatæ Britannia." Sigebert joins this to the siege of Rome and says: "Britannorum vires attenuatæ, & substrahunt se à Romanorum dominatione." And Zosimus lib. 6: the Transrhenane Barbarians, invading everywhere, reduced the people of the island of Britain, and also certain Celtic nations, to such a pass that they broke away from the Roman Empire. No longer obeying the Roman laws, "kat' heauton biateuein," they lived in separate groups as they themselves pleased. So the Britons took up arms, risked themselves for their own safety, and freed their cities from the threatening barbarians. In the same way all Brabant and some other provinces of the Gauls copied the Britons and freed themselves too. They threw out the Roman governors and formed themselves into a sort of commonwealth as they themselves pleased. This rebellion of Britain and the Celtic nations happened when Constantine usurped the kingdom. Procopius, lib. 1. Vandal., says the same of that Constantine: he was beaten in battle and killed with his children, "Bretannian men toi Rômaioi anasôsasthai ouketi echon; all' ousa hypo tyrannous ap' autou emene." Yet the Romans never recovered Britain again. From

that time it remained under tyrants. Beda, l. 1. c. 11: “Fracta est Roma à Gothis anno 1164 suæ conditionis; ex quo tempore Romani in Britannia regnare cessaverunt.” And Ethelwaldus: “A tempore Romæ à Gothis expugnata, cessavit imperium Romanorum à Britannia insula, & ab aliis; quas sub iugo servitutis tenebant, multis terris.” And Theodore, serm. 9. de curand. Græc. affect., about the year 424, counts the Britons among the nations that were not then in subjection to the Roman Empire. So Sigonius: “ad annum 411, Imperium Romanorum post excessum Constantini in Britannia nullum fuit.”

Part I, Chapter 6, 2



Between the death of Constantine and the reign of Vortigern there was an interregnum of about 14 years. In it the Britons fought the Picts and Scots, and twice got help from a Roman Legion. The Legion drove the enemy out, but said plainly when it left that it would not come again. Of the start of Vortigern's reign there is this record in an old Chronicle in Nennius, quoted by Camden and others: "Guortigernus held the rule in Britain, Theodosius and Valentinian being Consuls [that is, A.C. 425.]; and in the fourth year of his reign the Saxons came to Britain, Felix and Taurus being Consuls [that is, A.C. 428.]" This coming of the Saxons, Sigebert refers to the 4th year of Valentinian, which matches the year 428 given by this Chronicle; and two years later the Saxons together with the Picts were beaten by the Britons. Later, in the reign of the Emperor Martian, that is, between the years 450 and 456, the Britons called in the Saxons under Hengist. Six years later the Saxons broke away from them, made war on them with varying success, and in time took their place. Even so, the Britons remained a flourishing kingdom until the reign of Careticus; and the war between the two nations went on until the pontificate of Sergius, A.C. 688.²

⁸ The Kings of the Hunns were, in A.C. 406, Octar and Rugila, and in 433, Bleda and Attila. Octar and Rugila were brothers of Munzuc King of the Hunns in Gothia beyond the Danube; Bleda and Attila were his sons, and

Munzuc was the son of Balamir. As Jornandes tells us, the first two were Kings of the Hunns, but not of all of them, and the last two succeeded them. I date the reign of the Hunns in Pannonia from the time the Vandals and Alans gave up Pannonia to them, A.C. 407. Sigonius dates it from the time the Visigoths gave up Pannonia, A.C. 408. "It is clear," he says, "that when the Goths set out from Illyricum the Hunns came after them, and first of all took hold of Pannonia. Honorius, it is true, lacked the strength to resist in such difficulties and could not hold them back outright; but with better judgment he turned his mind to peace, and made a treaty with them, giving and receiving hostages. Of those who were given, Ætius is named above the rest, since he had also been handed over to Alaric." How Ætius came to be a hostage to the Goths and the Hunns is told by Frigeridus. He says that Theodosius Emperor of the East had sent harsh commands to John, who after the death of Honorius had seized the crown of the Western Empire, and then adds: "Moved by these things, John sent Ætius, who at that time held the office of chamberlain, to the Hunns with a great weight of gold; they were people known to him and bound to him by familiar friendship, going back to the time of his own hostage-taking." And a little later: "Ætius was a hostage to Alaric for three years, then to the Hunns, and later the son-in-law of Carpilio, moving from Count of the household troops to become John's curopalate." Now Bucher shows that Ætius was a hostage to Alaric until the year 410, when Alaric died; to the Hunns between the years 411 and 415; son-in-law to Carpilio about the year 417 or 418; and curopalate to John about the end of the year 423. So it is likely that he became a hostage to the Hunns about the year 412 or 413, when Honorius made treaties with almost all the barbarous nations and granted them seats. But I would rather say with Sigonius that Ætius became a hostage to Alaric in A.C. 403. It is further clear from Prosper that the Hunns were in quiet possession of Pannonia in the year 432. For in the first book of Eusebius's Chronicle Prosper writes: "In the tenth year after the death of Honorius, when Ætius, after his battle with Boniface, had made his way to the nation of the Hunns, then led by Rugila, he got help from them and returned to Roman soil." And in the second book: "In the consulship of Ætius and Valerius, Ætius, his power laid

aside, fled as a refugee to the Hunns in Pannonia. Using their friendship and help, he won peace from the rulers, his own authority having been cut short.” Here it appears that at this time Rugila, or as Maximus calls him, Rechilla, ruled the Hunns in Pannonia; that Pannonia was not even counted part of the soil of the Empire by then, since it had long before been granted away to the Hunns; and that these were the very same Hunns with whom Ætius, in the time he was a hostage, had made friends. By that friendship, as he had earlier brought them in to help John the Tyrant in A.C. 424, so now he got them to speak up for him with the Emperor. Octar died A.C. 430; for Socrates tells us that about that time the Burgundians, newly troubled by the Hunns, heard of Octar’s death, saw the Hunns without a leader, and fell on them so suddenly and hard that 3000 Burgundians killed 10000 Hunns. You have already heard of Rugila being now King in Pannonia. He died A.C. 433 and was succeeded by Bleda, as Prosper and Maximus inform us. Before this time Bleda and his brother Attila had been Kings of the Hunns beyond the Danube, their father Munzuc’s kingdom divided between them; now they added the kingdom of Pannonia to their own. So Paulus Diaconus says they “did rule the kingdom within Pannonia and Dacia.” In the year 441 they began to invade the Empire again, adding new and great armies from Scythia to the forces in Pannonia. But this war was soon settled, and then Attila, seeing Bleda leaned toward peace, killed him, A.C. 444, took over his lands, and invaded the Empire again. At last, after many great wars with the Romans, Attila died A.C. 454. His sons then quarreled over his lands, which gave the Gepids, Ostrogoths and other nations that had been their subjects the chance to rebel and make war on them. That same year the Ostrogoths were granted seats in Pannonia by the Emperors Marcian and Valentinian; and together with the Romans they drove the Hunns out of Pannonia soon after the death of Attila, as all historians agree. This expulsion took place in the reign of Avitus, as the *Chronicum Boiorum* mentions, and as Sidonius says in his Poem 7 on Avitus, which speaks like this of that Emperor:

— By whose coming, after many long ages, the long-lost Pannonias turned back to their path; now it is easy to believe. What will he do in war.

The poet means that with the coming of Avitus the Hunns gave way to the Goths more easily. Sidonius wrote this at the start of the reign of Avitus; his reign began at the end of the year 455 and did not last one full year.

Jornandes tells us: "In the twelfth year of the reign of Valia, when the Hunns too, after almost fifty years of holding Pannonia, were driven out of it by the Romans and Goths." And Marcellinus: "In the consulship of Hierius and Ardabur, Pannonia, which the Hunns had held for fifty years, was taken back by the Romans." From this it should seem that the Hunns invaded and held Pannonia from the year 378 or 379 to the year 427, and were then driven out of it. But this is a plain mistake. It is certain that the Emperor Theodosius left the Empire whole; and we have shown from Prosper that the Hunns were in quiet possession of Pannonia in the year 432. In those days the Visigoths had nothing to do with Pannonia, and the Ostrogoths stayed subject to the Hunns until the death of Attila, A.C. 454; and Valia King of the Visigoths did not reign twelve years. He began his reign at the end of the year 415, reigned three years, and was killed A.C. 419, as Idacius, Isidorus, and the Spanish manuscript Chronicles seen by Grotius testify. Olympiodorus, who carries his history only to the year 425, records in it the death of Valia King of the Visigoths, and joins it with that of Constantius, which happened A.C. 420. So the Valia of Jornandes, who reigned at least twelve years, is some other King. I suspect that this name was put by mistake for Valamir King of the Ostrogoths: the deed recorded was of the Romans and Ostrogoths driving the Hunns out of Pannonia after the death of Attila; and it is unlikely that the historian would date the history of the Ostrogoths by the years of the Visigothic Kings. This deed happened at the end of the year 455, which I take to be the twelfth year of Valamir in Pannonia, and which was almost fifty years after the year 406, in which the Hunns took Pannonia over from the Vandals and Alans. When the line of Hunnimund the son of Hermaneric died out, the Ostrogoths lived without Kings of their own nation for about forty years together, being subject to the Hunns. When Alaric began to make war on the Romans, which was in the year 444, he made Valamir, with his brothers Theodimir and Videmir, the grandsons of Vinethar,

the captains or kings of these Ostrogoths under him. Counting from that point, in the twelfth year of Valamir's reign the Hunns were driven out of Pannonia.

Even so, the Hunns were not driven out for good; they still had contests with the Romans, until the head of Denfix the son of Attila was carried to Constantinople, A.C. 469, in the consulship of Zeno and Marcian, as Marcellinus relates. Nor were they yet completely out of the Empire. Besides their remains in Pannonia, Sigonius tells us that when the Emperors Marcian and Valentinian granted Pannonia to the Goths, which was in the year 454, they granted part of Illyricum to some of the Hunns and Sarmatians. And in the year 526, when the Lombards moved into Pannonia and made war there with the Gepids, the Avars, a part of the Hunns who had taken the name Avars from one of their Kings, helped the Lombards in that war. Later, when the Lombards went into Italy, they left their seats in Pannonia to the Avars in return for their friendship. From that time the Hunns grew powerful again. Their Kings, whom they called Chagan, troubled the Empire much in the reigns of the Emperors Mauritius, Phocas, and Heraclius. This is the origin of the present kingdom of Hungary, which took its name from these Avars and other Hunns mixed together: Hun-Avaria, shortened to Hungary.

- ⁹ Before they came over the Danube, the Lombards were led by two captains, Ibor and Ayon. After their death they had Kings: Agilmund, Lamisso, Lechu, Hildehoc, Gudehoc, Classo, Tato, Wacho, Walter, Audoin, Alboin, Cleophis, etc. Agilmund was the son of Ayon. He became their King, according to Prosper, in the consulship of Honorius and Theodosius, A.C. 389; he reigned thirty three years, according to Paulus Warnefridus, and was killed in battle by the Bulgarians. Prosper places his death in the consulship of Marinianus and Asclepiodorus, A.C. 413. Lamisso defeated the Bulgarians and reigned three years, and Lechu almost forty. Gudehoc was a contemporary of Odoacer King of the Heruli in Italy, and led his people from Pannonia into Rugia, a country on the north side of Noricum, next beyond the Danube; from there Odoacer then carried his people into Italy. Tato overthrew the kingdom of the Heruli

beyond the Danube. Wacho conquered the Suevians, a kingdom then bounded on the east by Bavaria, on the west by France, and on the south by the Burgundians. Audoin returned to Pannonia A.C. 526 and there defeated the Gepids. Alboin in A.C. 551 overthrew the kingdom of the Gepids and killed their King Chunnimund. In A.C. 563 he helped the Greek Emperor against Totila King of the Ostrogoths in Italy; and in A.C. 568 he led his people out of Pannonia into Lombardy, where they reigned until the year 774.

According to Paulus Diaconus, the Lombards with many other Gothic nations came into the Empire from beyond the Danube in the reign of Arcadius and Honorius, that is, between the years 395 and 408. But they might have come a little earlier. We are told that the Lombards, under their captains Ibor and Ayon, beat the Vandals in battle; and Prosper places this victory in the consulship of Ausonius and Olybrius, that is, A.C. 379. Before this war the Vandals had kept quiet for forty years in the seats granted them in Pannonia by Constantine the Great. So if these were the same Vandals, this war must have been in Pannonia. It might have been caused by the Lombards coming over the Danube into Pannonia a year or two before the battle, and so putting an end to the quiet that had lasted forty years. After Gratian and Theodosius had settled the Barbarians, they might either have retired across the Danube or stayed quiet under the Romans until the death of Theodosius, and then either invade the Empire again or throw off all obedience to it. From their wars, first with the Vandals and then with the Bulgarians, a Scythian nation named after the river Volga from which they came, it is clear that even in those days the Lombards were a kingdom not to be taken lightly.

- 10 With these nine kingdoms torn away, we next consider the rest of the Western Empire. While that Empire stayed whole, it was the Beast itself; but the rest of it is only a part. If this part is taken as a horn, then the reign of this horn may be dated from the move of the imperial seat from Rome to Ravenna, which was in October A.C. 408. For then the Emperor Honorius, fearing that Alaric would besiege him in Rome if he stayed there, withdrew to Millain, and from there to Ravenna; and the siege and sacking of Rome that followed kept him there, so

he and his successors made it their home ever after. Accordingly Macchiavel writes in his Florentine history that Valentinian, having left Rome, moved the seat of the Empire to Ravenna.

Rhætia belonged to the Western Emperors as long as that Empire stood; and then it passed, with Italy and the Roman Senate, to Odoacer King of the Heruli in Italy, and after him to Theoderic King of the Ostrogoths and his successors, by the grant of the Greek Emperors. After the death of Valentinian the second, the Alemans and Suevians invaded Rhætia A.C. 455. But I do not find that they set up any settled kingdom there: in the year 457, while they were still wasting Rhætia, they were attacked and beaten by Burto, master of the horse to the Emperor Majoranus; and I hear nothing more of them invading Rhætia. Clodovæus King of France, in or about the year 496, conquered a kingdom of the Alemans and killed their last King Ermeric. But that kingdom lay in Germany and only bordered on Rhætia. Its people fled from Clodovæus into the neighboring kingdom of the Ostrogoths under Theoderic, who received them as friends and wrote a friendly letter to Clodovæus on their behalf. By this means they became inhabitants of Rhætia, as subjects under the dominion of the Ostrogoths.

When the Greek Emperor conquered the Ostrogoths, he succeeded them in the kingdom of Ravenna, not only by right of conquest but also by right of inheritance, the Roman Senate still going along with this kingdom. So we may count this kingdom as continuing in the Exarchate of Ravenna and the Senate of Rome: for the rest of the Western Empire went with the Senate of Rome, because of the right this Senate always kept, and at last used, of choosing a new Western Emperor.

I have now listed the ten kingdoms into which the Western Empire was divided at its first breaking, that is, at the time Rome was besieged and taken by the Goths. Some of these kingdoms in time fell, and new ones arose; but whatever their number was later, they are still called the Ten Kings from their first number.

Notes to Chap. VI.

¹ In Bucher, book 14, chapter 9, no. 8.

² Rolevinc's *Antiqua Saxon*. book 1, chapter 6.

Part I, Chapter 7, 1



Of the eleventh horn of Daniel's fourth Beast.

- ¹ Now Daniel considered the horns, and there among them came up another horn, before whom three of the first horns were pulled up by the roots; and in this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things;² its look was more proud than its fellows; and the same horn made war with the saints, and overpowered them. One who stood by, and made Daniel know the interpretation of these things, told him that³ the ten horns were ten kings that should arise, and another should arise after them, and be different from the first, and he should subdue three kings,⁴ and speak great words against the most High, and wear out the saints, and think to change times and laws: and that they should be given into his hands until a time and times and half a time. Kings stand for kingdoms, as above; and so the little horn is a little kingdom. It was a horn of the fourth Beast, and rooted up three of his first horns; so we are to look for it among the nations of the Latin Empire, after the rise of the ten horns. But it was a kingdom of a different kind from the other ten kingdoms, having a life or soul of its own, with eyes and a mouth. By its eyes it was a Seer; and by its mouth, speaking great things and changing times and laws, it was a Prophet as well as a King. And such a Seer, a Prophet and a King, is the Church of Rome.

A Seer, the Greek word “Episkopos,” is a Bishop in the literal sense of the word; and this Church claims the universal bishopric.

With his mouth he gives laws to kings and nations like an Oracle; and he claims Infallibility, and that his dictates are binding on the whole world; which is being a Prophet in the highest degree.

In the eighth century, by rooting up and subduing the Exarchate of Ravenna, the kingdom of the Lombards, and the Senate and Dukedom of Rome, he acquired Peter’s Patrimony out of their lands; and so he rose up as a temporal Prince or King, a horn of the fourth Beast.

In a small book printed at Paris in A.C. 1689, entitled, *An historical dissertation upon some coins of Charles the great, Ludovicus Pius, Lotharius, and their successors stamped at Rome*, it is recorded that in the days of Pope Leo X there was still remaining in the Vatican, and exposed to public view until those days, an inscription in honor of Pipin the father of Charles the great, in these words: *Pipinum pium, primum fuisse qui amplificandæ Ecclesiæ Romanæ viam aperuerit, Exarchatu Ravennate, & plurimis aliis oblati*; “That Pipin the pious was the first who opened a way to the grandeur of the Church of Rome, conferring upon her the Exarchate of Ravenna and many other oblations.” In and before the reign of the Emperors Gratian and Theodosius, the Bishop of Rome lived splendidly; but this was by the gifts of the Roman Ladies, as Ammianus describes. After those reigns Italy was invaded by foreign nations, and did not get clear of her troubles before the fall of the kingdom of Lombardy. It was certainly by the victory of the see of Rome over the Greek Emperor, the King of Lombardy, and the Senate of Rome, that she acquired Peter’s Patrimony, and rose up to her greatness. The donation of Constantine the Great is a fiction, and so is the donation of the Alpes Cottia to the Pope by Aripert King of the Lombards: for the Alpes Cottia were part of the Exarchate, and in the days of Aripert belonged to the Greek Emperor.

The calling on the dead, and the honoring of their images, were gradually introduced in the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th centuries. The Greek Emperor Philippicus declared against the latter, A.C. 711 or 712. And⁵ the Emperor Leo Isaurus, to put a stop to it, called a meeting of Counselors and Bishops in his Palace, A.C.

726; and on their advice issued an Edict against that worship, and wrote to Pope Gregory II. that a general Council might be called. But the Pope at once called a Council at Rome, confirmed the worship of Images, excommunicated the Greek Emperor, released the people from their allegiance, and forbade them to pay tribute or otherwise be obedient to him. Then the people of Rome, Campania, Ravenna and Pentapolis, with the cities under them, revolted and laid violent hands upon their magistrates, killing the Exarch Paul at Ravenna, and removing Peter Duke of Rome, who had become blind. When Exhilaratus Duke of Campania stirred up the people against the Pope, the Romans invaded Campania, and killed him with his son Hadrian. Then a new Exarch, Eutychius, coming to Naples, sent some men secretly to take away the lives of the Pope and the Nobles of Rome; but the plot was discovered, and the Romans broke completely with the Greek Emperor, and swore an oath to preserve the life of the Pope, to defend his state, and to obey his authority in all things. In this way Rome with its Duchy, including part of Tuscany and part of Campania, revolted in the year 726, and became a free state under the government of the Senate of this city. From then on the authority of the Senate in civil affairs was absolute, while the authority of the Pope went no further than the affairs of the Church alone.

At that time⁶ the Lombards too were zealous for the worship of images, and claimed to support the cause of the Pope; they invaded the cities of the Exarchate, and at last, in A.C. 752, took Ravenna and put an end to the Exarchate. This was the first of the three kingdoms that fell before the little horn.

In the year 751⁷ Pope Zechary deposed Childeric, a lazy and useless King of France, and the last of the race of Merovæus; and releasing his subjects from their oath of allegiance, he gave the kingdom to Pipin the major of the Palace, and so made a new and powerful friend. His successor⁸ Pope Stephen III, knowing better how to deal with the Greek Emperor than the Lombards, went the next year to the King of the Lombards to persuade him to return the Exarchate to the Emperor. When this did not succeed, he went into France, and persuaded Pipin to take the Exarchate and Pentapolis from the Lombards, and

give it to St. Peter. So Pipin in A.C. 754 came with an army into Italy, and made Aistulphus King of the Lombards promise the surrender; but the next year Aistulphus did the opposite, and to revenge himself on the Pope besieged the city of Rome. So the Pope sent letters to Pipin, telling him that if he did not come quickly against the Lombards, *pro data sibi potentia, alienandum fore à regno Dei & vita æterna*, he should be excommunicated. Pipin, fearing a revolt of his subjects and being indebted to the Church of Rome, came quickly with an army into Italy, raised the siege, besieged the Lombards in Pavia, and forced them to surrender the Exarchate and the region of Pentapolis to the Pope for a perpetual possession. So the Pope became Lord of Ravenna and the Exarchate, except for a few cities; and the keys were sent to Rome, and laid upon the confession of St. Peter, that is, upon his tomb at the high Altar, in token of true and lasting lordship yet held by the King's free generosity, as the inscription on a coin of Pipin has it. This was in the year of Christ 755. And from then on the Popes, being temporal Princes, stopped noting the years of the Greek Emperors in their Epistles and Bulls, as they had done until then.

After this⁹ the Lombards invaded the countries of the Pope, and Pope Adrian sent to Charles the great, the son and successor of Pipin, to come to his help. So Charles entered Italy with an army, invaded the Lombards, overthrew their kingdom, became master of their countries, and restored to the Pope not only what they had taken from him, but also the rest of the Exarchate which they had promised Pipin to surrender to him and had held back until then; and he also gave him some cities of the Lombards. In return the Romans made him Patricius themselves, and gave him the authority of confirming the elections of the Popes. These things were done in the years 773 and 774. This kingdom of the Lombards was the second kingdom that fell before the little horn. But Rome, which was to be the seat of his kingdom, was not yet his own.

In the year 796,¹⁰ Leo III being made Pope, notified his election to Charles the great by his Legates, sending him as a present the golden keys of the Confession of Peter, and the Banner of the city of Rome: the first as an acknowledgment that the Pope held the cities of the Exarchate and Lombardy by the grant of Charles; the other to show that Charles should come and subdue the Senate

and people of Rome, as he had done the Exarchate and the kingdom of the Lombards. For at the same time the Pope asked Charles to send some of his Princes to Rome, who might bring the Roman people under him, and bind them by oath in fide & subjectione, in fealty and subjection, as Sigonius recites his words. An anonymous Poet, published by Boeclerus at Strasburg, expresses it this way:

“And he urged him with earnest prayers, that if he wanted to send some of his own leading men, he would subject the Roman people to himself, and, forcing them to keep the treaties, make them promise this by great oaths of fealty.”

Part I, Chapter 7, 2



Hence arose a misunderstanding between the Pope and the city. About two or three years later, the Romans, with help from some of the clergy, raised such tumults against him that a new state of things arose throughout the West. For two of the clergy accused him of crimes, and the Romans seized him with an armed force, stripped him of his priestly robes, and imprisoned him in a monastery. With the help of his friends he escaped and fled into Germany, to Charles the great. He complained to Charles that the Romans had acted against him out of a design to throw off all authority of the Church and recover their old freedom. While he was away, his accusers and their forces ravaged the lands of the Church, and they sent their charges to Charles. Before the end of the year, Charles sent the Pope back to Rome with a large retinue. The nobles and bishops of France who came with him examined the chief of his accusers in Rome and sent them to France under guard. This was in the year 799. The next year Charles himself went to Rome, and on a day he had appointed presided at a Council of Italian and French bishops to hear both sides. But when the Pope's adversaries expected to be heard, the Council declared¹¹ that he who was the supreme judge of all men could not be judged by anyone but himself. The Pope then made a solemn declaration of his innocence before all the people, and by doing so was considered acquitted.

Soon after, on Christmas Day, the people of Rome—who had until then elected their Bishop, and believed that they and their Senate inherited the rights of the old Senate and people of Rome—voted Charles their Emperor, and put themselves under him in the same way the old Roman Empire and its Senate were put under the old Roman Emperors. The Pope crowned him, anointed him with holy oil, and worshiped him on his knees, following the manner of honoring the old Roman Emperors; as the Poet mentioned above relates:

Post laudes igitur dictas & summus eundem Præsul adoravit, sicut mos debitus olim Principibus fuit antiquis.

The Emperor, in turn, took this oath to the Pope: *In nomine Christi spondeo atque polliceor, Ego Carolus Imperator coram Deo & beato Petro Apostolo, me protectorem ac defensorem fore hujus sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ in omnibus utilitatibus, quatenus divino fultus fuero adjutorio, prout sciero poteroque.* The Emperor was also made Consul of Rome, and his son Pipin was crowned King of Italy. From then on the Emperor styled himself: *Carolus serenissimus, Augustus, à Deo coronatus, magnus, pacificus, Romæ gubernans imperium, or Imperator Romanorum*; and prayers were offered for him in the Churches of Rome. His image was put on the coins of Rome from then on, while the Pope's enemies—three hundred Romans and two or three of the clergy—were sentenced to death. The three hundred Romans were beheaded in one day in the Lateran fields; but the clergymen were pardoned at the Pope's intercession and banished to France. In this way the title of Roman Emperor, which had until then belonged to the Greek Emperors, was transferred in the West to the Kings of France.

After this¹² Charles gave the City and Duchy of Rome to the Pope, subject to himself as Emperor of the Romans. He spent the winter setting in order the affairs of Rome, those of the Apostolic see, and those of all Italy, both civil and ecclesiastical, and making new laws for them; then he returned to France the next summer, leaving the city under its Senate, and both the city and the Senate under the Pope and himself. But he heard that his new laws were not followed: the judges did not follow them when they stated the law, and the people did not follow them when they heard it. He also heard that powerful men took ser-

vants from free people, and from the Churches and Monasteries, to labor in their vineyards, fields, pastures, and houses; and that they kept demanding cattle and wine from them, and oppressed those who served the Churches. So he wrote to his son Pipin to remedy these abuses, to take care of the Church, and to see that his laws were carried out.

Now I take the Senate, people, and principality of Rome to be the third King that the little horn overcame, and even the chief of the three. For this people elected the Pope and the Emperor; and now, by electing the Emperor and making him Consul, it was acknowledged to still hold the authority of the old Roman Senate and people. This city was the chief city of the old Roman Empire, represented in Daniel by the fourth Beast; and by subduing the Senate and people and the Duchy, it became the chief city of the little horn of that Beast, and it completed Peter's Patrimony, which was the kingdom of that horn. Besides, this victory had greater consequences than those over the other two Kings. It set up the Western Empire, which continues to this day. It set up the Pope above the judgment of the Roman Senate, above that of a Council of Italian and French Bishops, and even above all human judgment; and it gave him the supremacy over the Western Churches and their Councils in a high degree. It gave him a look bolder than his fellows, so that when this new religion began to be established in people's minds, he grappled not only with Kings but even with the Western Emperor himself. It is also worth noting that the custom of kissing the Pope's feet, an honor above that of Kings and Emperors, began around this time. There are examples of it in the ninth century: Platina tells us that all who came to Pope Leo IV kissed his feet, according to old custom; and some say that Leo III began this custom, claiming that his hand was infected by the kiss of a woman. Around this time the Popes also began to canonize saints, and to grant indulgences and pardons; and some say that Leo III was the first author of all these things. It is further worth noting that Charles the great, between the years 775 and 796, conquered all Germany from the Rhine and Danube northward to the Baltic sea, and eastward to the river Teis; and he extended his conquests into Spain as far as the river Ebro. By these conquests he laid the foundation of the new Empire; and at the same time

he spread the Roman Catholic religion into all his conquests, forcing the Saxons and Hunns, who were heathens, to receive the Roman faith. He divided his northern conquests into Bishoprics, granting tithes to the clergy and Peter-pence to the Pope. By all this the Church of Rome was greatly enlarged, enriched, exalted, and established.

In the dissertation mentioned above, upon some coins of Charles the great, Ludovicus Pius, Lotharius, and their successors, stamped at Rome, there is a drawing of a piece of Mosaic work that Pope Leo III had made in his Palace near the Church of John Lateran. It was made in memory of his sending the standard or banner of the city of Rome, richly worked, to Charles the great; and it was still there when the book mentioned above was published. In the Mosaic work there appeared Peter with three keys in his lap, handing the Pallium to the Pope with his right hand, and the banner of the city to Charles the great with his left. By the Pope was this inscription, SCISSIMUS D.N. LEO PP; by the King this, D.N. CARVLO REGI; and under Peter's feet this, BEATE PETRE, DONA VITAM LEONI PP, ET BICTORIAM CARVLO REGI DONA. This monument gives Charles the title of King, and so it was set up before he was Emperor. It was set up when Peter was handing the Pallium to the Pope and the Pope was sending the banner of the city to Charles; that is, in A.C. 796. The words above, Sanctissimus Dominus noster Leo Papa Domino nostro Carolo Regi, refer to the message; and the words below, Beate Petre, dona vitam Leoni Papæ & victoriam Carolo regi dona, are a prayer that in this undertaking God would preserve the life of the Pope and give the King victory over the Romans. The three keys in Peter's lap stand for the keys of the three parts of his Patrimony: Rome with its Duchy, which the Pope claimed and was conquering; Ravenna with the Exarchate; and the territories taken from the Lombards, both of which he had newly conquered. These were the three dominions whose keys were in the lap of St. Peter, and whose Crowns are now worn by the Pope, and by conquering which he became the little horn of the fourth Beast. From Peter's handing the Pallium to the Pope with his right

hand and the banner of the city to the King with his left, and from the inscription naming the Pope before the King, it may be understood that the Pope was then considered superior in dignity to the Kings of the earth.

After the death of Charles the great, his son and successor Ludovicus Pius, at the Pope's request,¹³ confirmed the donations of his grandfather and father to the see of Rome. In the confirmation he first names Rome with its Duchy extending into Tuscany and Campania; then the Exarchate of Ravenna, with Pentapolis; and in the third place, the territories taken from the Lombards. These are his three conquests, and he was to hold them of the Emperor for the use of the Church sub integritate, entirely, without the Emperor meddling in them, or with the jurisdiction or power of the Pope there, unless he was called to act in certain cases. The Emperor Ludovicus made this ratification under an oath; and as the King of the Ostrogoths, to acknowledge that he held his kingdom of Italy from the Greek Emperor, stamped the image of the Emperor on one side of his coins and his own on the reverse, so the Pope made the same acknowledgment to the Western Emperor. For the Pope now began to coin money, and for many years the coins of Rome are found with the heads of the Emperors—Charles, Ludovicus Pius, Lotharius, and their successors—on one side, and the Pope's inscription on the reverse.

Notes to Chap. VII.

¹ Chap. vii. 8.

² Ver. 20, 21.

³ Ver. 24.

⁴ Ver. 25.

⁵ Sigonius de Regno Italiæ, ad Ann. 726.

⁶ Sigonius ib. ad Ann. 726, 752.

⁷ Sigon. ib. Ann. 750.

⁸ Sigon. ib. Ann. 753, 754, 755.

- ⁹ Sigon. ib. Ann. 773.
- ¹⁰ Sigon. de Regno Ital. ad Ann. 796.
- ¹¹ Vide Anastasium.
- ¹² Sigon. de Regno Ital.
- ¹³ Confirmationem recitat Sigonius, lib. 4. de Regno Italiæ, ad An. 817.

Part I, Chapter 8, 1



Of the power of the eleventh horn of Daniel's fourth Beast, to change times and laws.

In the reign of the Greek Emperor Justinian, and again in the reign of Phocas, the Bishop of Rome gained some power over the Greek Churches, but it did not last long. His lasting dominion was only over the nations of the Western Empire, represented by Daniel's fourth Beast. This jurisdiction was set up by the following Edict of the Emperors Gratian and Valentinian.—¹ *Volumus ut quicumque judicio Damasi, quod ille cum Concilio quinque vel septem habuerit Episcoporum, vel eorum qui Catholici sunt judicio vel Concilio condemnatus fuerit, si juste voluerit Ecclesiam retentare, ut qui ad sacerdotale judicium per contumeliam non ivisset: ut ab illustribus viris Præfectis Prætorio Galliæ atque Italiæ, autoritate adhibitâ, ad Episcopale judicium remittatur, sive à Consularibus vel Vicariis, ut ad Urbem Romam sub prosecutione perveniat. Aut si in longinquiore partibus alicujus ferocitas talis emergerit, omnis ejus causæ edictio ad Metropolitâ in eadem Provincia Episcopi deduceretur examen. Vel si ipse Metropolitanus est, Romam necessariò, vel ad eos quos Romanus Episcopus judices dederit, sine delatione contendat.---Quod si vel Metropolitanus Episcopi vel cujuscunque sacerdotis iniquitas est suspecta, aut gratia; ad Romanum Episcopum, vel ad Concilium quindecim finitimorum Episcoporum accersitum liceat provocare; modo ne post examen habitum, quod definitum fuerit, integretur.* This Edict, which lacks the names of both

Valens and Theodosius in its title, was made in the time between their reigns; that is, at the end of the year 378 or the beginning of 379. It was addressed to the Præfecti Prætorio Italiæ & Galliæ, and therefore was general. For the Præfectus Prætorio Italiæ governed Italy, Illyricum occidentale and Africa; and the Præfectus Prætorio Galliæ governed Gallia, Spain, and Britain.

