

A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF APOCALYPTIC INTERPRETATION

FROM E. B ELLIOTT'S

HORÆ APOCALYPTICÆ;

OR,

A COMMENTARY ON THE APOCALYPSE,

CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL¹

It will, I think, conduce to clearness, if we classify the Apocalyptic expositors whom we shall have to notice under the chronological divisions following:—1. those between St. John's publication of the Apocalypse, and Constantine's establishment of Christianity in the Roman Empire;—2. those from Constantine to Imperial Rome's completed fall, and the rise of the Romano-Gothic kingdoms in Western Europe, ere the close of the 5th century;—3. those between the epoch last-mentioned and the end of the 11th century;—4. those from the 11th or 12th century to the Reformation;—5. those of the æra and century of the Reformation;—6. those from A.D. 1600 to the French Revolution;—7. those from the outbreak of the French Revolution, A.D. 1790, to the present time.¹

PERIOD I.—FROM ST. JOHN TO CONSTANTINE

The earliest profest Apocalyptic Commentary extant is that by *Victorinus*, Bishop of Pettau in Pannonia; who was martyred in the Diocletianic persecution, just at the very ending of the period now under review. Before that time, however, various brief hermeneutic notices of certain parts

¹ Elliott, E. B. (1862). [*Horæ Apocalypticæ; or, A Commentary on the Apocalypse, Critical and Historical*](#) (Fifth Edition, Vol. 1, p. i). Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.

¹ Some time after the publication of the 3rd Edition of the *Horæ*, with its Historic Sketch of Apocalyptic Interpretation, Mr. C. Maitland published his Book entitled "The Apostolic School of Prophetic Interpretation," which consists very mainly of an historic sketch on the same subject. Mr. C. M. had my Sketch before him while writing this; as appears from his reference to my 4th Volume containing it, at his p. 53, and various notices apparently borrowed from it throughout.—In revising this Part of my Work I have, in my turn, had the advantage of keeping his Treatise before me; and found it useful both otherwise, and especially as a check to my own notices of the same expositors: the more so because his views of the Apocalyptic prophecy are essentially different from my own, being mainly those of the *futurist* school. His Treatise is indeed almost professedly drawn up with the object of inculcating that particular view of prophetic interpretation. Which circumstance imposes on me the duty of checking, and when incorrect (which he too frequently is) correcting his statements; especially with reference to the 1st and 2nd Periods of my Sketch.

of the Apocalypse had been given to the Christian world by some of the earlier fathers, *Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Hippolytus*, and also by the Christian *Pseudo-Sibyl*: notices ranging in date from about the middle of the 2nd to the middle of the 3rd century; and which are too interesting to be past over in an inquiry into the history of Apocalyptic interpretation. I have indeed already partially noticed them, in my sketches of the æras or of the topics that they relate to, in the foregoing Commentary. But I think it will be well here to present them again connectedly in one point of view, and somewhat more in full, as the fittest introduction to our whole subject.¹

1. As regards the *Pseudo-Sibylline oracles*,—poems which were written and circulated under that title, through the pious fraud of certain Christians, about the middle of the 2nd century,—

¹ I do not specify the *pseudo-Barnabas*, who wrote probably early in the 2nd century, because we find nothing distinctively *Apocalyptic* in his Epistle:—except indeed in regard of that passage about the six days of creation and following sabbath, viewed as types of the world's six millennaries of duration, and seventh millennium of rest consequent on them, which will be found cited in the Chapter in my Appendix on the present æra in the world's chronology.

I call this writer the *pseudo-Barnabas*, because of having no doubt in my own mind as to his not being the *apostle* Barnabas. The Jewish temple had evidently been destroyed when the Epistle was written; and Barnabas probably died before that event. The author writes as if a Gentile, whereas Barnabas was a Jew: and moreover with such strange mistakes of fact about certain of the Levitical rites and ceremonies as, it seems to me, impossible a Jewish Levite like Barnabas could have made: and fancies too as to typical meanings in them, such as ill consist with the idea of that apostles companion of the apostles having been their inditer.

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

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

Mr C. Maitland, on the contrary, pp. 111–119, opens his Sketch of Christian Prophetic Interpretation by notices of the soi-disant *Barnabas*, as really the apostle of that name; *Hermas*, with "his gushes of penitence, &c.," as the *Hermas* of Rom. 16:14; and of the *2nd Book of Esdras*, as really the writing of a Christian.

my readers will already have learnt from previous citations given from them in this Book,¹ that *the destruction of Rome, the Apocalyptic Babylon*,² was one prominent subject in them; and with ideas about it evidently borrowed from the Apocalypse. In Book viii, more especially, it is the burden of the song. And this will be found to be the idea of the writer, or writers, as to events connected with it:—that the destroyer Antichrist, himself of Latin extraction,³ would be the first author of its ruin; this Antichrist equalling himself with God, and being (as is hinted⁴) *the Emperor Nero* restored to life again, and now coming back from Asia in alliance with the Jews; but that the grand and final destruction would be by direct judgment from heaven. “Descending from on high thou shalt dwell underneath the earth; with naphtha and asphalt, and sulphur and much fire, thou shalt disappear, and become as burning ashes for ever.⁵ And every one who looks on thee shall hear the deep sound of thy wailing from hell, and thy gnashing of teeth.”—Then, on Rome’s end,

¹ See my Vol. i. pp.230, 231.

² The name given by the Poet in various places to Rome; e.g. Book v. p. 312; (Ed. Paris 1599.)

Και φλεξει ποντον βαθυν, αυτην τε Βαβυλωνα,
Ιταλιης γαιαν θ’.

³ So p. 368;

Ω βασιλευ μεγαλαυχε, Λατινιδος εκγονε Ψωμης.

This *Latin* appellative of Rome appears often elsewhere in the Book: so that I cannot but incline to think that it had reference to Λατεινος, as the name and number of the Beast; the same that was soon afterwards specified by Irenæus.

⁴ Sometimes designated as the *mother-murderer*; sometimes by *the number 50*, as the numeral value of ν’, the first letter of his name.

The *former* designative occurs, for example, in Book viii.

όταυ γ’ επανελθη
Εκ περατων γαιης ό φυγας μητροκτονος ελθων, ...
Και τοτε πενθησεις.

The *latter* occurs in Book v. p. 303;

Πεντηκοντα δ’ οστις κεοσην λαχε κοιρανος εσαι,
Λεινος οφισ, φυσσων πολεμον· ...
Αλλ’ εσαι και αιστος ό λοιγιος· ειτ’ ανακαμψει,
Ισαζων θεω αυτον· ελεγξει δ’ ου μιν εοντα.

⁵ Elsewhere the writer notes in contrast the then flourishing state not only of Rome but its *Campagna*; το πεδον Ψωμης εριθηλου· a statement very illustrative of what I have said at p. 38 *suprà*.

there would follow speedily, according to our Sibyl, the world's end:⁶ and then, on the opening of the first octad,⁷ another and better world.

2. In *Justin Martyr* the chief direct reference to the Apocalypse is on the *millennium* announced by it; which, as we have seen,¹ he interpreted literally:—how St. John prophesied that believers in Christ would reign 1000 years with Him in Jerusalem, Jerusalem having been restored, enlarged, and beautified, agreeably with the Old Testament prophecies of the latter day; after which would follow the general resurrection and judgment. Further, in regard to *Antichrist*, though referring for authority more directly to Daniel,² yet it is evident that he considered the Apocalyptic ten-horned Beast, or rather its ruling head, to be identical with Daniel's little horn of the fourth wild Beast;³ and each and either identical with St. Paul's Man of Sin, and St. John's Antichrist: also that he regarded this Antichrist as still future, though at the very doors; as destined to reign literally 3½ years; and as to be destroyed by Christ's glorious advent.⁴

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

With reference more especially to the great subject of the Apocalyptic Beast, *Antichrist*, he directed his readers, as we saw long since,⁵ to look out for the division of the Roman empire into

⁶ B. viii. p. 368.—This was to be when Rome had fulfilled the number of the years destined her in her name Ῥωμη, viz. 100 + 800 + 40 + 8 = 948.

Τρις δε τριηκοσιους και τεσσαρακοντα και οκτω

Πληρωσεις λυκαβαντας: ... τεον ουνομα πληρωσασα.

⁷ B. vii. p. 359;

Εν δε τριτω κληρω περιτελλομενων ενιαυτων,

Ογδοατης πρωτης αλλος παλι κοσμος οραται.

Is this *Barnabas'* octad?—Compare the anti-premillennarian Jerome's notice of the Christian sabbath as the 8th day.

¹ See the Note p. 134 *suprà*.

² See the Note Vol. i. p. 229.

³ Because the millennium of the risen saints' reign with Christ, which in the Apocalypse is made to follow immediately after the destruction of the Apocalyptic Beast, by some interposition of Christ from heaven, is by Justin stated to follow immediately after the destruction of Daniel's Little Horn, or Antichrist.

⁴ See Vol. i. p. 230, Note 2.—He intimates further his expectation of *Elias* coming literally and personally before Christ's second advent. But he says this without any reference to the two witnesses of the Apocalyptic prophecy, such as Mr. C. Maitland ascribes to him, p. 140.

⁵ See the quotations in my Note Vol. i. p. 229

ten kingdoms, as that which was immediately to precede, and be followed by, Antichrist's manifestation. We saw too his jealousy that the true number of Antichrist's name, 666, as in the most genuine manuscripts, not 616, as in certain falsified copies, should be well understood: also how he thought that, as being in some way of *Roman* polity or connection, (even though by birth a *Jew*,) Antichrist's characteristic title, in fulfilment of the Apocalyptic enigma, might very probably be *Λατεινος*, *the Latin Man*, seeing that they who then held the world's empire were *Latins*; a name numerally equivalent to 666.¹—The *second lamb-like Beast* Irenæus calls the first Beast's armour-bearer; and also "the False Prophet," as in Apoc. 19² Under a notion of the Antichrist being a false Christ of *Jewish* origin, he fancifully suggests that the omission of *Dan* from those tribes of Israel out of whom an election was sealed, in Apoc. 7, might be an intimation of that being Antichrist's tribe.³ His idea of Antichrist sitting in *the rebuilt temple of Jerusalem*, and *there* showing himself as God, "setting aside all idols," in order to concentrate men's worship on himself, belongs to St. Paul's prophecy of Antichrist, not St. John's; and his idea of Antichrist's 3½ years being the half of the last of Daniel's 70 hebdomads, not to St. John, but Daniel.⁴ Again that of "Antichrist's fulfilling the part of the unjust judge in St. Luke, by avenging the Jews of their adversaries the Romans, and transferring the empire to Jerusalem," is altogether extra-Apocalyptic; and I must add very fanciful. Yet on this he mainly grounds his as yet peculiar opinion that Antichrist would transfer the seat of empire to Jerusalem, and there sit in the temple of God as if he were the Christ and God.⁵

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

² v. 28.

³ In support of this idea Irenæus (v. 30) strangely refers to Jer 8:16, "The snorting of his horses was heard from *Dan*," as if said of Antichrist's emerging from out of that tribe. And Mr. C. M. as strangely, pp. 157–159, seems to approve and endorse the interpretation. The reader need only refer to Jeremiah in order to see that it is said, as Lowth explains it, "of *the Chaldæan army* marching into Judæa through the tribe of *Dan*:" that being the northernmost district of the territory of Israel.

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

⁵ I say very mainly; because he also refers to one and another passage in Daniel about the sanctuary being desolate, and the abomination of desolation resting in it, as if meaning the Jerusalem (rebuilt) temple; viz. Dan. 8:13, and Dan. 9:27. But it is in nearest connexion with the parable in St. Luke. "Ipse est iniquus iudex ... ad quem fugit vidua oblita Dei, id est terrena Hierusalem ad ulciscendum de inimico. Quod et faciet in tempore regni sui. *Transferet regnum in eam*; et in templo Dei sedebit seducens eos qui adorant cum quasi ipse sit Christus," v. 26. So Irenæus would make Antichrist's empire a *fifth* mundane great empire, with new and different capital from Rome, in direct contradiction to Dan. 2, 7, which alike state that there would be but *four* previous to the reign of Messiah.

There is yet another direct point of Apocalyptic explanation to be noted in Irenæus. We find in his 4th Book a passing notice of the *white horse and rider* of the first Apocalyptic Seal; and explanation of it as signifying Christ born to victory, and going forth conquering and to conquer.¹ This is quite a detached comment; without any reference to the contrasted symbols of the Seals following.—I may add too that he makes the Apocalyptic *altar* to be that on which Christians' prayers and praises are offered *in heaven*, not that of the earthly Jerusalem.² And so again of the Apocalyptic *temple*.

4. Next turn we to *Tertullian*.

And on the subject of *Antichrist*, while agreeing with Irenæus in expecting his development chronologically after the breaking up of the Roman State into ten kings, or kingdoms, all in strict accordance with the Apocalypse, I see in Tertullian no intimation of his entertaining any such idea as Irenæus' as to this Antichrist being a Jew of the tribe of Dan; or of his fixing an abomination of desolation, in the sense of his own worship, in any rebuilt temple at Jerusalem.³ Nor again does he, like Irenæus, refer to the last of Daniel's 70 prophetic weeks, as furnishing out the time of 3½ years to the two witnesses, and 3½ to Antichrist. On the contrary he in one place elaborately draws out a sketch of the chronology, from the first year of Darius to that of Jerusalem's destruction by the Romans under Titus, to show that the whole 70 weeks were then fully completed, and the whole prophecy then accomplished.⁴ And indeed it is evident that he regarded the 3½ years of the witnesses and 3½ years of Antichrist as one and the same; for in his view the death of the *former* was to be the death of the *latter*.⁵ Moreover again and again he speaks of Christians, or the Christian Church, as *God's temple*;¹ and in various places of *heretics*,

¹ "Ad hoc enim nascebatur Dominus;" (viz. to overthrow his adversary, like his anti-type Jacob;) "de quo et Joannes in Apocalypsi ait, *Exivit vincens ut vinceret.*" iv. 38.

² "Est ergo *altare* in cœlis. Illuc enim preces nostræ et oblationes diriguntur; et ad *templum*; quemadmodum Joannes in Apocalypsi ait, Et apertum est templum Dei." iv. 34, ad fin. Irenæus' reference here is to Apoc. 11:19, or 15:5. But it is quite evident from the passage that he would have expounded the temple scene in Apoc. 8:3, where incense was given to the Angel, of Christian worship also.

³ More than once he expounds what St. Paul says about *Antichrist's sitting in the temple of God*, &c., of pseudo-Christian heretics like the Marcionites sitting in the professing Christian Church.

⁴ "Ita in diem expugnationis suæ Judæi impleverunt hebdomadas LXX prædictas à Daniele. Igitur, expletis his quoque temporibus, et debellatis Judæis, postea cessaverunt illic libamina et sacrificia, &c." Adv. Jud. 8.

See my notice on Daniel's hebdomads at the end of this Section.

⁵ See p. 282 Note ² infra.

¹ E.g. De Res. Carn. 26, where he says that *Christ*, and the *faithful Christians* who have put on Christ, are *God's temple*, *Jerusalem*, and the *Holy Land*. Also Adv. Jud. 14; "sacerdote templi spiritualis, id est, *ecclesiæ*."

awhile within the professing Church, as Antichrists and anti-christians.²—Yet again he distinctly notes the 144,000 on Mount Sion with Christ in Apoc. 14 (the same of course with the 144,000 of Apoc. 7) as the virgins of the *Christian Church*;³ and consequently the sealed ones out of the twelve tribes as not Jews, but Christians. With the same anti-Judaic view he markedly speaks of the Apocalyptic *New Jerusalem* (though with the twelve tribes of Israel written on its gates) as Christian, not Jewish; the Jerusalem spoken of by St. Paul to the Galatians as the mother of all Christians.⁴

Turning to the Seals the first point that meets us is a passing notice of the rider in the first Seal; which symbol Tertullian seems to have explained like Irenæus.⁵—But by far the most interesting to my mind of his passing comments here are those on the 5th Seal's vision of the *souls under the altar*, and that of the *palm-bearing company*, figured before the opening of the seventh Seal.⁶ The martyrs of the *former* vision, he explains as martyrs then in course of being slain under Pagan Rome for the testimony of Christ: thereby distinctly assigning to the then passing æra that particular place in the Apocalyptic pre figurative drama.¹ The palm-bearers of

² E.g. "Quænam istæ sunt *pelles ovium* nisi nominis Christiani extrinsecus superficies?" "Qui Antichristi nisi Christi rebelles?" De Præser. 4. So also Adv. Marc. iii. 8, v. 16, &c.

³ Res. Carn. 27.

⁴ Adv. Marc. iii. 25.

⁵ "Accipit et Angelus victoriæ coronam, procedens in candido equo ut vinceret." De Cor. Mil. ch. 15. By *the Angel* I think Tertullian meant Christ the Covenant-Angel.

⁶ The passages are given in my Vol. i. p. 232; but they are so illustrative that I must beg to bring them here again distinctly under the reader's eye.

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

2. Scorp. adv. Gnost. ch. 12. "Quinam isti tam beati victores (Apoc. 2:7) nisi propriè martyres? Illorum et ceterum victoriæ quorum et pugnæ; eorum vero pugnæ quorum et sanguis. Sed et interim sub altari martyrum animæ placidè quiescunt; et fiducia ultionis candidam claritatis usurpant, donec et [alii] consortium illarum gloriæ impleant. Nam et *rursus* innumera multitudo albat, et palmis victoriæ insignes, revelantur; (Apoc. 7:9, &c.;) scilicet de Antichristo triumphales."

¹ Mr. C. Maitland says, p. 164; "This passage contains the earliest identification of the 5th Seal martyrs with those who suffer under Antichrist." It will be seen I believe that, instead of this, Tertullian expressly distinguishes the 5th Seal martyrs, as the *first* set of martyrs, from the *second* set that were to follow under Antichrist.—The white robes of the palm-bearers in Apoc. 7, robes washed white by them in the blood of the Lamb *before death*, are also unadvisedly identified by Mr. C. M. with the white robes of the martyrs in Apoc. 6:11;—white robes given them in vision *after death*.

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

As to the *Apocalyptic millennium*, Tertullian’s view will have been seen by the citations in my Millennial Chapter to be precisely similar to that of the two preceding Fathers.⁴

Altogether Tertullian’s is an eminently common-sense view of the prophecy; viz. as a prefigurative drama, in orderly succession, of the chief æras and events in the history of the

² “Translatus est Enoch et Elias, nec mors eorum reperta est, dilata scilicet. Cæterum morituri reservantur, ut Antichristum sanguine suo extinguant.” De Anim. 50.

In another place, Adv. Marc. iv. 22, he explains *Zachariah’s* two olive-trees as *Moses* and *Elias*.

³ “How shall I admire, how exult, when I behold so many proud monarchs, reported to have been received into heaven, groaning in the lowest abyss of darkness; so many provincial governors who persecuted the name of the Lord liquifying in fiercer fire than they ever kindled against the Christians!” De Spectac. c. 30. Cited already by me under my 5th Seal, Vol. i. p. 224.

⁴ See on his millenary view the abbreviated extract given in the Note p. 134 *suprà*. But it will be quite worth the reader’s while to read the whole passage from which this extract is taken; which passage, I see, is given by Bishop Kaye in his Tertullian, p. 362.

Respecting the New Jerusalem, as will be there seen, his idea was that it was to be of *heavenly fabric*; and would descend *from heaven* to be the abode of the resurrection saints during the Millennium. That he did not expect the converted Jews, still in a mortal state, to be restored to, and to occupy their own land of Judah, appears from the general anti-Judaic tone of his remarks. (See for example my extract from him p. 280, in the Note ⁴.) In one place however he tells of a glorious city which had been seen shortly before in *Judæa* for forty successive days, suspended in the air at break of morning; the image, it was supposed, and he believed it, of the New Jerusalem. And perhaps he may hence be supposed to have had an idea of *Judæa*, as the chief local point of the manifestation of the glories of the heavenly Jerusalem, during the millennium. But nothing more.

inwardly a wolf; as Christ sent out apostles to all nations, so will he similarly send out false apostles.”² it being added that he would have also a similar connexion with the Jewish people.³ Then, after extracts from other Scriptures, and especially from Daniel’s two great symbolic prophecies of the quadripartite Image and the four wild Beasts, which he explains, just like the other Fathers, of the Babylonish, Persian, Macedonian, and Roman empires, and the little horn of the fourth Beast as Antichrist, he thus turns to the Apocalypse for information as to the fated end of both Antichrist himself, and his city Rome:—“Tell me, blessed John, thou apostle and disciple of the Lord, what hast thou heard and seen respecting Babylon: wake up, and speak; for it was she that exiled thee to Patmos.”⁴ And then he gives in full the two Chapters, Apoc. 17, and 18, containing the Angel’s explanation of the beastriding Harlot, and the consequent vision of her destruction. And, adding and interweaving other explanatory notices both from the Apocalypse and Daniel, he expounds the whole subject to the effect following:—that the *last* of Daniel’s 70 weeks, (for he insulates this last from the rest, in the manner stated below,)¹ that in which the Lord would confirm the covenant with many, and in the half of which would occur the taking away of the daily sacrifice and oblation, would fall at the end of the world:—that in the former half of it, or first 3½ years, Enoch and Elias would preach as Christ’s two sackcloth-robed witnesses, the precursors of Christ’s second advent, as John the Baptist was of the first;² and its latter half, or next 3½ years, include the rise and reign of Antichrist, his slaying of the Witnesses marking its commencement:—that of the two Apocalyptic Beasts the former, or *seven-headed ten-horned Beast*,³ meant the heathen Roman empire, wounded to death by a sword; the other, or *two-horned lamb-like Beast*, Antichrist, inclusive of his False Prophet; who would revive as it were the *image* or *ghost* of the old empire, (such is his singular and ingenious interpretation of *the giving life to the image of the Beast*, and *making it speak*,) just as Augustus once did to it by

² Ch. 6; referred to already, Vol. ii. p. 85, Note 5.

³ εν περιτομη ὁ Σωτηρ ηλθεν εις τον κοσμον, και αυτος (ὁ Αντιχριστος) ὁμοιως ελευσεται.

⁴ Ch. 36.

¹ Ib. p. 5.—Hippolytus was, I believe, the first author of the chronological separation of the last week of Daniel from its fellows. Jerome on Dan. ix states Hippolytus’ view to the effect following:—that 7 hebdomads of the 70 were to elapse before the Jews’ return from Babylon, 62 after these to Christ’s birth; (a clear mistake, says Jerome, since from Cyrus to Christ there would be 560 years;) then the last hebdomad, quite separate from the rest, to occur at the end of the world, and be divided between Elias and Antichrist, as stated in the text.

² Christ’s precursor, says Hippolytus, in preaching the gospel to the souls in Hades, ch. 46, p. 6.

³ With regard to this seven-headed ten-horned Beast, it appears from Andreas’s Comment on Apoc. 17:10 that Hippolytus explained his seven heads of the seven ages or millenniums of the world; five of which had past (according to the Septuagint chronology) when St. John received the revelation in Patmos, the sixth was then current, and the seventh when it came must continue, he thought, but a little space. How so, he does not explain.—I presume this is taken by Andreas from Hippolytus’ Treatise on the Apocalypse; as I have not found it either in the true or the spurious Treatise of Hippolytus on Antichrist.

his new laws and constitution;⁴ and might thence very probably have *Λατεινος*, *the Latin Man*, as his designative title, a name containing the fated number 666:¹ (the whole passage is every way most observable:) that meanwhile the Church, figured in Apoc. 12 as a travailing woman, because of daily bringing forth Christ (or Christ's members) by her preaching in the world,² and clothed with the *Divine Word*, as the sun, and the starry crown of the twelve apostles, would, while the Antichrist established his abomination in the holy place,³ flee to the mountains, pursued from city to city by him, and sustained only by faith in Christ crucified; his arms, extended on the cross, being like the sustaining wings of the great eagle in the Apocalyptic vision:—and that then, and thereupon, Christ's coming would take place; Antichrist be destroyed by its brightness; the first resurrection of the saints follow; the just, welcomed by Christ, take the

⁴ Το μεν ουν θηριον αναβαινον εκ της γης την βασιλειαν την του Αντιχριστου εσομενην λεγει ... το δε και την εξουσιαν του πρωτου θηριου ποιει, και ποιει την γην και τους εν αυτη κατοικουντας ινα προσκυνησωσι το θηριον το πρωτον, ου εθεραπευθη η πληγη του θανατου αυτου,—τουτο σημαινει οτι κατα τον Αυγουστου νομον, αφ' ου και η βασιλεια Ρωμαιων συνεστη, ουτω και αυτος κελευσει και διαταξει απαντα επικυρων, δια τουτου δοξαν εαυτου πλειονα περιποιουμενος. Τουτο γαρ εστι το θηριον το τεταρτον ου επληγη η κεφαλη, και παλιν εθεραπευθη, δια το καταλοθηναι αυτην η και ατιμασθηναι, και εις δεκα διαδηματα αναλυθηναι. Ός τοτε πανουργος ων ωσπερ θεραπευσει αυτην και ανανεωσει. Τουτο γαρ εστι το ειρημενον υπο του προφητου, οτι δωσει πνευμα τη εικονι, και λαλησει η εικων του θηριου· ενεργησει γαρ και ισχυσει παλιν δια τον υπ' αυτου οριζομενον νομον. Ch. 49. So, according to Hippolytus, Antichrist's empire would be the old imperial Roman empire revived: not, as Irenæus and Mr. C. M., a 5th empire, which Daniel expressly excludes.

This most important passage in Hippolytus' prophetic views is silently past over by Mr. C. Maitland.

¹ After mentioning 666 as the Beast's number, and Teitan and Euanthas as answering to the numeral, he goes on thus. Αλλ' επειδη προεφθημεν λεγοντες οτι εθεραπευθη η πληγη του θηριου του πρωτου, και ποιησει λαλειν την εικονα, τουτ' εστιν ισχυσαι, φανερον δ' εσι πασιν οτι οί κρατουντες ετι νυν εισι Λατινοι, εις ενος ουν ανθρωπου ονομα μεταγομενον γινεται Λατεινος. c. 50. A passage already cited by me Vol. iii. p. 248.

Mr. C. M. writes thus, p. 168; "Like Irenæus, our bishop knows many names that make the number of the Beast. He prefers the word (αρνουμαι) *I deny*, doubtless from the predicted denial of Christ's being come in the flesh." I regret that Mr. C. Maitland should have so written. He had the two Treatises before him, the *genuine* and the *spurious*. He cites the above, which is only in the *spurious* one, as Hippolytus' solution; and leaves the *genuine* Treatise, and its preferred solution of the name, *Λατεινος*, unnoticed!

² Και εν γασρι εχουσα κραζει ωδινουσα, και βασανιζομενη τεκειν, οτι ου παυσεται η εκκλησια γεννωσα εκ καρδιας τον λογον, τον εν κοσμω υπο απισων διωκομενον ... τον αρρενα και τελειον Χριτον, παιδα Θεου, Θεον και ανθρωπον καταγγελλομενον αι τικτουσα η εκκλησια διδασκει παντα τα εθνη. Again, on the words "caught up to God;" ηρπαγη το τεκνου αυτης προς τον Θεον και τον θρονον αυτου, οτι επουραnios εσι βασιλευς, και ουκ επιγειος ο δι' αυτης αι γεννωμενος.

³ Hippolytus does not expressly define the locality as *Jerusalem*. I should rather suppose however that he means it: though how to reconcile this with the Antichrist's complete restoration of Rome's empire, as by a second Augustus, may seem difficult.

kingdom prepared for them (Matt. 25) from the world's beginning, and, as Daniel says, shine forth in it as the sun and the stars; the judgment of the conflagration being meanwhile executed on unbelievers; and so Isaiah's word fulfilled, "They shall go forth and look on the carcasses of the men that have sinned against me: for their worm dieth not, nor is their fire quenched; and they shall be for a spectacle to all flesh."⁴

6. Next the name occurs of the famous *Origen*, Hippolytus' contemporary; who has however left but little in his commentaries on Apocalyptic interpretation.¹ It may be well however to mark the three notices following.

1. Of the Apocalyptic book (Apoc. 5), "written *within* and *without*," he explains the writing *without* as the obvious *literal* meaning; the writing *within* as its spiritual meaning.

2. The 144,000, both in Apoc. 7 and 14, he explains as true Christians.²

3. Regarding the *Antichrist* whom he evidently identifies with the Apocalyptic Beast warred against by him that sate on the white horse in Apoc. 19 "the Word of God," he strongly expresses his opinion, just like Hippolytus, as to the hypocrisy with which he would usurpingly ascribe to himself the titles, character, and functions of the true Christ.³

In passing on, the names of *Dionysius* and *Nepos* occur about A.D. 250, known in connexion with the Millennarian controversy, and so with the *Apocalypse* and its genuineness; on which points, however, I have before spoken at the beginning of the Work.⁴ Of these there is no need to speak more now.—I proceed therefore,

7thly, to *Victorinus*; the author, as before observed, of the earliest profest and continuous Apocalyptic Commentary now extant; and who died by martyrdom under the persecution of

⁴ Ad fin. ch. 65.

¹ So in his Commentary on John, Vol. ii. p. 90. [Ed. Huct.]

² Ibid. pp. 1, 2.

³ Ibid. pp. 52–54. The passage is so remarkable that I must transcribe it in part. After speaking of Christ in the language of Apoc. 19 as Ὁ Λογος του θεου, ὁ πισος καλουμενος, και αληθινος, και εν δικαιοσυνη κρινει και πολεμει, he thus turns to his conflict with the great usurper Antichrist. Επαν δε αυτος μεν πρεσβευη περι αληθειας, ὁ δ' ὑποκρινομενος ειναι Λογος, ου Λογος ων, και ἡ ἑαυτην την αναγορευουσα αληθειαν, ουκ αληθεια τυγκανουσα, αλλα ψευδος, φασκη ειναι ἑαυτην την αληθειαν, ουε καθοπλῖσαμενος ὁ Λογος κατα του ψευδους αναλοι αυτο τῷ πνευματι του τοματος, και καταργει τη επιφανειᾳ της παρουσιας αυτου. (2 Thess. 2.)

He then dwells on the distinctives of Christ as enumerated by St. John in his description of the sinner on the white horse in Apoc. 19 in such a manner as to imply pretty plainly that he did not so view the rider on the white horse in Apoc. 6, where all these characteristics are wanting.

⁴ See my Vol. i. pp. 3–7, 26.

Diocletian. His Commentary is noticed by Jerome, who speaks of it as one of millennial views.⁵ And hence has arisen a doubt as to the genuineness of the Treatise still extant, that goes under the name of Victorinus' Treatise on the Apocalypse; containing as it does, at its conclusion, a distinct anti-millennial declaration.¹ But the objection vanishes on examination; for various indubitable millennial intimations occur in the body of the Commentary:² and the anti-millennial passage is an evident interpolation by another hand, probably Jerome's own;³ as well as one or two shorter passages elsewhere.⁴ Moreover in Ambrose Ansbert I have observed a reference to the true Victorinus' statement on a rather singular point; which precise statement we find in the extant Commentary.⁵—In the edition given in the Bibliotheca Patrum Maxima, now before me, there is the farther disadvantage of transposition of various parts of the Comment from their right places. But the Apocalypse itself makes the rectification of this easy, as Victorinus'

⁵ "Et Papias Hierapolites Episcopus, et Nepos in Ægypti partibus Episcopus, de mille annorum regno ita ut Victorinus senserunt." Cited B. P. M. iii. 414.

¹ "Audiendi non sunt qui mille annorum regnum terrenum esse confirmant; qui cum Cherintho hæretico sentiunt." Ad fin. B. P. M. iii. 421.

² 1. On the Epistle to the Church of Thyatira, "I will give him the *morning star*," the explanation is given, "Primam resurrectionem scilicet promisit:" and again, on "I will give him power over nations," "id est, judicem illum constituet inter cæteros sanctos." p. 416.

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

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

Strange that Bellarmine should have overlooked all this; and in his *De Scriptor. Eccl.* spoken of the extant Treatise as decidedly anti-millennial!

³ For Jerome, in returning the copy of Victorinus sent him, says that he had not only corrected the transcribers' errors, but himself made additions:—"Quia me literis obtestatus es ... majorum statim libros revolvi; et quod in eorum commentariis reperi Victorini opusculis sociavi. Ab iotâ, inde quæ ipse secundum literam senserit, à principio libri ad signum crucis quæ ab imperitis erant vitiata scriptoribus, correximus; exinde usque ad finem voluminis addita esse cognosce." (ibid. 414.)—The anti-millennial addition, of which I gave in Note ¹ the concluding sentence, occupies near a column at the end of the Treatise as now printed. It gives Jerome's view of the first resurrection, to much the same effect as Augustine's; but only, in true Hieronymic style of sentiment, with special notice of the *keeping of virginity*, as characterizing those millennial priests and kings unto God, in regard of whom the Devil is bound.

⁴ Especially at p. 417; where, Victorinus having mentioned twenty-four Books of the Old Testament, the gloss occurs; "Sunt autem libri veteris Testamenti qui accipiuntur viginti quatuor, quos in Epitomis Theodori invenies:" in which the reference is to Theodorus, a writer of the sixth century.

⁵ See the Note at p. 294 *infra*.

is evidently an orderly Comment on it.—I have only further to premise, that the work is very short, occupying but seven folio pages, or fourteen columns in the Bibliotheca, Vol. iii. pp. 414–421. Of these fourteen columns, three and a half are devoted to the Apocalyptic introductory Vision and Epistles to the Seven Churches; three more to the Apocalyptic scenery; four to the Seals, Trumpets, and Witnesses; two to the Vision of the Dragon and the two Beasts; and one only to all the rest: herein well agreeing with what Cassiodorus says of it, that it only explained the more difficult passages.¹—I now proceed to give an abstract of it: and this somewhat at large, as due to its chronological interest.

At its opening Victorinus dwells on the particulars of Christ's first appearance to St. John:—*his head and hair white* marking the antiquity of the Ancient of Days, for the head of Christ is God; and perhaps with reference, in the *wool* that it is compared with, to the sheep his members, in the *snow* to the multitude of baptismal candidates, white as snow-flakes from heaven: *his face as the sun* serving not only to express his glory, but the fact of his having risen, and set, and risen again in life on this world; *his long priestly robe* marking his priesthood; *his zone* the golden choir of the saints; *his breasts* the two Testaments, whence his people's nourishment; and the *sword from his mouth* his preached word, by which men shall be judged and Antichrist slain: *his voice* being likened to *many waters* with reference not only to its power, as that of many people, but perhaps too to the baptismal waters of salvation issuing from him; and *his feet to brass glowing from the furnace*, in reference to the apostles purified in the furnace of affliction, by whom he walks as it were in his preached gospel through the world.—Then, after a short notice of the Epistles to the Seven Churches, (which seven he explains as representatives of the Church Universal,²) he proceeds to the second series of visions, on the door being opened in heaven, and John called up thither: the heaven once shut having by Christ's satisfaction been opened; and in St. John's person, originally of the circumcision, but now a preacher of the New Testament, it being apparent that alike the faithful of either dispensation were now invited.³ In the heavenly scene presented to John's view, the *throne* was that of Divine royalty and judgment; its *jasper* colour, as of water, signifying God's earlier judgment by the waters of the deluge; its fiery *sardine* colour that to come by fire; and the *sea* before the throne the gift of baptism, and offer of salvation through it, previous to judgment. The *twenty-four elders* he explains as the twelve patriarchs and twelve apostles, seated on thrones of judgment: agreeably to the patriarchal privilege, "Dan shall judge his people," and the apostolic, "Ye shall sit on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel:"—while *the four living creatures* typified the four evangelists, and their preaching of the gospel: the eyes within signifying the insight of that preaching into man's heart; and the six wings of each (twenty-four in all) having reference to the twenty-four books of the Old Testament, because it is only by help of the previous testimonies of those books that the

¹ So Professor M. Stuart, in his Apocalyptic Comment, i. 454.

² Like Paul, he adds; who first taught that seven Churches represented the Church Catholic, by addressing epistles to just seven Churches. For Victorinus' appended List seems not to have included that to the *Hebrews* among St. Paul's Epistles.

³ Such seems to me his meaning; but it is obscure.—Thus early is St. John's *representative character* on the Apocalyptic scene hinted.

Gospel can fly abroad.—The voices and thunderings from the throne meant God’s preachings, and threats, and notices of Christ’s coming to judgment; the seven torches of fire the Spirit, granted to men in virtue of Christ’s crucifixion.—As to the *seven-sealed book*, it was the book of the Old Testament; a book, with its prophecies of things to occur in the last times,¹ opened by none but Christ: who alone, as the *lamb* that was slain, could fulfil its types and prophecies; alone as a *lion*, and through death, conquer death for man. Also the saints’ new song of thanksgiving had reference to the new salvation and new blessings, now imparted to believers, especially of the glorious promised kingdom. Even if the opening of the Seals were simultaneous, (?) yet did the arrangement of them indicate order; the first Seal indicating what took place first,² the foreshowing of things that were to be in the last times.

Arrived thus at the opening of the *Seals*, Victorinus explains the *four horses and riders* of the first four Seals as indicating respectively the triumphant *progress of the Gospel*, begun from after Christ’s ascension,³ and the *wars, famines,*¹ and *pestilences,*² which Christ said would precede his second coming: also the fifth Seal’s *souls under the altar*, as marking the continuous persecutions and martyrdoms of Christ’s saints; for whose consolation, till the last great day of retribution, *white robes*, or joys of the Holy Spirit, are given: the region under the *brazen* altar of vision figuring the place under-ground where the separate spirits rest;³ while the place of the *golden* altar (as being that to which our offerings of prayer and praise are brought)⁴ typified heaven. Further, the *earthquake* of the sixth Seal he makes to be the last persecution:⁵ that wherein the

¹ So I suppose we are to understand him. “Resignatio sigillorum, ut diximus, apertio est Veteris Testamenti, et prædicatorum prænunciatio in novissimo tempore futurorum.” p. 417.

² “Quæ licet Scriptura prophetica per singula dicit, omnibus [tamen] simul apertis sigillis, ordinem tamen suum habet prædicatio. Nam, aperto primo sigillo, dicit se vidisse equum album et equitem coronatum, habentem arcum; hoc enim primo factum est.” *ibid.*

³ “Postquam enim ascendit in cœlos Dominus, et aperuit universa, misit Spiritum suum; cujus verba prædicationis, tanquam sagittæ ad corda hominum pergentes, [ut] vincerent incredulitatem.” *ib.* Thus, though he refers in the preceding context (cited p. 288) to the *last times*, yet the vision is explained by Victorinus as having the *beginning* of its fulfilment from the time of Christ’s ascension.

¹ “Hurt not the wine and oil” he explains, “Spiritualement hominem ne plagis percusseris:” the *balance*; “Statera in manu libra examinis, in quâ singulorum merita ostenderet.” p. 418.

² He makes no mention of the limiting “*fourth part of the earth*,” handed down to us in the present Greek text.

³ “Sub arâ, id est sub terrâ.... Ara ærea terra intelligitur; *sub quâ est infernus*, remota pœnis et ignibus regio, [an opinion like that of Tertullian and Jerome, cited p. 202 supra,] et requies sanctorum.”—On the idea of the separate spirits of the saints (saints in the *Romish* sense) not having the beatific vision of God, the Editor appends a Note, *Cautè lege!* *ibid.*

⁴ Matt. 5:23.

⁵ He does not say the persecution by Antichrist: and one might almost suppose he meant one before his coming: as Elias’ coming is next notified, who (according to Victorinus) was to precede Antichrist.

darkening of the true doctrine to the unfaithful would answer to the eclipsed sun in the vision, and the bloodshed of martyr-saints to the moon like blood: the falling away of vain professors from the Church, under force of persecution, fulfilling the symbol of the falling stars from heaven; and the removal of the Church itself from public sight that of the rolling away of the figured firmament.⁶—In the sealing vision, Apoc. 7, next following, the *four angels of the winds* (the same as the *four winds* of Apoc. 9:14, *bound in the Euphrates*⁷) signified four nations, (nations being ruled over by angels,) who were not to transgress their limits till they should come in the last æra with the Antichrist; the *Angel from the East* meaning Elias; who would anticipate the times of Antichrist, turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, (i.e. of the Jews to the Gentile believers,) and convert to the faith both many of Israel,¹ and a great multitude of Gentiles: of all whom, now united in one as God's elect, the white robes signified their washing in the blood of the Lamb by baptism, and subsequent preservation of the grace then given.²—In Apoc. 8 the *half-hour's silence* figured the beginning of eternal rest; one half-hour only being mentioned, to signify the subject's then breaking off. For chronological order is not followed in the Apocalypse:³ but the Holy Spirit, when he has come to the chronological end, returns often, and repeats, by way of supplement.

Next comes the vision of the *incense-offering Angel*. Victorinus supposes this incense-offering to depict the prayers of saints: (specially, on Antichrist's reign approaching, the prayer that they may not enter into temptation:) the Angel being figured, because Angels offer the prayers of the Church, as well as pour out wrath on Antichrist's kingdom; which wrath was signified alike in the seven trumpets and seven vials, the one set of symbolizations supplying what was omitted in the other.⁴—As to the particular subjects of these Trumpets and Vials, he does not unfold it in detail. He only generally says of them, that they depict "either the ravages of plagues sent on the world,

⁶ Here, at p. 418, occurs the first marked disorder in the printed copy in the Bibliotheca: the comment there going on to Apoc. 11:4; and the proper sequel, on Apoc. 7, not occurring till p. 419.

⁷ So Victorinus; agreeably with the Gloss in Griesbach, which on Apoc. 9:14 reads τεσσαερας ανεμους, for τεσσαερας αγγελους.

¹ Elsewhere Victorinus explains the 144,000 as the elect *out of the Catholic Church*, converted in the last days by Elias. See p. 295 Note ⁴, *infra*.

² "Electorum numerum, qui per sanguinem agni baptismo purgati, suas stolas fecerunt Candidas, servantes gratiam quam acceperunt," p. 419.—The white robes given in the *fifth* seal Victorinus had explained, we saw, as the gift of the Holy Spirit.

³ "Semihora initium est quietis æternæ. Sed partem intellexit quia interruptio. Eadem per ordinem repetit." p. 419. He here, and elsewhere, strongly insists on the *retrogressive* character of certain of the visions. "... licet repetat per phialas; non quasi bis factum dieit; sed, quoniam semel futurum est quod est decretum à Deo ut fiat, ideo bis dieitur. Quidquid igitur in tubis minus dixit hinc in phialis est. Nec aspiciendus est ordo dietorum: quoniam sæpe Spiritus sanctus, ubi ad novissimi temporis finem pereurrerit, rursus ad eadem tempora redit, et supplet ea quæ mirus dixit. Nee requirendus est ordo in Apocalypsi, sed intellectus." *ibid*.

⁴ *Ibid*.

or the madness of Antichrist, or a diminishing of the peoples, or the variety and difference of the plagues,⁵ or the hope of the saints' kingdom, or the ruin of states, or the destruction of the great city, Babylon,—i.e. *the Roman*." And just expounding, as he passes, the warning cry of the eagle flying in mid-heaven, after the fourth trumpet-woe, to mean the Holy Spirit's warning voice to men by the mouth of *the two prophets*, against the wrath to come in the impending plagues, he so proceeds to the Angel vision of Apoc. 10.

The first part of which vision he makes refer, as a parenthesis, to St. John *personally*. The *Angel* is explained to be *Christ*; the *open book* in his hand the Apocalypse revealed to John; his *lion-like voice*, that declaring that now only is the time of repentance and hope; the *seven thunders* the mysteries of the future spoken through the prophets by the divine septiform Spirit; which voices John was not to write, because, as an apostle, of higher functions than that of *interpreting* Scripture mysteries; an office this latter belonging rather to Church subordinate functionaries afterwards.¹ Further, the charge to *eat the book*, and *preach again* to peoples and tongues, Victorinus explains of St. John's returning personally on Domitian's death to Ephesus, and publishing the Apocalypse;² also his *taking the measuring reed* with which to measure the Apocalyptic temple and altar, of St. John's further publishing his Gospel:³ whereby, and by the creed laid down in it,⁴ the orthodox and faithful were marked out and defined as true Church-worshippers; and heretics, like Valentinus, Ebion, and Cerinthus, as to be excluded from the Church.

⁵ "*Differentia plagarum*." Or perhaps, *delaying*; with allusion to such passages as Apoc. 9:12, 10:7, 11:14 *ibid*.

¹ "*Apostoli virtutibus, signis, portentis, magnalibus factis, vicerunt incredulitatem: post illos ... ecclesiis datum est solatium prophetarum scripturarum interpretendarum.*" p. 419.

² I have quoted this, Vol. i. p. 35.

³ Victorinus' testimony to the fact of the publication of St. John's Gospel subsequently to his return from Patmos, and apparently too after the Apocalypse, should be noted. "Nam et evangelium postea scripsit;" his writing it being, it is said, at the request of the assembled Christians of the whole neighbourhood of Ephesus, in consequence of the Gnostic heresies referred to.

⁴ This is a curious early specimen of something like a creed; and one, not, I think, as yet noted by those who have written on creeds. "Mensura autem Filii Dei, mandatum Domini, (1.) Patrem confiteri omnipotentem. (2.) Dicimus et hujus filium Christum, ante originem seculi spiritualem apud Patrem genitum, hominem factum; et. morte devictà, in cœlos cum corpore à Patre receptum, effudisse Spiritum sanctum, donum et pignus immortalitatis:—hunc per Prophetas prædicitum, hunc per legem conscriptum, hunc esse mandatum Dei, et Verbum Patris, et conditorem orbis. Hæc est arundo et mensura fidei. Et nemo adorat [ad] aram sanctam, nisi qui hanc fidem confitetur."—p. 418.

Victorinus' application of this figure of the *temple* and the *altar* to the *Christian Church*, and *Church worshippers*, not any *Jewish* temple and altar, should be well marked.

On the *two Apocalyptic Witnesses* Victorinus supposes a passing, in the resumed figurations of the future, into the last hebdomad of the last times;⁵ during the *former* 3½ years of which Christ's two witnesses, Elijah and Jeremiah,⁶ would prophesy:—these witnesses to be killed in Jerusalem (called Sodom and Egypt) by the Beast from the abyss, Antichrist, at the commencement of his 3½ years' reign next succeeding, after many plagues inflicted on the world, answering to the *fire out of their mouths* in the symbol: but to rise again on the fourth day after; the fourth, not the third, so as not to equal Christ.

So he comes to the vision of the *Dragon and Woman*, Apoc. 12; or rather to the concluding verse of Apoc. 11 about the temple appearing opened, and the ark appearing, which he connects with it: to the chronological retrogression in which, from the last times previously depicted, he calls especial notice.¹ For he construes the Woman to signify the Judæo-Christian Church of the Patriarchs, Prophets, and Apostles,² (like the *sun* glorious in hope of the resurrection, like the *moon* bright even when to man's sight dark in death, and only waning to grow again,) travailing with desire of Christ's birth out of the Jews' nation, according to the promise. Then in Christ's birth, resurrection, and ascension, in spite of the Dragon or Devil, he sees fulfilled the mystic

⁵ Without any express reference however to Daniel's hebdomads.

⁶ For, says Victorinus, Jeremiah had the original commission, "Before that I formed thee in the womb I knew thee; and sanctified thee to be a prophet *among the nations*." Now, argues Victorinus, during his recorded life Jeremiah was not a prophet among *the nations*; and also that there is no record of Jeremiah's death. He adds that his opinion is that of "all the ancients." A mistake, doubtless; as Enoch and Elijah were more generally supposed the two prophets.

The Apocalyptic Expositor Ambrose Ansbert, at B. P. M. xiii. 522, notices this opinion and reasoning as that of the Martyr Victorinus; a fact furnishing conclusive evidence of the Treatise under consideration being indeed that of Victorinus, inasmuch as the opinion appears to have been a singular one. As the point has not, I believe, been observed on before, and the question is so interesting a one, I subjoin the passage. "Victorinus hoc in loco duos testes Eliam vult intelligi et *Jeremiam* ... Dicit enim præfatns vir, et (ut debitam ei venerationem exhibeamus) martyr Dei, ... quia mors Jeremiæ in Scripturâ sacrâ non reperiatur, et quia Prophetam eum Dominus in gentibus posuerit, ille autem nondum ad gentes missus fuerit; et ideirco ipsum cum Eliâ venturum credi debere, ut ecclesiam *gentium* contrâ Antichristi perfidiam roboraret."

¹ "Diligenter et cum summâ sollicitudine sequi oportet propheticam prædicationem; et intelligere quoniam Spiritus ex parte prædicat, et præposterat, et cùm præcurrerit usque ad novissimum rursus tempora superiora repetit." p. 418.—So again in the passage cited Note ³ p. 292.

I the rather call attention to this, because Professor M. Stuart not only says (Vol. i. p. 455) of *Victorinus*, that "no plan of the whole work is sought after," but that *Ambrose Ansbert* "seems *first* to have noted that the Apocalypse is occasionally retrogressive." (Ib. p. 458.)—Victorinus notes three retrogressions prominently: the first, after the sounding of the seventh Trumpet and half-hour's silence in heaven; the second, on the transition at the end of Apoc. 11 to the visions of the Dragon and Beast; the third, with reference to the Vial-outpourings, which he identifies with the Trumpets.

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

child's rapture to God's throne: the *Dragon's* colour *red* being explained as that of a murderer from the beginning; the *third of stars* swept by his tail, as the third part of men, or rather of angels, seduced by him; and his *seven heads* and *ten horns*, as of the same significance with the *Beast's* seven heads and ten horns, of which more presently.—Then the time changes.¹ The Woman fleeing into the desert is the Church, made up or inclusive of the 114,000,² now in simply Christian guise: being forced by the Dragon's flood-like armies of persecution into mountains and deserts; and upheld in her flight by the two wings of the two witnesses.³ The Dragon's fall from heaven, or interdiction from there appearing as before,⁴ is explained as following Elias' 3½ years of witnessing,⁵ and being the beginning of Antichrist.—For he (the Dragon) then stood on the sand of the sea,⁶ as if to evoke him: the Antichrist, accordantly with St. Paul's prophecy to the Thessalonians, having to rise from hell.⁷ As regarded the *Beast*, or *Antichrist*, his likeness to the *leopard* signified the variety of nations that would be in the kingdom; his *seven heads* both Rome's seven hills, and also seven Roman Emperors;⁸ viz. *Galba*, *Otho*, *Vitellius*, *Vespasian*, *Titus*, (which five had fallen at the time of the Apocalypse,) the sixth, *Domitian* then reigning, the seventh *Nerva*, who was to continue but a short time, (for he reigned but one year and four months,) and the eighth *Nero*; who, as a previous Roman Emperor, might be called one of (or of

¹ "Tamen non uno tempore utraque facta sunt: [sc. the Woman's parturition and flight into the wilderness:] Christus enim ex quo natus est seimus tempora intercessisse; ut illa autem fugiat à facie scrpentis adhuc factum non esse." p. 420.

² "Ecclesiam illam catholicam, ex quâ in novissimo tempore creditura sunt 144 millia hominum Helie." 419.

³ "Alæ duo magnæ duo sunt Prophetæ." 420.

⁴ "Alæ oportet prædicare Heliam, et pacis tempora esse, et postea, consummato triennio et sex mensibus prædicationis Helie, jactari cum do cælo, ubi habuit potestatem ascendendi usque ad illud tempus, et angelos refugas universos." 420. So, I suppose, as described in Job 1 *ibid*.

⁵ There seems here some confusion in the chronology. For as the two Witnesses were to be the supporting wings of the woman, her 3½ years in the wilderness would seem to be the 3½ years of the Witnesses being alive. But Victorinus quotes in reference to the time, "Then let them that are in Judæa flee to the mountains;" a prophecy applicable to the time of the abomination of desolation being in the holy place; which abomination he explains afterward of Antichrist's establishment in Jerusalem:—an event this not of the *earlier*, but the *later* 3½ years. Perhaps he meant the act of the woman's safe transmission into the wilderness to be the Witnesses' last act. pp. 419, 420.

⁶ "*Setit*," not "*steti*."

⁷ "Antichristum de inferno suscitari Paulus ait." *ib*. Victorinus distinctly identifies the *Beast from the sea* of Apoc. 13, and *Beast from the abyss* of Apoc. 11 and 17.

⁸ "Septem capita septem reges Romanos, ex quibus et Antichristus est." p. 419. "Capita septem montes sunt in quibus mulier sedet; i.e. civitas Romana." p. 420.

the same body with) the seven.¹ Of this Nero St. Paul spoke, when he said, “The mystery of iniquity doth already work,” for Nero was then reigning: and, having had his throat cut, and so his head wounded to death, he was to revive and re-appear as Antichrist.—Victorinus notes his Jewish as well as Roman connexion, He would appear both under a different name, and in a different character from before. Professing before the Jews to be *the Christ*, with a view to gain them, and, instead of patronizing idolatry, now inculcating the religion of the circumcision, he would by them be received as Christ: (a king and a Christ worthy of them!) moreover, whereas once most impure, now renouncing all desire of women, and so fulfilling Daniel’s prophecy.²—His *number* 666 is explained as some name of *Greek* numerals to that amount; and two solutions offered, veiled in a corrupt text, yet not I think undecipherable:³ one, αντεμος, perhaps Victorinus’ own; the other, γενσηρικος, interpolated by some later copyist.⁴—Of his ally the *False Prophet* the *two horns like a lamb’s* signified his assuming the form of a just man; the *fire from heaven* that same which sorcerers seem to men’s eyes even now to evoke: the *Beast’s image*, a golden statue of Antichrist: which image the False Prophet would get placed in the temple of Jerusalem, and from which Satan will utter oracles.—So will there be the *abomination of desolation* in the Holy Place: called the *abomination*, because God abominates the worship of idols instead of himself, and the introduction of heresy into Churches;⁵ the *desolation*, because

¹ Such seems Victorinus’ meaning: “Bestia de septem est, quoniam ante istos reges Nero regnavit.” p. 420.

² So Dan. 11:37 is explained. An explanation noted by me p. 92 *suprà*.

³ By previous writers who have noticed Victorinus’ Apocalyptic commentary, the passage seems to have been abandoned as inexplicable. So e.g. by Malvenda, who, Vol. ii. 190, says of it, “Locus obscurus et depravatus, cui sanando non sum.” Also by Dr. Todd of Dublin; who thus similarly abandons the enigma as insoluble; “Victorinus’ explanation of the number 666 is evidently corrupt and unintelligible.” Apocal. Comm. p. 281. And so indeed it at first struck myself; though soon the true explanation suggested itself.

⁴ “Numerus ejus sexcenti sexaginta sex. Cum attulerit ad litteram Græcam hunc numerum explebit. AI. N. L. T. CCC. F. V. M. L. X. L. O. L. XX. CCC. I. III. EVN. LCC. N. V. III. P. CIX. K. XX O LXX. CC.” *ib.*—The two words meant are, as above stated, Αντεμος and Γενσηρικος: of which the first is given by Primasius, in the sense (says he) of *honorii contrarius*, as if for ατιμος, or αεντιμος; the other by Ambrosius Ansbertus, with reference to the Vandal persecutor of the fifth century, *Genserich*. The correspondence of those solutions with the text, slightly altered, will appear by separating the Greek letters and their numeral values in Latin, instead of intermixing them. Thus:—

1.	{	A N T E M O Σ	2.	{	Γ Ε Ν Σ Η Ρ Ι Κ Ο Σ
		1 L CCC V XL LXX CC			III V L CC VIII C X XX LXX CC

⁵ Mark this point in Victorinus’ view of the abomination in the temple.

many men, previously stable, will by these false signs and portents be turned from the faith.—As to the *ten kings*, Victorinus says that they would have already received royal power, when Antichrist should either have set out from the East Romewards, or from Rome Eastwards;¹ that three of them would be eradicated by him, and the other seven become his subjects, and also the haters and burners of the harlot city, Rome.

The Commentary now hurries to a conclusion. Of the *three angels* of Apoc. 14, flying in mid-heaven, the first (the same as in Apoc. 7) is Elias, anticipating Antichrist by his preaching; the other two, other prophets associated with him. The *earth's harvest* and *vintage* are meant of the nations destined to perish at Christ's coming: the blood shed to the extent of 1600 (= 4 × 400) stadia, bloodshed in all the four parts of the world. The *seven vials* are the same seven judgments before signified under the Trumpets; and poured out on the contumacious, after the Church's retirement from the scene into the wilderness.² *Standing on the glassy sea* signifies standing firm in baptismal faith. The *Woman* sitting on many waters, and borne by the seven-headed ten-horned Beast, is the Babylon alike of the Apocalypse, Isaiah, and Ezekiel; viz. the city ROME seated on the Devil, as before explained, of Rome red with the blood of saints: her wickedness having been consummated by a *Decree of the Senate*.³ and extending to the prohibition of all preaching of the gospel in all nations. Then Christ (answering to him that was figured on the White Horse with his armies) will come and take the kingdom; a kingdom extending from the river even to the world's end: the greater part of the earth being cleansed introductorily to it; the millennium itself not ending it. All souls of the nations will next, and finally, be called to judgment.¹

¹ "Decem reges accepisse regalem potestatem, cum ille *moverit ab oriente*, aut mittitur *ab urbe Romæ* cum exercitibus suis." ib. A thoughtful notice of a difficult subject.

² "Dicit quæ in ultimo futura sunt, cum ecclesia de medio exierit." ibid.

³ "Vidi, inquit, mulierem ebriam de sanguine sanctorum. Decreto Senatûs illius consummatæ nequitiae." ib. A passage this which suggests the question, What in Diocletian's time may have been the *Roman Senate's* part in the decrees of persecution against Christians? Probably Victorinus may have referred to the earlier Roman Emperors' custom of having their acts formally authorized by the Senate; generally a mere form.

On a statement that "*negotiandi causâ ædificia demoliri, et marmora detrahere, edicto Divi Vespasiani et Senatus-Consulto cautum est,*" Burman De Veetig. pp. 110–113 thus comments. "*Ita ferè Imperatorum mos fuit, postquam omnem potestatem quæ olim penes populum erat in se receperant, ut si quid uovi juris promulgare vellent, orationem in Senatu haberent, qui Palribus aperiebant quid staluere vellent, et simul quid ii statuerent consulebant.... Deinde factum Senatûs Consultum ad Imperatorem perferebatur: qui, si illud approbat, exire et legis vim habere juhobat; ita ut omne robur non à Senatu sed à Principe accideret.*" (How similar to the case of the Roman Popes and Roman Councils afterwards!—See my Vol. iii. pp. 232, 233.) So too Tillemont, ii. 160, on the reign of Aurelius Antoninus;—"C'étoit le style ordinaire des Emperours de faire presque tout par l'autorité du Senat."

¹ Here comes the anti-premillennial addition. As *ten* is the number of the *decalogue*, says the interpolator, and 100 signifies the crown of *virginity*, therefore the *millenary* number (= 10 × 100)

7. In the “Virginal Banquet” of *Methodius*, Bishop of Tyre, who like Victorinus suffered martyrdom in the Diocletianic persecution, we find here and there an Apocalyptic expository notice that may be worth our observation:—more especially his application of the *Judaic* emblems of the Apocalypse to the *Christian* Church. Thus he expounds the 141,000 sealed ones in Apoc. 7 and 14, “out of all the tribes of Israel,” not as an election out of the literal Israel, but as a certain select company of the Christian Church, viz. its company of virgins; the palm-bearers in the same vision of Apoc. 7 being the general body of the faithful in Christ.² On the same principle he explains also *Mount Zion* and *the temple* to mean the Christian Church:³ and again in Apoc. 12 makes the sun-clothed woman that brought forth the man-child to be the faithful Christian Church, bringing forth sons by regeneration in baptism. For, argues Methodius, this symbol cannot mean Christ’s own birth into the world; seeing that John’s commission in the Apocalypse was to see and record not things *past*, but things present and things to come.⁴ Connected with which last-mentioned vision Methodius broaches a very original idea as to *the desert* into which the woman fled for refuge from the dragon. It is the Church’s appointed sojourning place or state in the world: a scene and state *deserted of the evil*, and in which many pleasant fruits and flowers grow for her use, as in a garden of spices:⁵ the 1260 days assigned for this meaning the whole time of her mundane sojourning, until the “*beata secula*,” the blessed times to come.⁶—With regard to which blessed times Methodius follows the generality of the Fathers before him in explaining them as the world’s seventh sabbath millenary, beginning with the 6000th year from Creation, after the type of the six days of creation, and seventh day of sabbath: “the first resurrection” being the literal resurrection of the saints to partake of it;¹ but the body’s change to an *angelic* substance not occurring till the end of the millenary.² He also speaks of the conflagration as that by which the world is not to be annihilated but purified.³

indicates a perfect man; who may be said (i.e. while in his earthly state) to reign with Christ, and to have the Devil bound within him, &c. p. 421.

² B.P.M. iii. 678, 689.

³ Ib. 692.

⁴ Ib. 692, 693.

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

⁶ Ib. 694.

¹ Ib. 697–699, 705, 714.

² Such seems his view. “Primâ festi resurrectionis die, quæ dies est iudicii, simul ecelebro cum Christo millenarium annorum requiem. Inde rursus sequens penetrantem colos Jesuin venio: ... corpore mco non remanente tali quale prius erat; sed, post mille annorum spatium, mutato ex statu et habitu humano ac corruptionis in Angelicam magnitudinem et puleritudinem.” Ib. 699.

³ p. 705.

8. Last in this my first period let me notice *Lactantius*; a writer who, in his famous work on the “Divine Institutions,” formed a kind of connecting link between that period and the Constantinian æra, when the establishment of Christianity took place in the Roman empire: for his work was nearly all written before the end of the Diocletianic persecution; though dedicated to Constantine in one of the closing Chapters.⁴ The time of his *writing* the Book determines me to place him in the *first* period, rather than the *second*. His sketch, towards the conclusion of his Treatise, of the ending of the great mundane drama, involved necessarily certain Apocalyptic notices. Of these the following are I think the chief; being however partly mixed up with ideas derived from the prophecies of Daniel, partly with others of mere imaginary origin.

He states, then, that the first grand preliminary to the consummation was the breaking up of the Roman empire;⁵ an event to be hastened by the multiplication of emperors ruling it, with civil wars consequent, till at length *ten kings* should arise: whereupon *an enemy from the extreme North* should come against them,⁶ overthrow the three *Asiatic* dynasties of the ten, be received and submitted to by the rest as their head, change the name and transfer the seat of the empire from West to East, and by his cruelties introduce a time of grievous calamity, especially to persecuted Christians;¹ portents on earth and in the sky accompanying, and plagues such as once

⁴ After Chapter 27 of the viith and last Book of the Institutes, he thus addresses Constantine:—“Sed omnia jam, sanctissime Imperator, figmenta sopita sunt, ex quo te Deus summus ad restituendum justitiæ domicilium, et ad tutelam generis humani: excitavit.”

⁵ “Romanum nomen, quo nunc regitur orbis, (horret animus dicere, sed dicam quia futurum est,) tolletur de terrâ; et imperium in Asiam revertetur; ac rursus Oriens dominabitur, atque Occidens serviet.” Ib. vii. 15.

⁶ Ib. 16, ad init.

¹ “Tum repente adversus eos hostis potentissimus ab extremis finibus plagæ septentrionalis orietur: qui, tribus ex eo numero deletis qui tunc Asiam obtinebunt, assumetur in societatem à cæteris, ac princeps omnium constituetur. Hic insustentabili dominatione vexabit orbem; divina et humana miscebit; ... denique, immutato nomine, atque imperii sede translatâ, confusio ac perturbatio humani generis consequetur.” vii. 16.—A view derived, I presume, from Dan. 11:40–43; where however the three kings subjugated are not noted as *Asiatics*, but those of Egypt, Ethiopia, and Libya. I infer Lactantius’ belief that the *Northern king* would transfer the seat of empire to the *East*, from comparison of the language used in the citation above.*

Lactantius seems to suppose this *King from the North* an *intermediate* holder of the Roman empire, under a new name, between the then reigning imperial dynasty and Antichrist. A view distinctly exprest c. 17; (see Note ⁴ *infra*;) and, in the Epitome, c. 11: which latter thus affirms the local transference of the empire to him, not to Antichrist. “Existet longè potentior ac nequior, (i.e. than the ten kings,) qui tribus deletis [viz. of the ten] *Asiam* possidebit; ... *Remp. suam faciet*; nomen imperii sedemque mutabit.” Amidst the evils of whose reign *another king* still worse would arise and destroy him, viz. Antichrist. “Inter hæc mala surget rex impius, non modo generi hominum sed etiam Deo inimicus. Hic reliquias *illius prioris tyranni* conteret, vexabit, interimet.”

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

Yet in vii. 26 he writes as if he thought Antichrist would be the Roman empire’s destroyer:—“Ne citius quam putemus tyrannus ille abominandus veniat, qui tantum facinus moliatur; ac lumen illud effodiat, cujus interitu mundus ipse lapsurus est.”

² Ibid. The *world* (whether the *Roman* or the *universal* world) being then, says he, to the people of God, what *Egypt* was to God’s ancient people Israel, vii. 15.—Compare Apoc. 11:8, “the city which spiritually is called *Egypt*.”—a passage which Lactantius probably had in his eye; as also the *Egyptian*-like plagues inflicted on the Apocalyptic world in the Trumpets and Vials.

³ So Lactantius’ Fragment on the Last Judgment.

⁴ “Peractisque operibus ipsius,” i.e. the works of God’s prophet, (agreeably with the Apocalyptic declaration, ‘When they shall have completed their testimony,’) “alter rex orietur ex *Syriâ*, malo Spiritu genitus, qui reliquias *illius prioris mali*, cum ipso, simul delet.” Ib. 17.—Is there in this an allusion to Daniel’s predictive statement, “But tidings out of *the east* shall trouble him;” i.e. the king of the north? Dan. 11:43.

I presume the *Syrian* origin means *Jewish* origin: and from the Fragment of Lactantius on the “Last Judgment” infer that he expected Antichrist to profess the *Jewish* faith.

¹ “Hic est qui appellatur Antichristus: sed *se ipse Christum mentietur*.” ib. vii. 19.

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

³ “Israel non utique Judæos significat, quos abdicavit Deus; sed nos, qui ab ec convocati ex gentibus in illorum locum adoptione successimus.” Ib. 4:20. It is hence clear, I think, that Lactantius interpreted the *twelve Israelitish tribes* of the Apocalypse, as well as the Apocalyptic *temple*, in a *Christian* sense.

fled in a last extremity to the mountains, the heaven would be opened for their deliverance;⁴ and Christ himself intervene to save them, and destroy this Antichrist and his allied kings. After which the saints, raised from the grave, would reign with Christ through the world's seventh chiliad; a period to commence, Lactantius judged, in about 200 years at furthest:⁵ the Lord alone being thenceforth worshipped on a renovated world; its still living inhabitants multiplying incalculably in a state of terrestrial felicity; and the resurrection-saints, during this commencement of an *eternal* kingdom, in a nature like the angelic, reigning over them.⁶

On the whole, in reviewing our Sketch of this 1st and earliest Period of Apocalyptic Interpretation, the following points may remain in our minds as among its most marked and important characteristics.

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

2. As regards *the 1st Seal*, and the interpretation of its white horse and horseman by Irenæus, and then Tertullian and Victorinus, as symbolizing Christ's victories by the gospel, we have to note that though it is Victorinus who first conjoins this its explanation with that of the contrasted horse and horseman of *the three next Seals*, as symbolizing the "*bella fames and pestis*" that were to follow after the first gospel preaching and triumphs, antecedently to Christ's second coming, so as predicted by Christ in Matt. 24, yet it seems probable that Victorinus' predecessors, as well as his successors, like him combined this view of the 1st Seal with that of the next 3 Seals, and with similar reference to Christ's prophecy respecting those antecedents to his second coming. Which being so, and as this is a primary and cardinal point in Apocalyptic interpretation, it will be well here to bear in mind Irenæus' own caution, expressed with reference to another of the Apocalyptic mysteries; (I mean the Beast's name;) viz. that "if meant to be known at the time it would doubtless have been declared by him who saw the Apocalypse." As part and parcel of an interpretation of all the four first Seals taken from Matt. 24, whereof the explanation of the next three Seals as symbolizing war, famine, and pestilence constitutes another essential part, it is

⁴ Ib. vii. 17.—Lactantius had here in his eye, apparently, both Christ's precept to flee to the mountains, on the abomination of desolation being set up, and the Apocalyptic notice of *Armageddon*, Apoc. 19.

⁵ "Non amplius quàm ducentorum videtur annorum." Ib. vii. 25. A passage noted by me, Vol. i. p. 396.

⁶ Mark Lactantius' distinction between the two classes. See my citations p. 135 *suprà*.

¹ Against certain Præterists Methodius says; "Johannes non de præteritis, sed de iis quæ *vel tunc fierent*, vel quæ olim eventura essent, loquitur." B. P. M. iii. 693.

disproved at once by the impossibility of the 3rd Seal's symbol, with its chœnix or 5lb. of barley for a denarius, together with plenty of wine and oil, ever meaning *famine*.²

3. As to the great subject of *Antichrist*, while there was a universal concurrence in the general idea of the prophecy, there was in respect of the details of application a considerable measure of difference;—these differences arising mainly out of certain current notions of the coming Antichrist as in some way *Jewish* as well as *Roman*, and the difficulty of combining and adjusting the two characteristics. The *Roman* view followed of course *Apocalyptically* from Antichrist's being figured as the Roman Beast's 8th head, after the healing of his deadly wound; (*for all identified the Beasts of Apoc. 13 and 17*;¹) and joined too in closest union with the seven-hilled Harlot: as well as from Daniel's depicting him as a little horn of the 4th or Roman Beast. Of his supposed *Jewish* connexion no *Apocalyptic* evidence occurred to the early patristic expositors: save only that Irenæus thought Dan's omission in Apoc. 7 from the sealed tribes might arise from that being the Jewish tribe of Antichrist's origin; a notion in which none, I believe, followed him. The idea arose chiefly doubtless from a vague expectation of his being a Pseudo-Christ, such as Christ told of in Matt. 24:5, whom the Jews might receive: conjoined by some of the Fathers, as Irenæus and Hippolytus, with the idea that the abomination of desolation of which Christ then spoke as predicted by Daniel, and which would in fact have the Jewish sanctuary as its place of manifestation, was not only the one prophesied of in Dan. 9:27, as what would synchronize with the end of the 70 hebdomads, but that associated with *Antichrist* in the prophecy of Dan. 12:11; and the associated prediction which that verse refers to in Dan. 11:36. Whence the conclusion that the ending epoch of each, and ending epoch also of the 70 hebdomads, would be at the end of Antichrist's 3½ years, at the consummation.

Now we have ourselves elsewhere asked, Was there not that in the designation of the desolating abomination in Dan. 12:11 which might serve to distinguish it from the desolating abomination of Dan. 11:31 and Dan. 9:27; and the *latter* be meant distinctively by Christ, not the *former*?² And I wish here to state it as not improbable that they were questions asked, and to the same effect, by some also of the patristic expositors of the æra I am referring to. For alike Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, and I may add too Tatian, all before the end of the 2nd century, and also Julius Africanus, at the commencement of the 3rd century, explained Daniel's 70 hebdomads, and their abomination of desolation, as having had their full accomplishment on Christ's death, and the consequent desolation of Jerusalem by the Roman armies; and so having no reference whatsoever to any desolation by the then future Antichrist.¹ Nor of the few who

² At p. 182 Mr. C. M., in explaining this Seal of "the severity of famine," notices the price of *wheat* only; and passes over what is said of the *barley*, *wine*, and *oil* in total silence. Was he not aware of the decisive argument thence urged by me against all idea of famine? See Vol. i. pp. 164–166.

¹ Irenæus, v. 30, speaks of the Beast with the name and number as the Beast which was and is not. For the rest see pp. 281, 287, 295, 300, 301, *suprà*.

² See pp. 110, 111.

¹ I subjoin a sketch of the statements of these Fathers; and, where given, of their chronological calculations of the hebdomads.

1. *Tatian*, a writer of the 2nd century, between Justin Martyr whose hearer he was, and Irenæus who cites him, thus (though without specific mention of the hebdomads) speaks of Daniel's prophecy about the abomination of desolation (the one referred to Matt. 24) as fulfilled in Jerusalem's *then imminent* destruction *by the Romans*. After mention of Christ's rebuking the disciples' vain pride in the beauty of the temple, by saying that in a little while not one stone would be left on another, he thus proceeds: "Mox abiens in monte Olivarum, urbem intuitus, paulisper consedit. Ubi seereto huic congressi discipuli initia futuræ hujus cladis condiscunt; viz. antichristos, bella, seditiones, terræmotus, pestilentiam, famem, terrifica de cœlo signa, *idolum abominabile Danielis vaticiniis celebre*, extremam denique calamitatem eorum qui docebunt evangelium.... Hierusalem vero, captis habitatoribus, et quaquaversum abductis, a gentibus tautisper calcatum iri dum evangelium universos illarum fines occupaverit: tum enim finem instare mundi." B. P. M. ii. 209.

Tatian, after Justin's martyrdom, became the author of the ascetic sect of the *Encratites*, and is mentioned among the early hereties. (See Irenæus i. 31, and Euseb. II. E. iv. 29.) But the passage I cite from him has nothing of course to do with his heresy. He is spoken of by Jerome as a learned and very voluminous writer.

2. *Clemens Alexandrinus* states the interval from the end of the 70 years' captivity to Jesus Christ as 69 hebdomads, in the first seven of which the temple was rebuilt; and one hebdomad as that of Jesus Christ's ministry. Further in one½ hebdomad Nero set up an abomination in the holy city of Jerusalem; and in one½ hebdomad was cut off, as well as Galba, Otho, and Vitellius: whereupon Vespasian, obtaining the empire, destroyed Jerusalem and desolated the sanctuary. Strom. B. i.

Jerome (on Dan. 9), in sketching this exposition of the hebdomads by Clemens, calculates from the 1st of Cyrus; and observes that, instead of 490 years from that epoch to the destruction of Jerusalem by Vespasian and Titus, there elapsed on the most accurate computation 630 years. But Clement defines his commencing date as that of the 2nd of Darius Hystaspes:—"Mansit captivitas annis 70, ut quæ cessavit anno seeundo Darii Ilystaspis filii." This makes the difference somewhat less.

3. *Tertullian* thus computes the period.

From Darius (apparently Darius II, called Nothus) to Alexander's overthrow of the Persian empire 106 years. Then Alexander and the Ptolemies, to Cleopatra's death and Augustus' incorporation of Egypt with the Roman empire, 290½ years. Add 28 years under Augustus to *Jesus Christ's birth*; and the whole, says Tertullian, is 437½ years = 62½ hebdomads. Then was all prophecy fulfilled; and the vision and the prophecy ceased to the Jews.

As regards the remaining 7½ hebdomads, he reckons 52½ years from Christ's birth to the 1st of Vespasian: (strangely omitting Claudius' reign of 13 years, and reckoning Nero's at 9½ years instead of 14:) and then concludes; "Atque ita in diem expugnationis sùæ Judæi impleverunt hebdomadas 70 prædictas à Daniele."

I am quite unable to follow either Clement's or Tertullian's calculations.

with Irenæus and Hippolytus referred that last hebdomad and its abomination of desolation to the end of the world and Antichrist, do I find that any but *Hippolytus* expounded the 70th and last hebdomad as broken off from the preceding 69 by a great chronological gap. Certainly no such gap is spoken of by *Irenæus*.¹ And as *Apollinarius of Laodicea*, who lived a century and a half

4. *Julius Africanus*, a writer placed by Jerome under Heliogabalus, or about A.D. 220, and who wrote expressly on Chronology. “Nulli dubium est,” he begins, “quin de adventu Christi (i.e. Christ’s first coming) prædicatio sit; qui post 70 hebdomadas mundo apparuit.”

He makes the commencing date of these hebdomads to be the 20th Artaxerxes, when that prince issued his Decree (Nehem. 2:1–8) for the rebuilding of Jerusalem; (the previous Decrees of Cyrus and Darius having been in considerable measure ineffective:) this being the 115th year of the Persian empire, and the 185th year from the beginning of the 70 years’ captivity. Now the Persian kingdom lasted in all (from Cyrus to Alexander) 230 years, i.e. 115 years from the 20th of Artaxerxes; and the Macedonian empire 300 years: (i.e. I suppose to the death of Cleopatra:) and thence to the 15th year of Tiberius, when Christ was crucified, was 60 years: = in all to 475 years; i.e. 475 solar years. But the Jews often computed by *lunar* years, each of which is 11 1/4 days shorter than a solar year: so as to make the difference of one year in every 32, and 15 in the aforesaid period of 475 solar years. So that 475 solar years would be 490 lunar years; or precisely 70 hebdomads of years. Then, at Christ’s death, “consummata sunt delicta, et finem accepit peccatum, et deleta est iniquitas, et annunciata justitia sempiterna, quæ legis justitiam vinceret, et impleta est visio et prophetia.”—The *desolation* of Jerusalem followed as a consequence of the Jews’ rejection of Christ.

I abstract this from Jerome’s full citation, in his Comment, on Dan. 9. It is, as the reader will see, by much the most elaborate and accurate of any of the calculations by the earlier patristic Fathers.*

¹ For *Hippolytus*’ view of the hebdomads see p. 285; for *Irenæus*’ p. 270, *suprà*.

As regards *Irenæus*, a little fuller abstract of the only passage, v. 25, in which he mentions Daniel’s hebdomads, may be useful in showing how evidently his reference of the abomination of desolation spoken of by Christ to *Antichrist* as the *author*, and to Daniel’s *last half hebdomad* as the *time*, arose out of his confusion of all the various predicted abominations of desolation, as if one and the same.

Says Paul, Antichrist is to sit in *God’s temple*: i.e. the Jerusalem temple of the true God, as no heathen temple is called in Scripture God’s temple. And so too Christ; ‘When ye see the abomination of desolation told of by Daniel standing in the *holy place*.’ Which Antichrist is the little horn of Daniel’s 4th or Roman Beast, Dan. 7. And he is to come in, Paul tells us, with lies; yet the Jews to receive him; us Christ said: ‘If another come in his own name him ye will receive.’ And then he will net as the unjust judge in the parable to the opprest widow, who, forgetful of God, rested on an earthly helper; and avenge the earthly Jerusalem of its Roman oppressor, by transferring the kingdom to Jerusalem, and there sitting, *as if Christ*, in his temple. The same is the little horn from one of the goat’s four horns, Dan. 8; which was to be the author of the transgression of desolation, and to tread the host and sanctuary under foot. And Daniel notes too the duration of desolation; viz. that for half a hebdomad the sacrifice should be taken away (Dan. 9:27), even till the consummation; i.e. for 3½ years.

later under Valens, made the 70 hebdomads to have had commencement with Christ's first advent, and so to come down *continuously* to an epoch 490 years later, which he expected might be the time of Antichrist's coming and the consummation,¹ so might some such view very possibly have been that by which Irenæus referred the last week to the consummation. (I refer not to *Judas Syrus*, another and earlier writer on the subject mentioned by Eusebius; because how *he* managed to make the period of the 70 hebdomads end nearly at his own epoch of the 10th of Severus, or about A.D. 203, does not appear: though I infer from Eusebius' words that he too computed continuously.²) Hippolytus stands alone, as I said,³ in the express view of the 69

There is no chronological calculation whatsoever in Irenæus, I believe, of the 70 hebdomads; or notice how he connected the last hebdomad with the hebdomads preceding.

¹ *Apollinarius* of Laodicea, taking the words of Daniel about the decree for the restoration of Jerusalem mystically, as it would seem, reckons the 70 hebdomads to begin from the going forth of the word on Christ's birth of the Virgin Mary, "ab exitu verbi, quando Christus de Mariâ generatus est virgine:" (I cite his words, says Jerome, that I may not misrepresent him:) hence for 7 hebdomads, or to the 8th of Claudius, when the Roman arms were taken up against the Jews, the repentance of that people was expected, Christ having meanwhile fulfilled his ministry, and preached his gospel. At the expiration of 62 additional hebdomads, or 434 years, Elias would come, turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and rebuild Jerusalem and the temple, in the course of $\frac{1}{2}$ week or $3\frac{1}{2}$ years; then Antichrist come, and for $3\frac{1}{2}$ years sit in the temple of God, thus restored, himself the predicted abomination of desolation; the last desolation and condemnation of the Jews following, because of their despising Christ's truth, and receiving Antichrist's lie. After which, and the consequent expiration of the 70 hebdomads, Christ would destroy Antichrist with the brightness of His coming.

Jerome adds that Apollinarius framed this his *chronological conjecture* about the hebdomads (conjecturam temporum) with reference to *Africanus'* stated opinion that the last hebdomad (separated from the rest) would coincide with the end of the world. But I presume this is a misprint, or slip of the pen, for *Hippolytus*, of whom he had just before been speaking as so expounding the hebdomads: whereas Africanus' opinion had been stated quite contrariwise, as supposing that all the 70 hebdomads had been fulfilled at Christ's first coming. Apollinarius considered it preposterous to *divide* the hebdomads; and that in any case they must be construed *continuously* and *connectedly*;—"Nec posse fieri ut junctæ dividantur ætates; sed omnia sibi juxtâ prophetiam Danielis esse temporum copulanda."

This *Apollinarius of Laodicea* flourished in the 4th century; and was a contemporary and friend of Jerome's early manhood: being quite a different person from, and above 150 years later than, the *Apollinarius of Hieropolis*, who wrote an Apologetic Oration to the Emperor Marcus Antoninus, and of whom Eusebius speaks in his H. E. iv. 27.

² Ευ τουτω και Ιουδας ... εις τας παρα τω Δανιηλ εβδομηκοντα εβδομαδας εγγραφως διαλεχθεις, επι το δεκατον του Σεβηρου βασιλειας ιστησι την χρονογραφιαν. H. E. vi. 7.

³ *Origen*, in his Treatise against Celsus, vi. 45, cited by Mr. C. Maitland, p. 171, like Irenæus, applies what is said of the abomination of desolation in Dan. 9:26 to Antichrist; but, like him, without a word of the hebdomads generally. Elsewhere, as cited by Jerome, on Dan. 9, he seems inclined to reckon the whole period of the hebdomads from the first of Darius to Christ. "Studiosius requirenda sunt tempora, à primo

hebdomads reaching to Christ's first coming, and the 70th beginning separately, at some vast chronological gap, just before his second coming.¹

Reverting to those early expositors' notices about Antichrist, let me observe further that in regard of his *religious profession*, though the expectation of its being *Judaism* was prevalent among them, yet the idea was also ever kept up (an idea derived from St. John's epistles) that *heretics professedly within the Church* might be considered also as Antichrists: moreover that when the great and chief Antichrist came, he would sedulously affect external resemblance to Jesus Christ; agreeably with the *lamb-like* Apocalyptic symbol.² Such a notion as that of a *professedly atheistic* or *infidel* Antichrist was as yet unknown.—Again, as to Antichrist's *Roman connexion*, while all admitted this, and thus the Pseudo-Sibyl and Victorinus spoke of him as the resuscitated Roman emperor Nero, and also Irenæus, and yet more strongly Hippolytus, suggested that he might very probably on this account have for his name and number *Lateinos*, yet then and thereupon their views differed. For the Pseudo-Sibyl and Irenæus thought that he would be prominent in Rome's destruction, transferring its empire to Jerusalem: Hippolytus, on the contrary, that he would be the restorer of the Roman empire in a new form, somewhat like a second Augustus. To which his opinion I must again beg my readers' special attention; the rather because, while expressing it, as I find from the original Greek,¹ he had the more usual reading

anno Darii filii Assueri usque ad adventum Christi quot anni sint; ... et videndum est an ea possimus adventui Domini coaptare."

¹ What an utter contrast is this to Mr. C. Maitland's representation of "*the primitive scheme*" of the 70 hebdomads; or generally received scheme of them in the 2nd and 3rd centuries that we have been reviewing! "According to *the primitive scheme*," says Mr. C. M., "the sense of the whole passage amounts to this:—70 sevens of years are fixed in the history of the Jews and of Jerusalem ... Between the edict to rebuild Jerusalem and the mission of Christ there will elapse two periods, 7 sevens and 62 sevens of years. In the course of the first the city will be rebuilt: [as recorded I presume in Ezra and Nehemiah:] and at the end of the second Messiah will be put to death. Afterwards the Romans under Vespasian will destroy both city and temple: ... and until the end of God's warfare with his people it is determined that the desolation of the city and temple shall continue. [Here comes the great gap, according to Mr. C. M., in "*the primitive scheme*."] But God will renew his covenant with many of his chosen people during a certain seven years, the remaining week of the 70: probably by means of Elias ... But throughout the latter half of this week, i.e. for 3½ years, the daily sacrifice will be taken away, and on account of the abomination set up by Antichrist the temple will be made desolate ... This is the plain *working* sense of the passage. Unlike its modern and fantastic rivals it has borne the burden and heat of the day!!" pp. 203, 204.

So Mr. C. M. makes *two totally different abominations of desolation* to have been included in "*the primitive scheme*," separated from each other by the interval of ages. Two questions here suggest themselves: 1. where the authority of a single primitive Father for such a scheme: 2. what the ground for such a view in the prophecy itself?

² See pp. 281, &c.

