A NEW ILLUSTRATION
OF THE LATTER PART OF
DANIEL'S LAST VISION
AND
PROPHECY,
RESPECTING WHICH
COMMENTATORS HAVE GREATLY DIFFERED FROM EACH OTHER,
SHewing ITS
FULFILMENT
IN EVENTS RECORDED IN AUTHENTIC HISTORY.

BY
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"I am the Lord; that is my name: and my glory will I not give to another, neither my praise to graven images.
"Behold, the former things are come to pass, and new things do I declare; before they spring forth I tell you of them."

ISAIAH XLII. 8, 9.

LONDON
SMITH, ELDER, AND CO.;
J. JOHNSTONE, HUNTER SQUARE, EDINBURGH;
A. BROWN AND CO., ABERDEEN.

1838.
to

DUNCAN MEARNS, D.D.

PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY IN THE UNIVERSITY AND KING’S COLLEGE
OF ABERDEEN; ONE OF HER MAJESTY’S CHAPLAINS
FOR SCOTLAND, &c. &c. &c.

My Dear Sir,

When, some time ago, I verbally made known to you the views, that had occurred to me, of the fulfilment of that part of Daniel’s last Prophecy, which is the subject of this small Volume, you said, that they appeared worthy of a detailed illustration; and now, when, on that encouragement, I have written the illustration, and resolved to publish it, I feel much gratified, by having obtained your permission to dedicate it to you; as I am thus encouraged in my purpose to present it for the consideration of my Fellow-Christians, and furnished with the opportunity of publicly expressing the great esteem for you, both in your public and private capacity, which our long intimacy has taught me to entertain.

I am,

My Dear Sir,

Your obliged and faithful Friend,

JAMES FARQUHARSON.

Alford, 18th June, 1838.
PREFACE.

The history of the origin of the following Illustrations is brief and simple. The Author, in examining our Saviour's prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem, observed, that his professed quotation of Daniel seems obviously taken from near the conclusion of that Prophet's last prophecy, and not from his prophecy of the seventy weeks, as indicated in the marginal reference of our Bibles. This opened up a new view of the latter part of the last prophecy, at variance with the most popular and recently received interpretations of it. The most approved commentators of modern times have applied much of the latter part to events, that have occurred since the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, and the last chapter to the general resurrection from the dead; whereas the quotation from it, by Christ, obviously directs us to look for the fulfilment of the whole, in events that occurred at, or antecedently to, that destruction. It was natural, under such circumstances, to inquire into the true meaning of the terms of the latter part of the prophecy, and to compare it with historical events of the time, to which it now seemed limited. On doing this, the most close and signal fulfilment of every clause of the prophecy was immediately recognised among these events. The whole of the last prophecy assumed, at the same time, a character of more consistency and unity than it had presented, as formerly interpreted. Other interpreters had demonstrated the fulfilment of all the former part of the prophecy, as existing in events succeeding each other in a regular and close order of time; but, to find the fulfilment of all the latter part, they had wandered far away from that order; and respecting this part, there was much of vagueness and uncertainty in their discussions. In the new view taken of the latter part, the whole prophecy, from beginning to end,
had its fulfilment in events which followed each other, in regular and 
close succession, in the order of authentic history.

The number of agreements, between the latter part of the pro-
phesy, when taken in that view, and these events, is great; and 
many of the events are of the deepest interest of any that have ever 
occurred in the world,—being no less than the advent of Christ, the 
precise time of which is foreshewn in this prophecy,—the deliver-
ance he wrought for mankind,—his preaching, and that of his 
Apostles,—and the communication of the Gospel to the Gentiles. 
At the same time, the order and time of the fulfilment are such, as to 
obviate, in the most effectual manner, the ancient infidel objection to 
this prophecy of Daniel,—frequently renewed in modern times,— 
that it was written after the events took place. These circumstances 
have, in the Author's view, given such importance to the subject, 
that, as a small contribution to the evidences of the Christian Reli-
gion, he ventures to offer these illustrations to the public.

It will be seen that, in the discussions, he refers chiefly to our 
most common and popular authorities, both in Theological Literature, 
and in History. He does so, indeed, in preference; because their 
being common and popular is just the seal of a very general appro-
bation attached to them, and thus a ground of much confidence, that 
no one, who relies on them, will be liable to any great error, in doing 
so. There are, therefore, many things introduced, which must be 
deemed very trite and common, excepting in their new application. 
There are also not a few repetitions of subjects, or parts of subjects, 
which appeared necessary for the sake of clearness, in placing some 
things in a new light. He is sensible, that, in various respects, this 
little Volume will be found very imperfect; but he has the utmost 
assurance, that the Christian public will extend indulgence to every 
honest attempt, however limited or feeble, to illustrate any part of 
the Sacred Volume; and he trusts, that, in making his present 
attempt to do so, his desire is sincere to aid in promoting the know-
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tian minds, of the Heavenly Origin of the Bible.
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exercising a spiritual function, and extending his power by signs and lying wonders.—His prophecy is full, clear, and precise in its terms, and is obviously fulfilled in the Pope of Rome.—Daniel predicts a character of great impiety, but in terms like those that are applied by other prophets to various impious characters.—The predictions, in the 36th, 37th, 38th, and 39th verses, literally fulfilled in Herod—in his being the only king, after Daniel's time, over the whole Jewish nation, independently of the priestly authority—in his tyranny, and success in war—in his impiety—in his apparently pious speeches to the Jews—in his reign continuing down to the time of the wicked generation which rejected the Saviour—in his Idumean descent—in his murdering his beloved wife, and all her kindred—in his rebuilding the temple at Jerusalem, and converting it into a fortress, with a garrison, to oversee the Jews, and secure his own power—in his building walled cities, having splendid temples in them, dedicated to Augustus Caesar, as a divinity—in his filling these with garrisons—and assigning the neighbouring lands to the soldiers. —The predictions, in the 40th verse, fulfilled—in Cleopatra and Mark Antony going to war with Augustus Caesar—in Herod, at first, being on the side of Cleopatra and Antony—in the rapidity of the conquests of Augustus, in that war—in his fighting some actions with cavalry, but none with infantry—in his gaining the great naval victory of Actium—and in his quickly getting possession of a great extent of territory.—The predictions, in the 41st verse, fulfilled—in Augustus with his army passing through Judea—and in the failure of the expedition he sent against the mingled people of Arabia.—The predictions, in the 42d and 43d verses, fulfilled—in his reducing Egypt, and its dependencies, to the form of a Roman province—in his getting possession of the treasures of Cleopatra, although she, at one time, meditated flying with them by the Red Sea, and, at another, burning them with herself—and in his subduing, by his officers, the Garamantes in Libya, and Candace queen of Ethiopia.—The predictions, in the 44th verse, fulfilled—in the announcement of the birth of Jesus, by the wise men from the east—in the intelligence Herod received from Rome of the conspiracies of his son Antipater, and the undutiful behaviour of two other sons—in Herod's great fury on these occasions—in his slaying the young children of Bethlehem, his son Antipater, and many other persons, about the same time.—The predictions, in the 45th verse, fulfilled—in Herod's building two royal palaces in Jerusalem, where, it appears from Matthew, he was
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A

NEW ILLUSTRATION

OF THE LATTER PART OF

DANIEL'S LAST VISION AND PROPHECY.

SECTION I.

Contents.—The passage of Daniel's Last Prophecy, which is the subject of illustration, begins with the 31st Verse of the xi. Chapter, and extends to the end of the Book of Daniel.—Bishop Newton's Account of the various opinions that have been held regarding it.—Brief statement of his Interpretation of it.—That Interpretation deserts the historical order of events;—Is inconsistent with the view in which the passage is presented, by our Saviour's express quotation of the prophet Daniel;—And with some terms in the passage itself.—Brief statement of the Interpretation of the passage now to be offered.—Translation of the passage—and Criticism vindicating the changes made in it from the common translation.

The following observations refer to that part of Daniel's Last Vision and Prophecy which commences with the thirty-first verse of the eleventh chapter, and goes on to the conclusion of the Book. Regarding the former part of the Vision and Prophecy, down to the end of the thirtieth verse of that chapter, there has been little difference of opinion among commentators. They have explained it, as referring to the Kings of Persia, Alexander the Great, and his successors in the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt,—and the condition of the Jewish people, as affected by the events that occurred in the history of
these several monarchs. So accurately do these events correspond with the predictions in this part of Daniel, that the infidel, Porphyry, could not evade the force of the argument, thence arising, for the Divine Inspiration of the prophecy, otherwise than by asserting that the prophecy was written after the events.

But, while commentators thus agree in their interpretations so far down in the prophecy, they differ greatly from each other respecting all that follows the thirtieth verse referred to. We shall well express their several agreements and differences in the language that Bishop Newton employs, when he has brought his own interpretations down to the point where the differences begin. "Thus far," says he, "the meaning and the completion of the prophecy is sufficiently clear and evident; there is more obscurity and difficulty in the part that remains to be considered. Thus far commentators are in the main agreed, and few or none have deviated much out of the common road: but hereafter they pursue so many different paths, that it is not always easy to know whom it is best and safest to follow. Some, as Porphyry among the ancients, and Grotius among the moderns, contend that the whole was literally accomplished in Antiochus Epiphanes. Others, as Jerome, and most of the Christian Fathers, consider Antiochus as a type of Antichrist; as, in the seventy-second Psalm, Solomon is exhibited as a type of Christ, and many things are said of the one, which are only applicable to the other. Some, again, understand what remains, partly of the tyranny of Antiochus, and partly of the great apostacy of the latter days, or the days of the Roman empire. Others, again, apply it wholly to
the invasion and tyranny of the Romans, the subsequent corruptions in the church, and alterations in the empire. There is no writer or commentator, whom we would choose to follow implicitly in all things; but in this we may agree with one, in that with another, and in some instances, perhaps, differ from all.”

This accomplished interpreter then proceeds to examine the interpretations, which, before his time, had been put on this part of Daniel, and endeavours to establish his own; which, in brief terms, is, that from the thirty-first to the thirty-fifth verse of the eleventh chapter, both inclusive, the prophecy refers to the power of the Romans, the destruction of Jerusalem by that people, and the extension, persecution, and corruptions of Christianity; that, from the thirty-sixth verse to the end of the chapter, it refers to the papal superstitions, and the wars of the Saracens and Turks; and that the beginning, at least, of the twelfth chapter refers to the general resurrection.

The interpretation of Bishop Newton has been very generally received as the right one, by succeeding writers, although some have differed from him; as for instance, the Rev. Edward Cooper, who, in a treatise on the subject of some prophecies, dedicated to the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, has referred the prophecy, at the thirty-sixth verse of the eleventh chapter of Daniel, to Napoleon Bonaparte.†

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* Bishop Newton’s “Dissertations on the Prophecies”; — Dissert. XVII.
† The Crisis. By the Rev. Edward Cooper. Lond. 1825.
The prophecy in the eleventh chapter, down to the conclusion of the thirtieth verse, is allowed, almost universally, as we have just seen, to have a continuous reference to closely-successive events, in the histories of the Persian, Macedonian, Syrian, and Egyptian Kings, down to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. According to Bishop Newton, the thirtieth and several preceding verses refer to that tyrant.* In this part of the prophecy and its fulfilment, there is no remarkable void; there is no great series of events, affecting the Jewish people, whose condition was deeply influenced by the transactions of these kings, passed over by the Prophet in silence. The leading outlines of the wars, conquests, and revolutions of the Persian, Macedonian, Greco-Syrian, and Graeco-Egyptian kingdoms, as involving the fate of the Jews, are laid down continuously by Daniel, without any great breach in them. But, according to the above scheme of interpretation of Bishop Newton, the Prophet, after giving a circumstantial prediction of part of the acts of Antiochus Epiphanes, makes a great leap away to the Romans, and comes suddenly to the time of Vespasian and Titus;—thus entirely passing over many great and deeply-interesting events in history, both sacred and profane. In admitting this great breach in the continuity of the events, to which he explains Daniel as referring, Bishop Newton adopts, and rests his explanations upon, some criticisms and translations of Daniel's text, by Sir Isaac Newton, which, we shall afterwards shew, are erroneous; being

* Dissert. XVI.
rendered inadmissible by the grammatical structure of the
text itself; and, more especially, being rendered inadmis-
sible, because they are at variance with our Saviour's
express reference to, and illustration of, the concluding
part of this last vision and prophecy of Daniel. The re-
ference to this prophecy, and illustration of the concluding
part of it, by our Saviour, have been, since the time of
Jerome at least, very strangely overlooked; and some
remarkable terms in the prophecy itself, which obviously
limit and circumscribe the time within which we are to
look for its complete fulfilment, have been equally unat-
tended to. We trust to be able to demonstrate, that the
illustration of Christ, and the plain terms of Daniel, by so
limiting the time for the fulfilment, furnish us with a key
for the opening up of every thing that has hitherto been
deemed mysterious in the prophecy, and has afforded room
for such a variety of conflicting opinions.