Giving this jurisdiction to the Pope led several Bishops to write to him for his decisions on doubtful cases, and he answered them by decretal Epistles; from then on he gave laws to the Western Churches by such Epistles. Himerius, Bishop of Tarraco, the chief city of a province in Spain, wrote to Pope Damasus for direction about certain Church matters, and the Letter did not reach Rome until after the death of Damasus, A.C. 384; his successor Siricius answered the same questions with legislative authority, telling him on one point: Cum hoc fieri—missa ad Provincias à venerandæ memoriæ prædecessore meo Liberio generalia decreta, prohibeant. On another: Noverint se ab omni ecclesiastico honore, quo indignè usi sunt, Apostolicæ Sedis auctoritate, dejectos. On another: Scituri posthac omnium Provinciarum summi Antistites, quod si ultrò ad sacros ordines quenquam de talibus esse assumendum, & de suo & de aliorum statu, quos contra Canones & interdicta nostra provexerint, congruam ab Apostolica Sede promendam esse sententiam. And he closes the Epistle thus: Explicuimus, ut arbitror, frater charissime, universa quæ digesta sunt in querelam; & ad singulas causas, de quibus ad Romanam Ecclesiam, utpote ad caput tui corporis, retulisti; sufficientia, quantum opinor, responsa reddidimus. Nunc fraternitatis tuæ animum ad servandos canones, & tenenda decretalia constituta, magis ac magis incitamus: ad hæc quæ ad tua consulta rescripsimus in omnium Coepiscoporum perferri facias notionem; & non solum eorum, qui in tua sunt dioecesi constituti, sed etiam ad universos Carthaginenses ac Boeticos, Lusitanos atque² Gallicos, vel eos qui vicinis tibi collimitant hinc inde Provinciis, hæc quæ a nobis sunt salubri ordinatione disposita, sub literarum tuarum prosecutione mittantur. Et quanquam statuta sedis Apostolicæ vel Canonum venerabilia definita, nulli Sacerdotum Domini ignorare sit liberum: utilius tamen, atque pro antiquitate sacerdotii tui, dilectioni tuæ esse admodum poterit gloriosum, si ea quæ ad te speciali nomine generaliter scripta

sunt, per unanimatis tuæ sollicitudinem in universorum fratrum nostrorum notitiam perferantur; quatenus & quæ à nobis non inconsultè sed providè sub nimia cautela & deliberatione sunt salubriter constituta, intemerata permaneant, & omnibus in posterum excusationibus aditus, qui jam nulli apud nos patere poterit, obstruatur. Dat. 3 Id. Febr. Arcadio & Bautone viris clarissimis Consulibus, A.C. 385. Pope Liberius, in the reign of Jovian or Valentinian I., sent general Decrees to the Provinces, ordering that the Arians should not be rebaptized; and he did this in favor of the Council of Alexandria, so that nothing more should be required of them than to renounce their opinions. Pope Damasus is said to have decreed in a Roman Council that Tithes and Tenths should be paid under pain of an Anathema; and that Glory be to the Father, etc. should be said or sung at the end of the Psalms. But the first decretal Epistle still in existence is this one of Siricius to Himerius; by which the Pope made Himerius his Vicar over all Spain, to publish his Decrees and see them observed. The Bishop of Seville was also at times the Pope's Vicar; for Simplicius wrote as follows to Zeno, Bishop of that place: Talibus idcirco gloriantes indiciis, congruum duximus vicariâ Sedis nostræ te auctoritate fulciri: cujus vigore munitus, Apostolicæ institutionis Decreta, vel sanctorum terminos Patrum, nullatenus transcendere permittas. And Pope Hormisdas³ made the Bishop of Seville his Vicar over Boetica and Lusitania, and the Bishop of Tarraco his Vicar over all the rest of Spain, as his Epistles to them show.

Pope Innocent the first, in his decretal Epistle to Victorius, Bishop of Rouen in France, A.C. 404, in keeping with the Edict of Gratian, made this Decree: Si quæ autem causæ vel contentiones inter Clericos tam superioris ordinis quam etiam inferioris fuerint exortæ; ut secundum Synodum Nicenam congregatis ejusdem Provinciæ Episcopis jurgium terminetur: nec alicui liceat,⁴ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, cujus in omnibus causis debet reverentia custodiri, relictis his sacerdotibus, qui in eadem Provincia Dei Ecclesiam nutu Divino gubernant, ad alias convolare Provincias. Quod si quis fortè præsumpserit; & ab officio Clericatus summotus, & injuriarum reus judicetur. Si autem majores causæ in medium fuerint devolutæ, ad Sedem Apostolicam sicut Synodus statuit, & beata consuetudo exigit, post judicium Episcopale referantur. From these Letters it seems

to me that Gallia was now subject to the Pope, and had been for some time, and that the Bishop of Rouen was then his Vicar or one of them; for the Pope directs him to refer the greater cases to the See of Rome, according to custom. But soon after, the Bishop of Arles became the Pope's Vicar over all Gallia; for Pope Zosimus, A.C. 417, ruling that no one should have access to him without the credentials of his Vicars, gave Patroclus, the Bishop of Arles, this authority over all Gallia, by the following Decree:

Zosimus universis Episcopis per Gallias & septem Provincias constitutis.

Placuit Apostolicæ Sedi, ut si quis ex qualibet Galliarum parte sub quolibet ecclesiastico gradu ad nos Romæ venire contendit, vel aliò terrarum ire disponit, non aliter proficiscatur nisi Metropolitanus Episcopus Formatas acceperit, quibus sacerdotium suum vel locum ecclesiasticum quem habet, scriptorum ejus adstipulatione perdoceat: quod ex gratia statuimus quia plures episcopi sive presbyteri sive ecclesiastici simulantes, quia nullum documentum Formatarum extat per quod valeant confutari, in nomen venerationis irrepunt, & indebitam reverentiam promerentur. Quisquis igitur, fratres charissimi, prætermisâ supradicti Formatâ sive episcopus, sive presbyter, sive diaconus, aut deinceps inferiori gradu sit, ad nos venerit: sciat se omnino suscipi non posse. Quam auctoritatem ubique nos misisse manifestum est, ut cunctis regionibus innotescat id quod statuimus omnimodis esse servandum. Siquis autem hæc salubriter constituta temerare tentaverit sponte suâ, se a nostra noverit communione discretum. Hoc autem privilegium Formatarum sancto Patroclo fratri & coepiscopo nostro, meritorum ejus speciali contemplatione, concessimus. That the Bishop of Arles was at times the Pope's Vicar over all France is also stated by all the Bishops of the Diocese of Arles in their Letter to Pope Leo I.: Cui id etiam honoris dignitatisque collatum est, say they, ut non tantum has Provincias potestate propriâ gubernaret; verum etiam omnes Gallias sibi Apostolicæ Sedis vice mandatas, sub omni ecclesiastica regula contineret. And Pope Pelagius I., A.C. 556, in his Epistle to Sapaudus, Bishop of Arles: *Majorum nostrorum, operante Dei misericordiâ, cupientes inhærere vestigiis &*

eorum actus divino examine in omnibus imitari: Charitati tuæ per universam Galliam, sanctæ Sedis Apostolicæ, cui divinâ gratiâ præsidemus, vices injungimus.

Through the influence of the same imperial Edict, not only Spain and Gallia but also Illyricum became subject to the Pope. Damasus made Ascholius, or Acholius, Bishop of Thessalonica, the chief city of Oriental Illyricum, his Vicar for hearing cases; and in the year 382, Acholius, having been summoned by Pope Damasus, came to a Council at Rome. Pope Siricius, the successor of Damasus, decreed that no Bishop should be ordained in Illyricum without the consent of Anysius, the successor of Acholius. And the Popes that followed gave Rufus, the successor of Anysius, the power to call Provincial Councils; for in the Collections of Holstenius there is an account of a Council of Rome convened under Pope Boniface II., at which were produced Letters of Damasus, Syricius, Innocent I., Boniface I., and Cæfor fear thatine, Bishops of Rome, to Ascholius, Anysius, and Rufus, Bishops of Thessalonica; in which Letters they commend to them the hearing of cases in Illyricum, which the Lord and the holy Canons granted to the Apostolic See throughout that Province. And Pope Siricius says in his Epistle to Anysius: *Etiam dudum, frater charissime, per Candidianum Episcopum, qui nos præcessit ad Dominum, hujusmodi literas dederamus, ut nulla licentia esset, sine consensu tuo in Illyrico Episcopos ordinare præsumere, quæ utrum ad te pervenerint scire non potui. Multa enim gesta sunt per contentionem ab Episcopis in ordinationibus faciendis, quod tua melius caritas novit.* And a little after: *Ad omnem enim hujusmodi audaciam comprimendam vigilare debet instantia tua, Spiritu in te Sancto fervente: ut vel ipse, si potes, vel quos judicaveris Episcopos idoneos, cum literis dirigas, dato consensu qui possit, in ejus locum qui defunctus vel depositus fuerit, Catholicum Episcopum vitâ & moribus probatum, secundum Nicænæ Synodi statuta vel Ecclesiæ Romanæ, Clericum de Clero meritum ordinare.* And Pope Innocent I. says in his Epistle to Anysius: *Cui [Anyasio] etiam anteriores tanti ac tales viri prædecessores mei Episcopi, id est, sanctæ memoriæ Damasus, Siricius, atque supra memoratus vir ita detulerunt; ut omnia quæ in omnibus illis partibus gererentur, Sanctitati tuæ, quæ plena justitiæ est, traderent cognoscenda.*

And in his Epistle to Rufus, the successor of Anysius: Ita longis intervallis determinatis à me ecclesiis discat consulendum; ut prudentiæ gravitæque tuæ committendam curam causasque, siquæ exoriantur, per Achaia, Thessalia, Epiri veteris, Epiri novæ, & Cretæ, Daciæ mediterraneæ, Daciæ ripensis, Moesiæ, Dardaniæ, & Prævali ecclesias, Christo Domino annuente, censeam. Verè enim ejus sacratissimis monitis lectissimæ sinceritatis tuæ providentiæ & virtuti hanc injungimus sollicitudinem: non primitus hæc statuentes, sed Præcessores nostros Apostolicos imitati, qui beatissimis Acholio & Anysio injungi pro meritis ista voluerunt. And Boniface I., in his decretal Epistle to Rufus and the rest of the Bishops in Illyricum: Nullus, ut frequenter dixi, alicujus ordinationem citra ejus [Episcopi Thessalonicensis] conscientiam celebrare præsumat: cui, ut supra dictum est, vice nostrâ cuncta committimus. And Pope Cæfor fear thatine, in his decretal Epistle to the Bishops throughout Illyricum, says: Vicem nostram per vestram Provinciam noveritis [Rufo] esse commissam, ita ut ad eum, fratres carissimi, quicquid de causis agitur, referatur. Sine ejus consilio nullus ordinetur. Nullus usurpet, eodem inconscio, commissam illi Provinciam; colligere nisi cum ejus voluntate Episcopus non præsumat. And in the case of Perigenes, in the title of his Epistle, he lists the Provinces under this Bishop as follows: Rufo & cæteris Episcopis per Macedoniam, Achaiam, Thessaliam, Epirum veterem, Epirum novam, Prævalin, & Daciam constitutis. And Pope Xistus, in a decretal Epistle to the same Bishops: Illyricanæ omnes Ecclesiæ, ut à decessoribus nostris recepimus, & nos quoque fecimus, ad curam nunc pertinent Thessalonicensis Antistitis, ut suâ sollicitudine, siquæ inter fratres nascantur, ut assolent, actiones distinguat atque definiat; & ad eum, quicquid à singulis sacerdotibus agitur, referatur. Sit Concilium, quotiens causæ fuerint, quotiens ille pro necessitatum emergentium ratione decreverit. And Pope Leo I., in his decretal Epistle to Anastasius, Bishop of Thessalonica: Singulis autem Metropolitanis sicut potestas ista committitur, ut in suis Provinciis jus habeant ordinandi; ita eos Metropolitanos à te volumus ordinari; maturo tamen & decocto judicio.

Western Illyricum included Pannonia prima and secunda, Savia, Dalmatia, Noricum mediterraneum, and Noricum ripense; and its chief city was Sirmium, until Attila destroyed this city. Afterwards Laureacum became the chief city of Noricum and both Pannonias, and Salona the chief city of Dalmatia. Now⁵ the Bishops of Laureacum and Salona received the Pallium from the Pope; and Zosimus, in his decretal Epistle to Hesychius, Bishop of Salona, directed him to proclaim the Apostolic decrees both to the Bishops of his own Province and to those of the neighboring Provinces. These Provinces seem to have come under the See of Rome first with Anemius, who was ordained Bishop of Sirmium by Ambrose, Bishop of Millain, and who in the Council of Aquileia under Pope Damasus, A.C. 381, stated his ruling in these words: *Caput Illyrici non nisi civitas Sirmiensis: Ego igitur illius civitatis Episcopus sum. Eum qui non confitetur filium Dei æternum, & coeternum patri, qui est sempiternus, anathema dico.* The next year Anemius and Ambrose, with Valerian, Bishop of Aquileia, Acholias, Bishop of Thessalonica, and many others, went to the Council of Rome, which met to overrule the Greek Church by majority of votes, and to exalt the authority of the Apostolic See, as had been attempted before in the Council of Sardica.

Aquileia was the second city of the Western Empire, and some called it the second Rome. It was the chief city of Istria, Forum Julium, and Venetia; and its subjection to the See of Rome is clear from the decretal Epistle of Leo I. directed to Nicetas, Bishop of this city; for the Pope begins his Epistle thus: *Regressus ad nos filius meus Adeodatus Diaconus Sedis nostræ, dilectionem tuam poposcisse memorat, ut de his à nobis auctoritatem Apostolicæ Sedis acciperes, quæ quidem magnam difficultatem dijudicationis videntur afferre.* Then he gives an answer to the questions Nicetas proposed, and concludes thus: *Hanc autem Epistolam nostram, quam ad consultationem tuæ fraternitatis emisimus, ad omnes fratres & comprovinciales tuos Episcopos facies pervenire, ut in omnium observantia, data profit autoritas.* Data 1–2 Kal. Apr. Majorano Aug. Cos. A.C. 458. Gregory the great, A.C. 591,⁶ cited Severus, Bishop of Aquileia, to appear before him for judgment in a Council at Rome.

Part I, Chapter 8, 2



The Bishops of Aquileia and Millain ordained one another, so they had equal authority and were both subject to the See of Rome. Pope Pelagius stated this around the year 557 in these words:⁷ “It was an old custom,” he said, “that because of the length and difficulty of the journey it had been a burden for them to be ordained by the Apostolic See, so that the bishops of Millain and Aquileia ought to ordain one another.” These words show that the ordination of these two Bishops belonged to the See of Rome. When Laurentius, Bishop of Millain, had excommunicated Magnus, one of his Presbyters, and had then died,⁸ Gregory the Great absolved Magnus and sent the pallium to the newly elected Bishop Constantius. The next year⁹ Gregory rebuked Constantius for favoritism in judging Fortunatus, and ordered him to send Fortunatus to Rome to be judged there. Four years later¹⁰ he appointed the Bishops of Millain and Ravenna to hear the case of a man named Maximus. Two years after that, in A.C. 601, Constantius was dead, the people of Millain had elected Deusdedit as his successor, and the Lombards had elected another man.¹¹ Gregory wrote to the Notary, the Clergy, and the People of Millain that Deusdedit should be ordained by the authority of his letters, and that the man the Lombards had ordained was an unworthy successor of Ambrose. From this I conclude that the Church of Millain had stayed in this state of subordination to the See of Rome ever since the days of Ambrose, because Ambrose himself acknowledged the authority of that See. “The Roman Church,”¹² he said, “does not have this cus-

tom, whose model and pattern we follow in all things.” And a little later: “In all things I want to follow the Roman Church.” In his Commentary upon 1 Tim. iii he wrote: “Although the whole world is God’s, his household is still called the Church, whose ruler today is Damasus.” In his Oration on the death of his brother Satyrus, he tells how his brother came to a certain city in Sardinia, called for the bishop of the place, and asked him whether he was in communion with the Catholic bishops, that is, with the Roman Church. And acting together with the Synod of Aquileia in A.C. 381, in a synodical letter to the Emperor Gratian, he said: “Your mercy had to be begged not to allow the Roman Church, the head of the whole Roman world, and that sacred faith of the Apostles, to be disturbed; for from it flow the rights of venerable communion for all.” The Churches of Aquileia and Millain were therefore subject to the See of Rome from the days of the Emperor Gratian. Auxentius, the predecessor of Ambrose, was not subject to the See of Rome, so the subjection of the Church of Millain began with Ambrose.

This Diocese of Millain held Liguria together with Insubria, the Alpes Cottiae and Rhætia, and the river Addua separated it from the Diocese of Aquileia. In the year 844 the Bishop of Millain broke away from the See of Rome and stayed separate for about 200 years, as¹³ Sigonius relates: “In that same year,” he writes, “Angilbert, Archbishop of Millain, broke away from the Roman Church for reasons that were little understood, and his example had such effect afterward that the Church of Millain did not return to the obedience and authority of Rome until two hundred years later.”

The Bishop of Ravenna, in the metropolis of Flaminia and Æmilia, was also subject to the Pope. For Zosimus, in A.C. 417, excommunicated some of the Presbyters of that Church and wrote a warning letter about them to the Clergy of that Church as a branch of the Roman Church: “In their own,” he said, “that is, in our Roman Church.” When the people of Ravenna had elected a new Bishop and gave notice of it to Pope Sixtus, the Pope set his election aside and¹⁴ ordained Peter Chrysologus in his place. Chrysologus wrote thus to Eutyches, in a letter still kept in the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon: “For the sake of peace and faith, we cannot hear cases of faith without the consent of the

bishop of the city of Rome.” Pope Leo I. was consulted by Leo, Bishop of Ravenna, about some questions, and answered him in a decretal letter in A.C. 451. And Pope Gregory the Great,¹⁵ rebuking John, Bishop of Ravenna, about the use of the pallium, told him of a precept from one of his predecessors, Pope John, which commanded that all the privileges formerly granted to the Bishop and Church of Ravenna should be kept. To this John gave a humble answer. After his death Pope Gregory ordered a visitation of the Church of Ravenna, confirmed the privileges granted to them before, and sent his pallium, following the ancient custom, to their new Bishop Marinian. Still, this Church sometimes broke away from the Church of Rome, and then returned to its obedience.

The rest of Italy, with the nearby islands, contained the suburbicarian regions, or ten provinces under the temporal Vicar of Rome: 1 Campania, 2 Tuscia and Umbria, 3 Picenum suburbicarium, 4 Sicily, 5 Apulia and Calabria, 6 Brutii and Lucania, 7 Samnium, 8 Sardinia, 9 Corsica, and 10 Valeria. Together they made up the proper Province of the Bishop of Rome. For the fifth Canon of the Council of Nice ordained that councils should be held every spring and autumn in every province; and following this canon, the Bishops of this Province met at Rome every half year. Pope Leo I. applied this canon to Rome in this sense, in a decretal letter to the Bishops of Sicily, written when Alippius and Ardabur were consuls, A.C. 447. “It has been laid down in the healthiest way,” he said, “by the holy fathers, that there should be two meetings of bishops each year. Let three of you always come to Rome, on the third day before the Kalends of October, to join the lasting council. And let this practice be kept by you without any excuse, because with God’s help it will be easier to make sure that no scandals and no errors arise in the churches of Christ; since everything has always been handled in communion before the Apostle Peter, so that all the decrees of the canons remain unbroken among all the Lord’s priests.” The Province of Rome therefore included Sicily, along with so much of Italy and the neighboring islands as sent Bishops to the annual councils at Rome. It did not extend into the provinces of Ravenna, Aquileia, Millain, Arles, and the rest, because those provinces had councils of their own. In every

province of the Roman Empire the Bishops were gathered in council by the metropolitan, or the Bishop of the chief city of the province, and that Bishop presided over the council. But the Bishop of Rome not only presided over his own council of the Bishops of the suburbicarian regions; he also gave orders to the metropolitans of all the other provinces in the Western Empire, as their universal governor. The following cases show this further.

Pope Zosimus, in A.C. 417, summoned Proculus, Bishop of Marseilles, to appear before a council at Rome for illegitimate ordinations, and condemned him, as he mentions in several of his letters. Pope Boniface I. in A.C. 419, on a complaint of the Clergy of Valentia against Maximus a Bishop, summoned the Bishops of all Gallia and the seven provinces to gather in a council against him, and said in his letter that his predecessors had done the same. Pope Leo I. called a general council of all the provinces of Spain to meet in Gallæcia against the Manichees and Priscillianists, as he says in his decretal letter to Turribius, a Spanish Bishop. And in one of his decretal letters to Nicetas, Bishop of Aquileia, he ordered him to call a council of the Bishops of that province against the Pelagians, which could ratify all the synodal decrees already ratified by the See of Rome against this heresy. And in his decretal letter to Anastasius, Bishop of Thessalonica, he ordered that Bishop to hold two provincial councils every year, and to refer the harder cases to the See of Rome. If a council had to be called on any extraordinary occasion, he should not trouble the Bishops under him, but should make do with two Bishops from every province, and should not keep them more than fifteen days. In the same letter he described the form of church government then set up, which consisted in a subordination of all the churches to the See of Rome: "From this form," he said, "a distinction among bishops also arose, and great arrangement made provision so that not everyone would claim everything for himself. In each province there would be one whose opinion counted first among the brothers, and again certain men placed in the larger cities would take on a greater care, through whom the care of the whole Church would flow to the one See of Peter, and nothing would stand apart from its head. So whoever knows that he is set over some others should not resent that someone is set over him; he should pay the same

obedience he demands, and just as he does not want to carry the heavy load of a great burden, he should not dare to lay an unbearable weight on others.” These words show plainly the monarchical form of government then set up in the churches of the Western Empire under the Bishop of Rome, by way of the imperial Decree of Gratian and the appeals and decretal letters grounded upon it.

The same Pope Leo, having passed sentence in a council at Rome on Hilary Bishop of Arles, for what he had done through a provincial council in Gallia, took the chance from this to get the following Edict from the Western Emperor Valentinian III. which established the authority of his See over all the churches of the Western Empire more completely.

The emperors Theodosius and Valentinian, Augusti, to Aetius, a distinguished man, Count and Master of both services, and Patrician.

“It is certain both to us and to our empire that the one protection lies in the favor of the heavenly Divinity, and to win that favor our Christian faith and the religion we revere help above all. So the merit of Saint Peter, who is the prince of the episcopal crown, and the dignity of the city of Rome, have confirmed the primacy of the Apostolic See, and the authority of the sacred Synod has strengthened it, so that no unlawful presumption may try to do anything against the authority of that See. For the peace of the churches will be kept everywhere only when the whole body recognizes its own ruler. While these things had so far been kept without violation, Hilary of Arles, as we have learned from the faithful report of the venerable man Leo, Pope of Rome, tried with a stubborn boldness to undertake unlawful things, and because of that an abominable turmoil struck the churches beyond the Alps, as a very recent example shows. For Hilary, who is called Bishop of Arles, invaded the Roman Church by taking on himself, out of sheer rashness and without the bishop of that city being consulted, episcopal ordinations that were not his to give. He removed some men without proper grounds, and ordained others in an unseemly way, against the will and resistance of the citizens. And because those men were not easily accepted by the people who had not chosen them, he gathered an armed force for himself, and either blockaded the gates and barriers of

the walls by siege in the manner of an enemy, or broke them open by attack, and led wars to preach peace at the seat of rest. After such acts against the majesty of the Empire and against the reverence owed to the Apostolic See had been examined one by one in the court of the religious man, the Pope of the City, a settled sentence was passed against him by some of those he had ordained badly. That sentence itself would in fact have held force throughout Gaul even without an imperial sanction: for what would not be allowed by the authority of the Pontiff? But this same reasoning also called for our own command. From now on it shall not be lawful for Hilary, whom the mild kindness of the Bishop still allows to be called bishop, nor for anyone else, to mix arms into church matters, or to resist the commands of the Roman prelate; for such bold acts violate the faith and reverence owed to our Empire. We remove not only this, which is a crime of the highest kind; but so that no slight disturbance may arise among the churches, or the discipline of religion appear in any way reduced, we decide by this lasting decree that neither the bishops of Gaul nor those of other provinces may try anything against the old custom without the authority of the venerable man, the Pope of the eternal City. But whatever the authority of the Apostolic See has laid down or shall lay down shall be law for them and for all. So whichever bishop, summoned to the judgment of the Roman prelate, fails to come, shall be forced to appear by the Governor of that province, while all is kept that our divine ancestors granted to the Roman Church, Aetius, most beloved father of the Augustus. Therefore your illustrious and splendid magnificence shall, by the authority of this present edictal law, make sure that the provisions above are kept, and shall at once demand a fine of ten pounds of gold from every judge who allows our commands to be violated. May the Divinity keep you for many years, most beloved father. Given on the eighth day before the Ides of June, at Rome, in the sixth consulship of Valentinian Augustus, A.C. 445." By this Edict the Emperor Valentinian ordered absolute obedience to the will of the Bishop of Rome throughout all the churches of his Empire, and declared that for the Bishops to attempt anything without the Pope's authority is contrary to ancient custom, and that Bishops summoned to appear before his judgment must be carried there by the

Governor of the Province. He ascribed these privileges of the See of Rome to the grants of his dead ancestors, that is, to the Edict of Gratian and Valentinian II. as above. By this count the dominion of the Church of Rome was now 66 years old. And if in all that time it had not been firmly enough established, this new Edict was enough to settle it beyond all question throughout the Western Empire.

For this reason all the Bishops of the Province of Arles, in their letter to Pope Leo, A.C. 450, asking that the privileges of their metropolitan be restored, said: "By blessed Peter, the prince of the Apostles, the sacred Roman Church held the chief place above all the churches of the whole world." And Ceratius, Salonius and Veranus, three Bishops of Gallia, said in their letter to the same Pope: "Moreover we grow in a great and indescribable joy of our own, because that special page of your teaching is celebrated in the gatherings of all the churches, so that the truly agreeing judgment of all is declared: the chief place of the Apostolic See was rightly established there, where even now the oracles of the apostolic spirit are opened." And Leo himself, in¹⁶ his letter to the metropolitan Bishops throughout Illyricum: "Because our care is stretched through all the churches, at the demand of the Lord, who for the reward of his faith committed the primacy of apostolic dignity to the most blessed Apostle Peter, establishing the universal Church on the solidity of its foundation."

While this ecclesiastical dominion was rising up, the northern barbarous nations invaded the Western Empire and founded several kingdoms there, with religions different from the Church of Rome. But these kingdoms in time embraced the Roman faith, and at the same time submitted to the Pope's authority. The Franks in Gaul submitted at the end of the fifth Century, the Goths in Spain at the end of the sixth; and the Lombards in Italy were conquered by Charles the Great in A.C. 774. Between the years 775 and 794 the same Charles extended the Pope's authority over all Germany and Hungary, as far as the river Theysse and the Baltic Sea; he then set him above all human judgment, and at the same time helped him subdue the City and Duchy of Rome. By the conversion of the ten kingdoms to the Roman religion, the Pope only enlarged his spiritual dominion, and did not yet rise up as a horn of the

Beast. It was his temporal dominion that made him one of the horns, and he acquired this dominion in the latter half of the eighth century, by subduing three of the former horns as above. Now that he had come to a temporal dominion and to power above all human judgment, he reigned¹⁷ with a look bolder than his fellows, and¹⁸ times and laws were from then on given into his hands, for a time, times and half a time, or three times and a half; that is, for 1260 solar years, counting a time as a Calendar year of 360 days, and a day as a solar year. After that¹⁹ the judgment is to sit, and they shall take away his dominion, not at once but little by little, to consume and to destroy it to the end.²⁰ And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall little by little be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him.

Notes to Chap. VIII.

- ¹ See the Annals of Baronius, Anno 381. Sect. 6.
- ² *Populos Galliciæ.*
- ³ *Hormisd. Epist. 24. 26.*
- ⁴ The words, *sine auctoritate*, seem wanting.
- ⁵ See *Caroli a S. Paulo, Geographiam sacram*, p. 72, 73.
- ⁶ *Greg. M. lib. 1. Indic. 9. Epist. 16.*
- ⁷ *Apud Gratianum de Mediolanensi & Aquileiensi Episcopis.*
- ⁸ *Greg. M. lib. 3. Epist. 26. & lib. 4. Epist. 1.*
- ⁹ *Greg. lib. 5. Epist. 4.*
- ¹⁰ *Greg. lib. 9. Epist. 10 & 67.*
- ¹¹ *Greg. lib. 11. Epist. 3, 4.*
- ¹² *Ambros l. 3. de sacramentis, c. 1.*

- ¹³ Sigonius de Regno Italiae, lib. 5.
- ¹⁴ See Baronius, Anno 433. Sect. 24.
- ¹⁵ Greg. M. lib. 3. Epist. 56, 57. & lib. 5. Epist. 25, 26, 56.
- ¹⁶ Epist. 25. apud Holstenium.
- ¹⁷ Dan. vii. 20.
- ¹⁸ Ver. 25.
- ¹⁹ Ver. 26.
- ²⁰ Ver. 27.

Part I, Chapter 9



Of the kingdoms represented in Daniel by the Ram and He-Goat.

The Bear and the Leopard stand for the second and third Empires. The Ram and the He-Goat stand for them again, but with a difference: the Ram stands for the kingdoms of the Medes and Persians from the beginning of the four Empires, and the Goat stands for the kingdom of the Greeks to their end. In this way, under the image of the Ram and the He-Goat, the times of all four Empires are described a second time. “I lifted up my eyes,” says¹ Daniel, “and looked. There, in front of the river [Ulai], stood a Ram with two horns. Both horns were tall, but one was taller than the other, and the taller one came up last.” The Ram with two horns means the kings of Media and Persia: not two persons but two kingdoms, the kingdoms of Media and Persia. The kingdom of Persia was the taller horn, and it came up last. Persia rose when Cyrus, just after conquering Babylon, rebelled against Darius, king of the Medes, beat him at Pasargadæ, and set the Persians above the Medes. That was the horn that came up last. The horn that came up first was the kingdom of the Medes, from the time that Cyaxares and Nebuchadnezzar overthrew Nineveh and shared the Empire of the Assyrians between them. The Empires of Media and Babylon existed at the same time, and both rose with the fall of the Assyrian Empire. The Prophecy of the four Beasts begins with one of them, and the Prophecy of the Ram and He-Goat with the other. As the Ram stands for the kingdom of Media and Persia from the beginning of the four Empires, so the He-Goat

stands for the Empire of the Greeks to the end of those monarchies. While his great horn ruled, and then the four horns that followed it, he stands for this Empire during the reign of the Leopard. While his little horn ruled, one that rose in the latter time of the kingdom of the four and became mighty after their fall but not by its own power, he stands for it during the reign of the fourth Beast.

Daniel says the shaggy Goat is the King of Grecia; that is, the kingdom. The large horn between his eyes is the first King: not the first monarch, but the first kingdom, the one that lasted through the reign of Alexander the Great, his brother Aridæus, and Alexander's two young sons, Alexander and Hercules.² Once that [horn] was broken, four [horns] rose in its place, and four kingdoms would stand up out of the nation [of the Greeks], but not with his [the first horn's] power. So the four horns are four kingdoms, and the first large horn they replaced is the first great kingdom of the Greeks: the one founded by Alexander the Great in the year of Nabonassar 414, which lasted until his son Hercules died in the year of Nabonassar 441. Those four are the kingdoms of Cassander, Lysimachus, Antigonius, and Ptolemy, as noted above.

- ³ In the latter time of their kingdom, when the transgressors have reached the full, a King [or new kingdom] with a fierce face, who understands riddles, will stand up. His power will be mighty, but not by his own power. This King was the last horn of the Goat: the little horn that came up out of one of the four horns and grew very great. The latter time of their kingdom was when the Romans began to conquer them, that is, when they conquered Perseus, King of Macedonia, the fundamental kingdom of the Greeks. The transgressors reached the full at that time, because the High-priesthood was then put up for sale and the Vessels of the Temple were sold to pay for the purchase. The High-priest, with some of the Jews, got permission from Antiochus Epiphanes to follow the practices of the heathen and set up a school at Jerusalem to teach them. Then Antiochus took Jerusalem by force, killed 4000 Jews, took as many prisoners and sold them, plundered the Temple, banned its worship, ordered the Law of Moses to be burned, and set up the worship of the heathen Gods in all

Judea. In that very same year, in the year of Nabonassar 580, the Romans conquered Macedonia, the chief of the four horns. Until then the Goat was mighty by its own power; after that it began to be under the Romans. Daniel tells the times apart by describing in detail the deeds of the Kings of the north and south, those two of the four horns that bordered Judea, until the Romans conquered Macedonia. After that he touches only on the main changes that took place among the nations represented by the Goat. In this later period the little horn was to stand up and grow mighty, but not by its own power.

The first three of Daniel's Beasts lost their dominions, each when the next Beast rose, but their lives were extended, and all of them are still alive. The third Beast, or Leopard, ruled in its four heads until the fourth Beast, or Empire of the Latins, rose, and its life was extended under their power. The Leopard ruling in its four heads means the same thing as the He-Goat ruling in its four horns. So the He-Goat ruled in its four horns until Daniel's fourth Beast, or Empire of the Latins, rose. Then the Latins took away its dominion, but its life was extended under their power. The Latins are not counted among the nations represented by the He-Goat in this Prophecy. Their power over the Greeks is named only to tell apart the times when the He-Goat was mighty by its own power from the times when it was mighty, but not by its own power. It was mighty by its own power until the Latins took away its dominion. After that its life was extended under their rule, and this extension of its life came in the days of its last horn. In the days of that horn the Goat became mighty, but not by its own power.

Because this horn was a horn of the Goat, we should look for it among the nations that made up the body of the Goat. Among those nations it was to rise up and grow mighty. It grew mighty⁴ toward the south, toward the east, and toward the pleasant land, so it was to rise up in the northwestern parts of those nations and spread its dominion toward Egypt, Syria, and Judea. In the latter time of the kingdom of the four horns it was to rise up out of one of them and subdue the rest, but not by its own power. A foreign power was to help it, a power greater than itself: the power that took away the dominion of the third Beast, the power of the fourth Beast. The kingdom of Macedonia was just such

a little horn, from the time it became subject to the Romans. By their victory over Persius, King of Macedonia, in the year of Nabonassar 580, this kingdom stopped being one of the four horns of the Goat and became a dominion of a new kind: not a horn of the fourth Beast, because Macedonia belonged to the body of the third Beast; but a new kind of horn of the third Beast, a horn of the Goat that grew mighty but not by its own power, a horn that rose up and grew strong under a foreign power, the power of the Romans.

Through the will of Attalus, the last King of Pergamus, the Romans inherited that kingdom in the year of Nabonassar 615, including all Asia Minor on this side of mount Taurus. In the years of Nabonassar 684 and 685 they conquered Armenia, Syria, and Judea; in the year of Nabonassar 718 they subdued Egypt. With these conquests the little horn⁵ grew very great toward the south, toward the east, and toward the pleasant land. It grew great even to the host of heaven, and threw some of the host and of the stars to the ground and stamped on them, that is, on the people and great men of the Jews.⁶ It exalted itself even to the Prince of the Host: the Messiah, the Prince of the Jews, whom it put to death in the year of Nabonassar 780. Through it the daily sacrifice was taken away and the place of its sanctuary thrown down: that is, in the wars that the armies of the Eastern nations, led by the Romans, waged against Judea while Nero and Vespasian were Emperors, in the years of Nabonassar 816, 817, and 818.⁷ A host was given to it to oppose the daily sacrifice because of transgression. It threw the truth to the ground and carried out its plans and prospered. This transgression is called in the next words the transgression of desolation; in Dan. xi. 31 it is the abomination which makes desolate; and in Matth. xxiv. 15 it is the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place. It may relate most of all to the worship of Jupiter Olympius in the temple that the Emperor Hadrian built in place of the Temple of the Jews, to the revolt of the Jews under Barchochab that this brought about, and to the desolation of Judea that followed. All the Jews were then banished from Judea on pain of death.⁸ “Then I heard,” says Daniel, “one saint speaking. Another saint said to the saint who was speaking, ‘How long shall the vision about the daily sacrifice and the transgression of desolation last, so that both

the sanctuary and the host are trampled underfoot?’ And he said to me, ‘For two thousand and three hundred days. Then the sanctuary will be cleansed.’” Daniel’s days are years, and these years may be counted either from the destruction of the Temple by the Romans in the reign of Vespasian, or from the pollution of the Sanctuary by the worship of Jupiter Olympius, or from the desolation of Judea at the end of the Jewish war, when all the Jews were banished from their own country, or from some other starting point that time will reveal. From then on the last horn of the Goat stayed mighty under the Romans until the reign of Constantine the Great and his sons. Then the Roman Empire was divided between the Greek and Latin Emperors, and the horn separated from the Latins and became the Greek Empire alone, still under the rule of a Roman family. Today it is mighty under the rule of the Turks.