¹ Viz. in Fabricius' Edition. Compare my Notes Vol. iii. 74, and p. 30 supra.

before him in Apoc. 17:16 of τα δεκα κερατα και το θηριον, not, as his Latin translation first seen by me represents it, τα δεκα κ. επι το θηριον; the reading adopted, as it seems, by Tertullian. But how so? Because it was the *old imperial* Rome that Hippolytus evidently looked on as that which both Beast and horns would unite to burn: this being a mere temporary burning from which the Beast would in a new form next resuscitate it; and quite distinct from the everlasting fire from God described in Apoc. 18, as its subsequent and final doom. On the Apocalyptic *Babylon's* meaning *Rome* all agreed.—Once more, as to the *time* of Antichrist's duration, though all reckoned it literally as 3½ years, (how but for this could they have looked for Christ's coming as near?²) yet, very remarkably, the testimony of Cyprian and of his Biographer was incidentally given even thus early to the *year-day* principle as a Scriptural one: all ready for its application to the prophetic chronological periods at God's own fit time afterwards.³

4. As to the Apocalyptic *Judaic* symbols there seems to have been a general reference of them in this æra to *the Christian Church or worship*. So Irenæus, Tertullian, Victorinus, Lactantius expounded the Apocalyptic temple and altar: so Tertullian, Methodius, Lactantius the Apocalyptic 144,000 sealed ones out of the 12 tribes, and Apocalyptic New Jerusalem. A point important to be marked in the primitive exposition.⁴

On which point, and the general subject of the intent of *Scripture symbols and figures*, we have to remember that *Origen*, already briefly noticed by me, lived and taught about the middle of the third century.⁵ And, had he fulfilled his declared intention of giving the Christian world an Apocalyptic commentary,⁶ we can scarcely doubt but that it would have been of a character more mystical than those we have yet had to do with; though Victorinus' exposition of the symbols of the primary Apocalyptic vision furnishes us indeed with a partial specimen. Origen's principle of *analogical*¹ or *spiritualizing* exposition, (a principle not altogether to be exploded, but needing in its application to Scripture a cautious attention to the requirements of context, Scriptural analogy, and good sense, abundantly greater than Origen cared to use,)² could not but have been

² See my Vol. iii. pp. 264, 265.

³ See my Vol. iii. p. 281, where the citation from Pontius is given; together with a notice of Mr. C. M.'s strange objection to its parallelism or force on the year-day question.

⁴ For it is, of itself, fatal to each Judaic futurist or semi-futurist system of Apocalyptic interpretation.

⁵ He died at Tyre A.D. 253, aged 70.

⁶ "Omnia hæc exponere sigillatim de capitibus septem draconis (Apoc. 12:3) non est temporis hujus: exponentur autem tempore suo in Revelatione Johannis." In Matth. Tr. 30.—Elsewhere Origen thus singularly notes this prophecy; "John wrote the Apocalypse; being commanded to keep silence, and not write what *the seven thunders* uttered." Comment on Joh. Tom. 5. (Ed. Huet. ii. 88.) A passage noted by Eusebius, II. E. vi. 25. I suppose he had some anagogic solution of what he deemed an apparent contradiction.

¹ ἀναγωγή, a passing to a higher sense than the literal; i.e. to a more literal sense.

² Scripture, like man, said Origen, has a *body*, *soul*, and *spirit*:—viz. the *literal* sense, useful to those who preceded the Christians, i.e. the ancient Israel; the *internal* sense (intra literam), to Christians; and the

largely applied by him to the Apocalyptic prophecy: especially as one involving constantly symbolic language, besides those allusions to *Babylon, Israel, Jerusalem*, which, we saw, were always, according to him, to be construed *anagogically* in Scripture. But this commentary he in effect did not write: and it remained for others fully to apply his principles to Apocalyptic exposition in a later æra.

5. On the *millenary question*, all primitive expositors except Origen, and the few who rejected the Apocalypse as unapostolical, were *premillennarians*; and construed the first resurrection of the saints *literally*.

PERIOD II. FROM CONSTANTINE TO THE COMPLETION OF THE FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, A.D. 476

The great Constantinian revolution, accomplished (as I before observed) just after Lactantius' publication of his 'Institutions,' could hardly fail of exercising a considerable influence on Apocalyptic interpretation. A revolution by which Christianity should be established in the

shadowing forth of heavenly things, to saints arrived in heaven. So he remarks on Lev. 6:25, about the sin-offering.—Elsewhere he speaks of the *historic* sense, the *moral*, and the *mystical*.*

He carried his inclination to the *anagogical* so far, as to depreciate, and sometimes even nullify, the *literal* and *historic* sense. He often says that the literal sense is "proculcandum et contemnendum."—So, 1. of *things typical*; as the sin-offering, Lev. 6:25; "Hæc omnia, nisi alio sensu accipias quàm linea texta ostendit, sicut sæpe diximus, obstaculum majus Christianæ religioni quàm ædificationem præstabunt."—2. Of *historic statements*. So in his Hom. vi. on Genesis: "What the edification of reading that Abraham lied to Abimelech, and betrayed his wife's chastity? Let Jews believe it; and any others that, like them, prefer the *letter* to the *spirit*." So again on the Mosaic history of the creation; the statement of there having been three days without sun, moon, or stars, being pronounced by him impossible: and again on that of the devil leading Christ to a high mountain; &c.—3. Of *precepts*: e.g. that which says, "If a man smite thee on the one cheek, turn to him the other."

Now it is evident that St. Paul himself has authorized the ascription of an anagogical or spiritual sense, as well as the literal, to the *types* of the law. They were shadows of things to come. And to certain *facts* of Old Testament history he has also ascribed an allegorical, as well as literal sense. So in the allegory of Sarah and Isaac, Hagar and Ishmael. But surely in *historical* narratives to allegorize beyond what Scripture itself teaches, is unsafe: and to allegorize away a scripturally asserted historic fact, whether from judging it to be unedifying or impossible, most unjustifiable.

As regards *prophecy* Origen lays down the rule:—Whenever the prophets have prophesied anything of Jerusalem or Judea, of Israel or Jacob, then this (agreeably with St. Paul's own teaching) is to be referred anagogically to the *heavenly Jerusalem, Judea, and Israel*; as also in what is said of *Egypt, Babylon, Tyre*: "cum sint in cælo loci terrenis istis cognomines, ac locorum istorum incolæ, animæ scilicet."—I presume he would have thus spiritualized, not merely where there was other evidence of the terms being figuratively meant, but even where the local reference was most pointed and precise.

I have thought it well to abstract the above from a chapter in the Abbé Huet's *Origeniana*; as there occurs so much of Origenic *anagoge* in subsequent Apocalyptic interpreters, such as Tichonius, Primasius, &c.

prophetically-denounced Roman Empire, was an event the contingency of which had never occurred apparently to the previous exponents of Christian prophecy; and suggested the idea of a mode, time, and scene of the fulfilment of the promises of the latter-day blessedness, that could scarcely have arisen before:—viz. that its *scene* might be the earth in its *present* state, not the *renovated earth* after Christ's coming and the conflagration; its *time* that of the *present* dispensation; its *mode* by the *earthly establishment* of the *earthly Church visible*. For it does not seem to have occurred at the time, that this might in fact be one of the preparatives, through Satan's craft, for the establishment after a while of the great predicted *antichristian ecclesiastical empire*, on the platform of the same Roman world, and in a professing but apostatized Church.

1. *Eusebius* (my first author of this æra)¹ seems in earlier life to have received the Apocalypse as inspired Scripture; and interpreted its Seals, somewhat like Victorinus, of the difficulties of Old Testament prophecy opened by Christ.¹ When the extraordinary Constantinian revolution established itself, though doubts now commenced as to its apostolic authorship, yet he still continued to refer to its prophecies; with an application changed however, accordantly with the change in the times. Thus he applied to this great event both Isaiah's promises of the latter day, and also (as his language indicates) the *Apocalyptic* prophecy of the *New Jerusalem*;² at the same time that the symbolic vision of the seven-headed dragon of Apoc. 12, cast down from heaven, was with real exegetic correctness (as I conceive) applied to the dejection of Paganism, and the Pagan emperors, from their former supremacy in the Roman world.³—As regards *Daniel's*

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

¹ Demonstr. Evang. B. vii.

² See my Vol. i. p. 256, Note 4.

³ Sec Vol. iii. pp. 30, 31, 34, 35, with the Notes. This his view of the vision we may compare with that of the expositor Andreas afterwards. Eusebius intimates that Constantine may have alluded possibly to Isa. 27:1, "The Lord shall punish Leviathan, that crooked serpent." But the *casting down* of the Dragon, which Constantine notes prominently, is not in Isaiah's prophecy, but that of the Apocalypse.

hebdomads, let me add, Eusebius, like most of the expositors before him, explained them continuously; and as long before altogether fulfilled.⁴

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

In speaking of the dejection of Pagan emperors I mean of course that Eusebius, like myself, intended *the Devil acting in them*.

⁴ But this in a point of view somewhat strange and peculiar.

By *the holy one to be anointed* Eusebius understood the anointed high priests and rulers of the Jews, after their return from the Babylonish captivity. This is the point on which his explanation turns. And so he makes his chronological calculations in the form of the series of high priests and rulers afterwards succeeding:—first Joshua and Zerubbabel, then Ezra and Nehemiah, Joachim, Eliasub, Jehoiada, John, Jaddua; (the same that showed Daniel’s prophecy to Alexander the Great;) then Onias, Eleazar, (in whose time the Septuagint version was begun;) a 2nd Onias, Simon, (contemporary with the writing of the Book of Sirach,) a 3rd Onias, (the same that was high priest when Antiochus Epiphanes desolated the temple,) Judas Maccabeus, and his two brothers successively Jonathan and Simon, with whose death ends the 1st Book of Maccabees; then John, then Aristobulus, the first who assumed the royal together with the priestly diadem, and his successor Alexander.—Now from the 1st of Cyrus to the death of Alexander the Great is 236 years; and of the Seleucidian kingdom down to Simon’s death 277 [lege 177] years; in all, from Cyrus to the epoch with which the 1st of Maccabees ends, 425 years. Add 57 more for the high priests John, Aristobulus, and Alexander; and we have in all for the reign of *Jewish anointed priests* 483 years = 69 hebdomads.—Also in the first 49 years, or 7 hebdomads of this period, from the 1st of Cyrus to the 6th of Darius, the temple and the street was built in troublous times; it being interrupted by the hostility of the Samaritans. So the Jews themselves said, “*Forty-six years was this temple building;*” to which Josephus adds *three* for the temple enclosure; making altogether 49 years.—After the high priest Alexander’s death, when the Jews were distracted with dissensions, Pompey came in the 10th year of the 2nd Aristobulus, entered and defiled the temple, and sent Aristobulus bound to Rome. Then first the Jews became subject to Rome; and, soon after, Herod was made King of the Jews by a Decree of the Roman Senate.

As an alternative explanation Eusebius adds that the computation *may* be made to begin from the 6th of Darius, instead of the 1st of Cyrus. Thence to Herod and Cæsar Augustus is 483 years, or 69 hebdomads. Then Hyreanus, the last pontiff of Maccabean race, was killed. Then the legal succession of priests ceased; the city and sanctuary was desolated by Herod; and also the covenant confirmed to many for a half hebdomad by Christ’s preaching the gospel. After which 3½ years Christ was crucified; and the sacrifice ceased to the Jews: their temple sacrifices being thenceforward nothing better than sacrifice to the devil.

So Eusebius in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, cited by Jerome. In his H. E. iii. 5, Eusebius speaks of the abomination of desolation “*prophesied of by the prophets;*” (specially of course by Daniel,) as set up by the Romans on their taking of Jerusalem (and its consequent desolation.

There occur however passing notices, directly or indirectly bearing on Apocalyptic interpretation, in the writings of the two chief champions of the orthodox Trinitarian faith in the East and the West, I mean of course *Athanasius* and *Hilary*, which must not be past over in silence.

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

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

² *Epist. ad Solitar.* lb. i. 842, 862.

³ lb. 860.

⁴ lb. p. 860. Τις ετι τολμα λεγειν Κωνσταντιον Χριστιανον, και ου μαλλον Αντιχριστου την εικονα; Τι γαρ των τουτου γνωρισματων παραλελοιπεν; η πως ου πανταχοθεν ουτος εκεινος ειναι νομισθησεται; κα’ κεινος τοιουτος αν υπονοηθειη, οιος εστιν ουτος; ουτε εν τη μεγαλη εκκλησια τη εν τω Καισαρειω γινομενας θυσιας, και κατα Χριστου βλασφημιας, ως εξ εντολης αυτου πεποιηκασιν Αρειανοι τε και Έλληνες; Ουχ η όρασις του Δανιηλ ουτως σημαινει τον Αντιχριστου; ότι ποιησει πολεμον μετα των άγιων, και ισχυσει προς αυτους, και υπερεισει εν κακοις παντας τους εμπροσθεν, και τρεις βασιλεις ταπεινωσει,* και λογους προς τον Ύψιστον λαλησει, και υπονοησει του αλλοτριωσαι καιρον και νομον; So to p. 855; αυτην [ασεβειαν] ως Χριστομαχον ήγεμονα της ασεβειας επιγραφομενην Κωνσταντιον, ως αυτον τον Αντιχριστον.

I the rather give these citations, because Mr. C. Maitland represents the professedly Jewish view of the predicted Antichrist as still distinctively maintained by the Athanasian chiefs. “This denial of the Father and the Son was styled by Athanasius *Christ’s enemy, Antichrist’s forerunner*: but it does not appear that any one mistook Arianism for actual Antichristiauity.” p. 211. And then, by way of confirmation, he gives an extract from “The Catechism written for Prince Antiochus,” as one “which once bore the honoured name of Athanasius,” and, though not his, “is yet now attributed to some unknown writer *of Athanasius’ time*,” stating that “Antichrist will come *out of Galilee*; as the Scripture says, Dan is a lion’s whelp.” ib. 215.

Now in answer to Question 76 of this Catechism, “Why do the Gentiles (εθνη) rage?” the writer says that “by εθνη are meant the *Romans*, that is, *the race of the Franks*,” εθνη λεγει των Ρωμαιων, ηγουν των Φραγγων το γενοσ. This could not have been till the time of Charlemagne. The date of the Catechism therefore, instead of the 4th, can scarcely have been earlier than the 8th or 9th century. “Post ævum Monotheletieum,” says Cave, in his notice of Athanasius; i.e. after A.D. 700.

Holies. For then, says he, the prophecy and the vision was sealed up, and the city and the temple taken.⁵

3. In *Hilary*, Bishop of Poitiers in France, the contemporary and friend of Athanasius, the following particulars of Apocalyptic exposition may be worth our notice.⁶—1. Somewhat like Victorinus and Eusebius he suggests the idea of the Apocalyptic seven-sealed Book, written within and without, signifying the various things predicted in Moses, the Psalms, and the Prophets, concerning Christ, and which were opened and revealed by Jesus; some already fulfilled when St. John was in Patmos, others yet unfulfilled and future. Moreover he thus somewhat originally divides and classifies them; viz. as Christ's *incarnation, passion, death, resurrection, glory on ascension to heaven, reign, and final judgment*: of which septenary, he says, the first five had been opened to the world on Jesus Christ's first coming; the rest would be opened on his second coming.¹—2. To the Jewish symbols in Scripture prophecy he supposed generally that a *Christian* sense attached. So, more particularly, with regard to the New Jerusalem of Apoc. 21, 22;² as also to the Zion, Jerusalem, Israel, and temple of the prophecies of the Old Testament.³—3. On the subject of *Antichrist* he stated in a Treatise written before the year 356,⁴ and when the West had been comparatively undisturbed by the violent aggressions of Arianism, that the predicted abomination of desolation was meant of a future Antichrist: the term *abomination* having reference to Antichrist's appropriating to himself the honour due to God, as (after reception by the Jews) he sat in the Jewish holy place or temple;⁵ that of *desolation* to his foreseen desolations of the once holy land and place by war and slaughter. Moreover he expressed his opinion that Moses and Elias, the same that appeared to Christ "ad sponsonem fidei" in the transfiguration, would be the two witnesses figured in the Apocalyptic prophecy as slain by

⁵ De Incarn. Verb. Vol. i. p. 93: Παροντος του Ἁγίου των ἁγιων εικωτως εσφραγισθη και ὄρασις και προφητεια· και ἡ της Ἱερουσαλημ βασιλεια πεπαυται, ... και ἡ πολις και ὁ ναος ἔαλω.

⁶ I have just mentioned *Hilary's* name, Vol. i. p. 30, in my preliminary chapter, as witnessing to the authenticity of the Apocalypse. He testifies to St. John the apostle as its author in various places: e.g. in his Comments on Ps. 2 and 118, Vol. i. pp. 20, 292. At p. 292 he says; "Scripturâ in Apocalypsi calumniatorem eum esse testante:" and at p. 20; "Quòd autem folia ligni hujus ... salutaria sint gentibus sanctus Joannes in Apocalypsi testatur." So also ii. 132. (My Edition is the Benedictine, Venice 1750.)

¹ Prologue on Ps. 1 p. 4.

² 1:21.

³ So of *Zion*, as the Church, on Ps. 69:35, "The Lord shall build up Zion;" Vol. i. pp. 199, 200; also *ibid.* pp. 347, 358, 373, 392:—of *Israel* as the Israel of God, or Gentile Church, ("plebs gentium, populus ecclesiae,") i. 329: and of the tribes of Israel spoken of in Ps. 122, ("thither the tribes go up,") as not those of the literal Israel, but the spiritual, i. 334:—of the *temple*, as meaning all the saints, i. 429, &c.

⁴ So the Editor in his Preface to the Treatise.

⁵ i. 617.

Antichrist.⁶—A little later, after the flood of Arianism had swept with violence into the Western part of the Roman empire, the idea of Antichrist *within the professing Christian Church* forced itself on his mind, just as on that of Athanasius. Writing in 364 against Auxentius, the Arian Archbishop of Milan, he exclaims, “Is it a thing doubtful that Antichrist will sit in Christian Churches?”¹ And both there, and in his Treatise “De Trinitate,” written a little before 360, during his exile, he both denounces the Emperor Constantius as a precursor of Antichrist,² and directly designates the Bishop Arius, and the Bishop Auxentius, as Antichrists.³—4. While commenting on the transfiguration, (“After *six* days Jesus taketh Peter and John, &c.,”) Hilary refers to the old idea of a *seventh sabbatical millennium*: saying that as Christ was transfigured in glory after the six days, so after the world’s 6000 years there would be manifested the glory of Christ’s eternal kingdom.⁴ His great subject led him often to speak of the day and hour of the consummation being known to no man.⁵ But this fact (considering the measure of doubtfulness attaching to our world’s chronology)⁶ he did not regard as militating against the idea.

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

⁶ i. 600.

¹ See the extracts Note ³ infra.

² Contra Constant. Imperat. 7.

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

⁴ On Matt. 17:1.

⁵ In Matt. &c.

⁶ See my Vol. i. pp. 395–397, and Vol. iv. p. 230, et seq.

⁷ See my Vol. i. p. 30.

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

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

5. *Jerome*⁴

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

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

³ On 2 Thess. 2.

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

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

I have given this biographical sketch more fully than I should otherwise have been warranted in doing; partly because of the peculiar and almost romantic interest of the biography; more because of there being so much of reference to the remarkable events and persons of the period in Jerome's writings.

1. According to this father of the Church the Apocalypse was a book that had in it as many *mysteria* as words, while sundry particular words had each in them a multifold meaning:¹ and that the Apocalypse was to be all *spiritually* understood; because otherwise Judaic fables must be acquiesced in, such as those about the rebuilding of Jerusalem, and revival in its temple of carnal rites and ordinances.² In regard however of which his spiritual or figurative understanding of the Apocalypse, we should remember the check urged by Jerome himself against any undue license of fancy, at least in explaining the Old Testament; so as by those who with "*anagoge veritatem historiæ auferant.*"³—2. The Apocalyptic 144,000 seen by St. John with Christ on Mount Zion, or sealed ones out of each and all of the tribes of the Apocalyptic Israel, are sometimes expounded by Jerome of the Christian apostles, martyrs, and saints generally, sometimes of Christian virgins or celibates more especially;⁴ never of an election distinctively out of the Jews, or natural Israel.—3. As regards the *two Apocalyptic witnesses*, though he has not given us his own opinion as to who or what exactly were meant by them, and indeed seems by no means to have made up his opinion about them, yet *negatively* he has pretty clearly intimated that in his judgment they were *not* Enoch and Elias;⁵ cautioning his questionist on the point, the noble Roman lady Marcella, in a passage already referred to by me against expounding the Apocalypse otherwise than as a book which is to be understood spiritually or figuratively.¹—1.

¹ Letter 103 to Paulinus, 7.

² So in the Letter 148 to Marcella; "Omnis ille liber aut spiritualiter intelligendus sit, ut nos existimamus; aut, si carnalem interpretationem sequimur, Judaicis fabulis acquiescendum sit: &c." And so in his almost latest Scriptural comment on Ezek. 38.

³ Epist. 126, Ad Evagrium.

⁴ Of Christian *apostles* and *saints*, generally, in his Letter against Vigilantius: "Tu *apostolis* vincula injicies, ut usque ad diem judicii teneantur custodiâ, nee sint cùm Domino suo: de quibus scriptum est, Sequuntur Agnum quocumque vadit?" For, though apostles only are here specified, the argument is directed against Vigilantius' general affirmation about the souls of departed saints and martyrs being unconscious of the prayers of men.—Also on Is. 65 ad fin. "Agni credendi sunt omnes qui in vestibus candidis sequuntur Agnum quocumque vadit; quos Dominus Petro tradidit ad pascendum, dicens, Pasce agnos meos."

Of Christian *virgins*, specially, in his Adv. Jovinian. i. 25:—"Legamus Apocalypsin Joannis, et ibi reperiemus Agnum super montem Sion, et cum eo 144,000 ... De singulis tribubus, exceptâ tribu Dan, pro quâ reponitur tribus Levi, 12 millia virginum signatorum creditura dicuntur ... Hi Virgines primitiæ Dei sunt: ergo viduæ, et in matrimonio continentis, erunt post primitias." So too in his Apology for the Anti-Jovinian Book, address to Pammachius, Ep. 50, ch. 3; and in the Treatise against Helvidius, ad fin.

⁵ "De Enoch et Eliâ, quos ventures Apocalypsis refert (i.e. as Marcella represented the thing in her question.) et esse morituros, non est istius temporis disputatio; (viz. of the time of the saints' general resurrection;) cum omnis liber aut spiritualiter intelligendus est, ut, &c." See Note ² p. 318.

¹ Elsewhere, viz. on Matt. 11:14, he says; "*Sunt qui propterea Joannem Eliam vocari putant quòd, quomodo in secundo Salvatoris adventu juxtà Malachiam præcessurus est Elias, ... sic Joannes in primo adventu fecerit.*" In regard of which Mr. C. M. remarks; "At some later time Jerome *maintained the*

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

second coming of Elias; as when expounding Matt. 11. "But this is incorrect. Jerome there speaks of others, not of himself. Mr. C. M. also refers to Jerome's comment on Matt. 17:11; "Ipse qui venturus est in secundo Salvatoris adventu juxta corporis fidem, nunc per Joannem venit in virtute et spiritu." This at first sight is like the expression of his own opinion to that effect. But comparing it with our other citations, it too seems to be the mere expression in that form of the opinion of others. On Malachi 4:5 itself Jerome thus strongly expresses himself against it. "Judæi, et Judaizantes hæretici, ante ηλειμμενον suum Eliam putant esse venturum, et restitutum omnia." To some such Christ himself, he adds, answered; "Elias quidem veniet; et, si creditis, jam venit: in Elià Joannem intelligens."

² The reader has in this a characteristic specimen of Jerome's application of such passages and figures in Old Testament prophecy, to persons and matters connected, whether as true members or enemies, with the Christian Church.

³ Let the reader mark here Jerome's decidedly expressed opinion that after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans the appellation of *the holy city* attached no more to that *literal* Jerusalem. In order to the support of the futurist or semi-futurist Judaic theory of the Apocalypse two points are needed in a patristic comment; 1st, that *the literal Jerusalem* be construed as *the place of the two witnesses' death*: 2ndly, that the same literal Jerusalem, and its supposed to be restored temple, be construed as *the holy city* and *temple* of Apoc. 11:2, trodden and defiled by the Gentiles. Thus Mr. C. Maitland himself, in his abstract of Jerome, contends at p. 238 for the identity of the *literal Jerusalem* with *the holy city* of Apoc. 11:2; quite forgetful of Jerome's chronological limitation of the application to it of that latter appellation.

Jerome's idea was that the local Jerusalem would never be rebuilt, though the Jews would be converted; but remain in ruins to the end of the world. "Obsessi sunt à Vespasiano et Tito; et civitas eorum, Hadriani temporibus, *in æternos cineres* collapsa est." So on Jer. 19:7.

¹ "In this little world [viz. that of which Jerome was the centre, including specially the ladies at Bethlehem, Paula and Eustochium, &c.] whatever subject was discussed, ... every difficulty, was alike

different view is argued for of the local scene of the Apocalyptic witnesses' death. With reference to their urgent invitation to Marcella that she should quit the Romish Babylon and join them in their retreat at Jerusalem and Bethlehem, they anticipate her objecting that Jerusalem is branded in the Apocalypse as Sodom and Egypt; and urge against this the necessity of explaining the passage quite otherwise than of the literal Jerusalem. And this on two different grounds:—1st, because in the immediate Apocalyptic context, in contrast to, not identification with, *the great city* of the witnesses' death, the Apocalyptic Jerusalem is designated as *the holy city*; ("the Gentiles shall tread down *the holy city*;") and that cannot consistently be called *Sodom* and *Egypt*, which is almost in the same breath called *the holy city*: 2ndly, because in Scripture *Egypt* is never used figuratively for *Jerusalem*, but perpetually for *the world*. Hence, on the whole, they conclude that the great city of the witnesses' death means *the world*.² Any one who consults Jerome's comments on the (Old Testament) prophets may see how exactly his view of the figurative sense of *Egypt* in *them* corresponds with this exposition of the *Apocalyptic* phrase.³

On the great subject of *Antichrist*, 5thly, we meet in Jerome the same inconsistency, puzzling, and confusion, from his conjunction of some supposed *Jewish* as well as *pseudo-Christian* element in the expected Antichrist, as in certain early expositors. In regard of Antichrist's *political origin*, he is marked by Jerome as the *little horn* springing from out of the midst of the ten horns, or *kings*, of the 4th or Roman Beast, that divide among themselves the Roman empire.¹ And his great city *Babylon* Jerome construes as distinctly Rome.² Moreover it is because of its ruler

referred to this great man of his age." So Mr. C. M. most correctly, at p. 236. Yet at p. 238 he supposes that Paula's elaborate letter to her and Jerome's common friend Marcella, written with the view of inducing her to join Paula herself and Jerome, was written and despatched without his seeing it!

² I beg to refer to my notice in Vol. ii. p. 435 of Mr. C. Maitland's attempted answer to this argument of Paula and Eustochium, and justification of the application of all the terms of the prophetic verse to the literal restored Jerusalem.

³ So e.g. of *Egypt* in his comment on Ps. 78:12; "Nos omnes eramus in Ægypto, et à Domino liberati sumus, ... in tenebris istius seculi:" also on Ezek. 20:44, 21:1, 23:19: "Ægypto seculi hujus:" "ad tantam venimus rabiem ut post multa tempora Dominicæ servitutis revertamur ad Ægyptum, et ea faciamus quæ in seculo feeimus, antequam nomen fidei acceperimus:" &c. So of *Sodom* in his Comment on Zephan. 2:9, already referred to; "Hoc de hæreticis intelligamus, quòd reputentur quasi Sodoma et Gomorrha." &c.

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

² "Filia Babylonis,—non ipsam Babylonem quidem, [i.e. not the Euphratean Babylon,] sed Romanam urbem interpretantur: quæ in Apocalypsi Joannis, et in Epistola Petri, Babylon specialiter appellatur." So on Isa. 47:1. And so again in his Script. Eccl. on the Evangelist Mark.

Antichrist's blasphemies, he says, that the Roman empire is to be destroyed.³ Again the professedly Christian (pseudo-Christian) *religious* character of Antichrist is remarked on also by Jerome repeatedly. Antichrist, says he, when interpreting St. Paul's prophecy of the Man of Sin, "is to sit in *the temple*, that is in *the Church*:"⁴ "I think all the heresiarchs Antichrists:"⁵ "It is only by assuming Christ's name that the simpler ones of believers can be seduced to go to Antichrist; for then they will go to Antichrist, while thinking to find Christ."⁶ Yet Jerome also supposes Antichrist so to profess himself Messiah, or Christ, as that *the Jews* will believe on him as Christ:¹ consequently as in profession *a Jew*.²—The same partially confused view as that of sundry earlier expositors about Daniel's *abomination of desolation* had no doubt its influence to this effect. Yet Jerome distinctly recognizes the alternative interpretations of this abomination of desolation. It may mean, says he, on Matt. 24:15, either Cæsar's image placed by Pilate in the Jewish temple, or Hadrian's in the ruined temple's holy place, "which has stood there to the present day:"³ or it may mean simply Antichrist; or "every perverse dogma which may stand in the holy place, that is in *the Church*, and show itself as God."⁴ As to the prophecy of the 70 weeks, connected in the one passage of Dan. 9:27 with the abomination of desolation, Jerome only gives the opinion of

³ "Ideirco Romanum delebilur imperium quia cornu illud loquebatur grandia." "In uno Romano imperio propter Antichristum blasphemantem omnia simul regna delenda sunt: "an event on which the adventus Filii Dei is to take place. So on Dan. 7:11.

He notices elsewhere the old idea, as if still current with some, that *Nero* revived would be the Antichrist: "Multi nostrorum putant ob sævitæ et turpitudinis magnitudinem, Domitianum Neronein Antichristum fore." On Dan. 11:30.

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

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

⁶ *Ib.*

¹ "Quando pro Christo Judæi recipient Antichristum, impletâ prophetiâ Domini Salvatoris, ... 'Si alius venerit in nomine suo ilium recipietis.' " On Obad. 17.

² So on Dan. 11:21; "Nostrum melius interpretantur et rectius, quòd in fine mundi hæc sit facturus Antichristus; qui consurgere habet [qu. *debet?*] de modicâ gente, id est *de populo Judæorum* ... Et simulabit se ducem esse fœderis, hoc est legis et testamenti Dei. Et ingredietur urbes ditissimas, et faciet quæ non fecerunt patres ejus. Nullus enim *Judæorum* absque Antichristo in toto unquam orbe regnavit."

³ "Aut de Hadriani equestri statuâ, quæ in ipso saneto sanctorum loco usque in præsentem diem stetit."

⁴ "Abominatio desolationis intelligi potest et *omne dogma perversum*; quod cum viderimus stare in loeo saneto, id est *in ecclesiâ*, et se ostendere Deum, debemus fugere de Judæa in montes: id est," as he adds with characteristic *anagoge*, "dimissâ occidente literâ, et Judæiâ pravitare, appropinquare montibus æternis." *Ibid.*

others, (the same that I have a little previously abstracted principally from him,)⁵ but shuns giving any of his own.⁶—Antichrist's *time of duration* he of course expected to be $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, literally. But I must beg attention to the manner in which, in his exposition of Ezekiel's symbolic bearing of the iniquity of Israel 390 days, and that of Judah 40 days, "*a day for a year*," Jerome incidentally supports the old Protestant view of its furnishing a Scriptural precedent for the *year-day* theory. For, like Venema, he supposes Ezekiel's *lying prostrate* for so many *days* to be typical of the *penal prostration* of Israel and Judah for so many *years*;¹ not, like many late expositors, as typical of the previous prolonged duration of those nations' *sins*.

6. Jerome's view of the *Apocalyptic millennium* was much the same figurative view as Augustine's: his opposition to the literal view of the first resurrection being in his remarks on Victorinus' comment strongly expressed.²—At the same time he held the idea which the ancient premillennarians so much insisted on, that the world's destined duration, after the type of the six days of Creation, was to be only 6000 years, and then the saints' *sabbatism* to begin.³

⁵ See the Notes, pp. 304, 305 *suprà*.

⁶ Jerome adds that the Jews of his time reckoned the 70 hebdomads, or 490 years, as fulfilled first in the restoration of the city and temple, as under Ezra and Nehemiah; then the destruction of the temple, and cessation of the sacrifice, on occasion of the desolations of their people and city 62 hebdomads after by Titus, and again, yet 7 hebdomads later, by Hadrian. They are not very careful, he says, about the fact that, instead of 490 years from the 1st of Cyrus to Hadrian's war against the Jews, the real chronological interval is 696 years. Before the desolation Jerome makes them say that Christ will come and Christ be slain. But in what sense, as compared with Jewish notions, I cannot understand.

¹ "Quæramus qui sint *anni* 390 qui pro *diebus* totidem supputentur; quibus in sinistro latere propheta dormicit vincitus atque constrictus, ... captivitatem et miserias decern tribuum, id est Israelis, ostendens." So he calculates from the time of Hosea's captivity to the time of the Jews' deliverance from their afflictions in the last year of Ahasucrus, (or Artaxerxes Mnemon,) as related in the book of Esther, and makes the amount 389 years 4 months: during all which time Israel "fuit in angustiâ, et jugo pressus captivitatis.

² See my page 288 *suprà*.

And yet in his Preface to Isaiah 65, referring to different views of the Apocalyptic millennium, &c., Jerome says; "Which if I take *figuratively* I fear to contradict the ancients"—On Ezekiel 40:5, I may observe, he says; "*Quod templum* Jndæi secundum literam in adventum Christi sui, quern nos esse Antichristum comprobamus, putant ædificandum: et nos *ad Christi referimus ecclesiam*; et quotidie *in Sanctis ejus* ædificari cernimus." Where the words "in Sanctis ejus" are to be remarked; and suggest an idea of Jerome's perhaps regarding *the Church of the promises*, like Augustine, as that made up only of *true* Christians. I say perhaps; because he sometimes used *sancti* in the lower and merely ecclesiastical sense.

³ So in his Letter 139 to Cyprian, on the Psalm 90:4, after noticing St. Peter's saying that with the Lord one thousand years is as one day, he adds; "Ego arbitror ... ut scilicet, quia mundus in sex diebus fabricatus est, sex millibus annorum tantum credatur subsistere; et postea venire septenarium numerum

Ere passing from Jerome let me remind the reader of his famous Latin translation of the New Testament, the Apocalypse inclusive;—that same which has ever since been so well known as *the Vulgate*: and let him mark in my biographical sketch of Jerome the favourable circumstances under which he made it; viz. while at Rome, in intimacy with Pope Damasus, with all Rome’s manuscript stores at his command; also his indefatigable care in collecting books bearing on Biblical literature, as well as indefatigable labour in studying them. Hence the evidently high value and authority of the readings that we find in his translations, even when varying from our best present Greek manuscripts. Of these I will here notice *three*, which I wish my readers specially to remember:—1. the rendering of *bilibris* and *tres bilibres* in the 3rd Seal for *one ehænix* of wheat and *three* of barley; this marking very strikingly to any one who reflects on the so defined *weight* of barley that was to cost but a denarius, the absurdity of all idea of such a symbolization signifying famine:—2. that of *quatuor partes terræ* in the 4th Seal; *four parts* of the earth: not *one fourth* part, *quartam partem*:—3. the reading in Apoc. 17:16 either of *cornua quæ vidisti in bestiâ*; so in most MSS. and Copies; or, as in the Laurentian Copy, *cornua quæ vidisti, et Bestiam*; (not *Bestia*;) *hi odient Fornicariam, &c.*¹—On two of these I have remarked already, in the progress of my Apocalyptic comment.²

Yet once more let me advert a second time to the exceeding interest that attaches to Jerome’s lively depicting of the grand event of the Roman empire’s predicted desolation by barbarian invaders, and incipient breaking up into the ten kingdoms, as in the course of fulfilment in his own time, and before his own eyes. “In our time the clay has become mixt with iron. Once nothing was stronger than the Roman empire, now nothing weaker; mixt up as it is with, and needing the helping of, barbarous nations.”⁴ “He who withheld is removed, and we think not that Antichrist is at the door.”⁴ Again, among the invading Goths that desolated the empire, and afterwards partitioned it between them, he significantly reckons *ten* nations.⁵ Jerome had no idea of any such mighty chronological gap, as some modern expositors would advocate between the removal of the “let” and the rise of Antichrist.

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

ct octonarium,* in quo verus exercetur sabbatismus.” With which compare Jerome’s notice of the twelve hours of the labourers in the vineyard, in the comment on Micah 4, cited by me Vol. i. p. 396.

¹ The accusative in the Laurentian MS. excludes the Beast from participation with the ten horns in the hating, &c. of the Harlot, just as much as the reading *in Bestiâ*. So translating Jerome must have regarded the *To θηριον* as an accusative. And so possibly also Hippolytus. See p. 308 *suprà*.

² On the extremely important reading of the 4th Seal, in my Vol. i. pp. 201, 202;—on the reading in Apoc. 17:16 in my Vol. iv. p. 31.

⁴ On Dan. 2. See my Vol. i. p. 390.

⁴ Epist. to Ageruchia. See my Vol. i. p. 393.

⁵ See the citation *ibid*.

6. Augustine

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

1. That the Apocalypse embraced for its subject of prefiguration the whole period *from Christ's first coming to the end of the world*.¹

2. That the 144,000 of the sealing vision (as also of Apoc. 14) depicted distinctively (*not* the earthly professing visible Church, *but*) the *Church of the saints, or elect*,² the constituency of what he calls the *City of God*, ultimately united into the heavenly Jerusalem:³ while the appended palm-bearing vision figured the blessed and heavenly issue assured to them of their earthly trials and pilgrimage.⁴

3. That the millennium of Satan's binding, and the saints reigning, dated from Christ's ministry, when he beheld Satan fall like lightning from heaven; it being meant to signify the triumph over Satan in the hearts of true believers: and that the subsequent figuration of Gog and Magog indicated the coming of Antichrist at the end of the world; the 1000 years being a figurative numeral, expressive of the whole period intervening.⁵

I may add that he expounded the *woman clothed with the sun*, in Apoc. 12, of the *true Church, or Civitas Dei*; clothed with the *sun of righteousness*; trampling on those *growing and waning things of mortality* which the *moon* might figure; and travelling both with Christ personally, and Christ in his members.⁶—Further the complemental set of martyrs, told of to the souls under the altar, he viewed as martyrs to be slain under Antichrist.⁷—As to *Antichrist* himself, like other

¹ "Per totum hoc tempus quod liber iste (se. Apocalypsis) complectitur, à primo scilicet adventu Christi usque in sæculi finem."—C. D. xx. 8. 1.

Elsewhere he notes the obscurity of the Apocalypse; very specially from its *repeating* the same objects under different figures."—C. D. xx. 17.

² So in his Doctr. Christ. iii. 51; "Centum quadraginta quatuor (mille), quo numero significatur *universitas sanctorum* in Apocalypsi."

³ "Civitatem sanctam Jerusalem, quæ nunc in Sanctis fidelibus est diffusa per terras." C. D. xx. 21. In which city he says, on Psalm 121:2, that the angels will be fellow-citizens.

⁴ See my Vol. i. pp. 309–313. with the extracts from Augustine in the Notes.

⁵ See pp. 136, 137 *suprà*. So the Greek *Andreas* afterwards: as also *Primasius* of the Latin Church, before *Andreas*. It continued in fact the current opinion through the Middle Ages.—That M. Stuart should have ascribed the origin of this opinion (as he seems to do in his Vol. i. p. 459) to *Andreas*, not *Augustine*, appears surprising.

⁶ So on Psalm 142:3.—On Psalm 44:24, I observe, he explains the opened Book in Apocalypse 10, given to St. John to eat, not of the *Apocalypse*, but of the *Bible*.

⁷ On the Douatists claiming to be the complemental set of martyrs spoken of to the souls under the altar, Augustine observes; "Quid est stultius quàm quòd putatis prophetiam istam de martyribus, qui futuri prædicti sunt, non nisi in Donatistis esse completam? Quod si a Joanne usque ad istos nulli occisi essent

earlier Fathers, he viewed him as one that would arise, and reign 3½ years, at the end of the world; though meanwhile *Antichrist's body*, and his *great city Babylon*, might be considered realized in *the world* and its members. So, on this important point, Augustine endorsed in a manner with his great name the spiritualistic generalizing system of Tichonius.¹

7. To which expositor, *Tichonius*, last of this æra, now proceed we.

We know both from Augustine,² and from the later expositors Primasius and Bede,³ that a *Donatist* of that name wrote on the Apocalypse; whose time of flourishing, according to Gennadius, was about A.D. 380;⁴ and was at any rate partially included within the 30 years of the Donatist Parmenianus' Episcopate, from A.D. 361 to A.D. 391;⁵ as the latter took umbrage at certain anti-Donatistic sentiments expressed by Tichonius, though a Donatist, and wrote against them.⁶ Perhaps we might prefer to fix the date a little later than 380; as Tichonius had communication with Augustine, and indeed is by some said to have been reclaimed by him from Donatism: and we know that it was only in 391 that Augustine was ordained Presbyter, in 395 Bishop.—Now there is still extant an Apocalyptic Commentary bearing Tichonius' name, drawn up in the form of Homilies, in number nineteen; appended to the fourth volume of the Paris Benedictine Edition of Augustine. And the question has arisen respecting these, whether they are the real work of this aforesaid Tichonius, or not. The arguments *against* (as the Benedictine Editor observes) are, 1. that, whereas Primasius says there were decided Donatistic statements in Tichonius' work,⁷ in this such are wanting, and anti-Donatistic inserted against *re-baptizing*; 2. that certain passages cited by Bede from Tichonius are here wanting; 3. that on a point in which Tichonius' opinion is said by Augustine to have been illustrated with a copious argument, the opinion is here indeed given, but without any such copious argument in connexion. To which I may add that there occur here and there brief quotations (unless indeed Tichonius be the original) from Augustine.¹—On the other hand there are the arguments following in favour of the

martyres veri, ut nihil aliud, vel temporibus Antichristi diceremus futuros in quibus ille martyrum numerus compleretur." Contra Gaudent. i. 31. In this he coincides with Tertullian. See p. 281 *suprà*.

¹ Daniel's hebdomads, let me here add, Augustine explained as fulfilled at the time, of Christ's first coming. So in his Letter to Hesychius.

² So Augustine, Vol. iii. p. 99, in his statement of Tichonius' seven Rules of interpretation given overleaf.

³ Who both refer to him in their Apocalyptic Commentaries.

⁴ So the Benedictine Editor of Augustine, Vol. ii. col. 371, Note.

⁵ So the same Editor.

⁶ He wrote a letter of reprehension to Tichonius. See my Note ¹ p. 327.

⁷ In the Prologue to his Apocalyptic Commentary, B. P. M. x. 287.

¹ Especially the two cited as from the Tichonius Treatise in my Vol. iii. pp. 277, 221, respecting the *Beast* and the *Beast's image*;—1. "Non abhorret à fide [rectâ] ut *Bestia* ista impia civitas intelligatur ... populus infidelium contrarius populo fideli et civitati Dei." 2. "Imago vero ejus simulatio est, in eis videlicet

substantial identity of the extant Treatise with that of Tichonius: (arguments omitted by the Benedictine Editor:)—1st, that the expository principles followed in the Treatise agree well with Tichonius' expository rules, as recorded by Augustine:²—2. that one of the anti-Donatistic sentiments, which more than once occurs in these Homilies, is precisely such a recognition of the Catholic Church as was objected to the real Tichonius, as an inconsistency, by his Bishop Parmenianus:³—3. that a particular clause on the horsemen of the second Woe, quoted by Primasius from Tichonius, appears in the precise words in these Homilies;⁴ and also, substantially,

hominibus qui velut fidem Catholicam profitentur, et infideliter vivunt." Which same explanations, almost *totidem verbis*, will be found in Augustine's C. D. xx. 9. 3.

² They are thus enumerated by Augustine, Vol. iii. 99; and as rules intended by Tichonius to solve the difficulties of Scripture.

1. *De Domino et ejus corpore*; there being sometimes a transition in the sacred writers from Christ the head to the Church his body, and inclusion of both under the same phrase or figure.—A rule rightly applicable sometimes, says Augustine.

2. *De Domini corpore bipartito*; the true members of Christ's body and the false.—A view of things right, says Augustine, but wrongly exprest; because hypocrites and false professors do not really belong to Christ's body at all.

3. *De promissis et lege*; otherwise exprest, like as by Augustine himself, *De spiritu et literà*; in reference to cases where figures are used; and one thing said, another meant.

4. *De specie et genere*:—where a species is spoken of, e.g. Egypt, Judæa, &c.; but the whole world, of similar gentilism, shown by the strength of the expressions to be meant.

5. *De temporibus*:—where, especially in chronological statements, a *whole* is said for a *part*, or *part* for a *whole*; as Christ's three days in the grave, when the actual time was only one full day, with part of the day preceding, and part of the following; and Jeremiah's seventy years of Israel's captivity, though applicable to the Church's whole time of earthly pilgrimage. Tichonius applied this Rule to other numerals also; e.g. to the Apocalyptic 114,000; which designated, as he says, the whole body of the saints.

6. *Recapitulation*.

7. *De Diabolo et corpore ejus*;—things being said of the Devil when meant of the *wicked* that constitute his body, and vice versà. (Just the converse to Rule 1.)

The agreement of the extant Homilies with the above will be noted from time to time in my abstract.

³ Tichonius, says Augustine, Vol. xii. 66, "vidit ecclesiam toto orbe diffusam;" and that for this (ib. 63) he was reproved by Parmenianus. So in Hom. 19: "Civitas ista [sc. the New Jerusalem] *ecclesia est toto orbe diffusa*;" and elsewhere.

⁴ "Et numerus, inquit, exercituum bis myriades myriadam; audivi numerum eorum: *sed non dixit quot myriadam*." So the Tichonian Homily vii. Primasius, after commenting on the clause as read in his copy, "numerus octaginta millia," thus adds; "Alia porro translatio, quam *Tichonius* exposuit, habet, 'Et

three explanations taken by Bede from Tichonius.¹—There remains to be noted a very important chronological indication in the tenth Homily, which speaks of Arianism as then dominant; “Sicut videmus modo *hæreticos* esse in hoc sæculo potentes, qui habent virtutem Diaboli: sicut quondam Pagani, ita nunc illi vastant ecclesiam: “and again, on the clause about all the earth worshipping the Beast, “Utique habent potestatem hæretici; sed præcipuè *Ariani*!”—statements *possibly* referable to the Arian Emperor Valens’ oppression of the Trinitarians in the Eastern Empire, which occurred during the life of the real Tichonius; yet not *probably* so: as Valens’ power extended only to the Eastern or Greek Empire; not to the Western Empire, in which evidently² (and most likely in Africa) the writer of the extant Homilies resided. Hence more probably this indication points to the succeeding century; when the Arian Vandal kings Genseric and Hunneric³ did really desolate the orthodox African Church.—On the whole, and adding to the other evidence in favour of his authorship the important fact of the manuscript’s bearing his name, I feel little doubt in my own mind that the *main substance* of the extant Treatise is from *Tichonius*: though with certain alterations introduced, and an abbreviation into Homiletic form, by some Presbyter of the Latin Catholic Church after the first quarter of the fifth century, probably an African. Thus we may fitly note its scheme of Apocalyptic interpretation as one appertaining to the æra under review: albeit, in its present form, as rather *post-Augustinian* than *pre-Augustinian*.

To begin, there are in two different manuscripts two different introductions, In the *one* MS. (probably the original) the writer states at once the opening of his 1st Homily, the Origenistic interpretative principle of ἀναγωγή, as that adopted in the commentary. “In lectione Revelationis beati Johannis Apostoli, fratres charissimi, *secundùm anagogen* ... explanare

numeris equestris exercitûs bis myriades myriadum. Ubi, expositiorem præteriens, hoc tantum adjecit, *Non dixit quot myriadum.*” B. P. M. x. 312.

¹ Says Bede on Apoc. 14:20; “Tichonius messorum et vindemiatorum ecclesiam interpretatur.” Says our Tichonius; “Si putandum est quòd ipse Christus visus est in nube albâ messor, quis est vindemiator nisi idem; sed in suo corpore, quod est ecclesia.” 2. Says Bede on Apoc. 17:7: “Tichonius bestiam ad omne corpus Diaboli refert, quod decedentium et succedentium sibi generationum pro cursu suppleatur.” Says our Tichonius, Hom. xiv., on the verse, “The beast was, and is not, and is to be; “Hoc fit ... dum filii mali parentes pessimo imitantur; et, aliis morientibus, alii succedunt eis.” (Copied by Primasius and Ambrose Ansbert.) 3. Says Bede on Apoc. 19:21; “Hanc cœnam Tichonius sic exponit; Omni tempore comedit ecclesia carnes inimicorum suorum.” Says our Tichonius, Hom. xvii.; “Omnes enim gentes, quando in Christo credentes ecclesiæ incorporantur, spiritualiter ab ecclesiâ comeduntur.”

² There occurs a curious notice on Apoc. 4:3, in the second of the extant Homilies, on the resemblance of the word *iris*, or its accusative *irin*, to the Greek word εἰρηνη; as by a writer, and for readers, to whom alike the Greek was a foreign language. “Cui nomini si una in fine additur littera, et *irini* dicatur, utique hoc ipsum interpretatio sonare videtur: nam Græco vocabulo εἰρηνη *pax* appellatur.”—Moreover it would seem that these *Homilies* on the Apocalypse were for reading in the Churches. (See e.g. the end of Hom. 1.) But the Apocalypse was a book, I believe, little read at that time in the *Greek* Churches.

³ See my Vol. ii. p. 223, and Vol. iii. pp. 61–63.

curabimus.” The *other* thus speaks: “Respecting the things seen by St. John in the Apocalypse, it seemed to some of the ancient Fathers that either all, or at least the greater part, presignified the coming of Antichrist, or day of judgment. But they who have more diligently handled it, judge that the things contained in it began to have fulfilment immediately after Christ’s passion; and are to go on fulfilling up to the day of judgment: so as that but a small portion may seem to remain for the times of Antichrist.”¹—Which two beginnings are quite consistent. For the writer’s evident meaning in those words, “consummanda usque ad diem iudicii,” is not that the Apocalypse was like a dramatic prefiguration of the great *events* of the coming future, to be fulfilled in succession and order until the consummation: but rather a representation (for the most part) of *general truths*, detached and unconnected, concerning the Church; all and ever in course of realization, and that will be so even to the end.

Thus, passing over his explanation of the primary Apocalyptic symbolization of Christ, the details of which he takes very much from Victorinus, and that of the Epistles to the seven Churches, which Churches he regards as representative of the Church universal,²—in the *Seals*, the first rider and horse are expounded of Christ riding to victory on his apostles and prophets, the arrows the gospel-word preached, as pointed by the Spirit, in date from after the time of Christ’s ascension: the three next riders as the Devil, riding on bloody-minded, hypocritical,¹ and wicked persecuting men, in antagonism to Christ’s Church; the oil and the wine of the 3rd Seal signifying the righteous whom none can really hurt:² the souls under the altar as the cry of the martyred and persecuted against their persecutors.—So far with reference to the times of the Christian dispensation *generally*. In the sixth Seal, however, the earthquake is explained *pecially* of the *last persecution*; and the falling of bad men from *heaven*, i. e. from *the Church*,³ under it.

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

² Hom. i.

¹ Hypocritical in the third Seal, because of the rider’s carrying in false pretence the *balance of justice*. “Stateram habebat in manu, quia dum se fingunt mali justitiæ libram tenere, sic plerumque decipiunt.” Of the *wine* and *oil* not to be hurt, he says, “In vino sanguis Christi, in oleo unctio chrisimatis intelligitur.”

² Victorinus’ explanation of the three last horses as “bella, fames, et pestis,” is also given as an alternative; Victorinus being however nowhere mentioned by name. “Super quartam partem terræ,” is Tichonius’ reading of Apoc. 6.

³ This is an explanation applied in various similar figurations afterwards.

So arrived at the *sealing* and *palm-bearing visions* he expounds the one of the Church's ingathering of its mystical number, the 144,000;⁴ the other of Church privileges enjoyed by them under the present dispensation:⁵ for he regarded the 144,000, and palm-bearing company, as one and the same body,⁶ constituted of the elect out of both Jews and Gentiles. The half-hour's silence he interprets, like Victorinus, as the beginning of eternal rest; the incense-Angel as Christ: then thus proceeds to expound the *Trumpets*, or Church-preachments acted out:⁷—viz. the *first*, of luxurious men of the earth, burnt up grass-like by the fire of concupiscence:⁸ the *second*, of the Devil falling like a burning mountain on the world: the *third*, or star falling from heaven, of the falling from the Church of proud and impious men; and its making the waters bitter, of the heretical doctrine of re-baptism:¹ the *fourth*, of evil and hypocritical men in the Church struck with darkness by the Devil, through being given up to their pleasures:²—then the *fifth*, of evil men and heretics, fallen from the Church,³ and with the heart's abyss of wickedness fully opened, so as to obscure the Church's light by their evil deeds and doctrine; the men disguised with crowns, like those of the 24 church-representing elders, and with scorpion-like stings in the tail,

⁴ "144,000 omnis omnino ecclesia est." A *Tichoniasm*. See Tichonius' Rule 5, in my Note, p. 327 *suprà*.—The 144,000 of Apoc. 14 are similarly explained by him: not, as by Methodius, and sometimes by Jerome, of literal monks and virgins.

⁵ On the verse, "I saw and behold a great company, &c.," he says, Hom. 6; "Non dixit, 'Post hæc vidi *alium* populum; sed, Vidi populum; id est eundem quem viderat in mysterio 144 millium:' " including alike, he adds, both Jews and Gentiles.

⁶ A singular explanation; but agreeable with that of the privileges of the *New Jerusalem*, noted p. 335 afterwards. Tichonius' remark on, "He shall lead them to living fountains of waters," stands thus: "Omnia hæc etiam in *præsenti vitâ* spiritualiter ecclesiæ eveniunt: cùm, dimissis peccatis, resurgimus; et vitæ prioris lugubris ac veteris hominis exspoliati, in baptismo Christum induimur, et gaudio Saucti Spiritûs implemur."

⁷ "*Septem angelos ecclesiam dixit; qui acceperunt septem tubas, id est, perfectam prædicationem: sicut scriptum est, Exalta sicut tuba vocem tuam.*"

⁸ So Isaiah 40:6, says Tichonius; "All flesh is grass."—"Quos Deus justo judicio permittit incendio luxuriæ; vol cupiditatis exuri."

There is an erroneous transposition of part of the Exposition concerning the Seals, and part concerning the Trumpets, in the MS. of this 6th Homily, which should be noted by the reader. So too afterwards in the 7th Homily.

¹ "Hoc in his qui *re-baptizantur* manifestè intelligi potest." This is an *anti-Donatism* which has been noted as *anti-Tichonian*. But possibly it is such an anti-Donatism as *Tichonius* might have written. See *Parmenianus'* remonstrance, noted p. 327 *suprà*.

² The *eagle* crying Woe, that follows the 4th Trumpet, he explains of each and every minister's announcing of the plagues of the last days, and the coming day of judgment.

³ "Una stella corpus est multorum cadentium de ecclesiâ per peccata."

(for the false prophet he is the tail,) striking both good, under devilish guidance, though only to quicken them to humility and repentance, and bad, so as to infuse the poison of their doctrine:—also the *sixth* Trumpet,⁴ and its horse-borne myriads from the Euphrates, (the river of the *mystic* Babylon,) of *the last persecution*: (that I presume, by Antichrist:) the Angel's cry from the golden altar signifying that of the faithful who dare to resist the mandate of the cruel persecuting king; the smoke, fire, and sulphur from the horses' mouths symbolizing the chief's antichristian blasphemies; the serpent-like tail, with head, the false teachers and their heretical poison; and the chronological tetrad of an hour, day, month, and year answering to the tetrad of a time, two times, and half a time, or the 3½ years of Antichrist's continuance.⁵

On the descent of the Covenant-Angel, i. e. Christ, Tichonius explains his opened Book as the Bible; his lion-like cry, after planting his feet on land and sea, as that of the universal gospel-preaching by the Church over the whole world; and the seven answering thunders as the same with the seven Trumpet voices, or Church-preachments, sealed to the bad, though understood by the good.—Then the introductory charge, prior to the *witness-narrative*, “Measure the temple,” &c., is well and rather remarkably explained of a recension and preparation of the true Church “*ad ultimum*,” all other professors of religion except the true, whether heretics or badly-living Catholics, like the Gentile outer Court, being shut out:—and the sackcloth-robed witnesses themselves as either the *two Testaments*, or the light-giving *Church* fed by the oil of those two Testaments:¹ their appointed time of prophesying being the *whole time from Christ's death*. For the phrase “these *have* power,” not, *shall have*, marks the whole of time current *till the last persecution*: and the chronological term *1260 days*, is one inexplicable as the numeral, not only “of the last persecution, and of the future peace, but also of *the whole time from the Lord's passion*; either period having that number of days.”² Thus we have here a view of the witnessing large and connected. And, during this prolonged time of the Church's testimony, the killing their injurers with fire out of their mouths is well explained of the destroying effect of the Witnesses' prayers; and the heaven's not raining, of the absence of blessing on the barren earth.—After which, and on their finishing their testimony, (a testimony carried on to the very eve of Christ's

⁴ “Sed non dixit quot myriadum:” The Tichoniasm noted above, p. 327, Note ¹

⁵ So I think he means: “Hæc sunt quatuor tempora triennii et pars [qu. *partist* temporis.”—Compare the Tichonian Rule 5.

¹ First the expositor says, “*Duobus testibus meis, id est duobus Testamentis*,” then, presently after; “Nam Zacharias unum candelabrum vidit septiforme; et has duo olivas, id est Testamenta, infundere oleum candelabro, id est ecclesiæ.”

² “Prophetabunt diebus 1260: numerum novissimæ persecutionis dixit, et futuræ pacis, et totius temporis à Domini passione; quoniam utrumque tempus totidem dies habet, quod suo in loco dicitur.”—How this *time, times, and half a time* might come to be viewed as a fit designative of the whole Christian æra was explained by Ambrose Ansbert. See my sketch p. 360 infra. How Tichonius might have inferred from it a nearness of the consummation to his own age will appear from a certain particular value put by him on a prophetic *time*, stated in my next page. How it meant the time of the *future peace*, I know not.

revelation,) the *Beast from the abyss*, or “wicked ones making up the Devil’s body,”³ especially under *Antichrist*,⁴ shall conquer them that yield, says Tichonius, and slay the steadfast, in the *πλατεια*, or “*midst of the Church*,” till after *3½ days*, meaning *3½ years*,⁵ their dead bodies shall rise, and ascend to meet Christ at his coming.

Next let me sketch, in illustration of his Commentary, Tichonius’ exposition of the connected visions of the *Dragon*, *Beast*, and *Beast-riding Harlot*; given in Apoc. 12, 13, 17.¹

The *travailing Woman* then, he says, is the Church, ever bringing forth Christ in his members: the *Dragon*, the Devil seeking to devour them; his *seven heads and ten horns* indicating all the world’s kingdoms ruled by him;² his *dejection from heaven* to earth by Michael, i. e. Christ, his being cast out of the Church, or hearts of *saints*, into the hearts of earthly men:—the floods cast from the Dragon’s mouth against the woman, the multitude of persecutors: the two eagle-wings given to aid her flight from him, the two testaments, or perhaps the two witnessing prophets Elias and his companion: the woman’s *wilderness-dwelling*, the Church’s desolate state in this world; the *time, times, and half a time* measuring it, a period on the scale perhaps of *a year*, perhaps of *a hundred years* to a time:³ (on the smaller scale, I presume, the term of special suffering under Antichrist, on the larger that of the Church’s whole tribulation, from Christ’s first to his second coming:)⁴ the Dragon’s rage and planning against the woman’s seed, after the absorption of the floods from his mouth, the Devil’s plan to raise up *heresies* against it, *after the failure of the Roman Pagan persecutions*:—floods absorbed “*ore sanctæ terræ*,” i. e. through the prayers of the saints.

Further, as before, the *Beast* he expounds as the impious of the Devil’s body;⁵ its leopard spots signifying the variety of the nations under his rule in the time of Antichrist, its seven heads and ten horns the same with those on the Dragon figured previously: the head wounded to death, and reviving, being the revival of heresies and heretics in power through Satanic influence, after

³ “Bestiam ... impios dicit, qui suut corpus Diaboli.” Hom. 10. So the 7th Tichonian Rule.

⁴ It seems plain that Tichonius refers the death of the Witnesses to this period.

⁵ This early testimony for the *year-day* principle, and the reasoning added in its support, is noted by me in my Chapter on the year-day, Vol. iii. pp. 279, 280.—*Prosper*, Leo the Great’s secretary, about A.D. 440, concurred, we there saw, in the explanation.

¹ Part in Hom. ix., part in Hom. x.

² “Capita reges sunt, cornua vero regna:—in septem capitibus omnes reges; in decem cornibus omnia regna mundi dicit.”

³ “Tempus et *annus* intelligitur, et *centum anni*.” A statement this last peculiar to Tichonius, among the Christian Fathers; and borrowed probably from the Jews. (See my Vol. iii. p. 275, Note 5.) There is no *Scripture* authority for it, as for the *year-day*.

⁴ On the *one hundred years* scale the end of the Church’s 3½ times, just as that of the Witnesses, (see p. 332, Note ²,) would occur not very long after Tichonius’ own time; about the end (as was then thought) of the sixth milleunary.

⁵ Compare, as before, Tichonius’ *seventh* Rule, p. 322.

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

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

¹ See the Notes in my Vol. iii. pp. 30–33; also p. 311, Note 3, *suprà*.

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

³ Such, I think, is the meaning.

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

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

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

⁷ Hom. 13, a statement twice made.

⁸ So Tichonius reads, και παρεσται. Hom. 14.

⁹ "Et decem cornua quæ vidisti hi odio habent meretricem." Hom. 15. I presume therefore Tichonius' copy read επι, not και, το θηριον, in Apoc. 17:16; or perhaps *et Bestiam*. See p. 324 *suprà*.

¹⁰ Hom. 16.

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

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

As to the *New Jerusalem*, alike in Apoc. 21 and Apoc. 3, it is similarly explained of the Church *in its present state*; commencing from Christ's death:⁶ (though not without a passing counter-view, given apparently by another hand, which applies it to the glorified Church after the resurrection:⁷) its four gates towards the four winds marking its diffusion over the world; the tree of life meaning the cross, and the river of life the waters of baptism.⁸—Agreeably with which view the *palm-bearers' blessedness* in Apoc. 7 was also explained, as we saw, of the Church in *the*

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

² Ibid.

³ Let me notice one. On Apoc. 16:14, speaking of the kings of the world as gathered to the war of *the great day of the Lord*, a primary explanation is given of the Lord's great day, as meaning "the whole time from Christ's death to the end of the world." Then, as an alternative, there is added a reference to the day of *Jerusalem's destruction*; which however I take to be an interpolation. "Potest hoc loco *dies magnus* intelligi illa desolatio, quando à Tito et Vespasiano obsessa est Hierosolyma; ubi, exceptis his qui in captivitatem ducti sunt, quindecies centena millia mortua referuntur." Hom. 13.

⁴ Hom. 16, 17, 18. On Augustine, see p. 325 *suprà*.

⁵ So the Tichonian Rule 5.

⁶ Hom. 3 and 19.

⁷ This occurs in Hom. 18, after a quotation from Apoc. 21:1, "I saw the New Jerusalem descending as a bride," &c.: the brief comment being thus added, "Hoc totum de gloriâ ecclesiæ dixit, *qualem habebit post resurrectionem*." But this is an insulated sentence: and in three other different places the prophecy is distinctly referred to the Church on earth. See for example the next Note.

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

present life; when Christians rise to new life at baptism, put on Christ, and are filled with the joy of the Holy Ghost.¹

To this last expository view I must direct particular attention; as being now for the first time put forth in an Apocalyptic commentary; though not without a partial precedent, as we saw in Eusebius.² At the same time it is to be observed that by *the Church* Tichonius meant Christ's *true Church*; perpetually distinguishing between it and the *ficti et mail within*, as well as heretics and Pagans *without* it.—In his explaining away of *Babylon* the seven-hilled city, as merely meaning *the world*, though expressly defined by the Angel to mean *Rome*, he was supported, as we saw, by Augustine. This, with his correspondent generalizing view of *the Beast*, is another of the characteristic and notable points of Tichonius' commentary. With what misleading effect it past downward into the middle age, as the received system of interpretation, will appear in my next Section.³

PERIOD III. FROM THE FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, A.D. 500, TO A.D. 1100

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

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

1. Beginning with *Primasius*, his name appears in the second Conference of the fifth General Council, held at Constantinople A.D. 553;¹ where he is noted as a Bishop of the *Byzacene* or

¹ Homily 6:—"Omnia hæc [viz. what is said of the living fountains of water] etiam *in præsentis sæculo*, et *his diebus*, spiritualiter ecclesiæ eveniunt: &c."

² See p. 311.

³ Tichonius' *Latin version*, let me here observe, was not Jerome's, called *the Vulgate*. Differences appear throughout. For notable particular exemplifications I may refer to Apoc. 13:18; where Tichonius, as already stated, reads "*sexcenti sexdecim*," the Vulgate *sexcenti sexaginta sex*: "and Apoc. 22:14; where Tichonius reads, "*Beati qui servant mandata hæc*," the Vulgate, "*Beati qui lavant stolas suas in sanguine Agni*."

¹ Harduin iii. 68.

Carthaginian province; in which province he is supposed to have been Bishop of *Adrumetum*.² The manuscript of his works was discovered in the monastery of St. Theuderic near Lyons, in the 16th century; and was published, with a high eulogy on the author prefacing it, by the learned Gagnæus.³ These works are all given in the 10th volume of the B. P. M.; that on the Apocalypse occupying from p. 287 to p. 339.

There is so much of general resemblance in this Apocalyptic Commentary to that of Tichonius, (to which indeed he refers, as also to Augustine, as an exemplar before him at the outset,⁴) that there will be no need to enter so much at large into it, after the full sketch just given of Tichonius. His mention of Jerome's Origenistic saying at the outset, that the Apocalypse has as many mysteries as words, and many hidden meanings too in each word,⁵ is ominous; and might well prepare us for the kind of commentary following. Indeed, his seeking for mysteries has imparted an air of mysteriousness and obscurity to parts of it, such that I do not wonder at Ambrose Ansbert's complaining of its frequent unintelligibility.⁶ What follows will give a sufficient notion of his general views, and of his more remarkable particular explanations.

He begins with stating the objects of the Apocalypse. It needed to be revealed how the Church, then recently founded by the apostles, was destined to be extended; (for it was to have the world for an inheritance;) that so the preachers of the truth, though few and weak and poor as regards this world, might yet boldly make aggression on the many and the great.¹ Which *Church*, its great subject, was in different parts of the Apocalypse ever prominently though variously depicted:—alike, he says, by the seven Asiatic Churches and seven candlesticks, and seven stars; (the fitness of the septenary to signify unity being fancifully accounted for;)² by Christ himself, too, as figured on the scene, the Church being Christ's body;³ and yet more by St. John as a representative: (even his opening act of falling as one dead before Christ, being but a type

² So Mosheim, &c.

³ So in his Dedication to the French king, Francis the 1st. B. P. M. x. 142.

⁴ B. P. M. x. 287.—Ambrose Ansbert notices this also. “Post quem (Tichonium) Primasius, Africanæ Ecclesiæ Antisles, ... quinque prædictam Apocalypsim enodavit libris. In quibus, ut ipse asserit, non tam propria quàm aliena contexit; ejusdem scilicet Tichonii bene intellecta deflorans.” Ansbert adds that Primasius borrowed also from Augustine:—“sed et beatæ recordationis Augustini quædam ... capitula annectens.” B. P. M. xiii. 404.

⁵ Ib. x. 288.

⁶ “Fateor multa me in ejus dictis sæpissimè legendo scrutatum esse, nec intellexisse.” Ibid. xiii. 404.

¹ Ib. x. 288.

² B. P. M. x. 289, 290.—*Seven* being a complete number: as man is made up of body and soul; the soul with its *three* parts, heart, soul, mind; the body with its *four*, hot and cold, moist and dry!

³ “Genus à parte,” p. 290. So the Donatist Tichonius, Rule 1.

of the Church dead to the world:)⁴ also, in the other and higher visions next vouchsafed, alike by the heaven, by the figured throne placed in it, by Him that sate on the throne, by the twenty-four elders, and by the four living creatures: which last however may mean the four Evangelists:⁵—“Quod est thronus hoc animalia; hoc et seniores; id est ecclesia.”⁶—I need not suggest the confusion of ideas, and incoherence of interpretation, necessarily arising from this confused generalization, and identification in meaning, of the varied scenic imagery of the Apocalypse.

The *Sealed Book* he explains as meaning either Testament: the Old Testament being, like the side of the Apocalyptic scroll *without* written, outwardly visible; the other the New, like the side *within* written, hidden within the symbols of the Old.⁷ The successive symbols of its six *Seals*, as opened, he expounds very much like Tichonius; with additional conceits however, arising out of his straining to find out yet further mysteries.⁸ Like him, besides noting certain devilish agencies as meant figuratively in the *second*, *third*,¹ and *fourth*² Seals, opposed to Christ and his Church, after their going forth to victory, as figured in the *first*, he also adds Victorinus’ literal solution of the *bella*, *fames*, *pestis*: and like him joins Victorinus in explaining the *fifth* Seal of martyrs generally, the *sixth* Seal, both in general and in detail, of the last persecution,³ towards the end of the last age of the Church: the chronology here passing from the whole period of Christianity generally to its last epoch specially. By which persecution (a persecution I presume by Antichrist, though Antichrist is not indeed mentioned as its author) the world generally, Primasius supposes, is to be oppressed. The elemental convulsions in the Seal he expounds, as might be expected, figuratively.

⁴ “Joannes qui ista vidit, (and when he saw fell at Christ’s feet as dead,) totius ecclesiæ figuram portat.” Ib. 290. So also Victorinus and Tichonius.

⁵ B. P. M. 294, 295.

⁶ Ib. 301.

⁷ Ib. 297.

⁸ E.g. the fitness of a septenary, to signify completeness and unity, is illustrated by the seven moods of a verb in grammar: also by the seven ages distinguishable in the inward and spiritual history of a spiritual man: and yet other similitudes, pp. 297–299.

¹ He translates *chœnix*, like Jerome, by *bilibris*.—Primasius’ Latin version, let me here observe, is not Jerome’s Vulgate. It is more like Tichonius’, though different.

² In the 4th Seal he thus accounts for the specification of the fourth part of the earth, as a scene of injury. The world is divided into two parts, one for God, one for the Devil; and the latter subdivided into three, Pagan, heretics, and false orthodox professing Christians. Now it is the first of these four only, or true Church, that is assailed.

³ “Sexta ætas mundi, oirèa cujus finem novissima persceutio nunciatur.” p. 303. He refers to Isaiah 2:21, “They shall go into the clefts of the rocks, &c.” in illustration of the Church, and her Christian faith, being the world’s refuge under present suffering and future fears.

Like Tichonius, again, he interprets alike the 144,000⁴ and the palm-bearing white-robed⁵ company to mean the whole Church of the elect; and interprets the four angels of the winds (a point unnoticed by the former expositor) to be the four winds spoken of by Daniel as striving on the agitated scene of the four great empires: while the Angel from the East symbolizes Christ *at his first coming*, restraining by the power of his gospel-preaching the hostile powers; this being the stone cut out of the mountain, which was to smite, and in fine destroy, the great image.⁶ The great tribulation out of which the palm-bearers were to come he explains generally by the text, “We must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God;” not with reference to any final tribulation. And their predicated happiness he does not, like Tichonius, confine to the Church in its present state, though he seems to include it; but refers such particulars as, “God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes,” to the Church’s future bliss.—*The half-hour’s silence* he explains with his two predecessors of the beginning of the saints’ eternal rest.

In the *Trumpets* he still follows Tichonius. Throughout the time of the Church’s preaching-voice, fulfilling the Angel’s trumpet-blowings, there would be the destruction of the earthly-minded temporally or spiritually in God’s wrath; by the Devil’s burning fury; by the falling to earth, and consequent embittering of the streams of doctrine, of many once in the ecclesiastical heaven: as also by the obscuration in part of the Church’s light; and by heretical teachers too, and false prophets, with venom-distilling tails, like those of the scorpion-locusts of the 5th Trumpet:—until, under the 6th Trumpet, or in the 6th age, the four *winds* (this should be marked) would be loosed from long partial confinement in the mystical river of Babylon; (this corresponding with the loosing of the Devil, mentioned in Apoc. 20, after the millennium;) and with the force of eight myriads,¹ or myriads of myriads, including both heretics and the whole body of the wicked, urge during the fated “hour, day, month, and year,” or quadripartite period of the 3½ years, the last and great persecution.²

In the vision of the *rainbow-crowned Angel* of Apoc. 10. Primasius combines Victorinus’ and Tichonius’ explanations. The Angel he explains to be Christ; the opened book the New Testament; the seven thunders the Church’s preaching; the sealing a proper reservation of its truths such as Christian discretion might dictate. Again, Christ’s charge to John to eat the book, and prophecy

⁴ On the mysteries of the names of the twelve Jewish tribes, as applied to the Christian Church. Primasius has not less than three folio pages, from 305 to 308. He speaks of Dan as if a tribe included, not excluded, p. 306. Yet at p. 314 he notices the current notion of Antichrist being born of the tribe of Dan.

⁵ The robes being made white, after neglect of the grace of baptism, by the grace of the Lamb, or perhaps by martyrdom; the palms figuring the triumph of the cross. 308, 309.

⁶ p. 304.

¹ I am not aware that any manuscript, or any Expositor but Primasius, exhibits the various reading, οκτω μυριαδες. He notices the common reading of *two myriads of myriads* as that given by Tichonius.

² Primasius thinks that the *fire* and *sulphur* out of the mystical horses’ mouths may refer to the *hell* whence their doctrine came, and whither it led, p. 312. Tichonius had explained them of the blasphemies uttered.

again, he explains as true both of John personally, by the publication of his Apocalypse and Gospel, so as Victorinus would have it, and of the Church's preaching always, so as Tichonius; a sweetness resulting to the preacher where the word is received by the hearer, and pain and bitterness where it is rejected and in vain.—The *measuring the temple* follows naturally; signifying, as it does, the informing and instructing the Church, especially in matters concerning the altar, or Christian faith.—Further, as to the *two Apocalyptic Witnesses*, their testifying included both the Church's witness, with the two Testaments, throughout the whole time of Christianity; that being the mystical sense of the 42 months,¹ as Tichonius had previously set forth;² and also specially their witness, and that of Elias, in the first half of Daniel's last hebdomad;³ very much as Victorinus. The witnesses' death he explains as occurring in the *literal* Jerusalem: this death including the hiding of living Christians in secret refuge-places from Antichrist's violence, as well as the death of others: the 3½ *days* of their exposure as dead being the 3½ *years* of Antichrist.

In the vision of the *Woman and Dragon* we still see Tichonius' track followed. It is the Church bringing forth Christ *in his members*; and the Devil wielding the supremacy of this world's dominion, and seeking to devour the *new man*: which new man is as it were caught up to God's throne; because his conversation, as Paul says, is in heaven. The wilderness where the woman is nourished is this world of her pilgrimage; the two wings sustaining her, the two Testaments; the 1260 days' period of her sojourning, both that of the Christian dispensation generally, and specially the 3½ years of Antichrist.—Again, as to the *Beast*, of Apoc. 13 it is the whole mass of the reprobate, making up the Devil's body; the last of its heads being *Antichrist*, under whom *fully* and *specially* the Devil will act out his purposes. Primasius, like others before and after him, strongly marks this Antichrist's affected impersonation of, or substitution of himself for, Christ; and blasphemous appropriation to himself of Christ's proper dignity.¹—*The Image of the Beast*

¹ 314.—By construing the 42 months and 3½ years literally, as well as mystically, and speaking of its having reference to the last persecution, (see p. 332 *suprà*,) Tichonius too seems to have intended to mark the witnessing under Elias; whom he makes to be the wings sustaining the woman of Apoc. 12 of the last persecution. But, he does not express this.

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

³ Through which, adds Primasius, the Jews are to believe on Jesus Christ, p. 315. He means, I suppose, the Jews *generally*, not universally. For respecting the Beast that kills the witnesses, i.e. Antichrist, he explains the *abyss* whence he is to rise as the "latebræ nequitæ cordis Judæorum." 314.—Primasius does not specify any individual companion to Elias.

Daniel's seventy weeks' prophecy, let me observe, Primasius, pp. 314, 315, supposes to refer to Christ's first coming mainly. But he is so obscure in part of his explanations that I am unable clearly to comprehend his meaning. For, though speaking of the 70 weeks, he yet makes Christ's coming after 62, and then allots the last week to the events of the consummation. Did he suppose the remaining seven to be the time from Christ's birth to his death?

¹ "Ut publicè audeat blasphemare, quando dignitatem ei (Christo) specialiter debitam sibi ausus fuerit adsignare; et, contrarius Christo, se velit pro eo accipiendum vel vi ingerere, vel fraude supponere." lb.

(the *second two-horned Beast*) Primasius seems to view as the *ecclesiastical præpositi*, or rulers, hypocritically feigning likeness to the Lamb, in order the better to war against him:² and (somewhat as Tichonius too explained it) by the *mask of a Christian profession*, under which mask the Devil puts himself before men, acting out the Mediator.³ He gives for the Beast's name and number, 666, the words *αντεμος* and *αρνουμε*:⁴ the former from Victorinus; the latter from, or antecedently to, the pseudo-Hippolytus.

The *Vials*, now filled with God's wrath, he views as the same that were previously seen held by the twenty-four elders, or seven Trumpet-Angels, full of the prayers of saints:⁵ for, to the wicked such prayers "are a savour of death unto death in them that perish." They signify generally God's spiritual judgments on them. Under the sixth Vial Primasius speaks of Christ as *the king (regi, in the singular,)* from the East, or sun-rising:⁶ and of the way as now prepared for his coming to judgment, by nothing of good remaining, and the earth being, as in the parallel symbol Apoc. 14:15, dried up in readiness for burning.—In Apoc. 17, the Woman means the worldly, reprobate, or evil body; the desert in which she appears *God's absence*: (a striking sentiment!)⁷ the ten horns of the Beast she rides on, Daniel's ten kings just preceding Antichrist; the diadems seen upon them marking them out as then the alone reigning powers. The seven hills indicate *Rome*; but Rome only as a type of the ruling power and dominion.¹ The destruction of Babylon in Apoc. 18 is of course the destruction of all worldly, Christ-opposing powers.

319.—And again, p. 326; "Contrarius Christo (quod et nomen ejus Antichristus indicat) se velit haberi pro Christo."

² "Agnum fingit ut Agnum invadat." Ibid. The want of distinction between the two Beasts and the Dragon or Devil, continually appears. So of the second Beast. "Bestia cum duobus cornibus, quæ est pars Bestiæ, facit Bestiam adorare Bestiam."

³ "Sathanas transfiguratur se velut angelum lucis, exhibens suis fallaciter solo nomine Christum. Porro ipse et suum et mediatoris implet locum; quod mediatorem non habet, nisi simulacrum Christi. Ipsam insimulationem dieit Bestiam habere plagam gladii, ut vivere ... Tres itaque, diabolus, bestia velut occisa, populus cum præpositis suis, duo sunt mediante imagine." Ibid. It is hard indeed in such passages to catch Primasius' meaning.

⁴ For *αρνουμαι*, *I deny*; as a Christ-denying profession. The pronunciation of *αι* as *ε* is here indicated.—Primasius here adds sundry other numeral conceits.

⁵ So Primasius, p. 323, by a strange mistake; the Angel in Apoc. 8:3 who had the incense of the prayers of all the saints, being quite distinct from the seven Angels of Apoc. 8:2.

⁶ So reading *τω βασιλει*, for *τοις βασιλευσι*. p. 324.

⁷ "Desertum ponit Divinitatis abs entiam, cujus præsentia paradus est." Ib. 325.

¹ p. 326.—This view is a little like that which Dr. Arnold and the Rev. T. K. Arnold, following certain German expositors, have advocated in our own day:—the thing symbolized being symbolic of something else.

The *millennium* Primasius expounds as Augustine and Tichonius; the new heavens and earth, and the new Jerusalem, as a new world, so changed from the old as may befit the saints in their new bodies; i. e. after their own resurrection, and the condemnation of the wicked.²

2. The venerable *Bede* comes next in our list of Apocalyptic expositors; the date of his death, in the Northumbrian monastery of which he was the ornament, being A.D. 735, at the age of 63.

At the outset of his Commentary his full citation of the seven rules of Tichonius prepares the reader for its general *Tichonian* character. It has however points of peculiarity in certain passages worth the notice.

The figures of the opening vision of Christ and the seven candlesticks, or Churches, together with the letters to those Churches,³ are explained much as by Tichonius or Primasius; the latter of which expositors is also often referred to by Bede. Of the new vision commencing in Apoc. 4 his expository views, as to order and subject, are thus stated: “Descriptis ecclesiæ operibus, quæ et qualis futura esset, recapitulat à Christi nativitate, eadem aliter dicturus.⁴ Totum enim tempus ecclesiæ variis in hoc libro figuris repetit.”

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

In the sealing vision of Apoc. 7 the 4 Angels of the winds are construed by Bede as the 4 great prophetic empires; whom Christ, the Angel from the East, restrains, in so far as the sealing or the care of his saints may require it: the 144,000 of Israel signifying the whole number of the redeemed;³ and the palm-bearing vision their glory after death, more especially that of the saints

² “Judicatis impiis atque damnatis, figura hujus mundi mundanorum ignium conflagratione præteribit; ... ut, eælo et terrâ in melius commutatis, ... mundus, in melius innovatus, aptè accommodetur hominibus in melius innovatis;” i.e. with “bodies incorrupt and immortal.” ib. 331.

³ Some, he says on Apoc. 2:10, explained *the ten days’ tribulation* of the ten Pagan persecutions from Nero to Diocletian. So Augustine, I think, somewhere suggests.

⁴ The recapitulation, he says in his Preface, is generally after the 6th part in prophetic series.

¹ See p. 324. Bede’s version is in fact the Vulgate.

² For he gives *their* explanation with the reading.

³ After 3 *pages* in development of this *mystical* and *Christian* view of the 144,000 of the sealed of Israel, Bede adds on the *literal* and *Judaic* view in 3 lines; “Potest et sic intelligi, quod, enumeratis tribubus Israel quibus evangelium primo prædicatum est, salvationem quoque velit commemorare gentium.” I observe that Mr. C. Maitland, p. 297, cites this from Bede without any notice of Bede’s other and

victorious over Antichrist.—As to the half-hour's silence after the opening of the 7th Seal, Bede suggests that it may answer to the 45 days mentioned in Dan. 12, intervening, according to Jerome,⁴ between Antichrist's destruction and the commencement of the saints' reign. An original explanation, I believe.

The Trumpets Bede explains generally like Tichonius and Primasius. The following points of detail may be remarked as interesting, and mostly original. The seven trumpet-blasts of the Church's preaching he compares with those after which the walls of Jericho fell.—In the 1st Trumpet, symbolizing the destruction of the impious by fire and hail, he refers it to the torments of hell, combining the transition from icy cold to fiery heat.⁵—After the 4th Trumpet the voice of the *eagle* flying through mid-heaven, with its cry of Woe, is the voice of preachers forewarning men of Antichrist's being near at hand;—"In the last days perilous times shall come:" "And then shall that Wicked One be revealed," &c.: after which the day of judgment.—On Apoc. 9:6, "In those days men shall seek death, &c.," he cites illustratively Cyprian's remark respecting the Decian persecution, "Volentibus mori non permittebatur occidi."—In the 6th Trumpet the 4 Angels loosed are explained as the same with those holding the winds in Apoc. 7; the plague being that of Antichrist and his heretical ministers loosed from the Euphrates, or river of Babylon, against the Church; and the hour, day, month, and year signifying the evil spirits' constant preparedness for destroying men.—The rainbow-crowned angel vision in Apoc. 10 is inserted with a new recapitulation, to signify the preparation made by Christ's first coming for the destruction of the Adversary:—Christ's feet like pillars of fire answering to Peter, James, and John, who seemed pillars of the Church; the planting them on sea and land, the preaching the gospel over either; and the seven thunders the Church-preachings under influence of the divine septiform Spirit; with reservation of its mysteries from all but fit hearers.—In this Bede follows Primasius.

In the Vision of the two Witnesses, Apoc. 11, the measuring reed is explained by Bede as the gospel-rule, whereby all but true professors are excluded from the Church, and counted with Gentiles. These tread down the holy City, or Church, not only specially during Antichrist's time,

evidently approved view; which other is repeated by him, without any alternative explanation, on Apoc. 14:1.

⁴ "Quare autem post interfectionem Antichristi quadragessimus quintus dierum silentium sit, divinæ scientiæ est." So Jerome, using the word *silentium*; which probably suggested to Bede the explanation.

⁵ "Pœnam gehennæ: ... ad calorem nimium transibunt ab aquis nivium." Compare Milton Par. L. B. ii.

Thither, by harpy-footed furies hal'd,

At certain revolutions all the damn'd

Are brought: and feel by turns the bitter change

Of fierce extremes, extremes by change more fierce,

From beds of raging fire to starve in ice.

When did this idea of hell-torments begin?

but also in a manner always; he being the proper head of which they are the body. Meanwhile the two Witnesses, or Church formed out of the two people of Jews and Gentiles, and with Christ as *their* head, perform their ministry;¹ the 3½ years' time of their sackcloth-robed witness being commensurate with that of the treading down of the Holy City, and especially that of Daniel's abomination of desolation, or Antichrist. Their death signifies Antichrist's all but suppression of the witness during the time of his reign:¹ the great city of their death being the "civitas impiorum" which crucified Christ, and the 3½ *days* of their exposure as dead the 3½ *years* of Antichrist's reign; after the end of which the saints rise to glory.²

As to the *Beast* in Apoc. 13 and 17, its body is the whole body of the wicked, its last head Antichrist: the *2nd lamb-like Beast*, meaning Antichrist's pseudo-Christian false prophets;³ and what is said of their persuading men to make an *image* of the Beast, the persuading men to imitate and become like him. As to the city of Antichrist's origin Bede notes doubtingly the idea of its being the literal Babylon.⁴ His name, like Primasius, he explains as τειταν, αντεμος, or αρνουμε.—The contrasted 144,000 with the Lamb on Mount Zion, he explains (as before in Apoc. 7) not as mere virgins, but the whole faithful Church of Christ.

Of the *millennium* Bede sets forth of course the now universally received spiritual view, which had been first propounded by Jerome and Augustine.

Bede introduces his Apocalyptic Commentary by a versified sketch of what he viewed as its general purport and more characteristic points:⁵ and he concludes by a request to the reader for

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

¹ This view deserves to be remarked. Not, says Bede, that they do not still (i.e. after the Beast's conquering and killing them) resist the enemy with their testimony; but because the Church is then left destitute of its virtues, the adversary outshining it with his lying signs and miracles:—"Non quòd tunc eodem testimonio non nitantur hosti fortiter resistendo; sed quòd tunc ecclesia virtutum gratiâ destituenda credatur, adversario palam signis mendacii coruscante."