We propose to shew, in what follows, that the part of
the prophecy, from the thirty-first to the thirty-fifth verse
of the eleventh chapter, both inclusive, was fulfilled in
Antiochus Epiphanes, the Maccabees, and the Asmonean
Priests and Kings who succeeded them; and thus, here
to restore, in part, the interpretation of Porphyry and
Grotius;—that the part, from the beginning of the
thirty-sixth verse to the end of the eleventh chapter, was
fulfilled in Herod the Great, and in the wars between
Mark Antony and Cleopatra, on the one hand, and
Augustus Caesar, on the other, which took place during
that tyrant's reign in Judea, and which the Prophet intro-
duces parenthetically, in the prediction of his most singular
history and actions;—and that the part in the twelfth
chapter was fulfilled in the Advent of Christ,—in the atonement he made for the sins of men,—in his Apostles enlightening the world with the most sublime and cheering doctrines, both by their preaching and writings, and disseminating Divine knowledge and the good tidings of salvation, among all nations,—in the wilful ignorance and irreclaimable wickedness of the unbelieving and impenitent Jews,—in the warning that Christ gave to his disciples of the approaching destruction of that sinful nation, by which they were enabled to observe the signs that preceded it,—and, lastly, in the capture and demolition of the city Jerusalem, after a war of forty-four and a half months' duration, from the time of its first breaking out, and in the utter overthrow of the national power of the Jews, and their complete dispersion, by the Roman army under Titus.

In this train of history, we believe, we shall be able to prove, that all the events and circumstances predicted by the Prophet, which are very numerous, and crowded upon each other, and, at the same time, all of a momentous kind, actually took place in exact agreement with his terms. It will be seen at first view, by every reader, that one high probability of the correctness of this whole scheme of interpretation exists in this,—that, by adopting it, we go on continuously with the acknowledged order of history, and follow its unbroken stream of events, in illustrating the latter portion of the prophecy, as all the commentators do, in illustrating the earlier portion of it, down to the time of Epiphanes. This circumstance will, we have little doubt, excite attention to the following details of an illustration, the justness of which is thus per-
ceived to possess a high probability, upon the first announcement of its purpose.

In the part of the prophecy under consideration, there occur, in the original, some difficult terms, that have been the subject of criticism, into the true meaning of which it is necessary we should inquire. We think our common English translation does not, in several instances, give the right meaning; and there runs through it, from the beginning to the end of the passage, an inconsistency with itself, in translating the Hebrew connective particle especially, and also some of the prepositions, that obscures the simplicity of the text, and, instead of presenting to us the clauses of the Prophet's language as merely successive to each other, exhibits the sense expressed in many of them, as conditional on, or exceptive of, what goes immediately before; while no condition or exception of the kind is necessarily implied in the connective term, or urged upon us by the sense of the conjoined clauses. To relieve the passage from the confusion introduced into our common translation by this inconsistency, we shall first set down, in parallel columns, the common English version and the translation we approve of; and afterwards shew the critical reasons for the changes we propose.

DANIEL XI. 31.
COMMON TRANSLATION.
31. And arms shall stand on his part, and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength, and shall take away the daily sacrifice, and they shall place the abomination that maketh desolate.

DANIEL XI. 31.
PROPOSED TRANSLATION.
31. And arms, from him, shall stand, and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength, and they shall cause the daily sacrifice to be taken away, and they shall place the abomination that maketh desolate.
32. And such as do wickedly against the covenant shall he corrupt by flatteries; but the people that do know their God shall be strong, and do exploits.

33. And they that understand among the people shall instruct many: yet they shall fall by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil, many days.

34. Now, when they shall fall, they shall be holpen with a little help; but many shall cleave to them with flatteries.

35. And some of them of understanding shall fall, to try them, and to purge, and to make them white, even to the time of the end: because it is yet for a time appointed.

36. ¶ And the king shall do according to his will; and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every God, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished: for that that is determined shall be done.

37. Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women, nor regard any god: for he shall magnify himself above all.

38. But in his estate shall he honour the God of forces: and a god whom his fathers knew not
COMMON TRANSLATION.

shall he honour with gold and silver, and with precious stones, and pleasant things.

39. Thus shall he do in the most strong holds with a strange god, whom he shall acknowledge and increase with glory: and he shall cause them to rule over many, and shall divide the land for gain.

40. ¶ And at the time of the end shall the king of the south push at him: and the king of the north shall come against him like a whirlwind, with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships; and he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow and pass over.

41. He shall enter also into the glorious land, and many countries shall be overthrown: but these shall escape out of his hand, even Edom, and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon.

42. He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries: and the land of Egypt shall not escape.

43. But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt: and the Libyans and Ethiopians shall be at his steps.

44. But tidings out of the east and out of the north shall trouble him: therefore, he shall go forth

PROPOSED TRANSLATION.

fathers knew not, he shall honour them with gold, and with silver, and with costly stones, and with precious things.

39. And he shall do like things to walled fortresses with a strange god, whom he shall acknowledge, and increase with glory; and he shall cause them to have power in multitudes, and shall parcel out the land in hire.

40. (And in the time of the end, a king of the south shall push with him; and a king of the north shall come upon him like a whirlwind, with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships, and he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow and pass over.

41. And he shall enter into the glorious land, and many countries shall be overthrown: and these shall escape out of his hand, Edom, and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon.

42. And he shall stretch forth his hand upon the countries, and the land of Egypt shall not escape.

43. And he shall have power over the treasures of gold and silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt; and the Libyans and Ethiopians shall be at his steps.)

44. And tidings out of the east and out of the north shall trouble him; and he shall go forth with
COMMON TRANSLATION.

with great fury to destroy, and utterly to make away many.

45. And he shall plant the tabernacles of his palaces between the seas in the glorious holy mountain; yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him.

PROPOSED TRANSLATION.

great fury to destroy, and utterly to make away many.

45. And he shall plant his royal dwelling-places between the seas, in the glorious holy mountain; and he shall come to his end, and none shall help him.

CHAPTER XII.

COMMON TRANSLATION.

1. And at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince which standeth for the children of thy people; and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time: and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book.

2. And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.

3. And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever.

4. But thou, O Daniel, shut up the words, and seal the book, even to the time of the end: many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.

5. ¶ Then I Daniel looked, and, behold, there stood other two, the one on this side of the bank of the river, and the other on that side of the bank of the river.

CHAPTER XII.

PROPOSED TRANSLATION.

1. And at that time Michael shall stand, the great prince who standeth for the children of thy people; and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation, to that time; and at that time thy people shall be delivered, all found written in the book.

2. And many that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to everlasting shame and contempt.

3. And they that cause to be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that cause many to be righteous, as the stars for ever and ever.

4. And thou, Daniel, shut up the words, and seal the book, to the time of the end; many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.

5. And I, Daniel, looked, and, behold, there stood other two, one on one bank of the river, and one on the other bank of the river.
COMMON TRANSLATION.

6. And one said to the man clothed in linen, which was upon the waters of the river, How long shall it be to the end of these wonders?

7. And I heard the man clothed in linen, which was upon the waters of the river, when he held up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and sware by him that liveth for ever, that it shall be for a time, times, and an half; and when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished.

8. And I heard, but I understood not: then said I, O my Lord, what shall be the end of these things?

9. And he said, Go thy way, Daniel; for the words are closed up and sealed till the time of the end.

10. Many shall be purified, and made white, and tried; but the wicked shall do wickedly: and none of the wicked shall understand; but the wise shall understand.

11. And from the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination that maketh desolate set up, there shall be a thousand two hundred hundred and ninety days.

12. Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three

PROPOSED TRANSLATION.

6. And said to the man clothed in linen, who was upon the waters of the river, How long shall be the end of these wonders?

7. And I heard the man clothed in linen, who was upon the waters of the river, and he held up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and sware by him that liveth for ever, that it shall be for a time, times, and a part; and when, in the finishing, the power of the holy people is scattered abroad, all these things shall be finished.

8. And I heard, and I understood not: and I said, O my Lord, what shall be the latter end of these things?

9. And he said, Go thy way, Daniel; for the words are shut up, and sealed to the time of the end.

10. Many shall be made clean, and shall be made white, and shall be refined; and the wicked shall do wickedly; and none of the wicked shall understand, and they that cause to be wise shall understand.

11. And from the time the daily sacrifice is caused to be taken away, and to the setting up the abomination of desolation, a thousand two hundred and ninety days.

12. He is blessed, that waiteth, and cometh to a thousand
COMMON TRANSLATION.

hundred and five and thirty days.

13. But go thou thy way till the end be: for thou shalt rest, and stand in thy lot at the end of the days.

PROPOSED TRANSLATION.

three hundred and five and thirty days.

13. And go thou thy way to the end, and thou shalt rest, and shalt stand in thy portion, at the end of the days.

In the above proposed translation, it has been our wish not to depart from the common one, excepting where it seems necessary to do so, for some good reason, derived from the conditions in the text, and the general use of the terms in other passages of Scripture. Where we have made alterations, we have endeavoured to adhere literally to the terms of the original. Hence it is that we have admitted several forms of expression, that do not very well accord with the idioms of our language; but it will be readily allowed that it is only on a literal, and not on any free or paraphrasical, translation, that we can be entitled to found any reasonings, in such a case as the present.

It will be seen that the most pervading of our proposed alterations consists in the preserving a uniformity in rendering the Hebrew connective particle. In the common translation, it has been rendered by the various terms—but, yet, now, thus, also, therefore, then, when, for, in addition to and; which last we have all along adopted. It is true, that the Hebrew connective letter, according to the sense of the coupled sentences, and their obvious limitations of each other, and other obvious mutually depen-
dent conditions, does, in many passages of the Hebrew Scriptures, admit or require these other renderings. In this passage, however, we can discover no such connected sense in any of the coupled sentences, or clauses, as plainly directs to any other meaning of the connective, than that expressed by and; unless in the beginning of the 39th verse of the xi. chapter, which we shall particularly notice, when we come to that passage in the order of the verses.

There is the authority of the Septuagint version, such as it is, (and, in this Book of Daniel, we acknowledge it does not seem to us to be great,) for this uniform translation of the connective particle. Through the whole passage, it is, in the Septuagint, rendered καί; excepting in one place, where it is dropt out.

We will proceed now, in the order of the verses, to shew the critical grounds of the other more important changes we have proposed in the translation. Many of these grounds are indeed of quite a common-place description; but however trite they may be, we think it proper to state them fully, where we venture to propose any change from our common translation,—which all acknowledge to be, on the whole, as a correct expression of the sense of the Holy Scriptures, among the most accurate that have been made. We shall have occasion frequently to refer to other passages of Scripture, and to quote them for the sense of terms. In doing so, it would answer no good end to fill our pages with the Hebrew terms; as they, who may inquire into the justness of our criticisms, will naturally have recourse to the Bible itself. For the sake of brevity, however, it will sometimes be advisable to
introduce the Hebrew term; and where this is not done, in quotations from other passages of Scripture, it will be understood, that in these the original terms are the same, or, at least, of the same root, with those in Daniel, which may, at the place, be under discussion.