Some take this last horn for Antiochus Epiphanes, but that is not very sensible. A horn of a Beast never stands for a single person; it always means a new kingdom, and the kingdom of Antiochus was an old one. Antiochus ruled one of the four horns, and the little horn was a fifth kingdom with its own kings. This horn was small at first and then grew very great, but Antiochus did not. It is described as greater than all the former horns, and Antiochus was not. His kingdom, on the contrary, was weak and paid tribute to the Romans, and he did not make it larger. The horn was a King of fierce face who destroyed in astonishing ways, and succeeded and carried out his plans: in other words, he succeeded in his plots against the holy people. But Antiochus was scared out of Egypt by a mere message from the Romans, and later he was beaten and outwitted by the Jews. The horn was mighty by another’s power; Antiochus acted by his own. The horn stood up against the Prince of the Host of heaven, the Prince of Princes, and this describes not Antiochus but Antichrist. The horn threw the Sanctuary to the ground; Antiochus did not, he left it standing. The Sanctuary and the Host were trampled underfoot for 2300 days, and in Daniel’s Prophecies days stand for years. But the defilement of the Temple in the reign of Antiochus did not last that many actual days. They were to last

until the time of the end, until the last end of the anger against the Jews, and that anger is not yet over. They were to last until the Sanctuary that had been thrown down was cleansed, and the Sanctuary is not yet cleansed.

This Prophecy of the Ram and He-Goat is repeated in the last Prophecy of Daniel. There the Angel tells Daniel that⁹ he stood up to strengthen Darius the Mede, and that three more kings would stand up in Persia, [Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius Hystaspis], and that the fourth [Xerxes] would be far richer than all of them. Through his great riches he would stir up everyone against the realm of Grecia. This concerns the Ram, whose two horns were the kingdoms of Media and Persia. Then the Angel goes on to describe the horns of the Goat: first by the¹⁰ rising of a mighty king who would rule with great dominion and do as he pleased, and then by the breaking of his kingdom into four smaller kingdoms that did not pass to his own descendants. Next he describes what two of those kingdoms did, Egypt and Syria, which bordered on Judea. He calls them the Kings of the South and North, that is, south and north in relation to Judea. He carries the description on to the later end of the kingdoms of the four, and to the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, when the transgressors had reached the full. In the eighth year of Antiochus, the year in which he defiled the Temple and set up the heathen Gods in all Judea, and the Romans conquered the kingdom of Macedon, the prophetic Angel stops describing the affairs of the kings of the South and North. He begins to describe those of the Greeks under the rule of the Romans, in these words:¹¹ “And after him Arms [the Romans] shall stand up, and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength.” As [Hebrew: MMLK] signifies “after the king” in Dan. xi. 8, so here [Hebrew: MMNW] may signify “after him”, and [Hebrew: MN-H’CHT] may signify “after one of them” in Dan. viii. 9. In these Prophecies of Daniel, Arms stand everywhere for the military power of a kingdom, and they stand up when they conquer and grow powerful. The Romans conquered Illyricum, Epirus, and Macedonia in the year of Nabonassar 580. Thirty five years later, by the last will and testament of Attalus, the last King of Pergamus, they inherited that rich and prosperous kingdom, that is, all Asia on this side of mount Taurus. Sixty nine years after that they conquered the kingdom of Syria and made it a

Province. Thirty four years after that they did the same to Egypt. With all these steps the Roman arms rose up over the Greeks. And 95 years after that, by making war on the Jews, they polluted the sanctuary of strength and took away the daily sacrifice. Soon afterward, in its place, they set up the abomination that made the Land desolate; for this abomination was set up after the days of Christ, Matth. xxiv. 15. In the 16th year of the Emperor Hadrian, in the year of Christ 132, they set up this abomination by building a Temple to Jupiter Capitolinus where the Temple of God in Jerusalem had stood. Then the Jews, led by Barchochab, rose up in arms against the Romans. In that war 50 cities were demolished, 985 of their best towns destroyed, and 580000 men killed by the sword. At the end of the war, in the year of Christ 136, they were all banished from Judea on pain of death, and since that time the land has remained desolate of its old inhabitants.

That the prophetic Angel passes in this way from the four kingdoms of the Greeks to the Romans ruling over the Greeks is confirmed by what comes next: he describes the affairs of the Christians up to the time of the end, in these words:¹² “And those who understand among the people will teach many. Yet they will fall by the sword and by flame, by captivity and by spoil, for many days. When they fall they will be helped with a little help”—that is, in the reign of Constantine the Great—“but many will hold on to them only in pretense. And some of them who understand will fall, to test them, to purge them of the pretenders, and to make them pure until the time of the end.” A little later, the time of the end is called a time, times, and half a time. That is the length of the reign of the last horn of Daniel’s fourth Beast, and of the Woman and her Beast in the Apocalyps.

Notes to Chap. IX.

¹ Chap. viii. 3.

² Ver. 22.

³ Ver. 23.

⁴ Chap. viii. 9.

- ⁵ Chap. viii. 9, 10.
- ⁶ Ver. 11.
- ⁷ Ver. 12.
- ⁸ Ver. 13, 14.
- ⁹ Dan. xi. 1, 2.
- ¹⁰ Ver. 3.
- ¹¹ Dan xi. 31.
- ¹² Chap. xi. 33, etc.

Part I, Chapter 10, 1



Of the Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks.

The Vision of the Image made of four Metals was given first to Nebuchadnezzar, and then to Daniel in a dream. Daniel then became known for revealing secrets, Ezek. xxviii. 3. The Vision of the four Beasts, and of the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven, was also given to Daniel in a dream. The Vision of the Ram and the He-Goat appeared to him in the day-time, while he was by the bank of the river Ulay, and the prophetic Angel Gabriel explained it to him. It concerns the Prince of the host and the Prince of Princes. Now, in the first year of Darius the Mede over Babylon, the same prophetic Angel appears to Daniel again and explains what is meant by the Son of man, by the Prince of the host, and by the Prince of Princes. The Prophecy of the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven concerns the second coming of Christ, and the Prophecy of the Prince of the host concerns his first coming. This Prophecy of the Messiah, in explaining them, concerns both comings and gives their times.

Like all the rest of Daniel's, this Prophecy has two parts: an introductory Prophecy and an explanation of it. I translate and interpret the whole like this.

- ¹ "Seventy weeks are² cut for your people and for your holy city, to finish transgression, and³ to end sins, to expiate iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, to bring the Vision and⁴ the Prophet to completion, and to anoint

the Most Holy.”

“Know also and understand that from the going forth of the commandment to bring your people back and to build Jerusalem, until⁵ the Anointed the Prince, there will be seven weeks.”

“Yet in sixty two weeks⁶ it will return, and the street and the wall will be built, but in troubled times. After the sixty two weeks the Anointed will be cut off, and⁶ it will not be his. The people of a Prince to come will destroy the city and the sanctuary. Its end will come in a flood, and until the end of the war desolations are decreed.”

“Yet he will confirm the covenant with many for one week. In half a week he will make the sacrifice and the offering stop. On a wing of abominations he will make it desolate, until the end comes and what is determined is poured out on the desolate.”

Seventy weeks are cut for your people and for your holy city, to finish transgression, etc. Here a week stands for seven years, so 490 years are counted from the time the scattered Jews would be brought back together into⁷ a people and a holy city, until the death and resurrection of Christ. By then transgression would be finished, sins ended, iniquity expiated, and everlasting righteousness brought in; the Vision would be accomplished and the Prophet brought to completion, the Prophet whom the Jews expected; and the Most Holy would be anointed, which is why the next words call him the Anointed, that is, the Messiah, or the Christ. The accomplishment of the vision is joined with the expiation of sins, so the 490 years end with the death of Christ. The scattered Jews became a people and a city when they first returned as a polity, or body politic. This was in the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, when Ezra returned with a body of Jews from captivity and revived the Jewish worship. By the King’s commission he created magistrates in all the land, to judge and govern the people according to the laws of God and the King, Ezra vii. 25. There were only two returns from captivity: Zerubbabel’s and Ezra’s. Under Zerubbabel they had only permission to build the Temple; under Ezra they first became a polity or city, with a government of their own. The years of this Artaxerxes began about two or three months after the summer solstice, and his

seventh year fell in the third year of the eightieth Olympiad. The later part of that year, when Ezra went up to Jerusalem, was in the year of the Julian Period 4257. Count the time from then to the death of Christ, and you will find exactly 490 years. If you count in Judaic years that begin in autumn, and date the count from the first autumn after Ezra came to Jerusalem, when he carried out the King's decree, the death of Christ falls in the year of the Julian Period 4747, A.D. 34. The weeks are then Judaic weeks, ending with sabbatical years, and I take this to be the truth. But if you would rather place the death of Christ in the year before, as is commonly done, you can count the year of Ezra's journey in the reckoning.

Know also and understand that from the going forth of the commandment to bring your people back and to build Jerusalem, until the Anointed the Prince, there will be seven weeks. The first part of the Prophecy concerned the first coming of Christ, since it was dated to his coming as a Prophet. This part is dated to his coming to be Prince or King, so it seems to concern his second coming. There the Prophet was brought to completion and the Most Holy anointed; here the one who was anointed comes to be Prince and to reign. Daniel's Prophecies reach to the end of the world, and there is hardly a Prophecy in the Old Testament about Christ that does not in some way concern his second coming. If some of the early writers, like⁸ Irenæus,⁹ Julius Africanus, Hippolytus the martyr, and Apollinaris Bishop of Laodicea, applied the half week to the times of Antichrist, why may we not, with the same freedom of interpretation, apply the seven weeks to the time when Antichrist will be destroyed by the brightness of Christ's coming?

In the days of the early Prophets, when the ten Tribes were led into captivity, the Israelites expected two returns. First, the Jews would build a new Temple, inferior to Solomon's, until the time of that age was fulfilled; after that they would return from all the places of their captivity and build Jerusalem and the Temple in glory, Tobit xiv. 4, 5, 6. To express the glory and excellence of this city, it is said in figure to be built of precious stones, Tobit xiii. 16, 17, 18. Isa. liv. 11, 12. Rev. xi. It is called the New Jerusalem, the Heavenly Jerusalem, the Holy City, the Lamb's Wife, the City of the Great King, and the City into

which the Kings of the earth bring their glory and honor. While such a return from captivity was what Israel expected, even before the times of Daniel, I do not see why Daniel should leave it out of his Prophecy. Since this part of the Prophecy is not yet fulfilled, I will not try to interpret it in detail. I will only observe that the seventy weeks and the sixty two weeks were Jewish weeks, ending with sabbatical years, while the seven weeks are the span of a Jubilee. They begin and end with actions proper for a Jubilee, and with the highest purposes for which a Jubilee can be kept. Also, because the commandment to return and to build Jerusalem comes 49 years before the Messiah the Prince, it may perhaps come forth not from the Jews themselves, but from some other kingdom friendly to them. It may come before their return from captivity and give occasion for it. Lastly, the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the waste places of Judah is predicted in Micah vii. 11. Amos ix. 11, 14. Ezek. xxxvi. 33, 35, 36, 38. Isa. liv. 3, 11, 12. lv. 12. lxi. 4. lxv. 18, 21, 22. and Tobit xiv. 5. The return from captivity, the coming of the Messiah, and his kingdom are described in Daniel vii. Rev. xix. Acts i. Mat. xxiv. Joel iii. Ezek. xxxvi. xxxvii. Isa. lx. lxii. lxiii. lxv. and lxvi. and many other places of scripture. I do not know the manner. Let time be the Interpreter.

“Yet in sixty two weeks it will return, and the street and the wall will be built, but in troubled times; and after the sixty two weeks the Messiah will be cut off, and it will not be his; but the people of a Prince to come will destroy the city and the sanctuary,” etc. Having foretold both comings of Christ and dated the second from their return and the building of Jerusalem, he keeps this from being applied to the building of Jerusalem by Nehemiah. He tells it apart from that by saying that from this period to the Anointed there will be not seven weeks, but sixty two weeks, and these not in prosperous times but in troubled times. At the end of these Weeks the Messiah will not be the Prince of the Jews, but will be cut off; and Jerusalem will not be his, but the city and sanctuary will be destroyed. Nehemiah came to Jerusalem in the 20th year of this same Artaxerxes, while Ezra was still there, Nehem. xii. 36, and found the city lying waste, with the houses and the wall unbuilt, Nehem. ii. 17. vii. 4. He finished the wall on the 25th day of the month Elul, Nehem. vi. 15, in the 28th year of

the King, that is, in September in the year of the Julian Period 4278. Now count from this year sixty two weeks of years, that is 434 years, and the reckoning will end in September in the year of the Julian Period 4712. That is the year in which Christ was born, according to Clemens Alexandrinus, Irenæus, Eusebius, Epiphanius, Jerome, Orosius, Cassiodorus, and other early writers. This was the general opinion, until Dionysius Exiguus invented the common reckoning, in which Christ's birth is placed two years later. If, like some, you reckon that Christ was born three or four years before the common reckoning, his birth still falls in the latter part of the last week, which is enough. How, after these weeks, Christ was cut off, and the city and sanctuary were destroyed by the Romans, is well known.

“Yet he will confirm the covenant with many for one week.” He kept it, even after his death, until the Jews were rejected and Cornelius and the Gentiles were called, in the seventh year after his death.

“And in half a week he will make the sacrifice and the offering stop”—that is, through the war of the Romans against the Jews. After some commotions, that war began in the 13th year of Nero, A.D. 67, in the spring, when Vespasian invaded them with an army; and it ended in the second year of Vespasian, A.D. 70, in the autumn, on September 7, when Titus took the city, having burned the Temple 27 days before. It lasted three years and a half.

Part I, Chapter 10, 2



And upon a wing of abominations he will cause desolation, until the end comes and what has been decided is poured out on the ruined. The prophets, when they picture kingdoms as beasts and birds, put the wings stretched out over a country to stand for the army sent out to invade and rule that country. So a wing of abominations is an army of false gods, for an abomination in scripture often stands for a false god, as when Chemosh is called¹⁰ the abomination of Moab and Molech the abomination of Ammon. The meaning is this: the people of a prince yet to come will destroy the sanctuary, end the daily worship of the true God, and cover the land with an army of false gods, and by setting up their rule and their worship they will bring desolation on the Jews, until the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled. Christ tells us that the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel was to be set up in the time of the Roman Empire, Matth. xxiv. 15.

So in this short prophecy we have a prediction of all the main periods connected with the coming of the Messiah: the time of his birth, the time of his death, the time of the rejection of the Jews, the length of the Jewish war by which he caused the city and the sanctuary to be destroyed, and the time of his second coming. The interpretation given here is therefore fuller, more complete, and better fitted to the purpose than if we limited it to his first coming alone, as interpreters usually do. We also avoid doing violence to the language of Daniel, by taking the seven weeks and the sixty two weeks for one number. If

that had been Daniel's meaning, he would have said sixty and nine weeks, not seven weeks and sixty two weeks, a way of numbering used by no nation. In our reading the years are Jewish luni-solar years,¹¹ as they ought to be, and the seventy weeks of years are Jewish weeks that end with sabbatical years, which is very notable. They end either with the year of Christ's birth, two years before the usual account, or with the year of his death, or with the seventh year after it, and all of those are sabbatical years. Others count either by lunar years or by weeks that are not Jewish; and worst of all they base their readings on wrong chronology, except for the view of Funccius on the seventy weeks, which matches ours. For they place Ezra and Nehemiah in the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon, and the building of the Temple in the reign of Darius Nothus, and they date the weeks of Daniel from those two reigns.

I will now set out, as briefly as I can, the grounds of the chronology I follow here.

The Peloponnesian war began in the spring of An. 1 Olymp. 87, as Diodorus, Eusebius, and all other authors agree. It began two months before Pythodorus stopped being archon, Thucyd. l. 2, that is, in April, two months before the end of the Olympic year. The years of this war are fixed beyond doubt by several facts. Its first year stands 50 years from the transit of Xerxes, counting inclusively, Thucyd. l. 2, or 48 years counting exclusively, Eratosth. apud Clem. Alex. Its end, or its 27th year, stands 69 years from the beginning of Alexander's reign in Greece. The Olympic games were held in its 4th and 12th years, Thucyd. l. 5. And three eclipses of the sun and one of the moon are mentioned by Thucydides and Xenophon. Thucydides, a witness no one can question, tells us that news of the death of Artaxerxes Longimanus was brought to Ephesus, and from there by some Athenians to Athens, in the 7th year of this Peloponnesian war, while the winter half of the year was running. So he died An. 4 Olymp. 88, at the end of An. J.P. 4289, a month or two before midwinter at most, since the news would have taken that long to arrive. Artaxerxes Longimanus reigned 40 years, by the agreement of Diodorus, Eusebius, Jerome, Sulpitius; or 41, according to Ptol. in can. Clem. Alexand. l. 1. Strom. Chron. Alexandr. Abulpharagius, Nicephorus, counting in that number the

reign of his successors Xerxes and Sogdian, as Abulpharagius tells us. After Artaxerxes, his son Xerxes reigned two months and Sogdian seven months, but when the years of the Kings are added up those reigns are not counted apart; they fall inside the 40 or 41 year reign of Artaxerxes. Take out these nine months, and the exact reign of Artaxerxes comes to thirty nine years and three months. So since his reign ended at the start of winter An. J.P. 4289, it began between midsummer and autumn An. J.P. 4250.

I gather the same thing another way. Cambyes began his reign in the spring of An. J.P. 4185 and reigned eight years, including the five months of Smerdes. Then Darius Hystaspis began in the spring of An. J.P. 4193 and reigned thirty six years, by the agreement of all chronologers. Three eclipses of the moon, seen at Babylon and recorded by Ptolemy, fix the reigns of these two kings, and that cannot be disputed. One was in the seventh year of Cambyes, An. J.P. 4191, Jul. 16, at 11 at night. Another was in the 20th year of Darius, An. J.P. 4212, Nov. 19, at 11h. 45' at night. A third was in the 31st year of Darius, An. J.P. 4223, Apr. 25, at 11h. 30 at night. From these eclipses, and by comparing the prophecies of Haggai and Zechary, it is clear that his years began after the 24th day of the 11th Jewish month and before the 25th day of April, and so about March. Xerxes therefore began in the spring of An. J.P. 4229, for Darius died in the fifth year after the battle at Marathon, as Herodotus, lib. 7, and Plutarch mention, and that battle was in October An. J.P. 4224, ten years before the battle at Salamis. Xerxes then began less than a year after October An. J.P. 4228, say in the following spring, for he spent his first five years and more preparing for his expedition against the Greeks. That expedition took place during the Olympic games, An. 1 Olymp. 75, Calliade Athenis Archonte, 28 years after the Regifuge and the consulship of the first consul Junius Brutus, Anno Urbis conditæ 273, Fabio & Furio Coss. Xerxes's army began to cross the Hellespont at the end of the fourth year of the 74th Olympiad, that is, in June An. J.P. 4234, and the crossing took one month. In autumn, three months later, on the full moon, the 16th day of the month Munychion, came the battle at Salamis, and a little after that an eclipse of the sun, which by the calculation fell on Octob. 2. His sixth year therefore began a little before June, say in the spring of

An. J.P. 4234, and his first year consequently in the spring of An. J.P. 4229, as above. He reigned almost twenty one years, by the agreement of all writers. Add the 7 months of Artabanus and the sum is 21 years and about four or five months, which end between midsummer and autumn An. J.P. 4250. At this time, then, began the reign of his successor Artaxerxes, which is what had to be proved.

Julius Africanus also confirms this. He reports, from earlier writers, that the 20th year of this Artaxerxes was the 115th year from the start of the reign of Cyrus in Persia, and fell in with An. 4 Olymp. 83. It began, therefore, with the Olympic year, soon after the summer solstice, An. J.P. 4269. Take away nineteen years, and his first year begins at the same time of year, An. J.P. 4250, as above.

His 7th year therefore began after midsummer An. J.P. 4256, and Ezra's journey to Jerusalem in the following spring fell at the beginning of An. J.P. 4257, as above.

Notes to Chap. X.

- ¹ Chap. ix. 24, 25, 26, 27.
- ² Cut upon. A Hebrew phrase, taken from the practice of numbering by cutting notches.
- ³ Heb. to seal, that is, to finish or complete: a metaphor taken from sealing what is finished. So the Jews count it as *ad obsignatum* Misna, *ad obsignatum* Talmud, that is, *ad absolutum*.
- ⁴ Heb. the Prophet, not the Prophecy.
- ⁵ Heb. the Messiah, that is, in Greek, the Christ; in English, the Anointed. I use the English word so that the relation of this clause to the former one may appear.
- ⁶ Jerusalem.
- ⁷ See Isa. xxiii. 13.

- ⁸ Iren. l. 5. Hær. c. 25.
- ⁹ Apud Hieron. in h. l.
- ¹⁰ 1 Kings xi. 7.
- ¹¹ The ancient solar years of the eastern nations consisted of 12 months, and every month of 30 days, and from this came the division of a circle into 360 degrees. This year seems to be the one used by Moses in his history of the Flood, and by John in the Apocalypse, where a time, times and half a time, 42 months and 1260 days, are treated as equal. But when many of these years are counted together, an account must be kept of the odd days added at the end of these years. For the Egyptians added five days to the end of this year, and so did the Chaldeans long before the times of Daniel, as appears by the *Æra* of Nabonassar; and the Persian Magi used the same year of 365 days, until the Empire of the Arabians. The ancient Greeks also used the same solar year of 12 equal months, or 360 days, but every other year added an intercalary month, consisting of 10 and 11 days alternately.
- The year of the Jews, even from their departure from Egypt, was luni-solar. It was solar, because the harvest always followed the Passover, and the fruits of the land were always gathered before the feast of Tabernacles, Levit. xxiii. But the months were lunar, because the people were commanded by Moses at the beginning of every month to blow trumpets and offer burnt offerings with their drink offerings, Num. x. 10. xxviii. 11, 14, and this ceremony was kept on the new moons, Psal. lxxxi. 3,4,5. 1 Chron. xxiii. 31. Moses called these months the first, second, third, fourth month, etc. The first month was also called Abib, the second Zif, the seventh Ethanim, the eighth Bull, Exod. xiii. 4. 1 Kings vi. 37, 38. viii. 2. But in the Babylonian captivity the Jews used the names of the Chaldean months, and by those names they understood the months of their own year, so that the Jewish months then lost their old names and are now called by those of the Chaldeans.

The Jews began their civil year at the autumnal equinox and their sacred year at the vernal equinox, and the first day of the first month fell on the visible new moon nearest the equinox.

Whether Daniel used the Chaldean or the Jewish year does not matter much, the difference being only six hours in a year, and 4 months in 480 years. But I take his months to be Jewish, for three reasons. First, Daniel was a Jew, and the Jews, even by the names of the Chaldean months, understood the months of their own year. Second, this prophecy rests on Jeremiah's prophecy of the 70 years captivity, so it must be understood in the same sort of years as the seventy, and those are Jewish, since that prophecy was given in Judea before the captivity. Last, Daniel counts by weeks of years, which is a way of counting special to Jewish years. Their days ran by sevens, and the last day of every seven was a sabbath. So their years ran by sevens, and the last year of every seven was a sabbatical year, and seven such weeks of years made a Jubilee.

Part I, Chapter 11, 1



Of the Times of the Birth and Passion of Christ.

The times of the birth and passion of Christ, and such fine points, do not bear on religion, so the Christians of the first age paid them little attention. Those who first celebrated them placed them at the cardinal points of the year: the annunciation of the Virgin Mary on the 25th of March, which was the vernal equinox when Julius Cæsar corrected the calendar; the feast of John Baptist on the 24th of June, the summer solstice; the feast of St. Michael on Sept. 29, the autumnal equinox; and the birth of Christ on the winter solstice, Decemb. 25, with the feasts of St. Stephen, St. John and the Innocents placed as near to it as they could. And because the solstice in time moved from the 25th of December to the 24th, then the 23d, then the 22d, and so further back, some in the following centuries placed the birth of Christ on Decemb. 23, and at last on Decemb. 20; and for the same reason they seem to have set the feast of St. Thomas on Decemb. 21 and that of St. Matthew on Sept. 21. In the same way they set the days of other saints at the entrance of the Sun into each sign in the Julian calendar: the conversion of Paul on Jan. 25, when the Sun entered [Aquarius]; St. Matthias on Feb. 25, when it entered [Pisces]; St. Mark on Apr. 25, when it entered [Taurus]; Corpus Christi on May 26, when it entered [Gemini]; St. James on July 25, when it entered [Cancer]; St. Bartholomew on Aug. 24, when it entered [Virgo]; Simon and Jude on Octob. 28, when it

entered [Scorpio]. And if the Julian calendar held any other notable day, they placed a saint on it, as St. Barnabas on June 11, where Ovid seems to place the feast of Vesta and Fortuna and the goddess Matuta; and St. Philip and James on the first of May, a day dedicated both to the Bona Dea, or Magna Mater, and to the goddess Flora, and still celebrated with her rites. All of this shows that these days were fixed in the first Christian calendars by mathematicians at pleasure, with no ground in tradition, and that Christians later accepted what they found in the calendars.

Nor was there any certain tradition about the years of Christ. The Christians who first began to look into these questions, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Tertullian, Julius Africanus, Lactantius, Jerome, St. Austin, Sulpicius Severus, Prosper, and all who place the death of Christ in the 15th or 16th year of Tiberius, hold that Christ preached only one year, or two at most. At last Eusebius found four Passovers in succession in the Gospel of John, and on that basis started the view that he preached three years and a half, and so died in the 19th year of Tiberius. Others later, finding that the view that he died at the equinox on Mar. 25 fit better with the times of the Jewish Passover in the 17th and 20th years, have placed his death in one of those two years. Nor is there any more certainty in the views about the time of his birth. The first Christians placed his baptism near the beginning of the 15th year of Tiberius, and counting thirty years back from that, placed his birth in the 43d Julian year, the 42d of Augustus and 28th of the Actiac victory. This was the view that held in the first ages, until Dionysius Exiguus, placing the baptism of Christ in the 16th year of Tiberius and misreading the text of Luke, iii. 23, as if Jesus was only beginning to be 30 years old when he was baptized, created the usual account, in which his birth falls two years later than before. Since, then, there is no tradition worth considering on these matters, let us lay all of it aside and examine what preliminary conclusions can be drawn from records of good standing.

The fifteenth year of Tiberius began on Aug. 28, An. J.P. 4727. As soon as the winter was over and the weather grew warm enough, we may suppose that John began to baptize, and that before the next winter his fame went abroad and all the people came to his baptism, Jesus among them. So the first Passover after

his baptism, mentioned in John ii. 13, fell in the 16th year of Tiberius. After this feast Jesus came into the land of Judea and stayed there baptizing, while John was baptizing in Ænon, John iii. 22, 23. But when he heard that John was thrown into prison, he left for Galilee, Mat. iii. 12, afraid, because the Pharisees had heard that he baptized more disciples than John, John iv. 1. On his journey he passed through Samaria four months before the harvest, John iv. 35, that is, about the time of the winter solstice, for their harvest lay between Easter and Whitsunday and began about a month after the vernal equinox. Do you say, he told them, that there are still four months and then comes the harvest? I tell you, lift up your eyes and look at the fields, for they are already white and ready for harvest. He meant that the people in the fields were ready for the gospel, as his next words show¹. John was therefore imprisoned about November, in the 17th year of Tiberius, and Christ then went from Judea to Cana of Galilee in December, and the Galileans received him there, because they had seen all he did at Jerusalem at the Passover. When a nobleman of Capernaum heard that he had come back to Galilee, he went to him and asked him to come and cure his son. Jesus did not go there, but only said, Go on your way, your son lives; and the nobleman went back and found it so, and he and his whole household believed, John iv. This is the start of his miracles in Galilee, and up to this point John gives a full and exact account of the actions of his first year, which the other Evangelists leave out. From here the other Evangelists tell the rest of his history more fully than John does, for he omits what they relate.

From this time Jesus taught in the synagogues of Galilee on the sabbath days, and was praised by all. He came to his own city Nazareth and preached in their synagogue, but they were offended and pushed him out of the city, and led him to the brow of the hill on which the city was built to throw him headlong; but he passed through the middle of them, went on his way, and came and lived at Capernaum, Luke iv. By this time we may suppose the second Passover had either passed or was close at hand.

Matthew passes over all this time in a few words, and here begins to tell of the preaching and miracles of Christ. When Jesus, he says, had heard that John was thrown into prison, he left for Galilee; and leaving Nazareth, he came and lived

at Capernaum, and from that time began to preach and say, Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand, Matth. iv. 12. Afterwards he called his disciples Peter, Andrew, James and John, and then went about all Galilee, teaching in the synagogues and healing every kind of sickness, and his fame went throughout all Syria; they brought to him all the sick people, and great crowds followed him from Galilee, and from Decapolis, and from Jerusalem, and from Judea, and from beyond Jordan, Matth. iv. 18, 25. All of this happened before the sermon on the mount, so we can be sure the second Passover had passed before that sermon was preached. The crowds that followed him from Jerusalem and Judea show that he had lately been there at the feast. The sermon on the mount was given when great crowds came to him from every place and followed him out in the open fields, which points to the summer season; and in that sermon he pointed at the lilies of the field then in flower before the eyes of his listeners. Look, he said, at the lilies of the field, how they grow; they do not work, and they do not spin; yet Solomon in all his glory was not dressed like one of these. And if God so clothes the grass of the field, which is here today and tomorrow is thrown into the oven, etc. Matth. vi. 28. So the grass of the field was in flower at that time, and therefore the month of March and the Passover had passed.

Let us then see how the rest of the feasts follow in order in Matthew's gospel, for he was an eyewitness of what he relates and so tells everything in its due order of time, which Mark and Luke do not.

Some time after the sermon on the mount, when the time came that he should be received, that is, when a feast came at which the Jews were to receive him, he set out for Jerusalem. As he went along with his disciples, the Samaritans had refused him lodging as he passed through Samaria, and a certain Scribe said to him, Master, I will follow you wherever you go. Jesus said to him, The foxes have holes and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of man has no place to lay his head, Matth. viii. 19. Luke ix. 51, 57. The Scribe told Christ that he would keep him company on the journey, and Christ replied that he had no place to stay. I take this feast to be the feast of Tabernacles, because soon afterward I find Christ and his apostles on the sea of Tiberias in a storm so strong

that the ship was covered with water and in danger of sinking, until Christ rebuked the winds and the sea, Matth. viii. 23. This storm shows that winter had now come on.

After this Christ did many miracles and went about all the cities and villages of Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing every sickness and every disease among the people, Matth. ix. He then sent out the twelve to do the same, Matth. x. And at last, when he had received a message from John and answered it, he said to the crowds, From the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven endures violence; and he reproached the cities, Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum, where most of his mighty works were done, because they did not repent, Matth. xi. These passages show that a considerable length of time had passed from the imprisonment of John until now: winter was now past, and the next Passover was at hand. For right after this, Matthew, in chap. xii., adds that Jesus went through the grain field on the sabbath day, and his disciples were hungry and began to pluck the ears of grain and eat them, rubbing them in their hands, says Luke; the grain therefore was not only in the ear but ripe, and so the Passover, in which the first-fruits were always offered before the harvest, had now come or passed. Luke calls this sabbath [Greek: deuteroprôton], the second prime sabbath, that is, the second of the two great feasts of the Passover. As we call Easter day high Easter and its octave low Easter or Lowsunday, so Luke calls the feast on the seventh day of the unleavened bread the second of the two prime sabbaths.

Part I, Chapter 11, 2



On one of the following Sabbaths he went into a synagogue and healed a man with a withered hand, Matth. xii. 9. Luke vi. 6. When the Pharisees then took counsel to destroy him, he left that place, and great crowds followed him. He healed them all and told them not to make him known, Matth. xii. 14. Later, being in a ship with the crowd standing on the shore, he spoke to them three parables in a row, taken from men sowing seed in the fields, Matth. xiii. By this we may know that it was now seed-time, and so that the feast of Tabernacles had passed. After this he went into his own country and taught them in their synagogue, but did not do many mighty works there because they did not believe. Then the twelve, having been abroad a year, returned and told Jesus all that they had done. At the same time Herod beheaded John in prison, and John's disciples came and told Jesus. When Jesus heard it, he took the twelve and left that place privately by ship for a desert place belonging to Bethsaida. When the people learned of it, they followed him on foot from the cities, the winter now being past. He healed their sick, and in the desert fed them to the number of five thousand men, besides women and children, with only five loaves and two fishes, Matth. xiv. Luke ix. As he did this miracle, the Passover of the Jews was near, John vi. 4. But Jesus did not go up to this feast. After these things he walked in Galilee, because at the Passover before the Jews had taken counsel to destroy him, and still sought to kill him, John vii. 1. From then on

he is found first on the coast of Tyre and Sidon, then by the sea of Galilee, later on the coast of Caesarea Philippi, and lastly at Capernaum, Matth. xv. 21, 29. xvi. 13. xvii. 34.

Later, when the feast of Tabernacles was near, his brothers criticized him for walking in secret and urged him to go up to the feast. But he did not go until they had gone, and then he went up in private, John vii. 2. When the Jews tried to stone him, he escaped, John viii. 59. After that he was at the feast of the Dedication in winter, John x. 22. When they tried again to take him, he fled beyond the Jordan, John x. 39, 40. Matth. xix. 1. There he stayed until the death of Lazarus, and then he came to Bethany near Jerusalem and raised him, John xi. 7, 18. From that time on the Jews took counsel to kill him. So he did not walk openly among the Jews any more, but went from there to a country near the wilderness, to a city called Ephraim, and there stayed with his disciples until the last Passover, in which the Jews put him to death, John xi. 53, 54.