The not suffering their bodies to be put in graves he thus explains. "Votum eorum dixit, et impugnationem ... Facient autem perspicuè de *vivorum occisorum* que corporibus: quia nec vivos sinent sacra celebrando in memoriam colligi, nec occisos in memoriam recitari, nec eorum corpora in memoriam Dei testium sepeliri."

² "Et post 3½ dies, &c. Angelus nunc indueit factum quod futurum audit, *regno Antichristi perduto* sanctos resurrexisse ad gloriam."

³ So too Gregory i.; ap. Malv. i. 425.

⁴ "De Babylone natum." So, he says on Apoc. 17, "quidam."

⁵ The reader may be interested to see these introductory verses. I therefore subjoin them:

Exul ab humano dum pellitur orbe Johannes,

Et vetitur Coici est cernere regna soli,

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

3. *Ambrose Ansbert* is my next Latin Expositor. He fixes his own æra to about A.D. 760 or 770. For he dedicates his Apocalyptic Commentary at its commencement to Pope Stephen; and at the end tells us that it was written in the times of Pope Paul, and of Desiderius, king of the Lombards.¹ Now Desiderius was king of the Lombards from 756 to 774; in which year he was defeated, and the Lombard kingdom overthrown by Charlemagne. Also Pope Stephen III died in 757, Pope Paul

Intrat ovans cœli Domino dilectus in aulam,
Regis et altithroni gaudet adesse choris.
Hic ubi subjectum sacra lumina vertit in orbem,
Currere fluctivagas cernit ubique rates;
Et Babel et Solymam mixtis conflagere castris;
Hinc atque hinc vicibus tela fugamque capi.
Sed mitem sequitur miles qui candidus Agnum,
Cum duce percipiat regna bcata poli.
Squameus est Anguis: per Tartara cæca maniplos
Submergit flammis peste fameque suos.
Hujus quæ facies, studiumve, ordove duelli,
Ars quæ, quæve phalanx, palma, vel arma forent,
Pandere dum cuperem, veterum sata læta peragrans,
Excerpsi eampis germina pauca sacris
Copia ne potior generet fastidia mensis,
Convivam aut tenuem tanta parare vetet.
Nostra tuis ergo sapiant si fercula labris,
Regnanti laudes da super astra Deo.
Sin alias, animos tamen amplexatus amicos,
Quæ cano corripieus pumice frange, rogo.

¹ B. P. M. xiii. 403, 657.

in 767, Pope Stephen IV his successor in 772.² He further tells us in his Postscript, that he was a native of Provence in Gaul; and had become a monk of the monastery of St. Vincent in Samnium.³ Elsewhere he mentions that he had to write the comment with his own hands, the aid of a *notary* not being afforded him.⁴ The Commentary is a copious one, occupying some 250 folio pages in the Bibliotheca; viz. from p. 403 to p. 657 of its xiiiith volume. He makes mention of *Victorinus* as the earliest Apocalyptic expositor among the Latins; and as expurgated and altered by Jerome: also of the two next as *Tichonius* and *Primasius*:—a specification satisfactory, as showing us that we still possess all the earliest Latin expositors on this Book. A few detached notices on it are also mentioned by him as occurring in the works of Augustine and Pope Gregory the 1st.¹

In his comment Ambrose Ansbert treads in the steps of Tichonius and Primasius so closely, that there seems to be as little need as in the case of Primasius to give lengthened details. At the outset he recognizes John's representative character,—representative of *the Church* generally, of *holy preachers* particularly:² also the principle of *the Church* (or at least its *prelates*) being figured in the twenty-four elders: and all comprehended indeed in Christ himself too, as being his body; the 24 thrones being thus included, as if one with it, in the circuit of Christ's own throne.³ The seven-sealed Book Ansbert views with his predecessors as the Old and New Testament; the Old written without.⁴ An ominous notice of the seven different modes of expounding, viz. the *historic, allegoric, mixt historic and allegoric, mystical, parabolic*, that which *discriminates between Christ's first and second coming*, and that which "*geminam præceptorum retinet qualitatem, id est vitæ agendæ vitæque figurandæ*," is developed in some six folio pages preceding his exposition of the Seals.⁵—In which exposition of the *Seals*, while explaining the 1st, as usual, of the progress of Christ and his gospel, it is *spiritual* evils that he considers chiefly symbolized in those that follow. His chief difference from his predecessors is in making the rider of the black horse in the third Seal, with a pair of balances, to mean the Devil and his followers deceitfully weighing the world against Christ, so as to cheat men with the idea of the world being

² Trithemius strangely writes of his age; "Claruit sub Arnolodo Imperatore A.D. 890." Quoted B. P. M. xiii. 403.

³ Ibid. 657.

⁴ "Quia in hoc tam laborioso opere notariorum solatia deesse mihi videntur, ea quæ dictavero manu propria exarare contendo." p. 408. He was in this respect less fortunate than Joachim Abbas afterwards.

¹ p. 404.

² p. 407.

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

⁴ p. 469.

⁵ Ib. 470–475. I think Ambrose Ansbert will be found sometimes as difficult of understanding by modern readers as he tells us he found Primasius.

the more valuable;⁶ also, in the fourth Seal, in making Death and the pale horse that he rides to mean the Devil killing men's souls by means of heretical teachers. In which Seal, let me observe, he reads with Jerome and Bede "on the four parts of the earth," not "the fourth part."¹ Further, it is observable that under the sixth Seal he makes the rocks of refuge in the last great persecution, and under fears of the approaching day of judgment, to be "*suffragia sanctorum*;" that is, of departed saints and of angels. For, says he, even with regard to "the elect," and the good works that may have preceded, yet "necesse est ut semper ad eœlestium civium confugiamus latibula; id est Angelorum intercessionibus ab irâ Judicantis nos deprecemur liberari."² So does the taint of angel and saint worship, then current, appear on the face of this Apocalyptic Exposition.—In the scenic figuration next following the angels of the winds are explained as the evil spirits acting in the four great idolatrous empires, so as by Primasius; and the 144,000 as the mystic number of the elect: the numeral 12, here squared, having parallelism with the 12,000 stadia measure of the new Jerusalem.

Proceeding to the *Trumpets*, he makes the preparatory *half-hour's silence* to be that of the Church's silent contemplation: (a *half-hour*, not a *whole* hour, because in this state its contemplation can never be perfect:) and then (first I believe of expositors) compares the seven Trumpet-soundings with those of the jubilee-trumpets under the old law: as also those sounded on the seven days' compassing of Jericho;—Jericho, the type in its fall of that of this world.³—Inconsistently with what he had said before of the need of the "suffrages of the saints," he explains the Angel-Priest with the incense-offering so as Tichonius, Primasius, and Bede before him, to be Christ our Mediator.⁴ In the 5th Trumpet he suggests that the specification of "hair as the *hair of women*" might refer to the fact of women having been so often misled by, and given patronage to, heretics: e. g. Constantine's sister, and afterwards Justina, in the case of Arius and the Arian heresy; Priscilla in that of Montanus; Lucilla in that of Donatus.¹ In the 6th Trumpet he

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

¹ "Hunc super quatuor partes terræ potestatem accepisse denuntiat." On which he comments, as meant of the four divisions on the Devil's side,—heathen, Jewish, heretic, and that of false profession within the Church. Ansbert does not seem to have been aware of any other reading. This is the rather to be observed, because, though he used the common Vulgate Latin version, yet it was here and there with variations; as in Apoc. 17:16, noticed p. 352 Note ⁴ infra.

² Ib. 487.

³ Ib. 497. He notices this with unusual brevity: "Has certe Angelorum tubas illæ præsignabant quæ in Jubilæi usibus per Moysem factæ fuisse memorantur. Quibus septem dierum circuitu clangentibus, in typum hujus sæculi, muri Jericho eccidisse narrantur."

⁴ This their concurrent explanation should be noted, in controversy with the Romanists. Ansbert cites 1 John 2:1; "If any man sin we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous."

¹ Ib. 503.

supposes the four Euphratean Angels to be identical with the four Angels of the winds in Apoc. 7;² and the hour, day, month, and year to be equivalent to the 3½ years; like Primasius and other expositors before him.

After this I see no variation from Primasius worth noticing, either in the exposition of the *rainbow-crowned Angel's* figuration in Apoc. 10 or that of *the Witnesses* in Apoc. 11. Indeed he often quotes at length from Primasius, though without acknowledgment; for example in the exposition of the verse, "Thou must prophesy again," as applicable both to John specially, and the Church universally.³ The two Witnesses also he makes to be the Church preachers generally, as well as Enoch and Elias specially;⁴ reproving Victorinus for suggesting Jeremiah in the special case, instead of Enoch.⁵ The great city in which the Witnesses would be slain might be either the world, or the earthly literal Jerusalem: their witnessing time of 1260 days (= 3½ years) either, mystically, the whole time of Christ's Church witnessing; (*a period borrowed from the 3½ years that was the whole time of Christ's ministry*);⁶ or 1260 days literally: the 3½ *days'* apparent death of the witnesses being the 3½ *years* of the last persecution. Following speedily on which will be the 7th Trumpet of the last judgment, at Christ's coming.⁷—In Apoc. 12, he expounds the travelling Woman, both of the Virgin Mary and the Church, specially and generally.—On Apoc. 13 he makes Antichrist to be the eighth head of the Beast, accordantly alike with the symbol of the Beast from the sea in Apoc. 13 one of whose seven heads had been wounded to death but revived; and also with the Angel's explanatory observation to that effect in Apoc. 17.¹ The second or two-horned Beast he explains distinctively from the other, like Gregory and Bede as signifying *the preachers and ministers of Antichrist*:² feigning the *lamb*, in order to carry out their hostility against the Lamb: just as Antichrist too, the first Beast's head wounded to death, would, he says,

² "Eosdem angelos qui super quatuor angulos ventos, terræ ne flarent, alligatos tenebant, in flumine magno Euphrate vinetos perhibuit." p. 505.

³ See the full quotation at p. 154 of my 2nd Volume.

⁴ So, he says, Jerome and Pope Gregory. lb. 522.

⁵ See my p. 293 Note ⁶.

⁶ So at p. 537, in his notice of the woman's flight into the wilderness for 3½ times. "Cur autem hoc totum ecclesiæ tempus tribus annis et sex mensibus generaliter designetur patet ratio; propter evangelicam scilicet prædicationem, [sc. by Christ,] quæ trium temporum et dimidii spatii edita fuisse cognoscitur."—I do not remember to have seen any such reason given for this mystical sense in Ansbert's predecessors.—Elsewhere, p. 545, Ansbert compares the equivalent 42 months to Israel's 42 stations in the wilderness.

⁷ pp. 526, 528.

¹ p. 542.

² So p. 541: repeated again p. 548, "quia soli præpositi prædicatores atque ministri Antichristi." Here he also nearly follows Irenæus.

exhibit himself *pro Christo*,³ in Christ's place. The "bringing fire from heaven," he explains as pretending, and seeming to men, to have the power of giving the Holy Spirit, such as Simon Magus wished to obtain by money;⁴ and that the second Beast would, by its preachings, signs, and dogmas, make men believe that the Holy Spirit resided in Antichrist.⁵ (This idea seems to me original, and deserving of remark.) Also that the *Beast's image* meant Antichrist, as pictured to themselves by men (after the antichristian preachers' teaching) to be Christ's image, though really the Devil's image.—On the Beast's *mark* he observes, that its being required on the forehead meant a man's profession; on the hand, his acts: and that this was the case even *within* the Church, in the case of false professors. Further, as names containing the number 666, he mentions Irenæus' τειταν, as well as those in Victorinus and his interpolator, αντεμος, γενσηρικος: there being added for the first time a *Latin* solution also, (a very curious one,) DIC LUX.⁶

After the *Vials*, in which nothing appears to me observable, but that he makes the *ulcer* of the first Vial to be *infidelity*, (such as with the Jews and Pagans,⁷) the subject comes up again in Apoc. 17, of the Beast and the Harlot riding him. Here Ansbert speaks of the old notion that *the Beast that was and is not* meant Nero, once one of seven Roman emperors, and destined to rise again in the character of Antichrist, as "absurd:"¹ adding that the Beast (answering to Antichrist's body) had in fact existed from the beginning in Cain, and the wicked afterwards; and that it might be said *to have been*, and *not be*, and *yet be*, because of the fleeting and successive generations in whom he rose and fell of evil men.²—Of the seven kings symbolized by the Beast's seven heads, of which five had fallen, his solution is certainly as "*absurd*" as that he ridicules:—viz. that, as in man the five senses exist before reason, and then, on reason's unfolding, man's sixth and mature age begins, to be improved to the man's salvation, or abused to his destruction, so in its sixth age, then current, the world had come to its maturity; and, preferring error,³ that so in the

³ Ib. 544.

⁴ "Quos ut illi ministri Sathanæ facilius decipere possint, coram ipsis Spiritum sanctum dare se simulant; ... sicut dudum Simon Magus, &c." p. 549.

⁵ "Quomodo intelligendum est dare illi spiritum, nisi quia sive prædicationibus, seu signis et miraculis, suadere hominibus conatur spiritu prophetiæ plenum esse Antichristum?" p. 550.

⁶ p. 552. Mr. C. Maitland (p. 319) erroneously inscribes the invention of this to *Rupert*, three or four centuries later. Ansbert speaks of it as his own discovery; "invenimus."

⁷ p. 576.—Let me add that the Euphrates, the river of Babylon, will, he considers, be dried up when its power to injure and persecute is dried up; and that thus the way will be prepared for Christ the King from the East, according to Primasius' reading of the word in the singular; or, if in the plural, for the apostles and ministers of the Church. Ib. 580 and 581.

¹ Ib. 592.

² Ibid. So Tichonius. See p. 334 *suprà*.

³ p. 593.

seventh would come Antichrist.⁴—On the *millennium* he of course follows his two predecessors and Augustine. And the *New Jerusalem*, and its blessings, he explains partly of the Church's present blessings; partly of those to be enjoyed in its future and heavenly state.⁵

4. Early in the next, or 9th century, flourished *Haymo*, Bishop of Halberstadt; who wrote an Apocalyptic Commentary which forms a thick substantial duodecimo, (i.e. in the princeps Editio printed at Cologne, A.D. 1529,) after collation, it is said, of many manuscript codices. But I do not see need to cite from or refer to it at any length. For I have found it, on examination, to be very mainly copied or abridged from Ambrose Ansbert. There is scarce a chapter in which the examiner will not observe this.—I shall therefore only mention four notabilia in his Commentary;—1st, that in Apoc. 6:8, on the 4th Seal, he reads like Jerome,⁶ Bede, and Ambrose Ansbert, “*super quatuor partes terræ, on the four parts of the earth,*” not *the fourth part*; explaining it as meant either of the reprobates in all the four parts of the earth, or the four great kingdoms of prophecy: (he does not seem to have been aware of any different rendering:)—2. that in support of his view of the 3½ *days* of the two Witnesses lying dead meaning 3½ *years*, he cites (first I believe of expositors) the well-known passage from *Ezekiel 4*, as well as that from Numbers 14:—3. that the reading first given by him in Apoc. 17:16 is “*cornua quæ vidisti in Bestiâ,*” επι το θηριον; there being noticed however by him afterwards the other reading “*reges et Bestia,*” given by Ansbert, or και το θηριον:—4. that on Apoc. 18:3, speaking of the reprobated merchandise of Babylon, he applies it to those who then sold their souls for lordships and *bishoprics*; “*comitatus et episcopatus, æterasque dignitates hujus sæculi.*”

I now turn to Primasius' and Ambrose Ansbert's two chief contemporary expositors in the GREEK Church and empire; viz. *Andreas*, and his follower *Arethas*.

5. *Andreas* was Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia. His age is said by Bellarmine, and also by Peltan the Jesuit, in his Preface to the first printed Edition of *Andreas' Apocalyptic Commentary*,¹ to have been uncertain; save only that it was later than Basil, the famous Father of the fourth century, since *Andreas* quotes him. By Cave and Lardner,² while admitting its uncertainty, he is

⁴ Ansbert reads in verse 16 “the ten horns *and* the Beast;” (τα δεκα κερατα και το θηριον.) not, as the common copies of Jerome's Vulgate, “the ten horns *on* the Beast,” επι το θηριον.

⁵ So on the river of life; “Possunt cuncta hæc non inconvenienter ad præsens tempus referri, quo, ad instar Paradisi, prædicationis flumine sancta rigatur ecclesia” p. 646. At p. 647, however, on the absence of the curse, he explains it as fulfilled “in illâ æternâ felicitate,” &c.

⁶ Haymo used the Latin Vulgate version; but often notices other various readings.

¹ Prefixed to the original Edition in Greek, which is appended to Commelin's Edition (A.D. 1696) of Chrysostom's Commentaries on St. Paul's Epistles; also to Peltan's Latin Translation in the B. P. M. 589–635.

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

assigned to the latter part of the fifth century. And so too Professor M. Stuart.³ But I think internal evidence is not wanting to fix his date a half-century at least, if not a whole century, later.

For *first*, besides other authors, he quotes *Dionysius*, the so-called Areopagite;⁴ one whose work is cited by no authority of known earlier chronology than the middle of the sixth century.⁵ *Secondly*, after noticing (under the fourth Seal) a pestilence and famine in the Emperor Maximin's territory, at the close of the Diocletian persecution, in which dogs were wont to be killed that they might not prey on the unburied corpses, Andreas speaks of the very same things having occurred in his own time; "Και εν τη ήμετερα δε γενεα τουτων εκαστον συμβαν εγνωμεν."—a statement scarcely applicable except to a time of very aggravated pestilence and mortality; and most exactly applicable to the æra of the great and almost universal plague and mortality under Justinian, prolonged from A.D. 542 to 594; during which it is expressly on record that corpses were frequently left unburied.¹—*Thirdly*, while recording *generally* the calamities experienced by the generation then living, from barbarians invading the province or empire,² Andreas more than once *particularly* specifies the *Persians* as persecutors and slaughterers of Christians, both long previously, and even up to the time when he wrote; also their having been ever given up to magic (μαγειαις) and superstitions:³—statements well applicable to the period of Nushirvan's invasion

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

⁴ Viz. on Apoc. 4:8.

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

¹ Gibb. vii. 421. I have noticed this famous pestilence in my Vol. i. p. 399.

² So on the sixth Seal, speaking of Christian Churches, and rulers both secular and ecclesiastical, fleeing from place to place, in the time of the "Pseudo-Christ" or Antichrist, in order to escape his persecution, he adds; ών και ήμεις, προ της αυτου παρουσιας, δι' αμαρτιας ... πεπειραμεθα. And on the 4th Vial, Apoc. 16:9, he speaks of many of his fellow-citizens of the Eastern Empire impeaching God's goodness for allowing such calamities to their particular generation; ως και νυν ορᾶν εξεστι πολλους τοις κυκλωσασιν ήμας εκ βαρβαρικων χειρων αρρητοις δεινοις ασχαλλοντας, την θειαν αιτιασθαι αγαθοτητα οτι τας τοσαυτας κακωσεις τη ήμετερα γενεα τετηρηκεν.

³ On Apoc. 18:21–24, after stating the reason of the Apocalyptic Babylon's doomed utter destruction to be its having deceived all nations with its sorceries, and shed the blood of saints and prophets, Andreas thus states the applicability of these characteristics to the Persian capital Ctesiphon; Δι ών άπαντων την ασεβη παρα Περσαις Βαβυλωνα δηλουσθαι εικος, ως πολλων κατα διαφορους καιρους μεχρι του νυν δεξαμενην αιματα, και ως μαγειαις και απαταις διηνεκως χαιρουσαν· though the distinctly *Roman* origin and local empire of Daniel's Antichrist forbade his resting on this solution of the prophetic symbol. Again on Apoc. 17:6 he similarly characterizes the then Persian rulers and capital; Κυριωτερωσ δε και ή παρα Περσαις το κρατος εχουσα και Βαβυλων και πορνη προσαγορευεται· adding; τας εν Περσιδι τουτων [μαρτυρων] κολασεις τις αν εξαριθμησαιτο;

of the Syrian province, A.D. 546, or of his last brief war with the Romans, A.D. 572; and still more to that of Chosroes' invasion and desolation of Cappadocia and other Roman provinces, in the year 611.⁴ On the other hand there is no notice whatever of Mahommedism or the Saracens; who in the year 636 A.D. finally overthrew both the Persian empire and the religion of the Magi.—*Fourthly*, on Apoc. 17:1–3, Andreas argues against *ancient Rome* being meant “as the city which now reigns over the kings of the earth,” because of its having *some long time before* lost its imperial dignity:¹ a statement scarcely applicable to the time of Theodorie, A.D. 500, when Rome

⁴ The following chronological sketch (taken from Gibbon) of the Roman wars with Persia will illustrate what has been said: a sketch commencing from the æra of the great Theodosius, and his peace with Persia about 390 A.D.

A.D. 422, a slight alarm of Persian war; which however scarcely disturbed the tranquillity of the East. A Christian Bishop having in 420 destroyed a fire-temple at Susa, (the then Persian capital,) the Magi excited a cruel persecution of Christians in Persia. This was in the last year of Yezdegerd's reign, and first of his son Bahram's. Armenia and Mesopotamia were filled with hostile armies; but no memorable acts followed. A truce for 100 years was agreed on; and the main conditions of the treaty were respected for nearly 80 years: i.e. till about A.D. 502. Gibbon v. 428.

A.D. 502–505. A short Persian war; in which Amida was taken by the Persians, Edessa vainly assaulted, and “the unhappy frontier tasted the full measure of the calamities of war.” A peace followed; and Dara was built by the Romans near Nisibis: which for some years proved on that part of the frontier an effective defence. Gibb. vii. 188, &c.

A.D. 540. Nushirvan (also called Chosroes) invades Syria, takes Antioch, its capital, slaughters the people, pillages the churches, and sacrifices to the *Magian* god, the sun.—A.D. 541, 512, he is forced beyond the Euphrates by Belisarius; and, Dara and Edessa having shortly afterwards successfully resisted a Persian attack, “the calamities of war were suspended by those of *pestilence*; and a tacit or formal agreement between the two sovereigns protected the tranquillity of the Eastern frontier.” Gibb. vii. 311–318. In Colchos the war still continued, till A.D. 561; when a peace of fifty years was agreed on. Ib. 339.—A.D. 572–579. Renewal of war. Dara taken; Syria overrun and despoiled; *Cæsarea* (in Cappadocia) *threatened*; till in the battle of Militene the tide of success turned in favour of the Romans.—A.D. 579, Nushirvan's death. Gibb. viii. 175–177.

Shortly after this Chosroes, Nushirvan's grandson, under the pressure of civil war, fled for refuge to the Romans; and was soon with their aid restored. On Phocas' murder of the Emperor Maurice, and usurpation of the Eastern empire, Chosroes, A.D. 603, invades the empire; A.D. 611 conquers and desolates Syria; then *takes and sacks Cæsarea*; and then, A.D. 614, Jerusalem; the *Magi* and the Jews urging the holy warfare: the sepulchre of Christ is pillaged of the offerings of 300 years, and 90,000 Christians massacred. In 616 Asia Minor is overrun again to the Bosphorus; and for some six or eight years the Persian dominion, and its *Magian worship of fire*, established; the Christians meanwhile being persecuted and oppressed: till Heraclius's celebrated repulse of the Persians, and victories in 622. Gibb. viii. 217, &c.

¹ Ἡ γὰρ παλαιὰ Ῥώμη ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ τῆς βασιλείας κρατοῦς ἀπεβαλεν· εἰ μὴ ὑποθωμεθὰ εἰς αὐτὴν τὰ ἀρχαῖον παλιν ἀναστρεφείν ἀξίωμα.

exhibited not a little of its ancient splendour;² but strikingly according with the period from after its ruin by Totilas, about the middle of the sixth century, till the accession of Gregory to the Popedom at the end of that century; when, to use Gibbon's language, Rome had reached the lowest point of depression.³—*Fifthly*, he alludes to the Roman Emperors reigning at Constantinople, as those that had held a rod of power strong as iron for the depression of heathenism:⁴ a characteristic probably referable to the time of Andreas' writing as well as to times previous. In which case the period of the Constantinopolitan Emperor's great depression at the time of Chosroes' invasions, from A.D. 611 to 622, would so seem to be set aside.—*Sixthly*, he speaks of certain Scythian Northern Hunnish nations, as among the most powerful and warlike of the earth:¹—a statement perfectly applicable to the æra of the empire of the White Huns of Bochara and Samarcand: whose kingdom in 488 stretched from the Caspian to the heart of India, when Perozes the Persian king fell in an unfortunate expedition against them;² and continued till their subjugation, about A.D. 550, by the Scythian Turks of Mount Altai.³—On the whole we may date Andreas' Treatise, I think, with some measure of confidence, between A.D. 550 and 579:—about 550, just before the Huns' overthrow by the Turks, if Andreas' word *Hunnish* be construed strictly: about 575, if the word seem applicable also to the cognate race of the Turks.⁴

² See Gibbon vii. 29, 30.

³ Gibbon viii. 158–161.

⁴ Δι' οὐ (viz. the εκκλησιας λαος) ηδη μεν ταις των δυνατων Ρωμαιων χερσι, ταις κραταιαις ως ἄσιδηρος, τα εθνη εποιμανεν Χριστος ὁ Θεος. On Apoc. 12:5.

¹ On the Gog and Magog of Apoc. 20:8 he writes thus: Ειναι δε του Γωγ και τον Μαγωγ τινες μευ Σκυθικα εθνη νομιζουσιν ὑπερβορεια, ἀπερ καλουμεν Οουνικα, πασης επιγειου βασιλειας ως ὀρωμεν πολνανθρωποτερα τε και πολεμικωτερα, μονη δε τη θεια χειρι προς το κρατησαι της οικουμενης πασης επεχομενα.

² Gibb. vii. 137.

³ Of these Turks, the subduers of the White Huns, the power and empire were well known to the Greeks of the time, by means of the embassies that past between them and the Constantinopolitan Emperor, from A.D. 569 to 582.—As to their *Scythian* nationality, Gibbon, ib. 288–297, notes the *Scythian* language and character in which the letters of the Great Khan of the Turks to the Greek Emperor were written.

Let me add another curious synchronism. Andreas, first, gives βενεδικτος as a solution of the Beast's name and number. And the *1st Pope Benedict* dates from 572 to 577 A.D.

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

Let me now turn from this argument, which has indeed occupied us too long, to our Author's Apocalyptic Commentary. Like his predecessors, he speaks in the introduction of the tripartite sense of Holy Scripture, its *body*, *soul*, and *spirit*: and that the spiritual or anagogical sense is applicable in the Apocalypse, even more than in other Scripture.⁵ Yet in fact Andreas admits a larger mixture of the literal, here and there, than Tiehonius, Primasius, or Ansbertus: and there is also somewhat more of a consecutive historical view of its different parts; as of a prophecy figuring successive events from St. John's time to the consummation.¹—Passing by the primary figuration of Christ, which he explains somewhat as Victorinus, and the Epistles to the seven Churches (representative of *all* Churches), on which I give two or three of his detached remarks below,² he exemplifies in the heavenly scene next opened the *literalizing* tendency I spoke of, by explaining the *glassy sea before the throne*, not only *anagogically* of the virtues and blessed tranquillity of the heavenly state, but *literally* also, as perhaps the *crystalline heaven*.—Of the *seven-sealed Book* (the Book of God's mind and purposes, or Book of prophecy) he explains the several *Seals* to signify as follows:—1st, the apostolic æra, and apostles' triumph over Satan, more especially in the conversion of the Gentiles:—2nd, the æra of anti-gospel war, and bloody martyrdoms, next after the apostolic; when Christ's words were fulfilled, "I came not to send peace on earth, but a sword:"—3rd, that of Christians' grief for the falling away of professors, through inconstancy, vain-glory, or weakness of the flesh, and so, when *weighed in the balance*, being found wanting; the *oil* of sympathy for such being mixt by true Christians with the sharp *wine* of rebuke: (there being also perhaps, adds Andreas in a more *literal* sense, a famine at the time:)—4th, a calamitous æra of joint famine and pestilence, in judgment on the apostate and impious,³ such as Eusebius relates to have happened under Maximin the Eastern Emperor, when

⁵ In the Prologue, p. 1.

¹ On Apoc. 1:1, "things which must shortly come to pass," he says: Το εν ταχει γενεσθαι σημαινει το τινα μεν αυτων παρα ποδας γενεσθαι της περι αυτων προρρησεως, και τα επι συντελεια δε μη βραδυνειν· διοτι χελια ετη παρα Θεω ως η ημερα η εχθες λελογισται.

² 1. On the threat to the Ephesian Church of *removing its candlestick*, Andreas says that some referred it to the transfer of the earlier Ephesian Archbishopric (τον αρχιερατικον της Εφεσου θρονον) to Constantinople!

2. On the Epistle to *Pergamos*, he says that he had formerly read Antipas' *martyriam*.

3. The promise to the Church of *Thyatira*, "*I will give to him the morning star*," he explains as meant either of Isaiah's Lucifer, (i.e. morning star,) to be trodden under foot by the saints; or of Peter's morning star, viz. the light of Christ, to be received into the hearts; or of John Baptist and Elias, the herald-stars of Christ's first and second coming, with whom the conquering saints are hereafter to be associated.

³ Andreas makes not the slightest allusion to any limitation of the scene of the judgment to the *fourth* part of the earth: whereas in the Trumpets he expressly notices the limitation to the *third* part of the earth. So that I doubt whether Andreas' copy did not read τα δ' της γης, like Jerome's; or rather, perhaps, το τετραδιον, for το τεταρτον.

corpses lay unburied, and dogs were killed that they might not devour them:⁴—5th, the martyrs' cry for further vengeance against their injurers,¹ and so for the consummation: in regard of whom, while waiting till the martyr-number should be completed, it was shown that, white-robed in their virtues, they now repose on Abraham's bosom, anticipating eternal joys:—6th, a transition to the times and persecution of Antichrist: (though some had suggested, Andreas says, both here and in the sealing vision, a retrogressive reference to Titus' destruction of Jerusalem:²) in reference to which times of Antichrist the earthquake figured a change of things, or revolution, as usual in Scripture; the obscuration of the sun and moon God's judicial blinding of men's minds; the falling stars the apostasy and falling away of those who were thought to be lights in the world; and the rolling up of the sky, perhaps physical changes in the natural world *for the better*,³ such as Irenæus expected at the consummation; or perhaps, seeing that the unrolling of Hebrew scrolls (unlike that of our books, says Andreas) was the unfolding of their contents, the revelation and manifestation of the heavenly blessings laid up for the saints.⁴—After which the 144,000 of the *sealing vision* depicted the body of true Christians, distinguished on Antichrist's coming by the sign of the cross from unbelievers: (not the Christians saved at the siege of Jerusalem:) the winds held signifying some deadly *stagnation* of the aerial element then to occur;⁵ and the palm-bearing vision the happiness of the heavenly and everlasting rest, by God's throne, of the innumerable company of both earlier martyrs and the martyrs under Antichrist: when (the wicked having been cast into hell) the angels and saved ones of men will constitute but one family.

At the opening of the *seventh Seal* a regression is supposed from this palm-bearing scene: its loosing, as of the 7th and last Seal, indicating as its result the dissolution of each polity of this world;¹ the silence in heaven, the angelic hosts' reverential awe, or perhaps their ignorance of

⁴ Brief headings are added, (such as on this Seal, Λυσις της τεταρτης σφραγιδος, εμφανιουσα τας επαγομενας τοις ασεβεσι μαστιγας,) connecting each Seal, in a manner, with that preceding it.

¹ Lest otherwise, says he, "the righteous put their hand to iniquity." Ps. 125.

² Not however on any presumption of the Apocalypse having been revealed before the destruction of Jerusalem, so as some of the Præterist expositors would argue from our expositor: any more than in the case of other expositors, who explained the 7 Seals as figuring the seven successive events of Christ's birth, baptism, ministry, accusation before Pilate, crucifixion, burial, and descent to hell. Of these expositors Andreas makes mention under the 1st Seal. Probably he may have alluded to Hilary. See p. 314 *suprà*.

³ οἶον εἰλιγμον τινα και αλλαγην επι το βελτιον.

⁴ A very curious explanation! Εἰλιταριοις γαρ οἱ Ἑβραιοι, αντι των παρ' ἡμιν βιβλιων, εκεχρηντο· ὧν ἡ ανελιξις ουκ αφανισμον, αλλα των γεγραμμενων φανερωσιν, απειργαστο. In the Apocalyptic figuration it was a *rolling up*, not *unrolling*, of the heaven.

⁵ Somewhat like Pollok's description of the winds' stagnation just before the consummation, in his Poem entitled, *The Course of Time*.

¹ Andreas seems to have regarded the 7th Seal as containing within it the seven Trumpets.

the time of the consummation; the half-hour of its duration the brief space intervening before the end; and the Trumpet-figurations judgments in the interval. Of these Trumpet-woes he explains the *first*, which was to fall upon the *land*, literally,² (and I think rightly,) of the burnings and slaughters through invading barbarians, by which the third part of things inland would be consumed:³—the *second*, on the *sea*, figuratively, as meaning the Devil and his burning wrath, falling on the world, especially near the time of the consummation:⁴—the third, again, similarly, of sufferings through the Devil fallen star-like (as Isaiah’s Lucifer) from heaven:—and the eclipses in the *fourth* of very much the same judgments as in Joel 2:31; mercy however restricting their duration to the third part of the day and the night.—Then the Angel’s warning-cry, next heard, he speaks of as marking Angels’ pity for men’s woes.⁵ And he interprets the *fifth* Trumpet’s *scorpion-locusts* of demons, (once bound by Christ, but now loosed a little before the consummation;”)⁶ with influences darkening the soul, and for some fated quintuple of time⁷ wounding with a poison-sting, which being that of sin, is death:⁸—also the *sixth* Trumpet’s *four angels from the Euphrates* of hell’s most evil demons,⁹ bound (like those of the previous plague) at Christ’s coming; but now let loose, to stir up nation against nation, as well as against Christians:

² Not (as some, he says, explained it) hell-torments. See p. 344 *suprà*.

³ Τας εκ βαρβαρικων χειρων γινομενας πυρπολησεις τε και ανδροκτασις οσημεραι. His personal experience would make him well enter into this. See my p. 354, just before.

⁴ Some explained it, he says, of the sea and those living in it, as destined to burn with *expiatory* fire after the general resurrection: τω καθαρισω πυρι ... μετα την αναστασιν. And so, Andreas intimates, he might himself have preferred to explain it, but for the circumstance of its being said to be the *3rd part* only that was burnt up: whereas, in fact, the number of the lost is more than of the saved.

⁵ Thus Andreas reads here αγγελου, not αετου.

⁶ δαιμονας ους ο Χριστος ενανθρωπησας εδησεν· οπως προ της συντελειας, τα οικεια ενεργασαντες, κ.τ.λ.

⁷ So defined perhaps because of *the five senses* through which sin enters the soul!

⁸ Some, Andreas says, explained the 5th Seal of *hell-torments*; the sun-light all hid from the sight of the condemned by the smoke of hell: the five months being some certain defined time of intense anguish; continued afterwards, however, though less intensely: (the reader may remember my similar division of the period of the 5th Trumpet’s plague into that of 5 months of chief intensity, and a subsequent undefined time of less intensity:) the locust-stings symbolizing the never-dying worm of the punishments of the wicked.

⁹ Some, Andreas writes, explained these four Angels of the Archangels Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Uriel; erewhile bound to the presence and contemplation of God, but loosed at the day of judgment, for the destruction of wicked men. A fancy repeated afterwards by Arethas.

and urging on either *spiritually*-destroying suggestions to sin, or *literally*-destroying barbarian armies; perhaps *locally* from the Euphrates, as Antichrist would come from the East.¹

In the vision of the *rainbow-crowned Angel* of Apoc. 10, (a created Angel, according to Andreas,) the planting of his fiery feet on land and sea is curiously explained of indignation to be manifested against robbers by land, and pirates by sea:² the opened book, as the record of names and deeds of such specially wicked ones: the seven thunders, as seven voices prophetic of the future, either by this one Angel, or by seven others taking up the subject in response: the sealing them up, as tantamount to Daniel's sealing *till the time of the end*; the issues of futurity being till then uncertain: the oath, as to the effect that no long time after, at the conclusion of the sixth age,³ and in the days of the seventh Trumpet, all would end, and the saints' rest begin.—Then, in what ensues, Andreas follows his predecessors in applying it personally to St. John: John's eating the book, (a book sweet for the joyous things predicted in it, bitter for the bitter things,)⁴ and charge to prophesy again, being significant of his *personally* prophesying again to the end of the world, by the publication of his Apocalypse and Gospel.—In the *Witness* vision the temple meant the Christian Church; its outer court, the concourse to it of Infidels and Jews:⁵ the Holy City (or New Jerusalem), the faithful Church;⁶ the 3½ years of the Gentiles trampling it, those of Antichrist's persecuting the faithful: the two Witnesses, Enoch and Elias; endowed by God's mercy with miraculous powers antagonistically to the Satanic supernatural powers of Antichrist: the time of their slaughter by Antichrist, that of their warnings against him being completed: the scene of their lying dead, the old and desolate Jerusalem: (Antichrist there fixing his royal seat probably, in order to seem the fulfiller of the prophecy, "I will raise up the tabernacle of David that is fallen." and so deceiving the Jews into a belief on him:) the rising of the Witnesses, 3½ days after death, their literal resurrection: the tenth part of the city falling, and seven thousand slain, the judicial fall and ruin of the impious of the seventh age of the world, not even the Witnesses' resurrection having induced repentance: the rest that glorified God, those that, when the martyrs rose to glory, might be deemed not unworthy of salvation.—Then the seventh

¹ On Apoc. 9:21, next following, "The rest repented not of the idolatries," &c., Andreas notices *religious hypocrisy and avarice*, as included in that charge.

² Were any such notable in the Eastern empire towards the middle of 6th century?

³ μετα την ἑξ αἰωνων παραδρομην. I suppose six millennaries, agreeably with the view of the early Fathers.

⁴ Or, adds Andreas, (taking the book as before in the sense of a record of gross sinners and their sins,) John was taught by eating, &c., the sweetness of sin at the first, and its bitterness afterwards.

⁵ Some, observes Andreas, otherwise expound the temple of God [the inner temple] as the Old Testament; the outer court, with its larger circuit, as the New Testament, so greatly more comprehensive: the 3½ years signifying the short time in which its mysteries are to be in force; viz. from the time of Christ's 1st to his 2nd coming.

⁶ εἴτε την νεαν Ἱερουσαλημ, εἴτε την καθολικην εκκλησιαν. In which clause either expression seems intended by Andreas of the Christian Church; for he explains himself to mean the πιστοι and δοκιμοι opprest by Antichrist's tyranny. See Note ² p. 365 infra.

Trumpet figured the general resurrection; the temple's concomitant opening, the manifestation of the heavenly blessedness of the saints; and the lightnings and thunderings, the torments of the damned.

In the vision of the *Dragon and Woman*, Apoc. 12, Andreas (following "the great Methodius," whom he cites)¹ makes the Woman to signify the Church, bringing forth (just as in Isa. 66, which the citation refers to) a Christian people: the moon under foot meaning either the world, or the Jewish ritual law; and the male child, and his iron rod, having fulfilment in the Roman Christian people and emperors, ruling the heathen.² Further, the Dragon was the Devil: his seven heads symbolizing seven chief devilish powers, from conquering which the Christian warrior wins his diadems; his ten horns, the ten antidecalogic sins, or decuple division before the consummation of the mundane empire: his symbolical fall, that when he was first cast out of heaven on his transgression; or that spoken of by Christ as fulfilled on his coming, when Satan seemed like lightning to fall from heaven.—During Antichrist's 3½ years' reign, the Church's *abstraction from the world* is to fulfil the figure of the Woman's flight into the wilderness, with perhaps a literal flight into deserts: the two Testaments being in God's providence the wings supporting and preserving her from the waters, or multitude of the impious, (whether men, or dæmons,) ejected by the Dragon against her.

Then, on the *Beast* of Apoc. 13,¹ Andreas, professedly, but not really, following Hippolytus,² interprets it as Antichrist: stating that this Antichrist, or *pseudo-Christ*,³ is to rise after the ten kings' rising, answering to the ten toes of the prophetic image: and, coming with the title of Roman king,⁴ to overthrow *their* principdoms; like Augustus healing and restoring the Roman kingdom, when (like the Beast's wounded head) as it were dissolved by its division into ten.⁵—The *second Beast* with *the two horns like a lamb*, he prefers to explain, after Irenæus, as Antichrist's προδρομος and *false prophet*: exhibiting a show of piety; and with pretence of being

¹ See pp. 298, 299 *suprà*.

² Ἀρρην δε υἱος ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας λαός· ... δι' οὐ ἤδη μὲν, τὰς τῶν θανάτων Ῥωμαίων χερσὶ, τὰς κραταίαις ὡς ὁ σιδηρός, τὰ ἔθνη ἐποίμανα Χριστὸς ὁ Θεός. An explanation similar to my own.—Andreas adds that the people of God are moreover to rule the nations after the resurrection of the dead.

¹ In Apoc. 13:1, Andreas reads ἐσταθῆν.

² See p. 285 *suprà*.

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

⁴ ὧν (viz. of the Greek, Persian, and Babylonian empires, signified by the Beast's likeness to the *leopard*, *bear*, and *lion*,) κρατήσῃ ὁ Ἀντιχριστός, ὡς Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ἐλευσομενός. So again on Apoc. 17:11, 18:24.

⁵ Τὴν Ῥωμαίων βασιλείαν, τὴν διαιρεσθεὶς σφαγῆν τροπὸν τινα ὑπομενοῦσαν, τὴν μοναρχίαν τε, τεθεραπευθεὶς δοκούσαν, κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα Αὐγουστοῦ Καίσαρος. So again on Apoc 13:11: just as Hippolytus, before him. See p. 285 *suprà*. Of which restoration of Rome's empire, however, Mr. C. M. in his notice of Andreas says nothing.—Andreas offers the alternative solution of the revival of one of the ἀρχαῖες the empire, after being killed, by Antichrist's magical arts.

a lamb, when in fact a wolf.—*The image of the Beast* he supposes to be literally meant of some image of Antichrist made by the False Prophet; through which the Devil would speak, as by the heathen idols.—Antichrist's *miracles* he explains as Satanic impostures: his *name*, with the *number 666*, as either a *personal noun*, such as Λαμπετις, Τειταν, Λατεινος, Βενεδικτος; or an *appellative*, as κακος οδηγος, αμνος αδικος, παλαι βασκανος, αληθης βλαβερως; of all which names the number is 666.⁶—With regard to the *Harlot* seated on the Beast in Apoc. 17, he observes that *Rome* had been judged by certain earlier writers to be the city intended; because of its being built on seven hills; and having had too seven chief persecuting emperors, from Domitian to Diocletian inclusive. But he objects its having then for some time lost its imperial majesty: unless, indeed, he adds, very remarkably, this should in some way be restored to her;¹ “a supposition involving the fact of a previous overthrow of the city now ruling,”² i. e. Constantinople. Further he notices the fact of ancient *Babylon* and *Jerusalem* having been each called a harlot; and that the *old Rome* was called *Babylon* by St. Peter: also the special fitness of either appellative to the then *Persian capital* (Ctesiphon). So too the characteristic “drunk with the blood of saints,” applied alike to *Old Rome*, under the emperors, down to Diocletian; to *New Rome*, or *Constantinople*, under Julian and the Arian Emperors: and to the *Persian capital*: for who can calculate the sufferings of the saints in *Persia*? Thus the harlot-city meant might be any one of those, if at the time of the end invested with the world's supremacy: or perhaps, Andreas adds, *generically* the dominion of this world.—The “Beast that was, and is not, yet shall be,” he explains to signify the Devil; broken in power by Christ's death, and banished into the abyss or elsewhere, yet fated at length to revive in Antichrist. The Beast's *seven heads* he interprets to mean the seven successive seats of the world's supremacy, Nineveh, Eebatana, Babylon, Susa, Pella, Rome, Constantinople; or the first kings reigning in each respectively, the representatives of the respective empires. He adds however Hippolytus' alternative explanation of them as seven ages: and Irenæus' suggestion that as seven is a sacred number, so there might be fated a septenary of dominant empires in the world; the old Roman empire being the 6th, and perhaps that of new Rome or Constantinople the 7th: but in this, and in every case, the seventh having in St. John's time not come. The Beast, or Beast's eighth head, is Antichrist; called “one of the seven,” because of springing from one of the heads, or kingdoms, viz. the Roman; for he is to rise

⁶ We have here in Peltan's Latin version a most extraordinary perversion of the sense of the original Greek. The Greek is; Ονοματα πολλα εστιν ευρειν, τον αριθμον τουτον περιεχοντα, προσηγορικα τε και κυρια. Κυρια μεν, οιον Λαμπετις, Τειταν, εκ του τεινω, καθ' Ἱππολυτον, Λατεινος, ὁμοιως δια διφθογγου, Βενεδικτος, ὁπερ ἐρμηνενεται ευλογημενος. The Latin translation; “Multa confingi possunt nomina quæ numerum illum complectantur, cum propria, tum etiam appellativa, idque in omni propemodum linguâ. Proprium, e.g. Græcè sit Λαμπετης, Latinè *Benedictus*, Persicè *Sarmnæus*. Similis in cæteris linguis eformatio fiat.” This is copied into the B.P.M. In my Vol. iii. p. 249, not then having access to the original Greek, I noticed the evident mistakes about the *Benedictus* in Latin, and the *Sarmnæus*.

¹ So too on verse 7; ειτε την παλαιαν Ῥωμην, αυθις το αρχαιον κρατος αναλαμβανουσαν.

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

and flourish not as a foreigner, but as *king of the Romans*.³ The ten horns or kings that were to reign *one hour* with the Beast, he identifies with Daniel's ten horns: and construes the one hour to mean either some short time, or perhaps a quarter of a year; because ὥρη in Greek means not only an hour, but also one of the year's four seasons. In verse 16 he reads "The ten horns *and* the Beast (καὶ τὸ θηρίον) shall hate the whore." But in his comment he speaks as if the ten horns did so, under the *Devil's* influence, not *Antichrist's*: and marvels at his so acting against a harlot antichristian city.¹

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

³ ἐκ τῶν ἔπρα δε ὡς ἐκ μίας αὐτῶν [βασελειῶν] βλαστανῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἀλλοῦ θνους ... ἀλλ' ὡς Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ... ἐλευσεται.

¹ διο συνεργήσει ὁ διαβόλος τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἠνιοχοῦμενοὶς δεκά κερασι ... τὴν ἐκπορνεύσασαν ἐκ τῶν θείων ἐντολῶν πόλιν ... ἐρημῶσαι.

² The vine to be trodden without *the city of the just*, τῆς τῶν δικαίων πόλεως.

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

⁴ In referring to the dress ascribed to the Vial-angels, he notices the curious reading of λίθον, as well as of λινον, like Jerome before him: "clothed in *stone* pure and white."

⁵ εἰκος δε καὶ αἰσθητῶς τὰ τούτων τραυματιζέσθαι τὰ σώματα, πρὸς ἐλεγχου τῆς ἐλκῶθεισης αὐτῶν ψυχῆς. Let the reader mark this. It is much the same idea that I have often exprest about a symbol being drawn from the life and times; and which I have indeed on this very passage illustrated from the facts of history. See Vol. iii. pp. 357, 375.

more I shake not the earth only, but also heaven.” As to the great city tripartited, as the result of this seventh Vial’s outpouring, he judges it to be Jerusalem, great from its religious celebrity, rather than from its actual extent; and which is then and thereupon to be divided, in respect of its population, into Christians, Jews, and Samaritans.

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

¹ Thus Andreas unadvisedly here gives the title of *New Jerusalem* to the literal earthly Jerusalem; though explaining the New Jerusalem of Apoc. 21 distinctly of the Christian Church.

Indeed he virtually suggests the same here too as an alternative. For, he adds, there also they say that Antichrist will sit in the temple of God; whether the old Jewish one restored by Antichrist, *or the Catholic Church*, which is the true temple: ειτε εν τω Ιουδαιικω τω παλαι θειω, καθαιρεθει δια την κατα Χριστου τολμαν, και υπ’ αυτον (Αντιχριστον) αυορθοσθαι προσδοκωμενω τοις θεομαχοις Ιουδαιοις· ειτε εν τω αληθως θειω ναω, τη καθολικη εκκλησια.

² That it is to this time that Andreas mainly refers the symbol appears continually. Thus on the call on all to praise God, both small and great, Apoc. 19:5, preparatorily to the introduction of the bride or New Jerusalem, he speaks of those who have died young, as *rising* to partake in the song: Οιμαι δε και οι νυν μικροι τη ηλικια και ατελεις παιδες θνησκουτες, μεγαλοι ανισταμενοι τον μεγαλουργον Θεου υμνησουσιν. Again, the glory of the New Jerusalem is on Apoc. 21:8 defined as the saints’ eternal glory: and again, speaking of the 12,000 furlongs of the city, 21:16, Andreas thus mystically explains the number: των μεν χιλιων δηλουντων της απεραντου ζωης την τελειοτητα, των δε επτακοσιων το εν αναπαυσει τελειον, των δε δεκατεσσαρων τον διπλουν σαββατισμον, της ψυχης και του σωματος. Yet here and there we find a reference in his comment to the Church’s present state: e.g. on the *leaves* of the tree being even now for the healing of the nations; contrastedly with the *fruit* of perfect knowledge to be enjoyed in the world to come.

¹ οι εν τη γη των παθων βασιλευσαντες την των αγαθων πραξεων δοξαν και τιμην εν αυτη οισουσι. κ. τ. λ.

In a concluding summary Andreas states very distinctly his view of the Apocalypse being a prophecy of the things that were to happen *from Christ's first coming* even to the consummation.²

I observe in fine that there is an air of much piety in this Commentary. I may exemplify in Andreas' remark on the sin of adding to, or taking from, divine Scripture, Apoc. 22:18, 19.³ He here waxes quite warm in speaking of the superiority of Scriptural to all classical or dialectic knowledge.⁴

6. *Arethas*, a successor of Andreas in the Bishopric of Cæsarea, was his follower also in great measure in the Commentary that he wrote on the Apocalypse. Thus much he tells us himself.⁵ Respecting his date there seems to me to have been a considerable mistake on the part of most that have expressed an opinion about it. Alike Coccius, the Editor of the B. P. M. (which work gives a Latin translation of Arethas' Commentary in its ixth Volume,¹) and Cave too, and Lardner, and just recently Professor M. Stuart,² assign to him the date of A.D. 510 or 550. On the other hand Casimir Oudin and Fabricius incline to identify him with a Presbyter of the same Cappadocian Cæsarea, of the name Arethas, who, about A.D. 920, translated a work of the Constantinopolitan Patriarch Euthymius. But, says Cave,³ Oudin had no argument or evidence to adduce in favour of his conjecture. Nor indeed Fabricius either; if (not having access to his work) I may judge from the reference to him in Lardner.⁴ I have observed, however, very decisive

² βιβλου (i.e. the seven-sealed Book) των απο της αυτου (Christ's) παρουσιας μεχρι της συντελειας γεγεννημενων.

³ So Andreas understands the passage; and not as referring simply to taking from, or adding to, the Book of the *Apocalypse*. Φοβερα η κατα των παραχαρακτων των θειων γραφων καταρα.

⁴ Τα γραφικα ιδιωματα των Αττικων συνταξεων, και των διαλεκτικων συλλογισμων, αξιοπιστοτερα και σεμνοτερα· οσον δε το μεσον των παρ ημιν και εκεινοις ενδοξων και το εν νη λαβειν αμηχανον· ομαι γαρ ειναι πλεον η οσον φως σκοτους διεστηκε.

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

⁵ On Apoc. 8, speaking of the incense-Angel, he says; "Huic angelo Andreas, qui ante me dignè Cæsareæ Cappadociæ episcopatum sortitus est, quemque pontificem assimilat." And the heading title to his Commentary in the Latin translation, and I presume in the original Greek also, is as follows:—"Aretæ, Cæsareæ Cappadociæ Episcopi, in D. Joannis Apocalypsim compendiaria explanatio, ex beatissimi Andreæ Archicpiscopi Cæsareæ Cappadociæ, Deo gratis, commentariis concinnata." Dupin is evidently mistaken in saying that there is no ground for regarding this Arethas as a Bishop of Cæsarea.

¹ Pp. 741–791.

² On the Apocalypse, Vol. i. p. 268: "Arethas ... who lived near the middle of the 6th century."

³ Hist. Lilt. i. 408, ad ann. 540. "Verum id gratis affirmat Oudinus; nec enim præsto ei est argumentum quo sententiam suam confirmet."

⁴ Hug too, i. 230, assigns him to the 10th Century; but without giving his reasons.

evidence in the Commentary itself, of Arethas having lived as late at least as near the end of the eighth century. For he speaks of the capital and palace of the *Saracens* as being then still at Babylon, evidently meaning Bagdad:⁵—a capital not built till A.D. 762;⁶ and where the Saracen Caliphs continued to hold a waning empire through the ninth century, till its extinction A.D. 934 by the Bowides.⁷ A curious reference to Constantinople, which will be found in my page 370 following,⁸ may possibly appear to furnish a further indication. The identity of our Cæsarean *Bishop* with the Cæsarean *Presbyter* that translated Euthymius seems to me more than doubtful. The very appellation of the one as a *Bishop*, the other as only a *Presbyter*, constitutes a presumption against that idea. Moreover, Arethas' reference to the *Saracens* and *Bagdad* seems to indicate the fact of their empire being still powerful there.—I say *still*, after Arethas' "in hoc usque tempus;" and *powerful*, because of his representing it as in place of the old lion-like Babylonian empire. Hence, on the whole, we may I think reasonably reckon his date as somewhere within the limits of the first half of the 9th century; between A.D. 800 and 850.¹

In the heading of his Apocalyptic Commentary there is, as hinted by me just before, an intimation of its having been very much taken from that of Andreas. He generally indeed gives the opinions of the latter; sometimes in the form of direct quotation, and by name; more often silently: adding however from time to time some strange conceits of his own.² It is only the more important variations from Andreas that need here to be noticed. And these are as follows.

Under the *sixth Seal* he singularly explains the earthquake, &c., there figured, of the literal earthquake and elemental convulsions *at Christ's death and resurrection*.³ particularly dwelling on the adjective ὅλη attached to σεληνη in his copy:⁴ the moon having been (just agreeably with

⁵ On Apoc. 13:2: "Per os leonis regnum designatur Babyloniorum: cui *Saracenorum* regnum manifestè successit; quòd, in hoc usque tempus, regia eorum Babylone sit." B. P. M. 771.—I have noted this already in my Vol. i. p. 39.

⁶ See my Vol. i. pp. 461, 462, and Vol. iii. p. 439.

⁷ See my Vol. i. p. 466.

⁸ Note ².

¹ Mr. C. Maitland (p. 276), while noticing after me (though without acknowledgment) the passage in Arethas about the Saracens and Bagdad, yet strangely dates him A.D. 650; i.e. above 100 years before Bagdad was built!

² Of these his explanation of the 3rd Seal may furnish a specimen. Besides symbolizing *famine*, it may have *moral* signification. The chœnix of wheat for a denarius means faithful witnesses for Christ, each counted worthy of a denarius; "quasi datæ sibi divinæ imaginis custodes exactissimi commonstrati:" while the three chœnixes of barley are the weak ones who have failed in the day of trial, but repented; and who altogether are only valued at a denarius!

³ Like those alluded to by Andreas on the first Seal, as observed by me p. 358, Note ², and who explained the sixth Seal of Christ's *sepulture*.

⁴ So the best critical Editions, και ἡ σεληνη ὅλη ἐγενετο ὡς αἷμα· the ὅλη being alike in the three most authoritative MSS. A, B, C; i.e. the Codex Alexandrinus, Codex Vaticanus, and Codex Ephraemi.

it) *whole*, and *at the full*, on occasion of its eclipse at the time of Christ's death, and so the eclipse miraculous.—He adds, however, a notice of the interpretation by certain other expositors, explaining it “tropicè” of the destruction of Jerusalem; and that of Andreas, referring it to the convulsions under Antichrist.

Under the *Sealing Vision* he suggests the possible reference of the four angels of the winds to the desolations of Judæa by the Romans or, yet more probably, to the desolations by Antichrist: then, in speaking of the sealing itself, more distinctly and decidedly explains the sealed 144,000 as meaning the Jews converted to Christianity before the destruction of Jerusalem, asserting that Jerusalem was not destroyed when John received these revelations; the Virgin Mary having only lived fourteen years after Christ's ascension, and John immediately after her death removed to Ephesus.⁵ Which passage has been naturally adduced by the advocates of an early date to the Apocalypse, in support of their opinion: but of which the value as an authority, small in itself because that of so late a writer, is rendered yet smaller by the fact of Arethas having not once only, but twice, stated from Eusebius, that it was under *Domitian's* reign that John was banished to Patmos.¹—On the Angel's charge, “Thou must prophesy again,” Arethas observes that it was hence that the vulgar opinion arose that John was to live to the end of the world; and then to prophesy with Enoch and Elias, and with them suffer martyrdom, in the time of Antichrist.²—In the first part of Apoc. 12 he interprets the travelling Woman to mean the Virgin Mary; and the Woman's flight of 3½ years into the wilderness to have been fulfilled in the Virgin's flight into Egypt, and stay there near 3½ years till Herod's death: adding however the alternative solution also of the Woman signifying the Church; and the wilderness flight her retirement from the world during the 3½ years of Antichrist's reign.—With regard to the Beast of Apoc. 13, or Antichrist, he suggests the same solutions of his name and number as Andreas; viz. λαμπετις, τειταν, λατεινος, ὁ νικητης, κακος οδηγος, αληθης βλαβερως, παλαι βασκανος, αμνος αδικος; and suggests that the second Beast would act the same part as forerunner to Antichrist that John the Baptist did to Christ.—On the declaration that the great city was to be divided into three parts, he notices Andreas' idea, that it was the literal Jerusalem that was to be so tripartited: and

⁵ “Nondum enim vastatio à Romanis illata Judæos involverat, ubi hæc Evangelista oracula suscipiebat; neque Hierosolymis, sed Ioniâ quæ apud Ephesum. Equidem post passionem Domini quatuordecim tantùm annis permansit in Hierusalem theotocum Domini tabernaculum in hâc temporariâ vitâ, post passionem inquam ac resurrectionem incorruptæ suæ prolis; cui etiam (Joannes), tanquam matri sibi à Domino commendatæ, semper aderat. Post hujus enim mortem nequaquam jam in Judæâ mansisse fertur; sed Ephesum commigrasse;” &c.—A statement which is palpably incorrect.

¹ First on Apoc. 1:9; B. P. M. 743: “Relegatum autem ipsum in Patmum insulam sub Domitiano fuisse, Eusebius Pamphili in Chroniâ suâ citat.” Next on Apoc. 3:10, B. P. M. 751; “Horum tentationis ... persecutionem illam dicit quæ secunda post Neronem sub Domitiano excitata fuit, quemadmodum in Historiâ suâ Eusebius Pamphili testatur: quando etiam idem Evangelista in Patmum ab eodem Domitiano exilio relegatus fuit.” In which last passage he does not state it simply as Eusebius' opinion, that St. John was then banished to Patmos; but rather propounds it as his own also. See my Vol. i. p. 40.

² The idea of St. John's living to the end of the world arose rather, we know, from Christ's saying, (John 21:22,) “If I will that he tarry till I come, &c.”

also, as an alternative, that it might mean the world and its empire, as subjected successively after Christ, in *chronological* tripartition, to Pagan kings, Christian kings, and Antichrist.¹ The *Babylon* there mentioned he prefers to understand of *Constantinople*; with reference apparently to some recent domineering of the civil power over the ecclesiastical; which made that city answer, in his view, pre-eminently to the type of Babylon.²—On the summons to the birds in Apoc. 19, to gather to God’s great supper, he strangely explains them to mean the souls of saints, called from a state of depression to meet Christ in the air.³—And, finally, he makes the New Jerusalem to represent the habitation and polity of the saints after the resurrection, conjunctively with Angels: “Civitas quod omnium tum Angelorum tum hominum futura sit domicilium.”⁴

6. I now return Westward from Greek Christendom, to note a somewhat later Latin Expositor of the Apocalypse;⁵ one whose epoch, I now think, was near about the conclusion of the period

¹ A curious notion.

² “Et quænam hæc (Babylon)? Nulla sane alia quàm Constantinopolis; in quâ olim colebatur justitia, nunc autem in eâ homicidæ habitant, ex mutuâ contentione, dum cives laid ecclesiasticis æquari contendunt: imo ne æquales quidem fieri contenti sunt, nisi aliquis etiam ex eis premium referat, ad majorem divinæ indignationis accensionem.” B. P. M. 778.

³ “Aves quæ per medium cœli volant animas dicit sanctorum; quæ, à depressis humi rebus emergentes, juxta magnum Paulum procedunt ad occurrendum obviam Domino in aera.” B. P. M. 783.

⁴ p. 786.

⁵ In passing let me here briefly notice a curious passage that occurs in a Treatise on Antichrist by *Adso*, a monk of the monastery of *Derve in Champagne*; dedicated to Gerberga, Queen of Louis d’Outremer, and consequently of about the date of 950 A.D. Having spoken of Babylon as Antichrist’s birth-place, of his being educated by sorcerers at Bethsaïda and Chorazin, then coming to Jerusalem, proclaiming himself the Son of God, by gifts, miracles, or terror converting kings and people to acknowledge him, and then at length persecuting the saints, and commencing the great tribulation of 3½ years,—Adso proceeds to state that the precise time for his manifestation would be marked by the ‘discessio’ of its constituent kingdoms from the Roman Empire: (so, like some of the early Fathers, he explained the ἀποστασια of St. Paul:) which time had not then as yet come: because, says Adso, though the Roman Empire has been in chief part destroyed, yet, *so long as the Frank kings last*,* to whom belongs the empire, so long the Roman dignity will not altogether perish. And then he adds; “Some of our doctors affirm that there will arise in the last times a king of the Franks, who shall again re-unite under his rule all the Roman empire: and after a prosperous reign shall go to Jerusalem, and lay down his sceptre and crown at Mount Olivet:—that this will be the end of the Roman empire, and then immediately will follow Antichrist.”† further observes, that the Antichrist would sit either in *the Jewish temple*, rebuilt by him, and there receive worship; or perhaps in *the Christian Church*; also that after killing the two witnesses, Enoch and Elias, he would be slain on Mount Olivet by Michael, or Christ, with the breath of his mouth. Soon after which (not immediately) would follow the last judgment.

included in this Section, though elsewhere referred by me to a considerably earlier period:—I mean *Berengaud*.

In my Vol. iii. p. 279, I have noticed this Commentary. I had stated originally that the writer (probably, from his reference to the Rules of that order, a Benedictine monk) had in a singular manner intimated his name under the enigmatic form of Greek numerals;¹ also that by his noting the facts of the Saracens who had overrun Asia, as well as the Lombards who had conquered Italy, having had their kingdoms overthrown when he wrote,² his æra seemed fixed as not earlier than the end of the ninth century. An approximation this to his real age which well agreed with that drawn by the Benedictine editors of Ambrose, from his specification of archdeacons receiving hush-money for overlooking the fornication of the priesthood, as a sin of the then times: this crime being prominently noticed in Synods held at Paris, Chalons, and Aquis-Granum, in the same ninth century.³ But the crime continued flagrant long after, so as to be by no means any certain or specific chronological designative.⁴ And a notice as to the then existing Jerusalem being inhabited by Christians⁵ seemed to me afterwards to mark a much later æra than the 9th century; in fact one subsequent to the taking of Jerusalem by the crusaders. A lateness of date corroborated by the late epoch at which Berengaud's comment is said to have come into notice.⁶

The Commentary is one too original to omit noticing; and goes on a regular connected chronological plan, which (however unsatisfactory it may be as an exposition) makes it easy to read, in comparison with the other Latin Commentaries of the æra under review. This chronological plan is sketched at the outset, and adduced repeatedly, even to the end. It is

This treatise is given in the 9th Volume of the late Paris Benedictine Edition of Augustine, col. 1647–1632. It is the same that has been incorrectly ascribed by some to Aleuin, by others (e.g. Malvenda, i. 398) to Rabanus Maurus.

¹ “Quisquis nomen auctoris scire desideras, literas expositionum in capitibus septem visionum primas attende. Numerus quatuor vocalium quæ desunt, si Græcas posueris, est 81.” Now the first letters of these seven parts, or visions, are B R N G V D S: and if εεαο be inserted, which together make up (5 + 5 + 1 + 70 = 81,) the name will result, *Berengaudus*.

² “*Saraceni* totam Asiam subegerunt, Gothi Hispaniam, *Longobardi* Italiam, &c. Hæc regna, eo tempore quo visio ista Johanni demonstrata est, potestatem nondum acceperant: sed *uná horá* tanquam reges potestatem acceperunt, quia *singularum istarum gentium potestas pauco tempore permansit.*” So on Apoc. 17.

³ See my Vol. i. p. 473, Note 1, where Berengaud is also noticed.

⁴ See my Vol. ii. p. 14.

⁵ See p. 376, Note ¹.

⁶ I copy what follows from Mr. C. Maitland's book, p. 349; “About this time (viz. 1100 A.D.), without name or date, the Apocalyptic Commentary of Berengaud stole into notice. It was first copied from by the Block Book Apocalypse, published soon after 1400; and next quoted by Dionysius the Carthusian, who wrote not later than 1470.” So too Dr. S. R. Maitland, before him; Reply to Morning Watch, pp 19, 20. Neither of these authors notice the reference by Berengaud to Jerusalem, as a chronological indication.

founded on the frequent septenary division of the Apocalyptic prefigurations: to all which seven (except the seven epistles to the churches) Berengaud supposes that substantially the same chronological reference and order attaches; a chronology commencing from the creation, and reaching to the consummation.

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

After this, the seven Epistles to the Churches having been expounded as lessons of warning and instruction to the Church in general,² Berengaud explains the heaven that was afterwards opened to St. John as the Church, Christ being the door to it; the twenty-four elders as the twenty-four fathers of the Old Testament dispensation; the four living creatures as all the doctors of the Church; (Victorinus’ explanation of their twenty-four wings being here, though without mention of him, adopted;¹) the seven-sealed Book as the Old and New Testament; (the New that written within;) and the seven horns of the Lamb that opened it, as the elect of the same seven ages of the world that were before enumerated. The Lamb’s opening the seals of the book signified his opening, or explaining to the faithful, the spiritual meaning of the same successive æras and histories. A very characteristic feature this in Berengaud’s Commentary; and which what follows will sufficiently explain to the reader.

1st Seal. The *white horse* meant the righteous *before the Flood*, white in token of innocence; the rider, God; the bow in hand, his token of vengeance and conquering, as against Adam, Cain,

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

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

¹ See p. 290.—Here Berengaud contrasts the incessant occupation in divine worship of the twenty-four elders and four living creatures, with the earthly-mindedness and earthly occupation of many in monasteries.

and the world destroyed by the flood.—The Lamb having opened the Seal, it became understood how Adam typified Christ, Eve the Church, Cain the Jews, Abel the Christians; and so on.

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

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

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

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

6th Seal. The *elemental convulsions*, &c., here enacted, figured the destruction of Jerusalem, falling of its priests and governors, darkening of its nation, once bright by the revelation granted it, even as the sun in the world's system, and passing away of God's covenant and the Old Testament dispensation from the Jews to the Gentiles. The cry to the hills and rocks for covering was illustrated by the actual hiding of many of the Jews in the cloacæ from the Romans' fury: as Christ hath said, "Then shall ye begin to call upon the hills," &c.

In the *Sealing Vision* the four angels are explained to mean the four great empires, combined at length into the Roman, which desolated other lands, restraining the winds of life and happiness: Christ being the sealing angel, and the 144, 000 the number of elect alive at one and

² "Denarius Dominum designat. Binæ ergo libræ tritici denario copulantur; quia quod sancta Scriptura loquitur ad unius Dei omnipotentiam, magnitudinem, bonitatem, atque severitatem pertinet." I suppose Berengaud meant the denarius to figure Christ, somewhat like Arethas, (see p. 368 Note ²,) as having the king's image on it.

¹ Compare Arethas on the same 6th Seal, p. 368, *suprà*.

the same time.¹ Berengaud expounds the Christianized meaning of each of the names of the twelve Jewish tribes; last of all that of *Benjamin*, meaning the *son of my right hand*. Whence, says he, a natural transition to the palm-bearing vision. “Having brought down the saints’ history in their mystical names to this point of their collocation at God’s right hand in heaven, it is fit that this vision should next, in the 7th place, represent their heavenly blessedness.”

His first chronological septenary thus ended, Berengaud makes a singular break between it and the next, by interpreting the 7th Seal as a kind of parenthetical notice of Christ’s first advent: the half-hour’s silence figuring the general peace under Augustus, and Roman toleration of the Church, continued till Nero’s persecution.² Then, coming to the septenary of the *Trumpet-Angels*, he explains them of divinely-taught preachers, sounding forth the brazen trumpet, under nearly the same septenary of *æras* as was noted before; the six first being the *patriarchal*,³ the *lawgiving*,⁴ the *prophetic*,⁵ *Christ’s own æra*,⁶ that of the *Gnostic confuting primitive doctors*,⁷ and that of the *Rome-subduing martyrs*.⁸—And, after a parenthetical exposition of Apoc. 10, as depicting the source of the Church’s support and light, like as of Israel in Egypt, under all the trials above noted,—the *Angel’s descent* in which is construed of Christ’s incarnation, veiled in the cloud of humanity, with the iris of mercy and light of divine glory attendant, his feet the two Testaments, the Book opened in hand that of the Scriptures, the seven thunders figures of the seven virtues, unknown in their full spirituality except through Christ, and sealed up partially from weaker Christians, unable to bear them, the charge to eat the book, and prophesy again, being true both of John personally, when returned from Patmos, and of all the apostles and Christian teachers,—after this Berengaud supposes a sudden transition to the times of Antichrist, and of the two Witnesses against him: the transition, he says, being not unnatural; as passing from

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁸ Martyrs opposed to the four angels; *i.e.* (these being the same as the four angels in Apoc. 7) to persecutors out of the Roman empire; an empire signified also by Babylon’s river, the Euphrates. These martyrs he supposes by their invincible resolution and gospel-preaching to have stirred up the Roman Pagans to persecute them;—the horses’ heads being the Roman emperors; the sulphur from the horses’ mouths their blasphemy; and the fire their persecuting proclamations.

Christ's ministry when the Jews were cast out, to that of Enoch and Elias, which is to restore them.

And, in the account of the *Witnesses*, Berengaud expounds the measuring the court and its worshippers to signify Christian ministers, ministering to their edification: the reed being the gospel; the rod, church discipline; and those cast out as Pagans, the Jews: the fire from the Witnesses' mouth signifying their doctrine kindled by God's Spirit; their heaven-shutting, a judgment literally to be understood, it might be, but rather spiritually: their place of death, the street of the world's great city, Babylon,¹ consisting of all the reprobate; and its duration, $3\frac{1}{2}$ days, meant in the sense of $3\frac{1}{2}$ years.²

Then, their revival and resurrection described, the prophecy passes, says Berengaud, to describe the history and evils of the great Witness-slayer, *Antichrist*: a commencement being however made from the Devil's first injuries to Christ and the Church, at his first advent; prior and preparatory to the last injuries through Antichrist.—In Apoc. 12 the *travailing Woman* might mean both the Virgin Mary and the Church:³ Christ himself being the male child born of the one, Christians of the other; the one snatched up to God at his ascension, the others at death: the opposing *Dragon's* [or Devil's] *seven heads* figuring the reprobate of the same *seven ages*, as before specified; and his dejection effected by Michael, through Christ's ministry, casting him out of the hearts of the elect, into the reprobate. The Woman's $3\frac{1}{2}$ times' nourishment in the wilderness, after the Dragon's dejection, means first, and on the scale of literal time, the early disciples feeding on Christ's doctrine, separate from the world;¹ as also the feeding of the *souls* of the faithful ("dapibus gloriæ cœlestis patriæ") on the glories of a heavenly home, during the whole time from Christ's passion to the world's end: while the wilderness of her refuge symbolized heaven; (such is Berengaud's singular explanation;)² somewhat like the wilderness of the ninety-nine sheep in Luke 15:4.—Then at length the Devil goes against the *remnant* of the Woman's seed, *left at the end of the world*; and attacks them through the *Beast*, i. e. *Antichrist*.

Of which *Beast* Berengaud explains the *seven heads* as the seven principal vices, affixed like the seven wicked spirits in the parable; and the *ten horns* wearing diadems, as the nations subjugated by him: his mouth speaking great things, as of one boasting himself to be the Son of God; his blasphemies, as of one denying Jesus Christ's godhead, asserting the worthlessness of Christ's religion, and inability of martyrs and saints to profit men: also as arguing from the fact of men's passions being implanted by God, in proof that they might abandon themselves to

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

² A passage noted by me Vol. iii. p. 279.

³ So Arethas.

¹ The $3\frac{1}{2}$ years' duration of Christ's ministry being the ground-work of the larger interpretation of the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, so as with Ambrose Ansbert. See p. 350 *suprà*.

² Compare Methodius' "à malis desertum;" p. 298 *suprà*.

licentiousness. (This is, I think, the earliest suggestion I have noticed of Antichrist being in any way an *avowed infidel*, and *open advocate of licentiousness*.)—The *second Beast* he interprets as the Preachers of Antichrist: its two lamb-like horns signifying his constituency of Jewish and Gentile reprobates; just as the Lamb's seven horns figured all the elect: and the *Beast's image*, images of Antichrist, which Antichrist's priests will make men worship.—As to his *name* and *number*, says Berengaud, I know it not: for any one might at baptism have a name of that number given him. Then, passing on to the vision of Apoc. 17, the *Beast-riding Harlot* is explained (besides her general signification as the world) to be especially *Rome*; and her predicated burning and spoiling by the ten kings, as the destruction of ancient Rome by the Gothic barbarians:³ (with reference however, as Rome was professedly Christian at that time, to the reprobate in her:) also the *Beast* (here *the Devil*) ridden by her, as that which “*was*” during his unquestioned sovereignty of the world before Christ's coming; which “*is not*,” i. e. in the same power as before, since Christ's overthrow of Satan; and which “*is to be*” again, on Antichrist's revelation. As to the *Beast's heads*, they meant the same as the Dragon's in Apoc. 12. Of these the *first five* had passed away when John had the Apocalypse revealed to him, the *fifth* being the Jews just then destroyed by the Romans: the *sixth* signified the then existing Roman Pagan persecutors; and the *seventh*, Antichrist. The *eighth*, or *Beast itself* of Apoc. 17,¹ was, as just before observed, the Devil.

On other lesser points I have only to add that Berengaud makes the 144,000 of Apoc. 14 to be the elect in heaven,² while the 144,000 of Apoc. 7 were the elect alive on earth; explains the earth's *harvest* of the good, its *vintage* of the bad: in Apoc. 15 reads λιθον for λινον, like Jerome and Andreas, said of the dress of the Vial-Angels; and interprets the Angels themselves as preachers of the same seven æras as before. In Apoc. 16 he makes the *Euphrates' drying up* to mean the drying up of persecution, that so the way may be opened to the Gentiles to believe; explains the *millennium* like Augustine; and, on the Angel's showing St. John the New Jerusalem, notes very distinctly John's representative character; “*Johannes typum gerit cæterorum fidelium.*”

In conclusion, on considering retrospectively the character of the Apocalyptic exposition of this our 3rd Period, from A.D. 500 to A.D. 1100, or thereabouts, the question following may naturally suggest itself;—How was it that when the “*let*,” so much talked of by the earlier Fathers, had just before this period's opening been so strikingly taken away, by the utter breaking up of the old Roman empire proper, and its division into something ominously like the ten predicted subdivisions of prophecy, there was yet wanting among prophetic expositors all recognition of that sign of the times;³ and little thought or care being manifested about the apparently necessary consequence of Antichrist's development occurring even then synchronically. And we

³ I beg my readers to mark this.

¹ He seems to make the Beast of Apoc. 13. *Antichrist*; of Apoc. 17 the *Devil*.

² Without spot, says Berengaud, because of the pollution contracted from the world having been washed away by penitence and tears, or by works of charity, or *per flagella*, by scourging, or at any rate “*post mortem igni purgatorio.*”—Purgatory was now established.

³ At least till Berengaud; see p. 377.

shall find, I think, in answer to the question, that three causes connected with prophetic interpretation powerfully contributed to that result:—1st, the universal prevalence in the West of the Origenic or Tichonian *anagogic* principle of interpretation, through-out almost the whole of the period under review;¹ and indeed to a considerable extent in the East also; whereby all that was topographically or chronologically most definitely applicable to Papal Rome in the prophetic symbols was spiritualized away into some mere general religious or moral truth: witness the explanations of the Apocalyptic symbols of the *Beast*, and *Beast's seven heads*, and *Beast's ten horns*, and *Babylon*, in Primasius, Bede, Ambrose Ansbert, Andreas, as if respectively the body of the Devil regnant, the world's successive ages, the world's kingdoms, and world itself:²—2ndly, the fact of the *Greek Byzantine ruler* being still called and thought of as *Roman emperor*, after the Gothic catastrophe, albeit not having Rome itself as the seat and centre of his power, like the Beast of the Apocalypse; as also, some three centuries later, Charlemagne and the Frank emperors in the West: whence the reasoning, as if the “let” still remained, that we see exemplified alike in Adso of Western Europe,³ and the pseudo-Athanasius,⁴ and Theophylact and Æcuinenius too, who were Greek Biblical expositors of the 10th and 11th centuries:⁵—3. the generally received idea of the time they lived in being a part of the Apocalyptic millennium, precursive to the little 3½ years' season of Satan's loosing, and the manifestation of Antichrist.⁶—To all which there is to be added the *political* fact that the Bishops of Rome, (the true Antichrist, as I doubt not,) rose gradually and almost furtively, in the first centuries of this æra, to political

¹ Mr. C. Maitland says (p. 279), with reference to the mediæval æra, which he dates from Rome's separation from the Byzantine dominion, accomplished A.D. 730, “Once more the popular style of [prophetic] exposition is entirely changed.” My readers will naturally be surprised at such a statement: as they will have seen that in the West, for some two or three centuries after that date, all the chief expositors, as Bede, Ambrose Ansbert, Haymo, did but follow the same mystical anagogic style of exposition as Tichonius and Primasius before them; while in the East Arethas professedly followed Andreas of the 6th century. Possibly Mr. C. M. may have meant that it changed after Jerome.

² See pp. 341, 342, 346, 352, 362, 363, *suprà*.

³ So *Adso* of the 10th century: abstracted p. 370 *suprà*. So too *Lanfrane*, Archbishop of Canterbury in the 11th century, on 2 Thess. 2:7:—“*He who now letteth*: he means the Roman empire; after the destruction of which Antichrist will come.”

⁴ For the *pseudo-Athanasius*, see p. 313 Note ⁴.

⁵ *Theophylact* was Archbishop of Bulgaria in the 11th century. Speaking of the *let* being the Roman empire, and of its taking away as of an event still future in his time, he says; “*Eo dissoluto, vacuo insidiabitur [Antichristus] imperio, eique instabit; conabiturque cum hominum tum Dei imperium rapere.*” So too *Æcumnius*; an expositor who was his contemporary, or nearly so. (See *Malvenda* i. 396.) In their exposition of St. Paul these both follow Chrysostom generally; and, like him, forbore from writing any direct Apocalyptic commentary.

It may be well to compare on this point the surmisings of *Andreas* and *Arethas*. See pp. 362, 369.

⁶ So all the expositors after Tichonius and Augustine.

power; and with such admixture too of lamb-like pretensions to sanctity, as well as lion-like pretensions in character of Christ's Vicegerent,¹ as served in that dark and unintellectual æra to blind the minds of expositors to the Pope's real answering to the prophetic Antichrist: though this was but in truth what Hippolytus and others had inferred from prophecy respecting the mode of Antichrist's in coming. Further the *moral* fact is to be remembered, that the corruption of Christian doctrine and worship enforced by Papal Rome,² which was one grand mark of the antichristian apostasy, was participated in, more or less, by the expositors themselves, alike in the West and in the East:³ whence the rather their blindness to the great fact of the already developed Antichrist.

But, as the 11th century wore away, everything prepared for, and symptoms very significant betokened, that a new æra of prophetic interpretation was approaching. The *Papacy* had risen under Gregory VII, ere the conclusion of the 11th century, to such a height of power as well as of pretension,⁴ and abused it to the enforcement of such unchristian dogmas, albeit in the profest character of Christ's Vicar, as to force on the minds of the more discerning surmisings about the Popes and Papal Rome, and their possible prefiguration in Apocalyptic prophecy, scarce dreamed of before. Already, just before the year 1000, *Gherbert* of Rheims had spoken in solemn council of the Pope upon his lofty throne, radiant in gold and purple; and how that, if destitute of charity, he was Antichrist sitting in the temple of God.⁵ And *Berenger* in the 11th century, as if Apocalyptically instructed, and with special reference to the Popes' enforcement of the antichristian dogma of transubstantiation, declared the Roman See to be not the apostolic seat, but the seat of Satan.⁶—The passing away of the *millennial year* 1000, without any such awful mundane catastrophe, loosing of Satan, and manifestation of Antichrist, as had been popularly expected,¹ tended to make men earnestly reason and question both on the long received

¹ So Gregory 1. See my Vol. i. p. 401–403.

² See my Vol. i. p. 473.

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

³ See, for example, Ambrose Ansbert's exprest approbation of angel-mediatorship, p. 349 *suprà*.

⁴ Especially in Gregory's mighty contest with the emperor Henry.

⁵ See my Vol. ii. p. 78, Note 1.

⁶ See Vol. ii. pp. 280, 281.

Let me observe that it is stated by Bishop Hurd that Berenger wrote a Commentary on the Apocalypse: and he ascribes Berenger's anti-Romish sentiments on the subject of transubstantiation to this origin; as I have observed in my Vol. ii. p. 281, on the Witnesses. How much could we have desired that this Commentary should have been preserved to us! But I am not aware that it is anywhere extant.

¹ See my Vol. i. p. 170.

millennial theory, and on that of the Antichrist intended in prophecy, more than before.²—Moreover the incoming of the 12th century from Christ promised (should the world last through it) to open to expositors the first possible opportunity of some way applying the *year-day* principle (which had never been unrecognized) not to the smaller $3\frac{1}{2}$ *days'* prophetic period only, but also to the great prophetic period of *the 1260 days*, without abandonment of the expectation, ever intended, of Christ's second advent being near.³

Such, I say, were the new circumstances of the times, which promised to operate powerfully in the new opening æra on prophetic interpretation. Besides that the very intellectual expansion of men's minds necessitated a change from the long established mystical system of interpretation, for one more definite and explicit. Even in the Commentary by Berengaud, with its seven successive æras, (however unskilfully and unsuccessfully applied to the Apocalyptic prophecy,) we yet see an illustration of the natural tendency of expositors' minds, then already acting, towards the adoption of some *chronologically consecutive scheme of Apocalyptic interpretation*: in place of that so long prevalent in Christendom, which explained it as mainly significant of *general and constant Christian truths or doctrines*:—some one more consonant in this respect with common sense; and also with the precedent of Daniel's prophecies, as expounded in great part by inspiration itself.

§ 4. FROM A.D. 1100 to THE REFORMATION

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

1. And 1st, before proceeding to Joachim Abbas, let me briefly notice a short Treatise on the Apocalyptic Seals by *Anselm*, Bishop of Havelburg in the Magdeburgensian Diocese:¹ a Treatise composed A.D. 1145, as appears on the face of the document; and on the following occasion. It

² Mr. Faber (On Waldenses, p. 394) speaks of Tissington, a writer of the 14th century, saying that it was a day-dream of Berenger's (Berengarium somnium) that at the expiration of 1000 years from Christ's death Satan was loosed; and his loosing evidenced in the promulgation of before unequalled heresies and errors by the *Romish Church*, especially that of transubstantiation.

³ See my Vol. iii. p. 265.

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

seems that Anselm (who had been previously Secretary to the Emperor Lotharius the Second) having been sent on an embassy to the Greek Emperor Manuel at Constantinople, was challenged by some Greek bishops there, publicly to discuss the points of difference between the Latin and the Greek Churches; with which request he complied: and that having successfully defended, as was thought, the Latin cause, he was desired by Pope Eugenius to write an abstract of the discussion; which he did, in the form of dialogue. By way of introduction to this discussion, and with a view to answer difficulties on religion, which might arise in some minds, from the circumstance of *so many different forms of religion existing* in different countries and different ages, he prefixed to the Dialogues a preliminary book, showing that there had been from the first one body of the Church, governed by one Spirit; that in the Old Testament times, from Abel even to Christ, the Church had ever held the rite of sacrifice, though with ceremonies often varied; and been under the influence of faith, though with imperfect knowledge of the articles of Christian faith: also, with reference to New Testament times, that various different successive states of the Church had been expressly foreshown, indeed *seven* different states from Christ to the consummation; the prefiguration of them having been given in the *Apocalyptic Seals*. In this curious manner it is that Anselm's views on this prophecy were given to the world. It may perhaps be called the earliest *Church-Scheme*, properly speaking, *of the Apocalyptic Seals*; and is, in brief, as follows.

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

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

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

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

5. *Souls under the altar*. Here is the Church's *fifth* state. Then the souls of the saints which will have shed their blood for Christ, considering the infinite miseries of the Church in its three

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

² "Hæretici ... qui, dum in manu sua dolosam stateram trutinantes habent, æquitatem de fide disputando proponunt; sed minùs cautos levissimo unius yel minimi verbi pondere fallunt, et in partem sui erroris pertrahunt."

previous states, moved with compassion will cry out, "How long, O Lord, dost thou not avenge our blood?"

6. The *sixth* state of the Church is when there shall arise the most vehement persecution in the times of Antichrist,¹ answering to *the great earthquake* of the sixth seal. Then Christ, the Sun of righteousness, shall be hidden; Christian professors fall from the Church into earthly-mindedness; and the heaven, or Church itself, pass away, together with its sacraments, altogether from the public view.