CHAPTER XI.

Verse 31.

Arms from him shall stand, we propose instead of arms shall stand on his part. In vindication of this alteration, we refer to Parkhurst, who has proved by examples, under the term נך, that with נ prefix, and a pronoun suffix, it has the sense from or of. There is a criticism on the word יִהְמָךְ, here, by Sir Isaac Newton, on which we shall have occasion to make some remarks, when we proceed to the illustration of the verse from history.

They shall cause the daily sacrifice to be taken away, instead of shall take away the daily sacrifice. The verb is in hiphil.

Verse 32.

In the covenant, instead of against the covenant. In is the most common sense of the prefix here. Against is a rare sense. There is nothing in the text that directs to any other than the most common sense, and that more definitely expresses the wicked among the people of the
covenant—the descendants of Israel. The heathens did not need the seduction of flattery to cause them to defile the sanctuary of the Israelites.

*Shall he cause to pollute, instead of shall he corrupt.*
The verb is in hiphil.

*Verse 33.*

*They that cause to be wise, instead of they that understand.* The term, we have so translated, is the nominative plural, in the construct state, of the participle, in hiphil. This nominative plural occurs again with the emphatic ח in the 35th verse of this chapter, and in the 3d and 12th verses of the xii. chapter. In the 3d verse of the xii. chapter, it is translated teachers, in the margin of our Bible; and that this is a good sense of it is obvious, from its being there used to express the persons, who are also designated as *they who cause many to be righteous.* There is a criticism on the term, which, in Daniel, xii. 3, we have translated, *they who cause to be righteous,* by Bishop Horsely, part of which we quote as very important here. He says of that term—"It occurs indeed but once in the whole Bible, namely, in Daniel xii. 3, where it is the nominative plural in the construct state, and describes the preachers of the Word of God under the character of 'the justifiers of many.'"*

For days, instead of many days. Some printed editions, and a few of Kennicott's and De Rossi's MSS. have רבי; but a great majority, especially of MSS. want it. There is nothing in the Septuagint version equivalent to it. Our common translation has many in italics; indicating that the Hebrew copies the translators used, or at least approved, had no term to authorise it.

Verse 34.

They shall be holpen with the help of a few, instead of they shall be holpen with a little help. The term rendered, in our common translation, little, is the one rendered few, in the pious speech of Jonathan, the son of Saul, in 1st Samuel xiv. 6. "Jonathan said to the young man that bare his armour, Come, and let us go over unto the garrison of these uncircumcised; it may be that the Lord will work for us: for there is no restraint to the Lord to save by many or by few." A little help may imply a help that is not complete for the purpose for which it is given; and so, we shall afterwards see, Bishop Newton understands the terms here; but, with the help of a few, complete deliverance may be obtained.

The verb here translated to help, is very often used as equivalent to to save, or to deliver, as might be proved by many passages in the Psalms, and elsewhere; but we shall only quote, in proof, the prayer of Asa, which exhibits equal piety with the speech of Jonathan. "Asa cried

* Bibl. Heb., cum Var. Lect.— Lipsie, 1816.
unto the Lord his God, and said, Lord, it is nothing with thee to help, whether with many, or with them that have no power: help us, O Lord our God; for we rest on thee, and in thy name we go against this multitude. O Lord, thou art God; let not man prevail against thee.*

Verse 35.

To refine, instead of to try. The original term is very frequently applied to the refining of metals.

For this shall continue to an appointed time, instead of because it is yet for a time appointed. ðy is the term translated it is yet, in our common version "This is a particle," says Pike, in his very correct dictionary, "denoting the standing, or continuance, of a person or thing, or the repetition of an action." The English terms, it is yet, do not properly express this, and therefore we adopt the term continue. In the common translation, the continuance is expressed in the present tense. It is obvious, however, that it ought to be expressed in the future tense; following out the future sense, expressed in the former part of the verse,—as in shall fall.

Verse 36.

Shall speak marvellous things concerning the God of gods, instead of, shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods. ðy is the term, which, in this clause, we

* 2d Chronicles xiv. 11.
translate *concerning*, instead of *against*. It is a particle admitting of various renderings, according to the sense of the context. In the immediately preceding clause, our translators have rendered it, properly, *above*; as the context there indicates this meaning. *Against* is not a meaning that it often admits of; and, in the few other cases in which it has been so rendered in our common translation, the sense would be as well expressed by *concerning*. In vindication of our proposed change, we refer to a passage, where the term is found in connection with the same verb, as here, in Daniel:—"Come with us, and we will do thee good; for the Lord hath spoken good concerning Israel."

*Shall flourish*, instead of *shall prosper*. The verb here properly signifies to prosper as a tree; as in Ezekiel xvii. 8, 9,—"It was planted in a good soil by great waters, that it might bring forth branches, and that it might bear fruit, that it might be a goodly vine. Say thou, Thus saith the Lord God, shall it prosper?" We therefore propose *flourish*, as best expressing the sense of the Prophet here, especially as the metaphor has become idiomatical in our language; as, when speaking of one living in a certain age, we say, he *flourished* in that age. The verb is used in this very sense, in the kindred Chaldee dialect, in Daniel vi. 28:—"So this Daniel prospered, in the reign of Darius, and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian."

*Till wrath is complete*, instead of *till the indignation be accomplished*. We propose this as more definite than the common translation, and especially as more in accordance

* Numbers x. 29.
with the general rendering of the Hebrew verb, which, according to Parkhurst, signifies to finish, to complete, and also, to be finished, to be completed.

For a short work shall be done, instead of, for that that is determined shall be done. The noun here, which we translate a short work, is in other places rendered, in the common translation, determined; as in Daniel ix. 26, 27. The verb, or root, whence it is derived, is also rendered to determine, or to decree. Parkhurst has pointed out to us translations, by the Apostle Paul, of both the root and the noun; so that, on his authority, all doubt respecting their meaning is removed.—The passage, Paul translates, is in Isaiah x. 22, 23:—“The consumption decreed shall overflow with righteousness. For the Lord God of Hosts shall make a consumption, even determined, in the midst of all the land.” The translation is in Romans ix. 28:—“For he will finish the work, and cut it short in righteousness; because a short work (λίγος συντετεινόμενος) will the Lord make upon the earth.”

Verse 37.

Conjugal affection, instead of the desire of women. We adopt this change, upon a critical illustration of Bishop Newton. He remarks on the terms here—“The word in the original for women signifieth νιβίς.”* In a note to the passage, he adds, “there is no other word used in the original for νιβίς, above once or twice in the whole Scrip-

* Dissert. xvii.

n 2
tures." He observes, in the same place, that "the word in the original for desire, doth signify conjugal affection," and gives, in the note, as instances of this, Canticles vii. 10, and Ezekiel xxiv. 16.

Verse 38.

We have proposed several very important alterations in this verse, which, we think, we can most clearly explain, and shew good reasons for, by presenting them a little out of the order in which they occur in the verse.

For his establishment, instead of in his estate. Our translators, in place of in his estate, have given, in the margin, in his seat. Parkhurst, for the noun, which they have thus translated, gives the senses establishment, post, or office; and refers to instances of this meaning, which is in entire consistency with the sense of the verb or root. We have a clear instance of the meaning of the root, in 2d Samuel vii. 12, 13. "When thy days be fulfilled, and thou shalt sleep with thy fathers, I will set up thy seed after thee, and I will establish his kingdom. He shall build an house for my name, and I will establish the throne of his kingdom for ever." ֵי is the particle here rendered in, by our translators. This is a sense of it so unusual, at least, that it does not occur in the long catalogue of meanings given by Parkhurst. For, on account of; for the sake of; are common meanings of the term.

Costly stones, instead of precious stones. In our language, precious stones imply small crystallized stones, or gems, that may be set in jewels; but these are not what are expressed in the original. The terms here, in Daniel,
are those employed in the description of the stones of Solomon's temple, in the First Book of Kings, chapter vii. verses 10, 11:—"The foundation was of costly stones, even great stones, stones of ten cubits, and stones of eight cubits. And above were costly stones, after the measure of hewed stones." The terms in Daniel are in the singular number, and those in 1st Kings in the plural; but this circumstance, it will be readily allowed, does not affect the proof, derived from the terms of 1st Kings, of what is meant in Daniel.

He shall honour fortresses to God; and to God whom his fathers knew not he shall honour them, instead of shall he honour the God of forces: and a god whom his fathers knew not shall he honour.

Our translators have given, in the margin, several other translations of the first clause here, or of some of the terms of it, of which we proceed to take notice. Instead of, shall he honour the God of forces, they give, in the margin, the Almighty God he shall honour. Instead of forces, they again give, in the margin, munitions. Then again, in the margin, they give the Hebrew term, which they have translated forces, in Roman characters, and translate it God's protectors. All the doubts and difficulties which beset them, as is clearly indicated by these various schemes of translation, appear to us to have chiefly arisen from their not adhering here to the common meaning of the term, which they have translated forces. מזויות is that term; and its sense can be proved from many examples to be—not forces, but fortresses, strong holds,—or munitions, according to one of their own marginal readings in this place. When we adopt the meaning fortresses, all the other terms pre-
sent themselves, along with it, in a grammatical order; and the sense of the whole is sufficiently plain,—with, perhaps, the exception of the expression, to honour fortresses; and that cannot be held obscure, or in any way remarkable, when we look at the conclusion of this verse, and find they are to be honoured with gold, and with silver, and with costly stones, and with precious things. The proofs, that כיוו means fortresses, are uniform and full. The term occurs in its singular form in Judges vi. 26:—"Build an altar unto the Lord thy God upon the top of this strong place." Dr. Horsley has translated the term, in its same singular form, three times by fortress, in the xxiii. chapter of Isaiah, namely, in the 4th, 11th, and 14th verses; where the context clearly shews the fortress, or stronghold, of Tyre is meant.* In the 7th and 10th verses of this xi. chapter of Daniel, the same singular noun is translated fortress; and, in the 19th verse, fort. In the immediately succeeding 39th verse, it occurs in the same plural form, as here in this 38th verse, and has, along with it, in the construct state, a term signifying walls; to which we will soon advert. The proof is thus full, that the meaning is not forces, but fortresses. It is true, that Parkhurst has, in his dictionary, devoted one paragraph to the plural noun as it occurs here; but merely to notice the marginal reading in the Bible, God's protectors, and Bishop Newton's conjectural illustration of that reading, and to present some other conjectures; for the paragraph gives no new legitimate criticism, to bring additional light

* Bibl. Crit. in loco.
on the term. Adhering then to the translation *fortresses*, the other terms of the passage, along with it, have a clear enough order and construction. מַעֲשֵׂי is governed by יִבְרָא, *he shall honour*, and both the terms for God have the dative prefix, יִבְרָא.—The repetition of מַעֲשֵׂי in the second clause, implies that מַעֲשֵׂי is again understood as its object; and we supply it by the pronoun *them*.

One result of this criticism is, that we must consider the second clause of this 38th verse as containing a repetition, with additional circumstances, of the sense contained in the first clause; but all know that similar repetitions are quite common in the Hebrew writings.