So, comparing the Gospels of Matthew and John, we have the history of Christ's actions in unbroken order through five Passovers. John is more exact at the beginning and the end; Matthew in the middle. Whatever one leaves out, the other supplies. The first Passover fell between the baptism of Christ and the imprisonment of John, John ii. 13. The second came within four months after John was imprisoned and Christ began to preach in Galilee, John iv. 35. So it was either the feast Jesus went up to when the Scribe wanted to follow him, Matth. viii. 19. Luke ix. 51, 57. or the feast before that one. The third was the next feast after it, when the grain had formed ears and was ripe, Matth. xii. 1. Luke vi. 1. The fourth was the one near at hand when Christ worked the miracle of the five loaves, Matth. xiv. 15. John vi. 4, 5. The fifth was the one in which Christ suffered, Matth. xx. 17. John xii. 1.

Between the first and second Passover, John and Christ both baptized, until John was imprisoned, four months before the second. Then Christ began to preach and to call his disciples. After he had taught them for a year, he sent them out to preach in the cities of the Jews. At the same time John, hearing of Christ's fame, sent to ask who he was. At the third Passover, the chief priests began to plan Christ's death. A little before the fourth, the twelve, having

preached for a year in all the cities, returned to Christ. At the same time Herod beheaded John in prison, after John had been in prison two years and a quarter. On hearing that, Christ fled into the desert for fear of Herod. Christ did not go up to Jerusalem for the fourth Passover, because he feared the Jews, who at the Passover before had planned his death, and because his time had not yet come. From then on, until the feast of Tabernacles, he moved about in Galilee, and in secret because he feared Herod. After the feast of Tabernacles he never returned to Galilee. Sometimes he was at Jerusalem, sometimes he withdrew beyond the Jordan, or to the city Ephraim by the wilderness, until the Passover in which he was betrayed, arrested, and crucified.

So John baptized for two summers, and Christ preached for three. The first summer John preached to make himself known, so that he could give testimony to Christ. Then, after Christ came to his baptism and was revealed to him, John baptized one more summer, to make Christ known through his testimony. Christ also baptized that same summer, to make himself better known. Because of John's testimony, more people came to Christ's baptism than to John's. The following winter John was imprisoned, and his work being at an end, Christ took up his own office of preaching in the cities. At the start of his preaching he brought the twelve Apostles to their full number, and taught them all through the first year so that he could send them out. Before that year ended, his fame from preaching and miracles had spread so far that at the following Passover the Jews took counsel about how to kill him. In the second year of his preaching it was no longer safe for him to meet people openly in Judea, so he sent the twelve to preach in all their cities, and at the end of the year they returned to him and told him all they had done. Through the whole last year the twelve stayed with him to be taught more fully, so that after his death they could preach to all nations. And on hearing of John's death, afraid of Herod as well as of the Jews, he moved about that year more secretly than before, frequenting deserts and spending the last half of the year in Judea, outside the dominions of Herod.

Thus, in the Gospels of Matthew and John, everything is told in due order from the start of John's preaching to the death of Christ, and the years are marked off from one another by such essential signs that they cannot be mistaken. The second Passover is set apart from the first by John's imprisonment coming between them. The third is set apart from the second by two signs: first, by the feast that Christ went up to coming between them, Mat. viii. 19. Luke ix. 57. and second, by the time elapsed since Christ began to preach. The second was at the start of his preaching, and the third came so long after that, before it arrived, Christ said, "from the days of John the Baptist until now," etc., and blamed the cities of Galilee for not repenting at his preaching and at the mighty works done in all that time. The fourth is set apart from the third by the twelve being sent by Christ to preach in the cities of Judea through all the interval. The fifth is set apart from all the former by the twelve having returned from preaching and staying with Christ through the whole interval between the fourth and the fifth, and by the passion and other sure signs.

Now the first summer of John's baptizing fell in the fifteenth year of the Emperor Tiberius, and so the first of these five Passovers fell in his sixteenth year. The last of them, in which Jesus suffered, falls in the twentieth year of the same Emperor, and so in the consulship of Fabius and Vitellius, in the 79th Julian year, and the year of Christ 34, which was the sabbatical year of the Jews. That it did so, I confirm further with these arguments.

I take it for granted that the passion was on Friday, the 14th day of the month Nisan; the great feast of the Passover on Saturday, the 15th day of Nisan; and the resurrection on the day after. Now the 14th day of Nisan always fell on the full moon just after the vernal equinox. The month began at the new moon before that, not at the true conjunction, but at the first appearance of the new moon. For the Jews referred all the time of the silent moon, as they called it—that is, the time of the moon's disappearing—to the old moon. And because the first appearance would usually come about 18 hours after the true conjunction, they began their month at the sixth hour of the evening, that is, at sunset, right after the eighteenth hour from the conjunction. They called this rule *Jah*, spelling it with the Hebrew letters Y and H, which stand for the number 18.

I know that Epiphanius tells us—provided some interpret his words correctly—that the Jews used a faulty cycle and so moved the legal new moons two days earlier. But he surely did not say this as a witness, for he understood neither astronomy nor rabbinic learning; he was arguing from his mistaken idea about the time of the passion. The Jews did not move their months earlier, but later. They thought it lawful to begin a month a day later than the first appearance of the new moon, because the new moon stayed visible for more than one day; but not a day sooner, for fear of celebrating the new moon before there was any. The Jews still keep a tradition in their books that the Sanhedrin used to fix the new moons by sight. They sent witnesses into mountainous places and questioned them about the moon's appearance, and moved the new moon from the day they had agreed on to the day before, whenever witnesses came from distant regions who had seen it a day sooner than it was seen at Jerusalem. Accordingly Josephus, one of the Jewish priests who served in the temple, tells us² that the Passover was kept on the 14th day of Nisan, *kata selene*—that is, according to the moon—when the sun was in Aries. Two instances recorded by him confirm this, and they wholly overthrow the claim that the Jews used a faulty cycle. In the year Jerusalem was taken and destroyed, he says, the Passover was on the 14th day of the month Xanticus, which, according to Josephus, is our April; and five years before, it fell on the 8th day of the same month. These two instances agree with the course of the moon.

So, computing the new moons of the first month according to the course of the moon and the rule *Jah*, and then counting 14 days, I find that the 14th day of this month fell in the year of Christ 31 on Tuesday, March 27; in the year 32 on Sunday, April 13; in the year 33 on Friday, April 3; in the year 34 on Wednesday, March 24, or rather, to avoid the equinox that fell on the same day and to allow a fitter time for harvest, on Thursday, April 22; also in the year 35 on Tuesday, April 12; and in the year 36 on Saturday, March 31.

Part I, Chapter 11, 3



But the 15th and 21st days of Nisan, a day or two of Pentecost, and the 10th, 15th, and 22nd of Tisri were always sabbatical days, that is, days of rest. It was inconvenient to be barred on two sabbaths in a row from burying their dead and from getting fresh meat ready, because in that hot region their meat would go bad in two days. To avoid these and similar problems, the Jews put their months off by a day whenever the first day of the month Tisri—or the same thing, the third day of the month Nisan—fell on a Sunday, Wednesday, or Friday. They called this rule *Adu*, whose Hebrew letters stand for the numbers 1, 4, and 6: that is, the 1st, 4th, and 6th days of the week, which we call Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday. Postponing by this rule the months found above, the 14th day of the month Nisan falls in the year of Christ 31 on Wednesday, March 28; in the year 32 on Monday, April 14; in the year 33 on Friday, April 3; in the year 34 on Friday, April 23; in the year 35 on Wednesday, April 13; and in the year 36 on Saturday, March 31.

So by this computation the year 32 is ruled out completely, because the Passion cannot fall on a Friday without putting it five days after the full moon or two days before it, whereas it ought to fall on the day of the full moon or the very next day. For the same reason the years 31 and 35 are ruled out, because in those years the Passion cannot fall on a Friday without putting it three days

after the full moon or four days before it—errors so large that they would be plain in the heavens to any ordinary eye. Few or none defend the year 36, so both it and the year 35 can be ruled out this way.

At the start of his reign Tiberius made Valerius Gratus governor of Judea; and after 11 years he replaced him with Pontius Pilate, who governed 10 years. Then Vitellius, newly made governor of Syria, removed Pilate from his post, put Marcellus in his place, and at last sent Pilate to Rome; but because of delays, Tiberius died before Pilate got there. Meanwhile Vitellius, after he had removed Pilate, came to Jerusalem at the time of the Passover, to visit that province as well as others at the start of his time in office; and in place of Caiaphas, then high priest, he appointed Jonathas the son of Ananus, or Annas as he is called in scripture. Afterwards, when Vitellius had returned to Antioch, he received letters from Tiberius telling him to make peace with Artabanus, king of the Parthians. At the same time the Alans, at Tiberius's urging, invaded the kingdom of Artabanus; and soon after the subjects of Artabanus also rebelled, at Vitellius's prompting. For Tiberius thought that Artabanus, pressed this way by difficulties, would more readily accept the terms of peace. So Artabanus quickly gathered a larger army and crushed the rebels. He then met Vitellius at the Euphrates and made a treaty with the Romans. After this Tiberius ordered Vitellius to make war on Aretas, king of Arabia. So he led his army against Aretas and went with Herod to Jerusalem, to sacrifice at the public feast that was then to be celebrated. He was received with honor there, stayed three days, and in the meantime moved the high priesthood from Jonathas to his brother Theophilus. On the fourth day, receiving letters of the death of Tiberius, he made the people swear allegiance to Caius, the new emperor, and, recalling his army, sent them back to their quarters. Josephus tells all of this in *Antiquities*, book 18, chapters 6 and 7. Now Tiberius reigned 22 years and 7 months, and died on March 16, in the beginning of the year of Christ 37; and the feast of the Passover fell on the following April 20, that is, 35 days after the death of Tiberius. So there were about 36 or 38 days for the news of his death to come from Rome to Vitellius at Jerusalem. Since that is a fitting amount of time for such a message, it confirms that the feast which Vitellius and Herod now went

up to was the Passover. If it had been the Pentecost, as is usually supposed, Vitellius would have gone on for three months without knowing of the emperor's death, which cannot be supposed. Still, the things done between this feast and the Passover which Vitellius had attended before—namely, stirring up a sedition in Parthia, calming that sedition, then making a treaty with the Parthians, sending news of that treaty to Rome, receiving new orders from there to go against the Arabians, and carrying out those orders—required far more time than the fifty days between the Passover and Pentecost of the same year. So the Passover which Vitellius first went up to was in the year before. Therefore Pilate was removed from office before the Passover A.C. 36, and so the passion of Christ was before that Passover: for he suffered not under Vitellius, nor under Vitellius and Pilate together, but under Pilate alone.

It is worth noticing that by this time the high priesthood had become an annual office, and the Passover was the time for making a new high priest. Josephus says that Gratus, the predecessor of Pilate, made Ismael high priest after Ananus; and a while later—say a year—he removed Ismael and put in Eleazar; a year after that, Simon; and after another year, Caiaphas. Then he gave way to Pilate. In the same way, Vitellius at one Passover made Jonathas successor to Caiaphas, and at the next made Theophilus successor to Jonathas. So Luke tells us that in the 15th year of Tiberius, Annas and Caiaphas were high priests: Annas until the Passover, and Caiaphas after that. John also speaks of the high priesthood as an annual office, for he tells us again and again that in the last year of Christ's preaching Caiaphas was high priest for that year, John xi. 49, 51. xviii. 13. And the next year Luke tells us that Annas was high priest, Acts iv. 6. So Theophilus was made high priest in the first year of Caius, Jonathas in the 22nd year of Tiberius, and Caiaphas in the 21st year of the same Emperor; and so, giving each of them one year, the Passion, when Annas succeeded Caiaphas, could not be later than the 20th year of Tiberius, A.C. 34. Only the years 33 and 34 remain to be considered, and I rule out the year 33 with this argument. At the Passover two years before the Passion, Christ went through the grain and his disciples plucked the ears and rubbed them in their hands to eat. That the grain was ripe shows that the Passover then fell late; and

so it did. The Passover A.C. 32, April 14, fell late, but the Passover A.C. 31, March 28th, fell very early. So Christ suffered not two years after the year 31, but two years after 32.

So all the signs of the Passion agree with the year 34, and that is the only year to which they all agree.

Notes to Chapter XI.

- ¹ I observe that Christ and his forerunner John, in their parabolic discourses, often alluded to things present. The old Prophets, when they wanted to describe things emphatically, did not only draw parables from things which offered themselves, as from the rent of a garment, 1 Sam. xv.; from the sabbatic year, Isa. xxxvii.; from the vessels of a potter, Jer. xviii. etc.; but also, when such fitting objects were missing, they supplied them by their own actions: as by rending a garment, 1 Kings xi.; by shooting, 2 Kings xiii.; by baring their body, Isa. xx.; by giving significant names to their sons, Isa. viii. Hos. i.; by hiding a girdle in the bank of the Euphrates, Jer. xiii.; by breaking a potter's vessel, Jer. xix.; by putting on fetters and yokes, Jer. xxvii.; by binding a book to a stone and casting them both into the Euphrates, Jer. li.; by besieging a painted city, Ezek. iv.; by dividing the hair into three parts, Ezek. v.; by making a chain, Ezek. vii.; by carrying out household goods like a captive who trembles, Ezek. xii. etc. The Prophets loved to speak by such kinds of figures. And Christ, endowed with a nobler prophetic spirit than the rest, excelled also in this kind of speaking, yet so as not to speak by his own actions, which was less grave and proper, but to turn into parables such things as offered themselves. As the harvest approached, he warned his disciples again and again of the spiritual harvest, John iv. 35. Matth. ix. 37. Seeing the lilies of the field, he warned his disciples about fine clothing, Matth. vi. 28. Referring to the present season of fruits, he warned his disciples about knowing men by their fruits, Matth. vii. 16. At the time of the Passover, when trees put out leaves, he told his disciples to learn a parable from the fig tree: "when its branch is still tender and puts out leaves, you know that summer is near," etc. Matth. xxiv. 32. Luke xxi. 29. That same day, alluding both to the season of the year and to his passion, which was to be

two days after, he formed a parable of the time of fruits approaching, and the murdering of the heir, Matth. xxi. 33. Alluding at the same time both to the money changers whom he had just driven out of the Temple and to his passion at hand, he made a parable of a nobleman going into a far country to receive a kingdom and return, and delivering his goods to his servants, and at his return condemning the lazy servant because he did not put his money with the exchangers, Matth. xxv. 14. Luke xix. 12. Being near the Temple, where sheep were kept in folds to be sold for the sacrifices, he spoke many things in parables about sheep, about the shepherd, and about the door of the sheepfold; and he shows that he alluded to the sheepfolds which were to be hired in the market-place, by speaking of such folds as a thief could not enter by the door, nor the shepherd himself open, but a gatekeeper opened to the shepherd, John x. 1, 3. Being in the mount of Olives, Matth. xxxvi. 30. John xiv. 31. a place so fertile that it could not lack vines, he spoke many things in a hidden way about the farmer, and about the vine and its branches, John xv. Meeting a blind man, he warned of spiritual blindness, John ix. 39. At the sight of little children, he described again and again the innocence of the elect, Matth. xviii. 2. xix. 13. Knowing that Lazarus was dead and would be raised again, he spoke of the resurrection and life eternal, John xi. 25, 26. Hearing of the slaughter of some whom Pilate had killed, he warned of eternal death, Luke xiii. 1. To his fishermen he spoke of fishers of men, Matth. iv. 10. and he made another parable about fishes, Matth. xiii. 47. Being beside the Temple, he spoke of the Temple of his body, John ii. 19. At supper he spoke a parable about the spiritual supper to come in the kingdom of heaven, Luke xiv. On occasion of food for this life, he warned his disciples of spiritual food, and of eating his flesh and drinking his blood in a spiritual sense, John vi. 27, 53. When his disciples wanted bread, he told them to beware of the yeast of the Pharisees, Matth. xvi. 6. Being asked to eat, he answered that he had other food, John iv. 31. In the great day of the feast of Tabernacles, when the Jews, as their custom was, brought a great quantity of water from the river Shiloah into the Temple, Christ stood and cried out, "If anyone is thirsty, let him come to me and drink. Whoever believes in me, out of his heart shall flow rivers of living water," John vii. 37. The next day, alluding to

the servants who by reason of the sabbatical year were newly set free, he said, "If you continue in my word, the truth will make you free." Which the Jews understood literally, with respect to the present freeing of servants, and answered, "We are Abraham's seed, and were never in bondage to anyone: how can you say, you will be made free?" John viii. They assert their freedom by two arguments: first, because they were the seed of Abraham, and therefore newly made free, if they had ever been in bondage; and then, because they never were in bondage. In the last Passover, when Herod led his army through Judea against Aretas king of Arabia, because Aretas was the aggressor and the stronger in military forces, as appeared by the event; Christ, alluding to that state of things, composed the parable of a weaker king leading his army against a stronger who made war upon him, Luke xiv. 31. And I doubt not that many other parables were formed upon other occasions, the history of which we do not have.

² Josephus, *Antiquities*, book 3, chapter 10.

Part I, Chapter 12, 1



Of the Prophecy of the Scripture of Truth.

Daniel describes the kingdoms of the second and third Beasts, the Bear and the Leopard, once more in his last Prophecy. He wrote it in the third year of Cyrus over Babylon, the year in which Cyrus conquered Persia. This Prophecy is a commentary on the Vision of the Ram and the He-Goat.

Look,¹ he says, three more kings will stand up in Persia, [Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius Hystaspes] and the fourth [Xerxes] will be far richer than all of them. By his strength, through his riches, he will stir up everyone against the realm of Grecia. Then a mighty king [Alexander the great] will stand up, rule with great dominion, and do as he wishes. When he stands up, his kingdom will be broken and divided toward the four winds of heaven; it will not go to his posterity [but after their death,] nor will it match the dominion he once ruled, for his kingdom will be torn up and given to others besides those. Alexander the great, having conquered the whole Persian Empire and part of India, died at Babylon a month before the summer solstice, in the year of Nabonassar 425. His captains gave the monarchy to his illegitimate brother Philip Aridæus, a man out of his mind, and made Perdiccas administrator of the kingdom. With their consent, Perdiccas made Meleager commander of the army, Seleucus master of the horse, Craterus treasurer of the kingdom, Antipater governor of Macedon and Greece, Ptolemy governor of Egypt; Antigonus governor of Pamphylia, Lycia,

Lycaonia, and Phrygia major; Lysimachus governor of Thrace; and other captains governors of other provinces—as many as had held those posts before, in the days of Alexander the great. The Babylonians now began to count by a new era, which they called the Era of Philip. They kept the years of Nabonassar and counted the 425th year of Nabonassar as the first year of Philip. Roxana, the wife of Alexander, was left pregnant. About three or four months later she gave birth to a son. They called him Alexander, saluted him as king, and joined him with Philip, whom they had already placed on the throne. Philip reigned three years under the administratorship of Perdiccas, two more years under the administratorship of Antipater, and more than a year under that of Polyperchon—six years and four months in all. Then he and his Queen Eurydice were killed in September by order of Olympias, the mother of Alexander the great. The Greeks, disgusted at the cruelties of Olympias, revolted to Cassander, the son and successor of Antipater. Cassander, wanting dominion over Greece, killed Olympias; and soon after he shut up the young king Alexander, with his mother Roxana, in the castle of Amphipolis, under the charge of Glaucias, in the year of Nabonassar 432. The next year Ptolemy, Cassander and Lysimachus, by means of Seleucus, formed a league against Antigonus; and after certain wars they made peace with him in the year of Nabonassar 438, on these terms: Cassander would command the forces of Europe until Alexander the son of Roxana came of age; Lysimachus would govern Thrace, Ptolemy Egypt and Lybia, and Antigonus all Asia. The year before, Seleucus had taken possession of Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Sustana and Media. About three years after Alexander's death, Antipater made him governor of Babylon; then Antigonus expelled him; but now he recovered and enlarged his government over a great part of the East. This led to a new era, called the Era of Seleucidarum. Not long after the peace with Antigonus—Diodorus says in the same Olympic year—Cassander saw that Alexander the son of Roxana was growing up, and that talk ran all through Macedonia that he should be set free and take up the government of his father's kingdom. So Cassander ordered Glaucias, the governor of the castle, to kill Roxana and the young king Alexander her son, and to hide their deaths. Then Polyperchon set up

Hercules, the son of Alexander the great by Barsinè, as king; and soon after, at the request of Cassander, had him killed. Soon after that, Demetrius the son of Antigonus won a great victory at sea over Ptolemy. Antigonus then took the title of king himself and gave the same title to his son. This was in the year of Nabonassar 441. Following his example, Seleucus, Cassander, Lysimachus and Ptolemy took on the title and dignity of kings. They had stayed away from this honor while any of Alexander's race remained to inherit the crown. In this way the monarchy of the Greeks, for lack of an heir, broke up into several kingdoms. Four of them, set at the four winds of heaven, were very prominent: Ptolemy ruled Egypt, Lybia and Ethiopia; Antigonus Syria and the lesser Asia; Lysimachus Thrace; and Cassander Macedon, Greece and Epirus, as above. Seleucus at this time reigned over the nations beyond the Euphrates, which belonged to the bodies of the two first Beasts. After six years he conquered Antigonus and so gained one of the four kingdoms. For Cassander, afraid of the power of Antigonus, joined with Lysimachus, Ptolemy and Seleucus against him; and while Lysimachus invaded the parts of Asia next to the Hellespont, Ptolemy subdued Phoenicia and Coelosyria, along with the sea coasts of Asia.

Seleucus came down with a powerful army into Cappadocia. He joined the confederate forces, fought Antigonus in Phrygia, killed him, and seized his kingdom, in the year of Nabonassar 447. After that, Seleucus built Antioch, Seleucia, Laodicea, Apamea, Berrhæa, Edessa, and other cities in Syria and Asia. In them he granted the Jews the same privileges as the Greeks.

Demetrius the son of Antigonus kept only a small part of his father's dominions, and in time lost Cyprus to Ptolemy. Later he killed Alexander, the son and successor of Cassander king of Macedon, and seized his kingdom, in the year of Nabonassar 454. Sometime after, he prepared a very great army to recover his father's dominions in Asia. Seleucus, Ptolemy, Lysimachus and Pyrrhus king of Epirus joined together against him. Pyrrhus invaded Macedon, undermined the army of Demetrius, put him to flight, seized his kingdom, and shared it with Lysimachus. After seven months, Lysimachus beat Pyrrhus, took Macedon from him, and held it five years and a half, uniting the kingdoms of Macedon

and Thrace. In his wars with Antigonus and Demetrius, Lysimachus had taken from them Caria, Lydia, and Phrygia. He had a treasury in Pergamus and a castle on the top of a conical hill in Phrygia, by the river Caicus. He entrusted the custody of it to one Philetærus, who was at first faithful to him but revolted in the last year of his reign. Lysimachus, at the instigation of his wife Arsinoe, first killed his own son Agathocles and then several others who mourned him. The wife of Agathocles fled with her children and brothers and some other friends, and urged Seleucus to make war on Lysimachus. Philetærus also, grieved at the death of Agathocles and accused of it by Arsinoe, took up arms and sided with Seleucus. On this occasion Seleucus and Lysimachus met and fought in Phrygia. Lysimachus was killed in the battle and lost his kingdom to Seleucus, in the year of Nabonassar 465. In this way the Empire of the Greeks, which at first broke into four kingdoms, was now reduced to two notable ones. Daniel from then on calls them the kings of the South and North. Ptolemy now reigned over Egypt, Lybia, Ethiopia, Arabia, Phoenicia, Coelosyria, and Cyprus. Seleucus had united three of the four kingdoms, and his dominion was hardly less than that of the Persian Empire conquered by Alexander the great. All of this is thus represented by Daniel:² And the king of the South [Ptolemy] will be strong, and one of his Princes [Seleucus, one of Alexander's Princes] will be strong above him and have dominion; his dominion will be a great dominion.

After Seleucus had reigned seven months over Macedon, Greece, Thrace, Asia, Syria, Babylonia, Media, and all the East as far as India, Ptolemy Ceraunus—the younger brother of Ptolemy Philadelphus king of Egypt—killed him treacherously and seized his dominions in Europe. Antiochus Soter, the son of Seleucus, succeeded his father in Asia, Syria, and most of the East. After nineteen or twenty years his son Antiochus Theos succeeded him. He had a lasting war with Ptolemy Philadelphus and at last settled it by marrying Berenice, the daughter of Philadelphus. But after a reign of fifteen years, his first wife Laodice poisoned him and set her son Seleucus Callinicus on the throne. At the start of his reign Callinicus, pushed by his mother Laodice, besieged Berenice in Daphne near Antioch and killed her with her young son and many

of her women. In response, Ptolemy Euergetes, the son and successor of Philadelphus, made war on Callinicus. He took from him Phoenicia, Syria, Cilicia, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Sustana, and some other regions; and carried back into Egypt 40000 talents of silver and 2500 images of the Gods, among which were the Gods of Egypt that Cambyses had carried away. Antiochus Hierax first helped his brother Callinicus, but later contested with him for Asia. Meanwhile Eumenes, governor of Pergamus, beat Antiochus and took from them both all Asia west of mount Taurus. This was in the fifth year of Callinicus, who after 20 inglorious years was succeeded by his son Seleucus Ceraunus. Euergetes, after four years more, in the year of Nabonassar 527, was succeeded by his son Ptolemy Philopator. All of this is thus signified by Daniel:³ And at the end of years they [the kings of the South and North] will join themselves together: for the king's daughter of the South [Berenice] will come to the king of the North to make an agreement, but she will not keep the power of the arm; she will not stand, nor her seed, but she will be given up, and he [Callinicus] who brought her, and he whom she brought forth, and those who strengthened her in [those] times, [or defended her in the siege of Daphne.] But out of a branch of her roots one will stand up in his seat [her brother Euergetes], who will come with an army and enter the fortress [or fenced cities] of the king of the North, and act against them and prevail. He will carry captives into Egypt, their Gods with their Princes and precious vessels of silver and gold; and he will outlast the king of the North for some years.

Seleucus Ceraunus inherited what was left of his father's kingdom and thought to recover the rest. He raised a great army against the governor of Pergamus, who was by then King of Pergamus, but died in the third year of his reign. His brother and successor Antiochus Magnus went on with the war. He took almost all the lesser Asia from the King of Pergamus and also recovered the provinces of Media, Persia and Babylonia from the governors who had revolted. In the fifth year of his reign he invaded Coelosyria and, with little opposition, took possession of a good part of it. The next year he returned to invade the rest of Coelosyria and Phoenicia, and beat the army of Ptolemy Philopator near Berytus. He then invaded Pafor fear thatine and the neighboring parts of

Arabia. In the third year he came back with an army of 78000. But Ptolemy came out of Egypt with an army of 75000, fought him and routed him at Raphia near Gaza, between Pafor fear thatine and Egypt; and recovered all Phoenicia and Coelosyria, in the year of Nabonassar 532. Puffed up by this victory and living in every kind of luxury, he saw the Egyptians revolt and fight him, but they were beaten; in the fighting sixty thousand Egyptian Jews were killed. All of this is thus described by Daniel:⁴ But his sons [Seleucus Ceraunus, and Antiochus Magnus, the sons of Callinicus] will be stirred up and gather a great army; and he [Antiochus Magnus] will come effectively and overflow, pass through, and return, and [again the next year] be stirred up [marching even] to his fortress, [the frontier towns of Egypt;] and the King of the South will be moved with anger and come out [the third year] and fight with him, the King of the North; and he [the King of the North] will lead out a great multitude, but the multitude will be given into his hand. Once the multitude is carried off, his heart will be lifted up and he will bring down many tens of thousands; but he will not be strengthened by it: for the king of the North will return, etc.

About twelve years after the battle between Philopator and Antiochus, Philopator died. He left his kingdom to his young son Ptolemy Epiphanes, a child of five years old. Then Antiochus Magnus made a treaty with Philip king of Macedon, that each would invade the parts of Epiphanes' dominions that lay next to him. This led to a shifting war between Antiochus and Epiphanes, each of them taking Phoenicia and Coelosyria in turn; and those countries were badly hurt by both sides. First Antiochus seized them. Then a man called Scopas, sent with the army of Egypt, recovered them from Antiochus. The next year, in the year of Nabonassar 550, Antiochus fought and routed Scopas near the fountains of Jordan, besieged him in Sidon, took the city, and recovered Syria and Phoenicia from Egypt, the Jews coming over to him on their own. About three years later, preparing for a war against the Romans, he came to Raphia on the borders of Egypt. He made peace with Epiphanes and gave him his daughter Cleopatra. The following autumn he crossed the Hellespont to invade the cities of Greece under Roman protection, and took some of them; but the Romans beat him the next summer and forced him to return to Asia

with his army. Before the end of the year the fleet of Antiochus was beaten by the fleet of the Romans near Phocæa. At the same time Epiphanes and Cleopatra sent an embassy to Rome to congratulate the Romans on their success against their father Antiochus, and to urge them to carry the war against him into Asia. The Romans beat Antiochus again at sea near Ephesus, brought their army across the Hellespont, and won a great victory over him on land. They took from him all Asia west of mount Taurus and gave it to the King of Pergamus, who had helped them in the war; and they laid a heavy tribute on Antiochus. In this way the King of Pergamus, by Roman power, recovered what Antiochus had taken from him. Antiochus withdrew into the rest of his kingdom and was killed two years later by the Persians, as he was robbing the Temple of Jupiter Belus in Elymais to raise money for the Romans. All of this is thus described by Daniel.⁵ For the King of the North [Antiochus] will return and set out a multitude greater than the former; and he will certainly come, after certain years, with a great army and much riches. In those times many will stand up against the King of the South, [particularly the Macedonians;] and the robbers of your people [the Samaritans, etc.] will raise themselves up to establish the vision, but they will fall. So the King of the North will come, build a ramp, and take the most fortified cities; and the forces of the South will not withstand him, nor his chosen people, and there will be no strength to withstand him. But the one who comes against him will do as he wishes, and no one will stand before him. He will stand in the glorious land, and it will fail in his hand. He will also set his face to go with the strength [or army] of all his kingdom, and make an agreement with him [at Raphia;] and he will give him the daughter of women, corrupting her; but she will not stand by his side, nor be for him. After this he will turn his face toward the islands, and will take many; but a Prince for his own behalf [the Romans] will make the reproach that he offered cease; without his own reproach he will turn it back upon him. Then he will turn his face toward the fort of his own land; but he will stumble and fall, and not be found.

Part I, Chapter 12, 2



Seleucus Philopator succeeded his father Antiochus in the year of Nabonassar 561 and reigned twelve years. He did nothing memorable: he was lazy, and set on raising money for the Romans, to whom he paid tribute. He was killed by Heliodorus, whom he had sent to rob the Temple of Jerusalem. Daniel describes his reign like this.⁶ In his place a man who raises taxes shall stand up in the glorious kingdom, but within a few days he shall be destroyed, not in anger and not in battle.

A little before Philopator died, his son Demetrius was sent to Rome as a hostage in place of Antiochus Epiphanes, the brother of Philopator; and Antiochus was at Athens on his way home from Rome when Philopator died. Then Heliodorus, the treasurer of the kingdom, took the throne. But Antiochus managed things so that the Romans kept Demetrius at Rome, and their ally the King of Pergamus drove Heliodorus out and set Antiochus on the throne, while Demetrius, the rightful heir, remained a hostage at Rome. Antiochus, made King this way by the friendship of the King of Pergamus, ruled powerfully over Syria and the neighboring nations. But he carried himself far below his dignity: he slipped secretly out of his palace, wandered around the city in disguise with one or two companions, ate and drank with people of the lowest rank, foreigners and strangers, joined the gatherings of dissolute people to feast and revel, dressed himself like Roman candidates and officers, played their parts like an actor, and at public festivals joked and danced with servants

and low company, making himself ridiculous with every kind of gesture. This behavior made some people take him for a madman and call him Antiochus [Greek: Epimenês]. In the first year of his reign he removed Onias the high priest and sold the high priesthood to Jason, the younger brother of Onias: for Jason had promised to give him 440 talents of silver for that office, and 15 more for a license to build a place of exercise for training young men in the fashions of the heathen; the King granted the license, and Jason put it into effect. Then the King sent a man named Apollonius to Egypt for the coronation of Ptolemy Philometor, the young son of Philometor and Cleopatra; and knowing that Philometor was not well disposed toward his interests in Phoenicia, he looked after his own safety in those parts, and to that end came to Joppa and Jerusalem, where he was honorably received. From there he went in the same way with his little army to the cities of Phoenicia, to secure himself against Egypt by courting the people and handing out extraordinary favors among them. All of this is represented by Daniel.⁷ In his [Philometor's] place a vile person shall stand up, and they [the Syrians who set up Heliodorus] shall not give him the honor of the kingdom. Yet he shall come in peaceably and win the kingdom by flattery [made mainly to the King of Pergamus;] and the arms [which in favor of Heliodorus oppose him] shall be swept away by a flood from before him and be broken; yes, and also [Onias the high priest] the Prince of the covenant. And after the league made with him, [the King of Egypt, by sending Apollonius to his coronation] he shall work deceitfully [against the King of Egypt,] for he shall come up and become strong [in Phoenicia] with few people. And he shall enter the quiet and plentiful cities of the Province [of Phoenicia;] and [to win over the Jews of Phoenicia and Egypt, and their friends] he shall do what his fathers have not done, nor his fathers' fathers: he shall scatter among them the prey and the spoil, and the riches [taken from other places;] and he shall plan his schemes against the strongholds [of Egypt] even for a time.