7. The *seventh* state is that of the saints' rest; a rest in the beatific vision: as it is said, "When he had opened the seventh seal there was *silence in heaven* for about the space of half an hour."

So Anselm of the seven Apocalyptic Seals: a scheme chiefly exhibiting views of the Church's successive trials and evils.—I may observe, further, that in one or two passing notices of the vision of the Dragon and travailing Woman, Apoc. 12, he makes what is said of the Dragon's persecution of the Woman, or Church, after she had brought forth Christ her male child, to be chronologically parallel with the times of the red horse of the second Seal; also the Dragon's going forth to persecute the rest of the Woman's seed, Apoc. 12:17, to have been fulfilled in the heresies introduced after Constantine's overthrow of Paganism,² by heretics that bore on their hearts the *mark of the Beast*.

2. I now pass on to *Joachim Abbas*; a person of greater repute and greater influence, as an expounder of prophecy, than any other whatever in the middle age. He was a Calabrian by birth, and in early life had made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem: a city at that time still held by the successors of the Crusaders; though threatened by Mussulman enemies surrounding it. The lively recollection of what he then saw had probably not a little influence on Joachim's interest in and views of prophecy. Indeed it was there and then, in the Holy Church and Sepulchre, that the idea was first impressed on his mind of having a call to the illustration of prophetic Scripture.³ About the year 1180 he had been elected Abbot of the monastery of Curacio in Calabria, near Cosenza: but, having already at that time become famous for his gift in Scriptural research and explication, he received express permission from Pope Lucius III, in the year 1182, to retire a while from the Abbacy and its active occupations, in order to give himself more entirely to these studies. In 1183, at the Convent of Casemaire, Luke, then a monk of the monastery, and afterwards Archbishop of Cosenza, tells us that he was assigned as secretary to Joachim:¹ and that night and day both himself and two other monks were employed by Joachim, as his assistants and scribes in two works on which he was then busy; one on the *Concord of the Old and New Testament*, the other

¹ Norbert, a contemporary of Anselm, and friend of the celebrated Bernard, is an example of the expectation entertained at this point by some persons of reputation, of the speedy appearance of Antichrist. See my Vol. ii. p. 368, Note 2.

² Compare pp. 315, 333 *suprà*.

³ See Moreri in his Dictionary, on the article *Joachim*.

¹ I take my account from Fleury's *Histoire Ecclesiastique*, Liv. 74.—Luke makes this year 1183, the date of the commencement of Joachim's writing:—"Hen obtint la permission d'écrire, et commença à le faire." *Ibid*.

on *the Apocalypse*.² It was for a year and a half, according to this informant, that Joachim thus occupied himself at the convent, “dictating and correcting.” At what time he finally finished his Apocalyptic comment seems uncertain. In A.D. 1190, when our king Richard was at Messina, on his way to the Holy Land, he was full of the subject. We have in Roger de Hoveden an interesting account of the king’s sending for him, and hearing him lecture on it, induced by his high reputation for prophetic lore;³ together with a sketch of certain views as to the future which he then propounded from the Apocalypse: views partially contradicted however by the event soon after; and which in the commentary, as finally corrected by him, appear, as we shall see afterwards, considerably modified. In the copy of the commentary handed down to us,⁴ I observe a notice of something that he states himself to have heard in the year 1195.¹ Hence I conceive that he corrected and improved the Work till near the time of his death; which happened, according to Fleury, in the year 1202.—I now proceed to give a sketch of his exposition.

A brief *Prologue*, and then an *Introductory Book*, are prefixed to the Exposition; which Exposition is itself divided into six PARTS.—In the *Prologue* he takes care prominently to state, that he had not entered on the work presumptuously, and merely from his own judgment; but by the authority, and at the command, of the Roman See; a brief Monitory of Pope Clement on which point, and one which alludes to the previous mandates of the two Popes preceding, is inserted.²

² “L’Abbé me donna à lui pour lui servir de secretaire; et j’éerivois jour et nuit dans des cahiers ce qu’il dietoit ct corrigeoit sur des brouillons, avec deux autres moines ses écrivains.”—The intimate connexion of the two Works will appear at my p. 387.

³ “The same year (1190) Richard hearing by common report, and by the relation of many persons, that there was a certain ecclesiastic of the Cistercian order in Calabria, named Joachim, abbot of Curacio, who had the spirit of prophecy, and predicted future events to the people, sent for him; and took pleasure in hearing the words of his prophecy, and wisdom, and learning. For he was a man learned in the Holy Scriptures; and interpreted the visions of St. John the Evangelist, which the same John relates in the Apocalypse, which he wrote with his own hand: in hearing which the king of England and his followers took great delight.”

What follows in Roger respecting Joachim’s explanation of Apoc. 12, 13, 17, and of the Woman, Dragon, and Beast Antichrist, there symbolized, is given at p. 118 infra.

⁴ My edition is that of Venice, 1527; of 221 leaves.

¹ See p. 397 infra. Again, he in one place seems to allude to A.D. 1200, as the date of his final recension. See my Note ², p. 388.

² “Breve Admonitorium seu Preceptorium Summi Pontificis, ut quàm citius perficiat expositionis Apocalypsis, et se Pontifici presentet.”

“Clemens Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilecto filio Joachim Abbati de Curatio, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Canonis suadet, et debitum evangelical charitatis, ut in cunctis actibus nostris ad id plurimum intendamus, qualiter seeundum veritatis evangelieæ testimonium opera nostra bona luceant coram hominibus; ut ex cis proficiendi materiam eapiant, et exemplum. Quoniam igitur, jubente et exhortante

And, in the same spirit of deference to the Roman See, he leaves also prefixed a solemn charge to the Priors and Brethren of his Abbey, to have his writings immediately and formally submitted to its judgment; in case of his death occurring before this was done.³

From the *Introductory Book*, (one of several chapters, preceding the main Commentary,)⁴ it may suffice to note what he says of the Three Ages, the Apocalyptic seven-sealed Book, and the Concord of the Two Testaments.

1. Noticing the old Jewish threefold division of time, *before the law, under the law, and under the Messiah or gospel*, he observes that the last period of these three may be itself divided into three; viz. that of the *gospel letter, gospel spirit, and vision of God*; so making up five in all;¹ and that, omitting the first and last of the five, he would mean by *the three states of the world*,² when spoken of in his Treatise, the three intermediate æras: viz. 1. from Abraham to John the Baptist and Christ; 2. from Christ to the time of the fulness of the Gentiles; 3. from that to the consummation.

2. He states that certain *mysteries of the Old Testament history* were depicted by the *seven Seals* of the Apocalyptic seven-sealed Book: and that these mysteries were *opened* by Christ after his resurrection.³

3. He illustrates the *concord of the two Testaments*; and correspondence of certain events affecting the Old Testament Church, with certain that affected the New Testament Church, the latter being a kind of fuller expansion and accomplishment of the types of the former: and this in the seven æras following, signified under the seven Seals.⁴ We have here the key to Joachim's Apocalyptic views.

OLD TESTAMENT.

NEW TESTAMENT.

SEAL

SEAL

bonæ memoriæ Lucio Papà prædecessore nostro, expositionem Apocalypsis et Opus Concordiæ inchoasse, et postmodum auctoritate Domini Papæ Urbani successoris ipsius composuisse dicaris, caritatem tuam monemus et exhortamur in Domino, per Apostolica Scripta mandantes, quatenus laboribus tuis in hâc parte peroptatum et debitum finem imponens, (gratiâ Domini prosequente,) ad utilitatem proximorum opus illud complere, et diligenter studeas emendare; veniensque ad nos quàm citius opportunitas aderit, discussioni apostolicæ sedis, et iudicio, ut præsentis. Sin velis in abscondito retinere, diligenti curâ prospicias quâ possis Summi Patris-familias offensam de talento scienciæ tibi credito satisfactione placare." Leaf 1².*

Datum Late. sexto Idus Junii, Pontificatûs nostri anno primo. (i.e. A.D. 1188.)

³ The date given is MC; which is evidently incorrect. I presume it should be MCC. Leaf 1².

⁴ It occupies from Leaf 2² to 26².

¹ Leaf 5².

² Leaf 6.

³ Leaf 6².

⁴ See his Leaf 6 to 10.

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

“Apertio sexti sigilli,” he concludes, “nuper initiata, in paucis annis vel diebus consummationem accipiet. Exinde erit sabbatum, sicut in diebus Johannis:³ et in eo status iste

⁵ See p. 391, Notes1 and2, infra.

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

² At Leaf 9², he allows *two generations*, or some 60 years, from A.D. 1200, as the *interval of transition* from the *second* to the *third state*. I shall have to remark afterwards on curtain inconsistencies and obscurities in his statements about his 6th and 7th Periods.

³ What sabbath in St. John's days?

secundus consummationem accipiet. Ut autem in tempore sexti signaculi percussa est vetus Babylon, ita et nunc percutietur nova. Et sicut tunc Assyrii et Macedones deterruerunt Judæos, ita et nunc Saraceni, et qui post eos venturi sunt pseudo-prophetæ, facient mala multa in terrâ, et talem tribulationem qualis non fuit ab initio. Consummatis autem pressuris istis adveniet tempus beatum:”—a time when “the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea.,’⁴

Other chapters are on “the Dragon and Antichrist;” “De duplici intelligentiâ distinctionis;” “Pulchrum mysterium;” “On the difference of sabbaths;” “On the perfection of the numbers five and seven,” &c., not now needful to enter on. Let me only in passing call attention to the heading of one; “De vitâ activâ designate in *Petro*, et de contemplativâ in *Joanne*.”⁵ On various occasions this view of Peter as type of the priestly order, John of the monastic, is put forward by Joachim.

In proceeding I omit noticing the Part i. of Joachim’s Commentary,⁶ relative to the Epistles to the seven Churches, as not to my point: and pass on to its Part ii.,⁷ Leaf 114, where it enters on the subject of the Seals: observing, as we pass on, that he explains the four Cherubim around the throne to signify the four ecclesiastical orders of pastors, deacons, doctors, and the contemplatives:⁸ or, with a certain reference to chronological succession, first, the apostles; second, the martyrs and confessors; third, the doctors of the 4th and 5th centuries; fourth, the virgins or monks.⁹

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

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

3rd Seal. The *black horse* was the Arian Clergy, masters of error and darkness: the *balance* symbolizing the “disputatio literæ,”¹ and cunning dialectics of the Arians. “Sed tu tene tuum pondus: tu serva numerum quem audisti!” viz. “a choenix of wheat for a denarius.” This choenix,

⁴ Leaf 9².

⁵ Leaf 17².

⁶ From L. 26₂ to L. 99.

⁷ Extending from L. 99 to L. 123.

⁸ So L. 106, on Apoc. 4:6.

⁹ So on the opening of the four first successive Seals, L. 114–116.

¹ Joachim often cites St. Paul’s saying, “For the letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life.”

or two pounds (*bilibres*), of wheat (the food of man), Joachim explains as having reference to the two Testaments, of which the perfect doctrine well corresponds with the Denarius, as the perfect number; while the three chœnixes or bilibres, i. e. the six pounds of barley (more properly the food of cattle), might refer to the “sex tempora laboriosa,” from Abraham to John the Baptist, “quibus indicta sunt omnia servilia ad sanum atque perfectum intellectual perducere!” Or perhaps the two pounds’ weight of wheat, announced from among the four living creatures, might allude to the cry of the two Seraphim, Holy, Holy, Holy! “Which cry had the wretched Arius heard, he would never have impeached the Deity of the Son or Holy Ghost.”²—The Order of the *Catholic Doctors* here proclaimed the truth.

4th Seal.—The *pale horse* signified the Saracens, those destroyers of much of the Greek Church and Empire; the *rider* Mahomet. For, “Quis tam rectè *Mors* appellari potuit quàm ille perditus Maometh, qui tot millium hominum factus est causa mortis!” (Joachim identifies this with the little horn of Daniel’s fourth Beast; and supposes the subject to be continued to the 5th and 6th Seals, as well as referred to again more fully afterwards.) By “Hades following” was perhaps meant *Meses Mutus*; a Mahomedan persecutor of Christians, then ruling in Mauritania.¹—It was the Order of *Monks and Virgins* that here answered to the fourth Cherub, crying, Come and see!—(Israel’s fourth tribulation, from the Syrians and Assyrians, is the Jewish parallel referred to by Joachim.)

5th Seal.—By the *altar of God*, which is associated with this Seal, as the four Cherubs were with the Seals preceding, is meant the *Romish Church*, including both clergy and monks. As the four primary persecutions originated in Judæa, Rome, Greece, and Arabia, so this fifth in Mauritania and Spain; where many Christians of the Romish communion have been killed even until now. For, whenever the Saracen powers might seem to have fallen, they have always remarkably been revived, *like the Beast’s head* in Apoc. 13: much as was also revived the Assyrian power, again persecuting Israel, under Holofernes.² To which are to be added the injuries suffered by the Romish Church from the Latin Emperors.³—“And they cried, How long, O Lord, dost not thou avenge, &c.” A different cry this from that of the proto-martyr Stephen! For of the just, some, like him, are more patient.—The *white robes given* signify how the martyrs pass from mourning to joy.—The words, “till their brethren be judged, that are to be slain even as they,”

² Joachim suggests various other fanciful analogies.

¹ Joachim omits the last clause of the verse, “And power was given over the fourth part (or over four parts) of the earth, to kill with the sword, and with famine, and with pestilence, and with wild beasts.” So that we cannot clearly tell which reading he followed, *the 4 parts*, or *the 4th part*.

I suppose however that he read *four parts*; because, in explaining the symbol of Mahomet and the Saracens, he says, “Gentem crudelcm cujus detestanda germina *terroæ latitudinem* occupasse dolemus.”

² So Joachim, L. 116².

³ I add this from Joachim’s general sketch of the Seals (see p. 387 *suprà*), though here omitted; because it is referred to in the next Seal, and was therefore omitted by oversight.

show that after the fifth Seal, "*in cuius extremitate nos sumus*,"⁴ there remains still to be accomplished a final martyr-conflict and suffering.

6th Seal.—Earthquake, &c. Here is the beginning of the Apocalyptic Babylon's *day of judgment*. "Perpende verba hæc misera Babylon; ecce enim appropinquat desolatio tua; à sæculis predicta est.... Necesse est enim ut in sexto recipias quod in quinto tempore contulisti." But who or what is Babylon? Whoever by moral or physical influence opposes the Church of Peter.¹ Specially he includes here all false Christians or false members of the Roman Church in the Germanic Roman Empire; those princes inclusive who are to tear the Harlot, as stated in Apoc. 17, and who are afterwards openly to fight with the Lamb: "Ipsi enim reges qui percussuri sint Fornicariam, ut emudent superficiem terræ, pugnaturi sunt cum Agno; et Agnus vincet illos."² This *day of judgment*, he says, is to be understood in a larger sense, as well as stricter: the *large* for a certain indefinite period of judgment; as Paul, "Us on whom the ends of the world are come:"³ a *stricter*, when the just shall rise to eternal life, the wicked to eternal punishment.—Here the *earthquake* is the earthquake of terror in the hearts of men: the *sun and moon darkened*, the spiritual eclipse of Christian doctrine, as set forth both by the monastic and the clerical orders: (of which, as even now almost commencing, fearful symptoms appear:) the *heaven passing away*, the passing away of the light-dispensing Church, so as that there be no more public preaching: (though some will still exhort in secret:) just as it is said in Apoc. 13 "that none might buy or sell," i. e. none offer (professedly) the priceless gospel, but they that had the Beast's mark. The *islands and mountains fleeing away* means the dissolution of episcopal churches and monasteries. The *kings of the earth* noted are the same that in Apoc. 19 are seen to gather against the Lamb; being God's instruments, bad though they be, for purging the Lord's threshing-floor of its chaff in the mystic Babylon. At which time many thousands will fall in martyrdom, to complete the martyr-number, as intimated in the fifth Seal.⁴—Then, Babylon having thus been judged, the Mahomedan nations (joined by false prophets apostatized from Christianity) will prophesy triumph to their law. But the Lamb shall conquer them.

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

⁴ L. 117².

¹ "Quicumque Petri ecclesiam moribus viribusque impugnant, Babylonis se filios contremiscant." 117.

² On Apoc. 17. Joachim more fully explains himself about Babylon, and the Beast, and the kings that loved the harlot; the latter including wicked anti-papal prelates, as well as princes. Babylon, it must always be remembered, is supposed by Joachim to mean the *Western Roman Empire*; and so to include what he calls *Jerusalem*, i.e. the true Romish Church, within it. But see the Comment on that Chapter.

³ 118.

⁴ See again the Comment on Apoc. 17.

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

7th Seal. As in Luke 23 it is said that “the women rested (*siluerunt*) on the Sabbath according to commandment,” so the *half-hour’s silence* of this seal may mean the *sabbath-keeping*, especially in a contemplative life. So in Ps. 84, “I will be *silent* to hear what the Lord God may say concerning me.”—In the corresponding æra under the Old Testament, viz. after Ezra and Malachi, there was a cessation too from writing Scripture. So under the coming 7th Seal the time of expounding Scripture will be ended: the mysteries of the Old Testament being solved “per concordiam;” or manifest concord, I suppose, with those of the New Testament dispensation. (Did Joachim believe the prophetic Expositor’s office closed in *himself*?)—He adds; “The *half-hour* specified I deem to be the seventh and last *half time* of the 3½ prophetic times, whether literally or mystically understood.”¹

PART III.—With the *Trumpets* Joachim makes the chronology of the Visions to retrogress to the commencement of the Gospel dispensation: the seven Trumpet-Angels being New Testament preachers, appointed to raise their voice like a trumpet; just as Israel’s trumpet-priests round Jericho. With what those priests did in one week we may compare what has been done in the

¹ 120².

² “Omnes angeli in hoc loco omnes illi electi homines intelligendi sunt; qui, etsi non sint enuraerati inter quinque ordines qui specialius pertinent ad civitatem, pertinent tamen ad suburbana et vicos.” L. 121₂.

³ “Non quidem post finem sculi, cum cessabit servitus et nox doloris; sed in omni tempore isto quo perseverat edificium templi, et ignis purgatorius aliquantos affligit.” 122².

¹ L. 123.

sixth age of the world: the world being fated to fall, together with Antichrist, on the completion of seven times from Christ's birth; which seven times are all included under the world's sixth age.²

The incense-Angel is explained as Christ, after his death and ascension, offering (together with the saints) the prayers of his people;³ then sending down fire of the Holy Spirit on the apostles, and all others of spiritual understanding. Whereupon, like the thunderings and voices in vision, the voice of the Gospel sounded forth to the world; and a movement of men's hearts and souls resulted, like to the earthquake.—This stated, Joachim next proceeds to expound the Trumpets.

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

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

Trumpet 3.—The third Trumpet-Angel symbolizes the Christian Doctors from the time of Constantine. The falling meteor was *Arius*: whose pestiferous error fell on bishops and priests, from whom should flow forth streams of wisdom; and embittered the waters, Scripture being now perverted by them.—Which Arian error, and Arian persecution too, continued till the time of the Saracens.²

Trumpet 4.—The Trumpet-Angel in this case typifies the Holy Monks and Virgins: who, like celestial luminaries, walking in the high pathway of contemplation, gave light to the world; but were in a large measure quenched by the outburst of the licentious Mahometan heresy, and of the Saracens.

The *Woe-denouncing Angel* that next followed, I think, says Joachim, to have signified Pope Gregory I: who wrote so much, and so earnestly, on the world's end as near at hand, and the

² "Notandum quod non corruerunt muri Jerico, nisi in septimo, vel post septimum circuitum, et quasi in consummatione diei. Completis septem temporibus ab inearnatione Domini, cum ruinâ Antichristi ruet pariter præsens mundus ... Etenim septem ilia tempore sub sextâ continentur ætate." L. 124.

³ Christ is the *one mediator* between God and man, says Joachim distinctly; just as says the Scriptures. But not, he presently adds, the only *intercessor*. Else "decipitur (quod absit) et errat universa ecclesia; quæ; quotidie sanctorum suffragia confidenter expostulat." (!) 124².

¹ "Facta est grando duritiæ, mixta cum igne zeli, et cruore odii, et missa est in cor Synagogæ, semper terrena quærens." 127².

² 129².

coming trials of the consummation.³ If his predictions were not fulfilled, the failure arose, not from Gregory's having been deceived, but from God's mercy in withholding judgment, and prolonging the time of probation.

Trumpet 5.—“And who the *scorpion-locusts* of this Trumpet but the heretics commonly called *Pathareni*,¹ the modern Manichees?” So Joachim expounds the symbol. It is notable as about the earliest application of such Apocalyptic emblems by Romish writers to anti-Romish schismatics.

And here, let me observe, Joachim gives the current account of these heretics (the commingled Waldenses and Cathari apparently) just, no doubt, as it had reached him: nor can I pass on without briefly sketching it, as being a testimony hitherto unnoticed. He tells then that they believed all *bodies* and *flesh* to have been created by the Devil,² and Christ not to have come in the flesh; condemned lawful marriages, and enjoined abstinence from eating flesh:³ though plausibly professing all the while to be the holders and teachers of the apostolic faith:⁴ that they lived a simple life, supported by their own labour; and made great pretence to purity and righteousness;⁵ yet, when meeting at night in their synagogues, did there the deeds of darkness:⁶ that their origin was of ancient date, beyond known record:⁷ that they were divided into *believers* and *perfect men*; the latter alone bound to observe their stricter rules of life:⁸ that they were bent on proselyting;⁹ using, or rather abusing, Scripture (like the lamblike-horned false Prophet)

³ Such, the reader may remember, is in part my own explanation of the vision. It is interesting to find it suggested so early. But, so viewing it, how could Joachim place the *Saracens*, as he does, before, not after, the woe-denouncing angel?

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

² “Omnia corpora,” 130²; “omnem carnem,” 133.

³ 132².

⁴ 131.—“Verbis verisimilibus:” “Hæc quasi rationabiliter concinantes. 131, 132.

⁵ “Justitiâ præditos.” 131. Compare what I have said of the heretics examined at the Council of Arras, early in the 11th century, in my Vol. ii. p. 276.

⁶ “Nocturno, ut fertur, tempore.” 130².

⁷ “Diu est ex quo confuta fuit secta ilia: licet nesciamus à quo fuerit inchoata vel aucta.” 131². Hence the 5 months, or 150 years, assigned to the locusts figuring them. Compare my remarks on this point Vol. ii. pp. 359, 381–384.

⁸ Compare what is said in my Vol. ii. p. 398, of the twofold division of the Waldenses into the *Perfecti*, and the *general body* of the disciples: also, ib. 287, of the division of the heretics examined at Cologne in 1147, into the general body, called *believers*, and those especially set apart, called the *elect*.

⁹ p. 131.

for the purpose;¹⁰ affirming that the poor man, on joining them, became instantly rich;¹¹ arguing from their own simpler and more primitively Christian life, in contrast with that of the Catholic clergy:¹² that in doing this they made light of the risk incurred; even as if they despised the present life, and counted on eternal life, if punished with death in consequence;¹ in which case, and when burnt as heretics by the Catholic authorities, they were esteemed by their brethren as men crowned with martyrdom.²—Is not all this very corroborative of the view given by me of these so-called heretics, and other cognate sects, in my second Volume?

As to the Apocalyptic details, they are thus applied to the Pathareni. The original *opener of the abyss* God only knew. That it was some of the clergy however was evident,³ taught by the father of lies to probe the depths of worldly science; *the scorpion-locusts* being the Pathareni heretics, emerged out of the smoke of the heresy:—again the *trees* and *grass*, which the locusts are bid not to hurt, are the perfect and the simple-minded Catholics; the latter of whom, when interrogated by the heretics, turn a deaf ear, saying it is not for them, but the clergy, to dispute on questions of faith.⁴ On the other hand the men converted by the Pathareni into “believers” soon feel the venom of the sting of their perverters; the very “paleness of their face” showing them to be so wretched that they would rather die than live:⁵—conscience meanwhile accusing them of having joined the heretics only from regard to temporal benefit: it being a custom of these Pathareni to make collections at their meetings;⁶ and to hold out to poor Catholics, with whom they express sympathy, that by joining them they may both temporarily profit, and also, keeping the apostolic faith, gain eternal life.⁷—The *breastplates* indicate the hard-heartedness of the *Perfecti*: the rushing *locust-wings* their *noisy* arguings from Scripture: the *five months* of their commission, a period probably of so many *generations*: five months being equivalent to five

¹⁰ “Utuntur auctoritatibus Scripturarum; immo non utuntur, sed abutuntur.” 132₂.

¹¹ “Qui pauper venit ad illos protinus, inquit, efficitur dives.” 131. Compare what is stated in my Vol. ii. pp. 272, 399 &c.

¹² p. 131.

¹ “Ut, quasi equi preparati ad prælium, nihil vereant adversi: despicientes penitens vitam temporalem, ac si per supplicia adepturi eternam.” 132. See my Vol. ii. pp. 311–313.

² “Nam et martyres Dei nominant suos, qui forte (!) a Catholicis concremati sunt igne; existimantes illos principes seetæ suæ, gloriâ et honore coronatos in cœlis.” 132. “Ut ... vel occisi (sicut asserunt) coronentur martyrio.” 131².

³ “Clericum fuisse ... apparet.” 130².

⁴ 131. Compare Sergius’ remark in my Vol. ii. 257.

⁵ 131².

⁶ “Collectas bonorum suorum.” 131. A statement deserving observation; as not, I think, noted elsewhere about the Sect.

⁷ 131.

times thirty days, and sometimes a *day* used for a *year*.⁸ For it is long since the sect first began; indeed no one knew when.⁹—Finally, the locust-king Abaddon might be the pseudo-Apostolic man whom these heretics all profess to obey.¹

On the whole, adds Joachim, considering what St. John says, that “whosoever denies Jesus to have come in the flesh is an *Antichrist*.” and also what St. Paul prophesies of apostates in the last days, “forbidding to marry, and that there should be abstinence from meats,” we may probably conclude that *Antichrist* is *even now in the world*, though the hour of his *revelation* has not yet come: the time for *this* being under the sixth Trumpet, after the desolation of the Roman Empire,² which still offers him resistance. But the fifth Trumpet-woe is indeed but a preparation for the sixth: so that Antichrist must anticipate the latter in his *rise*; so as under the fifth, either by himself or by his messengers, to have begun to spread his poison.³

Trumpet 6.—The *voice from the four horns of the altar* means the concurrent voice of the four evangelists, declaring the evils fated to occur at this epoch of the consummation:—the *four angels bound*, the same four evil angels as in Apoc. 7, waiting only the summons to do evil, on the summons of their father the Devil, *at any time*, and *for any time*, whether “the hour, day, month, or year:”⁴ the *Trumpet-Angel*, Christian preachers; whose it is to loose the evil angels, either by *ceasing to pray* for Christendom, or simply (so as Isaiah in what is said of his making the heart of the Jews hard) in the sense of announcing their being loosed:⁵ whereupon the four angels are to lead on deceived myriads, as believers in the Antichrist, or rather Antichrists, of prophecy. Among these, some of the *Saracens* will be eminent; the same that constituted the fourth Trumpet-plague; now revived, after a temporary decline, like the Beast from the earth: many Jews too joining, and also the *Pathareni*. “Indeed,” adds Joachim, “a sensible and God-fearing man, escaped from captivity, in Alexandria, told me last year, i. e. A.D. 1195, at Messina, how he had been assured by a certain eminent Saracen, that the Pathareni had sent envoys thither to conclude an alliance with the Saracens, which had in effect been concluded.”⁶ Thus was a foundation laid for the *mystery of iniquity*. By these other savage nations are to be led on;

⁸ “Solet aliquando dies des gnare annum.” 131². The reader will mark this application of the *year-day* principle by Joachim Abbas. Another similar one will be found at p. 401 infra: also p. 406. See my Vol. iii. p. 282.

⁹ I have already noted this on the preceding page.

¹ “Nempe et Apostolicum eui omnes obediunt se fatentur. habere; de quo in præsentì loco subsequenter adjungitur:” (L. 133:) i.e. in the next verse about Abaddon.—Compare what I have said of the Pope of the Paulikians, Vol. ii. p. 289.

² Mark here another instance of the mistake about the Roman Empire, as if still unbroken and undivided, on which I have observed p. 379 *suprà*.

³ 133.

⁴ 131.

⁵ 133².

⁶ 131.

as the Turks from the East, the Moors and Berbers¹ from the South, and from the North savage nations north of Germany: all which, until the sixth Trumpet-blast, continue bound in, or by, the great river Euphrates, or Roman empire; an empire intended to be a bulwark to the Church. But when the sixth Vial has been poured out and the Euphratean waters dried up, then these powers art to fall on *Rome*, the proud city, the mystic Babylon. Would that it may take warning!. A prelude to which has been seen recently in the case of its Emperor Frederic: who (in 1189) crossed the sea with multitudes: but returned (in 1191) a mere remnant, nothing done.²—The lion-like heads of the symbol, adds Joachim, indicate open force; the serpent-tails, secret poison; whereby (the numbers being irresistible) the enemy will both dominate over the body, and by torments seek to quench faith in the soul. Joachim further intimates the identity of these powers, especially the Saracen, with the ten toes of Daniel's image; as also with the ten horns of the Beast; or ten kings in Apoc. 17, that are to tear and desolate the harlot city Rome.³—And he observes that he is not to be thought inconsistent or absurd in thus a second time supposing the Saracen power to be an actor on the scene; in the 6th, as well as in the 4th Trumpet: because the Beast's last head but one, after seeming to be dead, revived again as its last head, to do worse evils than before.

In Apoc. 9:20 a notice having been added of men's general non-repentance after the plagues above-mentioned and of their worshipping dæmons, and idols, &c.,⁴ there is given in Apoc. 10 a vision of an angel of light, sent to improve the respite before the last and greatest tribulation: the elect being thus helped to salvation, and the condemnation of the impenitent increased.

But who meant by *this Angel*? Doubtless some eminent preacher, in the spirit and power of Enoch, if not Enoch himself,⁵ descending from heaven to earth, i. e. from the contemplative to the active life: the *iris* about his head indicating his spiritual intelligence; his *face like the sun*, the communication of the light of spiritual intelligence; his *feet as pillars of fire*, the firmness of his tread (through recognition of their concord¹) in either Testament, Old or New, the land or deeper sea; as also his shedding forth lustre on either: his *lion-like voice* being a cry directed against the

¹ Or Meselmuti: 134².

² 134²

³ Ibid.

⁴ On this there occurs a curious, applicatory passage in Joachim. "Sed forte dicit aliquis, Numquid ego dæmonas et simulacra colo, ut timeam super hoc iudicium Dei? Ego non dæmonia sed Deum colo. Idola eorum muta et surda in toto pœme orbe contrita sunt." Yes, but, says Joachim, covetousness is idolatry. (136².)—Did the thought never occur to him of the *saints images*, ("surda et muta" as the heathen idols,) and *their* worship; a worship enjoined under pain of anathema by the 2nd Nicene Council?

⁵ Joachim says. Enoch or Elias, but prefers Enoch: Elias being one of the witnesses according to him; Enoch not so. 137.

¹ "Quid in pedibus ejus, qui erant quasi columna ignis, nisi *sensum concordiaë duorum Testamentorum*?" 137²⁵ 138. This, concurrently with what he says of the Angel being a great preacher, descending from the contemplative to the active life, makes me think that Joachim regarded himself as mainly the Angel intended: one grand point of his views being the *concord of the Old and New Testament*; as stated p. 387 *suprà*.

infidels remaining; and the *seven thunders* the accordant answering voices of doctors inspired by the seven spirits of God: voices sealed however from the carnal; as says the apostle, "The natural man understandeth not the things of the Spirit of God," and Christ, "Cast not your pearls before swine;" though the book of Scripture will be still opened to all. The Angel's oath indicates that it will be one part of the answering preacher's mission to proclaim the last time, and day of judgment, as near at hand: though till the event it must remain uncertain, as Augustine says,² how long may be the last day spoken of in Scripture, or in what order the details of judgment; save only that the judgment must begin, and that speedily, at the house of God; and that the subsequent "*time being no more,*" means the ending of the troublesome times of the world in the final sabbath:³ which warning cry, however, the children of this world will not hear; but say, "Where is the promise of his coming?"⁴

In the charge "*Go take the Book and eat it,*" John is the representative of the *monastic order*;⁵ as Peter elsewhere of the *clerical*. And, the latter being almost effete and worn out,⁶ it will be the special office of the former, when enlightened by the spiritual expositions of the messengers of truth, to preach the Gospel of the coming kingdom.—This will be the *third* preaching course opposed by the enemy: the other two being that by Moses, and that by Christ and his apostles.¹

Apoc. 11:1; "And there was given me a reed like a rod; and the Angel said, Rise and measure the temple, &c." The *holy city* here mentioned means (not Jerusalem and the Jewish synagogues, nor yet the Greek Church and empire, which are rather Samaria, but) the holy Roman Church and empire, "*tota Latinitas:*"² the *temple* symbolizing the ecclesiastical order, generally; the *altar*, specially the consistory of cardinals.³ To this Church was the promise given, "Thou art Peter, and on this rock, &c.;" while the Greek Church, because of its schism from the Universal Shepherd, and not being under the apostolic *reed* or discipline, is but like the temple's *outer court*, which is cast out and given to the Gentiles. Already we see this in great part fulfilled; the Saracens having

² "In fine mundi, vel circa ipsum finem, has res didicimus affirmari:—Helyam Tesbyten venturum, fidem Judæorum, Antichristum persecuturum, Christum judicaturum, mortuorum resurrectionem, bonorum malorumque discretionem, mundi conflagrationem, ejusdemque renovationem. Quæ omnia quidem ventura esse credendum est; sed quibus modis, et quo ordine Veniant, magis tunc docebit rerum experientia, quam nunc ad perfectum hominum intelligence valet." Quoted by Joachim, L. 140.

³ L. 140.

⁴ 139².

⁵ 141², 142. "Monachis designatis in Joanne." So too in Joachim's Introductory Book, 17², &c.

⁶ "De hac serotinà prædicatione, quam facturus est ordo ille quem designat Joannes, *consummato jam pent illo ordine quem significat Petrus, &c.*" 142².

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid. Compare what I have observed on *Lateinos*, as the name and number of the Beast, Vol. iii. pp. 252, 253.

³ 142².

widely laid waste the Greek churches. And it must be desolated yet more;⁴ just as the ten schismatic tribes of Israel were in Old Testament times wasted, and carried captive, by the Assyrians.⁵—And, adds Joachim, (here more fully stating his view of the judgments coming on *Rome* and *the Popedom*, which views, already hinted under the sixth Trumpet, will occur again at Apoc. 13 and 17, and call for the reader's special notice,) because of the Latin Church not repenting, but adding sin to sin, therefore the Gentiles, after desolating the Greek or outer court, are also to tread for 42 months the *holy city*, or *Latin Church and Empire*.⁶—the so defined period being identical with the 3½ times of the reign of Daniel's *little horn*, or *eleventh king*.⁷

On the *Apocalyptic Witnesses* there arise, says Joachim, the two questions; 1. *Who the two?* 2. *Whether to be taken personally or figuratively?*—On the *primary* question he states the general patristic opinion that they were to be Enoch and Elias; but, with deference, expresses his own opinion that they meant rather *Moses*¹ and *Elias*:—the same that appeared together at Christ's transfiguration, and whom what is said in the Apocalyptic sketch of the Witnesses better suits: viz. their turning the waters into blood, which Moses did, conjointly with other plagues in Egypt; and inducing a drought of 3½ years, which did Elias.—As to the *second* question, he quotes Jerome, saying, when asked about Enoch and Elias, the then supposed Witnesses to come, "that all the Apocalypse was to be *spiritually* understood: because otherwise Judaic fables would have to be acquiesced in; such as the rebuilding of Jerusalem, and renewal in its temple of carnal

⁴ On the capture of Constantinople, and overthrow of the Greek Empire by the Turks, whom Joachim and others regarded as very much identified with the Saracens, this exposition of Joachim's might naturally be recalled to mind, as if then having its fulfilment.

⁵ Compare again the Concord of the Old and New Testament; as noted by me p. 387 *suprà*, from Joachim's Introductory Book.

⁶ At L. 143,145, Joaehim distinguishes between the being *given* to the Gentiles, so as was the Greek Church, and the *trodden down*, which was to be the punishment of the Latin; the latter being still, "in respect of faith, a virgin."

⁷ Under the 11th king, says Joachim, (L. 145²) or as a contemporary with him, I think, there is to rise also the king of fierce countenance told of in Dan. 8:23:—the two combining in persecuting the Church, as did Pilate and Herod: the one, like Pilate, a Gentile chief; the other, like Herod, a heretic.

At L. 143 Joachim draws out a curious analogy between the Jews, Greeks, and Latins, on the one hand, and on the other Mary Magdalene, John, and Peter, successively visiting Christ's sepulchre:—Mary Magdalene first approaching it, while yet dark, (so as the *Jews* are in the dark,) and reporting to John and Peter: John, who was to become episcopal head of the *Greek* metropolitan city, Ephesus, next approaching it, but not entering in; until after Peter, the future Bishop and head of the *Latin* Church, had first entered. So, ultimately, the Greeks are to be recovered from their schism and heresy; and to join the Latin or true Church of Christ and Peter. L. 143–145.

¹ Whose death is not recorded, adds Joachim, like other deaths; it being said that none knows his sepulchre.

ceremonies.”² Whence, argues Joachim, we must suppose that Jerome only expected two individuals, or perhaps two spiritual orders, to come in the spirit and power of Enoch and Elias, so as did John the Baptist previously; to preach, and have the fight with Antichrist.³—On the whole the leaning of Joachim’s mind seems to be to Jerome’s view; and that the *spiritual* or *figurative* signification was to be attached to the indicated witnesses, *Moses* and *Elias*; the two orders of *clerics* and *monks* being perhaps thereby intended: (the *latter* by *Elias* who was unmarried:⁴) some individual preacher having also previously appeared, as in Apoc. 10, or some spiritual preaching order, answering to *Enoch*: which three he further identifies¹ with the three angels flying in mid-heaven with gospel-voice and warning cry, before the fall of Babylon, described in Apoc. 14.—At the same time, when coming to the notice of the 42 *months* of the prophesying, he enunciates both as regards the Apocalyptic Witnesses, and the Beast also that they are to conflict with, a larger and more general explication, as well as the more special: “the 42 *months* in which they are to preach, clothed in sackcloth, signifying *so many generations* of the *cleric* and *monastic witnessing orders*;² i. e. according to his own explanation elsewhere,³ on the year-day principle, 1260 *years*. During all which time, says he, the Gentiles and antichristian unbelievers, even till Antichrist, are to tread the Holy City; though but partially, and not so as under Antichrist proper:—just as we have already seen the outer court (or Greek Church) many years trodden by them.⁴—The witnesses’ *shutting heaven* during the time of their prophesying is

² So, respecting Jerome, at my p. 318 *suprà*.

³ Joachim mentions another thing stated by Jerome, as both his own and an earlier patristic notion respecting Enoch and Elias; viz. that in their not dying these two were typical of those that at the consummation are not to die, but only to be changed at Christ’s coming. But how could they be such a type, argues Joachim, if they have yet *personally* to conflict with Antichrist, and die in the conflict? L. 148, 148². Hence the probability that, if these two were meant in the Apocalypse, it was only in a figurative sense.

⁴ “Moses fuit vir Levita, et pastor populi Israel; Helyas vir solitarius non habens filios aut uxorem. Ille ergo significat ordinem clericorum; iste ordinem monachorum.” 148².

¹ L. 147².

² “*Quadraginta duo menses*, quibus prædicant induti saccis, significant *totidem generationes*; quibus (et verbis et exemplis) clamant dicentes, Penitentiam agite; appropinquavit enim regnum cœlorum.” 148².

³ Viz. on the *fire months* of the scorpion locusts. See p. 396 *suprà*.

Hence no doubt, in part, and from Joachim’s notice about the *two generations* from A.D. 1200, noted p. 388, the Benedictine Editor of Bernard draws his inference; “Abbas Joachim existimabat Antichristum *intra sexaginta annos* à suo tempore ad futurum. Vixit autem circà annum 1200.” (Vol. i. p. 846. Paris 1839.) Besides that elsewhere, viz. in his Lib. Concord. ii. 16, and v. 118, Joachim writes, “Accepto haud dubiè die pro anno, et 1200 diebus pro totidem annis.” So Brit. Mag. xvi. 370, 371, referred to by Todd and Harrison, Warb. Lect. 432. I have not observed any more direct expression of opinion to that effect elsewhere in Joachim’s Apocalyptic Commentary.

⁴ L. 148².

to be understood figuratively; so as in Isaiah, “Make the heart of this people fat, &c.,” and, “I will command the clouds that they rain no rain on my vineyard:” also the *fire evoked by them from heaven*, of the power of the Spirit in their words to confound their adversaries.⁵ Their being said to stand before *the Lord of the whole earth*, may mean before Daniel’s little horn, or xith King; (just as Moses and Aaron stood before Pharaoh;) seeing that he, as Prince of the world, is to reign for 3½ times, in judgment on the sins of men. Or, if Christ be meant as the Lord of the whole earth, their standing before him may indicate that in the time of their witnessing (or at least before its conclusion) Christ is to appear in that character, and to take to himself this earth’s dominion: as it is said in Psalm 2:8, “I will give thee the heathen for thy inheritance, and uttermost parts of the earth for a possession.”¹

“And when they shall have completed their testimony, the Beast, &c.” By this Beast (as will be again stated on Apoc. 13 and 17) there seems to be meant “the unbelieving multitude that were to persecute the Church, from Christ’s death down to Antichrist inclusive:” the same as the fourth Beast of Daniel.² Which Beast, towards the end of his reign,³ (false prophets assisting,) will both by fraud and force make war upon the two witness-leaders, and the body of the saints, too, more generally:⁴ first however inflicting a deathblow on the Babylon (or Roman) power resisting him.⁵—As to the place of their slaughter it might be the literal *Jerusalem*, were the two Witnesses to be slain two men literally. Against this, however, stands the fact that Jerusalem is never called *the great city*, so as Nineveh or Babylon.⁶ Therefore we may rather understand generally by the phrase *the kingdom of this world*; the body of the citizens of which have had part in slaying the saints, and in spirit participated in Christ’s crucifixion: also by the witnesses slain, all the preachers of truth.⁷ At the same time, if the prophecy is meant *especially* about two individual witnesses, the city *may* be (though still not necessarily so) the literal Jerusalem; Daniel’s 11th king having then proclaimed himself saviour of the Jewish people, and led them back to

⁵ L. 149.

¹ Ibid.

² L. 149₂. See Joachim on Apoc. 9, p. 397 *suprà*.

³ “Circù finem regni sui factura est praelium contrà sanctos.” 150.

⁴ “Præuntibus eos (sanctos) duobus viris qui sint duces eorum.” *ibid*.

⁵ “Prius dabit operam resistentem sibi diutius percutere Babylonem; et postea criget contrà Deum cornu contumaciæ suæ.” *ibid*.

⁶ *Ibid*.—Jer. 22:8, was either overlooked by Joachim, or considered inapplicable. And, if the latter, not without reason. See my Vol. ii. p. 435. It is never to be forgotten on this point that the Apocalypse has itself most expressly defined “*the city the great one*” in it to mean the *seven-hilled Rome*: and to suppose any other quite different city to be also intended in it by that self-same appellative is to suppose its writer a patron of Babylonian confusion.

⁷ 150, 150². Joachim thus observes on the adverb *where*; (“*where* also their Lord I was crucified;”) “Hoc adverbium *ubi* plerumque in divinâ paginâ non tam leci situm, quàm aut populum qui aliquando fuit in loco, aut populi ejusdem similitudinem signat.” 150².

Jerusalem.—As to the 3½ *days* of the witnesses lying dead, the meaning is affected by the same considerations. If the witnesses be two bodies or successions of men, and the 1260 *days* of their prophesying be meant *typically* of the whole time from Christ to the consummation, (already in Joachim's time near 1260 *years*;) then the 3½ *days* must mean some lesser time, after which the kingdom under the whole heaven is to be given to the saints. But if they be two individuals, and the larger specification of time is to be taken *literally*, then there must be meant the two literal witnesses' literal resurrection at the brief literal interval of 3½ days: though not the general resurrection of the dead, which is to be not till the end of the world.¹ He speaks of a large gathering of people, on the occasion, and to the place: and says that in the earthquake following, the tenth part of the city (the holy city or Church) which fell meant those clerics who, though professedly in Rome, are yet really infidels, belonging to Antichrist; and who will then openly apostatize from the faith: also that the seven thousand are laymen deceived by these clerics of Antichrist's faction, and who will also similarly apostatize.

But if Enoch (or perhaps Moses) and Elias are thus to come in the third state before the consummation, how need we to watch and beware, lest any enemy come saying, "*We are Enoch and Elias*," and deceive many! Because it is as clear as the light that a Beast *with two horns like a lamb* is to come; symbolizing false prophets, such as Christ bids us to beware of.²

Trumpet 7.—Now the mystery hidden in the Old Testament, from Moses to John the Baptist, will be consummated.—The *great voices in heaven* are preachers of that æra in the Church, announcing and rejoicing over the coming good; the 24 typical elders representing the union of all prelates in the song.³—The *time of the dead being judged* is that of the Beast and False Prophet being cast into the lake of fire; Antichrist and his fellows being specially meant in the corrupters of the earth then to be exterminated:⁴ at which time will begin the third or sabbath state;⁵ corresponding, perhaps, with Apoc. 20:4, "I saw thrones, &c:"¹ until the saints in the new bodies ascend to inherit the kingdom prepared for them.

¹ Ibid.

² 148. About the *False Prophet* see p. 408 *infrà*.

³ 152.

⁴ "Ad Antichristum et socios ejus referendum est; quòd, sicut præter solitum corrupturi sunt terram, ita præter solitum exterminabuntur de terrâ." He compares this, and makes it parallel, with Zechariah's prophecy: "I will gather all nations; and I will pour out my spirit on the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and supplication; ... and I will take away the false prophet from the land." 153.

⁵ "Ad tempus illud referendum est in quo Bestia et Pseudo-propheta mittentur in stagnum ignis ardens sulphure; et ad *tertium statum mundi*, qui erit *in sabbatum et quietem*: in quo, exterminatis prius corruptoribus terræ, regnatus est populus sanctorum Altissimi; quousque induti novis corporibus, et pacto judicio generali, ascendant simul cum Domino suo ad paratum sibi regnum ab origine mundi." 152².

¹ "Puto autem quòd mox, ubi completa fuerit passio sanctorum, incipiet septimus Angelus exaltare vocem suam; ostendens jam omnino consummata esse mysteria regni Dei: apparentibus signis in sole et

I think, adds Joachim, that there will elapse but a brief interval between the sixth trumpet's sounding and the seventh's.²

PART IV. Apoc. 12—The *travailing Woman* here figured, Joachim makes to mean *the Church* generally; but specially that Church of hermits and virgins, the children of which are the 144,000 of Apoc. 14: this Church answering to the prototype of the Virgin Mary, "Queen of heaven;" being clothed with Christ the Sun of righteousness, trampling on all sublunary glory, and bearing the crown of the twelve virtues.³

Of the figured *Dragon*, or Devil, the *body* are the multitudes of the reprobate; the Dragon's *seven heads*, the seven chief Church-persecuting successive kings of the reprobate;⁴ his *ten horns*, ten kings that have yet to reign;⁵ his *tail*, the last antichristian tyrant at the end of the world; *the third part* (said of the stars drawn by the tail), the same third as in the four first Trumpets.⁶

The Apostolic Church having brought forth Christ, its male child, (as He said, "Who is my *mother*? Are not these?")⁷ the Devil tried to kill him; but he rose, and ascended into heaven.—In the first battle of martyrs ensuing, Michael, the invisible protector of the Church, acted chiefly through Peter and his successors;⁸ the invisible Dragon through the Dragon's two first heads, Herod and Nero. This great battle may seem to have ended in the days of Constantine. And so the Apocalyptic song of exultation is to be referred to that emperor's time, when the saints then surviving were crowned with glory.¹—Thereupon the Devil, (cast down to the earth, or into the hearts of the earthly-minded,) persecuted the woman by means of the Arian heretics and heresy;² and she fled to a life of retirement and contemplation: the two wings helping her being

lunà el stellis (Luke 21); ... nempe et quod dictum est in hoc loco, '*Et tempus mortuorum*,' in 'septimà parte hujus libri scriptum; 'Vidi sedes, et sederunt super eas, ... et regnaverunt cum Christo.' " 152.²

² Ibid.

³ L. 154, 154², 155.

⁴ "Septem capita septem sunt nomina tyrannorum qui sibi persequendo ecclesiam per tempora successerunt." Who the kings meant "in summà hujus libri suthicenter digessimus." 156².

Joachim thus distinguishes the Dragon's seven heads from the Beast's:—"Capita *Draconis* reges, non populi, intelligendi sunt; capita vero *Bestiæ* populi, non reges." *ibid.*

⁵ Joachim notes the fact of the diadems being distinctively on the ten horns in the Beast's case. *ibid.*

⁶ See p. 391 *suprà*.

⁷ 157.

⁸ 158². The same mystical sense Joachim (*ibid.*) makes to attach to Michael in Dan. 12:1.

¹ L. 160. The reader will do well to mark Joachim's adoption of Constantine's own historical explanation of this part of the vision. So, very much, Eusebius, as we saw p. 311 *suprà*; Andreas, p. 361, and Anselm, p. 384.

² 160². Still I conceive Joachim is on the right track.

wisdom and the love of God; the time of her sojourning in the wilderness (like Elias' 3½ years of seclusion) being 42 mouths, or 1260 days; i. e. the whole time of the Dragon, and that in which all mysteries are to have their consummation; the water cast out of his mouth against her being Arian heresies and persecutors.³—The Dragon's *first* war having thus been against Christ and his apostles, the *second* against the early martyrs under Pagan Rome, and *third* against the confessors against Arianism, his *fourth* was to be against those that were given to contemplation, psalms, and prayer.⁴

Apoc. 13—The *Beast* here figured is a compound and combination, says Joachim, of Daniel's four Beasts.—In Daniel the *first* Beast was the Jewish Antichristian body; the *second* the Roman Pagans; the *third* the Arians; the *fourth* the Saracens: the first resembling a lion, with two wings, answering to the Pharisees and Sadducees; the second a bear; the third a leopard, with four heads; (signifying the Arian Greeks, Goths, Vandals, and Lombards;) the fourth very terrible, and having ten horns.⁵ All which bestial resemblances were united in this Apocalyptic Beast; and which had similarly also seven heads in all, and ten horns.—How terrible Daniel's *fourth*, or *Saracenic*, is told by its desolation of the churches in Syria, Palestine Egypt, Africa, Mauritania, and the islands of the sea; where Christ's name is abolished, and Mahomet acknowledged as the prophet of God.⁶ Besides that the other Beasts submitted after a while to the Christian Church: but this, though once humbled and apparently dead, has revived, and is as terrible as ever. The ten horns with diadems are ten kings *yet to be*, at that closing time of the calamitous period, when the Beast's kingdom shall end.¹—“I saw *one* of the heads *as it were* wounded to death, and *the deadly wound was healed.*” The Jewish, Pagan, and Arian heads were *actually* wounded to death;² and who ever heard of their revival? though the Beast itself indeed, (or antichristian body,) survived under another head. But with the Saracen head many may think the prophecy of the wounded head's revival to have been already fulfilled. In the time of Pope Urban and the early crusaders, A.D. 1095,³ when Jerusalem had been taken by the Christians, the Saracens in

³ 161, 161².

⁴ 162.

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

⁶ “Alas indeed!” adds Joachim, “if Antichrist, when he appears, shall do as much evil as this Mahomet, his precursor and preparer!” 163².

¹ So he reserves his explanation of them to the 6th part of his Treatise, on Apoc. 17 L. 164.

² 163², 164².—On his Arian tetra-kephalous Beast's wounding to death, Joachim twice specifies three chief Arian powers subdued thus: “Gothi et Vandali et Longobardi et alii Ariani heretici partim deleti sunt ab exercitu Romano, partim ad Catholicam fidem conversi.” 163², 164². With which compare my notice of the three horus plucked up by the Papal Antichrist, in my Vol. iii. p. 167.

³ He tells of signs and prodigies accompanying. “Anno etenim 1095 (ut fertur) incarnationis Dominicæ, signum in aere satis apparuit admirandum;—stellas seilicet innumeras circumque discurrere, et velut in

Egypt and Asia made stipendiary, the African neighbouring cities conquered by the Norman kings of Sicily, and the Moors repeatedly vanquished in Spain, the Saracen supremacy seemed wounded to death. But now, says Joachim, it is revived, and as terrible as ever.⁴ He prefers, however, to understand the deadly wound as still future when he wrote, and to be effected by spiritual weapons rather than temporal:⁵ also the revival to be in a power answering to Daniel's *eleventh* or *little horn*:—a horn unspecified by St. John; probably because of his prominent specification of the Dragon, or Devil, who was in fact most specially to inspire and rule in it.⁶ Joachim dwells on the fearfulness of the consequent apostasy; "All the world wondered after the Beast:" commiserating those that might then be alive; urging mothers to teach their children to flee for safety to the deserts; and answering the arguments of infidelity, drawn from the enemy's success and dominaney, by reference to God's faithfulness and wisdom. "Here is the faith and patience of the saints."—As to the Beast's 42 *months*, 3½ *years*, or 1260 *days* of duration, taken generically, with reference to the "totius Bestiæ universitatem," the length is stated as 1260 *years* in Joachim's Book De Concordiâ:¹ besides which there is to be a final paroxysm of the Beast's persecution for 3½ *years* literally.²

The *second Beast*, says Joachim, is plainly explained by John himself to signify *a false prophet, or pseudo-prophetic seat or body*,³ the two horns being not improbably, he adds, Satan's counterfeits of the Enoch and Elias that are expected: just as Antichrist will be his counterfeit for Christ. Hence the double danger of receiving the counterfeit as true, rejecting the true as counterfeit! "What if Enoch and Elias were to knock at thy door to-morrow?"⁴—It would seem that these false prophets will issue out of the bosom of the Church; knowing and speaking the Christians' language, and so more powerful to deceive.⁵ These may confederate with the former

modum avium aereas semitas pervagari." Quo præcedente signo, ad exhortationem Urbani Papæ, &c." In my Edition it is printed 1015, plainly by mistake.

⁴ 165.

⁵ lb. Compare the report of what Joachim said to king Richard on this point, as given p. 419 *infra*, from Roger de Hoveden. The address to Richard was in the year 1190: the Apocalyptic comment transmitted to us, with Joachim's last corrections, was sent forth not till after the year 1195, (see my p. 397,) or perhaps 1200, (see p. 386.) after the failure in main results of the English and French king's expeditions.

⁶ *Ibid.*

¹ 165². "Qualiter anni isti ad totius Bestiæ universitatem pertineant in opere Concordiæ dictum est." "Accepto haud dubiè die pro anno, et 1260 diebus pro totidem annis." So Joachim's Liber Concordiæ, 2. c. 16, and 5. c. 118: a passage cited by Dr. Todd on Antichrist, p. 458, from a Paper in the British Magazine; and here expressly referred to by Joachim. I have already at p. 402 noted this.

² 165².

³ 166², 167.

⁴ 166², 167².

⁵ 167².

Beast, Daniel's eleventh Horn, and make the earth worship it: as Simon Magus confederated with the Pagan Nero against Christianity, the Jews with the Romans, and Arians with the secular emperors; or as the *Pathareni*, "the dregs of heretics," now sustain themselves through worldly potentates.⁶ And so soon as "the new Babylon" (i.e. Rome)⁷ shall have been given into the hand of the Beast to be desolated, and Daniel's eleventh king (the last of these kings) have begun to reign in the Saracen kingdom,⁸ then the false prophets may seize the occasion of making an alliance with the Gentile king; and preach up his religion as true, the Christian as false.⁹—But why *two* Beasts? Because, as Christ is both anointed *king* and *priest*, so Satan may put forth the first Beast to usurp his kingship, the second to usurp his priestly dignity: the latter having at its head some *mighty prelate*, some *Universal Pontiff*, as it were, *over the whole world*; who may be the very *Antichrist*, of whom St. Paul speaks as being extolled above all that is called God and worshipped; sitting in the temple of God, and showing himself as God.¹ This may be while making use of the strength of the first Beast for his purposes.—Other doctors regard the first Beast, or Daniel's eleventh king, and also Gog, as Antichrist: which I, says Joachim, regard as thus far true, because there are, as St. John says, many Antichrists; and what may be wanting of fulfilment in the one, may be supplied in another.²

The *Beast's image* Joachim makes to mean "some tradition composed by false prophets in memory of the first Beast,"³ saying that this is the kingdom that is to endure for ever; some expression, I suppose he means, of the Beast's mind, profession, and doctrine.⁴ Its *receiving*

⁶ "Pathareni, hæreticorum fex, mundi potestatibus se tuctur." 167². So Joachim, writing near the year 1200 A.D. It will interest the reader, I think, to compare my historical notices, Vol. ii. pp. 357, 403.

⁷ Or Rome's reprobates. See Joachim's explanation on Apoc. 17. p. 412 infrà.

⁸ "Tempore quo rex ille undecimus et ultimus in regno Saracenorum regnaturus est." 167².

⁹ 167². Joachim suggests the resemblance of this *second* Apocalyptic Beast to the earth-born goat's little horn in Dan. 8; whereas the *first* Apocalyptic Beast is to be resembled to the little horn of the sea-originating fourth Beast of Dan. 7.

¹ I must give the original of this remarkable passage, 168. "Sei verisimile videtur quòd, sicut Bestia illa quæ ascendet de mari habitura est quendam magnum regem de sectâ suâ qui sit similis Neronis, et quasi imperator totius orbis, ita Bestia quæ ascendet de terrâ habitura sit *quendam magnum Prelatum*, qui sit similis Symonis Magi, et quasi *Universalis Pontifex* in toto orbe terrarum; et ipse sit *ille Antichristus* de quo dicit Paulus, Quod extollitur, etc."—So Bernard thought the Antichrist might be an *Anti-Pope*; and Theodoret, much earlier, said that the Antichrist εν τη εκκλησιâ θρπασει την προεδρειαν. See my Vol. i. p. 394; iii. p. 99.

² 168.

³ "Aliqua specialis traditio, quam component pseudo-prophetæ in memoriam ipsius Bestiæ; dicentes hoc esse regnum illud quod mansurum est in eternum." *ibid.* So too 168²; "imago significat nephandissimam traditionem ipsius."

⁴ At 182², on the clause on Apoc. 15, "I saw the conquerors over the Beast's *image*," Joachim thus varies the explanation; "In imagine doctrina Bestiæ designatur."

breath and speaking is when the malignant spirit shall do miracles by it. The *character* to be impressed is some edict of his commands:⁵ the *sellors and buyers* that must bear it, preachers and hearers.—The *name* and *number* 666, said to be “the number of a man,”⁶ is mysterious. “We must wait and know the name, before speculating as to the number; which name however is not revealed.” This premised, Joachim proceeds to a passing speculation on the subject, as fanciful surely as any of the speculations of his predecessors. The number 666 may be fitly typical, he says, of the whole time from Adam to the end of the world. For 600 may represent the six ages of the world, or whole time of the Beast; 60 the six periods of the sixth age from Christ, in which the Beast has more grievously persecuted the Church of God; 6 the time (42 months) of Daniel’s eleventh king, or little horn, in which the persecution is to be consummated.—This however he admits to be speculation. “Expectanda usque ad tempus revelatio hujus nominis; et tunc ei qui habet intellectum licebit numerum computare.”¹

Apoc. 14–16 I must hasten over these intervening chapters, to resume and complete the abstract of Joachim’s views on the Apocalyptic Beast, as again described in Apoc. 17, and the Babylon connected with it.—The 144,000 on Mount Zion he expounds as the monks and virgins of the Church, opposed to those that had the Beast’s mark; and who in the *fourth* period have to sustain the chief burden of the conflict against the Saracenic Beast:²—the first of the *three Angels flying in mid-heaven* as identical either with the woe-denouncing eagle of Apoc. 8:13, (i.e. “the holy Pope Gregory I, whose voice of warning of God’s coming judgment was just before the false prophet Mahomet’s deceptions,”³) or the Angel-prophet with the little book of Apoc. 10:1; the other two with the Witnesses of Apoc. 11 respectively;⁴ the voice of the first synchronizing with the opening of the 5th Seal, and 5th period; the other two with the opening of the 6th:⁵ the last (perhaps the two last) sounding after the destruction of Babylon by the Beast and ten kings;⁶ and when, the Roman Christian Empire having thus fallen, they will be hoping to destroy Christ’s name from off the face of the earth.⁷—The voice, “Blessed are the dead, for they rest, &c.,”

⁵ “Quid per characterem, nisi aliquod scriptum, vel edictum, preceptorum ipsius.” 168².

⁶ Some Latin codices for “numerum *hominis*,” read “numerum *nominis*,” Joachim tells us. 169.

¹ Ibid.

² So on Apoc. 7. See p. 392, *suprà*. The Beast here meant, of the Church’s 4th period, he defines as the Saracenic Beast previous to the healing of the deadly wound; and so under his last head but one. 170.

³ 173. See p. 394 *suprà*.

⁴ So p. 402 *suprà*.

⁵ See Joachim’s Scheme of the Seals, p. 388 *suprà*.

⁶ Joachim must have remembered that the Witnesses are to be *slain* in the street of the great city Babylon. How then, it may be asked, prophesy against the Beast after Babylon’s destruction?—But in that verse about the Witnesses he inconsistently explains the great city as the empire of this world.

⁷ 173².

intimates the glorious *sabbath* awaiting both those who, after the completion of the sufferings of Christ's body in the sixth period, shall then reign with Christ; and those too who, Antichrist having fallen, shall remain on earth in this life until the last day:⁸ in which day at length will be the harvest of the good, and the vintage-treading of the bad.

So Joachim comes to his PART V., and to the *Vials* of wrath poured out by the seven Vial Angels:¹ which, though *specially* called the *last* plagues, yet had reference to the same six or seven periods, and same evils, that were before noted under the Seals' and Trumpets' septenaries; with this difference however, they were now depicted distinctly as effusions of God's jealousy and wrath against those who suffered from them.² Of these Vials the first was poured on Judaizers, who worshipped the Beast under his first head of Herod and the Jewish synagogue: the 2nd on the Gentile Church's recreants from the Christian faith before Constantine: the 3rd on the Arian bishops and teachers after Constantine: the 4th on the hypocritical of the contemplative orders: the 5th on false ones in the Clergy and Conventuals, who, though they ought to be God's seat, have yet yielded themselves to be the seat of the Beast:³ the 6th on the Roman State or Empire, as being the New Testament Babylon; the drying up of its Euphrates figuring the weakening of its strength, through God's just judgment, so as to disable it from resisting the kings from the East that are to come and desolate it.⁴—After which its desolation

⁸ "Adjunctum est de *requie sabbati*: quod nimirum, ut sextâ die passus est Dominus, sabbato autem requievit à laboribus suis, ita in sexto tempore (ut sæpe jam dictum est) complebitur passio corporis Christi: et erit post hoc sabbatum gloriosum: seu in illis qui jam regnabunt cum Christo; seu in his qui, Antichristo ruente, remanebunt super terram, mansuri in hae vitâ pro velle Dei, quousque compleatur illud tempus quod vocatum est novissimus dies. In quo novissimo die, consummatis universis mysteriis et laboribus sanctorum, quid jam nisi messis et vendemia restat?" 175.

The above is important as bearing on Joachim's millennial view's. Compare the Note ¹ p. 405; also p. 388 *suprà*.

¹ It is to be observed with reference to these angels, that Joachim, like Andreas and others before him, had in his Latin Version the curious reading, "*vestiti lapide mundo*;" agreeably with the Greek reading λιθον, instead of λινον, in Apoc. 15:6; and which like them he explains of *Christ*, the rock: (so L. 184²;) also that he explained the οἱ νικωντες, in 15:2, of those that received no other doctrine than that of the Roman Church, and who were thus triumphant over the Beast. (L. 183.)

² A long and obscure disquisition precedes Joachim's comment on the vials, with reference to the reasons and objects of God's outpouring of his jealousy. So from 177 to 182. It springs not from hatred on his part against those who suffer from them; but from desire of, and with a view to, their conversion. 186².

³ 189².

⁴ Joachim in his explanation refers this 6th vial specially to the *mundani*, or Christian professing men of the world *without* the inner sanctuary of the Church: "quatenus inchoato tempore sexto, sentiant saltem *exterius* plagum, quam *intus*, pro consuetâ cæcitate, gravioris plagæ vulnera sentire non possunt."—The descriptive phrase *from the East*, or *sun-rising*, Joachim distinctly explains as to be taken *literally*. 190₂.

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

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

The subject is referred to again in his Comment on Apoc. 17:16, “The two horns shall hate her,” &c. See L. 199².

¹ “In *ære* spiritualis illa ecclesia designator, quæ relinquetur velut munda seges; excisis de terrâ tribulis, et cunctis reliquiis Babylonis.” 192².

² Joachim notes at the outset both the importance and plainness of the vision. “Qui neseit quod passura sit meretrix pro erroribus suis, de facili decipitur nutibus oculorum suorum.” 194.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ “Bestia significat universas gentes infideles quæ aliquando subiectæ fuerunt Romano imperio, et persecutæ sunt Christum, et ecclesiam ejus.” 196.

⁶ 196², 197.

then the Beast arise under its revived 7th, i. e. its 8th head,¹ and the 7th king,² to make one more persecution, and after it to perish for ever.—With regard to the *ten horns*, or *ten kings*, that have not yet received power, but receive it one hour after the Beast, there is a difficulty: for, according to Daniel, it is while these ten are reigning that the eleventh is to arise. Here however it is said, after the *Beast*; not, after the 6th *king*.³—That the harlot city reigning over the kings of the earth, and to be spoiled by them, means *Rome*, is undoubted; this being told us not by other Fathers only, but Peter himself:⁴ but in the sense of including the members of its empire, not those within the city walls only. The comfort is, adds Joachim, that *Jerusalem* carries in *Babylon*;⁵ and that to

¹ One of the seven, says Joachim, as uniting all the errors of the seven. 196₂.

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

³ “*post Bestiam*.”—So Joachim reads. An evident mistake in the Latin translation; as the Greek is not μετα το θηριον, but μετα του θηριου.

⁴ Referring to 1 Peter 5:13; “The Church which is in *Babylon*,” meaning, it was understood, *Rome*. 198.

⁵ “In hoc verbo [*the Church* which is in *Babylon*] consolatio non modica fact, est populo qui vocatur Romanus; quandoquidem in ipsâ urbe quæ vocatur *Babylon* peregrinatur civitas *Jerusalem*.” 198.

A writer in the *British Magazine* for 1839 strongly marks this distinction in Joachim. Joachim’s plan, says he, was the ultra-Guelfic plan of regenerating society by means of the Pope, as Peter’s successor, and the monastic orders; with supersession of all the Church-meddling power of the Roman or German emperors, (the Apocalyptic *Babylon*,) and of the secular clergy, who “fornicated with” or favoured it.—The result was to be, adds this writer, “that *Babylon*, with the aid of many clerici, men of the expiring [2nd] status, was to lay waste the courts of *Jerusalem*; yet she herself perish by the hands of the *Bestia Patarena* and of *Antichrist*; and every remnant of the Clerici, or Church secular, perish likewise: but a remnant of the eremitic order to survive all tribulation, and reign with the Holy Ghost in the 3rd status.” Todd, p. 455. In the expression *Bestia Patharena*, and its identification with *Antichrist*, the writer seems to me incorrect. See on Apoc. 17.

The writer in the *B. M.* further observes that Joachim and the Joachites spoke of an *Antichristus mixtus*, or *mysticus*, *Reipublicæ*, in contradistinction to the *Antichristus verus*. The former he supposed to be not one *Antichrist* or *Pseudo-propheta*, but many one already born, and which “was destined to subvert the *Babylonian* empire, put forth ten horns, afflict the Church during 56½ years of the two generations of the period of transition: [or time of the end:] then at last, “regnantibus decem regibus illis, singulis in suis locis,” to put forth its horn of blasphemy, being the xith king, and *Antichristus rerus*, of 3½ years. Todd. 461. The writer refers to a Commentary of Joachim on *Jeremiah*, as well as that on the *Apocalypse*. The former, which I have not seen, supplies what is wanting in the Apocalyptic Comment to the completeness of this view. The writer adds, however; “Whether the ten-horned empire was the *Bestia* itself, still future, or a future form and predieament of a *Beast* which had long existed, is a point on which the Abbot of *Flore* does not express himself with perfect consistency.” *Ibid*.

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

In Apoc. 18 the *kings of the earth* that wail over Babylon are wicked prelates: the *fire* spoken of, that of the eternal punishment of her reprobate members, of which the temporal is but a pledge; the *merchandise*, that of ecclesiastical functions, bought or bartered by priests for money.³—The song of exultation on the fall of Babylon, given in Apoc. 19, Joachim expounds as the song of the *Church on earth*; escaped out of, and freed from, the New Testament Babylon: a song which he compares with that of the Jews restored with Ezra from the ancient Babylon; and “such as had been never heard in the Church since the days of Constantine.”⁴ Its two subjects of congratulation are “the destruction of the Harlot, and the liberty of the Church:” and alike converted Jews, (“for then the Jewish people will be converted to the Lord,”) and Greeks too and Latins will join in it; crying “Hosanna! Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.”⁵ The song of the twenty-four elders, &c., is explained to include the answering Alleluia in heaven, as well as of the earthly ecclesiastical orders symbolized by the four living creatures, for the liberation of the righteous, the conversion of the Jews, and bringing in of the fulness of the Gentiles.¹ And so, adds Joachim, will begin that kingdom for which we continually pray, “Thy kingdom come.”—Oh how good, says he, will it be for us to be there: Christ being our shepherd, king, meat, drink, light, life!²

¹ 198.—Joachim here speaks of some that rested on Benedict’s words, quoted by Pope Gregory I; “Rome shall not perish by the assaults of kings; but by earthquakes, &c.” This however, says he, had reference to the Gothic kings then attacking Rome.

² 197². He refers to the 6th Vial.

³ He exemplifies in those who refused to impart the divine sacraments, intrusted to them “pro salute vivorum et mortuorum,” “nisi aut accipiant aliquid, aut accipere sperent.” 201. Also in those who “inhiant temporalibus lueris,” and seek the favour of the rich; (199;) and altogether resemble Judas, who for thirty pieces of silver betrayed Christ. 201². Compare Apoc. 9:20; and my historic illustrations of it, in reference to the time when Joachim wrote, Vol. ii. pp. 17–20.

⁴ 203, 203².

⁵ 203².

¹ 204.

² 205.

But, after this so solemn a rejoicing, there remains yet another tribulation,³ depicted in the chapter following.

Apoc. 19 “And I saw heaven opened, and behold a white horse, &c.: and I saw the Beast, and the kings of the earth, and their armies, gathered to make war, &c.”—Parallel with this, says Joachim, is the prophecy in Zech. 14:2; “I will gather all nations to Jerusalem to battle: and the Lord shall go forth and fight against those nations.”—Here is the Beast “*which had been, and was not, and is to ascend from the abyss and go into perdition:*” i. e. the Beast under his last *head*:—also the *seventh king*, “*which had not yet come, but was about to come, and to continue a short space;*” though indeed this king is not here mentioned; as if to intimate that this is the *Antichrist*, in whom the red Dragon dwells bodily.⁴—This last point however, says Joachim, is doubtful; and whether this *seventh king*, or the *sixth*, (the one which *is*,) or he that is called *Gog*, or any other, be properly *Antichrist*. What we know is that the *sixth king* will be worse than the five preceding, and the *seventh* than the sixth; and that these will be the two last *heads* of the Dragon. I think, too, that the first will be king over the *Beast from the sea*, the second over the *Beast from the land, or False Prophet*.⁵—Whether Christ’s figured manifestation on the white horse, to destroy the Beast in this his last form, be a *personal* coming, or only *providential*, is a point doubted by Doctors. At first Joachim inclines to decide on the view of its being a *personal* coming: both because of what Paul says, “Whom the Lord shall destroy by the brightness of his coming;” and what Christ, “*Immediately after the tribulation of these days, they shall see the sign of the Son of Man, &c.*”⁶ Afterwards he admits that it *may* be explained of Christ’s acting invisibly in his Church militant.—And what the armies of saints following him on white horses? I think, says he, they must signify either distinctively the saints that rose from the dead when he rose, (Matt. 27:52,) or all the saints dead in Christ generally, as now to appear with Him; i. e. if Christ’s coming be personal.¹ If not, then they may be Christ’s saints on earth.²—The *sword from the rider’s mouth*

³ This second tribulation of the 6th period is to follow, he says, “post gaudium illud tam solemne, quod post hebdomadam quæ intitulatur do passione:” i.e. after the *Easter sabbath*, succeeding the Church’s *Passion Week*. 206. Compare Luther’s somewhat similar use of the figure, as cited in my Vol. ii. p. 136.

⁴ 207.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

¹ “Unum è duobus arbitror esse tenendum:—quòd aut mortui qui sunt in Christo cum eo protinus apparebunt viventes, seeundùm supra-scriptam Apostoli auctoritatem; (1 Thess. 4:15–17;) aut illi apparebunt suscitati cum ipso, qui cum eo pariter resurrexerunt à mortuis:” viz. as in Matt. 27:52, referred to just before. P. 207².—The first view is the *pre-millennial* theory.

² For saints in the mortal state may conquer even in suffering: “qui, sequentes passionem Domini sui, ita pugnaturi sunt in corporibus suis tradendis pro nomine Crucifixi in tempore sexto, quomodo ipse in die sexto in candido illo equo suo superavit et vicit.” Ibid.

is expounded as what St. Paul speaks of, “Whom the Lord shall consume with the *breath of his mouth*,” (a parallelism deserving notice:) his *eyes like fire*, as indicating the all-revealing brightness thrown on things at the day of his judgment; like that spoken of by Paul, 1 Cor. 4:5.³

PART VII. Apoc. 20—So, says Joachim, we come to the *seventh* Part, in which we have to treat of that *great sabbath* which is to be at the consummation: a period which I have called *The third State*, or “*seventh age of the world*;” and which may be termed the *Age of the Spirit*, as the two former were of the *Father* and of the *Son*.⁴ The idea of all secular time and things ending with the fall of Antichrist had been overthrown, he adds, by St. Remigius; who had shown that a certain time, of uncertain length, would still remain after that event:—the idea itself having arisen from want of observation that *the last day* of Scripture is not to be understood as signifying the last moment of the world; but rather the *world’s last age*, or *time of the end*: a point illustrated by St. John’s saying above a thousand years before, “It is the last hour.”⁵ Whether Christ’s coming is to be at the beginning of this sabbath time, or the end of it, has seemed to some doubtful: but, says Joachim, again reverting to the pre-jubilean theory, both St. Paul’s and Christ’s own words, referred to above, seem to fix it at the commencement of the sabbath period.¹—As to this constituting the seventh millenary of years from the world’s creation, Joachim speaks of the idea as set aside by both the Greek and Latin mundane chronology: much more than 6000 years from the world’s creation having past, according to the *Greek* chronology: and much less (though the time, Joachim thought, must be close at hand) according to the *Latin*.² His own view was, that the Apocalyptic millenary period was specified simply as being a most perfect number: that the binding of Satan spoken of might possibly have had an *incipient* fulfilment from the time of

What is said of the *heaven appearing opened*, in order to the exhibition of the vision, may be meant, he adds, of the opening of Scripture truth at the time; so that all that the vision relates to may appear clear. 208.

³ 208, 208².

⁴ 209², 210.

⁵ “Maximè eùm jam sint transacti amplius quàm mille anni, ex quo dixit beatus Joannes, Filioli novissima hora est.” 210.

A sentence which cannot but suggest the opening of the Waldensian Noble Lesson; “Well have 1100 years been completed since it was said, It is the last time.” See my Vol. ii. pp. 365, 390.

I’ve already observed, at p. 388 *suprà*, that between his second and third status Joachim supposed a transition interval (common in some sort to both states) of two Apocalyptic months or generations, = 60 years; viz. from A.D. 1200 to A.D. 1260. This was to be an æra of great tribulation to the Church; and more especially the 3½ years at its conclusion.

¹ 210.—Let me here again remark how, immediately that the Christian æra had so far advanced as to allow of the *year-day* principle being applied to the 1260 *days*’ prophetic period, without placing Christ’s second advent necessarily at a distance, it was so applied. Compare again Note ², p. 388.

² 211.

Christ's resurrection; and in that sense the Apocalyptic *millennium* extend from that epoch to the world's consummation: but that its *perfected* fulfilment would be in the *sabbath-time* after the Beast's destruction:³—which sabbath might be longer, or shorter, as God pleased;⁴ indeed, so short perhaps that the real and chief Antichrist might possibly exist and act in the great antichristian battles both before and after it.⁵ But time would unfold this.—As to the *first resurrection* he conceived it identical with Daniel's prediction that, after the destruction of the Beast and its little horn, the kingdom and power under the whole heaven should be given to *the saints of the Most High*;⁶ and with that too in Ezek. 37, which speaks of a resurrection before Gog's coming.⁷ Perhaps, he says, on the clause, "The rest of the dead lived not till the 1000 years were ended," the saints are then to rise, and enter at once on life eternal, without that terrible ordeal of the judgment of the white throne which others must go through.¹ But he admits difficulties in the view; and the need of waiting for further illustration.—As to *Gog*, he might very possibly be the Antichrist.²

The *new heaven* and *new earth* Joachim expounds to mean the final blissful state, when the tares shall have been gathered from the wheat, and the just shine as the sun in the kingdom of their Father;³—the *new Jerusalem*, on the other hand, to figure the Church even in its earthly state, and from its first beginning at Christ's birth.⁴

³ "Secundùm aliquam sui partem inarceratus fuerit Draco ex eo tempore quo superavit cum Christus in die mortis suæ; secundùm vero universitatem capitum suorum, ex ea die, vel horà, quâ Bestia et Pseudo-propheta mittentur in stagnum ignis." And again: "Seeundim partem incepit ab illo sabbato quo requievit Dominus in sepulchro: seeundùm plenitudinem sui, a ruinâ Bestiæ et Pseudo-Prophetæ" 211.

⁴ "Tunc crit magna pax; ... cujus terminus erit in arbitrio Dei." 210². "Quis seit quàm hreve esse poterit sabbatum ipsum?" *ibid.*

⁵ "Ista tria præla" (viz. that of the ten kings destroying Babylon, or Rome, that of the Beast against the Lamb, and that of Gog, the two first pre-sabbatical, the last post-sabbatic) "tam fortassis erunt vieina, ut ille Homo Peccati possit omnibus interesse; maxime autem in secundo et tertio." At the last, I presume, in his resurrection-state, after the healing of his deadly wound. 210², 211.

⁶ L. 212.

⁷ L. 212².

¹ "Forte intelligamus sanctos protinus post resurrectionem suam absque terribilis illius iudicii examine, et absque intervallo dierum, intraturos ad veram vitam; cæteros vero non statim, sed post consummationem iudicii." *Ibid.* Compare Joachim on Apoc. 19:14, p. 416 *suprà*

² 213.

³ 215².

⁴ "Non est referenda ista visio, et iste deseensus, ad horam illam ultimam in quâ manifesta erit gloria Hierusalem; sed ad tempus nativitatis ipsius (Christi)." *Ibid.*

So I conclude my abstract of Joachim; an abstract which I have made at greater length and in more detail than any other, because of its peculiarity, importance, and interest.⁵ For the same reason I subjoin in a Note Roger de Hoveden's account⁶ of Joachim's Exposition of Apoc. 12, 13,

⁵ Let me quote from Fleury a brief obituary sentence on this remarkable, and I trust sincere, though on many points deluded man. "Vers ce tems là mourut in Calabrie l'Abbé Joachim, fameux par ses prophetes. Il avait environ 72 ans quand il tomba malade a Pietrafitta, près de Cosenze; et mourut au milieu de trois Abbez et de plusieurs moines: a qu'il recommanda de s'aimer les uns les autres, comme Jesus Christ nous a aimez; ce qu'il repeta plusieurs fois. Il mourut le trentieme jour de Mars 1202; et son corps fut porté en son Abbaye a Flore." Flcury II. E. Liv. lxxv. chap. 41.

⁶ The interpretation of this vision according to Joachim, Abbot of Curacio, is as follows:—The woman clothed with the sun, with the moon under her feet, signifies the Holy Church covered and clothed with the Sun of Righteousness, which is Christ our God: under whose feet the world, with its vices and lusts, is ever to be trampled. "And upon her head a crown of twelve stars." Christ is the head of the Church: her crown is the Catholic faith which was preached by the twelve apostles. "And bringing forth, she was in pain to be delivered." Thus the Holy Church, which is continually blest with new offspring, is in pain from day to day, that it may bring forth souls to God; whom Satan endeavours to snatch away, and draw down with himself to hell. "And behold a great red Dragon, having seven heads and ten horns." That Dragon signifies the Devil: who is well said to have seven heads; for every wicked one is a head of the Devil. He puts seven as the finite for the infinite, for the heads of the Devil are infinite; that is, the persecutors of the Church, and the wicked. But though they are infinite, nevertheless this Joachim in his exposition specified seven persecuting powers; whose names are Herod, Nero, Constantius, Mahomet, Melsemut, Saladin, Antichrist. St. John also says in the Apocalypse; "There are seven kings; five have fallen, and one is, and one is not yet come:" which the same Joachim thus explains: There are seven kings, namely, Herod, Nero, Constantius, Mahomet, Melsemut, Saladin, Antichrist. Of these, five have fallen; namely, Herod, Nero, Constantius, Mahomet, Melsemut: and one is; namely, Saladin; who at this time oppresses the Church of God, and keeps possession of it with the sepulchre of our Lord, and the holy city Jerusalem, and the land in which the feet of our Lord stood. But he shall in a short time lose it.

Then the king of England asked, "When shall this be?" To whom Joachim answered, "When seven years shall have elapsed from the day of the taking of Jerusalem." "Then." said the king of England, "Why have we come here so soon?" To whom Joachim replied, "Your coming is very necessary; because the Lord will give you victory over his enemies, and will exalt your name above all the princes of the earth."

It follows: "One of them is not yet come;" namely, Antichrist. Concerning this Antichrist the same Joachim says that he is already born in the *city of Rome*, and will be elevated to the *Apostolic see*. And concerning this Antichrist the Apostle says; "He is exalted and placed in opposition, above all that is called God:" and "then shall be revealed that wicked one, whom the Lord Jesus will slay with the breath of his mouth, and destroy with the brightness of his coming."

And the king turning to him said: "I thought that Antichrist would be born in *Antioch*, or in *Babylon*, of the tribe of Dan; and would reign in the temple of the Lord, which is in *Jerusalem*; and would walk in that land in which Christ walked; and would reign in it for three years and a half: and would dispute against Elijah and Enoch, and would kill them; and would afterwards die; and that, after his death, God would

to our King Richard; whereby we shall be enabled to compare his prophetic views in the year A.D. 1190 with those in A.D. 1196 or 1200.¹

give sixty days of repentance, in which those might repent who should have erred from the way of truth, and have been seduced by the preaching of Antichrist and his false prophets.”

It follows; “and ten horns.”—The ten horns of the Devil are heresies and schisms; which heretics and sehismatics set up in opposition to the ten commandments of the law, and the precepts of God. “And unto his head seven crowns.” By crowns are signified kings, and princes of this world, who will believe on Antichrist. “And his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven;” because of the great multitude of men believing on him. “And cast them upon the earth.”—He calls the inferior persons who shall believe on Antichrist stars: and says, “the third part of the stars of heaven,” because of the great multitude of men believing on him. “And cast them unto the earth:”—that is, he casts all into hell, who shall continue to believe on him. “Which stood before the woman who was about to bring forth; that when she had brought forth, he might devour her son.” The Devil is always practising against the Church; that he may seize her offspring, and devour what he has seized: and he is properly said to “stand;” because he never declines from his wickedness, but always stands stiff in malice, and inflexible in the craft of his fraud. Or, in another sense, his tail signifies the cud of this world: in which certain wicked nations shall arise who are called Gog-Magog; and shall destroy the Church of God, and subvert the Christian race. And after that shall be the day of judgment. And in the time of Antichrist many Christians abiding in caverns of the earth, and in the solitude of the rocks, shall keep the Christian faith in the fear of the Lord, even until the destruction of Antichrist. And this is what he means when he says, “The woman fled unto the wilderness of Egypt, where she had a place prepared by God, that they should there feed her 1260 days.” But “her man-child, who should rule all nations with a rod of iron,” is especially our Lord Jesus Christ: who, after his passion and resurrection, ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty, and shall come again to judge the quick and the dead, and the world by fire. Whose followers if we are, and persevere in the way of his commandments, we shall be caught up to meet him in the air, and shall be with him for ever.

And although the said Abbot of Curacio maintained this opinion concerning the coming of Antichrist, nevertheless Walter, archbishop of Rouen, and Girard, arch-bishop of Auxerre, and John of Worms, and Barnard, bishop of Bayonne, and other ecclesiastics well versed in the Scriptures, endeavoured to prove the contrary: and, although many plausible arguments were adduced on each side, the matter still remains undecided. Maitland’s Translation, Letter to Digby, p. 70.

¹ See Note ¹ p. 386, and Note ² p. 388.

Ere closing this notice of Joachim, let me recall to my readers’ recollection his contemporary Pope Innocent III’s interpretation of the Apocalyptic number 666, as signifying the time of the duration of Mahommedism; an interpretation given by him A.D. 1214 to the 4th Council of Lateran, and which I have referred to in my Vol. iii. p. 257, on the Number of the Beast. It is as follows.

“Post tempora Gregorii perditionis filius Machomettus pseudopropheta surrexit: ejus perfidia etsi usque ad hæc tempora invaluerit, eonfidamus tamen in Domino qui jam fecit nobiseum signum in bonum, quòd finis hujus bestię appropinquat; *‘Cujus numerus,’* secundum Apocalypsim, *‘intra sexcenta sexaginta sex clauditur:’* ex quibus jam pœne sexcenti sunt anni completi.” Hard. vii. 3.