*Verse 39.*

*And he shall do like things to walled fortresses, instead of thus shall he do in the most strong holds.* We have already noticed, that there is an exception, here, to the Hebrew connective particle requiring only *and*, as a satisfactory translation. Here it is not apparent what the king shall do to walled fortresses, until we look at the coupling of this clause with the preceding verse, and inquire what he should do to the fortresses mentioned in it; when we perceive he should honour them with gold, and with silver, and with costly stones, and with precious things. It becomes plain then, that the connective here implies something more than we express by *and*. It may indeed be rendered here, as in the common translation, *thus*. An example of the use of the connective, joined with the very verb here before us, and clearly implying that something was done, like what was immediately before expressed, is
found in Genesis vi. 22:—"Thus did Noah; according to all that God commanded him, so did he." The commandments are there expressed immediately before, and so thus is a good enough translation of the connective. The term thus, however, is used by us, indifferently, to refer to what goes before, or after; and therefore we propose, in the clause before us, And he shall do like things, instead of thus shall he do—as referring more definitely to what goes before; where only there is expressed any thing, that will naturally and obviously fill up a sense of the Hebrew verb, in its connection with walled fortresses.

To walled fortresses, instead of in the most strong holds. The literal expression is to walls of fortresses; for the term for walls is in the construct state. That we have given the right sense of this term, we need only to refer, in proof, to Deuteronomy i. 28:—"The cities are great, and walled up to heaven." The prefix here is that of the dative—to, and not in.

He shall cause them to have power in multitudes, instead of, he shall cause them to rule over many. The prefix here is that of the ablative. Over is an improper translation for it. Parkhurst has not included over in his list of meanings of it.

Shall parcel out the land in hire, instead of, shall divide the land for gain. נְפָלֵל means to distribute any thing into certain determinate portions; as in Joshua xviii. 5, and Judges v. 30, referred to by Parkhurst. מָכַר signifies hire; as in Deuteronomy xxiii. 18, referred to by Parkhurst—and Micah iii. 11, referred to by Pike. It has here the ablative prefix.
Verse 40.

A king of the south shall push with him, instead of shall the king of the south push at him. There is no emphatic ꝏ to this king of the south, nor to the king of the north, in the immediately succeeding clause of the verse. A king, instead of the king, is therefore the right translation in both cases. The term we have here translated with, instead of at, is דָּלָם. "The idea," says Parkhurst, "seems to be to collect, gather together, consociate." He does not give at as a meaning of the term. Our translators have given with as its meaning, in the immediately preceding 39th verse. There is nothing in the sense of this 40th verse to indicate, that the meaning of the term is different from what it is in the 39th verse.

Verse 45.

Royal dwelling places, instead of tabernacles of his palaces. It is almost unnecessary that we should quote any passages, since they are so numerous that might be quoted, to prove that the Israelites, who long abode in tabernacles or tents, applied the term חַלְתָּן to their first dwellings, after they became settled in cities and villages in the ancient Canaan. 2d Samuel xx. 1, furnishes an example of this. חַלְתָּן, here joined with the term for tabernacles, occurs nowhere else in the Hebrew Bible, and has occasioned a difficulty to translators and commentators. Their opinions respecting this term are stated in Bishop Newton's XVII. Dissertation. After having
given them, he observes, that the term occurs in Jonathan's Targum or Chaldee Paraphrase, Jeremiah xliii. 10, for the royal pavilion of Nebuchadnezzar. Newton therefore adopts for the two terms under consideration, tabernacles of his camp; but the common acceptation of הֵיכָל, in the latter times of the Israelites, to which we have just referred, authorises us to consider them as expressing fixed royal residences; especially as the fixedness is well expressed here in the verb פֹּן, which signifies to plant; as trees or gardens are planted, to fix, to settle.

CHAPTER XII.

Verse 6.

How long shall be the end of these wonders; instead of how long shall it be to the end of these wonders. There is nothing in the text to authorise the introduction of to, as in the common translation. The terms of the text are just these, how long the end of these wonders?

Verse 7.

When, in the finishing, the power of the holy people is scattered abroad, instead of when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people. In the common translation, a verb is here rendered in a future subjunctive sense, which is an infinitive. כָּלֵלָה is the infinitive of the verb הכלל, to finish, to complete, having the prefix, כ, when.
The grammarians have all shewn that, when an infinitive appears in such a form, as this here appears in, it may be rendered by our verbal nouns in *ing*. Another verb, *גָּלֹל*,—signifying, *to scatter abroad*, as in Genesis xi. 8,—is, in the common translation, rendered as an infinitive: but it is either the root, or the third person singular, preter-indicative, in niphal, which in this verb has the same letters with the root. A pronoun cannot be the agent to this verb, as in the common translation; for in the short speech of the man clothed in linen, which follows the account of his oath, there is no antecedent to a pronoun. We have, however, an agent in ג, *the power*; and then the verb cannot be the root, for in that case, although active, there would remain for it in the text no objective term. We must therefore consider it to be in niphal. The nearly literal translation is then what we have given; and the whole clause is,—"When, in the finishing, the power of the holy people is scattered abroad, all these things shall be finished."

*Verse 11.*

The slightest inspection of this verse will shew, that we propose only a more literal translation of the terms, rendering נֶפֶל by the verbal noun in *ing*.

*Verse 13.*

*Portion*, instead of *lot*. It may seem an excess of minuteness and common-place in criticism, of which we have already exhibited not a little, to shew how, after the
land of Canaan was divided by lot among the tribes and families of the Israelites, lot came among them to express a portion or possession; as in Jeremiah xiii. 25:—"This is thy lot, the portion of thy measures from me."
SECTION II.

Contents.—The three last Visions of Daniel, which are—that of the ram and he-goat, in the eighth chapter,—that of the seventy weeks, in the ninth chapter,—and that of the things noted in the Scripture of truth, in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth chapters, have all one main subject, and mutually throw light on each other.—Exception to this, in the prophecy of the 2300 evenings and mornings, in the vision of the eighth chapter, which stands detached from every thing else, both in the vision, and in the explanation of it by Gabriel, and is shut up, and not yet fulfilled.—Certain terms in Daniel's last prophecy plainly declare that all parts of it would be fulfilled when the Jews were scattered abroad, which took place at the capture of Jerusalem by the Romans.—Christ's express quotation from Daniel, in his prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem, taken from the concluding part of Daniel's last prophecy, proving that part to be a prediction having the same subject with his own.—We must therefore look for the fulfilment of the whole of Daniel's last prophecy in events that occurred before, or at, the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans.

We have now endeavoured to ascertain the true meaning of the terms in this part of Daniel's last prophecy, respecting the interpretation of which commentators have greatly differed from each other; and we will now proceed to shew,
that there are certain relations between this prophecy and the two immediately preceding ones of the same prophet, and clear and express terms contained in itself, and, more especially, that there are express quotations and illustrations of it by Christ, in his prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem,—all of which limit and circumscribe the time within which the events foretold in it were to take place.

There are three distinct visions and prophecies of Daniel, which an examination of his own account of them, and attention to various passages contained in them, obviously direct us to consider as severally fortelling only one series of events;—as differing, indeed, from each other, in respect of various circumstantial details in the series,—some giving the circumstances more fully, and others more sparingly, but still in complete consistency with each other, and all bringing the series down to one definite and well marked event.* These three visions and prophecies are—that contained in the viii. chapter, named commonly by commentators, “the vision of the ram and he-goat;”—that contained in the ix. chapter, named, “the prophecy of the seventy weeks;”—and that contained in the x., xi., and xii. chapters, named, “the prophecy of the things noted in the scripture of truth.” There were considerable intervals of time between these visions and prophecies; for the first was granted to Daniel in the reign of Belshazzar, the second in the reign of Darius the Mede, and the third in the reign of Cyrus.†

* There is one exception to this, which will be particularly noticed afterwards.
† Daniel viii. 1.—ix. 1.—x. 1.
The vision of the ram and he-goat was explained to Daniel by the angel Gabriel. He was informed by him, that in it were represented, by certain images, the succession of kings, or kingdoms, of Persia,—Grecia,—the four kingdoms that were to arise out of the latter, on the fall of the first king,—and a king of fierce countenance, who was to come last, and destroy the mighty and the holy people.—Daniel says that, on seeing this vision, he fainted and was sick for days, and that he was astonished at the vision, but none understood it.* At the time of this vision, Daniel's people were captives in Babylon.

Some years after this, the prophet, having understood that the time, predicted by Jeremiah for the continuance of the desolation of Jerusalem, was about expiring, after fasting and humiliation, offered up, in behalf of his countrymen, the truly pious and patriotic prayer to be found in the beginning of the ninth chapter of his Book.—His piety was rewarded by the communication to him of the prophecy of the seventy weeks. He says—"While I was speaking in prayer, even the man Gabriel, whom I had seen in the vision at the beginning, being caused to fly swiftly, touched me about the time of the evening oblation. And he informed me, and talked with me, and said, O Daniel, I am now come forth to give thee skill and understanding. At the beginning of thy supplications the commandment came forth, and I am come to shew thee; for thou art greatly beloved: therefore understand the matter, and consider the vision."‡—This language of

* Daniel viii. 27.  
† Daniel ix. 21—23.
Gabriel evidently refers to the vision of the ram and he-goat; for no other vision had been granted to Daniel, in which Gabriel was an agent, but it. It was for his further instruction, then, respecting matters comprehended in that former vision, that Gabriel taught the prophet this prophecy of the seventy weeks. He did not desire him to understand any thing beyond, or out of, that vision; but to understand that matter, and consider that vision. Accordingly, as the explanation of the vision of the ram and he-goat contains, among its last terms, an announcement, that a king of fierce countenance would destroy the mighty and the holy people,* so the conclusion of this prophecy announces, that the people of the prince that would come, would destroy the city† (Jerusalem, as appears from the context,) and the sanctuary, and that complete desolation would ensue. Thus the main subject-matter of the prophecy of the seventy weeks becomes identified with that of the vision of the ram and he-goat. In the former, however, there is an important filling in of circumstances, which must have been highly interesting to Daniel, but which are wanting in the latter. In the prophecy of the seventy weeks, previously in order to the prediction of the destruction and desolation of the city, is an intimation, that, although in ruins at the time of the vision, a commandment would go forth to rebuild and restore it, and that it would be rebuilt.‡ In the same previous order are intimations of things of infinitely higher importance,—of finishing transgression, and making an end of sins, and

* Daniel viii. 23, 24. † Daniel ix. 26. ‡ Daniel ix. 25.
making reconciliation for iniquity, and bringing in ever-lasting righteousness, and sealing up the vision and prophecy, and anointing the most holy, and of the Messiah, the Prince, being cut off, but not for himself. The very time when the Messiah, that is the Anointed, was to be cut off, but not for himself, is intimated in very plain terms. It was to be a certain number of weeks from the date of the commandment about to go forth to rebuild the city, but before its destruction by the people of the prince that should come;—which prince, from the order of the two Prophecies, and the identity of their subject-matter, as intimated by Gabriel, can be no other than the king of fierce countenance of the vision of the ram and he-goat.*

It was again some years after this that Daniel, after fasting and humbling himself three whole weeks, was favoured with the vision and prophecy of the things noted in the scripture of truth, contained in the x., xi., and xii. chapters of his Book, and the latter part of which is the subject of our present illustration. It is clear, from various terms and conditions of this prophecy itself, that its subject-matter is also the same with that of the vision of the ram and he-goat, and which it presents, not differently, but with a great deal more detail and filling in of circumstances. This prophecy does not, in short, present an extension, in point of time, of the events foretold in it, but presents the events foretold in the vision of the ram and he-goat with more fulness and clearness; in so much that, in the end, after being favoured with it in supplement to

his two former visions, Daniel declared—"he understood the thing, and had understanding of the vision."*