These things were done in the first year of his reign, in the year of Nabonassar 573. From then on he planned his schemes against the strongholds of Egypt until the sixth year. Three years later, that is, in the fourth year of his reign,

Menelaus bought the high priesthood from Jason; but he did not pay the price, and the King sent for him. The King, before he could hear the case, went into Cilicia to put down a rebellion there, and left Andronicus as his deputy at Antioch. In the meantime the brother of Menelaus, to make up the money, carried several vessels out of the Temple, selling some of them at Tyre and sending others to Andronicus. When Menelaus was called to account for this by Onias, he had Onias killed by Andronicus; for this deed the King, on his return from Cilicia, had Andronicus put to death. Then Antiochus prepared his second expedition against Egypt, which he carried out in the sixth year of his reign, in the year of Nabonassar 578: for when Cleopatra died, the guardians of her son, the young King of Egypt, claimed Phoenicia and Coelosyria from him as her dowry, and raised a great army to recover those countries. Antiochus, considering that his father had never given up possession of those countries⁸, denied that they were her dowry; and with another great army he met and fought the Egyptians on the borders of Egypt, between Pelusium and Mount Casius. He defeated them there, and could have destroyed their whole army, except that he rode up and down, commanding his soldiers not to kill them but to take them alive. By this mercy he gained Pelusium, and soon after all Egypt, entering it with a huge force of foot soldiers and chariots, elephants and horsemen, and a great fleet. Then he seized the cities of Egypt as a friend, marched to Memphis, laid the whole blame of the war on Eulæus, the King's governor, entered into outward friendship with the young King, and took it upon himself to manage the affairs of the kingdom. While Antiochus was thus occupied, a report spread through Phoenicia that he was dead. Jason, to get the high priesthood back, attacked Jerusalem with more than a thousand men and took the city. When the King heard of it, thinking that Judea had revolted, he came out of Egypt in a fury, recaptured the city, killed forty thousand of the people, took as many prisoners, and sold them to raise money. He went into the Temple and stripped it of its treasures, ornaments, utensils, and gold and silver vessels, amounting to 1800 talents, and carried it all away to Antioch. This was done in the year of Nabonassar 578, and Daniel describes it like this.⁹ And he shall stir up his power and his courage against the King of the South with a

great army; and the King of the South shall be stirred up to battle with a very great and mighty army; but he shall not stand: for they, even Antiochus and his friends, shall plan against him, as shown above; yes, those who share his food shall betray and destroy him, and his army shall be thrown down, and many shall fall killed. And both these kings' hearts shall be set on doing harm; and they, now made friends, shall speak lies at one table against the Jews and against the holy covenant; but it shall not succeed: for the end, at which the abomination of desolation is to succeed, shall come at the appointed time. Then he shall return to his land with great riches, and his heart will be against the holy covenant; and he shall act against it by stripping the Temple, and shall return to his own land.

The Egyptians of Alexandria, seeing that Philometor had first been raised in luxury by the eunuch Eulæus and was now in the hands of Antiochus, gave the kingdom to Euergetes, the younger brother of Philometor. Antiochus then pretended to restore Philometor and made war on Euergetes: he beat him at sea and besieged him and his sister Cleopatra in Alexandria, while the besieged princes sent to Rome to beg the Senate for help. Antiochus, finding that he could not take the city that year, returned to Syria, leaving Philometor at Memphis to govern Egypt in his absence. But Philometor made peace with his brother that winter; and Antiochus, returning the next spring in the year of Nabonassar 580 to besiege both brothers in Alexandria, was met on the way by the Roman ambassadors, Popilius Læna, C. Decimius, and C. Hostilius. He offered them his hand to kiss, but Popilius handed him the tablets on which the Senate's message was written and told him to read those first. When he had read them, Antiochus replied that he would talk over with his friends what was fit to do; but Popilius drew a circle around him and told him to answer before he stepped out of it. Amazed at this blunt and unusual show of authority, Antiochus answered that he would do what the Romans demanded; and then Popilius gave the King his hand to kiss, and he withdrew from Egypt. That same year, in the year of Nabonassar 580, his captains, on his order, plundered and slaughtered the Jews, profaned the Temple, set up the worship of the heathen gods in all Judea, and began to persecute and make war on those who

would not worship them. Daniel describes these actions like this.¹⁰ At the time appointed he shall come again toward the South, but the latter shall not be as the former. For the ships of Chittim shall come, with an embassy from Rome, against him. Therefore he shall be grieved, and return, and be angry at the holy covenant. So he shall do; he shall indeed return, and deal with those who forsake the holy covenant.

In the same year that Antiochus withdrew from Egypt by the Romans' command and set up the worship of the Greeks in Judea, the Romans conquered the kingdom of Macedon, the foundation kingdom of the Empire of the Greeks, and reduced it to a Roman province; and by that they began to bring the reign of Daniel's third Beast to an end. Daniel expresses it like this: And after him Arms, that is the Romans, shall stand up. As [Hebrew: MMLK] means after the King, Dan. xi. 8; so [Hebrew: MMNW] may mean after him. Arms stand everywhere in this Prophecy of Daniel for the military power of a kingdom; and they stand up when they conquer and grow powerful. Until now Daniel described the actions of the Kings of the North and South; but when the Romans conquered Macedon, he stopped describing the actions of the Greeks and began to describe the actions of the Romans in Greece. They conquered Macedon, Illyricum and Epirus in the year of Nabonassar 580. 35 years later, by the last will and testament of Attalus the last King of Pergamus, they inherited that rich and flourishing kingdom, that is, all Asia west of Mount Taurus; 69 years later they conquered the kingdom of Syria and reduced it to a province, and 34 years later they did the same to Egypt. By all these steps the Roman Arms stood up over the Greeks; and 95 years after that, by making war on the Jews, they polluted the sanctuary of strength, took away the daily sacrifice, and then set up the abomination of desolation. For this abomination was set up after the days of Christ, Math. xxiv. 15. In the 16th year of the Emperor Adrian, A.C. 132, they set up this abomination by building a Temple to Jupiter Capitolinus where the Temple of God in Jerusalem had stood. Thereupon the Jews, under the leadership of Barchochab, rose in arms against the Romans; and in the war 50 cities were demolished, 985 of their best

towns destroyed, and 580000 men killed by the sword; and at the end of the war, A.C. 136, they were banished from Judea on pain of death, and from then on the land lay desolate of its old inhabitants.

At the beginning of the Jewish war in Nero's reign, the Apostles fled out of Judea with their flocks; some beyond Jordan to Pella and other places, some into Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, and elsewhere. Peter and John came into Asia, and Peter went from there by way of Corinth to Rome; but John, staying in Asia, was banished by the Romans to Patmos as the leader of a party of the Jews, whose nation was at war with the Romans. Through this scattering of the Christian Jews, the Christian religion, which had already spread westward as far as Rome, spread fast through the whole Roman Empire, and suffered many persecutions under it until the days of Constantine the great and his sons. Daniel describes all of it like this.¹¹ And those who do wickedly against the covenant shall he who sets up the abomination cause to pretend, and to worship the heathen gods; but the people among them who do know their God shall be strong and act. And those who understand among the people shall teach many; yet they shall fall by the sword, and by flame, and by captivity, and by plunder for many days. Now when they fall they shall be helped with a little help, namely in the reign of Constantine the great; and at that time, because of their prosperity, many shall come over to them from among the heathen and join them in pretense. But some of those of understanding shall still fall, to test God's people through them and to purge them of the pretenders, and to make them white until the time of the end; because it is still for an appointed time.

Until now the Roman Empire had remained whole; and under this rule the little horn of the He-Goat stayed mighty, but not by his own power. But now, with the building of Constantinople and the granting of it a Senate and other privileges like Rome's, and with the division of the Roman Empire into the two Empires of the Greeks and Latins, headed by those two cities, a new scene of things begins. In it¹² a King, the Empire of the Greeks, does as he will; and, by setting his own laws above the laws of God, he raises and magnifies himself above every God, and speaks marvelous things against the God of Gods, and

shall prosper until the indignation is accomplished. Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the lawful desire of women in marriage, nor any God, but shall magnify himself above all. And in his seat he shall honor Mahuzzims, that is, strong guardians, the souls of the dead; even with a God whom his fathers did not know shall he honor them, in their Temples, with gold and silver, and with precious stones and valuable things. All of this relates to the over-spreading of the Greek Empire with Monks and Nuns, who placed holiness in abstinence from marriage; and to the invocation of saints and the veneration of their relics, and similar superstitions, which these men introduced in the fourth and fifth centuries.¹³ And at the time of the end the King of the South, or the Empire of the Saracens, shall push at him; and the King of the North, or the Empire of the Turks, shall come against him like a whirlwind, with chariots and with horsemen, and with many ships; and he shall enter the countries of the Greeks, and shall overflow and pass over. He shall also enter the glorious land, and many countries shall be overthrown; but these shall escape out of his hand: even Edom and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon, that is, those to whom his Caravans pay tribute. He shall also stretch out his hand over the countries, and the land of Egypt shall not escape; but he shall have power over the treasures of gold and silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt; and the Libyans and Ethiopians shall be at his steps. All these nations make up the Empire of the Turks, and therefore this Empire is what is meant here by the King of the North. They also make up the body of the He-Goat; and so the Goat still reigns in his last horn, but not by his own power.

Notes to Chap. XII.

¹ Chap. xi. 2, 3, 4.

² Chap. xi. 5.

³ Chap. xi. 6, 7, 8.

⁴ Chap. xi. 10, etc.

⁵ Chap. xi. 13–19.

- ⁶ Chap. xi. 20.
- ⁷ Chap. xi. 21, etc.
- ⁸ 2 Maccab. iii. 5, 8. & iv. 4.
- ⁹ Chap. xi. 25, etc.
- ¹⁰ Chap. xi. 29, 30.
- ¹¹ Chap. xi. 32, etc.
- ¹² Chap. xi. 36, etc.
- ¹³ Chap. xi. 40, etc.

Part I, Chapter 13



Of the King who did according to his will, and magnified himself above every God, and honored Mahuzzims, and regarded not the desire of women.

In the early ages of the Christian religion the Christians of each city were governed by a Council of Presbyters, and the president of the Council was the Bishop of the city. The Bishop and Presbyters of one city did not interfere in the affairs of another city, except by letters or messages of warning. Nor did the Bishops of different cities meet in Council before the time of the Emperor Commodus, because they could not meet without the permission of the Roman governors of the Provinces. But in the days of that Emperor they began to meet in Provincial Councils, with the permission of the governors: first in Asia, to oppose the Cataphrygian Heresy, and soon after in other places and on other occasions. The Bishop of the chief city, or Metropolis, of a Roman Province was usually made president of the Council; and from this came the authority of Metropolitan Bishops over other Bishops in the same Province. This is also why, in Cyprian's days, the Bishop of Rome called himself the Bishop of Bishops. As soon as the Empire became Christian, the Roman Emperors began to call general Councils from all the Provinces of the Empire; and by telling them which points they should consider, and by influencing them with their interest and power, they set up whichever party they wished. In this way the Greek Empire, when the Roman Empire was divided into the Greek and Latin Empires, became the King who, in matters of religion, did as

he wished; and, in lawmaking, raised and magnified himself above every God; and at last, by the seventh general Council, established the worship of the images and the souls of dead men, called Mahuzzims here.

The same King treated abstinence from marriage as holiness. Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical history¹ tells us that Musanus wrote a tract against those who fell away to the heresy of the Encratites, which had just then arisen and had introduced harmful errors; and that Tatian, one of Justin's disciples, started it; and that Irenæus, in his first book against heresies, teaches this, writing of Tatian and his heresy in these words: A Saturnino & Marcione profecti qui vocantur Continentes, docuerunt non contrahendum esse matrimonium; reprobantes scilicet primitivum illud opificium Dei, & tacitè accusantes Deum qui masculum & fæminam condidit ad procreationem generis humani. Induxerunt etiam abstinentiam ab esu eorum quæ animalia appellant, ingratos se exhibentes ergo eum qui universa creavit Deum. Negant etiam primi hominis salutem. Atque hoc nuper apud illos excogitatum est, Tatiano quodam omnium primo hujus impietatis auctore: qui Justini auditor, quamdiu cum illo versatus est, nihil ejusmodi protulit. Post martyrium autem illius, ab Ecclesia se abrumpens, doctoris arrogantia elatus ac tumidus, tanquam præstantior cæteris, novam quandam formam doctrinæ conflavit: Æonas invisibiles commentus perinde ac Valentinus: asserens quoque cum Saturnino & Marcione, matrimonium nihil aliud esse quam corruptionem ac stuprum: nova præterea argumenta ad subvertendam Adami salutem excogitans. Hæc Irenæus de Hæresi quæ tunc viguit Encratarum. Thus far Eusebius. But although the followers of Tatian were at first condemned as heretics by the name of Encratites, or Continentes, their principles could not yet be rooted out: for Montanus refined on them and made only second marriages unlawful; he also introduced frequent fastings, annual fasting days, the keeping of Lent, and eating dried meats. Around the middle of the third century the Apostolici condemned marriage. They were a branch of Tatian's disciples. The Hierocitæ in Egypt, near the end of the third century, also condemned marriage. Paul the Hermit ran from Decius's persecu-

tion into the desert and lived there alone until Constantine the Great's reign, without taking disciples. Antony did the same during Dioclesian's persecution, or a little before it, and he did take disciples; and many others soon copied him. Until now the principles of the Encratites had been rejected by the Churches; but now, refined by the Monks and imposed not on all men but only on those who would voluntarily take up a monastic life, they began to be admired, and to overflow first the Greek Church and then the Latin too, like a torrent. Eusebius reports that Constantine the Great held in the highest honor the men who gave themselves wholly to the divine philosophy; and that he almost venerated the most holy company of Virgins perpetually devoted to God, being certain that the God to whom he had consecrated himself lived in their minds. In his time and that of his sons, this way of a single life was spread in Egypt by Antony and in Syria by Hilarion; and it spread so fast that soon after the time of Julian the Apostate a third of the Egyptians had gone into the deserts of Egypt. They lived first alone in cells, then joined together into coenobia or convents; and at last came into towns, and filled the Churches with Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons. Athanasius in his younger days poured water on the hands of his master Antony; and finding the Monks faithful to him, made many of them Bishops and Presbyters in Egypt. These Bishops built new Monasteries, out of which they chose Presbyters for their own cities and sent Bishops to others. The same happened in Syria, the superstition being quickly carried there from Egypt by Hilarion, a disciple of Antony. Spiridion and Epiphanius of Cyprus, James of Nisibis, Cyril of Jerusalem, Eustathius of Sebastia in Armenia, Eusebius of Emisa, Titus of Bostra, Basilius of Ancyra, Acacius of Cæsarea in Pafor fear thatine, Elpidius of Laodicea, Melitius and Flavian of Antioch, Theodorus of Tyre, Protogenes of Carrhæ, Acacius of Berrhæa, Theodotus of Hierapolis, Eusebius of Chalcedon, Amphilocheius of Iconium, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory Nyssen, and John Chrysostom of Constantinople, were both Bishops and Monks in the fourth century. Eustathius, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory Nyssen, Basil, etc. had Monasteries of clergymen in their cities, out of which Bishops were sent to other cities; who in the same way built Monasteries there, until the Churches were supplied with

Bishops out of these Monasteries. Hence Jerome, in a letter written about the year 385,³ says of the Clergy: Quasi & ipsi aliud sint quam Monachi, & non quicquid in Monachos dicitur redundet in Clericos qui patres sunt Monachorum. Detrimentum pecoris pastoris ignominia est. And in his book against Vigilantius: Quid facient Orientis Ecclesiæ? Quæ aut Virgines Clericos accipiunt, aut Continentes, aut si uxores habuerint mariti esse desistunt. Soon after, even the Emperors ordered the Churches to take their clergy from the monasteries under this law.

Imp. Arcad & Honor. AA. Cæsario PF. P.

- ⁴ Si quos forte Episcopi deesse sibi Clericos arbitrantur, ex monachorum numero rectius ordinabunt: non obnoxios publicis privatisque rationibus cum invidia teneant, sed habeant jam probatos. Dat. vii. Kal. Aug. Honorio A. iv. & Eutychiano Coss. A.C. 598. The Greek Empire being now in the hands of these Encratites, and holding them in great admiration, Daniel makes it a characteristic of the King who does as he will that he should not regard the desire of Women.

Thus the Sect of the Encratites, set on foot by the Gnostics and propagated by Tatian and Montanus near the end of the second century; which was condemned by the Churches of that century and the third, and refined on by their followers; spread over the Eastern Churches in the fourth century, and before that century ended began to spread over the Western. From then on the Christian Churches, having a form of godliness but denying its power, came into the hands of the Encratites; and the Heathens, who in the fourth century came over in great numbers to the Christians, more readily adopted this sort of Christianity, because it had more in common with their old superstitions, than the Christianity of sincere Christians; who, by the lamps of the seven Churches of Asia and not by the lamps of the Monasteries, had lit up the Church Catholic during the first three centuries.

The Cataphrygians also brought in several other superstitions: such as the doctrine of Ghosts and of their punishment in Purgatory, with prayers and offerings to lessen that punishment, as Tertullian teaches in his books *De Anima*

and De Monogamia. They also used the cross as a charm. So Tertullian writes in his book *de Corona militis*: Ad omnem progressum atque promotum, ad omnem aditum & exitum, ad vestitum, ad calceatum, ad lavacra, ad mensas, ad lamina, ad cubilia, ad sedilia, quacunque nos conversatio exercet, frontem crucis signaculo terimus. The Apostle points to all these superstitions when he says: 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, the demons and ghosts worshipped by the heathens, speaking lies in hypocrisy about their apparitions, the miracles done by them, their relics, and the sign of the cross, having consciences seared with a hot iron; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from foods, etc. 1 Tim. iv. 1,2,3. From the Cataphrygians these principles and practices were passed down to later times. For the mystery of iniquity did already work in the Apostles' days in the Gnostics, continued to work very strongly in their offspring the Tatianists and Cataphrygians, and was to work until that man of sin should be revealed; whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power and signs, and lying wonders, and all deceivableness of unrighteousness; covered over with a form of Christian godliness, but without its power, 2 Thess. ii. 7–10.

For although some stop was put to Cataphrygian Christianity by Provincial Councils until the fourth century; yet when the Roman Emperors then turned Christian, and great multitudes of heathens came over in outward profession, these people found the Cataphrygian Christianity better suited to their old principles, of placing religion in outward forms and ceremonies, holy days, and doctrines of ghosts, than the religion of sincere Christians: so they readily took the side of the Cataphrygian Christians and set up that Christianity before the fourth century ended. By this means those of understanding, after they had been persecuted by the heathen Emperors in the first three centuries and were helped with a little help, by the conversion of Constantine the great and his sons to the Christian religion, fell under new persecutions, to purge them of the pretenders and to make them white until the time of the end.

Notes to Chap. XIII.

¹ Lib. 4. c. 28, 29.

² In vita Constantini, l. 4. c. 28.

³ Epist. 10.

⁴ L. 32. de Episcopis.

Part I, Chapter 14, 1



Of the Mahuzzims, honored by the King who does according to his will. In scripture we are told that some trust in God and others trust in idols, and that God is our refuge, our strength, and our defense. In this sense God is the rock of his people, and false Gods are called the rock of those who trust in them, Deut. xxxii. 4, 15, 18, 30, 31, 37. In the same sense the Gods of the King who shall do according to his will are called Mahuzzims: munitions, fortresses, protectors, guardians, or defenders. “In his position,” says¹ Daniel, “he shall honor Mahuzzims; with a god his fathers did not know he shall honor them with gold and silver, with precious stones, and things of value. He shall do this in the strongest holds or temples; and he shall cause them to rule over many, and divide the land among them as a possession.” This is how it came to pass, step by step, in the following manner.

Gregory Nyssen² tells us that after the persecution of the Emperor Decius, Gregory, Bishop of Neocæsarea in Pontus, established among all people, as an addition or consequence of devotion toward God, that festival days and assemblies should be celebrated for those who had contended for the faith, that is, for the Martyrs. And he gives this reason for the institution: when he saw, Nyssen says, that the simple and unskilled multitude, because of bodily pleasures, remained in the error of idols; so that the main thing among them might be corrected, namely that instead of their empty worship they might turn their eyes to God; he allowed that at the memorials of the holy Martyrs they might

make merry and enjoy themselves, and give way to joy. The heathens delighted in the festivals of their Gods and were unwilling to give up those pleasures; so Gregory, to make their conversion easier, established annual festivals for the Saints and Martyrs. From this it came about that, in place of the festivals of the heathens, the chief festivals of the Christians took over: such as keeping Christmas with ivy, with feasting, playing, and sports, in place of the Bacchanalia and Saturnalia; celebrating May-day with flowers, in place of the Floralia; and keeping festivals to the Virgin Mary, John the Baptist, and several of the Apostles, in place of the solemnities for the entrance of the Sun into the signs of the Zodiac in the old Julian Calendar. In that same persecution of Decius, Cyprian ordered the accounts of the sufferings of the Martyrs in Africa to be registered, so that their memorials could be celebrated each year with offerings and sacrifices; and Felix, Bishop of Rome, a little later, as Platina relates, “consulting the glory of the Martyrs, ordained that sacrifices should be celebrated each year in their name.” By the pleasures of these festivals the Christians grew much in number and fell away just as much in virtue, until they were purged and made white by the persecution of Dioclesian. This was the first step taken in the Christian religion toward the veneration of the Martyrs; and though it did not yet amount to unlawful worship, it prepared the Christians for a further veneration of the dead that in a short time ended in the invocation of Saints.

The next step was the choice to pray at the tombs of the Martyrs; this practice began in Dioclesian’s persecution. The Council of Eliberis in Spain, held in the third or fourth year of Dioclesian’s persecution, A.C. 305, has these Canons. Can. 34. “It was decided that candles should not be burned in the cemetery by day: for the spirits of the saints are not to be disturbed. Those who do not observe this are to be kept from the communion of the Church.” Can. 35. “It was decided to forbid women from keeping watch in the cemetery, because under the cover of prayer they often commit crimes in secret.” Right after that persecution, about the year 314, the Council of Laodicea in Phrygia, which then met to restore the broken discipline of the Church, has the following Canons. Can. 9. “Those of the Church are not allowed to go into the cemeter-

ies, or Martyries as they are called, of heretics, for the sake of prayer or recovery of health; but those who go, if they are among the faithful, shall be excommunicated for a time." Can. 34. "A Christian must not leave the Martyrs of Christ and go to false Martyrs, that is, to the Martyrs of the heretics; for these are alien from God; and so let those be anathema who go to them." Can. 51. "The birthdays of the Martyrs shall not be celebrated in Lent, but their commemoration shall be made on the Sabbath days and the Lord's days." The Council of Paphlagonia, held in the year 324, made this Canon: "If any man, being arrogant, hates the gatherings of the Martyrs, or the Liturgies performed in them, or the memorials of the Martyrs, let him be anathema." All of this makes it clear that the Christians in the time of Dioclesian's persecution used to pray in the cemeteries or burying places of the dead, to avoid the danger of the persecution and for want of Churches, which were all thrown down; and after the persecution was over they kept up that practice in honor of the Martyrs until new Churches could be built; and by use they came to value it as helpful to devotion and to the recovery of the sick. It also appears that in these burying places they remembered the Martyrs each year on days set apart for them, and they accounted all these practices pious and religious, and anathematized as arrogant the men who opposed them or prayed in the Martyries of the heretics. They also lit torches to the Martyrs in the daytime, as the heathens did to their Gods; and this custom, before the end of the fourth century, became common in the West. They sprinkled the worshipers of the Martyrs with holy water, as the heathens did the worshipers of their Gods; and they went on pilgrimage to see Jerusalem and other holy places, as if those places conferred sanctity on the visitors. From the custom of praying in the cemeteries and Martyries came the custom of moving the bodies of the Saints and Martyrs into Churches that were newly built: the Emperor Constantius began this practice about the year 359, having the bodies of Andrew the Apostle, Luke, and Timothy moved into a new Church at Constantinople; and before this act of Constantius, the Egyptians kept the bodies of their Martyrs and Saints unburied on beds in their private houses, and told stories of their souls appearing after death and going up to heaven, as Athanasius relates in the life of Antony. All of this gave occa-

sion to the Emperor Julian, as Cyril relates, to accuse the Christians in this way: "Your adding to that old dead man, Jesus, many new dead men, who can sufficiently abominate? You have filled all places with tombs and monuments, even though you are nowhere told to bow down to tombs and to treat them with careful respect." And a little later: "Since Jesus said that tombs are full of filthiness, how do you invoke God upon them?" And in another place he says that if Christians had kept to the precepts of the Hebrews, they would have worshiped one God instead of many, and not a man, or rather not many wretched men; and that they adored the wood of the cross, making its images on their foreheads and in front of their houses.

After the tombs of Saints and Martyrs were turned into places of worship like the heathen temples, and the Churches into tombs, and a certain kind of sanctity was attributed to the dead bodies of the Saints and Martyrs buried in them, and annual festivals were kept for them with sacrifices offered to God in their name; the next step toward the invocation of Saints was attributing to their dead bodies, bones, and other relics a power of working miracles, by way of the separate souls, who were thought to know what we do or say, and to be able to do us good or harm, and to work those miracles. This was exactly the idea the heathens had of the separate souls of their old Kings and Heroes, whom they worshiped under the names of Saturn, Rhea, Jupiter, Juno, Mars, Venus, Bacchus, Ceres, Osiris, Isis, Apollo, Diana, and the rest of their Gods. Since these Gods are male and female, husband and wife, son and daughter, brother and sister, they are shown by that to be old men and women. As the first step toward the invocation of Saints was set off by the persecution of Decius, and the second by the persecution of Dioclesian, so this third seems to be owing to the actions of Constantius and Julian the Apostate. When Julian began to restore the worship of the heathen Gods and to belittle the Saints and Martyrs, the Christians of Syria and Egypt seem to have made a great deal of noise about the miracles done by the relics of the Christian Saints and Martyrs, in answer to the powers that Julian and the heathens gave to their Idols. For Sozomen and Ruffinus tell us that when he opened the heathen Temples, and consulted the Oracle of Apollo Daphnæus in the outskirts of Antioch, and pressed for an

answer with many sacrifices; the Oracle at last told him that the bones of the Martyr Babylas, which were buried there, kept him from speaking. By this answer we may understand that some Christian had gotten into the place where the heathen Priests used to speak through a pipe when they gave out their Oracles; and before this, Hilary, in his book against Constantius, written in the last year of that Emperor, says the following about what was then being done in the East where he was: "You persecute without any martyrdom. We owe more to your cruelty, Nero, Decius, and Maximian, than to anything else; for by you we have conquered the Devil. The holy blood of the blessed martyrs is received everywhere: while in it Demons roar, while sicknesses are driven away, while works of miracles are seen, bodies raised up without ropes, women with feet suspended whose clothes do not fall down on their faces, spirits burned without fires, and confessions of faith without any prompting from the questioner." And Gregory Nazianzen, in his first Oration against the Emperor Julian, then reigning, writes this: "You did not hold in awe the Martyrs, to whom glorious honors and festivals have been set apart, by whom Demons are driven out and diseases cured; who have appearances and predictions; whose very bodies alone can do what holy souls can do, whether they are handled by hands or honored; whose very drops of blood and small signs of their suffering can do what their bodies do. You do not worship these things but despise and reject them." These things made the heathens, in the reign of that same Emperor, destroy the tomb of John the Baptist in Phoenicia and burn his bones; when several Christians, mixing with the heathens, gathered up some of his remains, which were sent to Athanasius, who hid them in the wall of a Church, foreseeing by a prophetic spirit, as Ruffinus tells us, that they might be useful to future generations.

Part I, Chapter 14, 2



The report of these miracles, once started, continued for many years, and increased and grew more general. Chrysostom, in his second Oration on St. Babylas, twenty years after the silencing of the Oracle of Apollo Daphnæus as above, that is, A.C. 382, says this of the miracles done by the Saints and their relics³: “There is no part of this world of ours, whether region, people, or city, where these new and unexpected miracles are not celebrated; and if they had been fictions, they would never have won such great wonder from men.” And a little later: “The miracles worked daily by the martyrs give abundant credit to our prayer, great crowds of people flocking to them in full measure.” And in his 66th Homily, describing how the Devils were tortured and cast out by the bones of the Martyrs, he adds: “For this reason many Kings have often traveled abroad, so that they might enjoy this sight. For the temples of the holy martyrs show the traces and signs of the future judgment, while demons are beaten with whips, and men are tortured and set free. See what power the saints who have left this life have?” And Jerom, in his Epitaph on Paula, mentions the same things in this way⁴: “Paula saw Samaria: there are buried Elisha and Obadiah the prophets, and John the Baptist, where she stood trembling, overcome by many miracles. For she saw demons groaning in various tortures, and howling before the tombs of the saints; men barking with the voices of dogs like wolves, roaring like lions, hissing like serpents, bellowing like bulls; others spinning the head around and touching the ground behind their backs with the crown; and

women with suspended feet, whose clothes did not fall down over their faces.” This was about the year 384; and Chrysostom, in his Oration on the Egyptian Martyrs, seems to make Egypt the ringleader in these matters, saying⁵: “Blessed is God, since from Egypt come martyrs; from Egypt, that country which fought against God and was the most mad, and from where come impious mouths and blasphemous tongues; from Egypt come martyrs, not in Egypt only, nor in the neighboring region around it, but everywhere in the world. And as when the inhabitants of cities see, in a great plenty of grain, a supply greater than the use of the inhabitants requires, they send it to foreign cities as well: both showing their own courtesy and generosity, and so that beyond their own abundance they may easily get back from those cities the things they need; so have the Egyptians also done, in regard to the athletes of religion. When they saw among themselves a great supply of them by God’s goodness, they did not at all shut God’s great gift within their own city, but poured out these treasures of good men into all parts of the earth: both to show their love for their brothers, and to honor the common master of all, and to gain glory for their city in the sight of all, and to declare her to be the chief city of the whole world. For the bodies of those saints fortify our city more safely than any adamantine and unconquerable wall; and like certain high rocks standing out on every side, they drive off not only the attacks of the enemies that come under our senses and are seen with our eyes, but also the plots of the invisible demons and all the frauds of the devil, overturning and scattering them. And this possession is useful to us not only against the plots of men or the deceptions of demons, but if our common master grows angry with us because of the multitude of our sins, by setting these bodies before him we can at once make him favorable to the city.” This Oration was written at Antioch, while Alexandria was still the chief city of the East, that is, before the year 381, in which Constantinople became the chief city; and it took the Egyptians several years to spread the miracle-working relics of their Martyrs over all the world, as they had done before that year. Egypt had the greatest supply of the relics of Saints and Martyrs, the Egyptians keeping them embalmed on beds even in their private houses; and Alexandria was outstanding above all other cities for spreading them, so that on

that account she gained glory in the sight of all, and showed herself to be the chief city of the world. Antioch followed the example of Egypt in spreading the relics of the forty Martyrs; and the examples of Egypt and Syria were soon followed by the rest of the world.

The relics of the forty Martyrs at Antioch were distributed among the Churches before the year 373; for Athanasius, who died in that year, wrote an Oration about them. This Oration has not yet been published, but Gerard Vossius saw it in manuscript in the Library of Cardinal Ascanius in Italy, as he says in his commentary upon the Oration of Ephræm Syrus on the same forty Martyrs. Now since the Monks of Alexandria sent the relics of the Martyrs of Egypt into all parts of the earth, and by that gained glory for their city, and declared her in these matters the chief city of the whole world, as we have noted from Chrysostom; it can be concluded that before Alexandria received the forty Martyrs from Antioch, she began to send out the relics of her own Martyrs into all parts, setting the first example to other cities. This practice therefore began in Egypt some years before the death of Athanasius. It began when the miracle-working bones of John the Baptist were carried into Egypt, and hidden in the wall of a Church, so that they might be useful to future generations. It was stopped in the reign of Julian the Apostate; and then it spread from Egypt into all the Empire, Alexandria being the chief city of the whole world, according to Chrysostom, for spreading this kind of devotion, and Antioch and other cities soon following her example.

In spreading these superstitions, the ringleaders were the Monks, and Antony was at the head of them; for at the end of the life of Antony, Athanasius relates that these were his dying words to his disciples who were then attending him. "Take care," said Antony, "to cling to Christ first, and then to the Saints, so that after death they may receive you as friends and acquaintances into the everlasting tabernacles. Think on these things, grasp these things; and if you have any regard for me, remember me as a father." This, given as a charge to the Monks by Antony at his death, A.C. 356, could not fail to set the whole body on fire with devotion toward the Saints, as the ready way to be received by them into the eternal Tabernacles after death. From this came the noise about the

miracles done by the relics of the Saints in the time of Constantius; from this came the spreading of the miracle-working relics into all the Empire, Alexandria setting the example, and being famous for it above all other cities. From this it came about in the days of Julian, A.C. 362, that Athanasius, by a prophetic spirit, as Ruffinus tells us, hid the bones of John the Baptist from the Heathens; not in the ground to be forgotten, but in the hollow wall of a Church before proper witnesses, so that they might be useful to future generations. From this also came the invocation of the Saints to do such miracles, and to assist men in their devotions, and to mediate with God. For Athanasius, even from his youth, looked on the dead Saints and Martyrs as mediators of our prayers: in his Epistle to Marcellinus, written in the days of Constantine the Great, he says that the words of the Psalms are not to be transposed or changed in any way, but to be recited and sung without any artifice, as they are written, so that the holy men who handed them down, knowing them to be their own words, may pray with us; or rather, so that the Holy Spirit who spoke in the holy men, seeing his own words with which he inspired them, may join with them in assisting us.

While Egypt had more Monks than any other country, the veneration of the Saints began sooner and spread faster there than in other places. Palladius, going into Egypt in the year 388 to visit the Monasteries, and the tombs of Apollonius and other Martyrs of Thebais who had suffered under Maximinus, says of them: "The Christians made all of them into one temple, where now many miracles are performed. So great was the grace of the man, that whatever he prayed for he was at once heard, the Savior honoring him thus: whom we also saw praying in his martyrdom, together with those who were judged worthy of martyrdom with him; and worshiping God, we greeted their bodies." Eunapius also, a heathen, yet a trustworthy witness of what was done in his own times, relating how the soldiers delivered the temples of Egypt into the hands of the Monks, which was done in the year 389, rails in this impious way at the Martyrs, as taking the place of the old Gods of Egypt: "Those same soldiers set up Monks at Canopus too, so that instead of the Gods that are seen by the mind, they might honor with divine honors slaves, and ones too of the

worst crimes, the minds of men being bound to their worship and ceremonies. For they displayed the pickled and salted heads of those who had been condemned by the judges to the extreme penalty for the multitude of their crimes, as those of divine men; they bent the knee to them, they received them into the number of Gods, defiled with dust and dirt at their tombs. And so they were called Martyrs, and indeed ministers and ambassadors and judges of prayer with the Gods; when they have been servile, faithless, and most cruelly beaten with whips, carrying on their bodies the scars of crimes and the traces of wickedness; and yet such Gods the earth produces.” By these examples we may understand that the invocation of Saints had by then been established for some time in Egypt, and that it was already generally received and practiced there by the common people.