Moreover, on account of this its peculiarity and interest, I have thought it well worth the while to draw up, and append on the opposite page, a *Tabular Scheme* representing it; though certainly no very easy task to me. This will, I think, much facilitate an acquaintance with it on the part of my more intelligent and inquisitive readers.

JOACHIM ABBAS' APOCALYPTIC SCHEME.							
A.D.	1-100.	100-310.	310-550.	550-800.	800-1200.	1200-1260.	1260 ...
SEALS.	I. Christ and Apostolic Church triumphing over Judaism.	II. Roman Pagan Persecutions and Blood-shedding.	III. Arians, with false balance and Scripture perversion.	IV. Mahomet and the Saracens' desolations.	V. Persecutions and Martyrdoms by Saracens in Spain and Mauritania.	VI. Babylon judgment day begins. Christianity visibly supprest Antichrist's 4 evil Angels, Sealing Vision.	VII. Half-hour's silence, the Sabbath. Perhaps the last half of the 3 1/2 times.
TRUMPETS.	I. Judaizers' indurated as hail. 1/3 of Christianized Jews apostatize.	II. Nicolaitans' burning mountain, in the sea of Gentilism.	III. Arius' falling star.	IV. Woe denouncing Gregory. Light of Monks and Virgins quenched by the Saracens.	V. Locusts, or Pathareni.	VI. Confederac, of saracene, Turks, Moors, and Northern Germans aginst Rome.—Mystery of iniquity preparing.	VII. Sabbath beginning, as in Apoc. 20, extinguished. Antichrist Mystery ended.
VIALS.	I. on Jews & Judaizers.	II. on Gentilizing recreants.	III. on Arian Bishops and Doctors.	IV. on vain and hypocritical Monastics.	V. on Monastics apostatizing to the Beast.	VI. Euphraies of Roman power dried up—Antichrist's 3 frogs.	VII. Air purified for Church's bridal
WITNESSES AND TRAVAILING WOMAN.	The 42 months or 1260 days of Christ's general Witnessing Body. The 1260 days of the Woman in the Wilderness in the sense of 42 generations, or 1260 years. Holy City of Christendom <i>partially</i> Gentile-trod—Greek Church and given to Gentiles.					Enoch. Apo. 10 Moses, Elias. 3 1/2 yrs.	when to known only to God Time of the End: Age of the spirit.
BEAST'S SEVEN AND EIGHT HEADS.	I. Antichistian Jews, under Herod.=Daniel's 1st Beast.)	II. Roman Pagans, Nero to Diocletian (=Daniel's 2nd Beast.)	III. IV. & V. Arian Greeks, Goths, and Vandals. (=Daniel's 3rd four-headed Beast.)	VI. Arian Lombards.	VII. Mahomentan, Saracen, or Turkish Empire; now under Saladin. (=Daniel's 4th Beast.)	VIII. The 7th Head wounded, revives as Daniel's Little Horn; still under Saladin.	
SEVEN CHIEF KINGS.	I. Herod,	II. Nero.	III. Constantius.	IV. Mahomet	V. German Ghibelline Emperors.	VI. "He who is;" Saladin A.D. 1195.	

And so too, as we saw *ibid.*, Roger Bacon, referred to by Mr. Foster in his *Mahommedanism Unveiled*, 232. The agreement of this view of the coming future, chronologically, with that of Joachim will be evident; and, no doubt, helped it on to a more general reception and belief.

The observant reader cannot but have remarked the novelty of many of Joachim's views; alike on some of the latter Seals, Trumpets, and Vials; on the *year-day* construction of the 1260 prophetic *days* of the Woman and Witnesses; and on the Dragon, Beast, Harlot, and Millennium: views not only conceived with much originality of thought; but also propounded and urged with a measure of earnestness, and conviction of their truth, abundantly greater than had attached to any previous Apocalyptic Expositor, subsequent to the grand epoch of the Gothic overthrow of the Roman empire.—And could these new opinions on the Apocalypse, promulged thus publicly and earnestly by one so venerated as the Abbot Joachim, fail of exercising a marked influence on the subsequent interpretation of this wonderful prophecy? In truth we find the effect marked and speedy. In *the Romish Church* itself, while some held mainly to the old generalizing views of Tichonius, Primasius, Ambrose Ansbert, Bede, and Haymo,—of which class *Albertus Magnus* and *Thomas Aquinas*, both of the 13th century, were much the most illustrious—others, as *Almeric*, *Pierre d'Olive*, &c., quickly followed in the track of Joachim with yet bolder innovations. Moreover certain *open dissidents from the Romish Church*, despised nearly up to this time as contemptible heretics, began too to make their voice effectively sound forth, on *two* points at least in which Joachim had innovated; a voice which, after one temporary suppression, has even to the present day never ceased. The fulness with which I have sketched the views of the Tichonian commentators, makes it needless for me to enter at all prominently into others on the same principle: and I shall therefore content myself with placing a brief notice of the Apocalyptic views of *Albertus Magnus*, and of those of *Thomas Aquinas*, below.¹ It is to *these innovators* just

¹ 1. *Albertus Magnus*.

The celebrity of this man is handed down to posterity in his surname, *Albert the Great*. He is spoken of by Mosheim as a man of vast abilities, and the literary dictator of his time. Born early in the thirteenth century, he was in 1260 made Bishop of Ratisbon; but soon retired again to the Dominican convent at Padua, of which he was Provincial: and, after a life spent in study, died there in 1281. His works are said to make up twenty-one folio volumes. His Treatise on the Apocalypse was printed separately at Basle in small 4to, in 1506; the edition which I now have in hand.

His frequent reference to Haymo is stated in a commendatory Preface prefixed by one Bernard of Luxembourg, of the order of Preachers. "Sæpe etiam in roborationem dictorum suorum allegans *Haymonem*; unum de antiquioribus expositoribus Apocalypseos: qui fuit magister Karoli Magni, monaehus Ordinis Sancti Benedicti." But he refers to *Bede* quite as much, I think, as to Haymo: also sometimes to one *Gilbert*, who seems to have been a commentator of celebrity in the preceding century; and not seldom moreover to "*the Gloss*."* The following points seem to me the most noticeable in Albert's Apocalyptic Commentary.

The *Epistles* he considers to have depicted the Church Universal, with reference to its state in its successive chronological periods:—viz. 1. that of the apostles; 2. of the post-apostolic martyrs to Constantine; 3. that of the Arian struggle, and struggle with other heretics, in the 4th and 5th centuries; 4. that of the confessors and doctors afterwards, during whose time Mahomet introduced his heresy; 5. that of still later time (I suppose commencing from Charlemagne) during which the temporalities of the Church were increased; 6. that of the time then present; ("per hanc siguantur moderni in ecclesia;") 7. and lastly, that of the future time, apparently of Antichrist.—In the second Epistle, to Smyrna, he

suggests (like Bede), as an alternative explanation of the *ten days* of tribulation spoken of, that it may have reference to the ten persecuting kings designated by the Beast's ten horns; viz. Nero, Domitian, Trajan, Antonine, Severus, Maximin, Decius, Valerian, Aurelian, Diocletian; or perhaps to "the times of ten Popes [the ten persecuted Popes, I presume] after Clement."

As a general view of the *Seals*, he cites and acquiesces in *Bede's* explanation. "Secundum Bedam in *primo sigillo* orditur status primitivæ ecclesiæ; in *tribus sequentibus* bellum cùm ecclesia triforme: &c."† also in his view of the *half-hour's silence* on the *seventh Seal's* opening, as betokening the "quietis æternæ; initium:" of which, says Albert, Bode thus observes, "Post interitum Antichristi requies aliquantula futura creditur in ecclesia."

In the *Trumpets* Albert again for the most part follows Bede: but more chronologically, as in reference to judgments that occurred on the reprobate in nearly the same chronological periods as before; the sixth being that of Antichrist's invasion.—In Apoc. 10 the vision passes, according to Albert (after Bede), to describe Christ's descent from heaven at his incarnation; the *seven thunders* being the voices of preachers, terrible from the denouncing of the seven-fold punishment of the lost, (viz. exclusion from the saints' inheritance, and from the vision of God, &c. &c.,) understood by the good, sealed to infidels,—In Apoc. 11 the *temple* means the Church; the *casting out*, the excommunication from it of false brethren. The *42 months* are explained both generally of all the time of the wicked trampling the Church, and especially of the $3\frac{1}{2}$ times of Antichrist; the *two witnesses* as Enoch and Elias; (though some, evidently Joachim, had lately said Moses and Elias;) the place of their slaughter as the literal Jerusalem, where Christ had been himself literally crucified, and would now be crucified figuratively in his members; the $3\frac{1}{4}$ *days* of their lying dead in the sense either of $3\frac{1}{2}$ *years* from after Antichrist's death, on the year-day principle; or more probably of $3\frac{1}{2}$ *days* after their death.‡—In Apoc. 12 the *woman* is explained as either the Church, or the Virgin Mary: the twelve stars of the coronet meaning, on the former hypothesis, the twelve apostles; on the latter, the twelve prerogatives of the blessed Virgin: while the Dragon's seven heads figure the seven evil spirits, and his ten horns the ten kings, as in Dan. 7.—In Apoc. 13 the Beast is Antichrist: (or possibly, as Haymo, the Devil:) the seven heads signifying all powers adhering to him; or else the chiefs of iniquity from the beginning, Cain, Nimrod, the four empires, Antichrist. God's tabernacle, blasphemed by him, meant Christ's flesh, perhaps, in which dwelt the fulness of the Godhead bodily: (might not questions about *transubstantiation* have suggested themselves to Albert as he wrote this?) or else Christ's saints.—The *second Beast* signified the preachers of Antichrist: the *image of the Beast*, a conformity to Antichrist, urged on men by the preachers: ("sie dicit Glossa et Haymo:") or perhaps a material image. The name and number 666, construed in Greek words, might be, as Bede says, ἀντεμος or τεταν: the latter as the *sun of righteousness*, which Antichrist would call himself: or perhaps, adds Albert, with the same idea, in Latin words, *Dic Lux*; in the sense "Die me esse Lucem." A conceit this last copied from Ansbert.*

The seven Vials are described as the seven last plagues on the *reprobate*, in the *time of Antichrist*; though the specification following might lead us to suppose a succession of plagues was meant from the earliest promulgation of Christianity; "In prima continetur damnatio Judæorum reprobatorum; in secundâ Gentilium reprobatorum; in tertiâ hæreticorum; in quartâ damnatio Antichristi; in quintâ suorum ministrorum; in sextâ falsorum Christianorum; in septimâ damnatio dæmonum."—The great city *Babylon* is stated to mean that "vanitatis mundanæ:" the *seven mountains*, all the proud: the *seven kings*, those of chief wickedness in the course of all time; 1. those before the flood; 2. those from Noe to Abraham; 3.

those from Abraham to Moses; 4. those from Moses to the Babylonish captivity; 5. those from that captivity to Christ; 6. those from Christ to the time then present; 7. Antichrist. The *ten horns* might mean either ten kingdoms into which the Roman empire was to be divided in the time of Antichrist, or all the reprobate.

On the *millennium* Albert repeats the old Augustinian explication. The *New Jerusalem* he interprets as a figure of the saints' *glorified* state.

2. Thomas Aquinas.

This *ungelic doctor* of the Romish Church was a pupil of Albertus: but ran a shorter career than his master: the date of his birth being 1221, of his death 1271. The scene of his literary labours and triumphs was Italy; chiefly Naples, where he died. His *canonization*, or (as the recent Popish Editor and Annotator* of his work *De Antichristo*.† which is the subject of my present notice, characteristically expresses it) his *apotheosis*, was solemnized in 1323. Whence a question as to the supposed early date of the MS.; superscribed as it is as a work of *St Thomas*. But, it seems, his fame was such, that the Pope's act was anticipated by the public voice; and the title *saint* attached to him even before the year 1300, per prolepsin.

His subject, *Antichrist*, leads him necessarily to speak of Apoc. 11, 13, 17, concerning the *Apocalyptic Witnesses, Beast, and Babylon*.

He begins by noting what is to precede the preaching of the two witnesses, *Enoch* and *Elias*:—viz. a *universal agitation of the people*, as predicted by Christ, Luke 21:25, 26; a *general religious hypocrisy*, as predicted by St. Paul, 1 Tim. 4:1; and, agreeably with St. Paul's prophecy to the Thessalonians, an ἀποστασία, or *defection of the nations included in its empire from the Roman rule*: the Roman empire meant being still existent, having only changed from a temporal empire into a spiritual; and thus a defection indicated from the Roman ecclesiastical government and faith, as well as from its temporal rule.‡

In the Apocalyptic prophecy of the *Witnesses*, he explains the *fire out of their mouths* figuratively of their "scientia spiritualis;" the city of their slaughter, like Albertus, as the literal Jerusalem;§ the Lord's crucifixion spoken of by the narrating Angel, like him also, as both literally and figuratively meant; and the witnesses "*tormenting them that dwelt on the earth*," as those "quorum damnationem prædixerunt, et contradicendo iniquitati eorum."—On their *resurrection* he discusses the question whether they are so to rise, like Lazarus, as to die again? and concludes in the negative; and, on the *earthquake* concurrent with their ascension, explains the tenth of the city that fell to mean many just that will then fall by the sword of the enraged Antichrist; the 7000 being the number that never bowed their knees to him. Thus he regards the city *here* meant as the *holy city* spoken of Apoc. 11:2; which, as well as the *temple* of Apoc. 11:1, he interprets (p. 121) to signify *the Church*.

Then, on *Antichrist*, he makes the *literal* Babylon his birth-place; explaining what is said in Apoc. 17 about Babylon "*being drunk with the blood of the saints*," of the blood of saints killed in *Old Testament* times, *before* Christ's coming; also, like Adso* (after Augustine†), tells of his being nourished in Chorazin and Bethsaida, and infused with the Magian philosophy of Babylon. The Beast's (or Antichrist's) seven heads he makes *all* bad princes adhering to him; the ten horns (like Andreas‡ his *anti-decalogic*)

mentioned, whether *within* or *without* the Romish Church, that I wish to draw my reader's chief attention, in all that remains of this present fourth Section.

And, in so doing, it will be with special reference to these two grand hermeneutic innovations which I alluded to as so important in Joachim's explanation; viz. 1. that of the *Apocalyptic Babylon* being in a certain sense *Papal Rome*; 2. that of the predicted *Anti-Christ's probable elevation* to the throne of a *Universal Pontiff*, in fact *the Papal throne*. The careful guards with which Joachim fenced these opinions, so as that they should neither impeach, nor be inconsistent with, his fidelity to the Romish See, are almost amusing. Though Babylon meant Papal Rome, including its

enmity.—The *second Apocalyptic Beast* he expounds, after Albert, to be Antichrist's false apostles and preachers: the *two horns like a lamb* indicating their (professedly) preaching Christ, holding Christian doctrine, and professing Christ's miracle-working power; but all in falsehood. § "They will in fact exalt their head *Antichrist*, as we exalt *Christ*." He speaks (p. 87) of Antichrist making war with the saints, "per blandimenta et promissiones et exhortationes," and this even (p. 114) by urging the authority of Scripture, as well as by violence; repeats the old patristic notion that he will pretend to be Messiah to gain the *Jews*, and rebuild the temple at Jerusalem: also (p. 92) that, to gain the *Gentiles*, he will utter *oracular statutes*, answering to the Apocalyptic Beast's *speaking image*, and to Daniel's *maozim*. Elsewhere (p. 82) he adds Albert's explanation of the *Beast's image*, as meaning resemblance to him in heart.—He alludes to some of the *Vials* in the course of his argument. The 4th Vial poured out on the *sun*, (p. 104,) means poured out on *Antichrist*; because Antichrist "se solem existimabit, et dicet mundum illuminatum per eum esse: ipse enim sibi usurpabit nomen veri solis, id est Christi." (I have elsewhere quoted this, viz. in my Vol. ii. p. 69, in illustration of the notable fulfilment in *the Roman Popes* of some of the chief Roman doctors' own declared anticipations about *Antichrist*.) Further, on the 6th Vial, he advances the extraordinary fancy, that by "*the waters of the Euphrates being dried up*" we are to understand the interdiction of the waters of baptism, in order thereby to a preparation of the way of Antichrist. The denounced *going into captivity* of those that send into captivity, &c., he explains of Antichrist's being sentenced to the prison of hell; so perishing by "the sword" of divine justice. (129.) I may add that in one place, (ii. 67,) he makes the *scorpion-locusts'* tormenting power in Apoc. 9, (elsewhere, i. 99, expounded of Antichrist's false preachers,) to signify the tormenting power of bad angels over the lost in hell; so that these wretches shall "wish to die, and not be able."

Finally, with reference to the consummation, he, like Bede and Albert, explains the *half-hour's silence*, in Apoc. 8:1, of a certain respite-time of tranquillity for the gospel-preaching of the 7th trumpet, before the end of the world; and with Bede too || makes it to include Daniel's last 45 days of the 1335, following on Antichrist's reign during the 1290: a tranquillity soon issuing in a general state of carnal security, such as in 1 Thess. 5:3.—Of the *millennial binding of Satan* he in one place (i. 119, 120) gives the old Augustinian explanation, as having reference to time past, and commencing from Christ's ministry: yet seems elsewhere (ii. 63) to apply it to a judgment on the Devil *after Antichrist's destruction*. "In illà sententià ultimi judicii præerunt executioni Michael et omnes angeli, qui præerunt malis angelis ad torquendum: qui et religabit Sathanam et omnem virtutem ejus; Apoc. 20:1." It was another step, in the track of Joachim Abbas, to the abandonment of the so long received millennial theory of Augustine.—Once more the *New Jerusalem symbol and state* is explained of the saints' heavenly state after the judgment; (ii. 88;) and among the hallelujahs of praise attending its introduction (90), Thomas Aquinas somewhat fancifully expatiates on the music of the seven planetary spheres.

subject states, yet this was chiefly with reference to the imperial Ghibelline Romanists, both princes and priests, and the evil-minded multitudes existing in it; so as still to leave to Rome's Papal Church itself its promised prerogative of infallibility; "Thou art Peter, &c."¹ Again, though Antichrist, it would seem, was to sit on the Papal throne, yet this, in Joachim's view, would of course be as *a usurper* of that throne.² But the fitting of Scripture prophecy with the living reality of Papal Rome, in respect not of the disaffected and evil-minded in it, but of the *religious system, ecclesiastical government, and head there actually enthroned*, enthroned in mighty supremacy over Western Christendom, (for the contingency of Rome's revived empire, looked on by Andreas some six centuries before as scarce imaginable,³ had indeed now more than had fulfilment,) this fitting, I say, when the idea had once been bruited, was too striking not to impress itself deeply on many a thinking mind in Christendom. Scarce had Joachim rendered up his last breath among his brethren, when one and another and another, more or less following Joachim, took up and exprest the view.

3. First *Almeric* and his *disciples* (teachers alluded to, I see, by Thomas Aquinas) declared that *Rome was Babylon*, and the *Roman Pope Antichrist*.⁴ At the same time they proclaimed, agreeably with the predictions of Joachim, that the Third Age, the Age of the Holy Spirit, a time of light and reformation, had even then begun to dawn with the opening of the new 18th century:¹ the rumour being also widely and influentially circulated by them, that the Franciscans, in their revival of preaching, were the fulfilment of the prefigurative Apocalyptic vision of the Angel flying abroad with the everlasting gospel, to preach to every nation under heaven.²—Then, a few years later, *Jean Pierre d' Olive*, another professed follower of Joachim, and leader in Languedoc of the austerer and more spiritual section of the recently-formed Franciscan body, in a Work entitled *Postils on the Apocalypse*, affirmed that "the Church of Rome was the Whore of Babylon, the Mother of Harlots, the same that St. John beheld sitting upon a scarlet-coloured Beast, full of

¹ See pp. 387, 390, 413 *suprà*.

² See pp. 408, 409.

³ See pp. 355, 363 *suprà*.

⁴ "Quem (se. Bestiam Antichristum, Apoc. 13) quidam hæreticorum jam sequentes dieunt omnes confessores qui fuerunt in ecclesià à tempore Silvestri Papæ esse damnatos, et in inferno."—On which says Aquinas' recent Roman editor, Hyacinthe de Ferrari: "Ex Amalrici discipulis erant isti; qui diebant *Romam esse Babylonem,* et Romanum Pontificem Antichristum; sanetorum cultum idololatriam esse, &c.*" He refers for authority to Berti, Brev. See. 13: and adds; "Ideo *tempore Silvestri Papæ, &c., quia ipse excommunicavit eos à quibus exulavit.*" Th. Aquin. De Antichristo, i. 102.

Mosheim states that Amalric was sometime Professor of Logic and Theology at Paris: that his disciples received with the utmost faith Joachim's predictions; that he held sundry heretical opinions: and that his bones were dug up and publicly burnt in the year 1209. Mosh. xiii. 2. 5. 12, 13.

¹ Mosh. *ibid*.

² See my Vol. ii. p. 34.

names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns;”³ and the chief and proper Antichrist a pseudo-Pope:⁴ also, very remarkably, that some reformation, with fuller effusion of gospel light, might probably be expected prior to Rome’s final predicted destruction; in order that, through its rejection of that light, God’s destruction of it might be the rather justified before the world.

The same view of Papal Rome was echoed by not a few other protest Romanists. And so, however inconsistent these its propagators, it travelled down through the 13th century; to be stereotyped in the 14th for all literary posterity, in *Dante’s Inferno*,¹ and the Epistles of *Petrarch*.²—Moreover, near about the same time with Pierre d’Olive, by another professedly Romanist expositor, the usual strange oversight as to the predicted disruption of the old Roman empire into ten kingdoms having long before taken place was in a certain manner corrected. I allude to *Eberhard*, Bishop of Salzburg: who, in the Council of Ratisbon, held A.D. 1240, while declaring that the Popes under a shepherd’s skin concealed the wolf, and that Hildebrand, 170 years before, had laid the foundations of the Babylonian Empire of Antichrist,—declared also that the old Roman Empire had been long taken away from the earth, according to St. Paul’s prophecy, the new Western Empire being but a name and shadow:³ and that there had risen in its place ten horns. “Tureæ, Græci, Ægyptii, Afri, Hispani, Galli, Angli, Germani, Siculi, Itali;” and among, and

³ So Mosheim xiii. 2. 2. 36. Vitringa, p. 1007, says, “Legi excerpta interpretationis ejus Apocalypticæ (i.e. P. Olivi) eum admiratione.” He refers to Baluzius’ Miscell. as containing it.—In his Section 54, selected for condemnation by the Papal inquisitors, I see the Apocalyptic Harlot is made to comprehend both Rome Pagan and Rome Papal. “The woman here stands for the people and empire of Rome, both as she existed formerly in a state of Paganism, and as she has since existed in the [profest] faith of Christ, though by many crimes committing fornication with this world.” ap. Gieseler ii. 304.

⁴ “Quòd Antichristus proprius et magnus erit Pseudo-Papa, caput Pseudo-Prophetarum.” Gieseler ii. *ibid*. To whose abstract of Pierre d’Olive’s 60 Articles I beg to refer the reader. Pierre d’Olive died, according to Gieseler, A.D. 1297.

¹ *Inferno*, Canto xix. 106:—

Di voi pastor s’accorse ‘l Vangelista,
Quando colei che siede sovra l’acque
Puttaneggiar co’ regi a lui fu vista:
Quella che con le sette teste nacque,
E dalle diece corna ebbe argomento.

This with reference specially to the simony and avarice of the Popes and Roman Church. On which says his Commentator, Pompeo Venturi; “Dante *empiamente* intende qui nell’ infame donna la *dignità Pontificia*, come residente in Roma; e, per meglio dire, stessi *Pontifici simoniaci*.”

² In his xxth Epistle he calls the Papal Court the Babylonian Harlot, Mother of all idolatries and fornications.

³ Compare Hippolytus, p. 285 *suprà*.

over them, the Pontifical little horn, having eyes and speaking great things.”⁴—Further, a century or so later, another expositor, *Oremius*, in a Treatise about *Antichrist*, suggested with reference to “the great city” of the death of the Witnesses, “spiritually called Sodom and Egypt,” that, though more probably Jerusalem, yet it might also very possibly be *Papal Rome*; and, as to the place of Antichrist’s birth, that although Babylon, yet this might be Babylon in its figurative sense of Rome.⁵

4. Meanwhile, in a different and purer channel,—I mean among the *Waldensian Schismatics*, or rather *Waldensian Witnesses for Christ*,—the same idea, quite independently taken up, was never thenceforth forgotten; and was thus transmitted downwards by them to the Wickliffites and Hussites of the xivth and xvth centuries. Already before Joachim had published his Apocalyptic Book, as it would seem, the Waldenses in their Noble Lesson had hinted that whereas the Antichrist was to come, “even then there were many Antichrists;” Antichrist being explained by them, not in its peculiar and proper meaning, but as opposers of Christ.¹ In 1207 we find the

⁴ Aventinus’ Annal. Boiom. B. vii.

⁵ Martene’s Collect. Ampl. I borrow this from Mr. C. Maitland, p. 317; not having myself access to Martene’s book. He dates him A.D. 1360.

Of the few Romanistic Apocalyptic expositors between T. Aquinas and the Reformation, unnoticed in my text above, the most eminent perhaps were *Petrus Aureolus* the Franciscan, who wrote about A.D. 1317, *Nicholas de Lyra* of the 11th century, (died 1310,) and *Dionysius Carthusianus* about the middle of the 15th century.

As regards the *latter*, I believe there was nothing very new or remarkable in his Apocalyptic view.—In *Petrus Aureolus* I infer from Mr. C. M.’s notice of him, p. 349, that the *Saracens*, *Byzantine Emperors*, and *Turks*, figured prominently among the Church’s enemies, supposed to be Apocalyptically predicted.—But *Lyranus’* scheme was more peculiar. He explained the prophecy as continuously historical, (without break even at the 7th Trumpet’s sounding,) in reference to the history of Roman Christendom from the Apostolic æra to the time of the end. Thus the *Seals* run on to Diocletian’s time: the 6th Seal figuring the terrors of Diocletian’s persecution; the sealing vision, the saved Church’s conversions under Constantine. The *six Trumpets* are the voices of Councils, or Church, against the chief successive heretics, Arius, Macedonius, Pelagius, Eutyehes, Valens, and those of A.D. 493 in Italy and Greece; the *Angel of Apoc. 10*, the emperor Justin interposing with his little book of decrees in favour of Catholic truth; the two witnesses, Pope Sylvester and the Bishop Mena, exiled or imprisoned for 3½ *years* (answering to the Apocalyptic 3½ *days*) by Justinian;* the man-child of Apoc. 12, Heraclius; the Beast of Apoc. 13, Chosroes’ son wounded in conflict with Heraclius; the 144,000 of Apoc. 14, monks and virgins to that number slain by the Saracens soon after Heraclius’ death; the Vials, acts of Roman Popes, or of princes sanctioned by them, against iconoclastic or Ghibelline emperors, heathen people, or false Popes, from Adrian’s iconoclastic bulls, A.D. 740, to Peter the Hermit and the 1st Crusade A.D. 1094. The 5th Vial Lyra construed of the emperor Otho’s vial of wrath on Pope John, thrust by Creseentius into the Papal see: so says Pareus, making *Papal Rome* the “seat of the Beast.”† Further, Lyra expounded Daniel’s 45 *days* as 45 *years*. Malv. ii. 244.

¹ See my Vol. ii. pp. 370, 393.

Waldensian Arnold asserting and defending in a public disputation at Carcassonne, the proposition that Rome was the Babylon and Harlot of the Apocalypse.² About A.D. 1250 Reinerius tells us that this representation of Papal Rome, and of the Pope being the head of all errors, was one of the Waldensian heresies:³ and somewhat later, perhaps a century or more later, the whole theory is developed in their treatise on Antichrist.¹

5. And then next, turning to another country, but to religionists of perhaps Valdentic origin,² and certainly on main points of Valdentic principles, we find the same mighty truth (for such I must beg permission to call it) proclaimed by *Wicliffe*,³ and his *Wicliffite followers*. Among whom, A.D. 1391, *Walter Brute's* testimony stands so conspicuous, as detailed to us by the venerable Foxe from original documents,⁴ written and registered on his being brought before the Bishop's Court at Hereford, that I think I cannot better conclude this Section than by a brief abstract of it, as exhibiting the *Wicliffite* Apocalyptic views.

It seems then that this *Walter Brute*, by nation a Briton or Welshman, who was "a layman and learned, and brought up in the University of Oxford, being there a graduate," was accused of saying, among sundry other things, that "the Pope is Antichrist, and a seducer of the people, and utterly against the law and life of Christ." Being called to answer, he put in first certain more brief "exhibits:"⁵ then "another declaration of the same matter after a more ample tractation;"⁶ explaining and setting forth from Scripture the grounds of his opinion. In either case his defence was grounded very mainly on the Apocalyptic prophecy. For he at once bases his justification on the fact as demonstrable, of the *Pope* answering alike to the *chief of the false Christs* prophesied of by Christ, as to come in his name; to the *Man of Sin* prophesied of by St. Paul; and to both the *first Beast*, and *Beast with the two lamb-like horns*, in the Apocalypse: the *city of Papal Rome* answering also similarly to the Apocalyptic *Babylon*.

² See *ibid.* 371.

³ See my Vol. ii. p. 371.

¹ *Ibid.* p. 394.

² See my Vol. ii. p. 428.

³ "Wiclif's days were passed in incessant warfare against 'this Master of the Emperor, this *Fellow of God*, this *Deity on earth*.' And whatever may at any period have been his respect for the Pope in the *ideal* perfection of his character,—of the *actual* Pope he scruples not to pronounce that he is 'potissimus Antichristus,' *the veriest Antichrist*.'" Le. Bas, 333.

Among Wiclif's writings Le Bas mentions one *in Apocalypsin Joannis*. This I have not seen.

⁴ Foxe, Vol. iii. pp. 131–188.

⁵ *Ib.* 136.

⁶ *Ib.* 139.

No doubt, he admits, this had been a mystery long bidden. But if so, and only recently revealed, it would not be unaccordant with God's dealings and declarations.¹ "Make the heart of this people fat, that seeing they may not see, &c.," was said by Isaiah of a long permitted judicial blindness on the Jews; and again by Daniel, ch. 12, in one of the self-same visions that would now come into question, "*Seal up* the vision till the time of the end:" (let my reader mark this just application of that prophetic statement:) also, as to the revealer of them, Apoc. 2, "*He* hath the key of David, and open-eth and no man shutteth:" and, with reference to the persons revealed to, Dan. 2:30, "As for me, this secret is not revealed to me for any wisdom that I have;" and Luke 10:21, "Thou hast revealed them unto babes."—Nor was reason wanting why the revelation should be made *now*, in respect of *time*, said Walter Brute; and *here*, in the *British nation*.² 1. *Now*: because there are signs of *Christ's coming being near at hand*, "to reform his Church; and by the disclosing of Antichrist to call men again to the perfection of the gospel, from their heathenish rites, and ways of the Gentiles, by whom the Holy City was to be trampled for 42 months."³ 2. *Here*, in Britain, as being by God's special favour the earliest *kingdom* converted to the Christian faith; viz. under King Lucius, when Eleutherius was Bishop of Rome:⁴ and in effect the *very wilderness* (here begin Walter's special Apocalyptic interpretations) in which the Woman, the Church, (after by faith bringing forth Christ into the world, who was soon taken up to God and his throne,) did, on the Dragon or Devil's persecuting her, thus early take refuge: where too, when the Serpent, especially under Diocletian, sent waters of persecution after her to drown her, "the earth, i. e. the [British] *stability of faith*,"⁵ helped the Woman by supping up the water of tribulation;" and where subsequently, for the 1260 *days*, or, as was meant, 1260 *years* of the prophecy, (a period otherwise exprest by a time, times, and half a time,⁶) the true faith had ever since continued.

Then he passes to the great subject of *Antichrist*.—Very vain, he says, had been the usual and long-received ideas about Antichrist:⁷—ideas as of one that was to be born in Babylon of the tribe of Dan, to circumcise himself, give himself out as the Messiah, or Christ, come for the Jews' salvation, and preach 3½ years where Christ preached; then in three ways to seduce the people of Christendom, viz. "with miracles, and gifts, and torments;"¹ and to fight with the two

¹ Foxe, vol. iii. pp. 139, 140.

² *Ib.* p. 141.

³ *Ib.* p. 142.

⁴ About 180, A.D.

⁵ Compare Tichonius' explanation, "*ore sanctæ terræ*," noted p. 333 *suprà*.

⁶ His mode of identifying this with the 1260 days is curious. The *time* first mentioned is the greatest time that we speak of, i.e. 1000 years; the *times* next mentioned 100 years each, of which we have two here indicated, these together with the former making 1000 + 200 years; then the *half time* added being about 50 years. Foxe, 143.

⁷ P. 144.

¹ So Adso, p. 370 *suprà*.

Witnesses, Enoch and Elijah, and kill them, and be himself finally slain by lightning. Vain too what was often added, as to Daniel's 1290 days, or 3½ times, of the abomination of desolation, having application to Antichrist's being worshipped for that number of days in God's temple; and then the 45 days additional of the 1335 signifying 45 days of repentance granted to such as should have worshipped Antichrist:²—also the explanation of the Beast with seven heads and ten horns; as meant of a yet future Antichrist. For all this, argues Walter, both Scripture and reason contravene. How is it likely that one avowedly of the tribe of Dan should propose himself, and be believed on both by Jews and Christians, as Christ, when it is notorious to both that Christ is of the tribe of Judah?³ Or how again, when coming as a man of war and bloodshed: whereas the character of Christ's coming is foretold as one of peace, under which men should beat their swords into ploughshares and pruning-books?—Then he opens his own view of those prophecies. 1. That in Dan. 12:11, which says that “from the time of the sacrifice being taken away, and the abomination of desolation set up, there shall be 1290 days,” refers plainly to what was said before in Dan. 9:—how that “after 70 weeks Christ should be slain, and the city and the sanctuary destroyed by a prince that should come; and that he would confirm the covenant with many for one week; and in the half week the sacrifice and offering should cease; and in the temple there should be an abomination of desolation: and even to the fulfilling up of all, and to the end, shall the desolation continue.” For, as the 70 weeks after which Christ was to be slain meant *weeks of years*, not *days*, so, similarly, the 1290 *days* of the desolation meant 1290 *years*: and the prophecy had fulfilment in the fact of the Romans destroying Jerusalem; and, on its last desolation by Adrian, placing an idol, or abomination, in the holy place: a desolation which has ever since continued, now nearly about 1290 years; and which was to continue till the revealing, or in other words the exposure, of Antichrist.—2ndly, in Apoc. 13 the *first Beast* there figured in vision *with seven heads and ten horns*, which men explain of an imagined yet future Antichrist, meant rather the *Roman emperors*; who did much persecute the Lord's people, both Jews and Christians. For the *Woman* seen seated on this Beast afterwards was expounded by the angel to mean the city on seven hills, “which then reigned over the kings of the earth,” i. e. *Rome*; “a city upholden by her cruel and beastly emperors:”—and its power was to continue 42 months, or 1260 *days*, i. e. 1260 *years*; a *day* being (as before) meant for a *year*: just as also the *ten days* of tribulation predicted to the Church of Smyrna signified the *ten years* of Diocletian's persecution; and the 5 *months*, or 150 *days*, of the scorpion-locusts of Apoc. 9 the 150 *years* of the locust-like begging friars, from their first rise to their primary exposure by Armachanus.¹ And the prophecy was fulfilled in the duration of the Roman empire just 1200 *years*; from its commencement under Julius Cæsar, to the death of its last emperor, Frederic.²

But then “who is the Antichrist, lying privy in the hid Scriptures of the prophets?”—“I now pass on to the declaration of that conclusion,” says Walter Brute; “bringing to light the things

² Compare T. Aquinas, p. 427 *suprà*.

³ How well and justly argued!

¹ i.e. Fitzralph, a great enemy to the Friars; in 1333 Chancellor of Oxford, in 1347 Bishop of Armagh.

² Here Walter Brute is less happy. His own theory of Antichrist required his application of this chronological period as the measure of *Papal Rome's* duration in power.

which lay hid in darkness. For what was said in the darkness let us say in the light; and what we have heard in the ear let us preach upon the house-tops." If then, proceeds he, the high Bishop of Rome, calling himself God's servant, and Christ's chief Vicar in this world, do make and justify many laws contrary to Jesus Christ, then must he be the chief of those false Christ's foretold by Christ as to come in his name, and deceiving many. Now 1st, as to the fact of *the Popes ealling themselves Christs*, it is evident: since Christ means *anointed*, a characteristic and appellation specially applied in Scripture to *kings* and *priests*; both of which the Popes claim to be, as both *high priests* and *chief kings*, invested authoritatively alike with the temporal and spiritual sword. Then 2ndly, as to *the difference of Christ's laws and the Pope's*, the first of Christ's laws is that of *love*; but the Pope wageth war both against infidels and against Christians. And though it be alleged that miracles have been done by those who have preached or engaged in such crusading wars, yet does not this justify them; because "for no miracles may we do contrary to the doctrines of Christ."¹ And, as to miracles, did not the Egyptian magicians perform them? Is it not said by Christ that false prophets would rise, that would do them? by Paul, that Satan was transformed into an angel of light? by Christ again, that at the last day he would have to reject many saying to him, "We have prophesied in thy name, and in thy name done wonderful works?" even as the second Apocalyptic Beast was said to do miracles? The standard of truth must be God's word. "Is not my word like fire, &c.?"—Further, Christ's second law might be said to be that of *forgiveness* and *mercy*: mercy to sinners. But here too how contrary the Pope's and priests' law: giving judicial sentence of death, and perhaps exciting crusading wars against heretics. In which last act there is a practical ante-dating of *times* too. For Christ said that here the tares were to grow with the wheat; and the separation to be made by himself only at the time of the day of judgment.² Whereas the Pope would have the separation made by himself now; so changing *times*, as well as *laws*.

Then next our confessor and prophetic expositor proceeds to argue against the Romish doctrines of the keys, auricular confession, transubstantiation, and a sacrificing priesthood.³ And, after describing the universal and awful habit with all classes of the priesthood, of "selling prayers, pardons, &c.," in direct contradiction to Christ's charge, "Freely ye have received, freely give," he breaks into the exclamation;⁴ "I would to God that all the buyers and sellers of spiritual suffrages would with the eyes of their heart behold the ruin of the great city Babylon, and that which they shall say after that fall. For doth not the prophet say, 'And the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn for her, because no man shall buy any more their merchandise; crying, Alas! that great city Babylon, because that in one hour she is become desolate?'"—Then he expounds the second Beast as the Popes, with their assumed kingly and priestly power; speaking like a dragon, and allowing none to sell their spiritual pardons, &c., but such as bore their mark;

¹ 175.

² 162.

³ 171, 174.

⁴ 183.

interprets the Beast's name, with the number 666, to be DVX CLERT; and concludes⁵ with another earnest word of warning from Apoc. 19: "My counsel is, let the buyer be aware of those marks of the Beast! For, after the fall of Babylon, 'If any man hath worshipped the Beast and his image, and hath received the mark on his forehead or on his head, he shall drink of the wine of God's wrath, and be tormented with fire and brimstone in the sight of the holy angels and of the Lamb; and the smoke of their torments shall ascend evermore.'"²

§ V. THE ÆRA AND CENTURY OF THE REFORMATION

At the Reformation the light which had previously gleamed here and there on the subject of Antichrist, and then been at length for a while all but extinguished, burst into a blaze; and the voice of the Waldenses, Wicliffites, and Hussites, protesting against the Popes as the Apocalyptic Beast, and Rome as the Apocalyptic Babylon, revived, after a temporary suspension, in power hitherto unparalleled. Vain was the authoritative prohibition of writing or preaching on the subject of Antichrist, by the 5th Council of Lateran.¹ There was an energy in the impression and the voice, as if derived not from books or earlier traditions, but from the Spirit's own teaching. Alike in Germany, Switzerland, France, Denmark, Sweden, England, it was received as an almost self-evident and fundamental truth by the founders of the several Protestant Churches: indeed as, in itself, a sufficient justification of the mighty act of their separation from Rome.² But the difficulty remained to adjust and explain certain *details* of the Apocalyptic prophecies respecting the Beast, Antichrist, and Babylon; as well as to offer a satisfactory and consistent solution of the many other mysteries of this prophetic Book. Nor was the difficulty slight; or one soon, or as yet fully, to be overcome.

It is my purpose in the present Section primarily, and at large, to set forth the Apocalyptic views in the 16th century of the *Fathers of the Protestant Reformation*; then very briefly, in conclusion, to sketch the views of Apocalyptic exposition with which, after long reflection, the *Papal Doctors*, as that century drew to a close, thought best to meet the arguments so fearfully urged against them from the Apocalyptic Book.

⁵ 185.

² Elliott, E. B. (1862). [*Horæ Apocalypticæ; or, A Commentary on the Apocalypse, Critical and Historical*](#) (Fifth Edition, Vol. 4, pp. 275–436). Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.

¹ "Tempus quoque præfixum futurorum malorum, vel *Antichristi adventum*, aut certum diem judicii, prædicare vel asserere nequaquam præsumant." Harduin ix. 1808.—I have already quoted this in my Vol. ii. p. 84.

² "On this principle [viz. "that the *Man of Sin*, or *Antichrist*, could be no other than *the man that fills the Papal chair*"] "was the Reformation begun and carried on; on this the great separation from the Church of Rome conceived and perfected. For, though persecution for opinion would acquit those of schism whom the Church of Rome had driven from her communion, yet on the principle that she is *Antichrist's*, they had not only a right, but lay under the obligation of a command, to come out of the spiritual Babylon." Warburton's Works, p. 488.

I. THE PROTESTANT FATHERS

1. And on this head my illustrations of the history of Apocalyptic interpretation must commence of course with a brief sketch of the views of the great Father of the Reformation, *Luther*.—In my Vol. ii. ch. 4,¹ I have described the time and the manner in which the idea of the Popes being the Antichrist broke upon his mind; and also in the chapter 5, next following,² how it was primarily from *Daniel's* prophecies respecting the little horn and the abomination of desolation, that he drew this his conclusion. It was also there intimated that in 1522, at the time of concluding the translation of the New Testament, he had come to doubt of the genuineness of the Apocalypse as an Apostolic or inspired Book.³ But it would seem from a Latin Treatise of his, now in my hands, “*De Antichristo*,” dated by himself at its ending, Wittenberg, April 1, 1521,⁴ (the very day, I believe, before his setting out for Worms,⁵) that the doubt had not *then* fixed itself in his mind: for he not only alludes in more than one place to the Apocalypse,⁶ as an inspired prophetic book, but interprets the prophecy of the scorpion-locusts in Apoc. 9 in considerable detail. And other evidence appears to the same effect in the writings of the year 1520 just preceding.⁷ A few years later, viz. in 1528, he is stated to have found and republished an Apocalyptic Commentary, expounding the Beast to mean the Popedom; written some hundred years,⁸ or rather, as Pareus shows, some 150 years before Luther's time:⁹ an evidence of his inclining then again, as at first, to view the Apocalypse as inspired Scripture. Finally, in 1534, he prefixed to the Apocalypse in his great Edition of the German Bible a brief explanatory sketch: from which, and from certain notices found elsewhere in his writings,¹ I may give what follows as in the main his views on the subject.

¹ Pp. 117 et seq.

² Pp. 135 et seq.

³ *Ib.* p. 135 Note 1.

⁴ “Vale in Christo, mi Vincilae! Vvittenbergæ, Anno MD XXI., prima Aprilis.”

⁵ So Merle d'Aubigné.

⁶ “In nobis impleri oportet quæ Daniel, Christus, Petrus, Paulus, Judas, *Joannes in Apocalypsi*, prædixerunt.” E. (The original Edition before me so distinguishes its pages by the letters of the alphabet, four pages to each letter.)

⁷ He argues from the Apocalypse in his answer to the Pope's Bull, dated Dec. 1520. See Foxe v. 675, Waddington i. 238.

⁸ Such is the general statement.

⁹ “The Author disputing on Apoc. 20 touching the 1000 years, testifies that he wrote A.D. 1357; which, saith he, is our present date.” So Pareus, p. 12, English Translation. (Amsterdam, 1641.)—It seems from him that it contains the same Prologue which Lyra in his Postill had noted, and which is prefixed also to Joachim Abbas' Treatise; in which latter it is ascribed to Gilbert of the 12th century.

¹ Where not otherwise stated, the interpretation given will be found in Luther's Preface, or marginal explanatory Notes to the Apocalypse, in his German Bible.

Like most of his predecessors, he judged that the Book must be more or less a prefiguration of the chief events and æras of Church History: the *Seals* chiefly prefiguring the *physical* or *political* evils under which the Church and world connected with it was to suffer, the *Trumpets* the *spiritual*; and either septenary running on from the commencement of the Christian æra to the consummation.—Thus in the *Seals*, the 1st, or *white horse* and *rider*, indicated (as in Zech. 1:6) the persecutions of tyrants; the 2nd, or *red horse*, wars and bloodshed; the 3rd, or *black horse*, famine; the 4th, or *pale horse*, pestilence and mortality: all to have fulfilment, from time to time, to the last day:—the 5th Seal figuring martyrdoms of the saints, early begun, and ever and anon repeated, even to the end; the 6th, great political revolutions; and its sealing and palm-bearing visions, the preservation and ultimate salvation of the saints. The 7th Seal's half-hour's silence he does not explain.—Of the *Trumpets* he makes the 1st to figure the heretic Tatian and his Encratites, enjoining righteousness by human works of merit, so as did afterwards the Pelagians; the 2nd, Marcion, and the Manichees and Montanists, exalting their fancies above Scripture; (so as of late Munzer and his Anabaptists;) the 3rd, Origen and the false philosophy, revived in our own high schools; the 4th, Novatus and the Donatists, denying repentance to the lapsed;² the 5th, Arius and the Arians;³ the 6th, Mahomet and the Saracens: contemporary with whom was the Woe of the *Papacy*; depicted alike in Apoc. 10, 11, and 13.

And here, on Apoc. 10, 11, is the most curious particular explanation in Luther's Commentary. Deeply impressed with the Pope's and Papacy's mock show of Christ and Christianity, and with an impression also, probably, even then, of the resemblance of those *seven thunders*, which sounded in sequence to the rainbow-crowned Angel's cry, to the *Papal mandates and thunders*,¹

² "Among these four," says Luther, "nearly all our clergy may be classed."

³ So in Luther's Preface to the Apocalypse. In his earlier Treatise "*De Antichristo*," spoken of a little before, he explains the locusts to mean the *Romish Schoolmen*, "Scotists, Thomists, and Modernists;" who, headed by Aristotle, introduced the dogmas of freewill, merits, and the efficacy of good works for salvation. The star that fell from heaven, and opened the pit whence the locusts emerged, he makes to be Alexander de Hales, or Thomas Aquinas himself. G. 2.

¹ A remarkable explanation of the *seven thunders*; and which I have already cited in my Vol. ii. p. 122. "Great was the tyranny of the Pontiff: who, without law, to gratify his own arrogance, has ever lightened and thundered with ample puffed-out cheeks. It was all in vain for a man to give credence to the four Gospels, if he did not receive the Decretals of the Romish Church. These are the great swelling and loud-trumpeted words of which St. Peter speaks: these *the seven thunders* of Papal intimidation in Apoc. 10"—The fact of Luther's having so explained the symbol, was of course the more interesting to me, when brought to my knowledge, from the circumstance of my having long previously arrived at the same understanding of it; though with quite a different view of the context from that which Luther took; and without an idea that such a view had been taken of the symbol by any previous expositor. The citation is given by the Rev. C. Smith from Luther's *Treatise on the Keys*, and also from the *Frankfort* Edition of his *Tischreden*, or *Table Talk*. In my *English* Editions of the *Tischreden* it does not appear.

The *Table Talk* exhibits Luther's views generally as express in later life. That he had some such idea however of the Apocalyptic symbol here referred to when he wrote the "*De Antichristo*" in 1521, seems to me probable from his so explaining *the seven trumpet-angels*, voices,* as well as for other reasons.

he was led to explain the whole vision, including the Angel himself, of the Popes and Popedom. "The mighty Angel," he says, "with a rainbow and a little bitter book, is Popery;" Popery in the speciousness of its spiritual forms and pretensions. So the Popes, he thinks, are figured as a mock Christ on the scene of vision; the opened book being that of Papal laws, given the Evangelist to eat, as representative of the Church visible; the lion-like voice and *seven thunders*, the great swelling words and thunders of the Popedom.—Moreover, it is the Popes that are still symbolized² at the commencement of Apoc. 11 as measuring the temple, or Church, with their laws and regulations; casting out the court without; (in the sense, I presume, of anti-papal heretics;) and establishing a mere formal kind of Church, with outward show of holiness.—The subject having to be renewed and more fully developed in the vision of the *two Beasts*, Apoc. 13. Luther speaks of the interposition, for the comfort of God's people, of two intermediate and very different visions: viz. 1st, of *the two Witness-preachers*, signifying a succession of faithful witnesses kept up for Christ; 2ndly, of *the Woman with child*, meant of Christ's true Church, and God's provision for her, during the Beast's reign, in the wilderness.—In Apoc. 13. Luther explains the *first Beast* to mean the Papistic secular revived Roman empire, the *second Beast* the Pope's ecclesiastical or spiritual empire: Popery now ruling by the sword, as before by the book; and constituting the third and last Woe, proclaimed by the seventh Angel. Of the *seven heads* of the Beast the five that have fallen are, he says, those in Greek Christendom; the sixth, "which is," that of Papal Germany: (the head wounded to death, or old Roman empire, having been thus revived:) the seventh, or "that which is to come," he considers to be Spain; the eighth, ("which is of the seven,") Rome or Italy. The *ten horns* are Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, France, England, &c.; which, though Popery's profest defenders, are sometimes to attack and desolate it. The *Beast's* image is the new empire, which is but the shadow of the old.¹—The *number of the Beast*, 666, Luther explains to signify the number of years that the Beast may be destined to endure; measured, he says in his Table Talk, from Gregory, or perhaps Phocas.²—The *seven Vial-Angels* he interprets of the gospel-preachers of the latter days: the *seat of the Beast* being thereby darkened; and the *Euphratean drying up*, under the sixth Vial, also figuring the exhaustion of the wealth and power of Papal Rome, the modern Babylon: while the three frog-like spirits depicted Papal sophists, like Faber, Eck, and Emser, stirring up opposition to the Gospel.—Finally, the *millennium* is the 1000 years between St. John and the issuing forth of the Turks: (these latter being the antitype to the Apocalyptic Gog and Magog;) Satan's incarceration and binding meaning only that Christianity and Christians will, during that whole period, subsist in spite of him.—I may add that he in various places notes his view of the predicted *Antichrist* as one that should be an ecclesiastical person. So in his "De Antichristo;"³ saying, "The *Turk* cannot be

² So the Tischreden, or Table Talk.

¹ So Eberhard, p. 429 *suprà*.

² Table Talk, ii. 12. (English Trans.)

³ P. 10, Smith's Translation.

Antichrist, because he is not *in the Church of God.*" And again, "Who ever so came *in Christ's name* as did the Pope?"⁴

On the whole it will be seen that Luther did not advance far towards the solution of Apocalyptic mysteries. His explanation of Apoc. 10–11:2, seems to me the most observable of what is peculiar to him; and that of the two Beasts of Apoc. 13, as signifying respectively the secular Roman Empire and the ecclesiastical. Of these opinions, the former, about the rainbow-crowned angel and the seven thunders, was never, I believe, adopted by any other expositor of note:¹ the other has had its advocates and followers even to the present day.²

2. It will have been observed that Luther does not enter on the question of the meaning of the several *Apocalyptic periods*; more especially the 3½ times, 42 months, and 1260 days.³—But it was quite impossible that Apocalyptic interpretation could go on without that question being considered, and concluded on. Accordingly we find that, almost immediately after Luther's publication of his Bible, it was discussed by the chief Protestant prophetic expositors that followed; and in most cases the *year-day* principle applied to explain them. In my chapter on the year-day question, Vol. iii. p. 284, I have illustrated the somewhat curious ground on which they fancied that this view might be partly based, from *Osiander's* Book entitled "*Conjecturæ de Ultimis Temporibus, ac de Fine Mundi:*" a Book first published at Nuremberg, A.D. 1544, and dedicated to Albert, Marquis of Brandenburg and Prussia. "Sunt duo genera *annorum magnorum* in sacris litteris; unum *Angelicum*, alterum *Mosaicum*. Annus Angelicus constat ex tot annis civilibus nostris ex quot diebus nostris constat annus noster civilis. Nobis enim qui cœlo inclusi sumus cursus solis ab occidente ad orientem, et rursus ab oriente ad occidentem, diem absolvit; id quod fit spatio 24 horarum. Angelis autem, qui extrà et suprà globos æthereos versantur, dies est quem sol in zodiaco ab austro in aquilonem, et ab aquilone rursus in austrum, circumvolvendo conficit." So that to an Angel's view (as outside, I suppose, of our solar system) the only mundane revolution observable would be the annual; and consequently our *year* be to them a *solar day*.⁴—*Arctius* of Berne, who taught theology with much reputation at Marburg, and

⁴ *Ib.* p. 41.

¹ i.e. till my own unconscious adoption of that part which regards *the seven thunders*.

² A practical improvement of the whole subject ends Luther's Comment.

³ Mr. C. Maitland, p. 434, says "that Luther allowed the possibility of 1290 *years* from A.D. 33 to 1328." He does not give reference or authority; and I have not observed it in the few writings of Luther that I have myself read. But supposing this correct, then Luther may be numbered as among those to whom the application of the *year-day* principle to the great prophetic periods suggested itself, as possibly the true one.

⁴ Osiander adds that it was of *angelic days* that Christ spake when he sent word to Herod, "Behold, *to-day and to-morrow* I cast out devils, and on *the third day* I shall be perfected." For this, says he, can in no way be explained of natural days; but must be referred to the *three years* in which Christ preached and did miracles, till his crucifixion. He adds, that the angels in Daniel 12 call this *their year* by the same term that we call ours; viz. Hebraicé מועד.

died A.D. 1574, urged the same explanation a little after Osiander:¹ and so too *Chytræus*, in his Apocalyptic Exposition published in 1571, of which more presently. And, advanced so far as they now were in the Christian æra, it became a primary element with all such expositors, in calculations of the probabilities of the future, to consider what the probable *commencing date* of these same fateful prophetic periods: as the lapse of 1260 years from it might be supposed to fix the epoch of the consummation; except, indeed, in so far as the Lord might in mercy shorten the days. By help of the last consideration the earliest Reformers, German, Swiss, and English, even though taking the *year-day* view, might yet hope for a speedy consummation to the world; as I have already shown in my Part 3. Chap. 5:² Others looked to an epoch further forward, as supposable. Said Aretius; “We may reckon Antichrist’s beginning from Constantine’s establishment of Christianity, A.D. 312; 1260 years from which end in 1572.”—Said Chytræus; “If numbered from A.D. 412, when Alaric took Rome, and overthrew its empire, the end will be in 1672: or, if from the time of Phocas, A.D. 606, when the Pope’s supremacy began, (I beg the reader’s attention to this,) then the end may be expected A.D. 1866.”³—Other Protestant Expositors however of this æra construed the prophetic periods less definitely.

3. Reverting to the more general subject of Apocalyptic interpretation, I shall select *Bullinger* and *Bale*, as two of the more eminent and characteristic of the Apocalyptic Expositors of the *middle* of the period under review, in German Switzerland and England respectively.⁴

Bullinger’s work, which is in Latin, is made up of the *Conciones* delivered by him at Zurich; and dedicated, as a book well fitted to furnish them with consolation, to all the exiles from France, England, Italy, and other kingdoms, taking refuge in Germany and Switzerland. The date of the Preface is Jan. 1557: a date during the reign of our Popish Queen Mary; which explains those terms in the dedication, and adds to the Book’s interest.¹ The following are in brief the heads of his exposition.

Of the *Seals* he makes the *first* to signify the triumphant progress of the Gospel, even under suffering. whether from Pagan or Papal powers, from its beginning to the end:—the *second*, wars, including alike the Roman civil contests, the Gothic and Saracenic desolations, the *Bellum Sacrum* begun in the 11th century, and then the Turkish Othman wars:—the *third*, scarcities, inflicted from time to time, from that mentioned in the Acts under Claudius the, Roman emperor, even

¹ So Foxe reports of Aretius: “Vaticinium hoc (de Testibus) non de communibus, sed de angelicis mensibus et diebus, interpretatur.”

² Vol. ii. pp. 137–145.

³ How this epoch of Phocas’ Decree was referred to by others of the Reformers has been noted already, Vol. iii. p. 302.

⁴ For a brief notice of *Leo Juda*, another contemporary Protestant expositor, see my Vol. ii. p. 141.

¹ “Ad omnes per Germaniam et Helvetiam Galliæ Angliæ Italiæ aliorumque regnorum vel nationum Christi nomine exules, atque adeo ad universos ubique fideles, *Christi Domini Judicisque adventum expectantes.*” The reader will I think feel with me the interest of this touching dedication. The last clause, in italics, is a further illustration of my view of the Angel’s oath made before St. John, Apoc. 10:5–7. (My Edition of Bullinger is that of Basle 1557.)

till now; e. g. that in 1529:—the *fourth*, pestilence, as under Decius, Justinian, Gregory, &c. &c.:—the *fifth*, martyrdoms of the saints, begun by the Roman Pagan emperors, continued by the Arians, and then for above 500 years by Antichrist, even until now, and which must be expected till the completion of the elect:—the *sixth*, “*corruptela doctrinæ sanæ in ecclesiâ*,” from the heresies of Valentinus down to those of Mahomet and the Papal Antichrist: heresies whereby men’s minds had been agitated, the Sun of righteousness been obscured, the doctors of the Church fallen, like falling stars, by apostasy, and the heaven of Christ’s true Church been withdrawn.²—In the *Sealing Vision* there was figured the hindrance of the breathing of God’s Spirit in gospel-preachings and Bible-reading; a hindrance enacted by Pagan Roman emperors first, then by Popes: while the scaling itself told of the multitudes saved all along, even in Papal Anti-Christendom;³ and the palm-bearing, of the saints’ ultimate blessedness in heaven.

Proceeding to the *Trumpets*, (the *silence in heaven* having been explained simply of the waiting on God’s revelations in admiration, and the *Incense-Angel* as Christ the intercessor, the great remedial object in all the heresies and troubles about to be noted under the Trumpets,) he thus expounds them; premising that the use of trumpets in Israel was for convoking assemblies, moving the camp, and war.—The 1st was the Trumpet of alarm, as sounded by the apostles and early Christians, against *Judaizers* and *pseudo-Christian philosophers*: the 2nd, that against Valentinus, the Manichees, and Montanists:—3. against the star fallen from heaven, or Arius:—4. against Pelagius and Pelagianism:—5. against the first Woe, Popery: Gregory the Great’s successor, Boniface, having, under Phocas, opened the pit of the abyss, with his Papal keys, by becoming Universal Bishop: the locusts figuring the Papal clergy, the king of the locusts the Pope; the time mentioned (five months) having reference to that brief duration of the natural locusts; and indicating that the time of the plagues figured was defined and limited by God. In Trumpet 6, the *second Woe*, or Mahomedan Saracens and Turks, was figured with reference to their course of universal desolation:¹ the Euphrates being taken literally; and the four angels loosed explained as Arabs, Saracens, Turks, Tartars; the previous four great Euphratean powers of Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes, Persians, having had their power long bound.

² The *true Church* contradistinctively to the *Roman*.—In reference to a different view of this Seal, as figuring the *last judgments*, he observes that while not objecting to it, yet in the immediate sequel (viz. in the sealing vision) some of the Apocalyptic details were such as to make the application inadmissible.

³ “*Etiam in Anti-Christianismo*.” This is stated broadly and strongly, p. 99.

As to the *Jews’ restoration*, which was urged by some from this figuration of the sealing of the tribes of Israel, he says, *ibid.*; We must take care lest we fall into *chiliasm*, so as Papias, Irenæus, &c. He adds: “I believe that the predicted restoration of the Jews is threefold: 1. *historical* and *national*, as begun by Cyrus, and continued to the Maccabees; 2. *spiritual*, of the election (chiefly Gentile election, adopted into the true Israel) from Christ even to Antichrist’s destruction; 3. that which “*incipiat à restitute evangelio, et extremo judicio, et progrediatur usque in secula seculorum*.” Which last is to be the most absolute restoration: and is the same that was meant by Peter in Acts 3:19–21, speaking of the restitution of all things; and by Christ when he said, “Then lift up your heads, for your redemption draweth nigh.” A passage very observable.

¹ He quotes Nicephorus; Τότε οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ ἠρξάντο τῆς τοῦ παντός ἐρημώσεως. p. 120.

After a curious interpretation of “*the rest of men non-repenting*,” in Apoc. 9:20, as if meaning people, both nationally and individually, that were *spiritually* killed neither by the Papal nor Mahommedan plague, i. e. who, though neither Mahommedans nor Pagans, had yet not given themselves to God,² and must consequently not expect to escape God’s judgment, Bullinger proceeds to Apoc. 10, 11, a part relating (as I believe in common with him and other Reformers) to his own times; and which he appears to me to have explained better than all else in his Commentary. The *Angel-vision* in Apoc. 10 he explains of Christ’s intervention through the Reformers,¹ against the Papal Antichrist and Mahommedans; the antithesis between Christ, as here figured, and the Papal Antichrist, being drawn out in detail. The book opened is the Gospel, opened to men by gospel-preachers, and with the aid of printing, in spite of the Pope: the seven thunders, the gospel-preaching by Christ’s faithful servants, as by men with the spirit of those two apostles who were called sons of thunder; the sealing them being meant in the sense of *authentication* to the good, and that of *being hidden* to the wicked: the oath (one deeply to be noted²) alluding to the 3½ times of Dan. 12; and showing to Christians at that time living that their redemption, as to be effected at Christ’s coming and the resurrection, was even then drawing nigh: the charge, “Thou must prophesy again,” meant of preachers of St. John’s spirit and doctrine against Antichrist and Mahommedanism in the last times;³ and showing (I beg attention to this, as a point in which I now first see that Bullinger anticipated me) that God’s own legitimate commission attached to the ministers of the reformed Protestant Churches, although not ordained by bishops.⁴ He notes how by translation of the SS into German, Spanish, French, Italian, English, besides sundry Eastern languages, John’s doctrine might be said to be preached by faithful ministers over a large part of the world. This is the case even now; says he: “Hodiè ista et audimus et videmus.”⁵ Finally, “the court *within*”⁶ cast out, he takes to be the Roman Pontifex and Pontificii, “excommunicated *by God*,” but does not apparently follow up his own principles by explaining it, in the manner I have done, of the excommunication as acted out *by the Doctors of the Reformation*.⁷

² “Colligimus ex his non sufficere ad vitam piam et beatam ne quis sit Papista aut Mahumedicus, &c.” p. 123. He explains the various sins specified in their spiritual fulness, as against the first or second code.

¹ As beginning however before Luther.

² “Est enim res maximi momenti, consolatione plenissima, omnibusque omnino salutaris et necessaria hominibus.” p. 129. See my Vol. ii. p. 142. Another passage to the same effect occurs a little before in Bullinger, on his p. 120, ad init.

³ John bearing here a *symbolic* or *representative* character. So, Bullinger says, the Gloss and T. Aquinas the latter thus; “In ipso Joanne intelliguntur alii prædicatores, quos Dominus ad tempus Antichristi vult instanter prædicare.” p. 133. So also others.

⁴ p. 134.

⁵ pp. 135, 136.

⁶ Bullinger takes first the reading εσωθεν; but refers to εξωθεν also.

⁷ p. 137.

So Bullinger comes to the *Witnesses*.—The number *two* indicated these Witnesses for Christ to be but few, yet sufficient. The 1260 days of their witnessing in sackcloth, and of the Gentiles treading the Holy City, are an uncertain, yet, in God's purpose, definite time. For above 700 years we know that there have existed such, who opposed themselves to Papal abominations.—The statement, "When they shall have completed their testimony the Beast shall kill them," he applies individually; in the sense that none shall be cut off till they have done their appointed work. The great city of their slaughter is the empire of Papal Rome, spread over the world: analogously with the fact of their Lord's place of crucifixion having been within the old Roman Pagan empire:—the Papists' prefigured joy at Christ's Witnesses' death being ever notorious; and just recently illustrated from the rejoicings of the Romanists, even then when Bullinger wrote, at the news of Queen Mary's persecutions of the Protestants in England:¹ the 3½ days of their lying dead, the short time before their revival in others; so as Huss and Jerome, for example, killed at Constance, were quickly revived first in the Bohemians, then in Laurentius Valla, Savanarola, Luther.² The Witnesses' ascent to heaven he makes that of their departed spirits entering Paradise; and the falling of the tenth of the city, and killing of the 7000, to mean the mighty defections already begun from the Papal Church and empire. He notes too the taking and sack of Rome itself in 1527, by the Constable Bourbon.³—On the 7th Trumpet he says, "It must come soon: therefore our redemption draweth nigh."

Passing on to Apoc. 12, Bullinger explains the *travailing Woman*, like most of his predecessors, of the Church;⁴ the triumph and ascent of Christ's members being assured and involved in that of Christ himself: who is here figured not merely as the Child caught up to God's throne, but also as Michael the Church's protecting Angel. But he gives a new interpretation to the Woman's *flight into the wilderness*; as meaning that of the Church from *Judæa* and *the Jews*, (who of old constituted God's enclosed vineyard,) to *the Gentiles*.⁵ The 3½ times are expounded *generally*, as before. And so too, in a general sense, the Dragon's seven heads and ten horns; as indicating that the Devil "præfuit omnium sculorum monarchis impiis, et omnium cornuum vel regnorum sanguinolentorum præsulor fuit."⁶—Then, in Apoc. 13 the *first Beast* is rather remarkably made by him the *old Pagan Roman empire*; remarkably, I mean, for Bullinger, a *Protestant*. (As offered by Papal expositors, e. g. Bossuet, the explanation was quite natural.) The seven heads had allusion to Rome's seven hills: and also to seven of its kings; whether the seven earliest kings, or the seven Julian Emperors, ending with Nero: in whom (se. Nero) the Beast

¹ p. 146.

² p. 148.

³ p. 149.

⁴ The Church "of all times." p. 156. He hints an allusion also to the Virgin Mary, in the passage on the child-bearing.

⁵ p. 158. Compare W. Brute, p. 432 *suprà*.

⁶ p. 157.

suffered a *deadly wound*; which however was healed by Vespasian.¹ The ten horns might indicate that Rome's empire was then made up of many kingdoms, or perhaps that it at last was to be dissolved into many: viz. under the desolation of the Goth and Vandal invaders of the 5th century; as it was said in the prophecy, "He that killeth with the sword shall be killed with the sword," &c.²

The *second Beast* is explained to be the Papal Antichrist, (being the same as Daniel's *little horn* and St. Paul's *Man of Sin*,) rising up under Gregory I, and his successor Boniface, to be Universal Bishop, soon after Totilas' utter destruction of old Rome; just as this *second Beast* was seen to rise *after* the *first*. The Beast's two lamb-like horns indicated his claims to both *sacerdotal* and *royal* supremacy, in heaven too and on earth: agreeably with which the Pope has the two swords, and Boniface VIII, at the first Jubilee, A.D. 1300, appeared one day in the pontifical habit, another in the imperial purple. Bullinger draws out here a contrast of this Antichrist and Christ: and notes his changing times as well as laws; substituting his *feriæ* for Christ's sabbaths, his traditions for Christ's written Scripture. In short, one must be blinder than Tiresias, he says, not to see in the Popes the great predicted Antichrist.³—The *image of the Beast* is the *new Roman or Western Secular Empire*: which is, indeed, says he, but the *shadow* of the old one.⁴ The explanation of the second Beast's giving breath to the image is, on this hypothesis, obvious. Unless the Pope confirm the new emperor's election, his election is invalid; and in the ceremony of his confirmation he has to take an oath of allegiance to the Pope. So is the emperor in a manner the Pope's creature; and in case of Councils alike, general or national, (so Bullinger all but touches on what I believe the true explanation,) the Council "Papæ spiritu regitur."⁵—But already he has had to meet difficulties from his explanation of the first Beast. The second was to exercise all his power *ενωπιον*, *before*, or *in presence of*, the first. How does Bullinger get over the difficulty? He refers to Aretas, saying, that it might be in the sense of *following* and *imitating*.¹ I need not say how incorrectly. Again, it was to make the earth adore the first Beast. How so? By making men regard *the Roman empire*, says Bullinger, as something divine. Further, the miracles of the second Beast, said to be done *in sight of the Beast*, meant in sight of the *first Beast's image*, or *ghost*. And his causing that all who adored not the Beast should be killed, was meant of not adoring the decrees (the *Conciliar* decrees) of the *new Roman empire*, as inspired by the Pope. On the name and number he prefers Irenæus' solution of *Λατειονς*: dwelling on the *Latinism* of the Papacy, much like Dr. More afterwards.²

¹ p. 166.

² pp. 171, 172.

³ p. 174.

⁴ Very much as Luther. See p. 410 *suprà*. Compare too Hippolytus, p. 285 *suprà*.

⁵ p. 181.

¹ P. 175.

² See my Vol. iii. p. 253.—On the number 666 Bullinger further intimates a chronological solution. It was about 666 years from the revelation of the Apocalypse to Pepin's endowment of the Papal See. p. 193.—

Proceeding onward through the next three chapters, it may suffice to observe that he interprets the Angel with the everlasting Gospel in Apoc. 14, and also the two Angels following him, of gospel-preachers then in existence; the invention of printing aiding their progress:³—that the *Vials* of Apoc. 16 are explained as the closing judicial plagues on the Papal Egypt: the 1st being the “posca Gallica,” which first broke out, he says, A.D. 1494, in the Neapolitan war between French and Spaniards, and was rife especially in the Romish convents;⁴ the 2nd, pestilences generally; the 3rd, Popes and Papal princes, stirring up bloody wars in which themselves were slain; the 4th (on the sun), heat and drought; the 5th (that on the Beast’s seat), the darkening of Rome’s majesty through the progress of the Reformation; the 6th, on the Euphrates, the drying up of the resources and powers of the Papal Babylon; while the three frogs consequent thereon were the Papal legates *e latere*, issuing forth to the kings of the earth, (and so, like the frogs of Egypt, even in king’s houses,) to stir them up to war against Christ’s gospel-ministers. The 7th, or Vial on the air, meant elemental convulsions, like those predicted by Christ, Matt. 24, as to precede his coming: and the three parts into which the great city would fall in consequence, those of true Christians, Papists, and “neutrals.”—Further, on Apoc. 17, feeling the difficulty of his original solution of the first Beast as the *old* Roman empire, he speaks of the Apocalypse as here conjoining in the figured Beast, whereon the Woman sate, both the *Beast and Beast’s image, old and new Rome*, the empire and the Papacy.¹ The “*was and is not*” he thus explains. The old empire *was* from Julius to Nero, in the Julian Cæsars; then, after a while, became great again under Trajan.² The “*five heads that have fallen*,” were the five emperors that had followed after the deadly wound under Nero; viz. Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus: the one “*that is*,” Domitian; the 7th, that was to last but a short time, Nerva; (so does Bullinger unconsciously fall in with Victorinus;) the 8th, Trajan: which last might be called *of the seven*, as having been adopted by Nerva.³—The statement that the ten kings received power *at one hour with the Beast*, he makes to have reference to the *second* Beast, or Popes, not the *first*; (so again showing, indeed now confessing, the difficulty from, his solution of the first Beast;⁴) these being the ten horns, among which the Papacy was as the dominant little horn; also, while explaining the ten kings desolating Rome primarily of old Rome’s desolation in the days of the Goths and Vandals, he suggests (after Luther) that there may not improbably be a second and future sense, as well as

Under the witnesses he says; How long the duration of the Pope is to be from the fated 666 God only knows

³ p. 199.

⁴ p. 215. Compare my solution Vol. iii. pp. 358, 363, 374.

¹ “Conjungit Bestiam et imaginem Bestiæ, Bestiam et insidentem Bestiæ, superbum scortum, ut dirimere non liceat. De utroque ergo imperio locus est exponendus.” p. 225.

² Or perhaps, he says, (we must mark this his aliter,) it *was* as the old Roman empire; and “*is not, and yet is*,” as the new western empire, which is of the old but the shadow and image.

³ p. 230.

⁴ p. 231.

the primary one; and that these kings may be ultimately instruments for *desolating* Papal Rome too, though none but Christ will *destroy* it.—Finally, the *bridal* in Apoc. 19. Bullinger makes to coincide with the saints' resurrection;⁵ the vision of *Christ and his army on white horses* to symbolize the last judgment; the *Beast* then taken with the *False Prophet* to be the *Papal Roman Empire*:⁶ (mark again this necessary inconsistency resulting from his former explanation of the seven-headed Beast:)—also the *millennium* to be the 1000 years either from Christ's ascension to A.D. 1034, when under the pontificate of Benedict IX Satan seemed loosed to deceive the nations; or from A.D. 60, when Paul speaks of the Gospel having been preached over the whole world, to the pontificate of Nicholas II, A.D. 1060; or from A.D. 73, the date of the destruction of Jerusalem, to the pontificate of Gregory VII, A.D. 1073. At the same time he objects not, he says, if any prefer to follow the *chiliasm* of Papias.¹—The *Gog and Magog* loosed he of course interprets of the Turks: makes the *first resurrection* to be that from sin, the *second* that from the grave: and in the figured *new heaven and earth* recognizes the renovation of this our world.²

Bale, Bishop of Ossory under Edward VI, and twice an exile from England, viz. in 1540 under Henry VIII, and in 1533 under Mary,³ next calls for our notice.—He published his Apocalyptic Commentary, under the significant title "*Image of both Churches*," i. e. of the true and the false, shortly, as it would seem, before Bullinger's.⁴ It consists of three Parts, published at three different times, and paged as separate volumes: the first with frequent marginal references to

⁵ p. 252.

⁶ p. 261.

¹ p. 265.

² pp. 280, 282.

³ So Part i. B₄; "John Bale, an exyle also in this lyfe for the testimonye of Jesu." See Bale's Life, prefixt to the Parker Edition of his works.

⁴ He alludes frequently to the persecutions of Protestants in England at the time when he wrote; and this in his first Volume and Part, as well as the others. So in the primary Preface; "The boystuous tyrauntes of Sodoma, with theyr great Nemroth Wynchester, (i.e. Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, mentioned Part 2, § 6, on Apoc. 13,) ... have of long tyme taken much payne; and many have they cruelly burned; as was seene of late years in Coventrie, London, and other places." Of these Anne Askew is mentioned, p. 170, who was martyred in London under Bonner, in 1546. Again, at the conclusion of the whole work, on the last page, there occurs the following passage, as written while Henry VIII was still living. "In the which dayly prayer is that most worthy minister of God Kyng Henry the 8, afore all other to be remembred; which hath so sore wounded the Beast that he may before his departure, or Prynce Edward after him, throw all his supersticions into the bottomlesse lake agayne." Hence it is evident that the English persecutions and martyrdoms of Protestants that Bale refers to are those of the later years of Henry VIII, after Cromwell's fall.*

In the Parker Edition the allusion to Henry VIII is omitted; being copied from some later Edition than mine.

previous authors, of the incorrect printing of which he complains grievously;⁵ the other two, in consequence, without. His first Preface gives a very copious list of Apocalyptic expositors, from the earliest period; which I think it may be well to abstract below.⁶

The *Seals* he explains, much like other Reformers, to prefigure, as they were opened, the mysteries of the seven ages of Christ's Church, though not without certain peculiarities in the details:—1. Christ and his apostles' triumphant progress: 2. the earlier heretics figured by the red horse, and Pagan Roman persecutors figured by its rider with the great sword: 3. the Arians, Pelagians, and all false Prelates; with the Devil, holding his deceitful pair of balances, for their

⁵ "Two cruell enimyees have my just labours had ... The Printers are the fyrst; whose headic hast negligence and covetousnesse commonly corrupteth all bookes. These have both dysplaced them; (sc. my many allegacions, both of the Scriptures and doctors, in the mergent of the first Part or Volume;) and also changed their numbers, to the truthes derogacion." Preface to the 2nd Part.—Bale was of a rather choleric temperament.

⁶ 1. *Patristics*.—Justin Martyr, Melito, Irenæus, Hippolytus, Vietorinus, Tichonius, Jerome, Augustine, Primasius, ("which volume I have redde,") Aprigius, Cassiodore, Isidore.—(The Aprigius spoken of was, he says, Bishop of Pace in Spain, and made a notable work on the Apocalypse, A.D. 530.)

2. *Benedictines*.—Bede, Alcuin, Haymo, Strabus Fuldensis, Rabanus Maurus, (qu. Adso?) Ambrose Ansbert, Robert of Tuy, Joachim Abbas, a certain Benedictine monk of Canterbury, and Easterton, also Anglus.

3. *Regular Canons*.—Ricardus de Sancto Victore, Gaufredus Antisiodorensis.

4. *Carthusians*.—Henricus de Hassia, Dionysius Rikel.

5. *Secular Priests*.—Ambrose on the seven Trumpets, Berenger, Gilbert, an English "Auctor à centum annis," John Huss, Paulus Burgensis, Mathias Dorinck, Jacobus Stralen.

6. *Carmelites*.—Baconthorpe, Tytleshale, Thomas de Ylleya, John Barath, John de Vernone, Nicholas of Alsace, Bloxam, Elyne, Tilneye, Winchingham, Thorpe, Egidius, Haynton.

7. *Augustinians*.—Augustin de Anchona, Jordanes Saxo, Bertrand of Toulouse, Augustin of Rome, Philip of Mantua, John Capgrave, Sylvester Meoccius of Venice.

8. *Dominicans*.—Jordanes Botergius, Hugo Barehinonensis, Albertus Magnus, Stephanus Bisuntunus, Nicholas Gorham, Bernard de Trilia, Paganus Bergomensis, Alvarus de Caturco, Frederic of Venice, John Annius of Viterbo, Savanarola.

9. *Franciscans*.—Alexander de Hales, Helias de Hanibalis, Petrus J. Cathalanus, John Walleys, Petrus Aurcolus of Toulouse, Nicholas Lyranus, Astesanus Astensis, Bernardinus Senensis, Theodoric Andree of Thoulouse, Franciscus Titelman.

10. *Neoterici*.—Luther, Sebastian Meyer, George Æmilius, Francis Lambert, (died 1530,) Zwingle, John Brencius, Calvin, Melchior Hofman, "and many other-more."

In this long list not merely direct Apocalyptic Expositors are included, but those also that have in works on other subjects commented indirectly on any part of the Apocalypse.

rider: 4. Popery as commencing with Boniface I, and Mahommedism with Mahomet; the horse symbolizing “the universal synagoge of hypocrites, or dissembling Church of Antichrist; pale as men without health,” and ridden by “Death and Damnation:”¹ 5. the martyrdom of Christ’s saints, specially by the Papal Antichrist; e. g. those of the Publicans,² Albigenses, and Waldenses: 6. the convulsions of Antichrist’s kingdom, now at length revealed in its real character; convulsions begun under Wicliff,¹ continued under Huss, and now experienced yet more: the true sun Christ eclipsed in it; the moon-figured Church, once fair, now taught only of flesh and blood; the stars, or doctors, fallen from Christ’s heavenly doctrine, &c.; the heaven of true doctrine past away; their mountains too of strength passing from before them, under the preaching of the Word and with a fearful looking-for of judgment.²—In the *Sealing Vision* the Angels of the winds are explained to mean Antichrist and his agents, seeking to withhold the Holy Spirit: and the sealing

¹ Compare Bishop Hooper, p. 158. “Read the 6th of Apoc. and ye shall perceive that at the opening of the 4th Seal there came out a pale horse, and he that sat on it was called Death ... This horse is the time wherein hypocrites and dissemblers entered into the Church, under pretence of true religion, as monks, friars, nuns, massing priests, etc.: that have killed more souls with heresy and superstition than all the tyrants that ever were have killed bodies.”

² i.e. the Paulikians.

¹ “Anon I behelde a merveyulous earthquake arise. Most lively was this fulfilled such tyme as William Courteney the Archbishoppe of Caunterbury, with Antichrist’s sinagoge of sorcerers, sate in eonistorie against Christes doctrine in John Wyeleve. Mark the yeare month clay and houre; and ye shall wonder at it.” This was in 1382. During the sitting of the Synod, held at Greyfriars in London, an earthquake shook the city, and alarmed some of the members of the Synod. Wieliff, who did not attend, used to call it afterwards, in irony, “*the earthquake Synod.*”

² Let me here give a specimen of Bale’s style and Commentary. “When they have done all mischief, ... and can doe no more, then run they to those hipoerites [the Papal priests], then seeke they up those Antichristes. There must they be confessed; there must they hide their sinnes. They must be covered with hys dyrty merites, and with hys holy whoredome. And, to be prayed for, that monastery must be builded; that prebendary or chauntery must be founded. There must be masses and dyrges; there must be anuaries and headmen. He must be buried in S. Frauneis’ gray coate; and he in our Ladie’s holy habite. He must have S. Dominike’s hooede: and he S. Augustine’s girdle.—And thus they cry to those earthly hils and rocks, to those filthy dunge heaps, ... Fall on us with such stuffe as ye have! Cover us with your works more than need! Pray, pray, pray; sing, sing, sing; say, say, say; ring, ring, ring! Give us of your oyle, for our lampes are out! Helpe us with your Latyne Psalmes! Rclevee us with your lippe labour; though all be but dunge and earth! Comfort us with *Placebo*! Help us with *Requiem eternam*! Poure out your Trentall masses! Spew out your commendations! Sing us out of that hotte fierie Purgatorie, before we come there!”

The reader will see in the above a characteristic sketch of Bale’s own style, and also his hot temperament. But let the passage also further bring home to his mind the wretched delusions, under the name of Christ’s religion, which prevailed for ages in England: and from which, in God’s merey, the glorious Reformation was our deliverance. For Bale’s sketch is a sketch from the life.

of the 144,000 as figuring Christ's intervention to mark and seal his true Church; an intervention specially evident at the time then present.—In the 7th Seal the *half-hour's silence* betokened the peace then to be given to the Christian Church, when Babylon shall have fallen, the Beast been slain, and the Dragon tied for 1000 years. For, as all the age after Christ is called by John "the last hour,"³ this *half-hour* may well mean the 1000 years of Apoc. 20. "In the time of which sweete silence shall Israell be revyved, the Jewes be converted, the heathen come in agayne; and Christ seeke up his lost sheepe, and bryng hym agayne to hys folde; that they maye appeare one flock, lyke as they have one shepeherde."

The *æras* of the *Trumpets* Bale, like others before him, identifies with those of the Seals:¹—the 1st being figurative of the wicked Jews and Gentiles, opposed to and persecuting the Christians in the apostolic *æra*; the 2nd of false brethren, inciting the Roman emperors against Christians; the 3rd of heretics, such as Arius, Eutyches, Valens, that fell by apostasy from Christ's Church, and poisoned by their heresies the streams of religious doctrine; the 4th of the progress of superstition, image-worship, and hypocrisy, obscuring the light of truth, and ending in Popery and Mahommedism.—Then the *Woe-denouncing Angel* he makes to be men like *Joachim Abbas*, raising their warning-voice; followed afterwards by such as *Arnold* and *Savanarola*. The fallen star of the 5th Trumpet Bale explains as "the shyning multitude of prelates, pastours, and religious fathers, fallen away from the doctryne of the Spyrite" in the middle age: darkening the light by false teachers, as by smoke from hell: and from which came swarms of Cardinals, Popes, Abbots, monks of every order, schoolmen, &c., like beasts. The 6th Trumpet's horsemen from the Euphrates (the river of Babylon) he expounds to mean the Antichristian Papists, ever prepared for evil, whether at the hour, day, month, or year: many, however, from among the four angels (whom he pretty much identifies with the horsemen) "that were sometime Antichristes, hypocrites, tyrauntes, and murtherers, having been loosened from Euphrates by the present age's gospel-Trumpet's sounding;" "the Lord having anoynted many with his Spirit in this age to preache delyveraunce to the captive, and to open the pryson to them that were in bondage."²

The Vision of Apoc. 10. Bale explains clearly and strikingly, just as Bullinger, of the Reformation: the *book opened* being the Scriptures; the *Angel*, the gospel-preachers of the Reformation, whose light is to be seen alike in the isles and on the continent; the *seven thunders*, God's fearful coming judgments: which fact was to be noted, though the mysteries were sealed up and hid; such as about the hour and day of judgment, of which knoweth no man. As to the *time*, *times*, and *half a time* of Daniel, which seemed alluded to in the Angel's oath, the *time* was that from Daniel to Christ; the *times*, the ages from Christ to the 7th Seal's opening, and 7th Trumpet's sounding; the *half-time*, that from thenceforth, wherein the days shall be shortened for the elect's sake. Of which 7th Trumpet the sounding must be near, though *when* we know

³ 1 John 2:18. A passage often alluded to, we have seen, by the earlier fathers Jerome, Augustine, &c.: see my Vol. i. pp. 396, 397: and also by later expositors: see my Vol. ii. pp. 365, 391, and p. 416, Note 5, *suprà*.

¹ p. 109².