It is the opinion of Bishop Newton, that the subject of this last prophecy is the same with that of the vision of the ram and he-goat. He says of it,—"The memorable events which were revealed to Daniel in the vision of the ram and he-goat, are here again more clearly and explicitly revealed, in his last vision, by an angel; so that this latter prophecy may not improperly be said to be a comment and explanation of the former."† The arguments by which he confirms the correctness of this remark seem quite conclusive. "This revelation," says he, "was made in the third year of Cyrus, king of Persia, when Daniel was very far advanced in years." "Old as he was, he set his heart to understand the former revelations that had been made to him, and particularly the vision of the ram and he-goat, as I think we may collect from the sequel: and for this purpose he prayed and fasted three weeks—(chap. x. 2, 3.) His fasting and prayers had the desired effect; for an angel was sent, and said unto him—(chap. x. 12,)—'Fear not, Daniel, for from the first day that thou didst set thine heart to understand, and to chasten thyself before thy God, thy words are heard, and I am come for thy words.' The angel declares the design of his coming, —(verse 14,)—'Now am I come to make thee understand what shall befal thy people in the latter days; for yet the vision is for many days.'"‡

* Daniel x. 1.  † Dissert. xvi.
‡ Dissert. xvi.—Bishop Newton thus saw, and clearly demonstrated, the identity of subject, in the vision of the ram and he-goat, and in that of the things noted in the scripture of truth. He even interpreted
Bishop Newton thus proves the identity of the subjects of these two prophecies by an argument drawn from the language of the angel, who says, he had come because of Daniel's desire to understand. He came to instruct him, not in any thing of which he was before quite ignorant, but in that which had been exhibited to him in two former visions, one of which he did not understand, while he gives no intimation that he any more understood the other. The language of the angel thus, we see, intimates, that his communications were to be confined to the subjects of the former visions. We find that, in point of fact, they were so, when we go on to compare the revelations made in this last vision, with those made in that of the ram and he-goat, and with those made in the prophecy of the seventy weeks. The opening up of the prophecy of the things noted in the scripture of truth agrees exactly with that of the vision of the ram and he-goat. — The kings of Persia—the mighty king standing up and ruling with great dominion—and his kingdom divided towards the four winds of heaven, of the former, are severally the same with the kings of Persia—the first king of Grecia—and the four kingdoms, that, after his fall, stand up out of the nation, of the latter. The commencement of the prophecy of the seventy weeks differs, indeed, from both these; having reference to the restoration of Jerusalem after the Babylonish captivity, which Daniel at the time deeply interested himself in, as we have already noticed. We have learnt,
however, from the language of Gabriel in communicating it to Daniel, that it, too, illustrates remarkable passages in the vision of the ram and he-goat.

But, in the conclusions of all the three prophecies, there are remarkable agreements. We have already seen how the king of fierce countenance, who shall destroy the mighty and the holy people, in the vision of the ram and he-goat, agrees with the prince, whose people shall come and destroy the city and the sanctuary and occasion great desolation, in the prophecy of the seventy weeks. The destruction and abomination of desolation, and taking away of the daily sacrifice, in the conclusion of this last-named prophecy, equally agree with the time of trouble, the complete scattering abroad of the power of the holy people, and the abomination of desolation, and taking away of the daily sacrifice, of the prophecy of the things noted in the scripture of truth.

Thus we are directed, by the terms contained in themselves, to consider the three prophecies as containing the same subject-matter of revelation; announced in some of them more briefly and obscurely, and in some of them more circumstantially and clearly. They thus throw a mutual light on each other, and enable us to ascertain, with more precision, the events which formed their fulfilment.||

- Daniel viii. 24. † Daniel ix. 26, 27. ‡ Daniel xii. 1, 7. § Daniel xii. 11.

† This is not the only instance, in the Book of Daniel, where the same series of events has been made the subject of distinct visions and prophecies, seen and uttered at different times. It is evident from the whole terms of the two, and is allowed by the commentators, that Daniel’s own vision, in the seventh chapter, foreshows the same series of remarkable
But we have now to make an observation,—which we could not have made so intelligibly until after presenting these detailed comparisons,—that there is one part of the prophecy of the ram and he-goat which obviously reaches out into a longer futurity than any parts of the other two prophecies extend to. We deem it necessary, to prevent any misconception of our argument in this branch of our subject, to notice, in some detail, its nature and conditions. The vision of the ram and he-goat comes down, in what may be called the description of the machinery, to a time when the little horn, that waxed exceeding great, "magnified himself even to the prince of the host, and by him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of the sanctuary was cast down.—And an host was given him against the daily sacrifice, by reason of transgression, and it cast down the truth to the ground; and it practised and prospered."* The explanation given of this by Gabriel, who was ordered to make Daniel understand the vision, is, "when the transgressors are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences, shall stand up. And his power shall be mighty, but not by his own power; and he shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper, and practise, and shall destroy the mighty and the holy people. And through his policy also he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand; and he shall magnify himself in his heart, and by peace shall destroy many: he shall also stand up against the Prince of princes; but he shall be broken without hand."† Here, both in

events, that had been before foreshewn by Nebuchadnezzar's dream, as explained by Daniel in the second chapter.

* Daniel viii. 9–12.  
† Daniel viii. 23–25.
the vision, and the explanation of it, we have the passage that corresponds with the respective conclusions of the two succeeding prophecies of the seventy weeks and the things noted in the scripture of truth. Bishop Newton has well proved, in his Fifteenth Dissertation, that this passage of the little horn predicts the rise and conquests of the Romans,—their crucifixion of the Saviour, and persecution of his followers,—and their destruction of Jerusalem, and dispersion of the Jewish people.

But this vision of the viii. chapter gives, with regard to one point, as we have observed, a view into futurity, much beyond the time of the taking away the daily sacrifice, and casting down the place of the sanctuary of the Jews. After Daniel saw the sacrifice taken away, and the sanctuary cast down, by the little horn, he "heard one saint speaking, and another saint said unto that certain saint which spake, How long shall be the vision concerning the daily sacrifice, and the transgression of desolation, to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot? And he said unto me, Unto two thousand and three hundred evenings and mornings, then shall the sanctuary be cleansed."* Gabriel, while he explained all the former part of the vision, did not explain this additional prediction, which is thus otherwise detached, and peculiarly distinguished, from every thing that accompanies it in the vision, by being given in a colloquy between certain saints. Gabriel only said of it, "The vision of the evening and the morning, which was told, is true: wherefore

* Daniel viii. 13, 14.
shut thou up the vision; for it shall be for many days."* Although this detached passage of the prophecy is left more obscure than the rest, having received no explanation from Gabriel, we yet clearly perceive it intimates, that the sanctuary,—to be cast down in accordance with another part of the prophecy,—shall, at some future period, be cleansed; and, for this, we have elsewhere the words of highest authority. Christ himself intimates that Jerusalem, after being destroyed by the Romans, in fulfilment of his own prediction, should not remain trodden down continually, but "until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled."† The Apostle Paul also informs us, "blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in. And so all Israel shall be saved; as it is written, There shall come out of Sion the Deliverer, and shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob: For this is my covenant unto them, when I shall take away their sins."‡ The vision of the evenings and mornings points out a definite space of time that shall run, before the sanctuary shall be cleansed; but, as it indicates no certain era, from which the time is to be reckoned onwards,—as the era of the communication of the vision to Daniel himself,—or the era of the going forth of the commandment to restore and rebuild Jerusalem, from which the time of the prophecy of the seventy weeks is to be reckoned,—or the era of the setting up of the abomination of desolation, from which that in the vision of the things noted in the scripture of truth is to be reckoned,—we have no means of

ascertaining when it will expire. The time predicted we know to be already long, in fulfilment of Gabriel's words, "that it should be for many days;" and it is not yet expired, for the Jewish sanctuary of Jerusalem is yet trodden under foot of the Gentiles, and the Jewish host is scattered abroad. All that we are entitled to pronounce in the matter, then, is, that, in fulfilment of this part of the prophecy, the sanctuary shall as certainly be cleansed, as, in fulfilment of another part, it was cast down; while of the precise time and manner, we have yet no means of judging.

We have been thus particular in referring to the nature and conditions of this part of the vision of the ram and he-goat, to shew that we do not include it, when we say that the three last prophecies of Daniel have all one and the same subject, and throw a mutual light upon each other. The prophecy of the 2300 evenings and mornings stands alone. It is carefully separated from the other parts of the vision in which it occurs, and is announced by the mouth of saints, heard by Daniel conversing with each other. While the other parts of the vision are explained, in detail, by Gabriel, it receives from him no explanation. It is only declared by him to be true; and Daniel is desired by him to shut it up, while every thing else in the vision is opened up. There is nothing like it in "the prophecy of the seventy weeks," or in "that of the things noted in the scripture of truth." Neither of these contains any reference whatever to any cleansing of the sanctuary.* The

* Although nothing, in the two visions of the seventy weeks and of the things noted in the scripture of truth, corresponds with the prediction of the 2300 days, yet the issue of a chronological period, marked in another
former concludes with an announcement of the destruction of the city and sanctuary,—the ceasing of the daily sacrifice,—and the making of a complete desolation; the latter, with an announcement of a time of unexampled trouble, after Michael shall stand up for the children of Daniel's people,—of a complete scattering abroad of the power of the holy people,—and of the setting up the abomination of desolation, and taking away the daily sacrifice.

We proceed now to shew that, in the prophecy of things noted in the scripture of truth, there are certain clear and express terms, in the body of the prophecy itself, which limit and circumscribe the time within which all the events foretold in it were to take place. We shall find, from these terms, that all the events predicted in it were to have emerged, and become matters of history, at the era of the destruction of Jerusalem, and dispersion of the Jewish nation by the Romans. The terms are in the seventh verse of the twelfth chapter, in the answer of the man clothed in linen to the question, "How long shall be the vision of Daniel, namely, that of the four monarchies, contained in his seventh chapter, may seem to correspond with its issue or conclusion. In the vision of the four monarchies, the little horn, who shall rise after the first ten horns "shall wear out the saints of the Most High, and think to change times and laws: and they shall be given into his hand until a time, times, and the dividing of time." (Daniel vii. 25.) At the expiry of this time, "the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High." (Verse 27.) This may seem to correspond with the cleansing of the sanctuary. We shall have occasion afterwards to make some remarks on this chronological period, in the vision of the four monarchies, when we shall shew that this part of it is not yet altogether fulfilled, and that we do not know the era from whence the time commences. With respect to the time, then, this prediction is yet shut up also. 
end of these wonders?" In answering this, "he held up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and swore by him that liveth for ever, that it shall be for a time, times, and a part; and when, in the finishing, the power of the holy people is scattered abroad, all these things shall be finished."

It is true, that Bishop Newton and others have taken the last clause of this answer to refer to the period when the dispersion of the Jews, which took place at the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, shall be ended; and when they shall be again gathered from among the nations, according to the predictions of Christ and the Apostle Paul. Looking at the matter in this light, Bishop Newton says, "In reality it (this last prophecy of Daniel) comprehends many signal events after that time (the time of Antiochus Epiphanes) to the end of the world;"* and, as we have already briefly stated, he refers many of the details of the latter part of the prophecy to events long subsequent to the destruction of Jerusalem.

It must be allowed that, taking part of the answer of the man clothed in linen as it stands in our common translation, "when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people," where one of the verbs is rendered erroneously in a future subjunctive sense, the interpretation of it by Bishop Newton might be admitted; although even then with some remaining uncertainty on the point. But the verb translated in the future subjunctive sense, which signifies to finish, to complete, is in the infinitive,

* Dissert. xvi.
and does not at all admit of that sense, but is, as we have seen, agreeably to the usage of the language, to be rendered by our verbal noun in *ing*. The verb, rendered *scatter*, as little admits any future subjunctive sense. We have offered what, from various considerations, appears to be the correct sense of the clause, "*when, in the finishing, the power of the holy people is scattered abroad.*" But this does not express the conclusion of any period of time, during which the scattering abroad shall have subsisted, but the time at which it is fully effected,—the time at which a complete dispersion takes place, without any reference to any future time, when the dispersion may cease, by a gathering together of the dispersed. The words of the man clothed in linen then imply, that all things foretold in this prophecy would be fulfilled at the period when the power of the holy people was completely scattered abroad; and that that power would be completely scattered abroad had been already made known to Daniel in two former visions. In the vision of the ram and he-goat, he had been informed that a king of fierce countenance would destroy the mighty and the holy people; and, in that of the seventy weeks, that the people of the prince that would come would destroy the city Jerusalem, and the sanctuary, and effect a complete desolation. The fulfilment of these predictions in these two former visions, it has been well shewn by commentators, took place when the Roman armies, under Titus, took and demolished Jerusalem, and dispersed the Jews among all nations, where they have since remained scattered abroad. Is it not to be fully admitted, then, that the words of the man clothed in linen clearly intimate, that all the things foreshewn to Daniel in
his last vision would have taken place, when Titus took possession of the last strong holds of Jerusalem?