In this way Basil, a Monk who was made Bishop of Cæsarea in the year 369, and died in the year 378, in his Oration on the Martyr Mamas, says: “Be mindful of the Martyr; as many of you as have enjoyed him in your dreams, as many as in this place have been assisted by him in prayer, as many of you as upon invoking him by name have had him present in your works, as many as he has led back into the way from wandering, as many as he has restored to health, as many as have had their dead children restored to life by him, as many as have had their lives prolonged by him.” And a little later he describes how widespread this superstition was in the regions of Cappadocia and Bithynia: “At the memorial of the Martyr,” says he, “the whole region is moved; at his festival the whole city is filled with joy. Nor do the kindred of the rich turn aside to the tombs of their ancestors, but all go to the place of devotion.” Again, at the end of the Homily he prays that God would preserve the Church, fortified with such great towers of the Martyrs; and in his Oration on the forty Martyrs: “These are they,” says he, “who, holding our country like certain towers, give us safety against our enemies. Nor are they shut up in one place only; but being distributed, they are sent into many regions, and adorn many countries. You have often tried, you have often worked, to find one who might pray for you: here are forty, giving out one voice of prayer. He who is in trouble flees to these; he who rejoices turns to these: the one so that he may be freed from evil, the

other so that he may continue in happiness. Here a woman praying for her children is heard; she obtains a safe return for her husband from abroad, and health for him in his sickness. O you common keepers of mankind, the best companions of our cares, helpers and partners of our prayers, most powerful ambassadors to God, and so on." All of which makes it clear that before the year 378 the Orations and Sermons upon the Saints went far beyond the bounds of mere oratorical flourishes, and that the common people in the East had already been generally corrupted by the Monks with Saint-worship.

Gregory Nazianzen, a Monk, in his sixth Oration written A.C. 373, when he had just been made Bishop of Sasima, says: "Let us make ourselves pure for the Martyrs, or rather for the God of the Martyrs;" and a little later he calls the Martyrs mediators of obtaining an ascension or divinity. The same year, at the end of his Oration upon Athanasius, then newly dead, he invokes him in this way: "Look down on us with favor, and govern this people, as perfect worshippers of the perfect Trinity, which in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit is contemplated and worshiped: if there is to be peace, preserve me, and feed my flock with me; but if war, bring me home, place me by yourself, and by those who are like you; great as my request is." And at the end of the funeral Oration upon Basil, written A.C. 378, he addresses him in this way: "But you, O divine and sacred Head, look down on us from heaven; and by your prayers either take away that thorn of the flesh which is given us by God for our training, or obtain for us that we may bear it with courage, and direct all our life to what is most fitting for us. When we leave this life, receive us there in your Tabernacles; so that living together and looking the holy and blessed Trinity more purely and perfectly, of which we now have but an incomplete view, we may there come to the end of our desires, and receive this reward of the wars we have waged or suffered." And in his Oration upon Cyprian, not the Bishop of Carthage, but a Greek, he invokes him in the same way; and he also tells us how a pious Virgin named Justina was protected by invoking the Virgin Mary, and how miracles were done by the ashes of Cyprian.

Part I, Chapter 14, 3



Gregory Nyssen, another well-known monk and bishop, tells in the life of Ephrām Syrus how a certain man returning from a far country was in great danger, because all the roads were blocked by the armies of barbarian nations. But when he called on Ephrām by name and said, “Holy Ephrām, help me,” he escaped the danger, put the fear of death behind him, and got home safely against all hope. At the end of this speech Gregory calls on Ephrām in these words: “But you, O Ephrām, who assist now at the divine altar, and sacrifice to the Prince of life, and to the most holy Trinity, together with the Angels, remember us all, and win for us pardon of our sins, that we may enjoy the eternal happiness of the kingdom of heaven.” The same Gregory, in his Oration on the Martyr Theodorus, written A.C. 381, describes the power of that Martyr and the practice of the people in this way. This Martyr, he says, last year calmed the barbarian storm and put a stop to the horrid war of the fierce and cruel Scythians.—If anyone is allowed to carry away the dust that covers the tomb where the body of the Martyr rests, the dust is accepted as a gift and gathered up to be kept as something of great value. For to touch the relics themselves, if that good fortune should ever happen, how great a favor that is, and how impossible to get without the most earnest prayers, they know well who have obtained it. For just as with a living, healthy body, those who look it embrace it, bringing to it their eyes, mouth, ears, and all the organs of sense; and then pour tears of affection on the Martyr, as if he were whole and had appeared to them:

so they offer prayers, asking him to intercede for them as an advocate, praying to him as an officer attending upon God, and calling on him as one who receives gifts whenever he will. At length Gregory ends the Oration with this prayer: "O Theodorus, we are in need of many blessings; intercede and plead for your country before the common King and Lord: for the country of the Martyr is the place of his suffering, and they are his citizens, brothers and kindred, who have him, defend, adorn and honor him. We fear afflictions, we expect dangers: the wicked Scythians are not far off, ready to make war against us. As a soldier fight for us, as a Martyr speak freely for your fellow servants. Pray for peace, that these public meetings may not stop, that the furious and wicked barbarian may not rage against the temples and altars, that the profane and impious may not trample on the holy things. We take it as a benefit received from you, that we are kept safe and whole; we pray for freedom from danger in time to come: and if a stronger plea is needed to turn away the harm, gather the choir of your brethren the Martyrs, and together with them all intercede for us. Let the prayers of many righteous ones pay for the sins of the multitudes and the people; urge Peter, stir up Paul, and also John the divine and beloved disciple, that they may care for the Churches which they have planted, for which they have been in chains, for which they have undergone dangers and deaths; that the worship of idols may not lift its head against us, that heresies may not spring up like thorns in the vineyard, that tares grown up may not choke the wheat, that no rock lacking the richness of the true dew may stand against us, and leave the fruitful power of the word without a root; but by the power of the prayers of you and your companions, O admirable man and eminent among the Martyrs, the community of Christians may become a field of corn."

The same Gregory Nyssen, in his sermon on the death of Meletius Bishop of Antioch, preached at Constantinople the same year, A.C. 381, before the Bishops of all the East assembled in the second general Council, spoke thus of Meletius: "The Bridegroom, he says, is not taken from us: he stands in the midst of us, though we do not see him: he is a Priest in the innermost places, and face to face intercedes before God for us and the sins of the people." This

was no display of eloquence, but Gregory's real opinion, as may be understood from what we have quoted from him about Ephrām and Theodorus: and since Gregory preached this before the Council of Constantinople, you may know from it, says⁶ Baronius, that he professed what the whole Council, and with it the whole Church of those parts believed, namely, that the Saints in heaven offer prayers for us before God.

Ephrām Syrus, another well-known monk, was a contemporary of Basil and died the same year; at the end of his Encomium or Oration upon Basil, then newly dead, he calls on him in these words: "Intercede for me, a very miserable man; and call me back through your intercessions, O father; you who are strong, pray for me who am weak; you who are diligent, for me who am lazy; you who are cheerful, for me who am downcast; you who are wise, for me who am foolish. You who have treasured up a store of every virtue, be a guide to me who have no good work in me." At the beginning of his Encomium upon the forty Martyrs, written at the same time, he calls on them in this way: "Help me then, O Saints, with your intercession; and, O beloved, with your holy prayers, that Christ by his grace may guide my tongue to speak," etc. Later, mentioning the mother of one of these forty Martyrs, he ends the Oration with this prayer: "I beg you, O holy, faithful and blessed woman, pray for me to the Saints, saying: You who triumph in Christ, intercede for the lowliest and most miserable Ephrām, that he may find mercy, and by the grace of Christ may be saved." Again, in his second Sermon or Oration on the praises of the holy Martyrs of Christ, he addresses them in this way: "We ask you most holy Martyrs to intercede with the Lord for us miserable sinners, covered in the filth of negligence, that he would pour his divine grace into us:" and later, near the end of the same speech: "Now you most holy men and glorious Martyrs of God, help me a miserable sinner with your prayers, that in that dreadful hour I may obtain mercy, when the secrets of all hearts shall be made plain. I have become today to you, most holy Martyrs of Christ, like a useless and unskillful cup-bearer: for I have handed to the sons and brothers of your faith a cup of the excellent wine of your warfare, with the excellent table of your victory, filled with all kinds of delicacies. I have tried, with all the affection and desire of my mind, to delight your

fathers and brothers, kindred and relations, who come daily to the table. For see, they sing, and with joy and celebration glorify God, who has crowned your virtues by setting on your most sacred heads incorruptible and heavenly crowns; they stand around the sacred relics of your martyrdoms with great joy, wishing for a blessing, and wanting to carry away holy medicines both for the body and the mind. As good disciples and faithful ministers of our kind Lord and Savior, give therefore a blessing to them all: and to me also, though weak and feeble, who having received strength by your merits and intercessions, have with all the devotion of my mind sung a hymn to your praise and glory before your holy relics. So I beg you to stand before the throne of the divine Majesty for me, Ephrām, a vile and miserable sinner, that by your prayers I may deserve to obtain salvation, and with you enjoy eternal happiness through the grace and kindness and mercy of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, to whom with the Father and Holy Ghost be praise, honor and glory for ever and ever. Amen.”

From what has been quoted from Basil, the two Gregories and Ephrām, we may understand that the worship of Saints was established among the Monks and their admirers in Egypt, Phoenicia, Syria and Cappadocia before the year 378, this being the year in which Basil and Ephrām died. Chrysostom was not much later; he preached at Antioch almost all the time of Theodosius the great, and his Sermons contain many encouragements to this kind of superstition, as may be seen at the end of his Orations on S. Julia, on St. Pelagia, on the Martyr Ignatius, on the Egyptian Martyrs, on Fate and Providence, on the Martyrs in general, on St. Berenice and St. Prosdoce, on Juventinus and Maximus, on the name of Coemeterly, etc. Thus in his Sermon on Berenice and Prosdoce: “Perhaps, he says, you are inflamed with no small love towards these Martyrs; therefore with this ardor let us fall down before their relics, let us embrace their coffins. For the coffins of the Martyrs have great virtue, just as the bones of the Martyrs have great power. And let us not only on the day of this festival, but also on other days turn to them, call on them, and beg them to be our patrons: for they have great power and effect, not only while alive, but also after death; and much more after death than before. For now they bear the marks or brands of Christ; and when they show these marks, they can obtain all things from the

King. Since then they abound with such power, and have so much friendship with him; we also, when by steady attendance and constant visits we have won a place in their friendship, may by their help obtain the mercy of God.”

Constantinople was free of these superstitions until Gregory Nazianzen came there A.D. 379; but in a few years it too was caught up in them. Ruffinus⁷ tells us that when the Emperor Theodosius was setting out against the tyrant Eugenius, in the year 394, he went around with the Priests and people to all the places of prayer; lay prostrate in haircloth before the shrines of the Martyrs and Apostles, and prayed for help through the intercession of the Saints. Sozomen⁸ adds that when the Emperor had marched seven miles from Constantinople against Eugenius, he went into a Church he had built to John the Baptist, and called on the Baptist for his help. Chrysostom⁹ says: “He who is clothed in purple comes to embrace these tombs; and laying aside his dignity, stands begging the Saints to intercede for him with God: and he who goes crowned with a diadem offers his prayers to the tent-maker and the fisherman as his advocates.” And in¹⁰ another place: “The cities run together to the tombs of the Martyrs, and the people are inflamed with love for them.”

This practice of sending relics from place to place to work miracles, and so inflaming the devotion of the nations towards the dead Saints and their relics, and setting up the practice of calling on their souls, lasted only until the middle of the reign of the Emperor Theodosius the great; for he then banned it with the following Edict: “Let no one move a buried body to another place; let no one break up a Martyr, let no one buy or sell one: but they shall have the power, if any saint is buried in any place, to add to it, in his honor, whatever buildings they wish, to be called a Martyr’s shrine. Given at Constantinople on the 4th before the Kalends of March, Honorius, our noble boy, and Euodius being consuls, A.C. 386.” After that they filled the fields and highways with altars set up to Martyrs, which they claimed to have found through dreams and revelations: and this led to the making of the fourteenth Canon of the fifth Council of Carthage, A.C. 398: “It was also agreed that altars set up everywhere through fields or roads, as if they were memorials of Martyrs, in which no body or relics of Martyrs are shown to be buried, shall be torn down by the bishops in charge

of those places, if it can be done. If this is not allowed because of uproar among the people, the people shall at least be warned not to visit those places, so that those who think rightly are not held bound by any superstition there. And no memorial of a Martyr shall be accepted as genuine unless there is a body or certain relics there, or unless the origin of some dwelling, possession or suffering is passed down on the most trustworthy account. For altars set up everywhere through dreams and empty, seeming revelations of any people whatever are to be rejected entirely.” These altars were for calling on the Saints or Martyrs buried, or claimed to be buried, under them. First they filled the Churches everywhere with the relics, or pretended relics, of the Martyrs, to call on them in the Churches; and then they filled the fields and highways with altars, to call on them everywhere: and this new religion was set up by the Monks in all the Greek Empire before the expedition of the Emperor Theodosius against Eugenius, and I think before his above-mentioned Edict, A.C. 386.

The same religion of worshiping Mahuzzims quickly spread into the Western Empire too: but Daniel in this Prophecy describes chiefly the things done among the nations included in the body of his third Beast.

Notes to Chap. XIV.

- ¹ Chap. xi. 38, 39
- ² Orat. de vita Greg. Thaumaturg. T. 3. p. 574.
- ³ Vide Hom. 47. in. S. Julian.
- ⁴ Epist. 27. ad Eustochium.
- ⁵ Edit. Frontonis Ducæi, Tom. 1.
- ⁶ Ad. an. 381, Sect. 41.
- ⁷ Hist. Eccl. l. 2. c. 23.
- ⁸ L. 4. c. 24.

⁹ Hom. 66. ad. populum, circa finem. & Hom. 8, 27. in Matth. Hom. 42, 43. in Gen. Hom. 1. in 1 Thess.

¹⁰ Exposit. in Psal. 114. sub finem.

The end of the first Part.

PART II.

OBSERVATIONS UPON THE APOCALYPSE OF St. JOHN.

Part II, Chapter 1, 1



Introduction, concerning the time when the Apocalypse was written.

Irenæus started the opinion that the Apocalypse was written in the time of Domitian; but then he also put off the writing of some other sacred books, and placed the Apocalypse after them: he may perhaps have heard from his master Polycarp that he received this book from John around the time of Domitian's death; or John may himself have made a new edition of it at that time, from which Irenæus might have imagined it was only newly written. Eusebius in his *Chronicle* and *Ecclesiastical History* follows Irenæus; but afterwards¹ in his *Evangelical Demonstrations*, he joins the banishment of John into Patmos with the deaths of Peter and Paul: and so do² Tertullian and Pseudo-Prochorus, as well as the first author, whoever he was, of that very ancient fable, that John was put by Nero into a vessel of hot oil, and coming out unhurt, was banished by him into Patmos. Though this story is no more than a fiction, it was founded on a tradition of the first churches, that John was banished into Patmos in the days of Nero. Epiphanius says that the Gospel of John was written in the time of Domitian, and the Apocalypse even before that, in the time of Nero.³ Arethas at the start of his *Commentary* quotes the opinion of Irenæus from Eusebius, but does not follow it: for he later states that the Apocalypse was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, and that earlier commentators explained the sixth seal as that destruction.

The opinion of the first Commentators agrees with the tradition of the Churches of Syria, preserved to this day in the title of the Syriac Version of the Apocalypse, which title is this: "The Revelation which was made to John the Evangelist by God in the Island Patmos, into which he was banished by Nero the Cæsar." The same is confirmed by a story told by⁴ Eusebius out of Clemens Alexandrinus, and other ancient authors, concerning a youth, whom John some time after his return from Patmos handed over to the care of the Bishop of a certain city. The Bishop raised him, taught him, and at last baptized him; but then relaxing his care, the young man got into bad company, and began by degrees first to revel and turn vicious, then to attack and rob those he met at night; and at last grew so desperate that his companions, turning into a band of highwaymen, made him their Captain: and, says⁵ Chrysostom, he stayed their Captain a long time. At last John came back to that city, and hearing what had happened, rode after the thief; and when the young man, out of respect for his old master, ran away, John rode him down, called him back, and restored him to the Church. This is a story of many years, and requires that John returned from Patmos rather at the death of Nero than at that of Domitian; because between the death of Domitian and that of John there were only two years and a half; and John in his old age was⁶ so weak that he had to be carried to Church, dying above 90 years old, and so could not then be thought able to ride after the thief.

This opinion is further supported by the allusions in the Apocalypse to the Temple and Altar and holy City, as then standing; and to the Gentiles, who were soon after to tread under foot the holy City and the outer Court. It is confirmed also by the style of the Apocalypse itself, which is fuller of Hebrewisms than his Gospel. From this it may be gathered that it was written when John had just come out of Judea, where he had been used to the Syriac language; and that he did not write his Gospel until, after long company with the Asiatic Greeks, he had dropped most of the Hebrewisms. It is confirmed also by the many false Apocalypses, such as those of Peter, Paul, Thomas, Stephen, Elias and Cerinthus, written in imitation of the true one. For just as the many false Gospels, false Acts, and false Epistles were caused by true ones; and the writing

of many false Apocalypses, and crediting them to Apostles and Prophets, shows that there was a true Apostolic one in great demand with the first Christians: so this true one may well be supposed to have been written early, so that there is room in the Apostolic age for the writing of so many false ones afterwards, and fathering them on Peter, Paul, Thomas and others, who were dead before John. Caius, who was a contemporary of Tertullian,⁷ tells us that Cerinthus wrote his Revelations as a great Apostle, and claimed the visions were shown to him by Angels, teaching a millennium of bodily pleasures at Jerusalem after the resurrection; so that his Apocalypse was plainly written in imitation of John's: and yet he lived so early that⁸ he opposed the Apostles at Jerusalem in or before the first year of Claudius, that is, 26 years before the death of Nero, and⁹ died before John.

These reasons may be enough to settle the time; and yet there is one more, which to thoughtful people may seem a good reason, to others not. I will set it out, and leave it to every man's judgment. The Apocalypse seems to be alluded to in the Epistles of Peter and in that to the Hebrews, and therefore to have been written before them. Such allusions in the Epistle to the Hebrews, I take to be the passages about the High-Priest in the heavenly Tabernacle, who is both Priest and King, as was Melchisedec; and those about the word of God, with the sharp two-edged sword, the [Greek: sabbatismos], or millennial rest, the earth whose end is to be burned, suppose by the lake of fire, the judgment and fiery anger which shall devour the adversaries, the heavenly City which has foundations whose builder and maker is God, the cloud of witnesses, mount Sion, heavenly Jerusalem, general assembly, spirits of righteous men made perfect, that is, by the resurrection, and the shaking of heaven and earth, and removing them, that the new heaven, new earth and new kingdom which cannot be shaken, may remain. In the first Epistle of Peter occur these:¹⁰ The Revelation of Jesus Christ, twice or thrice repeated;¹¹ the blood of Christ as of a Lamb foreordained before the foundation of the world;¹² the spiritual building in heaven, 1 Pet. ii. 5. an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled and that does not fade away, reserved in heaven for us, who are kept for the salvation, ready to be revealed in the last time, 1 Pet. i. 4, 5.¹³ the royal Priesthood,¹⁴ the

holy Priesthood,¹⁵ the judgment beginning at the house of God, and¹⁶ the Church at Babylon. These are indeed more obscure allusions; but the second Epistle, from the 19th verse of the first Chapter to the end, seems to be a running Commentary upon the Apocalypse. There, writing to the Churches in Asia, to whom John was commanded to send this Prophecy, he tells them that they have a more sure word of Prophecy, to be heeded by them, as a light that shines in a dark place, until the day dawns, and the day-star rises in their hearts, that is, until they begin to understand it: for no Prophecy, he says, of the scripture is of any private interpretation; the Prophecy did not come in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spoke, as they were moved by the Holy Spirit. Daniel¹⁷ himself says that he did not understand his own Prophecies; and therefore the Churches were not to wait for the interpretation from their Prophet John, but to study the Prophecies themselves. This is the substance of what Peter says in the first chapter; and then in the second he goes on to describe, out of this sure word of Prophecy, how there should arise in the Church false Prophets, or false teachers, named together in the Apocalypse by the name of the false Prophet; who should bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them, which is the character of Antichrist: “And many,” he says, “shall follow their lusts¹⁸; they that dwell on the earth¹⁹ shall be deceived by the false Prophet, and be made drunk with the wine of the Whore’s fornication, because of whom the way of truth shall be blasphemed; for²⁰ the Beast is full of blasphemy: and through greed shall they with made-up words trade on you; for these are the Merchants of the Earth, who deal with the great Whore, and their merchandise²¹ is all things of price, with the bodies and souls of men: whose judgment does not wait, and their damnation²² does not sleep, but shall surely come upon them at the last day suddenly, as the flood upon the old world, and fire and brimstone upon Sodom and Gomorrha, when the righteous shall be rescued²³ like Lot; for the Lord knows how to rescue the godly out of temptations, and to keep the unjust until the day of judgment to be punished, in the lake of fire; but above all those who walk after the flesh in the lust of uncleanness,²⁴ being made drunk with the wine of the Whore’s fornication; who despise rule, and are not afraid to blaspheme glories; for the beast

opened its mouth against God²⁵ to blaspheme his name and his dwelling, and those that live in heaven. These, like unreasoning animals, the ten-horned beast and the two-horned beast, or false Prophet, made to be caught and destroyed in the lake of fire, blaspheme the things they do not understand: they count it a pleasure to riot in the daytime: amusing themselves with their own deceptions, while they feast²⁶ with you, having eyes full of an²⁷ Adulteress: for the kingdoms of the beast live in luxury with the great Whore, and the nations are made drunk with the wine of her fornication. They have gone astray, following the way of Balaam, the son of Beor, who loved the wages of unrighteousness, the false Prophet²⁸ who taught Balak to cast a stumbling-block before the children of Israel. These are not fountains of living water, but wells without water; not such clouds of Saints as the two witnesses rise in, but clouds driven by a storm," etc. So the author of this Epistle spends all the second Chapter describing the qualities of the Apocalyptic Beasts and false Prophet: and then in the third he goes on to describe their destruction more fully, and the future kingdom. He says that because the coming of Christ would be long delayed, they would scoff, saying, where is the promise of his coming? Then he describes the sudden coming of the day of the Lord upon them, as a thief in the night, which is the Apocalyptic phrase; and the millennium, or thousand years, which are with God but as a day; the passing away of the old heavens and earth, by a burning in the lake of fire, and our looking for new heavens and a new earth, in which dwells righteousness.

So since Peter and John were Apostles of the circumcision, it seems to me that they stayed with their Churches in Judea and Syria until the Romans made war on their nation, that is, until the twelfth year of Nero; that they then followed the main body of their fleeing Churches into Asia, and that Peter went from there by Corinth to Rome; that the Roman Empire treated those Churches as enemies because they were Jews by birth; and therefore, to prevent uprisings, arrested their leaders, and banished John into Patmos. It also seems likely to me that the Apocalypse was composed there, and that soon after, the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Epistles of Peter were written to these Churches, with reference to this Prophecy as what they were especially concerned in. For it appears

by these Epistles that they were written in times of general affliction and trouble under the heathens, and therefore when the Empire made war on the Jews; for until then the heathens were at peace with the Christian Jews as well as with the rest. The Epistle to the Hebrews, since it mentions Timothy as related to those Hebrews, must be written to them after their flight into Asia, where Timothy was Bishop; and therefore after the war began, the Hebrews in Judea being strangers to Timothy. Peter also seems to call Rome Babylon, both with respect to the war made on Judea and the coming captivity, like that under old Babylon, and with respect to that name in the Apocalypse: and in writing to the strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia, he seems to hint that they were the strangers newly scattered by the Roman wars; for those were the only strangers there belonging to his care.

Part II, Chapter 1, 2



This account fits the history best once it is corrected.²⁹ Justin and³⁰ Irenaeus say that Simon Magus came to Rome in the reign of Claudius and did his juggling tricks there. Pseudo-Clemens adds that he tried to fly there, but broke his neck through Peter's prayers. So³¹ Eusebius, or rather his interpolator Jerom, recorded that Peter came to Rome in the second year of Claudius. But³² Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, Philastrius, Sulpitius, Prosper, Maximus Taurinensis, and Hegesippus junior place this victory of Peter in the time of Nero. The older tradition was that Peter came to Rome in the days of this emperor, as³³ Lactantius shows.³⁴ Chrysostom tells us that the Apostles stayed in Judea a long time, and that after the Jews drove them out they went to the Gentiles. This scattering began in the first year of the Jewish war, when the Jews, as Josephus tells us, started riots and turns of violence everywhere. All agree that the Apostles were scattered into several regions at once, and Origen fixes the time,³⁵ telling us that at the beginning of the Jewish war the Apostles and disciples of our Lord were scattered into all nations: Thomas into Parthia, Andrew into Scythia, John into Asia, and Peter first into Asia, where he preached to the scattered people, and then into Italy.³⁶ Dionysius Corinthius says that Peter went from Asia by way of Corinth to Rome, and all antiquity agrees that Peter and Paul were martyred there at the end of Nero's reign. Mark went with Timothy to Rome, 2 Tim. iv. 11. Colos. iv. 10. Sylvanus was Paul's assistant. From the companions of Peter named in his first Epistle we can tell that he wrote from Rome, and the ancients

generally agree that in this Epistle he meant Rome when he wrote Babylon. His second Epistle went to the same scattered strangers as the first, 2 Pet. iii. 1. In it he says that Paul had written to them about the same things, and also in his other Epistles, ver. 15, 16. Paul wrote no Epistle to these strangers except the one to the Hebrews, and in that Epistle, chap. x. 11, 12, we find at length everything Peter had been speaking of and refers to here: the passing away of the old heavens and earth, the establishment of an unmovable inheritance, and the call to grace, because God is a consuming fire to the wicked, Heb. xii. 25, 26, 28, 29.

Now that I have settled when the Apocalypse was written, I need say little about its truth. It was so highly regarded in the early ages that many tried to copy it, writing fake Apocalypses under the names of the Apostles. The Apostles themselves, as I have just shown, studied it and used its phrases. Because of that, the Epistle to the Hebrews became more mystical in style than Paul's other Epistles, and John's Gospel became more figurative and majestic than the other Gospels. I do not think Christ was called the word of God in any book of the New Testament written before the Apocalypse, so I believe that language was taken from this Prophecy. Many other phrases in this Gospel came from it too, such as Christ being the light which enlightens the world, the lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world, the bridegroom, he who testifies, he who came down from heaven, the Son of God, and so on. Justin Martyr became a Christian within thirty years after John's death. He states plainly that a certain man among the Christians, named John, one of the twelve Apostles of Christ, prophesied in the Revelation shown to him that those who believed in Christ would live a thousand years at Jerusalem. A few lines earlier he writes: "But I, and as many as are Christians, who are right in all their opinions, believe both that there will be a resurrection of the flesh and a thousand years of life in a Jerusalem built, adorned and enlarged." That amounts to saying that all true Christians in that early age received this Prophecy. In every age, everyone who believed the thousand years received the Apocalypse as the foundation of that belief, and I do not know a single exception. Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis, a man of the Apostolic age and one of John's own disciples, not

only taught the doctrine of the thousand years but also³⁷ affirmed that the Apocalypse was written by divine inspiration. Melito, who came right after Justin,³⁸ wrote a commentary on this Prophecy. He was Bishop of Sardis, one of the seven Churches, so he could neither be ignorant of their tradition about it nor deceive them. Irenaeus, a contemporary of Melito, wrote a great deal about it. He said the number 666 was in all the ancient and approved copies, and that people who had seen John face to face also confirmed it for him, meaning no doubt his master Polycarp among them. At the same time³⁹ Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, affirmed it, and so did Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Origen soon after. Their contemporary Hippolytus the Martyr, Metropolitan of the Arabians,⁴⁰ wrote a commentary on it. All these were early men, living within a hundred and twenty years after John's death, and they were the most noted figures in the Churches of those times. Soon after, Victorinus Pictaviensis wrote another commentary on it, and he lived in the time of Dioclesian. This is surely enough to show how the Apocalypse was received and studied in the first ages. I know of no other book of the New Testament that is so strongly attested, or commented on so early, as this one. The Prophecy said: "Blessed is the one who reads, and those who hear the words of this Prophecy and keep what is written in it." This is what drove the first Christians to study it so hard, until its difficulty made them ease off and comment more on the other books of the New Testament. That was the state of the Apocalypse until the thousand years was misunderstood and a prejudice turned against it. Dionysius of Alexandria noted how full it is of barbarisms, that is, Hebraisms, and he did much to spread that prejudice, so that many Greeks in the fourth century came to doubt the book. But the Latins, and a large part of the Greeks, always kept the Apocalypse, and the rest doubted only out of prejudice, so that does nothing to weaken its authority.

This Prophecy is called the Revelation in relation to the scripture of truth that Daniel⁴¹ was commanded to shut up and seal until the time of the end. Daniel sealed it until the time of the end, and until that time comes the Lamb is opening the seals. After that, the two Witnesses prophesy out of it for a long time in sackcloth before they ascend to heaven in a cloud. All of this means that these

Prophecies of Daniel and John would not be understood until the time of the end. Some would then prophesy from them in an afflicted and mournful state for a long time, and only in a dark way, so that they would convert few. But in the very end, the Prophecy would be interpreted far enough to convince many. Then, Daniel says, many will run back and forth, and knowledge will increase. The Gospel must be preached in all nations before the great tribulation and the end of the world. The crowd with palm branches coming out of this great tribulation cannot be a countless number from all nations unless the preaching of the Gospel before it arrives makes them so. A stone must be cut out of a mountain without hands before it can fall on the toes of the Image, become a great mountain, and fill the earth. An Angel must fly through the middle of heaven with the everlasting Gospel to preach to all nations before Babylon falls and the Son of man reaps his harvest. The two Prophets must ascend to heaven in a cloud before the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of Christ. So part of this Prophecy is that it would not be understood before the last age of the world, and that actually supports the credit of the Prophecy, since it is not yet understood. But if the last age, the age of opening these things, is now approaching, as the great success of recent interpreters seems to show, we have more encouragement than ever to look into these things. If the general preaching of the Gospel is approaching, then those words mainly belong to us and our posterity.⁴² “In the time of the end the wise will understand, but none of the wicked will understand.”⁴³ “Blessed is the one who reads, and those who hear the words of this Prophecy and keep those things which are written in it.” The folly of interpreters has been to predict times and events from this Prophecy, as if God meant to make them prophets. By this rashness they not only exposed themselves but also brought the Prophecy into contempt. God’s plan was very different. He gave this Prophecy and the Prophecies of the Old Testament not to feed men’s curiosity by letting them foresee things, but so that after they were fulfilled they could be read by what happened, and his own Providence, not the interpreters, would then be shown to the world. For the outcome of things predicted many ages before will then be a convincing argument that the world is governed by providence. The few and obscure

Prophecies about Christ's first coming were there to set up the Christian religion, which all nations have since corrupted. The many and clear Prophecies about the things to be done at Christ's second coming are not only for predicting but also for bringing about the recovery and re-establishment of long-lost truth, and for setting up a kingdom where righteousness dwells. The outcome will prove the Apocalypse, and this Prophecy, once proved and understood, will open the old Prophets; and together they will make the true religion known and establish it. Anyone who wants to understand the old Prophets must start with this one, but the time has not yet come to understand them perfectly, because the main change predicted in them has not yet happened. In the days of the voice of the seventh Angel, when he begins to sound, the mystery of God will be finished, as he has declared to his servants the Prophets; and then the kingdoms of this world will become the kingdoms of our Lord and his Christ, and he will reign forever, Apoc. x. 7. xi. 15. So much of the Prophecy is already fulfilled that anyone who takes the trouble to study it can see clear instances of God's providence. But then the striking revolutions predicted by all the holy Prophets will at once turn people's eyes onto the predictions and plainly interpret them. Until then we must make do with interpreting what has already been fulfilled.

Among the interpreters of the last age there is hardly one of note who has not made some discovery worth knowing, and from that I gather that God is about to open these mysteries. The success of others led me to study the question. If I have done anything that may be useful to later writers, I have achieved my purpose.

Notes to Chap. I.

- ¹ Dem. Evang. l. 3.
- ² Vid. Pamelium in notis ad Tertull. de Præscriptionibus, n. 215 & Hieron l. 1. contra Jovinianum, c. 14. Edit. Erasmi.
- ³ Areth. c. 18, 19.
- ⁴ Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 23.

- ⁵ Chrysost. ad Theodorum lapsum.
- ⁶ Hieron. in Epist. ad Gal. l. 3. c. 6.
- ⁷ Apud Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. 3. c. 28. Edit. Valesii.
- ⁸ Epiphan. Hæres. 28.
- ⁹ Hieron. adv. Lucif.
- ¹⁰ 1 Pet. i. 7, 13. iv. 13. & v. 1.
- ¹¹ Apoc. xiii. 8.
- ¹² Apoc. xxi.
- ¹³ Apoc. i. 6. & v. 10.
- ¹⁴ Apoc. xx. 6.
- ¹⁵ Apoc. xx. 4, 12.
- ¹⁶ Apoc. xvii.
- ¹⁷ Dan. viii. 15, 16, 27. & xii. 8, 9.
- ¹⁸ The Greek word “aselgeias” in many of the best manuscripts.
- ¹⁹ Apoc. xiii. 7, 12.
- ²⁰ Apoc. xiii. 1, 5, 6.
- ²¹ Apoc. xviii. 12, 13.
- ²² Apoc. xix. 20.
- ²³ Apoc. xxi. 3, 4.
- ²⁴ Apoc. ix. 21. and xvii. 2.
- ²⁵ Apoc. xiii. 6.
- ²⁶ Apoc. xviii. 3, 7, 9.

- ²⁷ The Greek word “moichalidos”.
- ²⁸ Apoc. ii. 14.
- ²⁹ Apol. ad Antonin. Pium.
- ³⁰ Hæres. l. 1. c. 20. Vide etiam Tertullianum, Apol. c. 13.
- ³¹ Euseb. Chron.
- ³² Cyril Catech. 6. Philastr. de hæres. cap. 30. Sulp. Hist. l. 2. Prosper de promiss. dimid. temp. cap. 13. Maximus serm. 5. in Natal. Apost. Hegesip. l. 2. c. 2.
- ³³ Lactant de mortib. Persec. c. 2.
- ³⁴ Hom. 70. in Matt. c. 22.
- ³⁵ Apud Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. 2. c. 25.
- ³⁶ Euseb. Hist. l. 2. c. 25.
- ³⁷ Arethas in Proæm. comment. in Apoc.
- ³⁸ Euseb. Hist. l. 4. cap. 26. Hieron.
- ³⁹ Euseb. Hist. l. 4. c. 24.
- ⁴⁰ Hieron.
- ⁴¹ Dan. x. 21. xii. 4, 9.
- ⁴² Dan. xii. 4, 10.
- ⁴³ Apoc. i. 3.

Part II, Chapter 2, 1



Of the relation which the Apocalypse of John has to the Book of the Law of Moses, and to the worship of God in the Temple.

The Apocalypse of John is written in the same style and language as the Prophecies of Daniel, and it relates to them the way they relate to one another, so that all of them together make one complete Prophecy. In the same way it has two parts: an introductory Prophecy and its Interpretation.