² p. 129.

not. And then in that 7th age of the Church all shall be finished. So “are the faith-full to be asserted that their final redemption is at hand.”¹

In Apoc. 11 (which begins his second Part and Volume) Bale makes the *measuring-rod* to be God’s word, “now graciously sent us out of Zion, by men having his special grace, as by John, to have dominion heere in the midst of his enemies:”² the *temple*, God’s congregation or Church, defined and discriminated by his word from the synagogue of Satan; the *altar*, Christ; the Gentiles cast out, Popish prelates and priests that forsake Christ; the Holy City, “the living generation of them that fear and love God;” the two Witnesses, faithful protesters for Christ, that continue with God’s people all through the time of the Church’s oppression by the Gentiles; and that were never in more power than now, in this sixth age of the Church.—Of the Witnesses’ *slaughter by the Beast Antichrist*, when they have individually finished their testimony, and their reviving *in others*, much, says he, has been already fulfilled, though something remains to be accomplished yet. The 3½ days of their exposure, or 7 half-days, he supposes to be the seven ages of the Church. The Witnesses being *seen by their enemies to ascend to heaven*, is illustrated from the acknowledgment often made even here by Romanists, to their having been godly men. The “tenth part of the city falling,” is the decay of the riches of the Papal Church.—“Thus,” says Bale, in concluding this subject, “have we heere what is done already; and what is to come under this sixth Trumpet, whereunder we are now, which all belongeth to the second wo.”³ The 7th Trumpet, he adds, is to introduce the full declaration of God’s word, and peaceable time figured by the half-hour’s silence. Which, however, will not always continue; as there is to follow in that last age the outbreak of Gog and Magog, and the last judgment.⁴

Passing to Apoc. 12, Bale interprets the vision of the *Woman* and *Dragon* much as others before him. The *woman* is the Church bringing forth Christ in his members; the *Dragon*, the Devil; the *Dragon’s seven heads* having a probable reference, he says, to the world’s seven ages; and their likeness respectively, he conjectures, 1st, (and before the flood,) to the serpent, in which form he first tempted man; 2. to the calf, as the early object of idolatry; 3. 4. 5. 6. to Daniel’s lion, bear, leopard, and terrible Beast; 7. to man; this last figuring the Papacy.—In Apoc. 13 he makes the *first Beast* to be “the universal or whole Antichrist;” including all Antichrist’s members, from the beginning of the Christian æra. And thus “none other is this Beast, here described, than was the pale horse in the 4th age, the cruel multitude of locustes in the fifth age, and the horses of incomparable lewdness for the sixth.” His *seven heads* he makes the same as the *Dragon’s*; the *deadly wound* of the 7th head, that by the Reformation;¹ the *healing of it* accomplished by the partial re-establishment of Popery, as now in England under Bishops Bonner and Gardiner, “with authority to hang and burn at pleasure, by act of Parliament:”² the duration of which healed head

¹ p. 147. A passage cited by me more fully, Vol. ii. p. 144.

² Part ii. p. 7.

³ p. 25².

⁴ p. 27², 26.

¹ “If this be not a deadly wounding of one of the Beastes heads, I think there is none.”

² Both Bonner und Gardiner are named by Bale.

however will be but short, as shown us in Apoc. 17,—As to the *second Beast*, it figures false prophets and teachers, such as have been even from the world's beginning; the lamb's horns indicating their counterfeiting of Christ and Christianity: the *Beast's image*, Popish emperors and kings,³ now especially, speaking as dictated by their Confessors: the *Beast's name and number* perhaps (as earlier Expositors suggest) the names αντεμος, αρνουμε, (this Bale specially affects,) ⁴ τειταν, or *Dic Lux*: or perhaps *Diabolus Incarnatus*, or *Filius Perditionis*; which two last want but 4 and 6 respectively of the fated number 666. Bale also adds, as adopted from "a certain unnamed disciple of Wiclif," (he should have rather said from Joachim Abbas,⁵) a suggestion of the 600 indicating the world's 6 ages till Christ's coming, the 60 the 6 æras since Christ to the ending sabbath, the 6 that ending sabbath itself.

In Apoc. 14 he explains the 144,000 as "the universal congregation of Christ, (contradistinctively to that of Antichrist,) all clear from the superstitions of men:" their song of harmonious voice, of God's holy word. The *three flying Angels*, next following, he interprets very much as Bullinger, and with special reference to the time of the Reformation: also the earth's *harvest* and *vintage* as close at hand. The *seven Vials* Bale makes to synchronize with the seven æras of the Seals and Trumpets. Passing over the rest, the drying up of the Euphrates in the 6th, under which Bale supposed men then were, was the drying up of the *worldly spirit*; "pompes, possessions, and pleasures of the Antichristian church of Babylon:" not till the completion of which will the way of the kings from the sun-rising be prepared, or "governors rule according to Christ's doctrine." Also the *three frogs* he explains as the spirits of idolatry, filthy superstition, and hypocrisy; even then gathering the Antichristian powers to battle against Christ and Christ's ministers.—In Apoc. 7. John's being carried by the Spirit into the wilderness, to behold the vision of the Harlot, is resembled to the then recent escape of many of the Reformers out of Babylon:¹ that the Beast "*was*" is explained of the Antichristianism of the pre-Judaic and Judaic times: that *it is not* refers to the destruction in St. John's time of the Antichristian Judaic power; and *yet is*, was meant of its revival in the Popes and Mahomet. Also its *seven heads* meant alike the seven hills of Rome, and the seven monarchies of the seven climates of the world: 5 heads having fallen from Rome's universal monarchy, viz. all in Africa, Asia, and part of Europe; the 6th being the feeble Roman Western Empire remaining; the 7th the spiritual empire of the Popedom raised by

³ Somewhat like Bullinger; but in a larger and more general sense of Popish princes.

⁴ Like Mr. C. Maitland, p. 149.

⁵ See p. 409, 410 *suprà*.

¹ "Blessed be the Lord whose word in this age hath admonished many, as the Angell did John, and brought them also cleane from his abominations into a secret consideration of the Spirit, unknowen to the world, where both to see hir pride, and to understand hir judgments. For it followeth in the text that the Angel conveyed John away into the wilderness in the Spirite."

A little before Bale, speaking of John's exile to Patmos, had said: "And so did I, poore creature, with my poore wife and children, at the gatheringe of this present Commentary; flyinge into Germany for the same testimony of Jesu."

Phocas.² As to the ten kings (which, says he, some think to be England, France, Spain, Portugal, Castile, Denmark, Scotland, Hungary, Bohemia, and Naples,) they received authority at one hour with the Beast, when at the 4th Lateran Council they were allied together for a crusade, and had Papal confession enjoined on them. And, while omitting all primary reference of the statement about the ten horns tearing the whore to the Gothic and Vandal desolations of old Rome, he anticipates Bullinger's other view of the prophecy's reference also to the time of the end: saying that it is reserved as their destiny to tear and desolate the harlot Rome: a thing already indeed begun, not only by secular rulers, but even ecclesiastical; as Cranmer, Latimer, Luther, Zuingle, Calvin, Bullinger,¹ &c.

In Apoc. 19, Bale says, on the *Lamb's bridal*; "Sence the begynning of the world have the faithfule prepared for this heavenlye marriage; and in the resurrection of the righteous shall it be perfectly solemnized, celebrated, and magnified; such time as they shal appear in full glory with Christ. In this latter time will the true Christian Church be of her perfect age, when all the world shall confesse his name in peace, and apte unto this spousage."—Yet on the *millennium*, Apoc. 20, contrary to his previous identification of it with this coming period of rest and evangelization of the world,² a period destined to follow on the destruction of the Popedom, he reverts to the old Augustinian solution: making it the 1000 years from Christ's ascension to Pope Sylvester II: so Wicliff, says he, in his book *De Solutione Sathanæ*. Then was the Devil loosed in the Papal supremacy; and the Turks also, as Gog and Magog; though no doubt the foundations of the Popedom were laid 400 years earlier by Phocas. It was now at length a plenary loosing; but only "for a little while:" as Berenger, and then the Waldenses, Wicliflites, &c., very soon after opposed the Papacy; and subsequently, yet more, the Reformers Luther, &c. "And I doubt not but within few dayes the mightie breath of Christ's mouth, which is his lyving gospele, shall utterly distroye hym."

On the *new heaven and earth* Bale professes to look for an earth purified and renovated by the fire of judgment, "goyng before the Judge;" very much as in King Edward's Catechism, cited by me at p. 204 of this Volume.

4. A brief notice may suffice of the two interpreters *Chytræus* and *Marlorat*, who published some twenty years later, in the *middle æra* of the Reformation; for they both very much followed in the track of their predecessors.

Thus in *David Chytræus' Explicatio Apocalypsis*, published Wittenberg 1571, the *six first Seals* are made to depict the gospel-progress, wars, famines, pestilences, persecutions, and political commotions, &c., as from time to time repeated, or continued, throughout the whole time of the Church; and the *Sealing Vision* the multitudes sealed and saved through all this same period. Of the *Trumpets* the four first Chytræus interprets of the heresies of Tatian, Marcion, Origen, and Novatus; so as Luther, says he, in his Bible, "ad marginem Editionis Germanicæ:" the 5th, of the Papacy, as established by Gregory and Phocas' Decree; the 6th, of the Saracens and Turks; the

² The reader will again observe how often this epoch of Phoeas' decree is referred to by the early Protestant expositors.

¹ Mark this notice of Bullinger.

² See p. 452, 453 *suprà*.

Euphrates being specified, says Chytræus, with a more specific *geographical* reference than others, because of the Saracen capital Bagdad being situated by it.—The *Angel vision* in Apoc. 10 is Christ's succouring the Church in those times of darkness, by opening the Scriptures and raising up true preachers:¹ 'John's charge to *prophecy again* being given him, not so much in his personal as in his representative character: the office assigned to these gospel preachers being to attack the Papal and Mahometan errors, till the 7th Trumpet's sounding, or end of the world.—In Apoc. 11 the figuration of the *temple* showed that even in the worst times, under Popery and Mahomedanism, there would be a Church of God, recognizing the true *altar*, or Christ in his characters of Priest and Mediator; and the *exclusion* directed of the *outer court* meant God's own exclusion of Papists; boasting themselves to be the true Church, but rejected by the *measuring rod* of God's law. The 1260 *days* of the Gentiles treading the holy city are to be explained, Chytræus adds, as *angelic days*, i. e. as 1260 *years*: and to be calculated (I noted this a little previously²) perhaps from Alaric's taking Rome, A.D. 412, perhaps from Phocas' Decree, A.D. 606; on the former of which suppositions the date of ending would be A.D. 1672; on the latter, 1866. Correspondently with which view of that mystic period the *two Witnesses* signified all Christ's successive witnesses during the 42 months of Antichrist's reign; such, says he, as have been recently detailed in the "Catalogus Testium."³ Their *death* and *speedy revival* he explains, like Bullinger and others, to signify the speedy revival of other witnessing and witnesses, on each individual occasion of their temporary suppression by Antichrist.—In Apoc. 13 he follows Bulliuger in making the *first Beast* the old Pagan Roman Empire; explaining too its seven heads after him: only he makes the wounding of the seventh head to be that by the Goths. I should have observed that he notes on the 1260 days, how some had explained them of the *Interim*, from May 15, 1548 to the beginning of 1552:—the first introduction this, I believe, of the *Interim* into Protestant Apocalyptic interpretation. The *second Beast* is Rome Pontifical; the *image of the Beast* the Western Empire, the shadow of the old one.—The *Beast's name and number* some, he says, explained as a title, e. g. *Λατεινος*; some as chronologically marking the time from Christ to Phocas or Pepin.—The *millennium* is the 1000 years from Christ to Gregory VII and the Turks.

Augustin Marlorat's Exposition of the Revelation of St. John, published A.D. 1574, with a dedication to Sir W. Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer under Queen Elizabeth, is professedly collected out of divers notable writers of the Protestant Churches; viz. Bullinger, Calvin, Gaspar Meyander, Justus Jonas, Lambertus, Musculus, Æcolampadins, Pellicanus, Meyer, Viret.—The first novelty that I observe in it is on the *2nd Trumpet*; where the figure of the burning mountain cast into the sea is explained of the Roman empire swallowed up, as in the sea, by Christ's kingdom. The 5th *Trumpet* is applied to Mahomet and the Pope; the 6th to the Papal Antichrist yet more strongly.—On Apoc. 10. I mark the clear decisive explanation of its *Angel-Vision* usual among the Reformers, as figuring the opening of the Scriptures, and revived gospel-preaching at the Reformation: also the exclusion of the outer court in Apoc. 11 as signifying the exclusion of Papists: there being here, however, in Marlorat this variation, that on the Angel's oath, living

¹ The *seven thunders* Chytræus makes the seven-fold gifts of the Holy Spirit.

² p. 411, 442 *suprà*.

³ Compare my notice of this Catalogue, Vol. ii. p. 204.

securely as he did under the Protestant Queen Elizabeth, he not unnaturally expresses a strong opinion that the 2nd Woe had past in his time, even though the 7th Trumpet might not have sounded.—In Apoc. 12 he interprets the *Dragon's seven heads* like Bale: in Apoc. 13 the *first Beast* as Antichrist and his kingdom: (the *deadly wound*, made by Mahomet, being healed by the Popes:) the *second Beast* as monks and priests supporting the Papacy: the *Beast's image* as the images of saints; the *Beast's name* and *number*, much as Chytræus. Finally, in Apoc. 20, he explains the *millennium* as the period from Christ to Antichrist; during which Satan, he says, was restrained: and he takes occasion on it to reprobate the errors of the Chiliasts.

A word, ere I pass to the last quarter of this century, on *Bibliander*: an expositor contemporary with the two former; and who, in his exposition of the Seals, as I learn from Foxe,¹ offered certain noticeable novelties. Like Berengaud he supposed them to symbolize successive ages of the world from its beginning: but not the same as Berengaud. According to *Bibliander* the 1st Seal figures the age from the Creation to the Flood; the 2nd from the Flood to Moses; the 3rd from Moses to Christ; the 4th from Christ to Constantine; the 5th from Constantine to the commencement of Papal supremacy by Phocas' grant, and of Mahomedanism by Mahomet about A.D. 606; the 6th (including Pepin and Charlemagne's acts of aggrandizement to the Roman Church) from Phocas to the Councils of Constance and Basle A.D. 1431;² the 7th from thence to the consummation.

5. In conclusion of my Historic Sketch of Protestant Apocalyptic Expositors of the century and æra of the Reformation, I shall now briefly state the opinions of *Foxe*, *Brightman*, and *Pareus*; expositors who published in the *last quarter* of that century, as dated from A.D. 1517.

The Exposition by *Foxe*, our venerable English Martyrologist, was written (as appears by two chronological notices in the book) in the year 1586;³ and had been only advanced to Apoc. 17, when the work was interrupted by his death.⁴ The next year it was published by his son, under the modest title of *Eicasmî in Apocalypsin*; (*Conjectures on the Apocalypse*;) with a Dedication to Archbishop Whitgift; in size making a thin folio of about 400 pages. It seems to me to deserve attention, not merely from the venerable character of the writer; but also from the learning and original thought and views manifest in the Commentary itself.

Thus, to begin,¹ he makes the *horses* and *horsemen* of the *four first Seals* to signify the same four great empires of the world that were previously symbolized by Daniel's four beasts, the

¹ Foxe, pp. 43, 44.

² There is a little obscurity here; but I think this is *Bibliander's* meaning. Compare what Foxe says, p. 60, on the 7th Seal's not figuring the events of the 7th millenary, but rather of the 6th.

³ First, on the 6th Seal, where he speaks of the current year as A.D. 1586: secondly, where he states it as 286 years from A.D. 1300, on Apoc. 11.—*Eicasmî*, pp. 60, 123. (My Edition is the original Edition of 1587.)

⁴ See the notice at the conclusion of the Commentary, p. 396.

¹ Let me premise that just before beginning the Seals (p. 46) he has some excellent observations on the careful use necessary of the *allegorical* meaning, so as not to set aside the *historical*. "Non me fugit istud, nullo modo fastidendas esse omnes in Scripturis allegorias." Both Christ and Paul, he says, uses them; "at maximè in exhortando, consolando, docendo." "In *prophetando* non ita propriè luditur

Assyrian, Persian, Greek, and Roman:² the *fifth* picturing primarily the Christian martyrdoms under Pagan Rome, from Nero to Diocletian: secondarily, and by the intimation added, “till their brethren should be killed even as they,” the later succession of martyrs also, slain under Antichrist, whereby was to be made up the Christian martyrs’ complement: which later succession, having commenced from the time of Satan’s loosing 1000 years after Constantino,³ or near about the æra of Wicliff, had when Foxe wrote amounted to the same number ten,⁴ as the successive persecutions of the Christian Church under Rome Pagan.—On the *sixth* he compares its symbols of the earthquake and the elemental convulsions with similar ones in Isaiah and Joel, denoting Babylon’s overthrow and Jerusalem’s respectively; as well as others figuring the last judgment. And he thence infers that it may signify *primarily* the overthrow, following on the completion of the first set of martyrs, of the Roman Pagan persecuting emperors and empire accomplished by Constantine: yet so as to symbolize also, *secondarily* and *chiefly*, the greater day of judgment; on the completion of the second and final set of Christian martyrs, slain by Antichrist. Which judgment, Foxe thought, might be regarded as very near at hand.

The *Sealing Vision*, included in the same sixth Seal, showed the preservation of the saints at this period of the judgment, amidst the physical disturbances of the mundane system, (for the

allegoriis; aut, si in prophetiis usu ita veniat quandoque, ut per similibus collationem parabolæ adhibeantur, at non ideo tamen sensus historicus per allegorismos et tropologias evertendus est; præsertim ubi res ipsa ad historias nos mittit, non ad allegorias.”

² The same view that Mr. Faber has in our own days advocated; whether as an original idea, or adopted from Foxe. See his Sacred Calendar of Prophecy. It seems from Foxe that Petrus Artopæus had so construed the 1st Seal before him.

Foxe (pp. 46–50) criticises, and shows the inconsistency and untenableness of, the old Church-schemes of the Seals at some length. How is Christ the rider of the 1st horse, when represented otherwise as on the throne, opening the Seals? How on a war-horse, and with bow in hand, as a warrior; when going forth (according to those expositors), not to inflict judgment, but simply in the peaceful progress of the gospel? How in the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Seals one and the same rider, the Devil, when the different horses, with different colours and characteristics, might seem to require different riders to each? Moreover, how could the Devil be supposed the rider, when the time at which he would be so riding forth was that at which in the millennial vision[such being Foxe’s idea of Apoc. 20] he was figured as bound in the abyss?—Again, in the 2nd Seal, “the killing one another” could only be applied to civil wars and slaughter, not to dissensions of Christians.—And, as to the 3rd Seal, the small price* of a denarius for the measure of wheat and three measures of barley, conjoined with the intimated abundance also of wine and oil, might rather signify a dearth of men to buy, than a dearth of the provisions to be bought.

³ Such will be seen to be Foxe’s view, p. 55.

⁴ Viz. 1. under Henry IV and V in England; 2. in the Council of Constance, and in Bohemia; 3. under the Roman Pontiffs in Italy; 4. under the Emperor Charles V in Germany; 5. under Henry VIII in England; 6. under Henry II in Gaul; 7. under James II in Scotland; 8. under Charles IX in France; 9. under Mary in England; 10. under Philip II in Spain and Flanders. p. 55.

stagnation of the winds, the *literal* winds, indicated a stop in the usual course of nature,)¹ and conflagration of the world; just as the fate of the antichristian and wicked had been depicted in the previous figuration: the 144,000 sealed, whom Foxe identifies with the innumerable body of the palm-bearers, being the universal church of the redeemed.—Then the *half-hour's silence in heaven*, Foxe, dissatisfied with other views, conjectures to mean the peace of the world under Augustus, preceding Christ's birth: and that the prayers of all saints that followed, being prayers of the saints after Christ's death and ascension, while under persecution from Jews and Romans, brought down on their persecutors the judgments symbolized in the Trumpets. Thus Trumpet 1 was the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans; Trumpet 2 the plague and other troubles under Aurelius, after the fourth Pagan persecution: Trumpet 3 the plague under Decius of which Cyprian wrote, and that far greater one, together with all the other troubles, under Gallienus; Trumpet 4 the convulsions and quenching of the political lights of the Roman empire by Goths, Vandals, and Lombards;² Trumpet 5 the woes possibly of the Papacy, but more probably in Foxe's opinion of Mahommedanism, the one from Phocas, the other from Mahomet;³ (the five months specified having reference simply to the time of the natural locusts, that constituted the figure, making *their ravages*;) ⁴ Trumpet 6 the Turks. On which last point Foxe is very strong. "It is clearer than the light itself," he says, "that this is the main intent of the Trumpet."¹ He dates the Turks' power in Asia from A.D. 1051, when the alliance was formed by them with the Caliph of Bagdad;² and traces their history thence downward to A.D. 1573.

"And the rest," it is said, Apoc. 9:20, "repented not of worship, ping idols, &c." The Anglo-Rhemenses, observes Foxe,³ explain this of *heathen* idols. But were the Greeks that have been slain and enslaved by the Turks, worshippers of *such* idols?—Then he proceeds to the vision of Apoc. 10, 11; all under the same sixth Trumpet, "in quâ hactenus versamur."⁴ In Apoc. 10 the magnificent vision of Christ, there given, signified chiefly two things.—1st, the restoration of gospel-preaching, "Thou must prophesy again; "the book in the Angel's hand figuring God's word, and John being a representative person on the scene of vision: 2nd, a declaration of the surely

¹ If any preferred to take it metaphorically, then the winds might mean the gospel-preaching stopt by four evil angels, chiefly the Papal agencies.

² So falling on what I believe the right interpretation of this 4th Trumpet. He adds, as an alternative, that if any prefer to understand the obscuration of the firmamental luminaries ecclesiastically, it may be explained of the darkening of heaven by Mahommedanism.

³ Here again, I conceive, Foxe is in the right.

⁴ p. 90.

¹ p. 98. Rightly, I doubt not, again. I have noticed this in my Vol. ii. p. 145, on the Angel's oath.

² p. 94. So Mede afterwards.

³ p. 99.

⁴ pp. 99, 100.

approaching judgment under the seventh Trumpet.⁵ He explains both these of his own æra, though as *begun* indeed earlier, even from the time of Wicliff; (times included likewise in the Turkish woe-period, or 6th Trumpet;) and he refers in one place, as illustrative, to the wonderful discovery of printing.—Mark specially, he observes more than once, the word “*Prophesy again.*”⁶ It implies there having been previously a cessation of it; so as in fact for centuries under the Papacy.—Then, preparatorily to the next vision, Foxe has a dissertation to show that the great Antichrist of Scripture prophecy is the Pope, not the Turk; and the temple he was to sit in, the Christian Church. Accordingly in Apoc. 11 the *temple* is the Church; its *inner* court true worshippers, its *outer* false: also the measuring it indicated its reparation and *reformation*, during the then current woe of the sixth Trumpet, “*as in our day.*” This reformation implied a previous corruption of it, he adds, by Antichrist: the progress of which he traces.—As to the 42 months, during which the Holy City was to be trodden down, it was no doubt the same as the 42 months of Apoc. 12, 13. And this, arguing from the length of the Jewish and Roman Pagan persecutions of the Church, from Herod’s beheading of St. John to Constantine, and which he computed at 294 years,¹ he deemed to be on the scale of *one month to seven years*; a singular scale, applied however by him to the number in Daniel also! This then would be the duration of the Turks and Pope jointly oppressing the Church; a term equal to that of the Jews and Pagans’ oppression of it, till Constantine. And as from Satan’s loosing, and the rise of the Ottomans, A.D. 1300, 286 years of the term had, when Foxe wrote, elapsed, there would now remain of it but eight years more.—Similarly the Witnesses’ 1260 days of prophesying in sackcloth, dated by Foxe from A.D. 1300, would on the scale before mentioned have to end in 1594. At the same time he mentions Aretius’ and Chytræus’ view of the period, as one of *angelic days*, i. e. of *years*: ending, if measured from Constantine, in 1572; if from Alaric, (A.D. 412,) in 1672; if from Phocas, in the year 1866.²—The witnesses prophesying 1260 days in sackcloth, and then being *killed by the Beast*, he explains of the proceedings of the Council of Constance in the condemnation of Huss and Jerome: (so too, he says, Bibliander:) its first Session having been Dec. 8, 1414; the last, May 22, 1418, just 3½ years after. After which time their principles, thought to have been suppressed, soon revived. Foxe dwells long and minutely on this history; deeming it evidently a very remarkable fulfilment of the prophecy.³—Since which time the revived Witnesses had come down to the time of Luther and the Reformers.—All this had been under the sixth or Turkish Trumpet; which Foxe regarded as then, when he wrote, near its end: the 7th Trumpet being thus close at hand; when the Church would have its time of blessedness accomplished, in Christ’s coming and the saints’ resurrection.

⁵ pp. 102, 105. See the joyous citation given from Foxe in my Vol. ii. p. 144.

⁶ p. 107, &c.

¹ See on Apoc. 12, next page.

² pp. 144, 145.

³ At p. 180 Foxe briefly notices Huss’s dream and prophecy, as I more fully have done, Vol. ii. pp. 459, 460; not aware, when I did so, that any other expositor had noted it before me.

In Apoc. 12 the *Woman travailing* was God's true Church,—that same of which David in his 87th Psalm described the glory:⁴ the *Dragon*, the Devil; seeking through Herod to destroy Christ at his birth, and persecuting him afterwards till his death and ascension. After which event the Woman flying into the wilderness, which signified a hiding-place from the more immediate observation and fury of the enemy, like the caves and dens of the earth spoken of in Heb. 11:38,¹ had for 1260 mystic days, meaning 294 years, as stated before, i. e. until the time of Constantine, (and the Devil's coincident millennial binding,) to undergo oppression and persecution.²—The *first Beast* of Apoc. 13 is explained by Foxe, as by Bullinger, of the *heathen* Roman emperors: his *seven heads*, besides their primary signification of Rome's seven hills, meaning either, so as Bullinger had interpreted them, the seven original kings of Rome, or, as Chytræus, the seven Julian emperors to Nero; or perhaps, as Peter Artopæus and D. Fulco, (Foxe should have added the earlier Osiander,) the seven orders of chief ruling magistrates, Kings, Consuls, Decemvirs, Dictators, Triumvirs, Cæsars, and Emperors of foreign ancestry.³ (Let my readers mark this very important step of progress in Apocalyptic interpretation.) The ten horns Foxe inclines to interpret as the emperors who originated the ten Roman Pagan persecutions of the Church. The 42 mystic months of his ruling as a persecutor were to be taken, as before, to signify 42×7 , or 294 years. And here Foxe recounts, somewhat mysteriously, that his secret of the mystic numbers, and true scale of computation intended, had been revealed to a friend of his, a martyrologist; meaning, I presume, himself.⁴—The Beast's head wounded was fulfilled in the Goths' destruction of old Rome; its healing, in the uprising of the Roman Papal supremacy.—So he comes to the *second Beast*; which he interprets of course as the Popes, or Antichrist: who, while reviving the old Roman Empire that had been wounded to death,⁵ fulfilled also the symbol of *two horns like a lamb* by their hypocritical pretensions to Christianity; as also indeed, agreeably with the Apocalyptic sketch, to *miracles*. It had in Hebrew the name רמלעבויש (*Romanus*) = 666; a name which Foxe preferred to others of the same numeral value in Greek or Latin: and in the oaths of fealty to the Romish Church, imposed on all functionaries, secular and ecclesiastical, stamped them as it were with the Papal *character* or mark.¹

⁴ "Glorious things are spoken of thee, thou City of God." p. 197. Foxe contrasts this with the Romish pseudo-Church.

¹ P. 205.

² p. 206. Foxe here hints that "the little season" of the Devil's loosing may indicate a *second* 294 years of oppression from after the end of that millennium; or epoch of the Turks loosing against Christendom about A.D. 1300.

³ p. 214. Osiander published A.D. 1544. See my Vol. iii. p. 116. Note 2.

⁴ p. 216.

⁵ The *Beast's image* he seems at p. 268 to make the restored greatness of the old Roman Empire. But he does not enter on the point distinctly.

¹ pp. 269, 270. In his discussion of Apoc. 13. Foxe devotes some 40 pages, or more, (from p. 224 to 268) to a controversial discussion with Romanists on the great subject of the Antichrist and Apocalyptic Beast.

Of the Apocalyptic *Vials* the five first were explained by Foxe as woes poured out on the old Roman empire; the other two on that of Papal Rome: viz. 1. Gallienus' ελκος or plague; 2. and 3. the bloodshed in the civil and foreign wars of the persecuting emperors; 4. the plagues of drought and famine about that same æra;² 5. Rome's destruction (the seat of the Beast) by the Goths; 6. the Turkish plague from the Euphrates, the same as in the 6th Trumpet.³

The *millennium*, or 1000 years of Satan's binding, he explains, as I before observed, of the 1000 years from Constantine to the aeme of Papal supremacy, and the outbreak of Ottoman Turks, about 1300, A.D.

On the whole, the following points seem to me chiefly notable in Foxe's very valuable and interesting Commentary: viz. his reference of the fifth and sixth Seals, partially at least, to Diocletian's persecution and the revolution under Constantine; his strong and distinctive application of the 6th Trumpet to prefigure the Turks; his application of the visions in Apoc. 10, 11, of the Angel's descent, John's prophesying, and the measuring of the temple, to the Church's revival in the Reformation; and his explanation, after Fulco and Artopæus, of the seven heads of the Beast; all advances in the right path, I conceive, if not altogether correct:—also his date of Satan's binding, as one to be computed from Constantine; Foxe being, I believe, the first so to compute it. He was followed *herein* soon after by the Romanist *Alcasar*. Here I conceive him to have been quite in error; as also in that on which he thought himself favoured with peculiar discernment; viz. the scale on which the prophetic periods were to be calculated.

Passing over *Junius*, as an Apocalyptic expositor not so important as to call for any detailed notice,⁴ I proceed to one of whom it is my duty to speak fully and particularly, I mean *Brightman*. His Commentary, which is dedicated to "the holy reformed Churches of Britany, Germany, and France," appears to have been written and first published in the year A.D. 1600, or 1601, before

² So very similarly, says Foxe, p. 362, the expositor Fulco.

³ p. 373.

⁴ *Francis Junius, or Du Jou*, was professor of divinity at Leyden, and joint translator of the Old Testament with Tremellius. He was born of a noble family at Bourges, A.D. 1545, and died of the plague at Leyden, A.D. 1602. In 1592 he published a Latin treatise on the Apocalypse, which was dedicated to Henry IV., King of France and Navarre, and of which an English translation was printed and reprinted in 1592, 1594, 1596, 1616. The Edition of 1596 has pp. 286.*

I will just note from it the following particulars. He makes the 1260 *years* range from Christ's death to Pope Boniface, A.D. 1294; the millenium of Satan's binding being reckoned from the time of his casting down by Christ. The woman of Apoc. 12 he makes the early Judæo-Christian Church; and her hiding in the wilderness to have been partly fulfilled in the Church's safe refuge at Pella during the 3½ years of the Jewish war. The remnant of her seed was the faithful Christian Church afterwards; and the witnessing of her children in sackcloth prolonged to Boniface. Then, at Boniface's Jubilee, the people from the Papal nations having gathered at Home, certain Christian witnesses were hanged there; and the Papists rejoiced over them as in Apoc. 11:10. But, 3½ years after, Boniface was made prisoner by a French general, and soon died. In 1301 a great earthquake happened at Rome: and the witnesses rose to heaven by the gathering of converts to the true Church;—the Apocalyptic heaven.

the death of Queen Elizabeth.¹ It is one of great vigour both in thought and language; and deservedly one of the most popular with the Protestant Churches of the time. He himself gives a brief summary of it; which I here subjoin, with a few illustrative Notes.²

“Apoc. 6 The *Scals*. 1. The truth is first of all opened, and overcometh, [this is the *white horse*,] under Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius;³ at the voice of the first Beast, Quadratus, Aristides, and Justin Martyr. 3. At the voice of the second Beast, (viz. the same Justin Melito of Sardis, and Apollinarius,) cometh forth the *red horse* under Marcus Antonius Verus, confounding all things with wars.⁴ 5. The third seal being opened, the third Beast, Tertullian, crieth out under Severus the emperor, when the *black horse* scourgeth the world with famine and barrenness. 7. The fourth seal is opened; and then speaks the fourth Beast Cyprian, Decius being emperor; when the *pale horse* wasted all with war, famine, pestilence, and wild beasts. 9. The fifth is opened,⁵ and some intermission of the public persecution given under Claudius, Quintilius, Aurelian, and the rest, till the 19th year of Diocletian. 12. The sixth is opened, when Diocletian and Maximian Herculus rage: till at length they were cast out of their empire by the power of the Lamb; for fear of whom those tyrants fled, and hid themselves.¹

“Apoc. 7 The seventh seal offereth first a general type of all the ages following. 1. When wicked men were ready to trouble all the world with contention, ambition, heresy, war, they are restrained by Constantine the Great; till he had sealed the elect, by providing for the faithful (who were few and living in obscurity) in that great calamity of the Church which straightway followed. 9. Which rueful time being at last passed over, the prosperity and happiness of the faithful grew great.²

¹ See e.g. p. 52.5; also the 2nd page of the Preface. My Edition is the 4th, London, 1644. Brightman.

² In Apoc. 4 the Book with seven seals is supposed to have been the whole Apocalyptic Book.

³ The triumph of Christ's truth Brightman illustrates from Hadrian's Edict, that no Christian should be condemned unless found guilty of some violation of the civil laws. Euseb. iv. 3.

⁴ Especially the wars with the Parthians and the Marcomanni.

⁵ The *opening* epoch of the fifth Seal is, according to Brightman, the persecution under Gallienus: the *white robes* given being an emblem of the temporary respite for 40 years; and the intimation about *other martyrs to be sacrificed*, before God's promised vengeance, having reference to the martyrdoms of the next and last Pagan persecution under Diocletian.

¹ The elemental convulsions of the 6th Seal are supposed to be those of Diocletian's persecution, when the very Church itself seemed to be blotted out of the visible heaven; the kings' subsequently figured flight and terror, on the other hand, the overthrow of the Pagan emperors by Constantine, and their awful deaths.

² Brightman places the Sealing Vision distinctly under the 6th Seal; but makes its figured symbolization to give an *anticipative* view of what was to happen afterwards under the Trumpets and Vials, (p. 240.) The *contention, ambition, heresy*, and war, specified in his summary, are made by him the *four evil angels* of the sealing vision: the same, he says, that were developed in the four first Trumpets; and arrested all four by *Constantine*, the sealing angel. The sealing was by means chiefly of the Council of Nice; into the spirit of which, however, few entered; so that the true Church, or number really sealed, was small. The

“Apoc. 8 Secondly, to this seventh seal belongeth the silence that was in heaven: i. e. peace procured by Constantine. 2. The trumpets are prepared, and Constantine calleth the Nicene Council to cut off troubles, which yet by it are more increased. 6. The Angels sound the trumpets; at the sound of the first whereof the contentions of the Ariaus about the word *co-essential* arose. 8. At the sound of the second, the burning mountain of ambition is cast into the sea, by the decree concerning the primacy and dignity of bishops. 10. At the third the star falleth from heaven; the Arian heresy being defended by Constantius and Valens. 12. At the fourth, the third part of the sun (*the Church of Africa*) is smitten by the Vandals. 13. The world is warned concerning more grievous Trumpets to ensue by Gregory the Great.

“Apoc. 9:1. At the fifth sounding the bottomless pit is opened,¹ and swarms of locusts crawl out: that is, of religious persons in the West, of Saracens in the East.² 13. At the sixth the Turks invade the world, which is punished for the Romish idolatry.³

144,000, depicted as the first sealed, were Van *first-fruits* and representatives of a true church of the elect, similarly sealed, down to A.D. 1300; (p. 251;) when the *palm-bearing vision* began to have fulfilment, in the ingathering of a larger multitude of Gentile converts, after the Waldenses, &c.; it being intended to include ultimately also the converted *Jews*, restored to the *privileges of Christ's Church*, (not *Jewish temple*, as of old,) after their great tribulation.

¹ The key-bearing opener of the pit is, according to Brightman, the *Pope*. “Doth not the Pope worthily boast of his keys, and carrieth them instead of an ensign?” p. 289.

² The five months, or 150 days of the locusts, he explains of two or three different periods of that duration, marked in the Saracen ravages; such as that from their first ravages of Syria, about A.D. 630, to their overthrow by the Emperor Leo, A.D. 780. “We define this first overrunning of the earth by the Saracens in 150 years, not because at the end of these years they were straightway cast out of those countries which they had conquered; but because they had ill success afterwards in their battles against the Romans; being often conquered, put to flight, and slain, hardly holding that which they had gotten, much less getting any more.” p. 300. This resembles the view afterwards given by Daubuz; and adopted by myself from him, as well as by many others.

³ “The hour, day, month, and year,” Brightman reckons on the year-day principle to be the 396 years of the Turks' duration, measured from their revival under the Othmans, A.D. 1300; and thus that the year 1696 would see their destruction. (Compare, at p. 463 *suprà* Foxe's commencing date, A.D. 1051.) This anticipation was naturally called to mind on Prince Eugene's victories about that same year; (indeed one of our Bishops had repeated Brightman's prediction previously;) and the overthrow of Turkish supremacy consequent.

“Apoc. 10:1. At what time the Turks rise up, the study of the truth⁴ in many in the Western parts is kindled. 9. By whose endeavour the interpretation of Scripture is restored again to the earth.⁵

“Apoc. 11:1. Prophecy being restored, there was a more full knowledge of the age past: namely, that the Church from Constantine’s time for 1260 years was hidden in the secret part of the temple;¹ the Romans in the mean time boasting of the holy city and outmost court. 7. And that, at the end of those years,² the Bishop of Rome shall wage war against the Church, cut the throat of the Scriptures with his Council of Trent, yea, make very carcasses of them, and triumph

⁴ This prefigured revival of the study of the truth is supposed to date from the times of the Waldenses: the little book opened being the Scriptures, especially the Apocalypse: a book now *little*, because so much of the whole *seven-sealed Apocalyptic Book* had been already developed. This is notable, as the first step, if I mistake not, towards Mede’s remarkable and I doubt not erroneous view of the *little book*, as a separate and detached Part of the Apocalyptic prophecy, of which more in the next Section. The main and most important idea, however, of the symbol figuring the opening of the Scriptures at the particular time figured, viz. under the 6th Trumpet, Brightman, unlike Mede, loses not. The seven thunders Brightman explains as the voices of the three angels flying through mid-heaven, and the others after them, in Apoc. 14:6, &c.;* of which the mysteries were for a while to be kept secret.—“There shall be time no more,” he construes as, “There shall be no more *delay*.”

⁵ He allots 200 years to the Waldensian and Wickliffite time of preparation, as included in this chapter 10, their earnest desire of spiritual learning being figured in the eating of the book by John: (for John was a type of Christ’s ministers:) and that then a fuller prophecy was given; and through the unfolding of history by Luther, Melanethon, Guiciardini, &c., the faithful were prepared for understanding the state of the church and of Christian witnesses in former times, as figured in the next chapter, ‘Apoc. 11 (p. 345.)—All this too seems to me very observable.

¹ Retrospectively Brightman supposes the subject figured in the temple-measuring to join on to the time of Apoc. 7. So the reed like *a rod* had reference to Constantine’s *rod* of authority; by whom there was the first defining of the temple. Another point observable. “The reed’s being like *a rod* teacheth us that the truth was to be greatly helped and underpropped with the authority of princes: for a rod is often put for a sceptre ... that sceptre which kings carry.” (p. 347.) I was quite unacquainted with Brightman when I first took a similar view of this point in the symbol.

Brightman’s “church hidden in the secret part of the temple,” may have furnished Mede perhaps with the first hint of his *atrium interius* and *exterius*.

² The *two witnesses* Brightman makes to be the *Scriptures*, and the *assemblies of the faithful*, (p. 356.)—Their 1260 *lunar* years he explains as but 1242 *Julian* years. These, measured from Constantine’s accession A.D. 304, ended in 1546, (pp. 353, 364,) the year of the assembling of the Council of Trent; which in its third Session *slew the Scriptures*, by making the *Vulgate* the only standard, and the authority of tradition equal to that of Scripture. The slaying of the *assemblies of the faithful* was by Charles the Vth’s victory over the Protestants, April 22, 1547: against whom the Protestants of Magdeburgh rose in Oct. 1550, 3½ years from the former date; and in 1555, having united with Maurice, overthrew Charles’s anti-Protestant plans, and procured freedom to the Reformed religion, (pp. 366, 375, 376.)

over them for three years and a half; and should also, by the help of force and arms from Charles the Fifth, tread upon the saints in Germany: who yet, after three years and a half, lived again in the men of Magdeburg and Mauritius;³ struck the enemies with a great fear; and overthrew the tenth part of the empire of Rome. 15. The seventh Angel soundeth; and, about the year 1558, Christ getteth himself new kingdoms; England, Ireland, Scotland embracing the Gospel.⁴

“Apoc. 12 The first part of the seventh trumpet giveth yet a more full light into the state of the age past; the century-writers of Magdeburg being raised up by God.⁵ The whole matter is repeated from the beginning: and we are taught;—1. that the first Church of the Apostles was most pure, yet most of all afflicted by the Dragon,¹ i. e. the Roman heathenish emperors, who endeavoured with all their might that no way might be given to any Christian to the highest empire:—5. at length that Constantine the Great was born, the male child of the Church; at whoso birth, though the first purity fled into the wilderness from the eyes of men, yet this Constantine threw down the Dragon from heaven, the heathenish emperors being driven out, and put from ever reigning again in or against the Church:—13. that, all hostile power being taken from the Dragon, he persecuted the Church under the Christian name by Constantius and Valens:—15. and that he sought to overwhelm her, fleeing from him, with an inundation of barbarians rushing in upon the West; 17. which flood being dried up, he stirred up the war of the Saracens.

“Apoc. 13:1. The Dragon being cast out of heaven by Constantine, he substituted the Beast to be his Vicar there; which Beast is the Pope of Rome, who sprung up at once with Constantine, was made great by the Nicene Council, was wounded by the Goths invading Italy, was healed by Justinian and Phocas, and thenceforth made greater than ever before. 11. The second Beast is the same Pope of Rome, enlarged in his dimensions by Pepin and Charles the Great; who gave him a new kind of springing up, whence he grew extremely wicked.²

³ So Cuninghame, afterwards.

⁴ p. 381. This view of the epoch of the 7th Trumpet’s sounding was peculiar, I believe, to Brightman.

⁵ p. 389. Mark this reference to the Centuriators of Magdeburgh, and their “Catalogue of Witnesses;” noted also p. 458 *suprà*.

¹ The Dragon’s ten horns are explained as alluding to the Roman ten Prætorian or imperial Provinces.

² Mark here, 1st, Brightman’s singular distinction of the *two Beasts*, as each alike the Popes and their empire, only at two successive times; the earlier from Constantine to Pepin, the second from Pepin and Charlemagne; the one being the *primary seventh head*, the other the *secondary seventh, or eighth*: 2ndly, the notice (the first I have observed) of *Justinian’s Decree* as an epoch of Papal greatness: (p. 433:) 3. that Brightman makes the Beast’s *ten horns* here to be the ten Christian emperors, on the Beast’s seventh head, from Constantine to Theodosius the 2nd *that gave power to the Pope*: whereas those that would in God’s time *hate the whore and tear her*, as he considers foretold in Apoc. 17:16, were *a later succession of them*, on the Beast’s eighth head; the first being Charles V. (pp. 605, 609.)

As regards the Beast’s seven heads, besides the sense of Rome’s seven hills, Brightman, like Foxe and others, supposes them to signify Kings, Consuls, Dictators, Decemvirs, Tribunes, Emperors, Popes: the Popes reigning on Rome’s seven hills for “a little while,” viz. 100 years from Constantine’s removal to

“Apoc. 14 For 1000 years from Constantine, the Church abiding in most secret places, was hidden together with Christ, but did no great matter famous and remarkable by the world. 6. Those 1000 years being ended, Wickliff preached the Gospel in the world. 8. John Huss and Jerome of Prague succeeded him, who threatened the fall of Rome. 9. After these followeth Martin Luther, inveighing most bitterly against the Pope of Rome. 14. After that there is a harvest made in Germany by Frederic of Saxony, the rest of the Protestant Princes, and the free cities. 17. After that a vintage in England by Thomas Cromwell and Thomas Cranmer.

“Apoc. 15 Hitherto reacheth the first part of the 7th Trumpet concerning *things past*. 1. A preparation of *things to come* is of the seven Angels with their Vials. 2. The reformed Churches dissent amongst themselves; yet all triumph over the Pope of Rome, he being vanquished. 5. The temple is opened, and knowledge increaseth, and the citizens of the Church are made the ministers of the last plagues; the issue whereof the new people of the Jews expect, before they come to the faith.

“Apoc. 16 The Vials are poured out. The first, by our most gracious Queen Elizabeth, and other Protestant princes; by means whereof the Popish crew are filled full of ulcerous envy. 3. The second by Martin Chemnitius upon the Council of Trent; whereby the sea of Popish doctrine was made full of filthy matter, and carrion-like contagion, by the Jesuits, the masters of controversies. 4. The third by William Cecil upon the Jesuits, who are the fountains of Popish doctrine; until when our times proceed.—The rest of the Vials are to come; yet shortly to be poured out. 8. The fourth upon the sun, i. e. the Scriptures; with the light whereof men shall be tormented, and shall break out into great anger and contentions. 10. The fifth upon the city of Rome, the throne of the Beast. 12. The sixth upon Euphrates; whereby a way shall be prepared for the Jews of the East, that, after they have embraced the faith of the Gospel, they should return into their own country: when there shall be a great preparation of war; partly by the Turk against these new Christians in the East, partly by the Pope in the West. 17. The seventh upon the air, whereby the mystery shall be made perfect: the Turkish and Popish name being both quite destroyed; and the Church also being established in as great happiness as can be looked for upon the earth.

“Apoc. 17:1. The first execution of the fifth Vial upon the throne of the Beast; wherein it shall be demonstrated by most certain arguments, *by some man of no great account in the world*¹ both that Rome is the seat of Antichrist, and that it became that seat since the Roman emperors were banished thence.

“Apoc. 18 The second execution of the fifth Vial is the final destruction of the city of Rome by three angels:—1. the first descending out of heaven; 4. the second exhorting the Romans to fight, [qu. flight?] and describing both the lamentations of the wicked, as also the joy of the faithful; 21. the third confirming this everlasting destruction by a great millstone cast into the sea.

“Apoc. 19 The joy of the saints is described because of the destruction of Rome. The sixth Vial is explained, and the calling of the Jews is taught. A preparation likewise of war: partly in respect

Constantinople; then being overthrown by the Goths; then restored again as Popes in the time of Phocas, or Pepin: so being the 8th head, and yet one of the seven, pp. 589, 590.

¹ Meaning himself, I suppose; for between Apoc. 17 and 18. Brightman inserts an admirable Treatise on Antichrist against Bellarmine. If so, a little time is allowed by him for the Treatise having its effect; the 4th and 5th Vials being, he says, “shortly to come.” See my p. 472.

of Christ the captain, and soldiers; partly in respect of the enemies. 20. The seventh Vial is declared by the destruction of the false prophet, the Pope of Rome, the Western enemy and his armies.

“Apoc. 20:1. The whole history of the Dragon is repeated, such as he was in the heathen emperors before his imprisonment: 2. such as he was in prison, whereinto he was cast by Constantine, and bound for 1000 years; all which space there was a contention between the elect and the Pope of Rome: and after that was at length ended, the first resurrection is brought to pass; many from all places in the West, with all their endeavour, seeking to attain to the sincere religion.² 7. Together with this resurrection Satan is loosed, and the Turk, with the Scythians Gog and Magog: who now, destroying a great part of the earth, shall at length turn their forces against the holy city, i. e. the Jews that shall believe; in which battle the Turkish name shall be quite defaced. 11. The second resurrection is brought to pass by the second and full calling of the Jews.³

“Apoc. 21 The last part of the seventh Vial describeth the happiness of the Church after all the enemies of it be vanquished; by the new Jerusalem descending out of Heaven, being of a most glorious workmanship.

“Apoc. 22:1. It is declared how this happiness shall abound both with drink and with meat, to the use of others, and shall remain for ever.¹ 6. The conclusion confirmeth the whole prophecy, with many most effectual arguments.”

Pareus' Commentary followed not long after Brightman's. It was the substance of Lectures, delivered in the year 1608² to the Academy of Heidelberg, over which he presided; but seems not to have been published till the year 1615.³—My own edition is an English translation by Elias Arnold; printed Amsterdam, 1644.

In the *four first Seals* he makes the *horse* the Church, Christ being its *rider*:—first *white*, with reference to its primitive purity; chiefly for the first 200 or 300 years:⁴—next *red*, with reference to its persecutions and blood-shedding of martyrs by the Pagan emperors, early begun, and running on to Constantine; indeed beyond him to the Arians Constantius, Valens, &c.:—thirdly

² Mark this.

³ An explanation of the rising of the dead, small and great, and the judgment of the great white throne, in which Brightman, I believe, stands alone.

¹ i.e. as he explains, all the time the world shall last after this.

² Pareus' Preface notes the date, being thus headed; “The Author's Preface on the Revelation of St. John, happily begun and propounded unto his auditory in the University, Anno 1608.”—It was the result of *thirty years'* thought, he tells us, Pref. p. 20.

³ At p. 18 of the Preface, (English Edition,) Pareus gives an extract from a letter received by him, apparently while preparing the work for publication, or while passing it through the press, dated March, 1615.

⁴ In a measure, he says, the time might be extended to Gregory I; though before that time “the whiteness was somewhat changed, and black spots began to appear.” p. 108.

black, with reference to the heresies that soon darkened it; Christ holding the *balance* of his word with which to try them, and the words about *corn*, *wine*, &c. indicating a spiritual scarcity:— fourthly *palc*, as with the deadly disease of the hypocrisy and apostasy of Antichristianism: a disease prepared in the clerical and prelatical luxury and pride consequent on the Constantinian revolution; and developed, as having then taken hold of the whole body ecclesiastical, in the time of Gregory and Boniface III; the latter made Universal Bishop by Phocas, and so sitting in the chair of “universal pestilence.”⁵—The *fifth Seal* depicts the blessedness of the martyrs slain in Christ’s cause “from Nero unto Boniface, the first Antichrist;” with intimation added of another set of martyrs to be slain under Antichrist before the time of vengeance: the *sixth Seal*, 1. the horrible confusions and calamities from which the Church was to suffer, for 1000 years and more, under the reign of Antichrist; 2. the day of the Lamb’s wrath and judgment against the Antichristians; 3. the preservation meanwhile of a true Church to himself during Antichrist’s reign, viz. “the Church militant,” figured under the 144,000 sealed ones; 4. their ultimate blessedness and songs of victory, “as the Church triumphant,” in heaven.—On the *seventh Seal’s* opening, Pareus explains the *half-hour’s silence* to be merely a break and pause, during which St. John rested from the contemplation; a new series of visions being then marked as commencing.

For he makes these visions to retrogress to the times of the beginning of the Christian Church. First, Christ, as having ascended, is seen acting as the High Priest for his people; and sends down the fire of the Holy Ghost on his disciples, in answer to their prayers:—consequent on which are the *voices, thunderings, and lightnings*; typifying what before was typified under the red, black, and pale horses; and an *earthquake*, moreover, answering to the revolution in the church and world, caused by the rise of the Papal Antichrist and of Mahomet.

The *Trumpets* Pareus refers to the same time respectively as the corresponding Seals: the 1st being significant of the injuries to the faithful, from the time of Nero to Domitian; the 2nd, of the blood-shed of the subsequent fiery Pagan persecutions to Constantine; the 3rd, of the preparation for Antichrist, in the rapidly-developed ecclesiastical apostasy; an apostasy fitly figured as *a star falling from heaven*, and embittering the streams of Church doctrine: the 4th being the darkening of the Church for some 300 years, from Silvester to Gregory I, under the advancing apostasy; the 5th and 6th, the rising of the Western and Eastern Antichrist, or the Popes and Mahomet: the desolations by the former of whom were depicted under the figure of *locusts*; (the time *five months* having only reference to the usual time of locusts making their ravages;) those by the latter under that of *horses* and *horsemen* from the Euphrates. In the case of the Euphratean horsemen *the four angels bound* were Arabians, Saracens, Tartars, Turks: the “hour, day, month, and year,” for which they were prepared, designating only their preparation at any day that the Lord should send them. For Pareus, while noticing Brightman’s notable view of this clause, as meaning a period of 396 years from A.D. 1300, measuring the Turkish empire’s duration, hesitates to admit it.—The *non-repenting remnant*, Apoc. 9:20, is explained (quite rightly I conceive) of the Papists still persisting in idolatry, after all the Turkish desolations of Christendom.

⁵ p. 118.

In Apoc. 10 the vision of the *Covenant-Angel* shows Christ's provisions for the preservation of a Christian ministry, and for the opening of his word,¹ during *all* the long times of opposition, especially that under Antichrist. (So that Pareus, like Brightman before him, made a less definite application of this prophecy to the times of the great Lutheran Reformation than some of his Protestant predecessors had done.)—By the seven thunders were meant the thunders of Christ's servants against tyrants and Antichrist, during the time spoken of.² By the Angel's *oath* it appeared, he says, that but one Trumpet more remained after the Turkish woe to the consummation. "*Thou must prophesy again,*" is applied by him to all the preachers of truth who lived near the end of the 5th and 6th Trumpets; a reformation of the Church being thereby promised, to take place in the last time, so as stated in the next vision of Apoc. 11. Accordingly the *temple-measuring* he explains of the Church's reformation, (Antichrist's followers being excommunicated,) as begun about the time of Huss, continued A.D. 1517. The 1260 days of the *Gentiles treading the Holy City* he *inclines* to reckon as 1260 *years*, beginning from Boniface's grant of the title of universal Bishop to the Roman Pope, A.D. 606; a period ending, says he, A.D. 1866.³ But he leaves the *decision* of this point with God. The *two Witnesses* he understands indefinitely for all true Christian witnesses: their anti-Papal witness being developed more and more clearly as Antichrist's tyranny and iniquity was more and more manifested.⁴ Their symbolized slaughter, when individually they had completed their testimony, and the 3½ days' exposure of their dead bodies in the great city of the Papal empire, had respect to the repeated slaughter, and as repeated revival very speedily, of Christ's witnessing servants: Foxe's particular case of Huss and Jerome at Constance, and Brightman's case of the Council of Trent's temporary triumph over Protestantism till its revival through Prince Maurice, both included. The Witnesses' resurrection he explains of the martyred saints' resurrection literally: and makes the *tenth part of the city*, that fell, to be the part that fell off from the great city of Papal Christendom at the time of the Reformation.

In Apoc. 12 the *Woman* (as usual) he makes to be chiefly the Church bringing forth Christ in his members; though the literal view of Christ's birth of the Virgin Mary might be also in St. John's mind: the Dragon, the Devil; his seven heads and ten horns symbolizing indefinitely the multitude of earthly powers under him. The battle, or rather war in heaven, is explained 1st *spiritually* and *literally*, of the conflict of Christ and Satan; 2nd *historically*, of Constantine's being advanced to the throne of the Roman Empire.—The waters east after the "Woman are both heresies, such as the Arian; and also the flood of invading barbarians. The Woman's 1260 days in the wilderness are to be dated from the Papal Antichrist's constitution by Phoeas, as before; she having been for 300 years, from Constantine to Phocas, in movement thitherward.—In Apoc. 13 Pareus

¹ Pareus (p. 199) explains the Book in the Angel's hand as both the Apocalyptic seven-scaled book and the gospel.

² He notices the emphasis in the expression, τὰς ἑαυτῶν φωνᾶς. p. 202.

³ Again my reader will mark how the early Protestant expositors referred to this epoch. But, adds Pareus, for the elect's sake the Lord will shorten the time. p. 220.

⁴ p. 225. A just view of the thing in my opinion; and which I have myself urged. See my Vol. ii. pp. 423, 424.

considers and rejects the idea of the *first Beast* out of the *sea* symbolizing the Old Roman Pagan empire; and applies it to the Popedom, with reference to the Pope's asserted *imperial* power and authority; his *deadly wound* being that of the 40 years' Papal schism, begun A.D. 1378, and healed at Constance. The *second Beast* was the Papal Antichrist in his character of a seducing *Prelate*; the head with the members, or whole crew of his seducing priests. The *image of the Beast* Pareus deems to be one image for many; meaning the *images of saints*, which the Papal Beast requires men to worship. The name and number he makes with Irenæus and Foxe, respectively, to be $\Lambda\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$ and $\Gamma\epsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\beta\omicron\iota\varsigma$.—In Apoc. 14 the *first preaching Angel* is explained as Wicliffe and Huss; the *second* as Luther; the *third* all faithful preachers since Luther.—In Apoc. 16 the *seven last plagues* are the plagues under the last of the four periods into which the Christian æra is divided: viz. 1. that to Constantine; 2. that to Phocas; 3. that to Leo and Luther; 4. and last, that after Luther. The first *Vial* is the ulcerous sores that fell on the Papists from Luther's Reformation; the 2nd, the deadly decrees of the Council of Trent; the 3rd, the persecuting Papal Bishops and Doctors becoming blood for having shed the saints' blood,—a plague yet future; the 4th, a fresh heat and light from the Scriptures opened by Christ, yet with the result of only the more enraging the Papists; the 5th, the darkening of Rome from its former lustre; the 6th, the drying up of the resources of the Antichristian Babylon or Rome; the 7th, the smiting of the air or natural atmosphere with pestilence, and the universal destruction thence following.

On Apoc. 17. Pareus explains *the Beast* to designate Antichrist not simply, but as clothed with the skin of the Roman empire: an empire which "*was*" under the old government of kings, consuls, &c.; which "*is not*" because of the Roman ecclesiastical hierarchy not having begun in St. John's time; and which "*is to ascend out of the bottomless pit*" at the time of Phocas. Further the *seven kings*, answering to the *seven hills*, are construed by him, after Aretius Napier and Brightman,¹ to signify Kings, Consuls, Dictators, Decemvirs, Military Tribunes, and Emperors, according to the enumeration of Rome's ruling magistrates given in Tacitus; *five* having passed away, and the *sixth*, or Pagan Emperors, holding rule at the time when St. John saw the vision: the *seventh* head being the Roman *Christian Emperors* from Constantine, and the *eighth* the Popes or Antichrist. "*And is of the seven,*" Pareus understands to mean that this eighth would have the same ruling power as the seven previous. (He notes, in passing, that other Protestant expositors made the eighth to be the *French and German Emperors of the West*.) With regard to the *ten horns* symbolized, he supposes them to have sprung out of the 7th head, or that of the *Christian Cæsars*. The statement that the ten kings, after rising *at one and the same time with the*

¹ This explanation has been ascribed to James I. (So Daubuz, p. 514, on Apoc. 12:3.) In King James's comment I find the explanation stands thus: "The seven heads of the Beast signify as well seven material hills, whereupon the seat of this monarchy is situated; as also seven kings, or *divers forms of magistrates*, that this empire hath had, and is to have hereafter." He is said by the Editor of the Edition of his Works in 1616, the then Bishop of Winchester, to have written this commentary on the Revelations before he was twenty years old; which would be A.D. 1586. And I see in Watts's Bibliotheca that 1588 is put down as the date of its first publication. Now this was the same year that Foxe's *Eicasm* was published, giving the same solution; and giving it as from Peter Artopæus and Dr. Fulke, both some years King James's seniors. See my p. 465 surpà, Fulke published on the Apocalypse A.D. 1573, and died 1589; Artopæus earlier. And, as I observed at p. 465, Osiander suggested nearly the same solution yet earlier.

Beast, are to strip and make bare the Woman, or Rome, he speaks of as a thing still future.² But they are not, he adds, therewith to *destroy* the Papal Antichrist: he being destined to survive Rome's destruction, and to be destroyed only by the brightness of Christ's coming.

On Apoc. 20 the *milleunium* is explained nearly on the Augustinian principle; Satan having no power, says Pareus, after Christ's first advent and ministry effectually *to maintain Paganism*: and that his destined post-millennial loosing was at the time of Antichrist's full development in Gregory VII; i. e. A.D. 1073. Meanwhile the saints and martyrs did all *reign with Christ in heaven after death*, during that earlier part of Antichrist's reign which lasted from 606 to 1073; in which, although he was not then fully developed, they had yet to encounter and resist him. (Pareus here takes occasion to controvert the Chiliasts; the *first resurrection* being *spiritual*, he says, not *corporal*.)—Then Gog and Magog are explained as the *Turks* loosed about the time of Gregory VII.; and finally that it was the heavenly glory of the redeemed that was typified under the figure of the *New Jerusalem*.

There is much that is valuable in Pareus' exposition. One point in it that specially deserves notice is his explanation of the *two Beasts*; distinguishing between them, as he does, as symbolizing the Papal Antichrist the one in his *imperial* supremacy, the other in his *ecclesiastical* and *prelatic* supremacy. He seems however to have overlooked the agreement of the Papal pretensions as *Christ's Vicar* with the character of the *Antichrist* of prophecy: on which pretensions in fact the Pope's grand *super-imperial* supremacy was wholly grounded. Nor was he more successful than his predecessors, as I think, in solving the difficulties of the Beast's *seventh* head; though clear as to the *eighth*. On certain other points he appears to me to have retrogressed, rather than advanced.

The reader has now before him pretty much the state in which Apocalyptic interpretation was left *among the Protestants*, at the close of the *æra and century of the Reformation*. The advance made by them in it seems to me to have been very great: at least in those parts of the prophecy with which they were most concerned, respecting the Beast Antichrist, the witnesses, and vision of the rainbow-crowned Angel who held the opened βιβλιον, or βιβλιαριδιον, in hand, and recommissioned John to prophesy.

But what meanwhile as to the *Romish* divines and expositors? This was to be our *second* head of inquiry in the present Section.

II. THE ROMISH APOCALYPTIC EXPOSITORS of *the æra and Century of the Reformation*

It seems, as both Foxe and Brightman report to us, that for some time following the Reformation the Romish Doetors were very shy of the subject.¹ At its first outbreak indeed, on Luther's anti-Papal protest, some unguarded Doctors of the Papacy, in the true spirit of the 5th Council of Lateran, just then concluded, which had solemnly identified the then existing Romish

² On this passage Pareus strongly insists that the right reading is επι το θηριον; not, what Bellarmine would have, και το θηριον.

¹ "Post Thomam illum haud quisquam fere sit ex totâ illâ cohorte Pontificiâ, infinitâque scribentium multitudine, qui vel verbum in hanc Apocalypsim commentare sit ausus." Præfat.

Church with the New Jerusalem of the Apocalypse.²—I say there were certain Doctors, as *Prierio* and *Eck*, so unguarded as to take up the Lateran theory, and broadly declare the Papal dominion to be Daniel's 5th monarchy, or reign of the saints.³ But what then of the little horn, or Antichrist, that was to intervene, according to Daniel's declaration, between old Rome's iron empire and the saints' reign? The question was so puzzling that it must have been abundantly palpable to all thoughtful Romanists that such a Danielic theory was untenable; and that some better one must be taken up, if the Papal citadel were to be defended on prophetic grounds. The same of the Apocalypse. So at length, as the century was advancing to a close, two stout Jesuits took up the gauntlet; and published their respective, but quite counter, opinions on the Apocalyptic subject:—the one *Ribera*, a Jesuit Priest of Salamanca, who about A.D. 1585 published an Apocalyptic Commentary, which was on the grand points of Babylon and Antichrist what we now call the *futurist* scheme: the other *Alcasar*, also a Spanish Jesuit, but of Seville, whose scheme was on main points what may be called that of the *wholly præterists*. Either suited the great object of the writers nearly equally well; viz. that of setting aside all application of the prophecies of Antichrist from the existing Church of Rome: the one by making the prophecy stop altogether short of Papal Rome; the other by making it overleap almost altogether the immense interval of time (that of the Popedom's dominancy inclusive) which had elapsed since the prophecy was given, and plunge in its pictures of Antichrist into a yet distant future, just before the consummation. *Ribera's* futurist Commentary, when first published, excited vehemently the indignation of our countryman *Brightman*; and indeed served to hasten on his own antagonistic and masterly exposition of the Apocalypse.¹ Again, *Alcasar's* was published just in time to receive the notice, criticisms, and rebuke of the Protestant expositor *Pareus*.² From the notices in which latter author, and a few too that have met my eye elsewhere, I now abstract a brief sketch of either exposition. I so borrow from others because of my not having had access personally to the commentaries themselves.

1. *Ribera*

² See my Vol. ii. pp. 442–444.

³ So Merle d'Aubigne, ii. 138, of *Silvestre Mazzolini de Prierio*, Master of the Sacred Palace at Rome; writing against Luther, "que la domination Papale étoit *la cinquième monarchie de Daniel*, et la seule véritable." Also of *Eck*, in the Leipsie dispute; *ibid.* 61. (3rd Ed. Paris.)

¹ So in the Dedication of his Comment "to the Holy Reformed Churches of Britain, Germany, and France." Says Brightman: "But mine anger and indignation burst out against the Jesuits. For when as I had by chance light upon *Ribera*, who had made a Commentary upon this same holy Revelation, Is it even so? said I. Do the Papists take heart again; so as that book, which of a long time before they would scarce suffer any man to touch, they dare now take in hand, to intreat fully upon it? What! was it but a vain image or bug, at the sight whereof they were wont to tremble a few years since, even in the dim light, that now they dare be bold to look wishly upon this glasse in the clear sunshine; and dare proclaime to the world that any other thing rather is poynted at in it than their Pope of Rome?"

² Pareus' notices appear partly in his Preface, partly in the body of his Commentary.

And let me at the outset beg my readers to observe, respecting this expositor, that he had not the hardihood which has been manifested by modern Futurists, to suppose the plunge into the distant future of the consummation to be made by the Apocalypse *at its outset*. For while, as Pareus states, Ribera has thought good to explicate the argument of the Apocalypse as if it were nothing else but certain commentaries upon our Lord's prophecy in Matt. 24,³ he makes it *begin* with the early period of the Church. So his 1st Seal's white horse and rider signify the gospel-triumphs of the apostolic æra; his 3rd Seal's black horse and rider, heresies; his 4th Seal, the violence of Trajan's persecutions of the Church, and multitude of deaths of Christians under it, by sword, famine, wild beasts, &c. At length in the 6th Seal Ribera explains the phenomena there figured as meant of the signs before Christ's second coming spoken of in Matt. 24 and Luke 21:⁴ and construes the sealing vision too, *with all that follows in the Apocalypse*, to have reference to the times of Antichrist: the four winds (life-giving winds) being meant literally; and their restraint by the four *good* Angels indicating the calamities then destined to fall on the persecutors of the saints.¹ The 144,000 of Apoc. 7 he makes to be the Jews converted to Christ at the consummation, though inconsistently afterwards explaining the 144,000 in Apoc. 14 of both Jews and Gentiles under Antichrist; and taking the number 144,000 literally.

Passing to the 7th Seal Ribera explains the incense-offering Angel to be Gabriel; and the thunderings, &c., consequent to signify generally the judgments impending. Which judgments of the four first Trumpets he explains *literally*:—as plagues respectively of hail, of some great fiery globe (qu. as of a comet?) cast into the sea; of a fiery exhalation falling from heaven; and of signs in the sun and moon, such as in Matt 24. The locusts of the 5th Trumpet however he expounds figuratively of a woe of cruel and barbarous invading armies, (as barbarous as the Goths and Vandals of old,) with their crowned kings leading them on against the Church. In the 6th Trumpet the four angels are evil angels, bound at Christ's first coming, but now at length let loose to hurt men.²—In Apoc. 10 the descending angel is the same that proclaimed about the book in Apoc. 5; and who swears that, because of men's not having been led to repent by the six previous Trumpet-plagues, the end of the world and last judgment are now at hand.³—St. John's direction to prophesy again meant simply that he had still many things to predict against the Gentiles.—In Apoc. 11 alike the *temple* and *holy city* figured the *Church*: and the city's being given to be trod by Gentiles meant that it would be obtained and occupied by Antichrist' with armies consisting

³ Pareus, Pref. p. 16.

⁴ Ibid. pp. 112, 116, 123.—On the 5th Seal Ribera says that the Apocalyptic figure of *souls under the altar* "had respect to the ancient custom of Christians laying up the relics of saints under the altar. 'For when,' saith he, 'an altar is builded, there is made under it a sepulchre for to keep the relics: and the priest, dipping his finger in the chrism, makes the sign of the cross upon the four corners of the sepulchre, &c.' " But in this, remarks Pareus, "Ribera is to be hissed at: ... for this custom is superstitious and gross idolatry, idly invented many years after." p. 119.

¹ Ib. 137, 138.

² Ib. pp. 153, 159, 162, 164, 176, 185.

³ Ib. 197.

of heathenish men.⁴ Ribera's slaughter-place for the two witnesses, (I presume, Enoch and Elias,) when slain by Antichrist, or the Beast from the abyss, is the city *Jerusalem*;⁵ their *3½ days* of death denoting Antichrist's *3½ years*.⁶ The 7th Trumpet is that of the last judgment: but it is here noted by anticipation; as the prophecy reverts to a description of Antichrist's kingdom and doings.¹

In Apoc. 12 Ribera acts out the futurist. The Woman is the Church travailing in the last times, just before the *3½ years* of Antichrist; seeing that her *3½ years* in the wilderness coincides with those of Antichrist's reign: for he identifies the Dragon with the Beast Antichrist.² Then, as to the Beast and his great city Babylon, in Apoc. 13 and 17, here is the main point in Ribera's system. He admits that the Woman in Apoc. 17, is Rome, Papal Rome; and argues from 17:16, that *shortly before the consummation* the ten kings, figured in the Beast's ten horns, shall overthrow Rome; this being probably before the coming of Antichrist. But how so, seeing that the woman is seen sitting on the Beast from the abyss, which in Apoc. 11 Ribera had admitted to be Antichrist? Because in this chapter 17, with marvellous inconsistency, he makes the Beast to be the Devil reigning. Yet in Apoc. 19 just after, when the Beast is taken, (of course the same as in the preceding chapters,) and the Dragon, and False Prophet, he admits the Beast to be Antichrist, just as in Apoc. 11.³ Elsewhere Ribera doubts whether it will be the ten kings before Antichrist, or Antichrist himself, that will destroy Rome, after having his seat a while there.⁴ But what of the Pope when Rome is destroyed? Ribera, admitting that the Papal seat will be destroyed, says that notwithstanding the Pope will still be the Roman Bishop, though he sits not at Rome; just as during the absence of 70 years at Avignon.⁵ In Apoc. 16 the *vial-plagues* are expounded literally, as those on Egypt. In Apoc. 18 Rome's burning is explained to be in judgment on the sins both of *old Pagan Rome*, and of *Rome apostatized*.⁶

On the *millennium* Ribera follows Augustine. It is the whole time from Christ's resurrection to Antichrist's kingdom: the *new Jerusalem* being viewed by him, Pareus seems to hint, as a figure of the Church of Rome.⁷

⁴ Ib. 212, 215.

⁵ Ib. 235.

⁶ Cressener, p. 176: who adds that on Apoc. 20 Ribera inconsistently objects to the *year-day* principle.

¹ Ib. 247.

² Ib. 256, 260, 265.

³ Ib. 438, 441, 450 of Apoc. 16.

⁴ Ib. 441, 442.

⁵ Ib. 441.—And so Bellarmine, says Malvenda; i. 350.

⁶ Ib. 156.

⁷ Ib. 507, 549.—Ribera, says Malvenda, i. 402, contends strongly that it is absurd to suppose that the old Roman empire has not been taken away (defecit), so as the old fathers expected, because of the German

2. Alcasar

Of this expositor, and his *Præterist* system, Pareus gives a very succinct yet clear sketch, which I cannot do better than copy. Alcasar, he tells us,¹ explained the Revelation of John as teaching, “that Rome, of old the head of Pagan idolatry, by an admirable vicissitude was to be changed into the metropolis of the Catholic Church; that the Roman Church was gloriously to triumph both in respect of the Roman city and the whole empire; and that the sovereign authority of the Romish Pope should always remain in the height of honour.” Alcasar exults, and gratulates the Pope, that he first out of the darkness of the Apocalypse should have showed this light. But surely, observes Pareus, this might cause laughter or shame even to the Roman Court itself.

Further, Pareus states that Alcasar’s general argument is that the Apocalypse describes a twofold war of the Church; one with the *Synagogue*, the other with *Paganism*; and a twofold victory and triumph over both adversaries. More particularly the development of the subject was thus:—1. from Apoc. 1–11 the rejection of the Jews, and desolation of Jerusalem by the Romans:² 2. from Apoc. 1–11, both inclusive, the overthrow of Paganism, and establishment of the empire of the Roman Church over Rome and the whole world; the judgment of the great Whore, and destruction of Babylon, being effected by Constantine and his successors: 3. in Apoc. 21, 22, under the type of the Lamb’s Bride, the New Jerusalem, a description of the glorious and triumphant state of the *Roman Church in heaven*.³

empire being still called the Roman empire. This is but, says he, in rather curious accord with Luther, the *simulacrum* or *ghost* of the old empire.

Let me here add that *Bellarmino* closely followed Ribera in time and prophetic views. Only, instead of partially applying the *year-day* principle, as Ribera had done, he declares absolute war against it; anticipating Dr. S. R. Maitland in some of his arguments. So far as I know it was *now for the first time since St. John* that the principle was formally denounced.

¹ Pref. p. 16.

² Yet Alcasar confesses the later *Domitianic* date of the Apocalypse. Ib. 17.

³ Ib. 17.—Alcasar’s Commentary was the result, as Malvenda tells us, (i. 333,) of above 40 years’ study. It was the prototype of the *Præterist* system of Grotius, and the more modern German rationalistic expositors.

The general character of Alcasar’s Commentary is given in the text. It may be well perhaps to add one or two less important particulars here.—And 1st, let me state, with reference to the 3½ *days* of the witnesses lying dead, that Alcasar applies it to the Jewish persecution of Christians; leaving it indifferently to be taken either for so many *years*, or *months*. (Par. 240.) Thus Bellarmine’s attack on the year-day principle had not convinced Alcasar.—2. He strongly impugns the interpretation of the Beast of Apoc. 13 as Antichrist: declaring it to be indubitably the Roman Pagan Empire. On this he has a battle with Malvenda; i. 429–131.—3rdly, he has another battle with Malvenda on account of his patronizing in any measure Ribera and Bellarmine’s idea that the Babylon of Apoc. 17 might mean Rome in the last days, becoming heathen again, ejecting the Pope, and persecuting Christians. Ib. 350–4. Alcasar makes the Church’s *millennium* of rest to date from the destruction of old *Pagan Rome*, his Apocalyptic Babylon. Ib. 433.

§ VI. FROM THE END OF THE ÆRA AND CENTURY OF THE INFORMATION, ABOUT A.D. 1610, TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The century and æra of the great Reformation had past:—that Reformation on gospel principles of which Pierre d'Olive had expressed his expectation as a probable final testing to the Romish Church; in order, by her rejection of it, to justify even before men her divinely doomed utter destruction.¹ And so the now separated powers of Protestantism and Popery, in professing Christendom, stood face to face in opposition; with their armoury and weapons of argument, as well as of political force, outdrawn, or preparing against each other. Among which of course was the argument from prophetic SS, specially of the Apocalypse, which both parties professed to receive as divinely inspired: and which, according to its own opening words, as well as according to the early Christian Fathers' acceptance of them, was to be regarded as God's prefiguration of the things destined after St. John's time to befall the Church and the world; and consequently as involving *his* view and judgment respecting them.—Long had this been lost sight of. For 700 or 800 years after the fall of the old Roman empire the Apocalyptic prophecy had been expounded, we have seen, as if little more than a repetition of mere general common-place enunciations respecting the world's wickedness, the Church's sufferings, and God's consequent judgments, under the form of a store-house of figures in which the expositor's fancy might luxuriate without check or limit:² without any definite prediction of coming events, anything of chronological order and succession in the predictions; any possibility of a gathering from them of the lessons of real prophecy as to the things which already had been, since St. John's seeing the visions in Patmos, or the things which were still to be thereafter.³

So, I say, it was through seven centuries of the middle age; till at length, about A.D. 1200, Joachim Abbas opened the way, however imperfectly, to its explanation, as a foreshadowing, distinctly and definitely, of the history of the Church and world from Apostolic times to the time then present, and still beyond it:—an opening followed up with more light, both spiritual and intellectual, and better advantage, though still very imperfectly, by the expositors of the æra of the Reformation. Very specially those parts of the prophecy had influentially been opened to them which seemed most immediately to regard themselves, and their cause and sera, in its foreshadowings:—I mean, 1st, the glorious sudden light-bearing descent of the covenant-Angel, with the opened gospel in his hand, Apoc. 10 just in the deepest and most hopeless state, as prophetically depicted, of Christendom under that 6th Trumpet of the judgment of horsemen from the Euphrates, which they could not but construe very generally of the Euphratean Turks;¹ a vision including the oath that but one more Trumpet remained to be sounded ere the

Aleasar's contemporary, the monk *Pinto*, made Daniel's 45 *days* = 45 *years*: like Lyranus. So Malvenda ii. 244.

¹ See p. 428 *suprà*.

² Compare Apoc. 4:1.

³ Let my readers refer back to Tichonius, Primasius, Ambrose Ansbert, &c., in illustration.

¹ So Bullinger, Chytræus, Foxe, very decidedly; also, though less definitely, Brightman, Pareus. See p. 445 *suprà*.

consummation:² 2ndly, the predictions concerning the Roman seven-headed Beast, or Papal Antichrist, and Christ's true Church, and its destined persecutions and sufferings under him: 3rdly, concerning the sackcloth-robed Witnesses raised up to protest against it; all for apparently the same mystic period, however and whencesoever to be measured, of 1260 days, 42 months, or 3½ times.³ It was just as Tertullian, in the time of the early Christians' persecution under Pagan Rome, had seized on the true intent of the 5th Seal's vision of the souls under the altar, with a kind of special instinct, as specially concerning *them*;⁴ and the Constantinian expositors of the 4th century had specially and instinctively seized on the prophecy of the Dragon's dejection in Apoc. 12, as meant of them and their æra.⁵ And this strongly of course helped to strengthen the conviction in the minds of the Reformers of the *whole prophecy* being indeed, when rightly understood, a prophecy *definitely historical*; and, with the master hand of divine philosophy, picturing in it the intermixed fortunes of the Church and the world from St. John's time to the consummation.

But much beyond this they progressed not. On the fundamental point of the structure of the Apocalypse, and order and relationship of its several parts, they held the most diverse opinions. Did the seven-sealed Book contain in itself the whole of the Apocalyptic predictions, or but a part? Were the Seals, Trumpets, and Vials chronologically continuous, the one set of figurations chronologically following the other in what they prefigured? or were they of range chronologically parallel; each reaching to the consummation? Had the killing and resurrection of the Witnesses been yet fulfilled; or were they events still future? Were the figurations always definite figurings of the æra symbolized; or sometimes, at least, mere general truths, whether as regards the Church or the world? Were the 1260 days to be taken always literally, or sometimes mystically; and, if so, whether on the year-day principle of measure, or what other; and whence moreover to be measured, and when terminated? Again, finally, what of the 1000 years of Satan's binding, told of in Apoc. 20; and, if already fulfilled, or fulfilling, how to be reconciled with the other statements in the prophecy? On all these points opinions the most different had been express by the Reformers; the questions remained sub judice, the difficulties unsolved.¹ They were problems, apparently, for the Protestant interpreters of the next age; that of which I am now to speak.

Our 6th Section of the History of Apocalyptic Interpretation opens naturally with *Mede* in England, Pareus' immediate successor, and from him passes to *Jurieu* the French Protestant: then

² See the extracts in my Vol. ii. p. 145.

³ The *year-day* measure of the 1260 *days* being most generally taken; but the *terminus à quo* doubtfully suggested as either the date of Constantine's triumph, that of Alarie's destruction of Rome, or (what has always seemed to me a remarkable choice for Protestant expositors of a time, considering that it necessarily made the ending date as late as 1866) that of the Decree of *Phocas*.

⁴ See my Vol. i. p. 232.

⁵ See my Vol. iii. p. 34.

¹ On all these points it will be useful for the Reader to refer to the sketches of the Reformers' Apocalyptic explanations given in the Section preceding.

(after brief notice of the anti-Protestant expositors, though themselves Protestant, *Hammond* and *Grotius*) to *Cressener*, *Vitringa*, and *Daubuz*, as the next expositors of chief repute among Protestants, and *Bossuet* among Roman Catholics; then next to *Sir Isaac Newton*, *Whiston*, and *Bishop Newton*; the last-mentioned a summarizer of the most generally received Protestant prophetic views at an epoch immediately prior to the French Revolution.

1. *Mede*.—It was in 1627 that Mede first published his *Clavis Apocalyptica*, in 1632 his *Commentary*; the *former* laying down from *internal evidence* (independent of any particular historic system of explanation) the “*synchronisms*” and *mutual relationships* of the several parts of the prophecy; the latter his *historical explanation*, conformably with those synchronisms. The reputation of these works, especially in England, is well known. He was looked on, and written of, as a man almost inspired for the solution of the Apocalyptic mysteries. And certainly of his general discernment and theological learning, as well as of that which he brought to bear on prophecy, there might well be entertained a high opinion. Yet, if it be permitted to express freely my judgment on so great a man, I must say that I think his success was at first over-estimated as an Apocalyptic Expositor. For if on various points he much advanced the science, especially as regards his principle of inferring the structure of the prophecy from its own internal evidence, prior to any historical application, and thence laying down of its synchronisms and the mutual relationship of its several parts, (the place of the millennium of Satan’s binding inclusive,) and last (scarce least) his appending of a Tabular Scheme of the Prophecy, according to his view of arrangement and connexion of its parts,—an appendage attached by him to his Commentary first I believe of Apocalyptic Expositors, and without which, in my opinion, no Apocalyptic Commentary can be complete,—while, I say, on these points, and certain *historical* illustrations also of the prophecy, he advanced the science of Apocalyptic interpretation, on others I conceive him to have caused it very materially to retrograde. So, above all, in regard of his idea, prominently marked in the Tabular Scheme, of the Apocalypse having been divided into two separate Parts, written respectively in two separate Books; viz. 1st, *the seven-sealed Book* given into the hand of the Lamb to open, Apoc. 5:7; 2ndly, the *Little Book* given opened into the hand of St. John by the Covenant Angel, Apoc. 10:9–11, each having a general parallelism of chronology with the other, and each its own proper synchronisms.¹ On this more as I proceed.

¹ It may be well to append a list of these his Apocalyptic synchronisms; a notice being added where Mede seems to me to have been in error.

1. The 3½ times, 42 months, or 1260 days, of the woman’s being in the wilderness, the ten-horned resuscitated Beast’s reigning, the outer court of the temple being trod by Gentiles, and Christ’s two witnesses witnessing in sackcloth.

2. The coincident duration of the ten-horned Beast and the two-horned of Apoc. 13 (Qu. in Mede’s sense?)

3. Ditto of the ten-horned Beast and mystic Babylon.

4. Ditto of the 144,000 of Apoc. 7 and 14 with the above.

The Tabular Scheme of his views copied from his own Book on my next page, (itself, as I said, the first of its kind, and so of the more especial value,) combined and compared with the observations on them scattered through the *Horæ* will do away with the necessity of entering into them so much in detail as might otherwise have been desirable. In general he considered the 6 first *Seals* to be a figuration of the successive fortunes of heathen Rome, after St. John down to the overthrow of heathenism in it by Constantine; then the *Trumpets* to be the unfolding of the 7th *Seal*, and figuring of the subsequent history of the Roman world and Christian Church to the consummation: a most important, and I doubt not true, view of the structure of that part of the prophecy. More particularly the 1st Seal is supposed by him to depict the early gospel victories; the 2nd, the wars of Trajan and Hadrian; the 3rd, the severe justice, and procurations of corn, notable in the reigns of the two Severi; the 4th, the famine pestilence and murderous wars of the æra of Gallienus; the 5th, Diocletian's persecution; the 6th, the overthrow of Paganism and its empire by Constantine.—Again of the *Trumpets*, the 1st is explained of Alaric; the 2nd of the Gothic and Vandal desolators of the Empire, that followed, down to Genseric; the 3rd of the extinction of the Hesperus, or Western Empire, by Odoacer; the 4th, of the ravages of Totilas, whereby imperial Rome received its last desolations; the 5th, of the Saracens; the 6th, of the Turks.—In most of which particulars I conceive Mede to have made advances to the true interpretation: adjusting the 5th and 6th Seals, as he did, to the times

5. Of the time of the inner temple-court's measuring; Apoc. 12, and of the Dragon's War with the travelling woman, Apoc. 12 (Qu.?)

6. Of the Seven Vials, and Babylon's and the Beast's verging to destruction.

7. Of the 7th Seal, and 7 Trumpets evolving it, with the ten-horned and two horned Beasts of Apoc. 13 (Qu?) Mede dates the rise of the ten-horned Beast too early, I conceive, viz. from the time of Alaric's capture of Rome, figured in Trumpet 1.

8. Of the measuring of the inner temple Court, (as also, according to synchronism 5, of the Dragon's war with the travelling Woman,) with the six first Seals. In order to this the Dragon's war with Michael and the woman must be regarded as extending to the whole two centuries of the war of Christianity and Heathenism in the Roman empire, between St. John's time and Constantine: not as that of the last crisis of the war.

9. Of the seven vials with Trumpet 6.—A manifest error, I conceive; and in marked inconsistency with Mede's own view of the 7th Seal as unfolded in the 7 Trumpets; a view which suggests the similar evolution of the 7th Trumpet in the 7 Vials.

10. Of the millennium of Satan's binding, Christ's reign, and also of the New Jerusalem, and Palmbearers' ovation, with the 7th Trumpet, after the Beast's destruction: (Rather with the *concluding* æra of the 7th Trumpet.)

11. The speedy sequence of the things figured in the first Seal on, or after, the time of the revelation of the visions to St. John in Patmos. "I will show thee the things which must shortly come to pass."

MEDE'S APOCALYPTIC SCHEME.

THE SEVEN-SEALED BOOK.													
SIX FIRST SEALS SEAL.						THE SEVENTH SEAL, containing saven TRUMPET.						SEAL, Trumpets.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Victory, CHRIST.	Slaughter, ADRIAN.	Balance, SEVERI.	Death, GALLIENUS.	Altar, DIOCLETIAN.	Earthquake; CONSTANTINE.	ALARIC. Hail;	Burning Mountain; GOTHS and WANDALS, to GENSERIC.	Falling Star; ODOACER.	Eclipse of Luminaries; TOTILAS.	Locusts; SARACENS.	Euphratean Horsemen; TURKS.	The MYSTERY OF GOD is finished, as foreshown to the Prophets.	
						Sealing of 144,000 out of all the tribes of Israel.						Palmbering Company out of all nations.	
												Kindoms of this World	
												SEVEN VIALS. become the kingdoms of Christ.	
Temple-court and Altar measured. ... War of Michael and Dragon about the childbearing.						Outer Court (or Holy City) unmeasured is given to the Gentiles 42 months. Christ's two witnesses prophesy 1260 days in sackcloth. Woman is driven by Dragon into the Wilderness; there to be nourished 1260 days. Seven-headed ten-horned Beast, revived under last head, blasphemes and domineers 42 months. Two-horned Beast, or False Prophet, exercises all the power of First Beast before him. The 144,000, that sing the new song, tell of coming judgments. Harlot Babylon, on ten-horned Beast, under last head, makes drunk the nations with her poison-cup.						1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Satan bound, and Saints reign with Christ, 1000 years. The Lamb's Wife, NEW JERUSALRM descends from heave: And the nations walk in her light.
THE LITTLE OPENED BOOK.													