But we go on further to say, that we conceive we have the highest authority—the words of Christ himself—for interpreting the last passages of that vision, as a prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. In his own prediction of that destruction, he quotes Daniel by name, and his quotations are taken, as we trust we shall be able clearly to shew, out of the last passages of this last vision of the prophet. It was on observing this fact, and looking at the light it throws upon the whole subject, that we were led to re-examine this vision, and perceived, that, following the connected train of a most authentic and clear history, all the latter part of it admits of a new and highly satisfactory illustration, which we now present for the examination of our Fellow-Christians.

Christ's quotation of Daniel the prophet, by name, is given both by Matthew and Mark. In Matthew the terms are, "When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place, (whoso readeth let him understand,) then let them which be in Judea flee into the mountains."* The terms in Mark are substantially the same. "But when ye shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing where it ought not, (let him that readeth understand,) then let them that be in Judea flee to the mountains."† The reference in the margins of our common Bibles here directs us to Daniel, ix. chapter

* Matthew xxiv. 15, 16.  † Mark xiii. 14.
and 27th verse, as containing the terms quoted by Christ. In that verse, there are indeed terms in the original that might be translated "abominable desolations;" but the marginal reference is notwithstanding erroneous. When we advert to all the terms used by Christ, as they are presented to us, either by Matthew or Mark, we perceive that he has taken his quotation from Daniel xii. 10, 11. These two verses we have translated as literally as we can; and it will be perceived our translation does not differ substantially from the common one. "Many shall be made clean, and shall be made white, and shall be refined, and the wicked shall do wickedly, and none of the wicked shall understand, and they that cause to be wise shall understand. And from the time the daily sacrifice is caused to be taken away, and to the setting up the abomination of desolation, a thousand two hundred and ninety days." The words of these two verses are part of the answer of the man clothed in linen to Daniel's question, "what shall be the latter end of these things?"—and are immediately preceded by the order and intimation, "go thy way, Daniel, for the words are shut up and sealed to the time of the end." In these two verses then, namely, the tenth and eleventh, we find not only the terms, the abomination of desolation, but, contiguous to them, other terms of Daniel, which Christ obviously referred to, when he gave, parenthetically, the solemn warning, expressed both by Matthew and Mark, "whoso readeth let him understand." That warning receives a deep import, when we advert to all the accompanying terms of Daniel, and the circumstances in which the Apostles, to whom our Lord addressed himself, then stood. The intimation to Daniel, "that the words were shut up and
sealed to the time of the end," implies, that the latter part of the prophecy would not be understood till the approach of its fulfilment. The Apostles, when they addressed our Lord to point out to him the strong buildings of the temple, and thus presented to him the opportunity, which he embraced, to predict its speedily approaching destruction, and the dispersion of the Jews, were ignorant of the meaning of this part of the prophecy, like the rest of their countrymen. They appear to have gloried greatly in the strength and magnificence of their national temple, and even to have looked at it as a building which was to be of the greatest permanence. Christ undeceived them respecting this matter by his own prediction; and, in the course of the prediction, took occasion to refer to, and illustrate, a remarkable prophecy, to the same effect with it, which they already had in their sacred books. When he referred to Daniel, and, quoting from him the words *abomination of desolation*, added, "*whoso readeth let him understand,*" he brought directly to their view this vision, which was to be shut up and sealed to the time of the end, and which none of the wicked should understand, although they who caused to be wise should understand it. The meaning of the prophecy, long concealed,—for it obviously was not known to the Apostles,—was now opened up by him, at the time of the end, when its completion was just about to take place. He desired the Apostles to read and understand this passage of Daniel, which had been shut up till his time. He explained it to them, whom he had chosen to be the messengers of his heavenly religion, and sent forth to cause many to be wise. He thus identified the subject of Daniel's prediction, in this particular place, with the sub-
ject of his own; and so has clearly taught us, that Daniel's prediction would be fulfilled, when, according to the clear announcement of his own, Jerusalem should be trodden down of the Gentiles, and its people led away captive into all nations.*

But this is not the only passage which Christ, in his own prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem, quotes from the twelfth chapter of Daniel,—thus applying its terms to that event. According to both Matthew and Mark, he quotes a remarkable passage in the first verse of that chapter:—"At that time Michael shall stand, the great prince who standeth for the children of thy people; and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation, to that time." The latter clause of this is obviously quoted by Christ, in its whole import and meaning, and nearly in its terms, in Matthew xxiv. 21:—"For then shall be great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world to this time, no, nor ever shall be." The parallel passage in Mark is alike close to the meaning in Daniel:—"For in those days shall be affliction, such as was not from the beginning of the creation, which God created, unto this time, neither shall be."† And it is to be observed that, both in Matthew and Mark, this fearful description of the tribulation that should overtake the Jewish people, follows just after the professed quotation of Daniel's words, and the warnings of our Lord that naturally arose out of them; thus directing us to the conclusion, that the latter part of this vision of

Daniel was still in his view, and that the description of the trouble was taken, by him, from it.

There are other passages, in the twelfth chapter of Daniel, to which Christ seems to have referred, in his prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem; but the nature of the references will be more easily explained, when we afterwards proceed to exhibit the fulfilment of the whole predictions of this part of Daniel in their order. In the meantime, we trust, it will now be allowed, that the conclusion of the vision in the twelfth chapter forms a prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem, and the dispersion of the Jews. We have gathered this from a comparison of the terms of this vision with those of the two immediately preceding visions of Daniel,—from certain terms of this vision itself,—and, more especially, from the light thrown upon it by the words of Christ. We ought, therefore, to look for the fulfilment of the prior parts of the prophecy, in events that occurred previously to the destruction of Jerusalem. The field of history that we have to examine for these events, thus becomes narrowed; and we shall be enabled to proceed, with the more intelligent steps in our inquiries, since we know the boundaries of the ground which we have to search. We have already seen, that there is a good agreement among the more approved commentators, in their illustrations of the prophecy, down to the conclusion of the thirtieth verse of the eleventh chapter; and we refer to Bishop Newton's XVI. Dissertation for a clear and satisfactory exposition of the part that ends with that verse. He shews, that the predictions in the thirtieth verse itself were fulfilled in the Roman embassy, under Marcus Popillius Læna, compelling Antiochus
Epiphanes to retire from his last invasion of Egypt; and in that Syrian king, on his return from Egypt, making an attack on the Jewish nation, and capturing Jerusalem. The passage of the prophecy, which we propose to illustrate, follows this verse, to the end of Daniel; and we now perceive we have to look for its fulfilment in the history of the period which intervened between this capture of Jerusalem, by Epiphanes, and its final destruction, by Titus.

We now proceed to the illustrations from history; and in these, as we have already intimated, we shall find reason to set aside the explanations of Bishop Newton, and restore those of Porphyry and Grotius, with some additions, down to the conclusion of the thirty-fifth verse of the eleventh chapter; and, from that to the end of the prophecy, to offer explanations which are new, but which, we trust, will be found satisfactory, when we shew, that the most remarkable events, as far as they regard Daniel's people, in the history of the period to which we are now limited, agree, in a very singular manner with the terms of the prophecy, although the agreements have hitherto been strangely overlooked.

We will, for the more clearly distinguishing the several successive stages of the prophecy, assign a separate section to the passage which extends down to the conclusion of the thirty-fifth verse; at which, to use the term of the prophecy itself, there was an end of one connected and remarkable series of events.
SECTION III.

Contents.—Commencement of the detailed illustrations of the passage which begins with the 31st verse of Daniel's xi. chapter.—Bishop Newton applies that verse to the Romans.—In so doing, has followed Sir Isaac Newton.—Sir Isaac Newton's criticism of some part of that verse, and reasoning upon it.—Errors into which he has fallen.—The grammatical structure of the whole passage connected with it, both before and after, compels us to apply the 31st verse to the vile person introduced in the preceding 21st verse.—Commentators have fully proved that vile person to be Antiochus Epiphanes.—Proofs, that the predictions in the 31st verse, and in the following 32d, 33d, 34th, and 35th verses, were literally fulfilled—in the persecution of the Jews by that tyrant—in the fidelity, heroic achievements, and fortune of the Maccabees—and in the conduct and fortune of their successors, the Asmonean dynasty of high priests and sovereigns, down to the end of the male race of that dynasty, which became extinct by the murders committed by Herod the Great.

In entering upon the illustrations from history, we would draw attention to what the man clothed in linen, who communicated this prophecy to Daniel, informed him, was to be the main subject of it. "I am come," said he to the prophet, "to make thee understand what shall befall thy people in the latter days."* The condition of the

* Daniel x. 14.
Israelites, the descendants of Jacob, was, we thus learn, to be the great subject; for that we are to understand them peculiarly to be Daniel's people, is plain from his own language, when he was interceding for their return from the captivity at Babylon. His terms are, "While I was speaking, and praying, and confessing my sin, and the sin of my people Israel."* By attending to this, we shall carry much light along with us into every detail of the illustrations. The whole of what we propose to offer, as interpretations, will also receive much confirmation, as we will shew in the conclusion, by adverting to what the same man clothed in linen said to Daniel, in reference to the scripture of truth:—"I will shew thee that which is noted in the scripture of truth."†

The first verse that we proceed to illustrate from history, is the

31st. "And arms, from him, shall stand, and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength, and they shall cause the daily sacrifice to be taken away, and they shall place the abomination that maketh desolate."

It is at this verse, that Bishop Newton,—after having very clearly and satisfactorily shewn the fulfilment of the former part of the prophecy in events occurring in a continuous and close train of history,—departs abruptly from that train; and, passing over about two hundred and forty years, from the time of Antiochus Epiphanes,—during which there occurred some of the most memorable events of profane, and, the most memorable of all of sacred his-

* Daniel ix. 20.  
† Daniel x. 21.
tory,—directs us to a fulfilment of it, in the actions of the Romans under Titus. We think that he is in error here, and feel the necessity for pointing out the nature and causes of the error, and correcting it in some detail.

Regarding the verse, Bishop Newton says, "Porphyry and his adherents would have those to be signified who were sent by Antiochus, two years after he had spoiled the temple, that they might exact tribute from the Jews, and take away the worship of God, and place in the temple of Jerusalem the image of Jupiter Olympus, and the statues of Antiochus, which are called the abomination of desolation."* He goes on to admit, "It is very true, as the writer of the First Book of Maccabees saith, that Apollonius and others commissioned by Antiochus did 'pollute the sanctuary, and forbid burnt offerings, and sacrifices, and drink offerings in the temple, and set up the abomination of desolation upon the altar, and builded idol altars throughout the cities of Juda on every side'—(1st Macc. i. 45, 46, 54.) Josephus likewise affirms that Antiochus forbade the Jews to offer the daily sacrifices, which they offered to God according to the law: he compelled them also to leave off the service of their God, and to worship those whom he esteemed gods; and to build temples and erect altars to them in every city and village, and to sacrifice swine upon them every day." Bishop Newton adds in the same place, "This interpretation, therefore, might very well be admitted, if the other parts were equally applicable to Antiochus; but the difficulty,

* Dissert. xvii.
or rather impossibility, of applying them to Antiochus, or any of the Syrian kings, his successors, obliges us to look out for another interpretation." He then proceeds,—in place of applying this verse to Antiochus, which he thus allows, if considered by itself, it might very well be,—to adopt the interpretation of Sir Isaac Newton, who applies it to the Romans.