The opening of the seven seals of the book that Daniel was commanded to seal up divides the Prophecy into seven parts in order, and from this it is called the Apocalypse or Revelation of Jesus Christ. The time of the seventh seal is divided into eight parts in order: the silence in heaven for half an hour, and then the seven trumpets sounding one after another. The seventh trumpet sounds for the battle of the great day of God Almighty, when the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of the Lord and of his Christ, and those who destroyed the earth are destroyed.

The Interpretation begins with the words, “And the temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was seen in his temple the Ark of his Testament,” and it runs to the end of the Prophecy. The Temple is the scene of the visions, and the visions in the Temple concern the feast of the seventh month, because the feasts of the Jews were shapes of things to come. The Passover stood for the first com-

ing of Christ, and the feasts of the seventh month for his second coming. His first coming was already over before this Prophecy was given, so the feasts of the seventh month are only referred to here.

On the first day of that month, in the morning, the High-Priest trimmed the lamps. In connection with this, the Prophecy begins with a vision of one like the Son of man in the High-Priest's clothes, standing in the middle of the seven golden candfor fear thaticks, or right across from their middle, trimming the lamps, which appeared like a rod of seven stars in his right hand. This trimming was carried out by sending seven Epistles to the Angels or Bishops of the seven Churches of Asia, which in the early times gave light to the Temple or the universal Church. These Epistles warn against the coming Apostasy, so they concern the times when the Apostasy began to work hard, and the time before it took over. It began to work in the days of the Apostles, and it would keep working until the man of sin was revealed. It began in the disciples of Simon, Menander, Carpocrates, Cerinthas, and men like them who had taken in the metaphysical philosophy of the Gentiles and the Cabalistic Jews, and were for that reason called Gnostics. John calls them Antichrists, saying that in his days there were many Antichrists. But the Apostles and their own disciples condemned these people, and that left the Churches in no danger while the first four seals were being opened. The visions at the opening of those seals concern only the civil affairs of the pagan Roman Empire. As long as that lasted, the Apostolic traditions held and kept the Church pure, so the affairs of the Church are not considered in this Prophecy before the fifth seal is opened. The Church then began to decline and to need warnings, so these Epistles warn it until the Apostasy won out and took its place at the opening of the seventh seal. The warnings in these seven Epistles therefore concern the state of the Church in the times of the fifth and sixth seals. At the opening of the fifth seal, a great persecution purges the Church of hypocrites. At the opening of the sixth, whatever was holding things back is taken out of the way, namely the pagan Roman Empire. At the opening of the seventh, the man of sin is revealed. The seven Epistles belong to these times.

The seven Angels to whom these Epistles were written correspond to the seven Amarc-holim, who were Priests and chief Officers of the Temple. Together they held the keys of the gates of the Temple and of the Treasuries, and they directed, appointed, and oversaw everything in the Temple.

After the lamps were trimmed, John saw the door of the Temple open, and a voice like a trumpet called him up to the eastern gate of the great court to see the visions. And look, a throne was set: that is, the mercy-seat on the Ark of the Testament, which the Jews treated as the throne of God between the Cherubims, Exod. xxv. 2. Psal. xcix. 1. The one who sat on it looked like Jasper and Sardine stone, that is, olive-colored, and the people of Judea were that color. The Sun was then in the East, and a rainbow was around the throne, the emblem of glory. Around the throne were four and twenty seats, answering to the chambers of the four and twenty Princes of the Priests, twelve on the south side and twelve on the north side of the Priests Court. On the seats sat four and twenty Elders, clothed in white clothing, with crowns on their heads, representing the Princes of the four and twenty courses of the Priests, clothed in linen. Out of the throne came lightnings and thunderings and voices: the flashes of the fire on the Altar at the morning-sacrifice, and the thundering voices of those who sounded the trumpets and sang at the eastern gate of the Priests Court. Since these were between John and the throne, they looked to him as if they came from the throne. In the Temple, before the throne, were seven lamps of fire burning. These are the seven spirits of God, or the Angels of the seven Churches, shown at the start of this Prophecy by seven stars. Before the throne was a sea of glass clear as crystal: the brazen sea between the porch of the Temple and the Altar, filled with clear water. In the middle of the throne, and around the throne, were four Beasts full of eyes in front and behind: one Beast in front of the throne and one behind it, which to John appeared as in the middle of the throne, and one on each side in the circle around it, so that the multitude of their eyes represented the people standing on the four sides of the people's court. The first Beast was like a lion, the second was like a calf, the third had the face of a man, and the fourth was like a flying eagle. In the wilderness the people of Israel camped around the tabernacle: on the east side were

three tribes under the standard of Judah, on the west three tribes under the standard of Ephraim, on the south three tribes under the standard of Reuben, and on the north three tribes under the standard of Dan, Numb. ii. The standard of Judah was a Lion, that of Ephraim an Ox, that of Reuben a Man, and that of Dan an Eagle, as the Jews say. From this were formed the pictures of Cherubims and Seraphims, to represent the people of Israel. A Cherubim had one body with four faces: the faces of a Lion, an Ox, a Man and an Eagle, looking toward the four winds of heaven without turning around, as in Ezekiel's vision, chap. i. Four Seraphims had those same four faces with four bodies, one face to each body. So the four Beasts are four Seraphims standing on the four sides of the people's court: the first on the east side with the head of a Lion, the second on the west side with the head of an Ox, the third on the south side with the head of a Man, and the fourth on the north side with the head of an Eagle. Together the four stand for the twelve tribes of Israel, out of whom the hundred forty and four thousand were sealed, Apoc. vii. 4. Each of the four Beasts had six wings, two for a tribe, twenty and four wings in all, answering to the twenty and four stations of the people. They were full of eyes within, or under their wings. They do not rest day and night, or at the morning and evening-sacrifices, saying, "Holy, holy, holy Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come." These animals are therefore the Seraphims who appeared to Isaiah¹ in a vision like this of the Apocalypse. There too the Lord sat on a throne in the temple, and the Seraphims, each with six wings, cried, "Holy, holy, holy Lord God of hosts." When those animals give glory and honor and thanks to the one who sits on the throne, who lives forever and ever, the four and twenty Elders go into the Temple and there fall down before the one who sits on the throne. They worship the one who lives forever and ever and cast their crowns before the throne, saying: "You are worthy, O Lord, to receive glory and honor and power, for you have created all things, and by your pleasure they are and were created." At the morning and evening-sacrifices, as soon as the sacrifice was laid on the Altar and the drink-offering began to be poured out, the trumpets sounded and the Levites sang in turn three times. Every time the trumpets sounded, the people fell down and worshiped. So the

people worshiped three times, and to express that number the Beasts cry Holy, holy, holy. When the song was over, the people prayed standing until the ceremony was finished. Meanwhile the Priests went into the Temple and there fell down before the one who sat on the throne and worshiped.

John saw, in the right hand of the one who sat on the throne, a book written inside and on the back, sealed with seven seals: the book which Daniel was commanded to seal up, and which is represented here by the prophetic book of the Law kept on the right side of the Ark, as if in the right hand of the one who sat on the throne. The festivals and ceremonies of the Law, set down for the people in this book, were pictures of the things predicted in the book of Daniel, and the writing inside and on the back of this book relates to the Prophecies that run at the same time.² And no one was found worthy to open the book except the Lamb of God. And look, in the middle of the throne and of the four Beasts, and in the middle of the Elders, that is, at the foot of the Altar, stood a lamb as if it had been killed: the morning-sacrifice. It had seven horns, which are the seven Churches, and seven eyes, which are the seven spirits of God sent out into all the earth. He came and took the book from the right hand of the one who sat on the throne. When he had taken the book, the four Beasts and the four and twenty Elders fell down before the Lamb, each of them with harps and golden bowls full of odors, which are the prayers of the saints. They sang a new song, saying: "You are worthy to take the book and open its seals, for you were killed, and with your blood you have redeemed us to God out of every kindred and tongue and people and nation. You have made us, for our God, Kings and Priests, and we will reign on the earth." So the Beasts and Elders stand for the early Christians of all nations, and the worship of these Christians in their Churches is shown here in the form of worshiping God and the Lamb in the Temple: God for his gift in creating all things, and the Lamb for his gift in redeeming us with his blood. God sits on the throne and lives forever, and the Lamb is lifted above all by the merits of his death. And I heard, says John, the voice of many Angels around the throne, and the Beasts and the Elders, and the number of them was ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands. They said with a loud voice: "Worthy is the Lamb that was killed to

receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honor, and glory, and blessing.” Every creature in heaven, on the earth, under the earth, and in the sea, and all that are in them, I heard saying: “Blessing, honor, glory, and power be to the one who sits on the throne, and to the Lamb forever and ever.” The four Beasts said, “Amen.” The four and twenty Elders fell down and worshiped the one who lives forever and ever. This was the worship of the early Christians. By custom, the High-Priest stayed in the Temple for the seven days before the fast of the seventh month and studied the book of the Law, so that he would know it perfectly by the day of expiation. On that day the whole service, which was varied and complicated, had to be performed by him, and part of it was reading the Law to the people. To help him study it, the Sanhedrim appointed certain Priests to be with him during those seven days in one of his rooms in the Temple, where they discussed the Law with him, read it to him, and reminded him to read and study it himself. The Lamb’s opening of the seals points to this opening and reading of the Law during those seven days. We should understand that those seven days begin in the evening before each day, because the Jews began their day in the evening, and that the solemnity of the fast begins on the morning of the seventh day.

So the seventh seal was opened on the day of expiation, and then there was silence in heaven for half an hour. An Angel, the High-Priest, stood at the Altar with a golden Censer, and he was given much incense to offer with the prayers of all Saints on the golden Altar in front of the throne. On other days the custom was for one of the Priests to take fire from the great Altar in a silver Censer, but on this day the High-Priest took fire from the great Altar in a golden Censer. When he came down from the great Altar, he took incense from one of the Priests who brought it to him and carried it to the golden Altar. While he offered the incense, the people prayed outside in silence, and that is the silence in heaven for half an hour. When the High-Priest had laid the incense on the Altar, he carried a Censer with it burning in his hand into the most holy place in front of the Ark. The smoke of the incense, with the prayers of the Saints, rose before God out of the Angel’s hand. On other days there was a set measure of incense for the golden Altar, but on this day there was a greater quantity for

both the Altar and the most holy Place, so it is called much incense. After this the Angel took the Censer, filled it with fire from the great Altar, and cast it to the earth: that is, through the hands of the Priests who belong to his mystical body, he cast it to the earth outside the Temple, for burning the Goat which was the Lord's lot. At this and the other sacrifices that went with it, until the evening-sacrifice was ended, there were voices, and thunderings, and lightnings, and an earthquake: the voice of the High-Priest reading the Law to the people, other voices and thunderings from the trumpets and temple music at the sacrifices, and lightnings from the fire of the Altar.

Part II, Chapter 2, 2



The solemnity of the day of expiation being finished, the seven Angels sounded their trumpets at the great sacrifices of the seven days of the Feast of Tabernacles. At those same sacrifices the seven thunders speak with their voices. They are the music of the Temple and the singing of the Levites, mixed with the sounding of the trumpets. And the seven Angels pour out their vials of wrath, which are the drink offerings of those sacrifices.

When six of the seals had been opened, John said:³ “After these things—that is, after the visions of the sixth seal—I saw four Angels standing at the four corners of the earth, holding back the four winds of the earth, so that no wind would blow on the earth, or on the sea, or on any tree. And I saw another Angel rising from the East, with the seal of the living God. He cried out with a loud voice to the four Angels who were given the power to harm the earth and the sea, saying, ‘Do not harm the earth, or the sea, or the trees, until we have sealed the servants of our God on their foreheads.’” This sealing points to a tradition of the Jews, that on the day of expiation all the people of Israel are sealed up in the books of life and death. For the Jews in their Talmud⁴ tell us that in the beginning of every new year, on the first day of the month Tisri, the seventh month of the sacred year, three books are opened for judgment: the book of life, in which the names of those who are perfectly righteous are written; the book of death, in which the names of atheists or very wicked people are written; and a third book, for those whose judgment is put off until the day of expi-

ation, and whose names are written in neither the book of life nor the book of death before that day. The first ten days of this month they call the penitential days, and during all these days they fast and pray a great deal, and are very devout, so that on the tenth day their sins may be forgiven and their names written in the book of life. That day is therefore called the day of expiation. On this tenth day, as they return home from the Synagogues, they say to one another, "May God the creator seal you for a good year." For they believe that the books are now sealed up, and that the judgment of God stays unchanged from then on until the end of the year. The same thing is shown by the two Goats. Once a year, on the day of expiation, the High Priest places on their foreheads the two lots inscribed, "For God" and "For Azazel". The lot for God stands for the people who are sealed with the name of God on their foreheads; and the lot of Azazel, which was sent into the wilderness, stands for those who receive the mark and name of the Beast and go into the wilderness with the great Whore.

Since the servants of God are sealed on the day of expiation, we may think of this sealing as happening at the same time as the visions that appear when the seventh seal is opened, and that when the Lamb had opened six of the seals and seen the visions about the inside of the sixth, he looked at the back of the seventh leaf, and then saw the four Angels holding the four winds of heaven, and another Angel rising from the East with the seal of God. We may also think that the Angels who held the four winds were the first four of the seven Angels, who were seen standing before God when the seventh seal was opened. When they held the winds, there was silence in heaven for half an hour. And while the servants of God were being sealed, the Angel with the golden Censer offered their prayers with incense on the golden Altar, and read the Law. And as soon as they were sealed, the winds harmed the earth at the sounding of the first trumpet, and the sea at the sounding of the second. These winds stand for the wars announced by the first four trumpets. For just as the first four seals are set apart from the last three by the appearance of four horsemen toward the four winds of heaven, so the wars of the first four trumpets are set apart from those of the last three, by showing these as four winds and those as three great woes.

In one of Ezekiel's visions, when the Babylonian captivity was near, six men appeared with weapons of slaughter. And a seventh, who⁵ appeared among them clothed in white linen, with a writer's ink-horn at his side, was commanded to go through the middle of Jerusalem, and set a mark on the foreheads of the men who sigh and cry over all the abominations done in the middle of the city. Then the six men, like the Angels of the first six trumpets, were commanded to kill the men who had no mark. So we may think that the hundred forty and four thousand are sealed to keep them from the plagues of the first six trumpets, and that in time, through the preaching of the everlasting gospel, they grow into a great crowd of all nations, and families, and peoples, and tongues, which no man could number. At the sounding of the seventh trumpet they come out of the great tribulation with palms in their hands, the kingdoms of this world, by the war announced by that trumpet, becoming the kingdoms of God and his Christ. For the Jews kept the great Hosannah on the seventh and last day of the Feast of Tabernacles. On that day they carried palms in their hands and cried Hosannah.

After six of the Angels—those answering the six men with weapons of slaughter—had sounded their trumpets, the Lamb, in the form of a mighty Angel, came down from heaven clothed with a cloud. A rainbow was on his head, his face was like the Sun, and his feet like pillars of fire: the shape in which Christ appeared at the beginning of this Prophecy. And he had in his hand a little book opened, the book which he had just opened. For he received only one book from him who sits on the throne, and he alone was worthy to open it and look into it. And he set his right foot on the sea and his left foot on the earth, and cried with a loud voice, like a lion roaring. It was the custom of the High Priest, on the day of expiation, to stand in an elevated place in the people's court, at the Eastern gate of the Priests court, and read the Law to the people, while the Heifer and the Goat that was the Lord's lot were burning outside the Temple. So we may suppose him standing in such a way that his right foot looked to John as if it stood on the sea of glass, and his left foot on the floor of the house, and that he cried with a loud voice, reading the Law on the day of expiation. And when he had cried out, seven thunders uttered their voices.

Thunder is the voice of a cloud, and a cloud stands for a crowd; and this crowd may be the Levites, who sang with thundering voices and played musical instruments at the great sacrifices on the seven days of the Feast of Tabernacles, at which times the trumpets also sounded. For the trumpets sounded and the Levites sang in turn, three times at every sacrifice. So the Prophecy of the seven thunders is nothing but the Prophecy of the seven trumpets repeated in another form. And the Angel whom I saw standing on the sea and on the earth lifted his hand to heaven, and swore by him who lives forever and ever, that after the seven thunders there would be time no longer; but in the days of the voice of the seventh Angel, when he begins to sound, the mystery of God would be finished, as he has declared to his servants the Prophets. So the voices of the thunders last to the end of this world, and so do those of the trumpets. And the voice which I heard from heaven, John says, spoke to me again and said: "Go and take the little book, and so on." So I took the little book out of the Angel's hand and ate it; and in my mouth it was sweet as honey, and as soon as I had eaten it, my stomach turned bitter. And he said to me, "You must prophesy again before many peoples, and nations, and tongues, and kings." This is the beginning of a new Prophecy, a repetition of the Prophecy of the whole book, and it points to Ezekiel's eating a roll or book spread open before him, written inside and outside, full of lamentation and mourning and woe, but sweet in his mouth. Eating and drinking stand for acquiring and possessing, and eating the book means becoming filled with the Prophecy it contains. It means being filled in a strong and unusual way with the Prophecy of the whole book, and so it stands for a vivid repetition of the whole Prophecy in the form of an interpretation; and it does not begin until the first Prophecy, that of the seals and trumpets, is ended. It was sweet in John's mouth, and so it does not begin with the bitter Prophecy of the Babylonian captivity, or with the Gentiles in the outward court of the Temple and the holy city trampled underfoot, or with the two Witnesses prophesying in sackcloth, striking the earth with every plague, and being killed by the Beast. But as soon as the Prophecy of

the trumpets is ended, it begins with the sweet Prophecy of the glorious woman in heaven and the victory of Michael over the Dragon; and after that it is bitter in John's stomach, with a long description of the times of the great Apostasy. And the Angel stood on the earth and sea, saying: "Rise and measure the Temple of God and the Altar, and those who worship in it"—that is, their courts with the buildings on them: the square court of the Temple called the separate place, the square court of the Altar called the Priests court, and the court of those who worship in the Temple called the new court. "But leave out the great court which is outside the Temple, and do not measure it, for it is given to the Gentiles; and they will trample the holy city underfoot for forty and two months." This measuring looks back to Ezekiel's measuring of the Temple of Solomon. There the whole Temple, including the outward court, was measured, to show that it would be rebuilt in the last days. Here only the courts of the Temple and the Altar, and those who worship in them, are measured, to show that a second Temple would be built for those sealed out of all the twelve tribes of Israel, who worship in the inward court of sincerity and truth. But John is commanded to leave out the outward court, the outward form of religion and Church government, because it is given to the Babylonian Gentiles. For the glorious woman in heaven, whose seed kept the commandments of God and had the testimony of Jesus, stayed the same woman in outward form after her flight into the wilderness, and so she gave up her former sincerity and piety and became the great Whore. She lost her purity but kept her outward form and shape. And while the Gentiles trample the holy city underfoot and worship in the outward court, the two Witnesses—perhaps shown by the two feet of the Angel standing on the sea and the earth—prophecy against them, and have power, like Elijah and Moses, to consume their enemies with fire coming out of their mouths, to shut heaven so that it does not rain in the days of their Prophecy, to turn the waters into blood, and to strike the earth with every plague as often as they wish: that is, with the plagues of the trumpets and the vials of wrath. At last they are killed, rise again from the dead, and go up to heaven in a cloud; and then the seventh trumpet sounds on to the day of judgment.

When the Prophecy was finished, John was inspired afresh by the book he had eaten, and begins its Interpretation with these words: "And the Temple of God was opened in heaven, and the Ark of the Testament was seen in his Temple." By the Ark we can tell that this was the first Temple, for the second Temple had no Ark. "And there were lightnings, and voices, and thunderings, and an earthquake, and great hail." These answer to the wars in the Roman Empire during the reign of the four horsemen, who appeared when the first four seals were opened. "And there appeared a great sign in heaven, a woman clothed with the Sun." In the Prophecy, the affairs of the Church begin to be considered at the opening of the fifth seal; and in the Interpretation they begin at the same point, with the vision of the Church in the form of a woman in heaven. There she is persecuted, and here she is in the pain of childbirth. The Interpretation goes on first to the sealing of the servants of God, and the marking of the rest with the mark of the Beast; and then to the day of judgment, represented by a harvest and a vintage. Then it goes back to the times of opening the seventh seal, and interprets the Prophecy of the seven trumpets by the pouring out of seven vials of wrath. The Angels who pour them out come out of the Temple of the Tabernacle—that is, out of the second Temple, for the Tabernacle had no outward court. Then it goes back again to the times of measuring the Temple and the Altar, of the Gentiles worshiping in the outward court, and of the Beast killing the witnesses in the streets of the great city; and interprets these things by the vision of a woman sitting on the Beast, drunk with the blood of the Saints. And it moves on in the interpretation to the fall of the great city and the day of judgment.

So the whole Prophecy of the book, represented by the book of the Law, is repeated and interpreted in the visions which follow those of sounding the seventh trumpet, and which begin with that of the Temple of God opened in heaven. Only the things which the seven thunders uttered were not written down, and so are not interpreted.

Notes to Chap. II.

¹ Isa. vi.

² Apoc. v.

³ Apoc. vii

⁴ Buxtorf in Synogoga Judaica, c. 18, 21.

⁵ Ezek. ix.

Part II, Chapter 3, 1



Of the relation which the Prophecy of John has to those of Daniel; and of the Subject of the Prophecy.

The whole scene of sacred Prophecy is made up of three main parts: the regions beyond the Euphrates, represented by the two first Beasts of Daniel; the Empire of the Greeks on this side of the Euphrates, represented by the Leopard and by the He-Goat; and the Empire of the Latins on this side of Greece, represented by the Beast with ten horns. The phrases about the third part of the earth, sea, rivers, trees, ships, stars, sun, and moon refer to these three parts. I place the body of the fourth Beast on this side of Greece, because the first three of the four Beasts had their lives prolonged after their dominion was taken away, and so they do not belong to the body of the fourth. It only stamped them with its feet.

By the earth, the Jews understood the great continent of all Asia and Africa, which they could reach by land; and by the isles of the sea they understood the places to which they sailed by sea, particularly all Europe. So in this Prophecy, the earth and sea stand for the nations of the Greek and Latin Empires.

The third and fourth Beasts of Daniel are the same as the Dragon and the ten-horned Beast of John, but with this difference: John uses the Dragon for the whole Roman Empire while it still remained entire, because it was entire when that Prophecy was given; and he does not consider the Beast until the Empire became divided. Then he uses the Dragon for the Empire of the Greeks, and

the Beast for the Empire of the Latins. That is why the Dragon and the Beast have common heads and common horns. But the Dragon has crowns only on its heads, and the Beast only on its horns, because the Beast and its horns did not reign before they were divided from the Dragon; and when the Dragon gave the Beast its throne, the ten horns received power as Kings, in the same hour as the Beast. The heads are seven Kings, one after another. Four of them were the four horsemen which appeared at the opening of the first four seals. Near the end of the sixth head, or seal, taken as present in the visions, it is said: "five of the seven Kings are fallen, and one is, and another is not yet come; and the Beast that was and is not, being wounded to death with a sword, is the eighth, and yet of the seven." He was therefore a side-branch of the seventh. The horns are the same as those of Daniel's fourth Beast, described above.

The four horsemen which appear at the opening of the first four seals have been well explained by Mr. Mede, except that I would rather carry the third to the end of the reigns of the three Gordians and Philip the Arabian—those being Kings from the South—and begin the fourth with the reign of Decius, carrying it on to the reign of Dioclesian. For the fourth horseman sat upon a pale horse, and his name was Death; and Hell followed with him; and power was given to them to kill a fourth part of the earth, with the sword, famine, plague, and the Beasts of the earth—that is, with invading armies and rebels. And such were the times throughout this whole interval. Until then the Roman Empire continued in an undivided, single form of rule, apart from rebellions, and the four horsemen represent it in that form. But Dioclesian divided it between himself and Maximianus, A.C. 285; and it remained in that divided state until the victory of Constantine the Great over Licinius, A.C. 323, which ended the heathen persecutions begun by Dioclesian and Maximianus, described at the opening of the fifth seal. But this division of the Empire was incomplete, the whole still being under one and the same Senate. That same victory of Constantine over Licinius, a heathen persecutor, began the fall of the heathen Empire, described at the opening of the sixth seal; and the visions of this seal continue until after the reign of Julian the Apostate, he being a heathen Emperor, and reigning over the whole Roman Empire.

The affairs of the Church begin to be considered at the opening of the fifth seal, as was said above. Then she is shown as a woman in the Temple of heaven, clothed with the sun of righteousness, and the moon of Jewish ceremonies under her feet, and with a crown of twelve stars on her head, relating to the twelve Apostles and the twelve tribes of Israel. When she fled from the Temple into the wilderness, she left in the Temple a remnant of her seed, who kept the commandments of God and had the testimony of Jesus Christ; and so before her flight she stood for the true early Church of God, though later she degenerated, like Aholah and Aholibah. In Dioclesian's persecution she cried out, in the pains of childbirth, and in agony to give birth. And at the end of that persecution, by the victory of Constantine over Maxentius, A.C. 312, she brought forth a man-child, a child such as was to rule all nations with a rod of iron: a Christian Empire. And her child, by the victory of Constantine over Licinius, A.C. 323, was caught up to God and to his throne. And the woman, by the division of the Roman Empire into the Greek and Latin Empires, fled from the first Temple into the wilderness, the spiritually barren Empire of the Latins, where she is later found sitting upon the Beast and upon the seven mountains; and is called the great city which reigns over the Kings of the earth, that is, over the ten Kings who give their kingdom to her Beast.

But before her flight there was war in heaven between Michael and the Dragon, the Christian and the heathen religions. And the Dragon, that old serpent, called the Devil and Satan, who deceives the whole world, was thrown down to the earth, and his Angels were thrown down with him. And John heard a voice in heaven saying: "Now has come salvation and strength, and the kingdom of our God, and the power of his Christ. For the accuser of our brothers has been thrown down. They overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony. They did not love their lives, even to death. So rejoice, heavens, and you who dwell in them. Disaster is coming on the people living on the earth and sea—the people of the Greek and Latin Empires. For the devil has come down among you, with great wrath, because he knows that he has only a short time."

And when the Dragon saw that he was thrown down from the Roman throne, and the man-child was caught up there, he persecuted the woman who brought forth the man-child. And to her—by the division of the Roman Empire between the cities of Rome and Constantinople, A.C. 330—were given two wings of a great eagle, the symbol of the Roman Empire, so that she might flee from the first Temple into the wilderness of Arabia, to her place at Babylon, a name used here in a figure. And the serpent—by the division of the same Empire between the sons of Constantine the Great, A.C. 337—cast out of his mouth water like a flood after the woman, the Western Empire, so that he might have her carried away by the flood. But the earth, the Greek Empire, helped the woman: the earth opened its mouth and swallowed the flood, by the victory of Constantius over Magnentius, A.C. 353, and in this way the Beast was wounded to death with a sword. And the Dragon became furious with the woman in the reign of Julian the Apostate, A.C. 361, and, by a new division of the Empire between Valentinian and Valens, A.C. 364, he left her and went into the Eastern Empire to make war with the remnant of her seed, which she left behind her when she fled. In this way the Beast revived. By the next division of the Empire, between Gratian and Theodosius, A.C. 379, the Beast with ten horns rose out of the sea, and the Beast with two horns out of the earth; and by the last division, between the sons of Theodosius, A.C. 395, the Dragon gave the Beast his power and throne, and great authority. And the ten horns received power as Kings, in the same hour as the Beast.

At last the woman reached her place of temporal as well as spiritual rule, on the back of the Beast, where she is nourished a time, and times, and half a time, from the face of the serpent—not in his kingdom, but at a distance from him. She is nourished by the merchants of the earth, for three times or years and a half, or 42 months, or 1260 days; and in these Prophecies days stand for years. Throughout all this time the Beast acted, and she sat on him—that is, she ruled him, and the ten Kings who gave their power and strength, that is their kingdom, to the Beast; and she was drunk with the blood of the Saints. By all these circumstances she is the eleventh horn of Daniel's fourth Beast, which ruled with a look more bold than its fellows, and was of a different kind from the

rest. It had eyes and a mouth like the woman; it made war with the saints and defeated them; it wore them out; it planned to change times and laws; and they were given into its hand, until a time, and times, and half a time. These features of the woman and of the little horn of the Beast agree exactly: in respect of her temporal rule she was a horn of the Beast; in respect of her spiritual rule she rode on him in the form of a woman, was his Church, and committed fornication with the ten Kings.

The second Beast, which rose up out of the earth, was the Church of the Greek Empire: for it had two horns like those of the Lamb, and so was a Church; and it spoke like the Dragon, and so was of his religion; and it came up out of the earth, and so within his kingdom. It is also called the false Prophet, who performed miracles before the first Beast, by which it deceived those who received its mark and worshiped its image. When the Dragon left the woman to make war with the remnant of her seed, this Beast, rising out of the earth, assisted in that war, and caused the earth and those who live on it to worship the authority of the first Beast, whose mortal wound was healed, and to make an Image to him—that is, to gather a body of men like him in religion. It also had power to give life and authority to the Image, so that the Image could speak; and by dictating to it, it caused all religious bodies of men who would not worship the authority of the Image to be killed in a figure. And it causes all men to receive a mark on their right hand or on their forehead; and no man may buy or sell unless he has the mark, or the name of the Beast, or the number of his name, all the rest being excommunicated by the Beast with two horns. His mark is three crosses, his name is LATEINOS in Greek letters, and the number of his name is 666.

In this way the Beast, after he was wounded to death with a sword and revived, was made a god, as the heathens used to make gods of their Kings after death, and an Image was set up to him; and his worshipers were initiated into this new religion by receiving the mark or name of this new god, or the number of his name. By killing all who will not worship him and his Image, the first Temple, lit by the lamps of the seven Churches, is torn down; and a new Temple is built for those who will not worship him. And the outward court of this new

Temple, the outward form of a Church, is given to the Gentiles, who worship the Beast and his Image; while those who will not worship him are sealed with the name of God on their foreheads, and withdraw into the inward court of this new Temple. These are the 144000 sealed out of all the twelve tribes of Israel, and called the two Witnesses, as being descended from the two wings of the woman while she was flying into the wilderness, and shown by two of the seven candles for fear that they should be destroyed. These appear to John in the inward court of the second Temple, standing on mount Sion with the Lamb, and as it were on the sea of glass. These are the Saints of the most High, and the host of heaven, and the holy people spoken of by Daniel, as worn out and trampled underfoot, and destroyed in the later times by the little horns of his fourth Beast and He-Goat. While the Gentiles trample the holy city underfoot, God gives power to his two Witnesses, and they prophesy a thousand two hundred and threescore days, clothed in sackcloth. They are called the two Olive-trees, in relation to the two Olive-trees which in Zechariah's vision, chap. iv., stand on either side of the golden candlestick, to supply the lamps with oil; and Olive-trees, according to the Apostle Paul, stand for Churches, Rom. xi. They supply the lamps with oil by supporting teachers. They are also called the two candles for fear that they should be destroyed; and in this Prophecy candles for fear that they should be destroyed stand for Churches, the seven Churches of Asia being represented by seven candles for fear that they should be destroyed. Five of these Churches were found faulty, and were threatened if they did not repent; the other two were without fault, and so their candles for fear that they should be destroyed were fit to be placed in the second Temple. These were the Churches in Smyrna and Philadelphia. They were in a state of tribulation and persecution, and they were the only two of the seven in such a state; and so their candles for fear that they should be destroyed were fit to represent the Churches in affliction in the times of the second Temple, and they were the only two of the seven that were fit. The two Witnesses are not new Churches: they are the descendants of the early Church, the descendants of the two wings of the woman, and so are fittingly shown by two of the early candles for fear that they should be destroyed. We may therefore think that when the

first Temple was destroyed, and a new one built for those who worship in the inward court, two of the seven candles for fear thaticks were placed in this new Temple.

The affairs of the Church are not considered during the opening of the first four seals. They begin to be considered at the opening of the fifth seal, as was said above; they are considered further at the opening of the sixth seal; and the seventh seal contains the times of the great Apostasy. So I place the Epistles to the seven Churches in the times of the fifth and sixth seals. For they have to do with the Church when she began to decline, and they contain warnings against the great Apostasy which was then approaching.

Part II, Chapter 3, 2



When Eusebius had brought his Ecclesiastical History down to the reign of Dioclesian, he thus describes the state of the Church: Qualem quantamque gloriam simul ac libertatem doctrina veræ erga supremum Deum pietatis à Christo primùm hominibus annunciata, apud omnes Græcos pariter & barbaros ante persecutionem nostrâ memoriâ excitatam, consecuta sit, nos certè pro merito explicare non possumus. Argumento esse possit Imperatorum benignitas erga nostros: quibus regendas etiam provincias committebant, omni sacrificandi metu eos liberantes ob singularem, qua in religionem nostram affecti erant, benevolentiam. And a little after: Jam vero quis innumerabilem hominum quotidie ad fidem Christi confugientium turbam, quis numerum ecclesiarum in singulis urbibus, quis illustres populorum concursus in ædibus sacris, cumulatè possit describere? Quo factum est, ut priscis ædificiis jam non contenti, in singulis urbibus spatiosas ab ipsis fundamentis exstruerent ecclesias. Atque hæc progressii temporis increscentia, & quotidie in majus & melius proficiscentia, nec livor ullus atterere, nec malignitas dæmonis fascinare, nec hominum insidiæ prohibere unquam potuerunt, quamdiu omnipotentis Dei dextra populum suum, utpote tali dignum præsidio, textit atque custodiit. Sed cum ex nimia libertate in negligentiam ac desidiam prolapsi essemus; cum alter alteri invidere atque obtrectare cæpisset; cum inter nos quasi bella intestina gereremus, verbis, tanquam armis quibusdam hastisque, nos mutuò vulnerantes; cum Antistites adversus Antistites, populi in populos collisi, jurgia ac tumultus

agitarent; denique cum fraus & simulatio ad summum malitiæ culmen adolevisset: tum divina ultio, levi brachio ut solet, integro adhuc ecclesiæ statu, & fidelium turbis liberè convenientibus, sensim ac moderatè in nos cæpit animadvertere; orsà primùm persecutione ab iis qui militabant. Cum verò sensu omni destituti de placando Dei numine ne cogitaremus quidem; quin potius instar impiorum quorundam res humanas nullâ providentiâ gubernari rati, alia quotidie crimina aliis adjiceremus: cum Pastores nostri spretâ religionis regulâ, mutuis inter se contentionibus decertarent, nihil aliud quam jurgia, minas, æmulationem, odia, ac mutuas inimicitias amplificare studentes; principatum quasi tyrannidem quandam contentissimè sibi vindicantes: tunc demùm juxta dictum Hieremiæ, obscuravit Dominus in ira sua filiam Sion, & dejecit de cælo gloriam Israel,—per Ecclesiarum scilicet subversionem, &c. This was the state of the Church just before the Churches were overthrown at the start of Dioclesian's persecution, and the first of the seven Epistles to the Angel of the seven Churches,¹ the one to the Church in Ephesus, agrees with it. "I have something against you," says Christ to the Angel of that Church, "because you have left your first love. Remember where you have fallen, and repent, and do the things you did at first; or else I will come to you quickly and take your candle for fear that it will go out of its place, unless you repent. But this you have: you hate the deeds of the Nicolaitans, which I also hate." The Nicolaitans are the Continentes described above, who made religion consist in abstaining from marriage and left their wives if they had any. They are called Nicolaitans here after Nicolas, one of the seven deacons of the early Church at Jerusalem. He had a beautiful wife and was charged with loving her too much, so he left her and let her marry whoever she wanted, saying that people must turn away from the flesh. From then on he lived alone and kept from sex, and so did his children. Later the Continentes took up the doctrine of Æons and of male and female spirits, and the Churches kept away from them until the fourth century. The Church of Ephesus is praised here for hating their deeds.