UNIVERSAL

Satan is loosed.

RESURRECTION

respectively of Diocletian and Constantine, not of Claudius and Diocletian like Brightman; while following Brightman mainly in the exposition (the *heathen Rome-referring* exposition) of the four Seals previous:¹ also in the four earlier Trumpets, instead of Brightman's "*contention, ambition, heresy, and war,*" his applying the emblems to prefigure the successive epochs in the Goths' desolations and overthrow of the Western Empire. In the evolution, however, of the particular details he seems to me unsuccessful: the *one third* of the four first Trumpets having no definite explanation; and the *land, sea, and rivers* being expounded loosely and figuratively, so as I have stated in my Vol. i. pp. 354, 355. The two *prophetic periods* in the fifth and sixth Trumpets are explained by him, as are all the other prophetic periods, consistently on the *year-day* principle:— the locusts' 150 *days* of the ravages of the Saracens on the Italian coast from A.D. 830–980: (a

¹ On the third Seal, I should observe, Mede, though explaining it to refer to the times of Severus, yet makes it signify, not, as Brightman, a scarcity then occurring, but the justice and procurations of corn by the Emperor.

solution certainly anything but happy; forasmuch as all the main strength of the Saracens had in 830 past away:²) the Euphratean horsemen's *hour day month and year*, more happily, of the 396 years' interval, from the Turkman's investiture with the sword by the Caliph at Bagdad, A.D. 1057, to the destruction of Constantinople, A.D. 1453.³ In his reference of the smoke and sulphur of the sixth Trumpet to the Turkish cannon, he well, in my judgment, follows Brightman: explaining the figures *definitely*, and according to the analogy of Scripture prophecies, from *visible appearances*: and he adds too, as confirmative of the meaning of the emblem in the fifth Trumpet, a notice from Pliny of the flowing hair of the Saracens, on the same interpretative principle;⁴ a principle often greatly helpful towards the discovery and confirmation of the truth.

But now comes what seems to me, as before observed, to have been a most unfortunate step of retrogradation in Mede's Commentary;⁵ viz. his explanation of the *little book* in Apoc. 10, not as *the gospel book* opened to the world, in the times, when somewhat advanced, of the Euphratean or Turkish Woe, so as, according to the earlier reforming Fathers, at the Reformation, but as a book of (somewhat as by Brightman before him) *transpose of so as to procede new and distinct prophecy* from that of the *seven-sealed book*: the Covenant-Angel's descent and lion-like cry, the seven answering thunders, the Angel's oath, and the giving John the book to eat, being acts merely introductory to, and the ushering in of, this new prophecy. "The former prophecy," says Mede, "was of the fates of the *Roman Empire*; this, by far nobler, of the fates of *religion and the Church*." Hence, besides a departure from all simplicity of Apocalyptic arrangement,¹ the setting aside also of that which had been the most striking as well as most true feature in the Protestant Commentaries of the preceding æra; viz. the application of the vision of the Covenant-Angel's descent, with John's prophesying, again, and his measuring of the temple, more or less to the great Protestant Reformation. Reasons Mede gives none; except that the charge, "Thou must prophesy again," indicated a new prophecy: that which assuredly the word *prophesy* need not indicate:² and which involves too the setting aside of the *representative character* of St. John; a view so early taken, so long cherished, and so excellently applied by the Reformers on this particular passage, though never indeed *fully* carried out. Unfounded, however, as was Mede's view of this vision, and of the little book, it has been repeated and perpetuated by Apocalyptic

² So I have shown in my Chapter on the subject.

³ See my Vol. i. p. 528, Note 2.

⁴ A principle which I have expanded, and copiously illustrated, in justification of my application of the fifth Trumpet to the Saracens.

⁵ By the old expositors Victorinus and Andreas, &c., the symbol was explained to indicate St. John's personal prophesying again, after his temporary exile in Patmos, by the publication of his Gospel and Book of Revelation on returning to Ephesus. See pp. 293, 360 *suprà*. This was quite a different thing.

¹ E. g. mark how the 6th Trumpet, which belongs to the *seven-sealed book*, and occupies from Apoc. 9:13 to 11:14, is, on this system, cut in two by the prophecies of the *little book*. See the Tabular Scheme.

² See my Vol. ii. p. 149, &c.

Expositors, to the great obscuration of the Apocalypse, even to the present day.³—The fact was, I little doubt, that Mede saw the need of some Book or Chart, separate from that on which the series of Seals and Trumpets were outstretched, on which to have visibly written the evidently chronological parallel term (in his view) of the 1260 years' visions; and, seeing nothing else in the prophecy that could by any possibility be turned to his purpose, seized on the Little Book of Apoc. 10 for it. How was it that he did not see that the very fact of its being given to St. John *opened*, not *to open*, precluded the idea of its being a prophecy to be unfolded in the chapters subsequent; and that to the Lamb alone belonged the honour of unfolding the events of the coming future?—I might add, how was it that he overlooked the simple obvious fact of the Apocalyptic prophecy being said to be written *without*, as well as *within*; so offering the exact thing that he wanted. See my own Apocalyptic Chart of the *writing within and without* prefix to this Commentary. But, very strangely, the thought of this seems never to have occurred to any one but myself. The prophecy of the little Book thus introduced, Mede begins its development by the very singular interpretations, first of John's *measuring of the inner court and temple*, then of his *casting out the outer court and not measuring it*, as indicating two chronologically successive states of the Church *of lengths proportional*:¹ the first the more primitive Church of the first three or four centuries, (answering chronologically to the period of the six first seals,) which was conformed to the rule of God's word; the second that which succeeded, and was in character gentiled and apostate. With which latter coincide, according to him, the 1260 *days*, or *years*, of Christ's two Witnesses' prophesying in sackcloth; the *two* signifying *many*, or sufficient at least to keep up a valid testimony.—So Mede comes to the clause, Apoc. 11:7, "When they shall have completed," or, as he renders it, "*when they shall be about finishing*, their testimony, the Beast shall kill them," &c.: a passage which he construes as predicting what was still in his time future; and that which would immediately precede the fall of Papal Rome For the *tenth part of the city*, whose fall is mentioned immediately after the Witnesses' resurrection and ascension, (ascent to political eminence, says Mede,) is made by him to mean the *whole* city of *modern Rome, as being in size but the tenth part of ancient Rome*. A curious notion; and which he illustrates by an ichnographical plate, exhibiting the comparative local extent of the two cities.

In Apoc. 12 the vision of the *Woman* and *Dragon* is explained (I doubt not truly explained *retrogressively*) of Constantine's war with, and overthrow of, the Roman Pagan Emperors and Paganism.—In Apoc. 13, and 17 the *first Beast* is the Papal Secular Empire, or Decem-regal Body of Western Christendom,² *under the Pope*, as the Beast's last ruling head:¹ the five heads of the old Roman Empire, that had fallen in St. John's time, being Kings, Consuls, Dictators, Decemvirs, and military Tribunes, so as they had been interpreted by Fulke, Foxe, and others; the 6th, or

³ Alike Jurieu, Vtringa, Bishop Newton, and in our own days Faber, Frere, &c., have more or less followed Mede in this view of the little book.

¹ See the Tabular Scheme.

² "Bestia decem-cornupeta, seu Secularis, est Universitas illa decem plus minus regnorum in unam denuo Rempublicam Romanam, redintegrata Draconis impietate, coalescentium." He adds that all the horns were on the 7th or last Head. Pp. 498, 499.

¹ "Decem illa regna, *Pseudoprophetae capitis sui auspiciis, cum Agno pugnabunt.*" So on Apoc. 17:16.

head reigning when St. John saw the vision, the Imperial Cæsars; (Cæsars then *Pagan*, but destined in time to be changed into *Christian* Cæsars, which last might be reckoned a new head to the Beast, says Mede, or might not;²) the seventh the Popes; the Beast's *deadly wound* having remained unhealed in passing from the sixth to the seventh or last head.³ As to the Beast's destined duration, it was that of 1260 days, or 1260 years, measured from the Gothic desolations of ancient Rome. The *second Beast* was the Pope patriarchally viewed, and Papal clergy:⁴ *the image of the Beast* the first Beast itself, or secular decem-regal Empire; as being (if I rightly understand Mede) but the shadow and revived ghost of the old imperial Roman Empire, or Beast under its sixth head.⁵ The Beast's *name* and *number* is Λατεινος.—In Apoc. 14 the first flying Angel Mede makes to be Vigilantius and the early iconoclastic Emperors; the second, the Waldenses; the third, Luther.—In Apoc. 16 the Vials, which he considers to figure the destruction of Antichrist, are, 1st, the wound given to the Poppedom by the Waldenses, Wicliffites, and Hussites; 2nd, Luther's secession and protest; 3rd, Queen Elizabeth's secession and protest; these three Vials being past, the rest future. Of which last the fourth, on the sun, would be on the German Emperor, as chief luminary in the Papal Imperial system; and, while I write, says Mede, news is brought of a Prince from the north (meaning Gustavus Adolphus) gaining victories over the Emperor, in defence of the afflicted German Protestants: the 5th Vial, that on the *seat of the Beast*, meaning one on Rome; the 6th, that of the drying up of the Euphratean flood, the exhaustion of the Turkish Empire;¹ by the which the way of the *Jews* from the East would be prepared: the 7th and last, on the *air*, being one on Satan's power, as the Prince of the power of the air.

Finally, as all know, the *millennium* is construed by Mede, like as by the oldest patristic expositors, Irenæus, Justin Martyr, &c., as a binding of Satan on Christ's second coming:—a mighty step of change this from the long long-continued explanation of the symbol as meant of his 1000 years' binding from Christ's time, or Constantino's:² the *first resurrection* being the literal

² See my Vol. iii. p. 120.

³ "In transitu à sexto capite ad novissimum Bestia lethali vulnere occubuit." P. 501.

⁴ "Bestia Bicornis, seu Pseudo-Propheta, Pontifex Romanus cùm suo Clero." P. 505.

⁵ "Bestia Romana capitis novissimi est imago Bestiæ sexto capite mactatæ." P. 560. And again, p. 505; "Qui" (viz. the Pseudo-Propheta, or Second Beast) "eo sensim reges, ex dissipato Cæsarum Imperio nuper in orbe Romano natos, induxit, ut sibi, cassæque jam alioquin imperio Romæ, colla unanimiter submittentes, pristini jamque demoliti Imperii ethnici imaginem induerent."—See my Vol. iii. p. 220.

¹ In the *local* implication of the 4th, 5th, and 6th Vials, Mede seems to me to have been correct; though antedating the times of their historical fulfilment.

² When first Mede applied himself to the study of the Apocalypse he came, as he told a friend of his, with a mind rather possess against it: (i.e. the *old Chiliastic view* of the 1000 years:) and tried all ways imaginable to place the millennium elsewhere; and, if it were possible, to begin the 1000 years, like Brightman and others, (as a period of the past,) at the reign of Constantine. But after all his strivings he was forced, as he confesses, to yield to the light and evidence of this (the Chiliastic) hypothesis. He was forced to it by the irresistible law of synchronisms, according to which the millennium could not possibly

resurrection of the saints, fulfilled also on Christ's coming and Antichrist's destruction before it. As to the *New Jerusalem*, Mede regards it as of millennial chronology, at least in its commencement.³

2. Jurieu

It was in 1685, just after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, that Jurieu, who was one of the exiled French Calvinist ministers, published his work on the Apocalypse:¹ a work mainly based on Mede's views; but with various new particular applications to his own time and country.² A brief notice of these will suffice.

In the *Seals* Jurieu only differs from Mede by expounding the *first* Seal not of Christ, but of a *Roman subject*, and *Roman emperors*;³ (viz. of Vespasian's and Titus's victories and general

be placed elsewhere than it is by him ... Besides that the great deceiving of the world by Mahometism (a most vile and yet prevailing imposture) began before less than half of the millennium from Constantine was run out, and strangely prospered in the world for 600 years within that millennium: and not this only, but Antichristian idolatry and cruelty against the faithful servants of Christ fell out within the same millennium: wherein the Devil was so far from being chained and shut up, that he never deceived the world more grossly nor raged more furiously; and consequently was never more loose, and at liberty to do mischief.—So the Life prefixt to his Works by Dr. Worthington, p. 10.

³ In reference to the New Jerusalem Mede notices with approbation Potter's argument, showing the equal circuit of the Apocalyptic city with Ezekiel's city, described Ezek. 48:16. Of the latter "the north side, we read, was 4500 measures, the south 4500, the east 4500, and the west 4500;" in all 18,000. And these measures appear to be *cubits* from Ezek. 43:13; where the cubit is also described as one larger than the common cubit, it being "a cubit and a hand-breadth:" which common cubit Potter, after Villalpandus, makes to be 2½ feet. This admitted, and that the proportion of the large cubit to the common is as 5 to 4, then the length of each side of Ezekiel's city will be $4500 \times \frac{5}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ feet = $1125 \times 5 \times \frac{5}{2}$ or 14,012 feet. On the other hand, as St. John's 12,000 furlongs are to be considered as giving the cubic dimensions of the Apocalyptic New Jerusalem, "its length and breadth and height being equal," therefore the cubic root of 12,000, which is 23 nearly, (for $23 \times 23 \times 23 = 12,167$,) gives the length of one of the sides: which 23 furlongs being $23 \times 625 = 14,375$ feet, this measure will only by a very little exceed the length of one of the sides of the Apocalyptic City.

The coincidence, as thus drawn out, is remarkable. It is noted by Daubuz, p. 990. But there is this objection, that the assumed size of the Jewish common cubit is by no means certain; it being generally deemed of much smaller dimensions. So Calmet; who computes it at 1½ feet instead of 2½.

¹ Jurieu's date is given at Vol. ii. p. 254 of my English edition: (London, 1687:) at the latter page as the year of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

² Jurieu avowedly takes Mede as his master in Apocalyptic interpretation; except in the parts of latest application.

³ P. 45. On this point Jurieu has the following just and important observations. I can't be of that opinion (viz. that the horseman of the 1st Seal is the Lord Jesus), 1st, because the equipage of this horseman is not magnificent enough to represent Jesus Christ.... In all the places where the prophet makes Jesus

prosperity;) this consisting well with Mede's explanation, which Jurieu adopts, of the horses and horsemen of the *three next Seals*, as having reference to the times of the Roman emperors Hadrian, Severus, and Gallienus, respectively. The 5th and 6th Seals are explained by him of the times of Diocletian and Constantine.

In the *Trumpets*, while otherwise following Mede, Jurieu improves on him by expounding the fallen star in the 3rd Trumpet that made bitter the third part of the rivers, not of the extinction of the Western Empire by Odoacer, but of a certain part of the Gothic ravages of Western Christendom: (viz. of those in the *provinces*, which were like the empire's *rivers*; Rome and Italy being as the *sea*;) the extinction of the Western Emperors being symbolized by the darkening of the heavenly lights in the 4th Trumpet.⁴ The 5th and 6th Trumpets he explains, after Mede, of the Saracens and Turks.

The *little book*, in the hand of the iris-crowned Angel, Apoc. 10 he interprets with Mede as a new prophecy: and adopts the idea too thrown out by our English expositor, that as the *unmeasured* state of the court, or Church, was to be for 3½ times, i. e. 1260 years, so the proportion of the Jewish temple proper to the court indicated the Church's previous better and *measured* state to be about 360 years; an indication agreeable with fact.¹ The *Beast* moreover he explains like Mede: making its 7th head to be the Papal Antichrist; and the possible two-fold division of the 6th or imperial head into Pagan and Christian emperors, to be the solution of the enigma of the last head being both the 8th and the 7th.

In his 12th Chapter, on the *Witnesses*, Jurieu expresses his opinion that the *last* persecution of Christ's people had commenced in the year 1655, "when the Duke of Savoy undertook to destroy the faithful of the valleys of Piedmont;" and which had, when he wrote, "already lasted 30 years." This was followed in 1671 by "the persecution of the Churches of Silesia, Moravia, Hungary;" and then, in 1685, by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. In which last act he considers the death of the two Apocalyptic Witnesses to have begun at least to have fulfilment: their prefigured resurrection being anticipated by him either in 3½ years from that date, or 3½ years from some further act of the same persecution, as extended perhaps to the Waldenses, or other Protestant Christians:² an act such as might furnish a kind of extended commencing date

Christ to appear. (Apoc. 10:1, 14:14, 19:11,) he is extraordinarily magnificent: clothed with fire, with the light, with the sun, with the rainbow, riding on the clouds, having not one simple crown but many diadems, and his eye casting out flames. Here there is nothing more plain and mean: 'tis a man sitting on a horse, with a bow and crown. That which hath deceived interpreters is the colour of the horse, *white*, which they have taken for an emblem of *holiness*. But white is the emblem of *prosperity* as well as holiness."—Compare Foxe, p. 461 *suprà*; also my own objections as drawn out Vol. i. p. 121, Note 2.

⁴ The *third* part he makes the Roman Empire; as mainly in Europe, the 3rd continent.

¹ i. 78, 87.

² Connected with this is an interesting extract in Evelyn's Memoirs. In June 18, 1690, Mr. E. mentions a visit paid by him to the then Bishop of St. Asaph—Lloyd. Speaking of the death and resurrection of the Apocalyptic Witnesses, the Bishop mentioned how he had persuaded two exiled Vaudois ministers to return Rome, when there was no apparent ground of hope for them, giving them £20 towards the expenses, and which return was wonderfully accomplished.

to the 3½ mystic days of the Witnesses lying dead in the *street* of the great Papal city, or empire; i. e. as he judged, in France.³—Further, he thought that the *tenth of the great city* destined to fall, on the Witnesses' ascent, meant also France; which would fall from the Popedom by embracing the Reformation. After this, some time might probably elapse in order to the full effect of the exposure of Antichrist: and thus the epoch of the fall of the Popedom might probably occur about A.D. 1710 or 1715; this being the end of the 1260 years, computed from A.D. 4–50 or 455.⁴

In the details of the *Vials* Jurieu altogether deserts Mede and other preceding expositors; though agreeing with Mede in placing them mainly under the 6th Trumpet.¹ “I am persuaded,” he adds, “that God hath heard and answered the very ardent desire which I have had to pierce into these profound mysteries; to the end that I might descry the deliverance of his Church.”² So, the Vials generally being regarded by him as “the steps by which the Babylonish (or Papal) empire passes to come to its ruin,”³ the 1st Vial is explained by him as the gross corruption of Popery, and outbreaking of its open *sores*, in the 10th century: Vials 2 and 3 figured the bloodshedding in the earlier and later crusades: Vial 4 was the intolerable scorching of the Papal despotism, from the 11th to the 14th century: Vial 5, on the seat of the Beast, was the transference of the Pope's residence from Rome to Avignon: Vial 6 was the drying up, as it were, of the Bosphorus, before the Turks, and their consequent overthrow of Constantinople and Eastern Christendom which Bosphorus had been previously the Eastern barrier to Greek Christendom, so as had been the Euphrates in old times to the Roman Empire: Vial 7 was the earthquake of the Reformation; the great City, or Papal Christendom, being after it divided into the three divisions of Papists, Lutherans, and Reformed; for as to the English Church, since it was in communion with the Reformed, it could not be considered a fourth division.⁴—As to the time remaining after this, before the final judgment on Babylon, it could not, added Jurieu, be long. “The 7th Vial hath already lasted longer than any of the rest; and it is probable that it must last about 200 years, [i.e. from 1517.] But the reason of this is that this 7th period is itself divided into three other periods, the *harvest*, the *vintage*, and the time that is *betwixt* the harvest and the vintage. The harvest is already past;⁵ the time betwixt the harvest and the vintage is almost expired. We are approaching the vintage; and at this day ought to say, Come, Lord Jesus, Come.”⁶

³ ii. 215–250, 254–257.

⁴ This subject occupies ch. 13 in Jurieu's 2nd volume. See pp. 260–267, 276.

¹ 1:92.

² 2:67.

³ 1:92.

⁴ 2:220. The Vials occupy the 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th chapters, in Jurieu's 2nd volume.

⁵ Jurieu explains the *harvest* of the partial destruction of the Papal Empire at the Reformation. “Divide [the Beast's] 1260 into seven parts, and each 7th part is exactly 180 years. If now you reckon these 180 years from A.D. 1517, this brings us to A.D. 1697.” So “1690 is about the time that I judge must be the beginning of the *vintage*.” ii. 229.

⁶ ii. 223, 224.

On the *millennium* Jurieu, like *Mede*, shows that it never yet had had fulfilment; and anticipated from it a reign of the saints on earth, the Jews' restoration, and fulfilment concurrently of the prophecies of the blessedness of the latter day in the Old Testament. He also decidedly *inclines* to think that the *first resurrection* is a *literal* resurrection of the departed saints; then at length to take part in the glory of the manifested kingdom of Christ.

3. I turn to Jurieu's English contemporary, *Dr. Cressener*

During the reigns of Charles the 2nd and James the 2nd, now just ended, a mighty change had come over the spirit of the dream, at least among the ministers and adherents of the established Church of England, from that which had rested on the minds, and dictated the acts, of the founders and chief ornaments of that Church in the century of the Reformation. The religion of Rome had become not only fashionable at court, but the religion covertly or avowedly of the reigning kings themselves. Moreover, the sufferings of the episcopal clergy during the 15 years' ascendancy of Cromwell and the Puritans had tended to make them look on the latter as their nearest and chiefest enemy; and, by a consequence not unnatural, to regard Popery with less of disfavour, and sometimes even with the thought and desire for friendly approximation and union. This feeling could not but have its effect on the current view of the prophecies in Daniel and the Apocalypse, which had been hitherto by the Reformers, alike German, Swiss, and English, applied undoubtingly to the Roman Popedom. By the celebrated Dutch scholar and politician *Grotius*, and by our English *Dr. Hammond*, a *præterist* view was adopted of the Apocalyptic prophecy about the Beast and his great city Babylon, very like *Aleasar's*;¹ referring it all to the old Pagan Roman city and empire. *Dr. Cressener* himself, writing in the year 1690,

¹ So Bossuet traces the parentage of this view:—"Le savant Jesuite Louis d'Alcasar, qui a fait un grand commentaire sur l'Apocalypse, où Grotius a pris beaucoup de ses idees." He speaks also of its being the view of the learned Romanist *Genebrard*, A.D. 1580, (in his *Chronography*, 5 Sæe. Ann. 413,) as well as of *Grotius* and *Hammond*. Pref. sur l'Apoc. § 11, 13.

strongly speaks of the change: (I subjoin the passage,² as well worth perusal:) and tells moreover how the very study of those prophecies had in consequence fallen into disfavour.¹

His own Book, which was first published in 1690, and is dedicated to the Queen Mary, then reigning with her consort William of Orange, is entitled “A Demonstration of the first Principles of the Protestant Applications of the Apocalypse,” and well answers to its title. Its one grand subject is the Apocalyptic Beast of Apoc. 13 and 17. And in a series of connected propositions he incontrovertibly establishes, against Alcasar and Bellarmine, that the Apocalyptic Babylon is not *Rome Pagan*, as it existed under the old Pagan Emperors; nor *Rome Paganised at the end of the world*, as Ribera and Malvenda would have it to be; but Rome Papal, as existing from the 6th century. For, he argues, it is Rome idolatrous and antichristian, as connected with the Beast or Roman Empire in its last form, and under its last head;² which last head is the seventh head revived, after its deadly wound with a sword: with and under which the Beast exists all through the time of the Witnesses; in other words, from the date of the breaking up of the old empire into ten kingdoms, until Christ’s second coming to take the kingdom. The 6th, or imperial head ruling in St. John’s time, must, he argues, have *fallen* at the latest at the time of the Herulian chief Odoacer, and Ostrogothic king Theodorie, reigning in the 5th century.¹ And he concludes (though

² After speaking of *Grotius, Hammond*, and some other “great names of late among ourselves, who have excused the Church of Home from any concern in the judgments of this (Apocalyptic) prophecy,” and the shifts they had been obliged to resort to, such “that the most skilful of the Romish interpreters themselves had cried out against them,” he notes it as the result of a foregone determination so to interpret the prophecy as to set aside the old Protestant views. “Their expedient for Catholic union of all Christian Churches by the compliance of the Roman, their assurance of the necessity of the conveyance of a right succession and ordination by a Church that was not formally idolatrous, &c., were altogether inconsistent with the Protestant sense of the Apocalypse.” And then Dr. Cressener goes on to say; “The present age is so generally prepossessed with the interpretations of these learned men, that it is necessary to remind (the approvers) that these are great novelties in the doctrine of the Church of England.... It is manifest by the Homilies approved of in our Articles as the faith of our Church, that the charge of *Babylon* upon the *Church of Rome* is the standing profession of the Church of England:* and it continued to be the current judgment of all the best learned members of it till the end of the reign of King James the 1st.” Indeed, “in *his* time it was believed to be so clear and important a part of the faith, that both the Church and the Court did applaud the King in his public defence of it.” But, adds Cressener, “after that time this doctrine of the Homilies came to be more out of fashion: either to be civil to the marriages of the succeeding reigns, or to take away all the advantage that the Separatists might have from thence against the necessity of an uninterrupted succession and ordination in every lawfully-constituted Church.” Pref. pp. ii.—iv.

¹ “The enquiry into these matters is so out of fashion, and lies under so general a prejudice, that I found the Press everywhere affrighted from undertaking the charge of this publication.” Epist. Dedicatory to Queen Mary.

² This involves the entire identity, as is stated in his argument, p. 59, of the Beast in Apoc. 13 and Beast in Apoc. 17.

¹ P. 160.

here, I conceive, exception might be taken against him) that the 7th head was the Herulian and Ostrogothic, which continued but a short time: the 8th being the revived secular imperial, confederated with a Roman ecclesiastical head, somewhat as under the old emperors;² i. e. the secular Western emperors combined with the Popes. And he suggests *Justinian's* æra as that of the commencement of the last head.³ The *image of the Beast* he makes to be the Roman Church, the *name* Λατεινος.⁴ The *death of the two Witnesses*, caused by the Beast, he explains, after Jurieu, as probably occurring at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the nearly contemporary expulsion of the Waldenses.⁵

Altogether Cressener's book must be regarded as an important accession to the Protestant cause, and Protestant argument, against the Romanists.

4. Bossuet

The Apocalyptic Comment of this Roman Catholic Prelate deserves the more attention from us, as being written by one who is, I believe, confessedly the ablest as well as the most eloquent of controversialists on the Papal side; and written by him, deliberately and avowedly, in order to wrest out of the hands of Protestants a weapon used so often and so powerfully by them against his Church. And when in 1685, just after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, *M. Jurieu*, one of the exiled French Calvinist Ministers, had published that work on the Apocalyptic prophecy, of which I have just given an abstract, the Bishop of Meaux thought it well to take up the matter; and to apply his great talents to the drawing up of an Exposition, such as might be conformable with the dogmas and requirements of the Romish faith, and sufficiently strong and solid (so he expected) to withstand the criticism of Protestants.⁶—I now proceed to give a sketch of it. It is framed very much more on Aleasar's plan, and that of Grotius and Hammond who had followed Aleasar; not Ribera's: i.e.¹ on that of the *præterists*, not of the *futurists*. The grand subject of the prophecy he conceives to be the triumph of Christianity over Judaism and Paganism:—i.e. over Paganism as established in the Roman empire; and, in the *Jewish* part, with reference only to the later calamities of the Jews, not to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. For as Bossuet judged the Apocalypse to have been written under Domitian, that destruction by Titus had happened, in his opinion, before the giving of the Apocalypse.—The details are as follows.

The *six first Seals* exhibit the subject in the general. There is 1st Christ's moving forth as a conqueror; then, in the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Seals, his judgments of war, famine, and pestilence, on the enemies of Christianity; then, in the 5th Seal, persecutions of Christians, and the reason of God's delay of judgments, viz. till the number of his martyrs be completed and his elect taken out

² The Emperor being *Pontifex* as well as *Imperator*.

³ p. 192.

⁴ p. 274. 275.

⁵ Epistle Dedicatory, and Pref. p. xvii.

⁶ Bossuet's exposition was first published in 1690.

¹ The date of Grotius' Treatise about Antichrist was A.D. 1640: that of Hammond's on the New Testament, 1653–1656.

from the infidels, wherever they might be hid: further, in the 6th, a picture of political convulsion and revolution; applicable, first, to the overthrow of the Jewish people; secondly, to that of the Roman empire; thirdly, to what the others might be considered in a manner typical of, that is, the general judgment.

Then to *particulars*.—After an illustration in the 7th chapter of what was said in Seal 5 of the cause of the delay of God’s judgments, by a representation of the sealing of such as were elect unto salvation among the Jews, and also of the salvation of Gentile martyrs innumerable, from out of the empire of Pagan Rome,² the *first four Trumpets*, according to Bossuet, thus depicted the progress of God’s judgments against the Jews. Trumpet 1 showed the primary victory over the Jews by Trajan; Trumpet 2, the victories over them by Adrian; Trumpet 3, and its following star, the impostor Barchochebas, (“son of a star,”) declaring himself the Messiah, and so stirring up his countrymen to the war; Trumpet 4, the obscuration of the Scriptures, especially of the prophetic Scriptures, (which were as *luminaries* to the Jews,) by the compilation of their Talmud: the subjects particularly obscured being Christ who is the sun, and the Church the moon. In all which Trumpets the *third part*, spoken of as affected, meant that not *all* the Jews would be killed, not *all* the light extinguished, &c.—Then the subject passed from the Jews; the 5th Trumpet being one of transition from the Jews to Jewish heresies and errors. For in Trumpet 5 the *scorpion-locusts* were Judaizing heresies introduced into the Christian Church about 196 A.D., soon after Adrian’s destruction of the Jews by Theodotus of Byzantium, and continued onwards to Artemon and Paul of Samosata; heresies concerning the Trinity and Christ’s Divinity: the commission not to *kill*, but only to *torment*, showing that this plague was not one of invading warrior-foes.¹ About A.D. 260 or 270 this woe passed away; the Council of Antioch A.D. 264 ending it. Then, just at that time, Trumpet 6 exhibited the woe of an invading enemy of horsemen from the Euphrates: viz. the Persians; who after a while overthrew, and took captive, the emperor Valerian.

² The incense-angel of Apoc. 8:3, I should observe, Bossuet makes to mean a created angel; and speaks of the idea of its meaning Christ as a mere Protestant interpretation. “Les Protestans, offensés de voir l’intercession angelique si clairement établie dans ce passage, voudraient que cet ange fût Jesus Christ même:” and he says that there is nothing of the majesty that distinguishes Jesus Christ in the visions. (How then, we ask, make the rider of the 1st Seal’s white horse to be Christ; though surely of no distinguished majesty?) Now how little the interpretation he objects to can be called a mere Protestant interpretation will appear from my remark, p. 349 *suprà*. Bossuet, who frequently refers to Tichonius and Primasius, can hardly but have known that it was the almost universally received interpretation for above 1000 years before the Reformation. In order to discriminate where Christ is meant by an Angel, we must, I think, either look for marks of higher dignity than in a created angel; or else for his having some function assigned him, such as is expressly assigned to Christ, and Christ alone, in Scripture. So here: since Jesus Christ is declared in the Hebrews to be the *one* great High Priest, to offer our offerings before God. And observe it is “the prayers of *all* saints” that the Apocalyptic Angel offers; not that of one particular saint, or one particular people: whereas all the functions assigned to *created* angels are *definite* and *limited*.

¹ In illustration of the *scorpion-sting* of the heretics he mentions Tertullian’s entitling of his work against heretics *Scorpiace*.

In Apoc. 10 Bossuet, like Mede, makes the *little book* a prophecy, but only as the remainder of that of the seven-sealed Book, after the 6th Trumpet: the contents being developed in the chapters following.—Thus in Apoc. 11 after the measuring of the temple, or Church, by St. John, indicating that whatever the violence of persecution, there was a temple they could not destroy,—we have then first a general view of Christ’s witnesses and martyrs, during the persecutions of Pagan Rome; some (for example that of the emperor Valerian) lasting near about 3½ years:² though that particular term of time, or its equivalent 42 months, was used rather by borrowing from the history of the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, or the drought under Elias; besides signifying a certain limit of time, ordained by God to one and all of them. Next, and when the Witnesses should have finished their testimony under Pagan Rome, there is the prophecy of Diocletian’s persecution of them, (Diocletian *the Beast from the abyss*,) and temporary suppression of the Christian worship, in the great city of Rome and the Roman empire;¹ followed, however, quickly by a figuration of the revival under Constantine:—the tenth of the great city falling, and 7000 slain, figurative of the overthrow of the Pagan emperors and forces; and the song in heaven, on the 7th Trumpet’s sounding, “The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our God and of his Christ,” having reference to the establishment of Christianity *then* effected in the Roman empire. A more particular figuration of which, and of its consequences, followed in the next chapter. For the male-child of the travelling Woman, or Church, was Constantine and other Christian emperors succeeding him: the war of the Dragon against the Woman before her child-birth being that of the Diocletianic persecution; the war in heaven, immediately afterwards, that which ended in the fall of Paganism under Galerius and Maxentius; the floods cast out of the Dragon’s mouth, when the Woman was fleeing to the desert, that of Maximin; and the Dragon’s next war against the remnant of the Woman’s seed that of Licinius against Constantine. Then, in Apoc. 13 came the figuring of the revival as it were of Diocletian (*the Beast that had killed the Witnesses*) in the apostate *Julian*;² though the 6th head wounded to death was *Maximin*; the *second Beast*, with two lamb-like horns, figuring Julian’s Pagan priests and philosophers, pretending to miracles and moral maxims like those of Christianity; the *image of the Beast*, images of Pagan gods made to speak oracles, &c., by the Pagan priesthood: while the *Beast’s name and number* (here, we see, Bossuet refers to the *original*, not the *revived* Beast) was *Diocles Augustus*.

² “Precisement trois ans et demi.” So, he says, Eusebius.

¹ “C’est Rome, et l’empire Romain.” So Bossuet on Apoc. 11:8. Elsewhere, in a notice of Jurieu in his Preface to the Apocalyptic Comment, he strongly insists on this point. The Protestant expositors, says he, “ont bien vu que cela ne se pouvoit dire:” i.e. that *Jerusalem* could not be called *the great city*. And then he thus insists on the point; “Pour dire quclque chose de plus fort, *la grande cité* est partout dans l’Apocalypse *l’empire Romain*.” § 8. I beg my readers to mark this. Christ, he adds, on Apoc. 11:8, was literally crucified in the Roman empire, and by Roman authority: and he was also spiritually crucified in his persecuted members, during the Roman Pagan persecutions.

² Bossuet, on verse 5, says that the Church is not stated to have now retired into the desert, so as in former persecutions; “parceque du terns de Julien il n’y cut aucune interruption dans son service public.”

Then in Apoc. 14 the prophecy proceeds to announce the fall of Rome and of the Roman empire, through the Gothic invasion. The *harvest*-judgment is that by *Alarie*; the *vintage* that by *Attila*.—The *Vials* trace out the same subject more particularly, and as beginning from an earlier date. The $\epsilon\lambda\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ of the 1st Vial was the great plague in the time of Vulerian and Gallienus; the 2nd Vial figured the bleeding empire, as if dead; the 3rd, the civil wars and thirty tyrants; the 4th, the drought and famine of that period, commemorated by Cyprian; the 5th, Valerian's defeat by the Persians; the 6th, the drying up of the Euphratean barrier, and opening of a passage into the empire to the kings from the East, i. e. the Persians; the *frogs*, the magicians. &c., who urged on Valerian to his fated Armageddon, i. e. the field of battle where he was captured by the Persians; the 7th, on the air, with its earthquake and hail, the capture of Rome by Alaric.

Yet again, Apoc. 17, reveals other important points in this subject, more in detail. The Beast's *seven heads* were Diocletian, Galerius, Maximian, Constantius Chlorus, the four emperors in whose joint names the first Edict of persecution went forth; together with Maxentius, Maximin, and Licinius, three persecuting emperors afterwards added. At the precise time to which the vision related, A.D. 312, five of these *had fallen*, viz. the first-mentioned four and Maxentius: one *was*, viz. Maximin: Licinius, the seventh, *had not yet come*; i. e. as a persecuting emperor. It was further said, "the eighth king is of the seven, and goes into perdition." This was *Maximian*; who was of the original four, but had abdicated; and then became emperor again.—(Julian is not here brought forward by Bossuet.) Further, in this chapter, Apoc. 17:16, 17, there was the very striking prophecy about the *ten horns on the Beast*. They were to give their power to the Beast till the words of God were fulfilled; yet to hate the Harlot, and tear her. So were the Goths, Vandals, &c., long admitted as soldiers into the Roman armies, and as allies into the Roman territory: (does not Bossuet here make the Beast to be *Rome*?) yet did they afterwards tear and desolate the Woman; i.e. ravage Rome and its empire.¹—The *millennium* Bossuet explains as the period of the Church's supremacy² until Antichrist's short reign, on Satan's loosing, near the end of the world:³ the *new heavens, new earth, and new Jerusalem*, as figures of the saints' *heavenly glory*.⁴

¹ Bossuet hints his opinion that Jerome, in naming *ten* Gothic invading peoples, had Apoc. 17:16 in his eye. Pref. to Apoc. § 22. See my p. 324 *suprà*.

² On the difference of this from *Augustine's* theory see my p. 137 *suprà*.

³ I must transcribe Bossnet's short ideal sketch of the future Antichrist: "On doit attendre sous l'Antichrist les signes les plus trompeurs qu'on ait jamais vus; avec la malice la plus cachée, l'hypocrisie la plus fine, et *la peau de loup la mieux couverte de celle des brebis*." (On Apoc. 20:14.) How different from the Futurists' idea of a supposed future *professedly infidel* Antichrist?

⁴ In his *Abregé*, or Brief Summary, appended to the Comment, Bossuet divides the Apocalyptic historic chronology into 3 periods:—1. that of the Church's beginning, and early trials, from Jews and Gentiles: from Apoc. 6 to Apoc. 20:—2ndly, that of the Church's reign on earth, being the millennial period of Apoc. 20:—3rdly, that of Satan's loosing, and the future Antichrist.—Thus Bossuet, like Alcasar, makes the Apocalyptic Beast quite a different power from the Antichrist of prophecy. Only in some certain manner, he intimates in his Preface, § 15, the whole Apocalypse *might possibly* have some secondary and mystical reference to the times of Antichrist.

3. *Vitringa* is the next Apocalyptic Expositor that calls for our notice. He was Theological Professor in the Academy of Franeker for many years, till his death in 1722: and from that petty Dutch town, near the mouth of the Zuyder Zee, sent forth, those masterly and learned works on Isaiah and the Apocalypse, which have always been regarded as placing him on a high rank among Biblical expositors. His Apocalyptic Commentary, under the title of *Ανακρισις Apocalypseos*, was first published at Franeker, A.D. 1705. My notices of it in the body of my work are frequent. Hence the less need of any extended sketch.

SCHEME OF VITRINGA'S SEVEN EPISTLES, TRUMPETS, AND VIALS.				
A.D.	EPISTLES.	SEALS.	TRUMPETS.	A.D.
100	I. <i>Ephrusus</i> . From John to the Decian Persecution, A.D. 96–250.	I. The 150 years of partial peace to the Church from Nerva to Decius, A.D. 96–250.	I. Plague, &c., in R. empire A.D. 250.	100
200				200
300	II. <i>Smyrna</i> . Decian to Diocletian Persecution, inclusive, A.D. 311.	II. Persecutions from Decius to Diocletian.	II. Barbarian Invaders, A.D. 260.	300
400			III. Arius, the falling Star.	
500	III. <i>Pergamos</i> . From the Diocletian Persecution	III. Church discussions and corruptions; especially by the Arians,	IV. Valens, Defeat and Death.	400
600			V. Gothie Invasions of Roman Empire, A.D. 400–553, chiefly.	500
700	to A.D.	Pelagians, &c., to A.D. 800.	VI.	600
800	IV. <i>Thyatira</i> . From A.D. 700,	IV. Desolations of the Church Visible, especially of the Greek Christendom, by the Saracens and Turks.	Desolations of the Roman Empire by the Saracens and the Turks.	700
900	to the rise of the Waldenses, A.D. 1190.			800
1000				900
1100	V. <i>Sardis</i> . From P. Valdensis to the eve of the Great Reformation, A.D. 1517.	V. Persecutions and Martyrdoms of the Waldenses, Bohemians, &c.;		1000
1200				1100
1300	VI <i>Philadelphia</i> . Earlier times of the Reformation, to the establishment of the Protestant Dutch United States.	VI. Judgment on Antichrist.		1200
1400				1300
1500	VII. <i>Laodicea</i> . Subsequent lukewarm state of Protestants.			1400
1600				1500
1700				1600
				1700

Alike the *seven Epistles*, *seven Seals*, and *seven Trumpets*, (though not the *seven Vials*,) were deemed by him to be representations of the successive states and fortunes of the Christian Church, from St. John's time to the consummation: with reference however not to the same, but to very different æras, in the respective septenaries. The Scheme on the opposite page will best exhibit to the eye their mutual relations, in time and subject.⁵ It will be seen that though the main

subject of the *Seals* is made by him the external state of the Church, that of the *Trumpets* the fortunes of the Roman world, connected with the Church, yet they sometimes essentially infringe, so as might have been anticipated, on each other. The third Seal, for example, has the *Arian heresy* for one main part of its subject; and so also the third Trumpet. The fourth Seal refers to the desolations of Greek Christendom by the *Saracens* and *Turks*; and so the sixth Trumpet.— Having elsewhere referred to his *Epistles* and *Seals*,¹ let me here only add an observation or two on his *Trumpets*. It seems to me then, 1st, that his *Gothic reference of the 5th Trumpet* was that which very much fixed his general scheme of the *Trumpets*. Mede's chronological application of the *five months*, or *150 years'* period of the emblematical locusts, to designate the *Saracens'* latest and feeblest ravages,² justly appeared to Vitringa untenable: nor moreover had any satisfactory solution of the locusts' *not touching the grass and trees* appeared in Mede's Saracenic view. But the Gothic ravages, from Alaric to Totilas, did last nearly 150 years. And, if the grass and trees were *figuratively* construed to mean Christians, (professing Christians,) then Alaric's sparing the Christian Churches at Rome, and those who took refuge in them, might be supposed, Vitringa thought, a sufficient and obvious explanation, on the Gothic view, of that clause also. Which being so, he evidently rests with much confidence on this solution of the 5th Trumpet; more so than on almost any other part of his Trumpet Scheme.³ And, this point settled, what preceded the Gothic invasion must of course be ascribed to the Trumpets previous; what followed to those subsequent. So the Saracens, as well as Turks, were crowded necessarily into the sixth Trumpet. Yet not without obvious difficulties and inconsistency. For example, in this *Gothic* application of the 5th Trumpet Vitringa explains the locusts' *hair* being *like women's hair*, with reference to the *personal appearance* of the Goth's yellow hair; (though certainly this was no feminine characteristic among Jews, Greeks, or Romans;) but "*the faces as of men*," he felt unable to explain of personal appearance; and so fell back on the *moral* characteristic, (one surely scarce applicable to the Goths,) of *humanity*.¹—2ndly, as regards "*the third part*," six or seven

⁵ In the *Epistles* it is to be observed that Vitringa explains the "*ten days'* tribulation," predicted to the Church of Smyrna, to mean the *ten years* of the Diocletian persecution.—In the *Seals*, the 3rd Seal's subject must be understood to run 100 years and more into the chronology of the 4th; though I could not represent this in the Scheme.

¹ On the *Epistles* in my Vol. i. p. 77; on the *Seals* in the Appendix to my Vol. i. pp. 549–553.

² See p. 491 *suprà*.

³ So at p. 485 Vitringa argues from the undoubted Gothic application of the 5th Trumpet, to the right meaning of the 4th: "*Gothos enim esse illas locustas quæ sequentis tubicinii viso depinguntur, si Deo placet, clarissimè evincemus.*" And so previously, p. 455.

¹ Vitr. pp. 526, 525.—Compare Jerome's statement on this point, quoted in my Vol. i. p. 436, Note 1.

times noted in the first four Trumpets, he suggests that it might perhaps be intended of one of the three continents of the Roman empire, and so explains it of the *Eastern* or *Asiatic* third in some of the Trumpets: yet in the 4th Trumpet of the *Western* region, and sometimes too rather as meaning *some notable part*:² moreover, after throwing out an idea in the first Trumpet, that the “*land*” might be meant distinctly of the Roman empire, the “*sea*” of the barbarians, construes land, sea, and rivers all alike of Roman Christendom; mainly in a figurative sense, somewhat like Mede.³

In Apoc. 10 Vitringa so far follows Mede as to make the *little book* opened a *Prophetic Section*; not (so as the earlier Reformers) the opened Bible, or New Testament. The special subject however of the new prophecy (herein differing from Mede) being part, he thinks, of the seven-sealed book, he expounds of the increased corruptions of the Church, and the rise, power, and persecuting acts of the Beast in *Western Christendom*, contemporarily with the Turkish woe of the 6th Trumpet:⁴—the *seven thunders* being significant of the seven Crusades; the charge, “*Thou must prophesy again*,” of the prophetic knowledge imparted to, and taught by, Christian ministers under the sixth Trumpet; the *Witnesses prophesying in sackcloth*, (one grand part of this new prophecy,) of the anti-papal testimony from Peter Valdes to the Reformation; their 42 *months* or *3½ years*, being perhaps, so as Scaliger had suggested, on the scale of a *year* for a *century*.⁵ As to the Witnesses’ prefigured *death and resurrection*, it had been already *partially* fulfilled in the four cases following:—viz. 1. in the death of Huss and Jerome, and their revival in the Hussites immediately afterwards, about the time of the 3½ years session of the Council of Constance:⁶ 2. in the massacre of the Waldensic remnant in the Valleys of Cabrieres and Merindol, A.D. 1545: 3. in the anti-protestant Interim of Charles 5th, and Prince Maurice’s quickly-following victory and consequent treaty of Passau:¹ 4. in the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and the Edict of Toleration obtained from Henry III within four years after.²

² Vitr. pp. 456, 463, 476, 487, 550.

³ See my Vol. i. p. 355: a passage referred to also by me at p. 491 *suprà*.

⁴ p. 568.

⁵ “*Quàm hoc doctè et piè cogitatum!*” exclaims Vitringa, at p. 620, in reporting this explanation of the 1260 days of the Witnesses prophesying in sackcloth, suggested by Scaliger. He adds, however, that he cannot think of any scriptural justification of it; unless what is said in Gen. 15:10–13 might be deemed such: where, the sacrifices having been divided into four parts to the four winds, the time prophesied of is stated to be 400 years.—Vitringa seems not to have been aware of Tichonius’ similar idea. Sec p. 333 *suprà*.

⁶ p. 652. So Foxe. See p. 461 *suprà*. Vitringa, p. 657, notices Cocceius as having taken this view; and, in connexion, explaining the tenth of the city falling of France under Henry IV.; (when however, as Vitringa justly observes, Papal Gaul did not fall, but Henry became a Papist;) and the 7000 slain of the 7 Belgian states and bishoprieks: the latter like myself. Sec my Vol. ii. p. 481, Note 3.

¹ Like Brightman. See p. 470 *suprà*.

² p. 664.

Vitriuga notices Jurieu's views also;³ calculating the slaughter of the Witnesses from the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, or some other persecuting act following it up: which view, however, had not so far been verified by any such rising of the Witnesses, or Protestant revolution in France, as Jurieu had expected. And, on the whole, Vitringa inclined to look to the prophecy as being one up to his own time still mainly unfulfilled.—I may observe that he considered that the *tenth part of the great city*, which fell concurrently with the two witnesses' ascent, ought to be construed to mean one of the ten kingdoms of Papal Christendom. Which being so, how was it that the fall of Papal England did not fix itself more deeply in his mind, as an indication of the intent of the whole prophecy?⁴ After this, and the Witnesses' political ascent, Vitringa expected that the 6th Trumpet's or Turkish woe (in the which all about the rainbow-crowned angel's descent, and witnesses' death and resurrection, had been included) would cease;⁵ and the sounding of the 7th Trumpet introduce God's judgment on the enemies of the Church, and the blessed times predicted by all the prophets.

In Apoc. 12 the vision of the *Dragon and Woman* is expounded, 1. of Diocletian's persecution, followed by Constantine's establishment of Christianity; the Dragon's seven heads (like those of the Beast) symbolizing both Rome's seven hills, and the seven persecuting emperors of that period, Diocletian, &c.: (such is his view of the allusion in the clause, "and they are seven kings:") 2. of the Arian persecutions of orthodox Christians after the fall of Paganism:—both explanations very much as in my *Horæ*. But the *wilderness*, into which the Woman then fled, Vitringa makes otherwise to mean the barbarous nations of the West;¹ and the *waters cast by the Dragon* after the Woman, the Saracen inundation, swallowed up in France on occasion of the victory of Charles Martel.—In Apoc. 13., after a somewhat elaborate notice and refutation of Bossuet's explanation of the *first Beast*, agreeably with certain Protestants, as meaning *Rome Pagan*, Vitringa interprets it of *Rome Papal*: its *seven heads* however not including heads of the old Roman empire as well as of Rome Papal, so as had been generally thought by Protestants; but only heads of it in its last Papal form. So he makes the five first to be five most eminent Popes before the Reformation; (the Reformation æra being the point of time to which the Angel's words, "*five have fallen*," is to

³ p. 668. See p. 497 *suprà*.

⁴ Vitringa, p. 647. The opinion is thus exprest. "Quid commodius quàm per το δεκατον της πολεως hie intelligere *regnum aliquod illustre*, quod *inter decem regna, Europæa*, religionis causâ Romæ subjecta, excellbat, ejusque hactenus superstitioni fuerat patrociniatum? Id hie *casurum* dicitur mystico sensu, quando per majorcs illos motus quibus concutiendum erat, *avelleretur à corpore Imperii Anti-christiani*. Caderet sic eorum respectu in quorum gratiam hactenus steterat et florucrat."

I quote this, because, as Vitringa believed the event still future, it gives his *un-biassed* opinion on the real meaning of this prophetic clause: and strikingly confirms my application of it to the fall of Papal England at the Reformation. So too Jurieu, p. 497 *suprà*.

⁵ p. 649.

¹ p. 745. The 1260 days, or 3½ times, of the persecuted Woman's destined seclusion there he does not attempt to explain on Sealiger's measure, previously praised by him, of one time = 100 years; but only as a period borrowed from the 3½ years of Antiochus Epiphanius' profanation of the temple.

be referred;) viz. Gregory VII, Alexander III, (wounded to death by Fred. Barbarossa, but soon revived,) Innocent III, Boniface VIII, (the Beast's middle head,) and John XXII:² the sixth and seventh being two Popes after the Reformation, viz. Paul III and Paul V; while the eighth and last was the one that would be ruling at Rome at the time, yet future, of the last persecution. The *second Beast* Vitringa explains, after many of the old as well as the then more recent expositors, to signify Papal preachers and doctors, especially the Franciscans and Dominicans: the *Beast's image* as the tribunals of the Inquisition.³ Of the Beast's *name and number* Λατειονς was deemed by him almost too simple a solution; and he proposes some strange far-fetched Hebrew phrases from Scripture, which it is not worth while to repeat.⁴

I pass to Apoc. 14 Here the 144,000 are explained of the Waldenses and Albigenses: the *harpers*, next noted as sympathizing with the 144,000, of the Wiclifites and Hussites: the *first flying Angel*, that had the everlasting Gospel, of Luther, Zuingle, and the other Fathers of the Reformation: the *second*, of the Reformers' voice of triumph over the Popedom at the time of the Treaty of Passau, in the second period of the Reformation, and the disruption of the English Church from Rome:¹ the *third*, of the Protestant doctors in the third period of the Reformation; at a time of affliction to Christ's Church, such as even then partially existed, especially with reference to France and the French Reformed Churches.—In entering on the *Vials* in Apoc. 16, Vitringa acknowledges the plausibility of Launeus' opinion, that these Vials were all contained in, and the development of, the 7th Trumpet: Launeus having noted, 1. that these were the *last* plagues, and the 7th Trumpet the *last and finishing* woe; 2. the fact of the temple (the heavenly temple, says Launeus, in the same sense of heavenly as when applied to the heavenly Jerusalem) appearing opened introductorily to their effusion, just as it was described in Apoc. 11:19, as appearing at the sounding of the 7th Trumpet; 3. their answering, on this view, to the type of the seven compassings of Jericho on the 7th day; besides that, 4thly, Launeus thought the 5th Vial on the seat of the Beast looked very much like the blow on the Papacy at the Reformation.² But Vitringa could not make up his mind to suppose all these Vials future; so as he felt sure the 7th Trumpet's sounding was. And consequently he explains all the five earlier Vials, if not six, as already fulfilled in certain judgments on the Popedom. Thus the 1st, that of the *grievous sore's* appearing, he traces in the Waldensian exposure of the deep corruption of the Papacy; the 2nd, that of the *sea becoming blood*, in the bloody wars between the Emperors and Popes, more especially from the times of Frederic II and Lewis of Bavaria;³ the 3rd, that of the *rivers being blood*, in the Hussite and Bohemian wars under Zisca, &c.; the 4th, on *the sun*, (the regal emblem,) in the great heat with which the two French kings Charles VIII and Louis XII had scorched Italy; the 5th, on *the seat of the Beast*, in the darkening of the Popedom by the

² pp. 794, 805.

³ p. 833.

⁴ p. 848.

¹ p. 876.

² pp. 936–938.

³ p. 946. Frederic II. made emperor A.D. 1212; Lewis 1314.

Reformation, and taking and sack of Rome by the constable Bourbon. In the 6th Vial Vitringa curiously explains the Euphrates' drying up of the exhaustion of the power of France, as the chief bulwark of the Papal Roman empire;⁴ an event perhaps even then begun, by the banishment of its multitude of industrious Protestant citizens at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The *three frogs*, issuing forth contemporaneously, he supposes to mean the Jesuits: and expounds the 7th Vial, on the air, as typifying the dissolution of both the political and the ecclesiastical Papal empire.¹

On the Apocalyptic *millennium* Vitringa adopts the view that had just before for the first time been propounded by his contemporary *Whitby*, to whom indeed he refers;² an alternative view to the two between which opinions had been hitherto divided, of the greatest importance; viz. the old chiliastic of the earliest Fathers, and the Augustinian:—a view which regarded it as a *spiritual millennium, yet future*; one in which the world would be thoroughly evangelized; and the Church, the bride, assume a character over the whole earth answering to the description of the New Jerusalem.

On the whole, Vitringa seems to me by no means to have contributed *directly* to the solution of the many previously remaining difficulties of the Apocalypse, so much as from his ability and various learning one might have anticipated. Indeed, his explanations are often singularly arbitrary and unsatisfactory. *Indirectly* however the value of his Commentary has doubtless been considerable: illustrating each subject handled, as he has, by a wide-ranging erudition, alike in secular and ecclesiastical, Hebraic and Greek literature; and often applying a just and acute criticism to show the untenableness of opinions, more or less plausible, adopted by expositors of note before him.

4. And it is chiefly in this indirect way also, if I mistake not, that *Daubuz's* almost contemporary, and yet more copious, Comment, contributed to the advancement of the Apocalyptic science. For it is a Commentary quite redundant with multifarious research and learning.³—It is to be understood that Daubuz was by birth a French Protestant; found refuge in England on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes; there took orders in the Anglican Church; and, while Vicar of Brotherton near Ferrybridge in Yorkshire, wrote his "Perpetual Commentary on the Apocalypse," which was first published in a solid folio, A.D. 1720. The following may serve as an abstract in brief of his opinions. The reader of my *Horæ* must already have formed a measure of acquaintance with him.

The *seven Epistles* then he explains, not like Vitringa as prophetic; but in the natural way, as depicting the actual state of the seven Asiatic Churches respectively: albeit with application to the Church Universal, in its earthly suffering state, to the end of time.

⁴ p. 973.

¹ See Vitringa's opinion on this point quoted at p. 24 of the present Volume.

² "Observavi aliunde cùm voluptate nuper hoc urgmentum accuratè esse pertraetatum ab erudito quodam viro, (sc. Danicle Whitby,) cujus sententiæ à nostris nihil dissident." Vitringa, p. 1441.

³ There has been published an abridgment of Daubuz, I think, by a writer named *Lancaster*: but it can give no idea of the research and learning of the original.

In the *Seals* Daubuz, though admitting A.D. 95 or 96 to be the year of the Revelation's having been given to St. John, yet antedates the subject of the 1st Seal; and makes its *white horse* and *rider* depict the victorious progress of Christ's gospel, even from his ascension. Thus he is enabled to explain the *red horse* in the 2nd Seal of the wars by which Jerusalem and the Jews were destroyed, from A.D. 66 to A.D. 135; including as well the Jewish wars of Vespasian and Titus, as those of Trajan and Adrian. The 3rd Seal, beginning A.D. 202, he expounds of scarcities begun in the reign and æra of Severus,¹ much as Brightman before him; the 4th (like Brightman also) of the Decian and Valerian æra of war, famine, and pestilence; the 5th (as Mede, &c.) of the Diocletian persecution; the 6th of the Constantinian Revolution, and fall of Paganism from its supremacy in the Roman empire.—Then comes the first considerable peculiarity in Daubuz's Commentary. He explains both the Sealing Vision and the Palm-bearing Vision of the happy constitution of the Church under God's sealing Angel, *Constantine*: a Church including both many converted Israelites, and multitudes innumerable of Gentiles; now alike admitted, from out of times of great tribulation, to the peaceful enjoyment of Church-privileges:—a peace and liberty this, further indicated by the *half-hour's silence*, or stillness from hostility, at the opening of the 7th Seal; and its accompanying representation of an act of peaceful public worship.

The *Trumpets*, which Daubuz supposes to mark a new period, following on, not contained in, the 7th Seal,² are explained by him mainly as by Mede and Jurieu, of the desolations and fall, first of the Western empire, then the Eastern; under the assaults successively of the Goths, Saracens, and Turks. More particularly he thus divides the four first:—1. Alaric's ravages from A.D. 395 to 409: 2. Alaric's capture of Rome, A.D. 410, and the ravages of Gaul and Spain by the Goths and Vandals: 3. Attila's ravages, 412–152, A.D.: 4. the fall of the Western Empire under Genseric and Odoacer, from 454 to 476.—In the 5th Trumpet he made an important step of advance, as I conceive, in true Apocalyptic interpretation, by explaining the locusts' *five months*, or 150 *days*, of the 150 years from Mahomet's public opening of his mission, A.D. 612, to the Saracen Caliph's removal to Bagdad, "the City of Peace," A.D. 762. On the other hand, he seems to me to have retrograded by not adopting Mede's definite chronological view of the *hour*, *day*, *month*, and *year*, predicted of the Euphratean horsemen; but explaining it, like some before him, as if only meaning that the four angels were all ready at *one and the same hour*, or *time*.

The Vision in Apoc. 10 he applies, even more distinctly than the early Reforming Expositors themselves, to the great Lutheran Reformation: with the peculiar notion added of its figured Angel signifying *Luther*, as the Angel of the sealing vision had figured Constantine; and the *seven answering thunders* to his voice being those of the seven States that received and established Protestantism within them: viz. 1. the German Protestant States; 2. the Swiss Cantons; 3. Sweden; 4. Denmark; 5. England; 6. Scotland; 7. the Dutch Netherlands: John's sealing up the thunders intimating a *stop* to the progress of the Reformation, soon after the times of Luther, and the first sounding of those thunders.—"Thou must prophesy again," was a charge given to Protestants at

¹ Καὶ τὸ ἐλαίον καὶ τὸν οἶνον μὴ ἀδικήσῃς he renders, like Mede, Heinrichs, and myself, "Thou shalt not *do wrong about* the oil and wine."

² p. 347.

the time of the Reformation, as represented by St. John. And so too the *measuring of the temple*:¹ the outer court given to the Gentiles indicating that there would still exist paganized Christians, to tread the holy city: and “both the reformed and the corrupted Christians keeping to their own lots (separately), till the term of the 42 months is lapsed since the Gentiles began.”² The clause ὅταν τελεσῶσιν, &c., “when they shall have finished, or completed their testimony,” Daubuz construes, “*whilst they shall perform it*,” and so the 3½ As days of their apparent death as equivalent to the 1260 days, or whole period of their prophesying in sackcloth. He cites in illustration Rom. 8:36; “For thy sake we are killed all the day long; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter.” But the Greek of the original forbids the translation. Construing the passage as he does there is no special historical explanation needed, or offered by him, so as by Foxe, Brightman, or Jurieu, of the Witnesses’ death and resurrection.—“And *the same hour* there was a great earthquake, &c.,” he interprets to mean the same hour as that of the *measuring the temple*; in other words, that of the Lutheran Reformation. And the predicted fall of a tenth of the great city in it is explained to be the fall of the Greek State under the Ottoman Turks; this having been a part of the old Roman empire for some centuries, and one of the Beast’s ten horns in Daubuz’ view afterwards:¹ a fall begun indeed A.D. 1453, but advancing to completion by the Turks’ subjugation of Rhodes and Cyprus in the years 1522, 1570; not to note that of Candia much later, A.D. 1669. The 7th Trumpet, yet future, Daubuz explains as the signal trumpet of the resurrection of the just; that same that is spoken of by Paul in 1 Cor. 15:51:—that too which would introduce a time when God’s Church would be freed from all idolatry and oppression, and a full accomplishment of all his designs made manifest; the one being symbolized by the opening of the temple in heaven; the other by the ark of the covenant appearing.² All evidently with reference to the times of the millennium.

In Apoc. 12 he interprets the vision of the travailing Woman and Dragon, much as others before him; with reference to the crisis of the Diocletian persecution, and Constantine’s immediately following elevation to a Christian throne, and casting down of Paganism from its supremacy in the Roman empire.³ Only of the Dragon’s *seven heads* he offers a peculiar solution. These were the *chief subjugated kingdoms*, or rather *their capital cities*, which then constituted the Roman empire: the metropolises of Italy, of the Carthaginian empire, of the kingdom of Greece, of that of Mithridates, of that of Gaul and Britain, of Egypt, and finally Thrace; this last Byzantium, or Constantinople.—The flood out of the Dragon’s mouth he explains to be the Goths; the two eagle’s wings helping the Woman, the Roman Christianized Eastern and Western empires. Then in Apoc. 13 the *first Beast* is the *deem-regal Republic* of Western Christendom,¹

¹ p. 496.

² p. 501.

¹ pp. 537, 538.

² p. 554.

³ p. 520 on Apoc. 12 (N. B. on Apoc. 12 a wrong paging commences in Daubuz; the first being 481, instead of 565.)

¹ Here, p. 556, Daubuz notes *Whiston’s* list of the ten kings, as one that had preceded his.

under *Rome* as its head; Rome the earliest head of the Dragon, excised by the Gothic invaders, but revived under the Popes. The Beast's 42 *months* of supremacy Daubuz reckons from the fall of the Western Emperor, A.D. 476, and consequently as to end in 1736.² The *second Beast* is the Beast Ecclesiastical, or False Prophet; its two horns being the Roman Popes, and the Constantinopolitan Patriarchs. The Pope himself is the *Beast's image*,³ as representing the Beast's power; the *name* and *number* תרמ"ב, in the feminine; i. e. the Roman Church.⁴

In Apoc. 14, as in Apoc. 7, Daubuz interprets its primary vision of the 144,000 to mean the *Constantinian Church*, especially as gathered together at Nice in Council: its bishops there gathered being to the exact number of 318, the number answering to IHT, the abbreviation for Jesus Christ crucified, or *mark of the Lamb* on the foreheads of the 144,000 in vision.⁵ Further he explains the *1st flying Angel* of Vigilantius' and Augustine's warnings against the increasing superstitions and coming judgments;⁶ the *2nd* of the cry on the actual destruction of old Rome (here meant by Babylon) by the Goths; the *3rd* of warnings against the Beast, whose empire was now about to be established, especially that by Gregory i.⁷ also the *harvest* as meaning the reformation of the Church, which had separated the good corn from the earth; and the *vintage*, of the wars and victories in Queen Anne's time over the Papists.⁸—Then in the *Vials* there was, he thought, a retrogression again to early times. The plague of *Vial 1* was the noisome sore of outbreaking superstition in the image-worship that more and more established itself, from the seventh to the tenth century; *Vial 2* the earlier crusades; *Vial 3* the later; *Vial 4* the wars of Popes and Emperors; *Vial 5* the taking of Constantinople by the Latins, and the Popes' removal from Rome to Avignon; *Vial 6* the drying up of the power of the Eastern or Greek empire, which was, as it were, the Euphratean barrier to Christendom; and thereby a preparation for the kings from the East, or Turks. The *three frogs*, issuing forth coincidentally, are explained of the secular Papal clergy, the monks, and the religious orders of knights of the time. *Vial 7* on the air, or power of the Devil, depicted the Reformation by Luther: the great city being tripartited about this time into the Greeks, the Latin Papists, and the Protestants.¹

Finally, in Apoc. 19. Daubuz interprets the hallelujahs and thunderings heard on the fall of Babylon, (i.e. here of *Papal Rome*,) to indicate the conversion of the Jews, and incoming of the fulness of the Gentiles: explains the *first resurrection* in Apoc. 20 literally, of the saints and martyrs rising from the dead, and millennial reign with Christ: also the *New Jerusalem* as the

² p. 620.

³ 592.

⁴ 611.

⁵ pp. 624, 325. A very curious application of the $\iota\sigma\psi\eta\phi\alpha$! On which see my Vol. iii. p. 243.

⁶ p. 630.

⁷ p. 637.

⁸ pp. 616, 664.

¹ p. 733.

habitation and state of the Church *after the resurrection of the saints*, both during the millennium and afterwards; the Church being in the saints' *mortal state betrothed* to Christ; but after the resurrection his *γυνή*, or *wife*.²

5. *Sir I. Newton's* brief Apocalyptic Comment, appended to his Treatise on Daniel, was not published, I believe, till the year 1733; six years after his death. It seems, however, to have been written some considerable time before; his thoughts having been seriously directed to these prophecies as early as 1691.³ Brief as is the comment, being of not much more than seventy pages, it yet contains much valuable matter, and exhibits much careful and original thought; so as might have been expected from such an author. Alike on the Seals and Trumpets he expresses his *general* agreement with Mede. But certain differences occur. 1st, as regards the Seals, he expounds the rider in the first Seal, as well as in the three next, not of *Christ*, but of *Roman emperors*.⁴ (I presume with reference to the triumphs of Vespasian and Titus, as I shall have to observe again presently:) also he makes the limits of the 4th Seal to range from Decius to Diocletian's accession. He agrees with Mede in making the sealing of the 114,000 synchronize with the visions that followed on opening the 7th Seal. Again, in regard of Mede's view of the seventh Seal, as comprehending the seven Trumpets, Sir Isaac adds, *and also the half-hour's previous stillness from the, threatened four winds of heaven*: (the same that were let loose afterwards under the four first Trumpets:) which stillness he explains *historically* of the respite during Theodosius's reign, from 380 A.D. to 395:¹ an important approximation, I conceive, to the true meaning.²—2. Dissatisfied with Mede's particular and somewhat fanciful distribution of the

² p. 967.

³ In the biographical Notic of Sir I. Newton in the British Cyclopædia, a letter of his is given, dated Cambridge, Feb. 7, 1690–1, containing the following extract: "I should be glad to have your judgment on some of my mystical fancies. The Son of Man, Dan. 7, I take to be the same with the Word of God upon the white horse in heaven, Apoc. 19; for both are to rule the nations with a rod of iron. But whence are you certain that the Ancient of Days is Christ?"

⁴ He says indeed at p. 278 (of Edit. 1733); "The four horsemen, at the opening of the four first seals, have been well explained by Mr. Mede:" who made, we have seen, the first horseman to be *Christ*. But this was a mere lapse of the pen. For Sir I. expressly elsewhere gives to the first Seal, as well as to the other three, a *Roman* solution. So p. 256; "The visions at the opening of these (the first four) Seals relate only to the civil affairs of the heathen Roman empire." At p. 274 he speaks of "the wars of the Roman empire, during the reign of the four horsemen that appeared on the opening the first four Seals:" and at p. 277; "The Dragon's heads are seven successive kings; four of them being the four horsemen, which appeared at the opening of the four first seals." So too p. 278. (I cite from the Reprint in the Investigator.)

¹ "These wars [at the beginning of which Valens perished] were not fully stopped on all sides till the beginning of the reign of Theodosius, A.D. 379, 380; but henceforward the empire remained quiet from foreign enemies, till his death A.D. 395. So long the four winds were held; and so long there was silence in heaven." He adds; "And the 7th Seal was opened when this silence began." Pp. 294, 295.

² Till my present abstracting of Sir I. Newton's Treatise, I had not been aware of the near resemblance of my own views on the *holding of the winds* and the *half-hour's silence* to Sir I. Newton's. See my Vol. i. pp.

Gothic ravages over the four first Trumpets, he makes the distinction of the four winds the principle of distinction in them; 1st, as figuring Alarie's ravages on the Greek provinces *East* of Rome; 2nd, as the Visigoths' and Vandals' on the *Western* Gallic and Spanish provinces; 3rd, as the desolations of *Southern* Africa by the Vandal wars, from Genseric down to Belisarius; 4th, as the Ostrogothic and Lombard wars in *Northern* Italy.³—3. In the 5th Trumpet he thinks the double mention of the locusts' *quinquemensal* period of tormenting, in verses 5 and 10 of Apoc. 9, may be meant to signify two periods of 150 years each, as the times of the Saracens.⁴—4. The Turks' *hour, day, month, and year* he calculates as 390 years; not 396, as Mede: viz. from Alp Arslan's first conquering on the Euphrates, A.D. 1063, to the fall of Constantinople, in 1453.⁵

In Apoc. 12 and 13 Sir I. Newton generally agrees with Mede; explaining Apoc. 12 of the times of Diocletian and Constantine,⁶ Apoc. 13 of those of the Latin Papal empire: the first Beast being this Latin Papal decem-regal empire; its name and number $\Lambda\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$;¹ the second Beast however (a singular explanation!) the *Greek Church*.²—And then he intimates peculiar structural views on the *seven Epistles, seven Vials, and little Book*. The *Epistles* he adjusts to the states and times of the Church indicated in the figurations of the *Seals* that followed: the particulars being as stated below.³ The *Vials* ought, he judges, to have been made synchronal with, and explanatory of, the *Trumpets*. The *little Book* he considers, like Mede, to be a new prophecy; the Angel-Vision of

258. 324, 325. Only I judge the time of silence intended to have begun at Theodosius' *death*, not his *accession*.

³ Sir I. Newton, pp. 296–302.

⁴ "About five months," he says, "at Damascus, and five at Bagdad;" altogether 300 years, from A.D. 637 to 936 inclusive, lb. 305.

⁵ p. 307.

⁶ 279–281.

¹ Pp. 282–284.—Sir I. Newton gives us in his connected Treatise on Daniel historical abstracts illustrating the division of the ten kingdoms, and progress of the Papal power in respect of imperial law and historic fact, so careful and valuable, that no Apocalyptic student should be without them. I have referred to them in my Vol. iii. at pp. 141, 160, and elsewhere.

² "The second Beast, which rose up out of the earth, was the Church of the Greek empire." P. 283. In the distinction of *earth* and *sea*, he elsewhere makes the *earth* the Greek empire. So p. 281.

³ The Epistle to *Ephesus* Sir I. Newton makes to depict the state of the Church previous to the fifth Seal, and before Diocletian's persecution; when the only "somewhat" of charge against it was, "Thou hast left thy first love:"—that to *Smyrna*, with its *ten days' tribulation*, had reference to Diocletian's persecution, depicted in the 5th Seal:—those to *Pergamos, Thyatira, and Sardis*, wherein mention is made of the heresies and evils of Balaam and the woman Jezebel, and of the Church's works not having been found perfect before God, figured the gradual apostasy under Constantine and Constantius:—that to *Philadelphia*, the faithful under Julian's persecution:—that to *Laodicea*, the Church's subsequent lukewarmness, so increased as that God would spue it out of his mouth; a state answering to the development of the apostasy soon after the opening of the 7th Seal, or at the end of the 4th century.

Apoc. 10 being an introduction to it: but that, as being sweet *when first tasted*, and *after-wards* bitter, its commencement should be considered as agreeing with Apoc. 12, and the glorious prefiguration there given of the fall of Paganism in the Roman empire; the sequel of it being the bitter times of the Beast's 1260 years, and the Witnesses' prophesying in sackcloth.⁴

Besides all which, I wish to direct particular attention to two characteristic and important points in this Comment of Sir I. Newton; the one regarding the distant past, the other the then quickly coming future. 1. He, first of Expositors, if I mistake not, instituted a careful and critical investigation into the evidence external and internal of the *date* of the Apocalypse;⁵ inferring it thence to be coincident with Nero's persecution, not Domitian's: incorrectly, however, as I think I have proved.¹ Which being supposed, a *Roman* explanation was obvious of the 1st Seal, in harmony with Mede's *Roman* explanation of the 2nd; this latter having reference to the wars of Trajan and Adrian.—2. He insists, with regard to the so far evident imperfection of the understanding of the Apocalypse and of some of Daniel's prophecies, that it was itself a thing foreseen and predicted; Daniel having been directed to *seal up* his last prophecy till *the time of the end*. And he adds that this time of the end was Apocalyptically marked as that of the 7th Trumpet, at whose sounding the mystery of God should be finished: (the preaching of the everlasting Gospel to all nations being further marked, both in the Apocalypse and in Christ's prophecy, as a preliminary sign accompanying it:) and that the measure of success, albeit imperfect, that had crowned the prophetic researches of the immediately preceding age, seemed to him an evidence that the last "main revolution" predicted, when all would be explained, was "near at hand."²—I must add, not from his own published Comment, but from Whiston's, the further remarkable fact, that Sir Isaac expressed a strong persuasion,—with reference of course to the expected "main revolution" of the seventh Trumpet, wherein "they were to be destroyed that destroyed or corrupted the earth,"—that the antichristian or persecuting power of the Popedom, which had so long corrupted Christianity, must be put a stop to, and broken to pieces, by the prevalence of *infidelity*, for some time before primitive Christianity could be restored.³

⁴ Pp. 271, 272.

⁵ At the beginning of his Apocalyptic Treatise, pp. 236–246. *Grotius*, if I remember right, took Epiphanius' *Claudian* date simply on Epiphanius' authority. *Alcasar* had taken the *Domitianic*.

¹ Viz. in my opening Treatise on the Date of the Apocalypse, Vol. i. p. 34, and the additional notice on it, p. 533, in the Appendix to that Volume.

² "The time is not yet come for understanding the old prophets, (which he that would understand must begin with the Apocalypse,) because the main revolution predicted in them is not yet come to pass. *In the days of the voice of the seventh Angel* the mystery of God shall be finished.... Among the interpreters of the last age there is scarce one of note who hath not made some discovery worth knowing; whence I seem to gather that God is about opening these mysteries." Pp. 252, 253.

³ "Sir I. Newton had a very sagacious conjecture, which he told Dr. Clarke, from whom I received it, that the overbearing tyranny and persecuting power of the Antichristian party, which hath so long corrupted Christianity, and enslaved the Christian world, must be put a stop to, and broken to pieces, by the prevalence of infidelity, for some time before primitive Christianity could be restored:"—which, adds

Which anticipation, fulfilled as it was soon after in the facts and character of the expected great Revolution, when it actually broke out, must surely be deemed not a little remarkable.

6. The Apocalyptic "Essay" by *Whiston* (Newton's successor in the Mathematical Professorship at Cambridge) was first published, as appears from the date appended to Whiston's original Preface, in the year 1706: a second Edition followed in 1744, under Whiston's own eye, improved and corrected.¹—The following points in it appear to me deserving of notice. While strongly contending for the *Domitianic* date of the Apocalypse, he yet explains the 1st *Seal* retrospectively of Christ's triumphing in *Vespasian and Titus' overthrow of Jerusalem*; the other Seals as *Mede, Jurieu, and Newton*.—In the *Trumpets*, dissatisfied like Newton with *Mede's* vague principle of distribution, he takes another, and I think better plan, for giving definiteness and precision to the several shares of the several Trumpets in the Gothic ravages: his principle being drawn from the *third part* said to be affected; which he construes as the *European* part of the empire, (in contrast with the *African* and *Asiatic*,) and the *land, sea, and rivers*, literally taken, that are specified in it. Thus the subjects of Trumpets 1, 2, and 3 are made respectively to be the ravages of *Alaric and Rhadagaisus* in the *landward* interior, those of the *Vandals and Goths* on the *maritime* European parts, and those of *Attila* on the European *rivers*; (the last a real advance, as I conceive, to the truth;²) the quenching of the third part of the *sun, i. e. imperial sun, &c.*, being that of *Odoacer*.—In the 5th Trumpet, after other previously given solutions of the locusts' *five months*, he at length concludes on the reading being faulty, and *St. John* having written $\epsilon\ \mu\eta\nu\alpha\varsigma$, not ϵ ; i. e. 15, not 5: 450 years measuring the whole duration of the *Saracens*, till their entire supersession by the *Turks*.³ (Whiston does not seem to have been acquainted with *Daubuz'* simple and satisfactory solution of these five months.)⁴—In his exposition of the *Turks' "hour, day, month, and year,"* the exactness of the astronomer appears. Asserting that *Othman* could not be properly recognized as *Sultan* till the *Hutbe* prayers had been put up for him in the mosques, and that this was first done for *Othman* May 19, 1301, he calculates the prophetic period of an hour, day, month, and year, or 396 years 106 days, as reaching to *Sept. 1, 1697, O.S.*: the very date of *Prince Eugene's* great victory over the *Turks*, which was followed by the peace of *Carlowitz*.¹—On the *Beast* of *Apoc. 13*. Whiston, after suggesting that the *7th head*, which was to continue for but a short time, might be the *five emperors* noted by *Lactantius* as reigning over the Roman world just before *Constantine's* victories, (another approximation, I conceive, towards

Whiston, writing A.D. 1744, "seems to be the very means that is now working in Europe for the same good and great end of Providence." (2nd Ed. p. 321.)

¹ Whiston died A.D. 1752.—The title-page of his *Essay's* 2nd Edition bears date, London 1744; Whiston's own conclusion of its 3rd Part, at p. 324, Jan. 20, 1743–4. A little before his death he drew up a brief *Addendum* to his Second Edition, occupying in my copy of that Edition from p. 325 to 332; and bearing date at the end, May 7, 1750.

² This view has been followed in the main by *Bieheno* and *Keith*. I have also myself mainly adopted it.

³ P. 196.

⁴ Whiston's 1st Edition, being published in 1706, was before *Daubuz*.

¹ All this has been closely followed by *Mr. Faber* in his *Sacred Calendar*. See his Vol. ii. p. 293–301.

the truth,) makes the *8th head* to be that of the *ten kings* of the revived Romano-Gothic Empire; these *ten kings* being as it were a revival of the old *decem-viral* head:²—an original idea this, that I have not seen elsewhere.³—The Papal supremacy he dates distinctly (and quotes Archbishop Laud affirming the same) from Phocas's Decree A.D. 606.⁴—Besides all which points what I deem particularly to be noted in Whiston is his strong stand against Mede's classification of the *Vials*: and assertion that on every principle of consistency and congruity of things, as the seven Trumpets are reckoned to be contained in, and the evolution of, the seventh Seal,—so the seven Vials ought to be deemed contained in, and the evolution of, the seventh Trumpet. A very important and surely most obvious step of progress.⁵

7. And so we advance nearer and nearer to the epoch of the great French Revolution.—I do not purpose stopping at the names of *Bengel* and *Bishop Newton*, Winston's immediate Protestant successors: who, publishing about the middle of the 18th century,⁶ served as connecting links in Germany and England, between the generation of Apocalyptic expositors just described, and those on whom the French Revolution broke; that epoch of a new æra. *Bengel's* most characteristic principle, viz. of expounding the prophetic periods in the Apocalypse on the scale of a prophetic day to 15 years,⁷ is so totally and plainly arbitrary and groundless, that no one can now think of attaching weight to it; highly valued though Bengel himself must be for learning and piety. And, as for *Bishop Newton's* Treatise, it is too universally known to need description; besides that, however valuable as a compendium, (and I deem it eminently so,) it does yet scarcely put forth any original thoughts on the subject handled.—Nor again will the *Roman Catholic* Comment of *Bishop Walmsley*, that soon after followed, need any more to detain us; it being already pretty much forgotten by Romanists themselves.¹—But it does need, I think,

² Compare Mr. Cuninghame's View noticed in my Vol. iii. p. 121.

³ P. 126.

⁴ Pp. 275–277. Prof. M. Stuart (i. 469) is thus incorrect in saying that Whiston assigned the year 1766 as that of Christ's second coming.

⁵ So Launæus. See p 512 *suprà*; also p. 494.

⁶ Bengel, A.D. 1740: (died 1752:) Bishop Newton, A.D. 1754.

⁷ His fundamental principle, one altogether conjectural, was that the Beast's number 666, construed of *years*, must equal the Beast's numeral period 42 months; in other words, that one prophetic month = $666/42 = 15 \frac{6}{7}$ years. Hence, after various calculations, he inferred that the year 1836 would be the year of the final and great crisis; an expectation, I need not observe, never realized.

¹ It was published under the fictitious name of Signor Pastorini in the year 1771: was in 1778 translated into French by a Benedictine of St. Maur, and into Latin and German soon after. Its principle is, that the Seals, Trumpets, and Vials all relate to the same seven ages of the Church: 1. the first 300 years of the Christian æra, to Constantine, the age of Christian purity; 2. the next 100 years, marked by the Arian heresy; 3. from 406 to 620 A.D., marked by God's judgments on ancient Rome and the Western Empire; 4. from 620 to 1520 marked by three great events,—viz. the rise of Mahomet and Mahomedanism, the schism of the Greek Church, and the consequent judgments on it in the fall of Constantinople; whereon,

that I call attention to the *German Præterist School* that was about this time rising more and more into notice and influence: a School characterized by considerable mental acuteness, research, and philological learning; and at the same time by much of the hardihood and rashness of religious scepticism. I therefore at once proceed to it.

8. As early then as Bengel's time, the celebrated Genevese writer, *Firmin Abauzit*,² their precursor and harbinger, had published a work entitled *Discours Historique sur l' Apocalypse*, written to show that the canonical authority of the Apocalypse was doubtful. On reading Dr. Twells' reply to it,³ however, he was satisfied; and honourably wrote (though in vain) to stop the reprinting of his work in Holland. But soon after the middle of the century the sceptical spirit broke out more freely. A work by *Oeder*, which *Semler* published after *Oeder's* death, about the year 1765, entitled "A Free Investigation into the so-called Revelation by John," denied not only its apostolicity, but even its literary beauty; charged it with all the extravagances of its wildest expositors, and maintained that its real author was the heretic *Cerinthus*. So began what has been called the *Semlerian controversy*. *Semler* was replied to, and opposed, by *Reuss* of Tübingen, A.D. 1767, 1772, *Schmidt* of Wittenberg, in his "Vindicatio Canonis," A.D. 1775, and *Knittel* of Wolfenbüttel, A.D. 1773; to which works he and his friends made vigorous answer. The controversy lasted to the year 1785.¹ The celebrated *Michaelis* was so far influenced by what had been written by *Abauzit* and *Semler's* partisans on the canonical question, that he concluded with *Eusebius* on reckoning the Apocalypse not among the undisputed canonical books, but among the ἀντιλεγόμενα. The work of *Herder*, published 1779, vindicated with great earnestness and ability the literary merits and beauty of the Apocalypse; indeed, with such ability and enthusiasm as to act strongly on the literary German mind; yet vindicated it only as *Herder* might have vindicated a neglected beautiful Poem of classic origin; not as a work of divine inspiration.² In 1786 *Hernnschneider* published his Comment on the Apocalypse; explaining it as a Poem

however, the spared Greek remnant "did not penance to give God glory," but persisted in their schism; 5. that begun A.D. 1520 in the Lutheran Reformation, which is to last "till the pouring out of the 6th Vial, twice 5 months, or about 300 years:" of which 300 years 250, says *Pastorini*, are now elapsed; so that the pouring out of that vial seems soon approaching, and the cry heard, "Come out of her, my people." The 6th age is the last of the Church militant on earth; probably till the end of the world's 6000 years: 7. the 7th age, that of eternity.

² He was originally French, but became a refugee in Geneva on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He was in earlier life a friend of Sir I. Newton; in later life the subject of the eulogies of both *Voltaire* and *Rousseau*. His Apocalyptic *Discours* was first published about 1730.

³ An Answer approved and translated into Latin by *Wolf*, and inserted in his "Curæ Philologicæ."

¹ Professor *Stuart* particularizes *Corrodi* and *Markel* on *Semler's* side, against the genuineness and apostolicity of the Apocalypse; *Storr* and *Hartwig* in defence of it.