We are here led, then, to examine the reasoning of Sir Isaac Newton upon the point, which Bishop Newton has adopted, and which he has quoted as follows:—"In the same year that Antiochus, by the command of the Romans, retired out of Egypt, and set up the worship of the Greeks in Judea, the Romans conquered the kingdom of Macedon, the fundamental kingdom of the empire of the Greeks, and reduced it into a Roman province, and thereby began to put an end to the reign of Daniel's third beast. This is thus expressed by Daniel:—And after him arms, that is the Romans, shall stand up. As כמותל signifies after the king, Dan. xi. 8, so כמותר may signify after him. Arms are everywhere in this prophecy of Daniel put for the military power of a kingdom; and they stand up when they conquer and grow powerful. Hitherto Daniel described the actions of the kings of the north and south; but upon the conquest of Macedon by the Romans, he left off describing the actions of the Greeks, and began to describe those of the Romans in Greece. They conquered Macedon, Illyricum, and Epirus, in the year of Nabonassar 580; 35 years after, by the last will and testament of Attalus, the last king of Pergamus, they inherited that rich and flourishing kingdom, that is, all Asia westward of Mount Taurus; 69 years after, they conquered
the kingdom of Syria, and reduced it into a province; and 34 years after, they did the like to Egypt. By all these steps, the Roman arms stood up over the Greeks; and, after 95 years more, by making war upon the Jews, they polluted the sanctuary of strength, and took away the daily sacrifice, and then placed the abomination of desolation. For this abomination was placed *After the days of Christ*, Matth. xxiv. 15. In the 16th year of the Emperor Adrain, A.C. 132, they placed this abomination, by building a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus, where the temple of God in Jerusalem had stood. Thereupon the Jews, under the conduct of Barchochab, rose up in arms against the Romans, and in the war had fifty cities demolished, nine hundred and eighty-five of their best towns destroyed, and five hundred and eighty thousand men slain by the sword; and in the end of the war, A.C. 136, were banished Judea upon pain of death, and thenceforth the land remained desolate of its old inhabitants.”*

While we endeavour to correct several errors in this passage of Sir Isaac Newton, we would, at the same time, express the highest regard for the memory of that illustrious individual,—the ablest, the least ostentatious, and one of the most virtuous of uninspired men; more especially at the present time, when too many, both British and Foreigners,—for reasons palpably erroneous, and taken from the mouths of those whose language proves them to have been envious of him while he was alive,—exert the utmost alacrity in attempting to sully his clear fame; as if

* Bishop Newton's Dissert. xvii.
the vain glory of this age,—intolerant of the idea that any
genius, superior to its own, should have ever existed,—were
about to falsify the proverb, hitherto deemed so true, that
envy cannot reach into the grave.

The chronological accuracy of the detail, in the above
passage, of the rise and progress of the Roman power in
Greece and the East, no one can dispute; yet the passage,
when viewed as an illustration of the terms and prophecies
of Scripture, contains several important errors. It inter-
prets the abomination of desolation, in Matthew xxiv. 15,
to signify the building of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus,
in Jerusalem, in the time of Adrian; whereas Christ
expressly names it as one of the previous signs, by which
those, whom he then addressed, would become aware of the
immediate approach of that destruction of Jerusalem,
which he himself foretold; and which, he said, would
occur before the generation, contemporary with himself on
earth, passed away—(Matthew xxiv. 34.) Besides,
Christ, by the terms abomination of desolation, did not
mean any temple built to a strange god, or any profane
sacrifices. These are indeed abominable, but they are not
desolators. Luke has preserved the explanation, which
Christ himself gave of these terms,* as we shall have
occasion afterwards more particularly to shew; and Bishop
Newton, in his illustration of Christ's own prophecy,
referring to the explanation furnished by Luke, admits
that the abomination of desolation signifies the heathen
armies.+ We quite object to the criticism and reasoning

* Luke xxi. 20.     † Dissert. xix.
that would lead us to apply this 31st verse to the Romans, in any period of their history. Even granting that might be interpreted after him, it would be not only an unusual, but even an unintelligible, form of speech to say, that the Roman arms, by conquering Macedonia, stood up after Antiochus Epiphanes; for they stood up only contemporary with him. But we again refer to the authority of Parkhurst, pronounced by him after careful inquiry, in justification of the translation we have offered of the compound Hebrew term. It signifies from him. There remains another consideration,—arising out of the grammatical structure of the whole passage of the prophecy, in which the 31st verse occurs,—that completely sets aside the whole criticism and reasoning, against which we are contending. The agent of the verb, and antecedent to the pronouns, in this verse, is a plural noun, translated arms. Were we to consider this verse as quite disjoined from the preceding ones, and as commencing the actions of a new chief agent,—which we would do were we to take arms for the Roman power,—then we should have no antecedent to the singular pronoun, nor agent to the singular verb, in the succeeding clause of the 32d verse,—"And such as do wickedly in the covenant, shall he cause to pollute, by flatteries." We must look backward to the verses preceding the 31st for the antecedent to the pronoun in the 32d; and, on tracing the sense and structure of the sentences in order, we discover the prime antecedent to the pronouns, and agent to the verbs, from the 21st verse, downward to the first clause of the 32d inclusive, to be a vile person, who was to stand up in the estate of the king of the north. Commentators are agreed, that this
vile person is Antiochus Epiphanes. Bishop Newton has shewn, that his character is admirably described, and part of his actions foretold with wonderful precision, from the 21st verse to the end of the 30th. We now see, that the grammatical structure of the passage compels us to refer the first clause of the 32d verse to the same agent, and thus the 31st verse becomes included in part of the prophecy that predicts his actions; and, in fact, the 31st verse does form as signally precise a prediction of some parts of his actions, as any other part of the prophecy does of other parts.

Bishop Newton, as we have already seen, allows that the application of this verse to Antiochus Epiphanes might very well be admitted, if the other parts were equally applicable to him. By the other parts, he means all that follows in this prophecy. He says, there is a difficulty; or rather impossibility, of applying them to Antiochus, or any of the Syrian kings his successors. But the impossibility of applying the subsequent parts of the prophecy to any Syrian king, does not oblige us to reject that interpretation of the 31st verse, which the grammatical order of the particular passage so clearly urges upon us; and we shall afterwards see, that the following parts of the prophecy admit of a very satisfactory explanation, hitherto overlooked,—not connected with the Syrian kings, but yet consistent with the application of the 31st, and a few following verses, to Epiphanes and his more immediate successors, and to the condition of the Jewish people and their rulers, in the time of the Maccabees and Asmoneans. We proceed, therefore, to shew, how literally the predictions in this 31st verse were fulfilled in some actions of
that *vile person.* We will take, as our chief authority for these actions, the First Book of Maccabees—a work which critical inquirers have pronounced to be of great value.* We will refer also to the Second Book of Maccabees, but more sparingly, as its authority is not deemed equal to that of the First Book.†

"Arms, from him, shall stand." This was literally fulfilled by Antiochus Epiphanes, about two years after he himself had taken Jerusalem, sending an army into Judea, as related in 1st Maccabees i. 29, et seq.: This army was not led by himself, but was sent from him. "After two years fully expired," says the historian, "the king sent his chief collector of tribute unto the cities of Juda, who came unto Jerusalem with a great multitude, and spake peaceable words unto them, but all was deceit: for when they had given him credence, he fell suddenly upon the city, and smote it very sore, and destroyed much people in Israel. And when he had taken the spoils of the city, he set it on fire, and pulled down the houses and walls thereof on every side. But the women and children took they captive, and possessed the cattle."

It was at this time, also, that they "polluted the sanctuary of strength, and caused the daily sacrifice to be

* "The First Book of Maccabees is a most valuable historical monument, written with great accuracy and fidelity."—(Horne's Introduction to the Study of the Scriptures. Part iii. chap. x. sec. xv., where he refers to the opinion of Michaelis.)

† It would appear to us, that the Second Book of Maccabees is, in fact, not all the work of one man; but a collection of historical documents by different authors,—some having internal marks of greater accuracy and fidelity, others of less. Bishop Horsley, a high authority, seems to consider the history of the woman and her seven sons, slain by Antiochus, as authentic; for he refers to it in his sermon on Daniel iv. 17.
taken away;" for, at the succeeding 44th verse, the historian says,—"The king had sent letters by messengers unto Jerusalem, and the cities of Juda, that they should follow the strange laws of the land, And forbid burnt offerings, and sacrifice, and drink offerings, in the temple; and that they should profane the sabbaths, and festival days: And pollute the sanctuary of the holy people." And at the succeeding 59th verse, he informs us, "they did sacrifice upon the idol altar, which was upon the altar of God."

It is obvious, on the most cursory view, how strictly limited here the predictions of the prophet are to what, in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, actually took place, in respect of "the sanctuary" and "the daily sacrifice." In this 31st verse, it is predicted that the sanctuary should be polluted, not that it should be cast down, as in the vision of the viii. chapter,* nor destroyed as in the vision of the ix. chapter.† In these two former visions, a permanent ruin of the sanctuary is foretold, and consequently a permanent suppression of the daily sacrifice; not a pollution of it merely. Here a pollution only is predicted; which is consistent with the taking away of the daily sacrifice only for a limited time. The prediction here, then, is not identical with that of the great and final destruction, foreshown in both the viii. and ix. chapters, but is only that of a minor incident of detail in the great series of events foretold in each of Daniel's three last prophecies, and the terms of it were completely fulfilled by the temporary pollution of

* Daniel viii. 11.  † Daniel ix. 26.
the sanctuary, and suppression of the daily sacrifice, in
the time of Epiphanes, of which we have given an account
from the 1st Book of Maccabees.

The same Book contains an account of the fulfilment
of the prediction in the last clause of this 31st verse,—
"They shall place the abomination that maketh desolate."
We have seen that our Saviour's explanation instructs us,
that, by "the abomination that maketh desolate," we are
to understand an armed heathen force. Such a force, the
chief collector of tribute of Antiochus established perma-
nently, at this time, in Jerusalem; for, having made a
strong hold in the city of David, "They put therein,"
says the historian, "a sinful nation, wicked men, and
fortified themselves therein. They stored it also with
armour and victuals."* Thus, in these transactions, the
predictions of the prophet, in the 31st verse, were fulfilled
to the minutest point, in strict accordance with every one
of his terms.

We find in the same Book of Maccabees, and in some
of the apparently more authentic narratives of the Second
Book, accounts of events that form a very close, even
literal, fulfilment of the part of the prophecy contained in
the next four verses, with the exception of part of the
35th verse, of which we can shew the fulfilment from
other historical documents.

V. 32d. "And such as do wickedly in the covenant shall
he cause to pollute, by flatteries; and the people that do
know their God shall be strong, and do exploit."
That there were among the Jews, in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, such as did wickedly in the covenant,—that is, in reference to the revealed laws of their nation, named the covenant which God entered into with them, in Exodus xxxiv. 28, and in many other places,—we learn from 1st Maccabees i. 11, et seq.:—"In those days went there out of Israel wicked men, who persuaded many, saying: Let us go and make a covenant with the heathen, that are round about us; for since we departed from them we have had much sorrow. So this device pleased them well. Then certain of the people were so forward herein, that they went to the king, who gave them licence to do after the ordinances of the heathen. Whereupon they built a place of exercise at Jerusalem, according to the customs of the heathen. And made themselves uncircumcised, and forsook the holy covenant, and joined themselves to the heathen, and were sold to do mischief." This defection, among the Jews, from their own laws and holy covenant, was not confined to any small body, or to persons of obscure condition. From 2d Maccabees iv. 7, 10, 12, 14, we learn, that it extended to many of high rank, and of the priestly order, having at their head Jason, the brother of Onias the high priest, who, by the favour of Antiochus, secured by bribery, obtained the high-priesthood for himself. There were many, then, who did wickedly in the covenant, and, through the encouragement of Antiochus, were led to join in many heathen defilements.