The persecution of Dioclesian began in the year of Christ 302 and lasted ten years in the Eastern Empire and two years in the Western. The second Epistle, to the Church of Smyrna, agrees with this state of the Church. "I know,"² says

Christ, “your works, your trouble, and your poverty, yet you are rich. And I know the blasphemy of those who say they are Jews and are not, but are the synagogue of Satan. Do not fear any of the things you are about to suffer. Look, the Devil will throw some of you into prison so that you may be tested, and you will have trouble for ten days. Be faithful until death, and I will give you the crown of life.” The trouble of ten days fits no persecution but that of Dioclesian, because it was the only persecution that lasted ten years. By the blasphemy of those who say they are Jews and are not, but are the synagogue of Satan, I mean the idolatry of the Nicolaitans, who falsely said they were Christians.

The Nicolaitans are also complained of in³ the third Epistle as men who held the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balac to put a stumbling block in front of the children of Israel, to eat food sacrificed to idols, and⁴ to commit spiritual fornication. Balaam taught the Moabites and Midianites to tempt and invite Israel through their women to commit fornication, and to feast with them at the sacrifices of their gods. So the Dragon now began to come down among the people of the earth and sea.

The Nicolaitans are also complained of in the fourth Epistle under the name of the woman Jezabel, who calls herself a Prophetess, to teach and seduce the servants of Christ into fornication and into eating food sacrificed to idols. So the woman now began to fly into the wilderness.

From the time he conquered Licinius, Constantine the great ruled the whole Roman Empire as one monarch. Then the Empire was divided between the sons of Constantine, and later it was joined together again under Constantius through his victory over Magnentius. The third, fourth and fifth Epistles, that is, the ones to the Angels of the Churches in Pergamus, Thyatira and Sardis, seem to fit the affairs of the Church in these three periods of time in a row. The next Emperor was Julian the Apostate.

In the sixth Epistle,⁵ to the Angel of the Church in Philadelphia, Christ says: “Because in the reign of the heathen Emperor Julian you kept the word of my patience, I will also keep you from the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world by the woman’s flying into the wilderness, the Dragon’s

making war with the rest of her seed, and the killing of all who will not worship the Image of the Beast, to test those who live on the earth and to tell them apart: by sealing the one with the name of God on their foreheads, and marking the other with the mark of the Beast. The one who overcomes I will make a pillar in the Temple of my God, and he will never go out of it again. And I will write on him the name of my God and his forehead.” So the Christians of the Church in Philadelphia, as many of them as overcome, are sealed with the seal of God, placed in the second Temple, and never go out again. The same is to be understood of the Church in Smyrna, which also kept the word of God’s patience and was without fault. So these two Churches, along with their children, are the two Pillars, the two Candles for fear that they and the two Witnesses in the second Temple.

After the Emperor Julian reigned, and his successor Jovian reigned for only five months, the Empire was again divided between Valentinian and Valens. Then the Catholic Church, in the Epistle to the Angel of the Church of Laodicea, is criticized as lukewarm and⁶ threatened with being spit out of Christ’s mouth. She said that she was rich, had grown wealthy, and did not need anything, because she was doing well on the outside, and she did not know that inside she was wretched, miserable, poor, blind and naked. So she is spit out of Christ’s mouth when the seventh seal is opened, and this brings the times of the first Temple to an end.

About half of the Roman Empire turned Christian in the time of Constantine the great and his sons. After Julian opened the Temples and restored the worship of the heathens, the Emperors Valentinian and Valens allowed it for their whole reigns, and so the Prophecy of the sixth seal was not fully carried out before the reign of their successor Gratian. It was the custom of the heathen Priests, at the start of the reign of every sovereign Emperor, to offer him the dignity and the robes of the Pontifex Maximus. Every Emperor had accepted this honor until then, but Gratian turned it down, threw down the idols, banned the sacrifices, and took away their revenues along with the salaries and authority of the Priests. Theodosius the great followed his example, and after that heathenism never recovered. It declined so fast that Prudentius, about ten years

after the death of Theodosius, called the heathens *vix pauca ingenia & pars hominum rarissima*. So the affairs of the sixth seal ended with the reign of Valens, or rather with the beginning of the reign of Theodosius, when he, like Gratian before him, refused the dignity of Pontifex Maximus. For the Romans were much troubled by the invasions of foreign nations in the reign of Valentinian and Valens: *Hoc tempore, says Ammianus, velut per universum orbem Romanum bellicum canentibus buccinis, excitæ gentes sævissimæ limites sibi proximos persultabant: Gallias Rhætiasque simul Alemanni populabantur: Sarmatæ Pannonias & Quadi: Picti, Saxones, & Scoti & Attacotti Britannos ærumnis vexavere continuis: Austoriani, Mauricæque aliæ gentes Africam solito acrius incursabant: Thracias diripiebant prædatorii globi Gotthorum: Persarum Rex manus Armeniis injectabat*. And while the Emperors were busy driving these enemies off, the Hunns and Alans and Goths crossed the Danube in two bodies, defeated and killed Valens, and slaughtered the Roman army so badly that Ammianus says: *Nec ulla Annalibus præter Cannensem ita ad internecionem res legitur gesta*. These wars were not fully stopped on every side until the beginning of the reign of Theodosius, A.C. 379 & 380. After that the Empire stayed quiet and free from foreign armies until his death, A.C. 395. For that long the four winds were held back, and for that long there was silence in heaven. And the seventh seal was opened when this silence began.

Mr. Mede has explained the Prophecy of the first six trumpets fairly well. But if he had noticed that the Prophecy of pouring out the vials of wrath happens at the same time as the Prophecy of sounding the trumpets, his explanation would have been more complete.

The name of Woes is given to the wars that come with the last three trumpets, to tell them apart from the wars of the first four. The sacrifices on the first four days of the feast of Tabernacles, at which the first four trumpets sound and the first four vials of wrath are poured out, are slaughters in four great wars, and these wars are shown as four winds from the four corners of the earth. The first was an east wind, the second a west wind, the third a south wind, and the fourth a north wind, measured from the city of Rome, the capital of the old

Roman Empire. These four plagues fell on the third part of the Earth, Sea, Rivers, Sun, Moon and Stars. That is, on the Earth, Sea, Rivers, Sun, Moon and Stars of the third part of the whole scene of these Prophecies of Daniel and John.

The plague of the eastern wind⁷ at the sounding of the first trumpet was to fall on the Earth, that is, on the nations of the Greek Empire. So after the death of Theodosius the great, the Goths, Sarmatians, Hunns, Isaurians and Austorian Moors invaded Greece, Thrace, Asia minor, Armenia, Syria, Egypt, Lybia and Illyricum and ruined them miserably, ten or twelve years in a row.

The plague of the western wind at the sounding of the second trumpet was to fall on the Sea, or Western Empire, by means of a great mountain burning with fire thrown into it, turning it to blood. So in the year 407 that Empire began to be invaded by the Visigoths, Vandals, Alans, Sueves, Burgundians, Ostrogoths, Heruli, Quadi and Gepides, and these wars broke it into ten kingdoms and ruined it. Rome itself, the burning mountain, was besieged and taken by the Ostrogoths at the start of these disasters.

The plague of the southern wind at the sounding of the third trumpet was to make a great star, burning like a lamp, fall from heaven onto the rivers and fountains of waters, the Western Empire by then divided into many kingdoms, and to turn them to wormwood and blood and make them bitter. So Genseric, the King of the Vandals and Alans in Spain, A.C. 427, entered Africa with an army of eighty thousand men. There he invaded the Moors and made war on the Romans, both there and on the sea coasts of Europe, fifty years in a row, almost without a break, taking Hippo A.C. 431 and Carthage, the capital of Africa, A.C. 439. In A.C. 455, with a large fleet and an army of three hundred thousand Vandals and Moors, he invaded Italy, took and plundered Rome, Naples, Capua and many other cities, carrying off their wealth and the best of their people to Africa. The next year, A.C. 456, he tore all Africa away from the Empire and drove the Romans out completely. Then the Vandals invaded and took the islands of the Mediterranean: Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Ebusus, Majorca, Minorca, etc. Ricimer besieged the Emperor Anthemius in Rome, took the city and gave the plunder to his soldiers, A.C. 472. The Visigoths at

about the same time drove the Romans out of Spain. By now the Western Emperor, the great star that fell from heaven burning like a lamp, had gradually lost almost all his dominions through these wars. He was invaded and conquered in one year by Odoacer King of the Heruli, A.C. 476. After that the Moors revolted A.C. 477, weakened the Vandals through several wars, and took Mauritania from them. These wars went on until the Vandals were conquered by Belisarius, A.C. 534. Through all these wars Africa was almost emptied of people, according to Procopius, who reckons that more than five million men died in them. When the Vandals first invaded Africa, that country was very crowded, with about 700 bishoprics, more than all France, Spain and Italy had together. But the wars between the Vandals, Romans and Moors emptied it so completely that Procopius tells us it was almost a miracle for a traveler to see a man.

In pouring out the third vial it is⁸ said: “You are righteous, O Lord, because you have judged this way: they have shed the blood of your Saints and Prophets, and you have given them blood to drink, for they are worthy.” How they shed the blood of Saints can be seen from the following Edict of the Emperor Honorius, obtained by four Bishops who were sent to him by a Council of African Bishops, who met at Carthage 14 June, A.C. 410.

Impp. Honor. & Theod. AA. Heracliano Com. Afric.

Oraculo penitus remoto, quo ad ritus suos hæreticæ superstitionis abrepserant, sciant omnes sanctæ legis inimici, plectendos se poena & proscriptionis & sanguinis, si ultra convenire per publicum, execrandâ sceleris sui temeritate temp-taverint. Dat. viii. Kal. Sept. Varano V.C. Cons. A.C. 410.

Five years later this Edict was reinforced by the following one.

Impp. Honor. & Theod. AA. Heracliano Com. Afric.

Part II, Chapter 3, 3



Sciant cuncti qui ad ritus suos hæresis superstitionibus obrepserant sacrosanctæ legis inimici, plectendos se poenâ & proscriptionis & sanguinis, si ultra convenire per publicum exercendi sceleris sui temeritate temptaverint: ne quâ vera divinaque reverentia contagione temeretur. Dat. viii. Kal. Sept. Honorio x. & Theod. vi. AA. Coss. A.C. 415.

Because these Edicts were sent to the governor of Africa, they applied only to the Africans. Before these there were many harsh ones against the Donatists, but they did not go as far as blood. These two were the first to make their meetings, and the meetings of all dissenters, a capital crime. In these Edicts, heretics means all dissenters, as is clear from the following one against Euresius, a Luciferan Bishop.

Impp. Arcad. & Honor. AA. Aureliano Proc. Africæ.

Hæreticorum vocabulo continentur, & latis adversus eos sanctionibus debent succumbere, qui vel levi argumento à judicio Catholicæ religionis & tramite detecti fuerint deviare: ideoque experientia tua Euresium hæreticum esse cognoscat. Dat. iii. Non. Sept. Constantinop. Olybrio & Probino Coss. A.C. 395.

The Greek Emperor Zeno adopted Theoderic King of the Ostrogoths as his son, made him master of the horse, Patricius and Consul of Constantinople, and, handing over to him the Roman people and Senate, gave him the Western Empire and sent him into Italy against Odoacer King of the Heruli. Theoderic

then led his people into Italy, conquered Odoacer, and ruled over Italy, Sicily, Rhætia, Noricum, Dalmatia, Liburnia, Istria, and part of Suevia, Pannonia and Gallia. So Ennodius said, in a Panegyric to Theoderic: *Ad limitem suum Romana regna remeâsse*. Theoderic ruled with great prudence, moderation and success. He treated the Romans with unusual kindness, governed them by their own laws, and restored their government under their Senate and Consuls, taking the place of Emperor himself without taking the title. *Ita sibi parentibus præfuit*, says Procopius, *ut vere Imperatori conveniens decus nullum ipsi abeset: Justitiæ magnus ei cultus, legumque diligens custodia: terras à vicinis barbaris servavit intactas, &c.* So I do not count the reign of this King among the plagues of the four winds.

The plague of the northern wind at the sounding of the fourth trumpet was to darken the Sun, Moon and Stars, that is, the King, kingdom and Princes of the Western Empire, and to keep them in darkness for some time. So Belisarius, after conquering the Vandals, invaded Italy A.C. 535 and fought the Ostrogoths in Dalmatia, Liburnia, Venetia, Lombardy, Tuscany and other regions north of Rome, twenty years in a row. In this war many cities were taken and taken back. When Millain was taken back from the Romans, the Ostrogoths killed all the males, young and old, amounting, as Procopius reckons, to three hundred thousand, and sent the women captives to their allies the Burgundians. Rome itself was taken and retaken several times, and the people were thinned out. The old government by a Senate ended, the nobles were ruined, and all the glory of the city was extinguished. Then, A.C. 552, after a war of seventeen years, the kingdom of the Ostrogoths fell, yet the rest of the Ostrogoths and an army of Germans they called in to help them kept the war going three or four years longer. Then came the war of the Heruli, who, as Anastasius tells us, *perimebant cunctam Italiam*, killed all Italy. That was followed by the war of the Lombards, the fiercest of all the Barbarians, which began A.C. 568 and lasted thirty eight years in a row, *factâ tali clade*, says Anastasius, *qualem à sæculo nullus meminit*. It ended at last with the Papacy of Sabinian, A.C. 605, through a peace made with the Lombards at that time. Three years before this war ended, Gregory the great, then Bishop of Rome,

spoke of it like this: Qualiter enim & quotidianis gladiis & quantis Longobardorum incursionibus, ecce jam per triginta quinque annorum longitudinem premimur, nullis explere vocibus suggestionis valemus: and in one of his Sermons to the people he describes how badly the Romans were used up by these wars: Ex illa plebe innumerabili quanti remanseritis aspicitis, & tamen adhuc quotidie flagella urgent, repentini casus opprimunt, novæ res & improvise clades affligunt. In another Sermon he describes the desolations this way: Destructæ urbes, eversa sunt castra, depopulati agri, in solitudinem terra redacta est. Nullus in agris incola, penè nullus in urbibus habitator remansit. Et tamen ipsæ parvæ generis humani reliquiæ adhuc quotidie & sine cessatione feriuntur, & finem non habent flagella coe for fear that is justitiæ. Ipsa autem quæ aliquando mundi Domina esse videbatur, qualis remansit Roma conspicimus innumeris doloribus multipliciter attrita, defolatione civium, impressione hostium, frequentia ruinarum.—Ecce jam de illa omnes hujus sæculi potentes ablati sunt.—Ecce populi defecerunt.—Ubi enim Senatus? Ubi jam populus? Contabuerunt ossa, consumptæ sunt carnes. Omnis enim sæcularium dignitatum ordo extinctus est, & tamen ipsos vos paucos qui remansimus, adhuc quotidie gladii, adhuc quotidie innumeræ tribulationes premunt.—Vacua jam ardet Roma. Quid autem ista de hominibus dicimus? Cum ruinis crebrescentibus ipsa quoque destrui ædificia videmus. Postquam defecerunt homines etiam parietes cadunt. Jam ecce desolata, ecce contrita, ecce gemitibus oppressa est, &c. All this was said by Gregory to the people of Rome, who had seen that it was true. So through the plagues of the four winds the Empire of the Greeks was shaken and the Empire of the Latins fell, and Rome was nothing more than the capital of a poor dukedom, under Ravenna, the seat of the Exarchs.

The fifth trumpet sounded to the wars that the King of the South, as Daniel calls him, made in the time of the end by pushing at the King who did according to his will. This plague began with the opening of the bottomless pit, which means a false religion being let out: the smoke coming out of the pit stands for the crowd that embraced that religion, and the locusts coming out of the smoke stand for the armies that came out of that crowd. The pit was opened to let

smoke and locusts out into the regions of the four monarchies, or some of them. The King of these locusts was the Angel of the bottomless pit, the chief governor in religious as well as civil affairs, such as the Caliph of the Saracens. Swarms of locusts often rise up in Arabia fælix and from there infest the neighboring nations, so they are a very fitting picture of the large armies of Arabians invading the Romans. They began to invade them A.C. 634 and to rule at Damascus A.C. 637. They built Bagdad A.C. 766 and ruled over Persia, Syria, Arabia, Egypt, Africa and Spain. Later they lost Africa to Mahades, A.C. 910; Media, Hircania, Chorasán and all Persia to the Dailamites, between the years 927 and 935; Mesopotamia and Míafarekin to Nasiruddaulas, A.C. 930; Syria and Egypt to Achsjid, A.C. 935. And now in great distress, the Caliph of Bagdad, A.C. 936, handed over all the rest of his temporal power to Mahomet the son of Rajici, King of Wasit in Chaldea, and made him Emperor of Emperors. But Mahomet lost Bagdad to the Turks within two years, and from then on Bagdad was sometimes in the hands of the Turks and sometimes in the hands of the Saracens, until Togrul-beig, also called Togra, Dogrissa, Tangrolipix and Sadoc, conquered Chorasán and Persia and, A.C. 1055, added Bagdad to his Empire and made it his seat. His successors Olub-Arflan and Melechsah conquered the regions upon the Euphrates, and after the death of Melechsah these conquests broke into the kingdoms of Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Cappadocia. The whole time that the Caliphs of the Saracens ruled with a temporal dominion at Damascus and Bagdad together was 300 years, that is, from the year 637 to the year 936 inclusive. Now locusts live only five months, and so, to keep the picture right, these locusts are said to hurt men five months and five months, as if they had lived about five months at Damascus and again about five months at Bagdad: ten months in all, or 300 prophetic days, which are years.

The sixth trumpet sounded to the wars that Daniel's King of the North made against the King mentioned above, who did according to his will. In these wars the King of the North, according to Daniel, conquered the Empire of the Greeks and also Judea, Egypt, Lybia and Ethiopia, and by these conquests the Empire of the Turks was set up, as can be known from its size. These wars

began A.C. 1258, when the four kingdoms of the Turks seated upon the Euphrates—the kingdom of Armenia major seated at Miyapharekin, Megarkin or Martyropolis, the kingdom of Mesopotamia seated at Mosul, the kingdom of all Syria seated at Aleppo, and the kingdom of Cappadocia seated at Iconium—were invaded by the Tartars under Hulacu and driven into the western parts of Asia minor, where they made war on the Greeks and began to build the present Empire of the Turks. When the sixth trumpet sounded,⁹ John heard a voice from the four horns of the golden Altar which is before God, saying to the sixth Angel who had the trumpet: “Loosen the four Angels who are bound at the great river Euphrates.” And the four Angels were let loose. They had been prepared for an hour and a day, and a month and a year, to kill a third part of men. The four horns of the golden Altar stand for where the head cities of those four kingdoms sat, Miyapharekin, Mosul, Aleppo and Iconium, which were in a quadrangle. They killed a third part of men when they conquered the Greek Empire and took Constantinople, A.C. 1453. And they began to be prepared for this purpose when Olub-Arslan began to conquer the nations upon the Euphrates, A.C. 1063. The time in between is called an hour and a day, and a month and a year, or 391 prophetic days, which are years. In the first thirty years, Olub-Arslan and Melechsah conquered the nations upon the Euphrates and ruled over all of them. Melechsah died A.C. 1092 and was succeeded by a little child, and then this kingdom broke into the four kingdoms mentioned above.

Notes to Chap. III.

¹ Apoc. ii. 4, &c.

² Apoc. ii. 9, 10.

³ Ver. 14.

⁴ Numb. xxv. 1, 2, 18, & xxi. 16.

⁵ Apoc. iii. 10, 12.

⁶ Apoc. iii. 16, 17.

⁷ Apoc. viii. 7, &c.

⁸ Apoc. xvi. 5, 6.

⁹ Apoc. ix. 13, &c.

THE END.

Advertisement.

The last pages of these Observations were written in a different form by the Author in another copy of his Work, and they are inserted here as they follow in that copy, after the 22d line of the 261st page above.

And no one was found worthy to open the book until the Lamb of God appeared: the great High-Priest shown as a lamb killed at the foot of the Altar in the morning sacrifice. And he came and took the book from the hand of the one sitting on the throne. For the High-Priest, in the feast of the seventh month, went into the most holy place and took the book of the law out of the right side of the Ark to read it to the people, and in order to read it well he studied it seven days, that is, on the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth days, with some of the priests attending to hear him perform. These seven days are referred to by the Lamb opening the seven seals one after another.

On the tenth day of the month, a young bullock was offered as a sin-offering for the High-Priest, and a goat as a sin-offering for the people, and lots were cast on two goats to decide which of them should be God's lot for the sin-offering, while the other goat was called Azazel, the scape-goat. The High-Priest, in his linen garments, took a censer full of burning coals of fire from the Altar, his hand full of sweet incense beaten small, and went into the most holy place inside the veil. He put the incense on the fire and sprinkled the blood of the bullock with his finger on the mercy-seat and in front of the mercy-seat seven times. Then he killed the goat that fell to God's lot as a sin-offering for the people, brought its blood inside the veil, and sprinkled it seven times as well on the mercy-seat and in front of the mercy-seat. Then he went out to the Altar and sprinkled it seven times with the blood of the bullock, and just as often with the blood of the goat. After that he laid both his hands on the head of the live

goat and confessed over him all the wrongs of the children of Israel and all their transgressions in all their sins, putting them on the head of the goat, and sent him away into the wilderness by the hands of a fit man, and the goat carried all their wrongs into a land that is not inhabited, Levit. chap. iv. & chap. xvi. While the High-Priest was doing these things in the most holy place and at the Altar, the people stayed at their devotion quietly and in silence. Then the High-Priest went into the holy place, took off his linen garments and put on other garments, then came out and sent the bullock and the goat of the sin-offering to be burned outside the camp, with fire taken in a censer from the Altar. And as the people went home from the Temple they said to one another, "God seal you to a good new year."

In allusion to all this, when he had opened the seventh seal, there was silence in heaven for about half an hour. And an Angel stood at the Altar with a golden Censer, and there was given to him much incense, so that he should offer it with the prayers of all Saints on the golden Altar which was before the throne. And the smoke of the incense with the prayers of the Saints went up before God out of the Angel's hand. And the Angel took the Censer, filled it with fire of the Altar, and threw it to the earth, suppose outside the camp, to sacrifice the goat which fell to God's lot. For the High-Priest being Christ himself, the bullock is left out. At this sacrifice there were voices and thunderings, from the music of the Temple, and lightnings of the sacred fire, and an earthquake, and at the same time as these things the 144000 out of all the twelve tribes of the children of Israel were sealed with the seal of God in their foreheads, while the rest of the twelve tribes received the mark of the Beast, and the Woman fled from the Temple into the wilderness to her place on this Beast. For this sealing and marking was shown by casting lots on the two goats, sacrificing God's lot on mount Sion, and sending the scape-goat into the wilderness loaded with the sins of the people.

Part II, Chapter 3, 4



On the fifteenth day of the month, and on the six days that followed, there were very great sacrifices. To copy the sounding of trumpets, the singing with thundering voices, and the pouring out of drink offerings at those sacrifices, seven trumpets are sounded, seven thunders speak with their voices, and seven vials of wrath are poured out. So the sounding of the seven trumpets, the voices of the seven thunders, and the pouring out of the seven vials of wrath happen at the same time, and they all belong to one and the same division of the time of the seventh seal after the silence, split into seven parts in order. The seven days of this feast were called the Feast of Tabernacles, and during those seven days the children of Israel lived in booths and rejoiced with palm branches in their hands. The crowd with palms in their hands points to this. It appeared after the sealing of the 144000, and it came out of the great tribulation in triumph at the battle of the great day, to which the seventh trumpet sounds. So the visions of the 144000 and of the crowd carrying palms reach as far as the sounding of the seventh trumpet, and so they happen at the same time as the times of the seventh seal.

When the 144000 are sealed out of all the twelve tribes of Israel, and the rest receive the mark of the Beast, and as a result the first temple is destroyed, John is told to measure the temple and the altar. That means their courts, and the people who worship in them, that is, the 144000 standing on mount Sion and on the sea of glass. He is to leave out the court that is outside the temple, the

people's court, and not measure it, because it is given to the Gentiles, those who receive the mark of the Beast. And they shall trample the holy city under foot forty and two months, that is, all the time that the Beast acts under the woman Babylon. And the two witnesses prophesy 1260 days, that is, all that same time, clothed in sackcloth. These have power, like Elijah, to shut the sky so that it does not rain, at the sounding of the first trumpet; and, like Moses, to turn the waters into blood at the sounding of the second; and to strike the earth with all the plagues, those of the trumpets, as often as they wish. They prophesy at the building of the second temple, like Haggai and Zechary. They are the two olive trees, or Churches, that supplied the lamps with oil, Zech. iv. They are the two candles for fear that ticks, or Churches, standing before the God of the earth. Five of the seven Churches of Asia, the ones in prosperity, are found fault with, told to repent, and threatened with being removed from their places, or spit out of Christ's mouth, or punished with the sword of Christ's mouth, unless they repent. The other two, the Churches of Smyrna and Philadelphia, which were under persecution, stay under persecution, to light up the second temple. When the early universal Church, represented by the woman in heaven, turned away and split into two corrupt Churches, represented by the whore of Babylon and the two-horned Beast, the 144000 who were sealed out of all the twelve tribes became the two Witnesses, set against those two false Churches. Once the name of two Witnesses has been given, it stays with the true Church of God in all times and places until the end of the Prophecy.

In the interpretation of this Prophecy, the woman in heaven clothed with the sun, before she flies into the wilderness, stands for the early universal Church, lit by the seven lamps in the seven golden candles for fear that ticks, which are the seven Churches of Asia. The Dragon stands for the same Empire as Daniel's He-goat in the reign of its last horn, that is, the whole Roman Empire, until it split into the Greek and Latin Empires. For all the time of that division it stands for the Greek Empire alone. The Beast is Daniel's fourth Beast, that is, the Empire of the Latins. Before the Roman Empire split into the Greek and Latin Empires, the Beast was part of the body of the Dragon. From the time of

that split on, the Beast is the Latin Empire only. So the Dragon and the Beast have the same heads and horns, but the heads are crowned on the Dragon and the horns on the Beast. The horns are ten kingdoms, which the Beast splits into right after it separates from the Dragon, as described above. The heads are seven dynasties, or parts, one after another, into which the Roman Empire splits as the seven seals are opened. Before the woman fled into the wilderness, she was pregnant with a Christian Empire, and she cried out in labor, in the ten years persecution of Dioclesian, in pain to give birth. The Dragon, the heathen Roman Empire, stood in front of her to devour her child as soon as it was born. She brought forth a man child, who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron. Her child was caught up to God, and to his throne in the Temple, by the victory of Constantine the great over Maxentius. The woman fled from the Temple into the wilderness of Arabia to Babylon, where she has a place of riches and honor and dominion, on the back of the Beast, prepared by God, so that they would feed her there 1260 days. There was war in heaven, between the heathens under Maximinus and the new Christian Empire. The great Dragon was cast out, that old serpent which deceives the whole world, the spirit of heathen idolatry. He was cast out of the throne down to the earth. They overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony, and they did not love their own lives even to the death.

When the Dragon saw that he was thrown down to the earth, he persecuted the woman who brought forth the man child, stirring up a new persecution against her in the reign of Licinius. To the woman, by the building of Constantinople and making it equal to Rome, were given two wings of a great eagle, so that she could flee into the wilderness to her place on the back of her Beast, where she is fed for a time, and times, and half a time, away from the serpent. The serpent, after the death of Constantine the great, cast water out of his mouth like a flood, that is, the Western Empire under Constantine junior and Constans, in pursuit of the woman, so that he would sweep her away with the flood. The earth, the nations of Asia now under Constantinople, helped the woman, and by conquering the Western Empire, now under Magnentius, swallowed up the flood that the Dragon cast out of his mouth. The Dragon was angry with the

woman, and went to make war with the rest of her seed, those who keep the commandments of God and have the testimony of Jesus Christ. In that war they were sealed out of all the twelve tribes of Israel, and they stayed on mount Sion with the Lamb, 144000 in number, with their father's name written on their foreheads.

After the earth had swallowed up the flood, and the Dragon had gone to make war with the rest of the woman's seed, John stood on the sand of the sea and saw a Beast rise out of the sea, with seven heads and ten horns. The Beast was like a Leopard, its feet were like the feet of a Bear, and its mouth like the mouth of a Lion. John here names Daniel's four Beasts in order, putting his own Beast in the place of Daniel's fourth Beast, to show that they are the same. The Dragon gave this Beast his power, his seat, and great authority, by handing over the Western Empire to him. One of his heads, the sixth, was as if wounded to death, that is, by the sword of the earth, which swallowed the waters cast out of the mouth of the Dragon. His deadly wound was healed by a new division of the Empire between Valentinian and Valens, A.D. 364. John saw the Beast rise out of the sea at the division of the Empire between Gratian and Theodosius, A.D. 379. The Dragon gave the Beast his power, and his seat and great authority, at the death of Theodosius, when Theodosius gave the Western Empire to his son Honorius. After that the two Empires were never joined again, but the Western Empire was soon divided into ten kingdoms, as above. These kingdoms finally united in religion under the woman, and reign with her forty and two months.

And I saw, said John, another Beast coming up out of the earth. When the woman fled from the Dragon into the kingdom of the Beast and became his Church, this other Beast rose up out of the earth to represent the Church of the Dragon. He had two horns like the Lamb; those were the bishoprics of Alexandria and Antioch. He spoke like the Dragon in matters of religion, and he makes the earth, the nations of the Dragon's kingdom, worship the first Beast whose deadly wound was healed, that is, join his religion. He does great wonders, so that he makes fire come down from heaven onto the earth in the sight of people. That means he excommunicates those who differ from him in

religion: when they pronounced excommunication, they used to swing a lit torch down from above. He said to the people who live on the earth that they should make an image for the Beast which had the wound by a sword and lived. That means they should call a Council of men who follow this Beast's religion. He had power to give life to the image of the Beast, so that the image could speak, and so that everyone who would not worship the image of the Beast would be killed, that is, in a mystical sense, by having their Churches dissolved. He makes everyone, small and great, rich and poor, free and enslaved, to receive a mark on their right hand or on their foreheads, and so that no one could buy or sell unless he had the mark, the name of the Beast, or the number of his name. That is, the cross as the mark, the name LATEINOS in Greek, or the number of his name in Greek, 666. All others were excommunicated.

When the seven Angels had poured out the seven vials of wrath, and John had described them all as present events, he is taken up from the time of the seventh vial to the time of the sixth seal, to look at the woman and her Beast, who were to reign in the times of the seventh seal. Looking at the later part of the time of the sixth seal, then treated as present, the Angel tells John: "The Beast you saw was and is not, and shall come up out of the abyss and go into perdition." That is, he was there in the reign of Constans and Magnentius, until Constantius conquered Magnentius and joined the Western Empire back to the Eastern. He is not there during the reunion, and he shall come up out of the abyss or the sea at a later division of the Empire. The Angel tells him further: "Here is the mind that has wisdom: the seven heads are seven mountains, on which the woman sits; Rome being built on seven hills, and therefore called the seven-hilled city. There are also seven Kings: five have fallen, one is, and the other has not yet come; and when he comes, he must continue for a short space; and the Beast that was and is not, he is the eighth, and is of the seven, and goes into perdition." Five have fallen, the times of the five first seals being past; one is, the time of the sixth seal being treated as present; and another has not yet come, and when he comes, which will be at the opening of the seventh seal, he must continue for a short space; and the Beast that was and is not, he is the eighth, because the Roman Empire was divided into two parallel Empires; and he is of

the seven, being one half of the seventh, and shall go into perdition. Interpreters usually take the words, “five have fallen, and one is, and the other has not yet come,” to refer to the time of John the Apostle, when the Prophecy was given; but it should be noticed that in this Prophecy many things are spoken of as present which were not present when the Prophecy was given, but which would be present with respect to some future time treated as present in the visions. So where it says, on the pouring out of the seventh vial of wrath, that “great Babylon came to mind before God, to give her the cup of the wine of the fury of his wrath,” this does not relate to the time of John the Apostle, but to the time when the seventh vial of wrath is poured out. So where it says, “Babylon is fallen, is fallen; and put in your sickle and reap, for the time has come for you to reap; and the time of the dead has come, so they may be judged; and again, I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God,” these sayings do not relate to the days of John the Apostle, but to the later times treated as present in the visions. In the same way, the words, “five have fallen, and one is, and the other has not yet come, and the Beast that was and is not, he is the eighth,” are not to be referred to the age of John the Apostle, but relate to the time when the Beast was to be wounded to death with a sword, and they show that this wound was to be given to him in his sixth head; and without this reference we are not told in which head the Beast was wounded. And the ten horns you saw are ten Kings, which have received no kingdom as yet, but receive power as Kings for one hour with the Beast. They have one mind, being all of the whore’s religion, and they shall give their power and strength to the Beast. They shall make war with the Lamb, at the sounding of the seventh trumpet; and the Lamb shall overcome them, for he is Lord of Lords and King of Kings; and those who are with him are called and chosen and faithful. And he said to me, “the waters you saw, where the whore sits, are peoples and multitudes and nations and tongues, which make up her Beast.” And the ten horns you saw on the Beast, these shall hate the whore, and shall make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh and burn her with fire, at the end of the 1260 days. For God has put it in their hearts to fulfill his will, and to agree and to give their

kingdom to the Beast, until the words of God are fulfilled. And the woman you saw is that great city which rules over the Kings of the earth, or the great city of the Latins, which rules over the ten Kings until the end of those days.