² "Entitled "*Maran Atha, or Book of the Coming of the Lord.*" Professor *Stuart* almost warms into enthusiasm in speaking of this book; (i. 471;) and at the end of his Second Volume gives a large specimen of it. It seems to me calculated to excite feelings of a very different kind in the devout Christian, for the reason stated above.

describing the three things following;—viz. the overthrow of *Judaism*, the overthrow of *Heathenism*, and the final universal triumph of the *Christian Church*. This was the model, in respect of general plan, of the more celebrated work of *Eichhorn*, published shortly after, viz. A.D. 1791; a work of which Professor M. Stuart, to whom I am indebted for this rapid sketch of the German Apocalyptic Expositors of the last half of the last century, thus reports;—that although not equal to Herder's in respect of the perception or the development of aesthetic beauties, it is yet, in regard of philology, and real explanation of words and phrases, far Herder's superior: adding, moreover, that it is substantially *correct* in its exegesis, i. e. in its view of the general tenor and meaning of the Apocalyptic Book; a statement meaning that it is substantially in agreement with Professor Stuart's own views. As this scheme had not only then preponderance in Germany, but is one of the grand rival schemes that still claim acceptance, I think I cannot better conclude the present Section of my Sketch of Apocalyptic interpretation, than by placing it before the reader's eye, as drawn up by *Professor Hug*, professedly from *Hernnschneider* and *Eichhorn*: its characteristic view being this, that the two cities, Rome and Jerusalem, whose fate (as they would have it) constitutes the most considerable part of the Apocalypse, are only symbols of *two religions* whose fall is foretold; and that the third, which appears at the end, viz. the heavenly Jerusalem, signifies Christ's religion and kingdom.

The Præterist Scheme of Hernnschneider and Eichhorn, as sketched by Prof. Hug.

"There are three cities in this book, on account of which all the terrible preparations above, and here below, and all the commotions of the earthly and heavenly powers, take place. One of them is *Sodom*, called also *Egypt*; the other is *Babylon*; and the third is the *New Jerusalem*, descending from heaven.

"The whole affair of the seven Angels with the seven *Trumpets*, 8–12., refers to *Sodom*. But we soon see that this city, long since destroyed, only lends its name to denote another. For in this *Sodom* our Lord was crucified; ὅπου ὁ κυριος ἡμων εσταυρωαη· 11:8. In this *Sodom* is the Temple; the outer court of which is said to be abandoned to the Gentiles. Thus it is the Holy City itself, πολις ἁγια, of which foreign nations will take possession; 11:1. As two martyrs have perished in it, its destruction is decided; 12:1. (Josephus the Jew likewise compared Jerusalem to *Sodom* at the same epoch. Bell. Jud. v. 10.)

"After a long episode, in which a matron appears in the pains of child-birth, persecuted by a monster, and after the description of two more monsters, which torment the adherents of this distinguished woman, Apoc. 12, 13, 14, the destruction of *Babylon* also is decided in heaven, 14:8.

"The seven Angels with the seven *Vials* of wrath are appointed to execute the decision, 16:17–19; although indeed *Babylon* had stood for centuries before desert, and amidst but half-distinguishable remains of its magnificence. But *this* *Babylon* is built upon seven hills; ὅπου ορη εισιν ἑπτὰ· 17:9–18. It is an *urbs septicollis*; a mark of distinction renowned throughout the 'world, which renders it easy for us to guess the city which is peculiarly intended. But the other criterion that it possesses, the *imperium orbis terrarum*, βυσιλεια επι των βασιλεων της γης, perfectly assures us, 17:18, that this *Babylon* on the Euphrates is *Rome on the Tiber*.

"Consequently *Jerusalem* and *Rome* are the two cities whose destruction is here seen in the Spirit. These cities, however, do not exist in reality as cities, in the poetical composition; but they are images of other ideas. *Rome*, or *Babylon* in particular, is by the author conceived to be

opposed to the everlasting gospel, εὐαγγέλιον αἰώνιον, 14:6–8. In this opposition to Christianity it could hardly signify anything but Heathenism; to represent which the capital of the heathen world is most eminently and peculiarly qualified. Hence John further also describes it with such phrases as were used by the Prophets to denote false gods and their worship. It is the *habitation of dæmons*; the seducer to infidelity from the true God, i. e. πορνεία: from the cup of whose fornication all nations and kings of the earth drink; 18:2, 3; 17:1, 2, 5.

“If the capital of the heathen world symbolizes the religion of the heathens, we shall easily ascertain what the *capital of the Jews* represented. What else but the Jewish religion? Therefore Heathenism and Judaism, the two prevailing religions of the ancient world, were destined to perish.

“And what should now succeed to them? *A New Jerusalem*, the kingdom of the blessed, after this life (21, 22:6.)?—The New Jerusalem is certainly so described: and such is usually considered to be its meaning. But if these cities be religions, and Rome and Jerusalem represent Heathenism and Judaism, the new Sion can only be Christianity; which has an endless dominion, and blesses mankind. This the unity of the whole demands; nor would it be consistent, if the idea of it was compounded of such an unequal representation of its parts, as Heathenism, Judnism, and Eternal Blessedness.

“For what purpose should this kingdom of the blessed afterwards forsake that long-beloved abode in the higher spheres, and in heaven; and descend among men, unless it were an *earthly institution*? (21:23.) It could only descend upon earth as a religion; for the sake of supplying the place of the two former religions.

“The previous openings of the graves, and the return of the dead, is here only one of those awfully terrible images, which the prophets sometimes used to represent a total change of things; the revival of the national state, and of the religious constitution of the Jews. (Ezek. 37; Isa. 26:19.)

“And, if a last judgment also be connected with it, we well know that such also is figuratively convoked by the prophets, for the purpose of executing the punishment of those who have oppressed and ill-treated the people of God; or for the purpose of expressing Jehovah’s designs of introducing a new epoch of glory for his religion and his people. (Joel 3:2; Zeph. 3:8.) This being admitted, the whole passage of the seven *Seals* is only an introduction to the three principal descriptions:—to the dissolution of Judaism, to the abolition of Heathenism, and the occupation of the dominion of the world by the doctrines of Jesus, (5–7:2.) For a prophecy, according to the ancient prophetic language, is a sealed book (Isa. 29:11): of which the mysteries can only be developed by the Lamb, who is on the throne of God; the co-Regent with Jehovah, in whose hands the events are. Terrible plagues, famine, pestilence, war, and an entire revolution of states are impending; from which those however are exempted who belong to the chosen of the Lamb.

“But the *Epistles*, which are preludes to the whole as far as chap. 4, are Dedications or Addresses to those communities which were particularly connected with the author in the district of his ministry.

“Then the Episode (12, 13), which follows the judicial punishment of Jerusalem, the Episode relating to that noble Woman who struggles in the agonies of labour, and who is persecuted by the Dragon, (Isaiah’s ancient metaphor of idolatry,) exhibits to us *Judaism*, which is still in the act of bringing forth Christianity: so as all the circumstances, and the individual traits in the description, prove. But the other monsters which ascend from land and sea, and which are in the

service of the Dragon, signify, according to very recognizable criteria, the Roman land and sea forces which protect the dominion of Paganism (13:1–14:6).

“Opposed to this, after the punishment is executed on Rome (17:1–18), another Woman appears on a scarlet Beast. The former Woman, after her new-born child had been taken up to the throne of God, henceforth repaired to the deserts and pathless regions; which is an excellent metaphor of wandering Judaism. But the fate of the latter Woman is not so mild. Her destruction is soon after celebrated in jubilees and triumphant songs. That this typifies *idolatry*, as the former the Jewish religion, is evident from the representation.”

PERIOD VII.—FROM THE FRENCH REVOLUTION TO THE PRESENT TIME

Such was the state pretty much of Apocalyptic interpretation among Protestants and Romanists, in England, Germany, and the Papal European States respectively, when the French Revolution burst like a thunderclap upon a startled world. In every way a mighty epoch, whether as regards the world of politics, of society, of religion, or of mind, it could scarcely but constitute an important epoch also in prophetic interpretation.—Among *Protestant* expositors of the historic school, in England more especially, such as followed more or less in the track of their Protestant precursors, of Pareus, Foxe, Mede, Vitringa, Daubuz, and the Newtons, the impression was very strong and general that this was probably the commencement of that selfsame last revolution, or earthquake of the 7th Trumpet, which Sir I. Newton had so confidently anticipated as in his time near at hand:¹ and of which, among other grand results proclaimed by the heavenly voices at the sounding of the Trumpet, one was to be the establishment of Christ’s reign on the earth.—As our review of Apocalyptic interpretation in this momentous æra is to be extended in this my 5th Edition as far down as the present epoch of 1862, and, in England at least, very notable points of change and innovation occurred in the more or less current interpretation after its first half had past away, it will be well, I think, to consider it under the division of two separate Sections; the 1st from the epoch of the outbreak of the Revolution in 1789 to the peace of Paris, and cessation of the military occupation of France by the Allies about 1820; the 2nd from 1820 to 1862.

§ 1. FROM 1789 TO 1820

I. And, before referring to the English Apocalyptic expositors of this period, I must beg to direct my reader’s attention to two expositors of the Romish connexion, on whom, in other countries and under very different circumstances, the *millennial question* had forced itself near about the same time as pre-eminently the important one: not without new views (at least for Romanists) about the predicted apostasy, Antichrist, and Babylon, which made and still make their Treatises doubly remarkable. I allude to the French *Père Lambert*, and the Spanish Jesuit *Lacunza*; the latter better known by his assumed Jewish appellative of *Ben Ezra*.

1. The *Père Lambert* was, I believe, a native of Provence, in the south of France. He belonged to the Dominican Order, and died at Paris in 1813. His prophetic book which I refer to, entitled “*Exposition des Prédications et des Promesses faites à l’Eglise pour les derniers temps de la*

¹ See p. 521 *suprà*.

Gentilité,” appears to have been commenced before the end of the 18th century.¹ But it was not completed till 1804, or a little later;² and was at length published in 1806 at Paris, in two small 12mo volumes. It has not, I believe, been reprinted.

The title of the Treatise explains in a measure its main subject and object. Considering attentively what then was, and what had been previously, ever since the first formation of the Christian Church,—the then all general corruption and infidelity, even among profest Catholic Christians, so as to reduce it to a mere “phantom Christianity,”³ and manner in which in the ages previous Christianity had been almost ever exhibited in corrupted form by its professors, been conquered and triumphed over moreover in many countries by Mahommedanism, and in regard of the number of its adherents been ever left by Heathenism in a comparatively small minority,—it was felt by Lambert that a sceptic might well sneer at Christ’s mission as a failure, and at the promises of his Church’s universal establishment on earth in all purity and blessedness as little better than falsehood:¹ i. e. supposing the Roman Catholics’ generally received views of prophecy respecting the millennium, and the only yet remaining future to the Church and to the world, to be correct.² For, as to the *millennial* Apocalyptically figured *reign of the saints* it was, according to those views, nothing but the Church’s or individual Christians’ very partial successes, such as had been accomplished since the apostles’ first preaching of the gospel.³ And, as to the future, all that was anticipated was Antichrist’s 3½ years’ manifestation and reign on Satan’s loosing: and that then, for some very brief term after Antichrist’s destruction, just before the world’s ending, (a term answering perhaps to Daniel’s 45 days,) the conversion of the Jews and whole Gentile world have its fulfilment; but only to come and pass away, (together with the world’s destruction

¹ In Vol. i. p. 115 Lambert speaks of the passage there having been written “dans les dernieres années du 18me siecle.”

² Ib. p. 56, Lambert says, “J’écris ceci en 1804.”

³ On this point I have already cited Lambert’s language, as singularly illustrative of the symbol of the 1st Vial, in my Vol. iii. p. 373, Note 1. Besides the direct infidelity and “practical atheism” of many, (*avowed atheism* had just then rather gone out of fashion,) he notices other principles of evil manifest in professing Christendom: the rationalistic Christianity of some, the adoption of it by others as a mere political engine of state, and the pharisaism and “fausse justice” of the more devout, 1:39–43. In the expression *practical atheism*, as applicable to their times, Lambert and Wilberforce agreed. See my Vol. iii. 477, Note 2.

¹ Vol. i. Pref. ii. pp. 146, 219, 220, 242, &c. Lambert strongly expresses his view of the promises of indefectibility and triumph being made to the *visible earthly* Church, i. 20, 140. “En fuyant cette eglise visible ils fuyent Jesus Christ lui même.” In this indiscriminating and exaggerated view of the Church visible we see a weak point in Lambert.

² P. 255, &c.

³ See generally his Ch. 14 on the Millennium; Vol. ii. p. 89, &c.

and final judgment,) as rapidly almost as a flash of lightning.⁴ So the usual process of Scripture investigation was gone through by Lambert, and is in this Treatise set forth before his readers, by which so many both before and after him have been convinced that the Apocalyptic millennium of the saints' reign on earth, and corresponding Old Testament promised times of blessedness, are yet to come:—how that they are to be introduced by Christ's second personal advent; the destruction of Antichrist with his apostate Church and Babylon, and resurrection of Christ's departed saints and martyrs accompanying: and that then, the Jews' conversion having taken place coincidentally, the earthly Church now extended over the whole earth is to flourish under the rule of Christ and his saints gloriously; Jerusalem being the new centre of light and unity, accordantly with the multitudinous prophecies of Jerusalem's destined future glory and blessedness: and this not for 1000 years only, but a much longer period; the Apocalyptic 1000 years being probably "prophetic years," perhaps sabbatic, perhaps Jubilean, each of 7 or 50 years.¹—The development of this argument occupies the greater part of Père Lambert's book.²

But what the *apostasy*, *Antichrist*, and *Babylon*, so to be destroyed at Christ's second coming, introductory to the promised establishment of the Christian Church in its purity and glory over the earth? Again, how the transference of its centre of unity from *Rome*, St. Peter's see, to *Jerusalem*? On these points Father Lambert propounded views new and strange for a Romanist; except in so far as Lacunza might have anticipated him. The Apocalyptic Babylon, he says, (confessedly the city of the seven hills,) did not symbolize, so as Bossuet would have it, *Pagan Rome*. In such case, besides other objections,³ what reason was there for St. John to wonder at it with so great amazement? Nor again did it symbolize Rome as falling into some quite new and infidel apostasy, *at the end of the world*, and this after expelling the Pope, so as Ribera and Bellarmine would explain the prophecy.⁴ The Apocalyptic symbols sufficiently indicated a professedly Christian body; and history also told too plainly that Papal Rome and the Papal priesthood might well, by only further developing the corruptions which already in part had been, answer to the prophetic indications. It was the conviction on Lambert's mind that the *mystery of iniquity* spoken of by St. Paul was a principle, or principles, of corruption and evil *within the professing Church*, sown even in the apostle's days: that this had gone on ever working more and more influentially within it through the centuries that followed, being nourished by all the abuses, vices, errors, and impieties that were admitted into the Gentile Church, as those centuries went on; and was at length to become the consummated "*apostasy*," by infecting the whole body of

⁴ "Et que cette grande revolution, si long temps attendue, ... ne scroit qu'un celair pour ainsi dire:" "un eclair qui brille un instant, et qui disparoit aussitot." i. 233, 223. Also i. 245.

¹ ii. 67, 80, 139.

² Out of its 20 Chapters it occupies from Ch. 5 to Ch. 16 inclusive.

³ The objections of Lambert I find to be some of those which I have myself made in my criticism on Bossuet, as published in my 2nd and 3rd Editions, before I was acquainted with this Dominican Father. In the criticism, as now republished in the 2nd part of this Appendix, I may note where Lambert had preceded me in the critical objections to Bossuet's theory.

⁴ I am not sure whether Lambert mentions Bellarmine anywhere specifically.

Gentile Christendom, headed by a personal and *Papal* Antichrist.⁵ But not without *a series of previous Popes* having preceded and prepared for him, by exhibiting and acting out gradually more and more the spirit of Antichrist. The Prince of Tyre prophesied of in Ezekiel evidently symbolized this Papal Antichrist; in respect both of his original state, and that into which he would fall by corruption. Endowed with authority at first as one seated in God's seat, and on the holy mountain, (i.e. in the *Church*,) anointed too with the holy ointment, and adorned with precious stones, like the Jewish High Priest, this Prince was depicted as at length being seduced to say in heart, "I am God;" to usurp God's honour, worship, and prerogatives; and then, abandoned to avarice, becoming a "marchand," and giving himself up to the amassing of gold and silver. Such precisely had been the case in the Christian Church. "Le roi de Tyre n'est ici qu'un personnage allegorique, l'embleme d'une suite de ministres du Tres-Haut, qui succedent les uns aux autres, mais que le Prophete reunit et represente comme une seule personne morale; qui d'abord fidele à son ministere en viole ensuite tous les devoirs; et dont l'iuiquité, montée par degres à son comble, ... est enfin punie avec eclat aux yeux de toutes les nations."¹ Lambert sketches thereupon the change in the Roman Pontiffs, from the piety of the earlier centuries to their manifold corruptions afterwards;—"the spirit of domination, the outrages often on the chiefest truths of Christianity, the avarice and traffic in holy things:" corruptions that had already taken deep root in the time of St. Bernard;² and which would assuredly bring down on the Papacy, as on the Prince of Tyre, God's terrible vengeance. At length, in fine, it would be a *Roman Pope*, at the head of the consummated apostasy of Gentile Christendom; who, in heart an atheist, would as God, or God's delegate, or God's Christ, sit in God's temple, i. e. (so as Hilary has said) in *professedly Christian Churches*:¹ exacting divine honours from men on pain of death; and so fulfilling alike what was predicted of the Man of Sin, and of the Apocalyptic Beast:² all this being

⁵ "Le mystere d'iniquité, dont parle St. Paul, est comme un abcès qui commençoit des son temps à se former dans le corps de l'Eglise, mais d'une maniere peu sensible, qui devoit ensuite recevoir divers accroissemens de siecle en siecle; parvenir enfin à sa consommation, eclater alors ... d'une maniere effroyable, et couvrir et infecter de son mortel venin toute la Gentilité Chretienue." "Par l'apostasie on doit entendre la multitude des mechans qui abandonneront Jesus Christ et sa religion, qui se moqueront deses mysteres, fonleront aux pieds son evangile et ses lois, ou aux sentiments d'une pieté humble et reconnoissante substitueront la presumption et l'ingratitude de la fausse justice." "L'apostasie precedera l'Antichrist: et, quand elle sera montée a son comble, l'Homme de péche, ou l'Antichrist, sera manifeste." ii. 318, 271.

¹ ii. 278.

² Mark how Lambert makes the Antichristian apostasy to have been already developed in the middle age: and compare my historic comment on Apoc. 9:20, 21, at the beginning of Vol. ii.; referring at p. 21 to the same St. Bernard, in illustration of the subject.

¹ ii. 295, 311.—At p. 270 Lambert says that the statements as to their end, the one destroyed by Christ's coming, the other cast alive into the lake of fire, are not contradictory; ἀναλωσει meaning only *destruire*. He might have referred to the case of Korah in illustration. Was not Korah *killed*?

² See p. 314 *suprà*.

done in Babylon, or the Papal Rome; of which Lambert, in a separate Chapter, traces in similar mode the falling away from primitive sanctity into antichristian apostasy.³ One grand help to this Papal Antichrist's subjection of men's minds would be his false miracles; more especially, Lambert suggests, his apparent resurrection from a state of death: (accordantly both with the symbol of one of his heads being wounded to death, yet reviving; and with his two-fold designation also as the *Beast from the sea* and *Beast from the abyss*, which *was*, and *is not*, and *yet shall be*;) a miracle, observe, apparent, not real; for God cannot do miracles in support of a lie.⁴—Of the near approach of the consummation, and of Antichrist, Lambert says it was to be expected that God would give some signal warning signs; so as he had done before the destruction of Jerusalem, and before the rebellion of Mahomet.⁵ And one such striking sign Lambert thought to see in the terrible infidelity of the half century previous, and horrors of the French Revolution.⁶ Moreover, besides this, there was to be expected quite another in the coming and preaching of Elijah, to Gentile Christendom as well as Jews: with the result of being rejected and slain (just as Christ had formerly been) by united sentence of ecclesiastical and civil powers; "par tout le corps de la Gentilité, et par la foule des prêtres et des pasteurs, présidés par le premier Pontife de la religion:"⁷ this Elias being in fact one of the two Apocalyptic witnesses; and the great city of his death, not Rome, but *Paris*, where the truth and Christ had been so markedly crucified.⁸ Thereupon would follow the consummation of judgment: the Gentile Christendom be destroyed by fire;⁹ the sceptre revert to Jerusalem; (for the localization of the Church's centre of unity in Rome was but for the Gentile interval;) and in the converted and blessed state of all that is now heathen, connectedly with converted Israel, the magnificent symbolizations of Isaiah's and St. John's new heaven and new earth have their realization.¹

Such is an abstract of Lambert's main views of prophecy, as unfolded in his Treatise. There are observable further a few individual points of Apocalyptic explanation. In the 6th Seal, Apoc. 6, he would have the *elemental convulsions* to be taken literally, as signs in heaven and earth

³ Ch. 18. See especially p. 334.

⁴ Ib. 284–297.

⁵ On the sign before Mahomet, and which caused Antichrist to be expected in Phocas' time, see Malv. i. 117.

⁶ i. 62–65, 71, 72.

⁷ i. 171. On Elias Lambert broaches the curious idea that he is going through a perpetual martyrdom of feeling for his apostate countrymen, indeed a kind of propitiatory holocaust, i. 159, 163.

⁸ i. 40, 175, ii. 338. On the "crucifying Christ" Lambert says again, (i. 212,) "nos irreverences, profanations, sacrilèges, qui ont tant de fois crucifié notre Sauveur."

⁹ So 2 Pet. 3:10.—How there could be a preservation of any of the living from such a conflagration as Peter foretells God alone knew. i. 100, 101.

¹ So Lambert's last Chapter.

before the consummation:² in Apoc. 8 the *half-hour's silence* is a brief respite before the last fearful Trumpet judgments:³ in Apoc. 10 the *seven thunders* mean the mysteries of Christ's judgments, now secret, but to be revealed during Christ's reign on earth.⁴ Again it is to be observed that, though not of the historic school of interpretation, he yet more than once speaks agreeably with it, of the French Revolution as like a trumpet-voice of alarm, "the *last trumpet's* alarm," to Christendom;⁵ also of Christians as at the time when he wrote participating in the song of the harpers by the fiery sea, introductory to the Vials outpouring in Apoc. 15;⁶ and, as elsewhere noted, of the then reigning infidelity as an ulcer in Christendom;⁷ all exactly in agreement with the symbols of the 7th Trumpet's Vial-preparation song, and 1st Vial, as explained by me.⁸ But the main views are those which I have detailed above:—the terrible approaching destruction of the Gentile Church, as utterly, hopelessly apostate, under the headship of its Papal Antichrist;⁹ and its blessed renovation, under Christ's own headship and that of his risen saints, connectedly with converted Israel.

My readers may well wonder with me how, with such views of the Papacy, the Père Lambert could himself have continued in communion with it. It would seem as if he dated its apostasy from the faith somewhat later than prophecy as well as history indicates. Now the prophetic clause, "Only he that letteth shall let until he be taken away," was a prophetic indication, as all the early Fathers explain to us, that the removal and division into ten of the old Roman empire was to be the chronological sign and epoch of the development of the Man of Sin. But Lambert escapes from that chronological indication by a very curious different translation of the clause. Και νυν το κατεχον οιδατε, εις το αποκαλυφθηναι αυτον· ... μονον ο κατεχων αρτι εως εκ μεσου γενηται. This, says Lambert of the first clause, means, "Vous savez à *quoi il tient*, ou, *ce qui est necessaire* pour qu'il paroisse dans son temps:" and of the second; "Que celui qui *sait* (ο κατεχων) maintenant en quoi consiste ce mystere, le *retienne* bien, jusqu'à que ce mystere *sorte de son secret*."¹ So the το κατεχον and ο κατεχων are taken in quite different senses; and the

² i. 108, 117.

³ i. 109.

⁴ Apoc. 10:4.

⁵ i. 5, 72: "Le signe etonnant dont il s'agit est comme le dernier coup de trompette qui appelle le saint prophete (Elie)."

⁶ i. 13, 14.

⁷ Vol iii. p. 373, Note 1.

⁸ See my Vol. iii. 339, 310; and ib. 461–475.

⁹ This, says Lambert (i. 84), was the mystery meant by St. Paul in Rom. 11:25; not the recovery of the Jews, but the utter destruction of the Gentile Christendom.

¹ ii. 313–318.

εκ μεσου γενηται in a sense the Greek phrase will not bear. It will be felt by my classical readers that Lambert has been but little successful in escaping from the difficulty of this clause.²

2. Lacunza

Lacunza, as I learn from the Preface to Mr. Irving's Translation of his Book, was born at Santiago in Chili in the year 1731; in 1747 became a member of the Jesuit college in that city; and there continued till the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Spanish South American States: whereupon he came to Europe; settled finally at Imola, a little south of Bologna in Italy; and there died suddenly in 1801, while on a solitary walk, according to his habit, by the riverside.³ His great work on *The coming of Messiah in Glory and Majesty*, (written under the assumed name of *Ben Ezra*, a Jewish convert to Christianity,⁴ in consequence probably of the then existing prejudice against his Order,) was written as early as the first out-break of the great French Revolution. For the Fra 'Pablo de la Concepcion, of the Carmelite Convent in Cadiz, writing a criticism on it in 1812, speaks of having first read the work *in manuscript* about 21 years before, or about the year 1791.¹ Before its completion imperfect copies, or parts of copies, got abroad in manuscript, of which Lacunza complains.² Judging from the admiration it at once excited in his mind, Fra Pablo's copy was probably a complete one. And both the fact of the laborious manuscript multiplication of these copies, and the strong statement by the learned critic above referred to as to the impression made by it on his own mind, unite to show that it excited very considerable interest as soon as attention was called to it. When however the Work was first *printed and published* does not appear. Lacunza's own observations in the Preface imply an expectation that in its then

² I should add that Lambert presses strongly on all the duty of reading and studying the Holy Scriptures.

The *Chanoine of the French Church*, mentioned by me Vol. iii. pp. 347, 373, expresses a similar judgment to his contemporary Lambert's in reference to the nearness of Christ's second coming:—a judgment founded not merely on the then signs of the times, as specified in my notices of him Vol. iii., but on other prophetic considerations also; especially that of Mahomedanism having the duration of 1260 years, attached to it in Dan. 7 and Apoc 13, where, says he, it is figured under the symbol of the Little Horn, and of the Beast from the Sea; (he is here somewhat fanciful;) and that those 1260 years, reckoned from the Saracens taking Jerusalem, A.D. 637, if counted as *solar* years, would expire in 1897; if as *lunar* years, in 1860. "Then is to come the last judgment; and the kingdom in which Christ is to reign with his saints for ever."

³ From Pref. p. xxiii., xxiv.

⁴ Ib. xix. In his prayer of dedication to the Messiah Jesus Christ, Vol. i. p. 10, Lacunza says, "my own brethren the Jews." So too p. 29.

¹ Vol. i. p. 3. Where it was written does not appear; whether in South America, Spain, or Italy. Mr. Irving, at p. xvii., says, "under the walls of the Vatican:" but I know not on what authority.—The reader will remember the comparative freedom of mind among Roman Catholics in the countries open to French influence from 1790 to 1813.

² Ib. 11.

completed form it would soon come into general circulation;³ of course, I presume, through the medium of printing. Yet, according to the notices that I find in Irving's translation, it seems to have been first printed and published at Cadiz in 1821;⁴ i. e. eleven years after Lacunza's death. Subsequently in 1816 another Edition of 1500 copies in its original Spanish was printed in London, in four 8vo Volumes, under the direction of the Agent for the Buenos Ayres Government; which Edition seems to have been wholly transhipped from England.⁵—At the time of its presumed first printing, in 1812, Cadiz was under the government of the Cortez, and the press *in a measure* free. But, on the dissolution of the Cortez, restoration of Ferdinand, and reinstatement of the Inquisition, intolerance returned: and Lacunza's book was classed among the *Libri prohibiti* in the Roman Index, and the circulation as far as possible supprest.⁶ So the book became rare. Surreptitiously, however, individual copies were obtained and read in Spain:¹ and moreover an abridgment was made;² and whether in the original, or in a French translation, was carried into and much read in France.³ At length in the year 1826 a copy brought by an English Clergyman from Spain was communicated to the well-known and eloquent minister of the Scotch Church in London, Mr. Irving; and by him a translation made into English, which soon made the work extensively and very influentially known and read in England.⁴

³ "I did not venture to *expose this Treatise to the criticism of every sort of readers* without making trial of it, &c." Ibid.

⁴ Tournachon Moulin, the Cadiz publisher I presume in 1812, on printing Fra Pablo's criticism, dated Dec. 1812, as a kind of Prefix or Appendix to Lacunza's book, (Vol. i. p. 1,) says that Lacunza's work "was first printed in this city (Cadiz) in the Spanish tongue." At p. xxiv. a Spanish officer's notice to Mr. Irving is given, stating that "an abridgment was published in the Isle of Leon in two small octavo volumes." I suppose this was subsequent to the complete Edition of 1812.

⁵ Ib. pp. xvi., xxiv.

⁶ Ib xv. Compare my brief notices of Spain, Vol. iii. pp. 414, 415, 421.

¹ So Mr. Irving's friend, the Spanish refugee officer. "When the inquiring mind of the Spanish youth was hindered from the food which it desired, and had been entertained with during the Cortez, they formed secret Societies, of which the object was to procure and read those books expressly which were prohibited by the Inquisition. In the number of which, finding the work of Ben Ezra, the Society to which he belonged obtained it, and read it with delight." Ibid.

² See p. 537 Note ⁴ *suprà*.

³ Ibid. xvi. "Among certain of whom (the members of the Gallican Church) I am informed," says Mr. Irving, "it is a common thing under the term of the *apostate Gentility* to express the first of the three positions I have laid down." This phrase is the very one so common and prominent in Lambert; and suggests the question. Had Lambert seen, and been led to his prophetic views by, an early MS. copy of Ben Ezra?

⁴ While Mr. Irving was prosecuting his English translation, another Edition in Spanish was being printed in London. Ib. xxi. Hence we may infer the large demand for it, and large circulation of it, among those who spoke the Spanish language.

Turning to the Treatise itself, its author's main strength and argument is of course directed to the establishment of his professedly main great subject; viz. Christ's premillennial advent,⁵ and subsequent glorious universal reign on earth: the Jews having, he supposed, been previously converted, and brought to recognize the Messiah Jesus. And to the masterly and convincing manner in which he has done this, we have not the testimony of English critics only like Mr. Irving, but that of his learned Spanish critic, Fra Pablo:—"These two points," says he, notwithstanding all a Romanist's natural prejudices, "seem to me to be theologically *demonstrated*."⁶ It was by resorting to Holy Scripture itself, when utterly disappointed and disgusted at the absurdities and incongruities of the best known Roman Catholic expositors of the millennial prophecy, that the view broke upon him in all its grandeur and simplicity: and, like Lambert, he strongly urges investigators, those of the priesthood more especially, to resort as he had himself done to the Book of God, which had so long and so generally been well nigh consigned to oblivion.¹ On this his great subject however there is no need of my sketching his arguments, any more than in the case of Lambert. They are the same that are now well known, and widely received.

But what his views as to *Antichrist*; a subject necessarily connected with the Millennium, as being he whose destruction by Christ's coming was to precede and introduce it? Here Lacunza makes reference to Daniel, as well as to the Apocalypse. And, in commenting on the former, he offers some original and curious views as to the symbols of the quadripartite image, and of the four wild Beasts from the sea. The *image's golden head*, he says, included both the Babylonish and the Persian empires, considered as one, because Babylon was retained as one of the Persian capitals: the *breast of silver* was the Macedonian empire: the *brazen thighs* figured that of the Romans, long since come to an end; the *iron ten-toed legs* the Romano-Gothic professedly Christian kingdoms of Western Europe.² At the ending time of these the *stone without hands*, or empire of Christ and his saints, would utterly destroy the image in that its last form; thenceforth itself becoming the universal empire on earth. How near to the generally received Protestant interpretation, and I doubt not the true one, is Lacunza's of the ten toes!—As to the *four Beasts* his idea is as novel as unsatisfactory. They meant four religions; viz. *Idolatry, Mahomedanism, Pseudo-Christianity*, (with its four heads of heresy, schism, hypocrisy, worldly-mindedness,) and the *Antichristian Deism* already then unfolding itself in the world. For *Antichrist* meant, not an *individual*, but that embodied principle, power, or moral body, which "*solvit Christum*," (so the

⁵ Not a second *intermediate* advent, before the third and last to final judgment, so as Lambert: but, as Mede, Christ's *one* second advent; continued to the final judgment.

⁶ i. 7. In the Section beginning at p. 88 Lacunza anatomizes, and exposes the absurdity of, the received idea of Satan having been bound ever since Christ's ascension. What, bound when Peter says that he goes about as a roaring lion; and moreover when the Church had to exercise its *exorcising* power "*ad fugandos dæmones!*" Surely the modern followers of this Augustinian solution of the millennial prophecy have not sufficiently weighed these obvious considerations.

¹ i. 20–32.

² i. 141.—This prophecy is called by Lacunza the 1st *Phænomenon*, i.e. *vision*.

Vulgate of 1 John 4:3,) dissolves Christ in the Church.³—At this point Lacunza stops a while to dissect, and expose the absurdity of, those ideas of Antichrist which were usually received among Romanists; as if he was to be an individual Jew, of the tribe of Dan, born in Babylon, received by the Jews as Messiah, thereupon establishing his kingdom at Jerusalem, and with 10 or 7 kings held subject, in fulfilment of the Beast's 7 heads and 10 horns: an argument well worth perusal and consideration, by all such Protestant expositors as are inclined to adopt the same strange hypothesis. The Antichrist, or Apocalyptic Beast, he then traces from its first existence in the germ, as the mystery of iniquity even in St. Paul's days,¹ *within the Church*, and side by side with Christ's true servants; and which had come down as a body more and more corrupt and apostate, century after century; till now at length perfected in apostasy. The second Apocalyptic Beast has been with great reason, he says, explained as the *false prophet of Antichrist*: with the mistake however of supposing him one *individual* person, perhaps "an apostate bishop;"² whereas it is *the body of "our priesthood"* that is meant by the emblem.³ His *name* and *number* Lacunza inclines to think $\alpha\rho\nu\omicron\mu\epsilon$:⁴ being evidently not so strong in Greek as in Latin. As to the Apocalyptic *Harlot*, ("I would wholly omit this," says he, "did I not fear to commit treason against truth,") it is not Rome *Pagan*, but apostate *Rome Christian and Papal*; drunken at length in vain carnal self-security, when on the very eve (so Lacunza judged) of her utter tremendous destruction. Is it objected that she is the spouse of Christ? So too was old Jerusalem. But, on the consummation of its apostasy, though without a heathen idol in her, she fell, and fell remedilessly.⁵

In his general view of the Apocalypse Lacunza is a futurist. He construes the seven-sealed Book opened by the Lamb as the Book of the Father's Covenant; and the giving it into his hand

³ i. 197.—Mr. C. Maitland, p. 392, makes Lacunza, like himself, expect an infidel, Antichrist. This, as his readers must understand him, is a misrepresentation of Lacunza's views. Lacunza's Antichrist is not a *mere* individual, nor *professedly* infidel, but Papal, (like Michelet's Romish "pretre athée,") nor *wholly* future. Mr. C. M. would have done well to read and study this Chapter in Lacunza.

¹ Compare Lambert's very similar views p. 532 *suprà*. Only Lambert more correctly makes the Antichrist the *suite*, or *series*, of individual Pontiffs, that had successively headed the ever-growing apostasy.

² "Seeming to see," says he, "in the Beast's two horns as of a lamb a proper symbol of the mitre." i. 218, 224. The question is thus suggested, What was the origin of the particular form of the episcopal mitre, with its two apices or horns? and when first introduced? See my Vol. iii. 209.

³ "Yes, my friend, it is our priesthood, and nothing else, which is here signified, and announced for the last times, under the metaphor of a beast with two horns like a lamb's." i. 220. He strengthens his position by reference to the *Jewish* priesthood; who, though professing God's true religion, and with the Old Testament Scriptures in their hands, did yet reject and crucify Christ: also by reference to the actual corruption of the professedly Christian priesthood, both in earlier times, (as that of the Arians,) and more especially in Lacunza's own time. ib. 221.

⁴ Ib. 232.

⁵ 248–253.

as the act of investiture, whereby he is constituted King and Lord of all.¹ The visions of the Seals next following are therefore, I presume, understood by him with reference to the times of the consummation. But he does not enter on them particularly. He discusses however the vision of the sun-clothed woman in Apoc. 12, in the same general Jewish and futurist point of view; with much that is ingenious and novel in his exposition. The woman is the Zion of Isaiah, God's ancient spouse, long east off and sorrowful, but now clothed in beautiful garments; and at the precise crisis described by Old Testament prophets, "like a woman with child drawing near the time of her delivery." She has already in a figurative sense conceived Jesus Christ in her womb; i. e. by believing on him. But something more is needed; viz. to bring him to light, or publicly to manifest this conception by declaring for him; for "with the heart men believe unto righteousness, and with the lips confession is made unto salvation." But difficulties, embarrassments, and persecutions here occur. Besides the world and devil, two-thirds also of the *Jews* probably oppose the believing third. She "cries out in pain." Satan, the red Dragon, unable to prevent the conception, (which may probably have arisen from Elias' preaching.) tries to hinder her delivery: i. e. "to hinder her from publicly professing her faith in Jesus."² But in vain. The child is born; the confession is made. And then, so born in figure, he is caught up to God and his throne: a symbol answering to Daniel's symbol of the Son of Man coming to the Ancient of Days to receive investiture of his kingdom; and corresponding too with that of his receiving the seven-scaled book of his investiture from Him that sate on the throne, in the earlier vision of the fifth chapter of the Apocalypse.³—But, if so, we must ask, what the *sequel*? And here in truth the weakness of Lacunza's view of the vision appears. Messiah's investiture by the Ancient of Days in Daniel is coincident with, or immediately consequent upon, the doom and destruction of the little horn Antichrist; not at an epoch preceding Antichrist's reign and blasphemies. But in the vision of Apoc. 12, after the man-child's being caught up to God's throne, there is described a war in heaven as occurring; then the Woman's fleeing into the wilderness, being furiously pursued thither by the Dragon; and then next, but not till then, the raising up by the Dragon of the Antichristian Beast against the remnant of the Woman's children that continue faithful. How can this order of events consist with Lacunza's Judæo-futurist interpretation of the Vision? I see nothing in the details of his exposition to meet the difficulty. For he professedly makes all this persecution subsequent to Christ's receiving investiture of the earth's empire. And his identification of Michael's warring in Apoc. 12 with Michael's standing up for Daniel's people in Dan. 12 only adds to the difficulty.¹—Proceeding with the vision Lacunza describes the Woman, or Jewish Church, as taken to a quiet and sweet solitude, Moses and Elias furnishing the two wings of her escort; and being there taken care of by God, while the Dragon raises up the Beast against the faithful remnant of her children.²

¹ I presume Mr. Burgh borrowed the view from Ben Ezra.

² ii. 90. Compare Mr. Biley's explanation, noticed by me Vol. iii. pp. 23–26, but with reference to the *Christian Church* of the 4th Century, as the Church and time intended.

³ See p. 540 just preceding.

¹ Michael's standing up in Dan. 12 is subsequent to Antichrist's rise; in Apoc. 12 prior to it.

² See p. 541 *suprà*.

These Lacunza seems to identify, like myself, with the witnesses of Apoc. 11. For the two sackcloth-robed witnesses are not Enoch and Elias; but two religious bodies of faithful men protesting against the corruptions of the age,³ i. e. the latter age, just before the Jews' conversion. As to the place where the Antichristian Beast, after making war against them, kills them, i. e. *the street of the great city*, this is not meant of Jerusalem: (in fact Christ was crucified outside of, not within, the literal Jerusalem:) but of *the whole world*, and specially of *professing Christendom*.⁴

These, I believe, are the chief Apocalyptic explanations given by the soi-disant Ben Ezra, or Lacunza. I may add that, like myself, he considers Peter's conflagration to be one introductory to the millennium, and moreover not universal: also that he explains the new heaven and earth of St. Peter and the Apocalypse (like Lambert and myself) to be millennial in their date of commencement.

Thus, in the Roman Catholic countries of France, Spain, Italy, there had already begun to sound forth a voice answering alike to that on the blast of the 7th Trumpet in the Apocalypse, which proclaimed the commencement of the judgments of the consummation on "those that had corrupted the earth," and imminence of Christ's coming and kingdom: as also to that of the first Angel seen synchronically (as has been shown) flying in mid heaven, with the cry, "Fear God, for the hour of his judgments is come;" and to that recorded in Apoc. 18, "Come out of her (Babylon), my people, that ye be not partakers of her plagues."¹

II. I now turn to *England*.—And here the names first of *Galloway* and *Bicheno*, then of *Faber*, *Woodhouse*, *Cuninghame*, and *Frere*, are perhaps the most notable; each one marked by certain peculiarities of exposition. The three last mentioned, having continued publishing from time to time on prophecy till the middle of the present century, constituted a link of connexion between the first and second divisions of the still uncompleted great French Revolutionary æra.

Mr. Galloway's book is entitled "Brief Commentaries on such parts of the Revelation and other Prophecies, as immediately refer to the present times;" and was published in London in the year A.D. 1802.² He was himself, it seems, one of the Loyalists in our North American Colonies, who was forced to flee that country on the rebel States successfully accomplishing their war of revolution and independence. Nor, probably, was he wholly uninfluenced by this his previous

³ ii. 117. So Lacunza of the two Witnesses. And so he seems to identify them with the faithful remnant of the Woman's seed: for *they* "can only mean the remains of true Christianity among the *Gentiles*," *ib.* 131.—But how could these faithful *Gentiles* be a remnant of the *Jewish* woman's children? Moreover, it is only on her being in the wilderness that the Lord fully accomplishes her conversion, according to Lacunza; "speaking comfortably to her in the wilderness." And yet she will some time before not only have believed, according to him, but made public confession for Christ.

⁴ *Ib.* 118.

¹ In Germany, throughout the whole of the 25 or 30 years of which I am speaking in this Section, *Eichhorn's* Præterist system continued to reign supreme. So M. Stuart, i. 472.

² Bicheno's first publication was in 1793, before Galloway. But, as he continued to write and publish after Galloway till 1803, I have noticed Galloway first. Mr. Bicheno was thus a connecting link between the earlier Apocalyptic students of the Revolutionary æra and the later, such as *Faber*, *Cuninghame*, &c.

history in regard of the feeling most prominently expressed throughout his Apocalyptic Commentary; viz. that of intense abhorrence of the revolutionary and infidel principles of Republican France. Hence his application to it of the symbol of the most hateful of all the enemies of the Church prefigured in the Apocalypse; viz. that of *the Beast from the Abyss*, the slayer of Christ's two faithful sackcloth-robed witnesses. To bring out this result, he thus in brief explains the structure of the prophecy and history intended by it; herein at first following most of his Protestant predecessors. The seven-sealed book contains the history of the Church generally, in its various vicissitudes of fortune; from its first partial triumphs in Apostolic times to its final and complete triumph at the consummation; the 6th seal symbolizing the overthrow of heathenism before it, in the Roman Empire, under the Constantinian Emperors. The seven Trumpets, which are the development of the seventh Seal, represent God's judgments against the then already corrupt and apostatizing Church; the four first depicting that of the Gothic invasions in the West; the 5th and 6th, or two first *Woe*-Trumpets, those of the Saracens and Turks in the East; which last-mentioned woes originated, according to the prophecy, with *the opening of the pit of the abyss*. Then, presently, comes Mr. Galloway's peculiarity of historic application. The "*little book*" opened in the hand of the angel (Apoc. 10) being viewed by him, as in Mede's scheme, as a separate, supplementary prophecy descriptive, for its main subject, of the treading down of the holy city, and history of Christ's two witnesses during their days of sackcloth-robing, he notices the long-continued treading down for 1260 years of the holy city, or faithful Church of the Gentiles, as alike that by the long-dominant Mahometan power in the East, and the dominant Papal idolatrous power in the West; dating these from the nearly synchronic times of Phocas and Mahomet respectively. But the slaying of the two witnesses, which he supposes to symbolize the Old and New Testaments, is, he observes, at a later time, viz. near the end of the Witnesses' 1260 years of sackcloth-robed witnessing; and to be accomplished by another new and more terrible enemy than any before, viz. *the Beast from the Abyss*. This, says he, is the *infidel power of atheistic, revolutionary France*. The street of the great city in which they were slain, he explains to be Paris; the date of their death, about September 1792, when Christianity was abolished, the ignominious expulsion of the Christian clergy from France well-nigh completed, Christ declared an impostor, and atheism publicly professed by the French Government and nation. So for 3½ years, answering to the 3½ days of the Apocalyptic prophecy; at the end of which there was predicted the resuscitation of the two witnesses. And this was also fulfilled by the French Government decrees, passed in 1797, which declared free and full toleration thenceforward to all religions, true Protestant Christianity expressly included.

It does not need that I should say more of Mr. Galloway's exposition; save only that, in conformity with the above explanation of the earlier Apocalyptic chapters, he explains the *seven-headed Dragon*, *the Beast from the Sea*, and *Beast from the earth*, in Apoc. 12, 13, as respectively the earlier *Pagan* persecuting power in the Roman empire, the *Papal* power, and the *French infidel power*; the *Beast from the Sea*, or *Popedom*, being that which had assigned to it the duration of 1260 years, which would be nearly covered by the interval from Phocas to the French Revolution. The name and number of the beast he makes *Ludovicus*, the most common title of Kings of France; the Latin numeral letters in which make up 666.—I must just add that Mr. G. interprets the Millennium as in his days still future; and as to be introduced by, and to synchronize with, the personal reign of Christ and his saints on earth.

Very marked was the contrast of the feeling with which *Mr. Bicheno* marked the progress of the Revolution. His “Signs of the Times” in three parts, first published in 1793, and which came to its 6th edition in 1808, was followed by his “Destiny of the German Empire” in 1800, and his “Restoration of the Jews” in 1806. The title-page on Part i. of “The Signs of the Times” itself tells this feeling:—“Signs of the Times; or, *The overthrow of the Papal tyranny in France, a prelude of destruction to Popery and Despotism, but of peace to mankind.*” He looked in fact with something like righteous complacency, from the very first, on the awful judgments that the Revolutionists seemed God’s appointed agents for inflicting on that Papal power which had been for ages the bloody persecutor of Christ’s saints, and enemy of Christ’s truth: judgments inflicted more especially in France on the social orders which had been its chief abettors; viz. the royalty, nobility, and the clergy. The same was his feeling afterwards when, in the course of the next 14 or 15 years, he saw the vials of God’s wrath poured out, through the same instrumentality, upon the *German Empire* which had been for many centuries as zealous a co-operator with the Papal Beast in the persecution of Christ’s truth and saints as royal Papal France itself. So strongly did Mr. B. feel the righteousness of God’s judgments, through the agency of the French Revolutionists, on those saint-persecuting nations of the Continent, that he could not suppress his protest against what he called “the ravings of Mr. Burke,” and the energetic anti-revolutionary course of action of our British Government: the rather as the Papal Antichrist’s removal was all that had to intervene before the Jews’ conversion, and the establishment of Christ’s kingdom on earth.

As it was on these two great subjects, the Papal tyranny of past ages, and the judgments on Popery then passing before the eyes of men, as prefigured in the Apocalypse, that he founded his earnest and heart-stirring appeal to British Christians, (subjects copiously illustrated by him from time to time, alike the one and the other, from past and contemporaneous history,) it was not to be expected that his books would offer any very thoroughly digested scheme of Apocalyptic interpretation. Nor, consequently, do I deem it needful to refer particularly to what we find in them on this head. Suffice it to say that the 1260 destined years of the Papal Beast, prefigured in Apoc. 11, 13, 17, he views as beginning from Justinian’s decree, A.D. 529; and, consequently, as ending in 1789 at the French Revolution. The killing of Christ’s sackcloth-robed witnesses, or faithful saints protesting against Popery, he refers chiefly to the revocation of the Toleration-Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV. in 1685; especially accompanied, as it was, by the nearly contemporary ruin of the cause of Hungarian Protestantism through the persecutions of Papal Austria, and banishment also of the faithful Vaudois from their valleys in Papal Piedmont. But how, then, their resuscitation after 3½ days? On this point, as no answering event presented itself in French history 3½ years after that Revocation-Edict, or, indeed, till 100 years later, he suggests the singular notion that, instead of each day standing here for one *year*, it may stand for the thirty that make up a *month*; and consequently altogether figure the interval of $3\frac{1}{2} \times 30 = 105$ years. Then the prophecy would have its fulfilment in the free and full toleration of Protestantism in France, A.D. 1797, of which we have before spoken.—To Mr. B.’s interesting illustrations of the Trumpets, and specially of the 3rd Trumpet in the desolating progress of Attila along the Rhine and Danube, I have had occasion to allude in my 1st Volume.¹ The 5th and 6th Trumpets he

¹ See my Vol. i. 385.

explains, like most other Protestant interpreters, of the Saracens and Turks. In the opened book of the light-bearing Angel, Apoc. 10, he sees no new and separate book of prophecy; but only a figuration of the dawning light of the Reformation, as beginning with Wickliff.

Finally, he applied our Lord's prophecy (Matt. 24) to the terrible commotions of those revolutionary times; inferred from the same prophecy, even in 1795, *before Evangelic Missions from England had effectively begun*,¹ that there would speedily follow the preaching of the Gospel throughout the world, even as with the sound of a Trumpet, to gather together Christ's elect from the four winds, and that then the conversion and restoration of the Jews would begin. By the concurrent fulfilment of all which signs of the latter day, and "all those things coming to pass," he judged that yet clearer and clearer light would accrue to show that the consummation, and kingdom of God, were indeed nigh at hand.

Though, as I said, it was scarce to be expected that any well-digested *general* historical scheme of Apocalyptic interpretation would be furnished by Bicheno or Galloway, comparatively absorbed as were their thoughts and interest in that part of the prophecy which more immediately related to the events of the then present awful drama, as gradually unfolded more and more before their eyes, yet certainly it was not unreasonable to expect this (if the *historical* view of the prophecy was the right one) from the three well-known expositors who, as before stated, were their most prominent successors on the field of Apocalyptic interpretation, Messrs. *Faber, Cuninghame, Frere*:—considering, 1st, that they entered on their lucubrations at a later æra in the Revolutionary wars, after the first fury of the tempest had lulled, and the feelings consequently of English observers were less fearfully excited than before: and 2ndly, too, that they actually *profest* each one, after mature study, to give a comprehensive view of the whole Apocalyptic prophecy, including both its internal structure, and its historic explanation; i. e. down to the 7th Trumpet, and its partial evolution in the earlier Vials, which they all. like Galloway and Bieheno, regarded as fulfilled in the events of the Revolution. But, if such his expectation, the prophetic student of the æra under review was doomed to disappointment. In regard both of the fundamental *structure* of the prophecy, and many important details of its supposed previously accomplished fulfilment in *history*, the three expositors were seen to differ most widely one from the other. Said *Mr. Faber* of the internal structure of the prophecy:¹—"The seven Trumpets are the evolution of the 7th Seal, as the seven Vials are of the 7th Trumpet; these three series constituting the main contents of the *Seven-sealed Book*, Apoc. 4, placed in the hand of the Lamb to open: while the *Little opened Book*, put into St. John's hand by the heaven-descended Angel of Apoc 10, with the charge to prophesy again, is a distinct supplemental prophecy, inclusive of

¹ Compare my sketch of the rise of Evangelic Missions. Vol. iii. p. 483.

¹ What follows, though within inverted commas, is of course only my abstract of Mr. F.'s opinions, as express in his Calendar of Prophecy. And the same of what I say of Mr. Cuninghame and Mr. Frere.

It should be observed that I give Mr. F.'s prophetic views, not as express in his earliest Dissertation, but as express, after more mature reflection, in his Sacred Calendar of Prophecy. The former was published as early as 1806; the latter written, as he tells us in the Preface, in 1818, 1819, 1820, though not published till 1827. This he wished to be read as the substitute (a substitution which included many very material alterations of interpretation) for his original Dissertation on the Prophecies.

chapters 10–14, and containing within it the predictions of the four several great events to which, all alike, was to attach the duration of the 1260 years' period; viz. that of the sackcloth-propheying of Christ's two witnesses, that of the Gentiles treading the Holy City, that of the Woman (the Church)'s exile in the wilderness, and that of the reign of the ten-horned Beast:²— a prophecy this chronologically parallel with the 5th and 6th or two first Woe Trumpets of the Seven-sealed Book, and which needed inscription in the new prophetic Book to show the parallelism.³ Then further, as regarded the *historic* fulfilment of the Apocalypse, said Mr. F., "The series of the six first Seals carried down the history of the Roman Empire to the Constantinian Revolution, and overthrow of Heathenism in the 4th century; the six first Trumpets (evolving the 7th Seal) figured its subsequent history under the successive desolations of Goths, Saracens, and Turks; which last mentioned extended to the times of the 7th Trumpet, or French Revolution." Besides which, Mr. F., in his Sacred Calendar, insisted on another very important point in the prophecy, viz. that concerning the ten-horned Beast's two last heads, as historically elucidated by the concluding events of the great Revolutionary War: i. e. the termination of the sixth or Imperial Headship (which had been perpetuated, he judged, in the Byzantine, Frank, and Austrian dynasties) by the Austrian Monarch's resignation of the Emperorship of the Holy Roman Empire in 1804; and Napoleon Buonaparte's institution into the Beast's 7th headship by his assumption of that Emperorship, until struck down after a little space by the sword at Waterloo. But, as the head thus struck down was prophetically figured as resuscitated, so would the Napoleonic dynasty revive, as a new head of the Beast, or Roman empire:¹ (here Mr. F. indulged in prediction of the future:) no longer however thenceforth as a *Papal* power, but as a professedly *infidel* or *atheistic* power, the same as the "Wilful King" of Dan. 11:36, and as St. John's *Antichrist*, "denying the Father and the Son;" the destined head of the last antichristian confederacy, and opposer of the Jews' restoration in Palestine; who, as described in Apoc. 19., would be met and destroyed fearfully by Christ in the final war of Armageddon.

So *Mr. Faber*. But by no means so, according to *Mr. Cuninghame*. "The Seals and Trumpets," said he, "are chronologically parallel, each reaching from St. John's time to the great earthquake symbolized alike in the 6th Seal and 7th Trumpet, immediately before the consummation; the Seals prefiguring the history of *the Church*, the Trumpets of the *secular Roman Empire*, including both East and West. As to the *Little Book* of Apoc. 10, it is no new and separate book of Apocalyptic prophecy, so as Faber affirms; but only the 7th part of the seven-sealed Book, which at the epoch just preceding the French Revolution (the epoch of the rainbow-vested Angel's

² Indeed, as Mr. F. puts it, *five*, including what is said Apoc. 14 of the 144,000 contemporarily with the Lamb on Mount Zion. Vol. i. p. 272, 273.

³ *Ib.* pp. 271–273.

Compare what is said of Mede, the first suggester of the view on this subject, p. 492 *suprà*. Mr. F.'s proof of the 1260 years beginning with the 5th or first Woe Trumpet is anything but satisfactory. How awkwardly, on this view of the *Little Book*, come the last verses of Apoc. 11 in it, which tell of the 2nd Woe having *past*, and then, after a while, of the 3rd Woe's announcement by the sounding of the 7th Trumpet! Ought not the *Little Book* to have ended with the ending of the 2nd Woe Trumpet?

¹ So too Mr. Frere. On the origination of this view see Note ² p 550 *infra*.

descent)² might be considered “opened.”³ Moreover, as regards the Roman Beast’s 7th and 8th heads, though at first advocating a Napoleonic view of them, Mr. C. had come on fuller reflection to discard it as altogether untenable; and mainly to acquiesce in, and adopt, the earlier received Protestant view of the subject: regarding the old 6th Imperial Head as wounded to death by the sword of the Heruli, and revived in the de-em-regal confederacy of the Roman Popedom.¹

So *Mr. Cuninghame*. But, “Not so,” again replied *Mr. Frere* to both Faber and Cuninghame. “The *Seals* depict the history of the *Western Secular Roman Empire*, from St. John’s time to the earthquake before the consummation; the *Trumpets*, in parallel chronology, that of the *Eastern Empire*; while the *Little Book* of Apoc. 10, which is a new and supplemental part of the Apocalyptic prophecy, (containing Chap. 10 to 14,) depicts that of the *Church*, still in chronological parallelism with the former. Once more, as to the Roman Beast’s two last heads, *Napoleon* was the 7th head, cut down by the sword at Waterloo; and destined to revive again in some revival of the Napoleonic dynasty; only as a professedly *infidel atheistic* power, the last headship of the Roman Beast against the Church of Christ,”²

With such fundamental differences of view between these three expositors, (not to speak of those before them,) and others equally important might be added, (as e. g. concerning the two witnesses, and their death and resurrection,³) who could wonder that considerate students of

² So altogether missing the reference of the vision to the Reformation!

³ See Cuninghame, pp. 89, 90, (4th Edition). To show how all the supposed contents of the Little Book might be arranged, and its chronological parallelisms exhibited in one and the same *seven-sealed Book*, Mr. C. prefixed a diagram of the seven-sealed Book to his Dissertation, arranged according to this his view. But certainly it is a Book of such a form, with its cycles and epicycles, &c., as never Book was formed in, either in ancient or modern times.

¹ Cuninghame, p. 149. (4th Ed.)

² Who was the first originator of this view I know not. Mr. Cuninghame, in the 1st Edition of his Dissertation on the Seals and Trumpets, which was published in 1813, after the great Russian campaign, but before the battle of Waterloo, went so far as to express his opinion that the Beast’s 7th head was “the French Imperial Government of Napoleon Bonaparte, the 8th being still future.” Ib. 148. Which opinion, as before said, he withdrew in his subsequent Editions as “manifestly erroneous.” he had been partially preceded, it has been seen, by Mr. Galloway; who made the *Beast of the Abyss*, the slayer of Christ’s two Witnesses, to be the French infidel democratic power. Mr. Frere’s view was first published, I believe, in 1815; but with subsequent modifications.

³ Said Mr. Faber, the two Witnesses are the Waldenses and the Albigenses; and their death and resurrection accomplished in their banishment from the Piedmontese valleys in 1686, and glorious return 3½ years after.

Said Mr. Cuninghame, they are the protesters generally against Papal superstition; and their death and resurrection accomplished in the defeat of the Protestants by Charles V., A.D. 1547, in the battle of Muhlburg, and the subsequent success of Prince Maurice, which led to the Peace of Passau.

prophecy at the time should be sorely perplexed; and many prepared in mind not only for distrust of these historic expositors, but distrust too as to the general truth of the *historic* system of interpretation: and this, not with standing the agreement of these expositors alike with each other, and with most previous Protestant historic expositors of note, on many most important points of accomplishment of the prophecy; especially as to the Gothic, Saracenic, and Turkish invasions of Roman Christendom, the Papacy as the great Antichristian power prefigured in Apoc. 11, 13, 17, and the French Revolution. The universal reception hitherto given to the *historic* system of Apocalyptic interpretation in England just kept back for a while the public development of such doubts. But, as the Continent was now open, and intercourse more and more cultivated with it, and its views in theological and prophetic as well as other literature better known, there could scarce but be soon a strengthening of them. Of all which more in the next Section.

As to the *millennium*, I must not conclude this Section without observing that here too our expositors fundamentally differed: Mr. Faber holding strongly to the truth of Whitby's and Vitranga's view, which till the close of the period now under review was all but universally believed in in England; while Cuninghame and Frere made themselves known as upholders of the newly revived Patristic view of its premillennial Advent. I have already elsewhere noted (and who can wonder at it?) that the wide-spread hopes and expectations of the world's speedy evangelization, which arose at this time out of the institution and progress of the various Bible and Missionary Societies shortly before formed in our own favoured country, contributed powerfully at the time I speak of to make Whitby's *pre-advent* millenary view more and more undoubtingly credited and popular.¹

§ 2. FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY ÆRA; 2ND PART; FROM 1820 to 1862. CONCLUSION

On which new æra, extending from about 1820 to the present time, I shall now make a few observations; and with them conclude this my History of Apocalyptic Interpretation.

Near about the same time then the two-fold battle began in England, which, I said, a sagacious observer might have already prognosticated:—1st, as to the truth on the great *millennial question*; 2ndly, as to the truth of the general *Protestant historic principle* of Apocalyptic Interpretation.

Said Mr. Frere, (following in the wake of Galloway,) they are the two Testaments; and their death and resurrection fulfilled in the French renunciation of Christianity, 1793, and Toleration Edict, 1797.

The comparatively narrow range of original research and learning in the English prophetic writings of this period,—comparatively I mean with reference either to the times previous or time following,—must, to a modern reader, competent to judge on such a subject, appear very striking. Always excepting *Davison's* noble Work on Prophecy, being the substance of his Warburton Lectures, first published soon after 1820; and in which the old Protestant view of the great predicted Apostasy and Antichristian Beast of Daniel and St. John were strongly upheld. The Apocalyptic part however of his Book (Disc. 10.) was but very brief and partial.

¹ See the end of my Chapter on the Evangelic Missions, Vol. iii. p. 490.

1. As to the *former* point, the Treatise of Lacunza had not a little to do in the matter. Mr. Irving, the able and eloquent translator of the Treatise already spoken of, tells us, in his Preface to the Translation, of the circumstances under which he was brought to an acquaintance with it:—how in 1826, after he had been led to the recognition of Christ’s premillennial advent, and consequent personal reign on earth, as a great Scriptural truth, and under that impression had been preaching it in London with all earnestness, he found himself painfully insulated thereby from most of his brethren in the ministry, even as if he had been advocating a doctrine not only novel, but foolish, and almost heretical: and then, and in that painful state of insulation, had this elaborate Treatise by a writer of another Church and country brought before him; showing that he was anything but alone in the view, and so confirming his mind in it, and cheering his heart. And very soon he found that in England too similar convictions had been about the same time wrought upon the minds of one, and another, and another, of the earnest investigators of prophetic Scripture.¹ The then recent reconstruction of the Society for the Conversion of the Jews, upon a more proper Church basis,² and with new life and vigour infused into its operations, contributed in no little measure to the promotion of these opinions. For, in searching the Scriptures, with a view to the answering of Jewish arguments against Christianity as a purely spiritual system, and Jewish arguments for the Messiah’s personal reign on earth and at Jerusalem, the evidence of Scripture was felt more and more by many to be in favour of the Jewish idea, rather than their own. And thus many of the earliest and warmest friends of the Jews’ Society became known, as the next ten years ran on, as premillennarians; e. g. Marsh, M’Neil, Pym, G. Noel, Lewis Way: more especially the last-mentioned noble-minded man, the munificent patron of the Jews’ Society; and whose often grand, though too discursive, Poem of the “*Palingenesia*,” still remains a record of the devotion of his whole mind and heart to the anticipation of his Master’s speedy personal advent, to assume the kingdom of a regenerated world. Then too began Prophetic Journals, mainly on the premillennarian principle: first the Morning Watch; then, from 1833 to 1838, the Investigator. Individual Treatises moreover, on the same views, more or less influential, began also to multiply: I may specify particularly “Abdiel’s Letters,” by the Rev. J. W. Brooks, Editor of the Investigator; and the Prophetic Treatises of the much-loved Edward Bickersteth.—In fine, in the year 1844, the date of the first publication of my own Work on the Apocalypse, so rapid had been the progress of these views in England, that, instead of its appearing a thing strange and half-heretical to hold them, so as when Irving published his translation of Ben Ezra, the leaven had evidently now deeply penetrated the religious mind; and, from the ineffectiveness of the opposition hitherto formally made to them, they seemed gradually advancing onward to triumph.

So I say in *England*, to which country I have a particular respect in these my closing remarks. But let me not forget to remind my readers that, while such was the progress of the question in England, and while in *France* and *Spain* the works of Père Lambert and Lacunza remained (except in so far as the Inquisition might have suppressed the latter) a testimony each one to the same millennial view, there was one remarkable expression to much the same effect even in

¹ See Irving’s Pref. pp. i–xix.

² It was founded originally in 1809; but on principles of mixt agency of Churchmen and Dissenters, that rendered it so far little effective.

rationalistic *Germany*; and from a quarter whence it might little perhaps have been expected. I allude to *Frederic Von Schlegel's* Lectures on the Philosophy of History, delivered in 1828 at Vienna, and soon after published, and most rapidly and widely circulated; the same of which an abstract has been given in the concluding Chapter of my Apocalyptic Commentary. It may be remembered that I there noticed Schlegel's eloquently expressed opinion, as to the *παλιγγενεσία*, and new heavens and earth of Isaiah and the Apocalypse, figuring not any mere Church triumph already accomplished over Roman Paganism, so as the Eichhorn school, and many Romanists too, (the latter with a view to the Papal supremacy in the world,) expounded the prophecy, nor again any heavenly state of blessedness for the saints, so as Bossuet: but a blessed personal reign of Christ on this our renewed earth; a reign future indeed, but probably near at hand: with the completed triumph of good over evil attending it, and to be introduced by his own personal advent.¹

2. Next, as to any change or progress of opinion on *the general subject of Apocalyptic interpretation*, more especially in England, in the course of the same 20 or 25 years, from about 1820 to 1844.

It was in 1826, the self-same year as that of Irviug's Translation of Ben Ezra, that the first prophetic Pamphlet of the *Rev. S. R. Maitland* (now *Dr. Maitland*) issued from the press; its subject, an "Enquiry" into the truth of the then generally received *year-day* view of the 1260 days of Daniel and the Apocalypse: followed in 1829 and 1830 by "A Second Enquiry" into the same subject; a short Treatise on Antichrist; and a Defence of his former Pamphlets, in reply to the *Morning Watch*. In these, as is well known, he energetically assailed the whole Protestant application of the symbols of Daniel's 4th Beast's little horn, and the Apocalyptic Beast and Babylon, to the Roman Papacy, it being his idea that a quite different personal and avowedly infidel Antichrist was meant; asserted that the prophetic *days* were to be construed simply and only as *literal days*: and advocated an Apocalyptic exegetic scheme even yet more futurist than Ribera's; seeing that he supposed the Evangelist St. John to plunge in spirit even in the very first chapter into "the day of the Lord," or great epoch of judgment at Christ's second coming and the consummation.—Nearly contemporarily with Dr. S. R. Maitland's first Pamphlet Mr. Burgh published in Ireland on the Antichrist, and the Apocalyptic Seals, much to the same general effect: Lacunza's idea being adopted by him of the seven-sealed book being the book of Christ's inheritance; a book now at length opened, and about to have fulfilment.—To a thoughtful reader of Lacunza and Lambert on the one hand, and of Maitland and Burgh on the other, the Contrast of the views exprest about Popery must have appeared very strange:—the two Protestant writers excusing the Papacy from any concern with the predicted antichristian Apostasy, or Beast of Daniel and the Apocalypse; the two Romanist writers, alike the Dominican Father and the Jesuit, deeming its resemblance to that Apostasy and Antichristian Beast, for many centuries previous, to have been so marked, that (although some yet further development might be expected of its evil) yet it was manifestly to *Papal Rome*, as it long had been, and *Papal Rome* even as it would be to the last, that the application of the prophecies was due.¹—One strong point with the new English futurist school was the great *discrepancy* (already noted) of many chief Protestant

¹ See p. 249 *suprà*.

¹ See pp. 532–535, and 539, 540 in my previous Section.

expositors of the historical school on sundry points of Apocalyptic interpretation; e. g. on the Seals, the two Witnesses' death and resurrection, &c.;¹ and manifest unsatisfactoriness of the explanation on some of those points, as given alike by one and all. Here Mr. Maitland dashed in, it has been said, like a falcon into a dovecote, and made havoc of them. Another influential argument for a while in its favour was the asserted utter *novelty* of the year-day principle, as if never dreamt of before Wicliff in reference to the prophetic periods; and moreover the asserted utterly *anti-patristic* character of the views held by the Protestants respecting Antichrist.—The progress of pre-millennarian opinions, and great change of view operated in many minds upon *that* great prophetic point, predisposed them doubtless to change in others; and made not a few more ready to abandon the old Protestant theory on the *year-day* question also, and that of Antichrist.—Another and quite different occurrence operated soon after, and with very great power, to spread and give fresh weight to these anti-Protestant opinions. In 1833 began the publication of the Oxford Tracts. One chief object of the chief writers, soon developed, was to unprotestantize the Church of England.² How then could they overlook, or help availing themselves of, the assistance of these labourers in the futurist school: whose views set aside all application to the Roman Papacy of the fearful prophecies respecting Antichrist; and left Protestantism consequently all open to the charge of unjustifiable schism; and the Papacy all open to the Catholic desires, and aspirations, of the Tractators for re-union?³

So as regards the new English *futurist* school, and its gradual but rapid advance in England in the period spoken of. Nor must I omit to add that in the course of the same 18 or 20 years the gradual influx of German literature into England, including its theology among other branches, began to familiarize the English mind more and more with the most popular German views of Scripture prophecy: i. e. as Eichhorn's scheme in its main points still had sway,¹ with that *Præterist Apocalyptic Scheme* of which a sketch was set before my readers in the preceding Section.² Professor Lee at Cambridge adopted a Præterist view (one somewhat like Bossuet's, though with marked peculiarities) quite independently of German theorists, if I mistake not.³ But many more were directly influenced to the view by German theologians, alike among Germanizing English Churchmen and English Dissenters: until at length in 1845 there came forth

¹ Some bringing the 7th Seal only down to the Constantinian revolution, and viewing the seven Trumpets as the 7th Seal's evolution; others making the Souls, Trumpets, and Vials parallel in chronology, and the 7th of each to reach to the end, &c. See, besides what was said in my last Section, Vol. iii. p. 237.

² See Part v. Ch. 9 in my 3rd Volume.

³ On some of these points the reader may remember my notice in the Chapter on the *Year-day*, beginning Vol. iii. p. 260. Others will be noticed in my review of the *futurist* theory in the 2nd and next Part of this Appendix.

¹ *Ewald, Heinrichs*, and others, had meanwhile written in the same view.

² See pp. 526–529 *suprà*.

³ See my notice of Lee in the next Chapter of this Appendix.

the Anglo-American stereotype of the theory in the elaborate Apocalyptic comment of *Professor Moses Stuart*.⁴

It was after perusal of some of the publications of Messrs. Maitland and Burgh that the question first pressed itself on the mind of the writer of the *Horæ*, as one too important to be lightly passed over, whether, in very truth, the long received Protestant anti-papal solutions of Daniel and the Apocalypse were mere total error, or whether the main error lay with the assailants. And this was the result. The fitting of the prophecies of *Daniel's little horn* and the *Apocalyptic Beast* to the Roman Papacy seemed to him (as to Lambert and Lacunza) on main points so striking, as to render it incredible that the agreement could be a mere chance agreement, or anything but what was intended by the Divine Spirit, that indited the prophecies. But, if so, then he felt also persuaded that on sundry points on which the unsatisfactoriness of the Protestant solutions had been proved, (more especially on the Apocalyptic Seals, the Sealing Vision, that of the rainbow-crowned Angel of Apoc. 10, and its notification about the two Witnesses' death and resurrection, also on the Beast's 7th head, the image of the Beast, and the Apocalyptic structure itself,) some new and better solutions, accordant with the main Protestant view of the Beast and Babylon, must be intended, and by diligent thought and research discoverable.

For it is to be understood that on these points the modern Interpreters of the Protestant Scheme had, up to the time of the publication of the *Horæ*, added nothing, at least nothing of importance, to the lucubrations of their predecessors. It seems to me to have been their chief office, and no unimportant one surely, to awaken attention to the fact of the seventh Trumpet's having sounded at the French Revolution; and to arouse and keep up an interest, often too ready to flag, in the great subject of Scripture Prophecy. So in the case of Messrs. *Faber, Cuninghame*, and *Frere*. So too in that of Messrs. *Bickersteth* and *Birks*, however fanciful, in my opinion, not a little of their originally joint-propounded Scheme of Apocalyptic Interpretation.¹ More especially, as regards Mr. Birks, not only has he by his masterly work on the First Elements of Prophecy advanced the cause of truth, and shown himself its *martel*, and *hammer*, against what I must beg permission anticipatively to call the reveries of the Futurists: but moreover, by his exquisite description of the City that is to be revealed at Christ's second advent, has done much to enlist each hallowed feeling of the heart on the side he advocates; a description such that one might almost suppose the golden reed to have been given him, with which to delineate it, by the Angel that showed to the beloved disciple the Lamb's bride, the New Jerusalem.

⁴ I should add that in Germany a very peculiar *futurist* view of the Apocalypse has been advocated by *Dr. Züllig*. But, after toiling through half a volume of his crabbed German, I must beg to say that, what with its strange conceits, inconclusive conclusions, and neological absurdities, it seems scarce worth the while to present any abstract of it to my readers. And indeed I have not the book, or my notes on it, now by me.

¹ Mr. Birks, as I have had occasion elsewhere to state, has since then abandoned the peculiarities of that scheme, (see my Vol. i. p. 549, and Vol. iii. p. 192,) and united himself very much with myself in the general view of Apocalyptic interpretation.

So in 1844 the “HORÆ APOCALYPTICÆ” was first published; its four subsequent Editions being sent forth in 1846, 1847, 1851; its 5th now in 1862. The views and anticipations with which I began and prosecuted my researches were more particularly as follows.

1st, I was persuaded that, if the Apocalypse were indeed a *Divine revelation* of the things that were afterwards to come to pass, (i.e. from *after the time of St. John’s seeing the vision, or close of Domitian’s reign,*² to the consummation,) then the intervening *æras and events* prospectively *selected* for prefiguration must necessarily (just as in the case of any judicious historian’s retrospective selection) have been those of most importance in the subsequent history of Christendom; and that the *prophetic picturings* in each case, especially if much in detail, must have been such as to be applicable perfectly to those events and *æras* distinctively and alone. If applied, as I saw they had been in previous expositions, to the most different events, *æras*, and subjects, this must have arisen, I felt sure, from the expositors not having explored the peculiarity and force of the prophetic figurations with sufficient research, care, and particularity: whether on principle, so as in the case of some,¹ or indolence, ignorance, and want of discernment, so as in that of many others. This was a lesson to me of the necessity of noting most carefully every peculiarity of indication in each of the sacred figurations, and of sparing no pains in the investigation of whatever might elucidate it. And certainly a success beyond all that I could have anticipated seemed to myself to result from these researches. First there presented itself to me, in the more perfect elucidation of each and every point of detail in the figuration of the four first Seals,—in part from medallic, in part from other previously unnoticed sources of illustration,—an anticipative prophetic sketch, singularly exact, of the fortunes and phases of the secular Roman empire from St. John’s time to near the end of the third century:—then, by the light of similarly new and peculiar evidence, the *fixing* of the long previously suggested application of the 5th and 6th Trumpet symbolization to the Saracenic and Turkish invasions respectively; and *fixing* too, as applicable to the times of the Reformation, of the intent of the rainbow-crowned Angel’s descent and doings, and of St. John’s measuring of the Apocalyptic temple, and of Christ’s two sackcloth-robed witnesses’ death, resurrection, and ascent in Apoc. 10 and 11, in the *æra* of the same 6th Trumpet. After which again came up before me the admirable use of medallic monuments of the times in elucidation of the prophecy. In Apoc. 12 the long before supposed application of the symbol of the seven-headed Dragon, with *diadems* on his heads, seeking to devour the sun-clothed Woman’s child when born, to Roman Heathendom’s last warring against the Christian Church, and Constantine the eldest kingly son of the Church, at the opening of the 4th century, received confirmation from the fact of the *diadem* having just at that very time been adopted as the chief imperial head-badge. Besides which in this my present Edition there will be found similarly illustrated, and confirmed, the truth of the application of the ten *diademed* horns of the Beast from the sea in Apoc. 13 to the ten Romano-Gothic kings of Western Europe in the 6th century: they having just then adopted the *diadem* as their royal head-badge, as seen in the notable Plate of their barbaric coins of about that date given in my Vol. iii. p. 145.—2ndly, as

² That this was the date of the Apocalypse I had already well assured myself.

¹ So e.g. by Cuninghame, Preface to 1st Edition, p. vi. “I do not attempt to explain every minute part of a symbol, but content myself with endeavouring to seize its great outlines. I consider the symbol of the Apocalypse in the light of *prophetical parables*.” And so too Mr. Frere, and others.

Scripture prophecy generally, instead of separating what it might have to say on *the Church* (Jewish or Christian), and the *world's secular powers* any way connected with it, was apt to intermingle those savings, so it seemed to me likely that it would be in Apocalyptic prophecy; however contrary to the expository principles acted on by other prophetic expositors, such as I have lately been speaking of.¹ The fact, which I soon ascertained in my primary Apocalyptic researches, of a *Temple or Tabernacle*, with its triple division into *Altar-Court*, *Holy Place*, and *most Holy*, ever standing as the perpetual fore-ground before the Apostle, throughout the revelation of the prophecy, with Mount Zion and the Holy City adjacent, and all in connexion with the pictured world around this,²—suggesting as it did the facility of turning at any time from one to the other, strengthened my à priori expectation, and was in fact found by me afterwards to be so taken advantage of perpetually in the prophetic figurations.—3rdly, the circumstance of the prophecy being written (as is expressly stated) on the seven-scaled scroll's two sides, “*within and without*,” offered, I saw, in the most obvious and simple manner, a form of the prophetic Book in which, side by side, there might be inscribed the chronological parallelisms of parts so parallel, but separated in the prophecy from each other; and consequently that there was no need of seizing on the *Little opened Book* of Apoc. 10, so as had been done by Mede, Faber, and many others, without any warrant in the prophecy itself, in order to supply that particular want:³—therewith cancelling, as I have more than once observed that they did, that most true application of the inestimably important figurations in Apoc. 10 and 11, made by the Protestant Reforming Fathers of the 16th century, to the re-opening of the Gospel in their own times. And indeed in the very remarkable evidence of *allusive contract*, drawn by me from the history of the times of Leo X and Luther, the truth of the application of the whole prophecy of Apoc. 10 to the outburst, and subsequent progress, of the great Protestant Reformation of the 16th century seemed, and still seems, to me to be made certain.

It was to be expected that an exposition in many respects so new and important would be met by adverse criticisms and objections. And, accordingly, in the course of the three or four years in which the three first Editions of the *Horæ* were published, many adverse strictures appeared: especially those written by the late Rev. T. K. Arnold, by the Rev. W. G. Barker, and by Dr. Keith; each followed, of course, by a reply from me. It does not need here to say more of these controversies than that, while furnishing occasion for the correction of certain smaller errors in detail, the satisfaction was left me by them of seeing, as the result, confirmation of the soundness of the main points in my exposition. In proof of which it may be mentioned that when called upon, after a few years' continuous controversy in the pages of the *British Magazine*, to sum up, so as it had been given me to expect, the result of the controversy, Mr. Arnold declined to do it:¹ and that Dr. Keith, after having advertised in 1848 the speedy publication of a refutation of my very elaborate reply to him in the “*Vindiciæ Horariæ*,” has never published it to the present

¹ E.g. Faber's declaration about the Seals as symbols of the Roman Empire generally, Frere of the Western secular Empire, Cuninghame of the Church. See pp. 548–550 *suprà*.

² This is enlarged on in my Preliminary Chapter, Vol. i. pp. 98–104.

³ See my notice of the point, as first suggested by Mede, p. 492 *suprà*.

¹ See *British Magazine* for 1847.

day. Besides which, I am happy to say yet further, that as, in the earlier days of the *Horæ*, it had to undergo the sifting of continuous criticisms, so, quite lately, it has had to meet the continuous criticisms of *Dean Alford* in his Commentary on the Apocalypse: criticisms more generally adverse than favourable; but given for the most part as mere dicta ex cathedrâ, without any refutation, and very often without any notice, of the proof and evidence on which my opinions were founded. This too has called forth a reply from me,² challenging from him a notice and confutation of that evidence, or else a retraetation of his adverse criticisms. As to the result of which challenge, it needs no very sanguine temperament on my part to assure me that the Dean will be found just as unable to justify his objections as even Dr. Keith.

Let me add, that on the great *Millennary question* I had the real advantage, before publishing the 4th Edition of the "*Horæ*," of seeing my own views contested, and the Whitbyite hypothesis advocated, by Dr. Brown, of Glasgow. And, certainly, he seems to me to have said all that can be most effectively said against the one, and in support of the other. After most careful consideration, however, of his book, my judgment on the question has remained unchanged. For the strength of his argument consists in the exhibition of the difficulties in detail which encompass the idea of the millennium such as I suppose prophecy to foretell, under Christ's personal reign on earth; difficulties which (as in the case of the prediction of the Noachic Flood of old), if insoluble by man now, may be left to God in his own time to answer: the strength of my own in the many more or less express declarations asserting or implying it in Holy Scripture.

As might have been expected, various Apocalyptic commentaries have issued from the press since my first publication of the *Horæ*: e. g., among those wholly or mainly dissentient from it, those of *Desprez*, *W. H. Scott*, and, more lately, of the *Rev. Frederick Maurice*, on somewhat of the German *wholly Præterist* system; (including, of course, as one thing *of the past*, the Apocalyptic *millennium*;¹) of which the very basis, being the baseless presumption of a Neronic date attaching to the Revelation in Patmos, would of itself be decisive against them,² were other

² The "Apocalypsis Alfordiana."

¹ The fact of the millennium having long past involves naturally with it that of the *saints* promised *premillenary resurrection* being a thing of the past also. So accordingly Mr. D. boldly states his view. "Why," argues he, with reference to Christ's personal second coming, and the saints' resurrection and ascension spoken of by St. Paul in 1 Cor. 15, "might it not have taken place at that time when Josephus tells us that heavenly apparitions of chariots and soldiers in armour were seen in the clouds, shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem?" Yet St. John left behind!!

² If the Neronic date be not the true one," says Mr. Desprez, "the edifice (i.e. of his Exposition) erected at so much cost and care will fall headlong to the ground." Does Mr. D. then attempt to support the Neronic, and gainsay the Domitianic, with any effect better than his predecessors in the same theory? By no means. In fact he seems unaware of the strength of the argument against him, alike from *internal* and *external* evidence.

Dr. Davidson's final and total renunciation of the Neronic date, (*Biblical Criticism*, Vol. iii. pp. 519–614,) after being committed to it as strongly as man could be, (so it will be seen in my next Chapter,) is a remarkable testimony to this.

grounds of refutation wanting, such as in fact abound, as we shall see in my next Chapter:—those of *Dr. Wordsworth*, and of *Hengstenberg* in Germany, on more or less of the continuous *historic* system, admitting the Domitianic date, but regarding the *millennium* as a period of the past, or past and present, not of the future; historic schemes that we may designate as *millenario-Præteristic*:—also, on the *Futurist* system, not a few smaller treatises; such, more especially, as “Israel’s Future,” by the *Rev. Capel Molyneux*; “Plain Papers on Prophecy,” by *Mr. Trotter* of York; and, quite recently, the Apocalyptic Commentary by *Mr. W. Kelly*, of Guernsey. As I am not aware that they have any one on any point of importance added further light to Apocalyptic exposition, or suggested new objections of any real weight to my own exposition, I might perhaps fairly be excused the task of dwelling here longer on any of them, and content myself by referring to my notices of several in the Appendix to my Warburton Lectures, and elsewhere.¹ In one or other, however, of the several Chapters devoted to the review, and I trust refutation, of the chief Apocalyptic counter-Schemes to my own, (viz. primarily the wholly *Præteristic* and the *Futuristic*, and further too the *Millenario-Præteristic* of certain of the historic school,) fitting opportunities will occur for noticing both *Mr. W. Kelly’s* recent Commentary, on the principle of *Modified Futurism*; and also *Dr. Wordsworth’s*, and (more at large) *Hengstenberg’s millenario-Præteristic* system, conjunctively with the advocacy of it by the respected name of *Bishop Waldegrave*.² Finally, as *Dean Alford*, in the Commentary on the Apocalypse in his last Volume, has commented continuously and generally unfavourably on my exposition, I have thought it well, as already said, to publish a reply to him in a separate Pamphlet.

For, in conclusion, the readers of this Historic Sketch will see that there are but *three grand Schemes of Apocalyptic interpretation* that can be considered as standing up face to face against each other; with any serious pretensions to truth, or advocacy supporting them of any real literary weight.—The 1st is that of the *præterists*; restricting the subject of the prophecy, except in its two or three last chapters, to the catastrophes of the Jewish nation and old Roman Empire, one or both, as accomplished in the 1st and 2nd, or 5th and 6th centuries respectively: which Scheme, originally propounded, as we saw, by the Jesuit Alcasar, and then adopted by Grotius, has been *under one modification*, and on the hypothesis of a *Neronic* date of the Apocalypse, urged till quite of late alike by most of the more eminent of the later German prophetic expositors, by Professor Moses Stuart in the United States of America, and by the disciples of the German School in England; also, *under another modification*, and on the hypothesis of a *Domitianic* date, by Bossuet.—The 2nd is the *Futurists’* Scheme; making the whole of the Apocalyptic Prophecy, (excepting *perhaps* the primary Vision and Letters to the Seven Churches,)¹ to relate to things even now future, viz. the things concerning Christ’s second Advent: a Scheme

¹ See especially my review Desprez in the Appendix to my Warburton Lectures; and that of the late Mr. Beale’s Apocalyptic Commentary called *Armageddon*, in the January No. of the “Christian Observer,” 1860.

² The bearing of *Professor Fairbairn’s* able Book on Prophecy, not long since published, on the point in question will also come under review.

¹ Dr. S. R. Maitland, as before observed, and also the Rev. James Kelly and others, would have even the first Chapter refer to the distant and closing future. Others however begin the future only with Ch. 4.

this first set forth, we saw, by the Jesuit Ribera, at the end of the 16th century; and which in its main principle has been urged alike by Dr. S. R. Maitland, Mr. Burgh, the Oxford Traetator on Antichrist, and others, in our own times and æra, not without considerable success: also by other expositors of late, but with certain considerable modifications, which too ought not to be past over without notice.—The 3rd is what we may call emphatically the *Protestant continuous Historic Scheme of Interpretation*; that which regards the Apocalypse as a prefiguration in detail of the chief events affecting the Church and Christendom, whether secular or ecclesiastical, from St. John's time to the consummation:—a Scheme this which, in regard of its particular application of the symbols of Babylon and the Beast to Papal Rome and the Popedom, was early embraced, as we saw, by the Waldenses, Wickliffites, and Hussites; then adopted with fuller light by the chief reformers, German, Swiss, French, and English, of the 16th century; and thence transmitted downwards uninterruptedly, even to the present time.

It is this last which I embrace for my own part with a full and ever strengthening conviction of its truth. Of each of the other two counter-Schemes, in each of their two forms, the original unmodified and the modified, there will follow a critical review, and I hope decisive refutation, in my next Part.