The latter clause of this verse had, also, at the same time, a closely literal fulfilment. "They that do know their God shall be strong, and do exploits." How
admirably was this fulfilled, in the fidelity to the law of God, under the most trying circumstances, and in the heroical achievements, in defence of the institutions of their country, of Mattathias, and his five brave sons;* and of "the company of Assideans," "mighty men of Israel, even all such as were voluntarily devoted unto the law," "who joined themselves unto them?" To detail the great exploits which they performed, both during the reign of Antiochus and after his death, would be to transcribe the larger part of the First Book of Maccabees.

It becomes still more apparent, that their exploits are those which are here foretold by the prophet, when we look at the immediately succeeding verses, and see how literally they also were fulfilled, in the character, and actions, and fortune of the Maccabees, and their adherents.

V. 33d. "And they that cause to be wise (teachers) of the people, shall instruct many; and they shall fall by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil, for days."

Before entering on this part of our illustration, we have to obviate two objections of Bishop Newton to the application of this verse to the Maccabees and Antiochus. "If it may be said," says he, "of Antiochus, that he corrupted many by flatteries, by rewards, and promises, to forsake the holy covenant, and to conform to the religion of the Greeks; but the people who knew their God, the Maccabees and their associates, were strong, and did exploits; yet it cannot so properly be said of the Maccabees, or any of the devout Jews of their time, that they did instruct

* 1st Maccabees ii.
many, and make many proselytes to their religion; neither did the persecution, which Antiochus raised against the Jews, continue many days, or years, according to the prophetic style, for it lasted only a few years."

We shall direct our attention, in the first place, to the latter of these objections. The Hebrews, we know, numbered their years by weeks, or sevens, as well as their days;† and out of that practice naturally arose a habit of expressing any number of years by an equal number of days; and even of representing numbers of years, in the aggregate, as composed of weeks, months, and times, or years, of years. It is unquestionable, that this is a form of reckoning time introduced in some of the prophetic writings. It is expressly introduced in Ezekiel iv. 5, 6. The proofs appear very satisfactory, that it is the method of reckoning time, in some of the preceding prophecies of Daniel. There exists not the least doubt, that it is so, in the prophecy of the seventy weeks. There is a very high presumption, that it is so, also, in the vision of the four monarchies, in the seventh chapter, and in the distinct prophecy of the evenings and mornings of the eighth chapter; although, in these, we cannot demonstrate the exact measures of the times, by shewing their commencements and conclusions; as the prediction of the evenings and mornings is, obviously, not yet fulfilled, and the concluding part of the vision of the four monarchies appears to be in the same condition. It is not, however, at all apparent, that the same method of reckoning time is

* Dissert. xvii.  † Leviticus xxv. 8.
employed in this last vision of Daniel. At the introduction of the account of the vision, the prophet uses the term day, obviously, in its most common acceptation, as expressing one diurnal revolution of the heavenly bodies. "In those days," says he, "I Daniel was mourning three weeks of days. I ate no pleasant bread, neither came flesh nor wine into my mouth, neither did I anoint myself at all till three weeks of days were fulfilled."* Here we have the term day three times used, obviously in its most common sense. Are we not entitled to look at this as a guide to the meaning of the term, as it is employed everywhere in the vision? It appears, at least, an index to the meaning of it, in the 13th verse of the tenth chapter, since the number of days there reckoned,—"one and twenty days," agrees with that of the days of Daniel's fasting. There is nothing, in the prophecy itself, to indicate, that the term is afterwards used in any different sense; and we trust to be able to shew, satisfactorily, that the 1290 and 1335 days, of the 11th and 12th verses of the succeeding xii. chapter, admit of a good explanation, taken as natural days, and not as days numbered for years, when we come to illustrate these verses. The time mentioned, then, in the 33d verse immediately under consideration, might not bear out Bishop Newton in his objection respecting it, even although the text expressed many days. But we observe, further, that he has fallen into an error here, by attending only to our common translation, and not to the original. We have already seen,

* Daniel x. 2, 3. The marginal translation, which is literal.
that there is no term in the original to authorise the addition, many, to days. That has only days; and therefore does not imply any such length of time, as would be inconsistent with the duration of the persecution of the Jewish people, by Antiochus Epiphanes. One of the objections thus entirely fails; and the other is of no more validity. The force of it lies in the interpretation that Bishop Newton puts upon the word instruct,—which is—to make proselytes to the Jewish religion. But there are the strongest objections to this interpretation. The Jews were a peculiar people, separated, for a time, to answer highly important ends, from all the other nations of the earth. The religious institutions, which they received by revelation from God, were, many of them, adapted to their peculiar and separated state; and many could be strictly adhered to, only by those who were inhabitants of the ancient Canaan. Their religion, therefore, in its entire completeness, did not admit of a universal diffusion; and, accordingly, although they were enjoined to treat with kindness those of other nations, who might freely join themselves to them, and to admit them to partake of certain religious privileges,—some after shorter, and others after longer intervals of time,—yet they had no appointed means nor instructions given them, to proselytize other nations. It was only when He, who is a light to lighten the Gentiles, as well as the glory of his people Israel, revealed a pure and spiritual religion, adapted to every individual of the human race, of whatever nation, or con-

* Deuteronomy xxiii. 3. 8.
dition of life, that He gave injunctions to his church to teach all nations, and to go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature.* It was not, then, the business of Jewish teachers, as it is now of the disciples of Christ, to go forth to make many proselytes to their religion. It was their business to teach their own countrymen, the descendants of Israel,—to instruct them in those doctrines and laws, which were revealed peculiarly to their nation,—to exhort them to a steadfast adherence to them,—and to warn them against the evil and danger of departing from them, and adopting the debasing and demoralizing superstitions of the heathens.

Now, in this way, it may be truly said of the teachers of the Jewish people, in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, that they did, indeed, "instruct many"—many of their countrymen, who, under the terrors of a cruel persecution, and amidst an extensive defection of their nation, were in danger of deserting their religious faith and obedience.

There are several of their sublime and heart-stirring speeches, and instructions, handed down to us in the two First Books of Maccabees; and many of these were, in point of fact, "the instructions of those, who were the authorized and legitimate teachers of the Jewish people,—of those, whose duty it was to cause them to be wise. It was the appointed province of the Sons of Aaron "to teach the children of Israel all the statutes, which the Lord had spoken unto them, by the hand of Moses."† And the Levites were "to teach Jacob God's judgments, and

* Matthew xxviii. 19; Mark xvi. 15.  † Leviticus x. 11.
Israel his law."* The priests and Levites were thus the teachers of the Jews, according to their law; and we have therefore good ground to interpret the terms of the prophet, "They that cause to be raise," as signifying those functionaries. In accordance with the prediction of the prophet, that their teachers would instruct many, we find, that the man, who, both by his exhortations and example, first instructed many of the Jewish people to stem the torrent of defection, and to remain faithful to the cause of revealed religion, in defiance of the persecution of Antiochus, was of the family of Aaron. "In those days arose Mattathias, the son of John, the son of Simeon, a priest of the sons of Joarib."† He first led the way in resistance to that violence and treachery, which threatened to exterminate the name of the Jews, and to blot out the knowledge, and even the remembrance, of their divine religion. He commenced that noble struggle, in behalf of God and his law, which issued in the expulsion of the enemies of both from the Jewish territories, and in the re-establishment of the institutions of Moses, in full freedom and security. Thus he instructed many.

His verbal instructions, and those of his sons and coadjutors, are of a quality that calls for our high approval and admiration. They were eminently adapted to the trying period in which they lived; and are not to be surpassed in piety, and stirring eloquence, by any thing, not in the book of divine revelation. We consider them too long for insertion here; but we refer, in proof of the just-

* Deuteronomy xxxiii. 10. † 1st Maccabees ii. 1.
ness of the commendation we bestow on them, to Mattathias' noble speech, when he was desired to join in a heathen sacrifice,* and to his dying exhortation;†—to the noble speech of his son, Judas Maccabeus, when about to encounter an enemy of superior numbers;‡—to the speech of the aged Eleazar, "one of the principal scribes," and probably a priest or Levite, at the moment when he was about to be scourged to death;§—and to the animating exhortations of the Mother to her seven sons, slain by Antiochus, which seem to breathe, by anticipation, the spirit of one instructed in the gospel. "Doubtless," said she to her sons, dying for their religion, "the Creator of the world, who formed the generation of man, and found out the beginning of all things, will also, of his own mercy, give you breath and life again, as ye now regard not your own selves for his laws' sake."

The second prediction in the 33d verse, "they shall fall by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil, for days," was as literally fulfilled at the same time. Antiochus Epiphanes began to reign in the 137th year of the kingdom of the Greeks;¶ and Simon, the son of Mattathias, made a peace with King Demetrius, on which the historian remarks, "Thus the yoke of the heathen was taken away from Israel in the hundred and seventieth year."** The intervening time is thirty-three years, during a great part of which, the description of the prophet is strictly applicable to the suffering state of the Jews. "They fell by the sword." Antiochus, when he himself

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* 1st Macc. ii. 19—22. † 1st Macc. ii. 49—63. ‡ 1st Macc. iii. 18—22. § 2d Macc. vi. 24—30. ¶ 2d Macc. vii. 23. ¶ 1st Macc. i. 10. ** 1st Macc. xiii. 41.
took Jerusalem, "made a great massacre." The author of the Second Book of Maccabees says, there were 40,000 slain by him on that occasion; for he gave orders to his men of war not to spare such as they met, and to slay such as went up upon the houses, so that young and old, men, women, and children, were killed.† His chief collector of taxes, two years afterwards, made a treacherous slaughter, "and destroyed much people in Israel."‡ The Syrian garrison in the city of David pursued after, and slew a thousand people, who retired to the wilderness, and made no resistance, because it was the sabbath day.§ Judas Maccabeus and a great part of his army were slain by Bacchides, in the hundred fifty and second year; and a grievous massacre of the Jews followed his death.|| Jonathan, the brother of Judas, was circumvented by Tryphon, and slain with a thousand men, about sixteen years afterwards.¶—"They fell by flame." The chief collector of tribute set Jerusalem on fire.** Burning by fire was one of the forms in which Antiochus inflicted martyrdom on the faithful Jews.††—"They fell by captivity." Antiochus carried away 40,000 captives, when he took Jerusalem.‡‡ The chief collector of tribute took the women and children prisoners.§§—And "they fell by spoil." The same collector possessed the cattle, and spoiled Jerusalem;||| as Antiochus had done before him.¶¶ We do not make these statements as exhibiting a full view of the calamities of the Jews, which, at this

* 1st Macc. i. 24. † 2d Macc. v. 12-14. †† 1st Macc. i. 30.  
§ 1st Macc. ii. 33. † 1st Macc. ix. 17, 18, et seq. ¶ 1st Macc. xii. 48. 
** 1st Macc. i. 31. †† 2d Macc. vii.  ‡‡ 2d Macc. v. 14.  
 §§ 1st Macc. i. 32. ‡ 1st Macc. i. 31, 32. ¶¶ 1st Macc i. 21, et seq.
time, were sweeping, grievous, and frequently renewed; but as proving, by references to authentic history, that they were of the very kind foretold here by the prophet, and endured for such a length of time as well agrees with his words.

V. 34th. "And in the fall, they shall be holpen by the help of a few; and many shall cleave to them with flatteries."

Bishop Newton objects to the application of the former clause of this verse to the Maccabees, for reasons which we shall set down in his own words. After saying, that Porphyry,—who, in this instance, has many followers, and Grotius among the number,—applies it to Mattathias, and his son Judas, who was called Maccabeus, but makes the mistake of stating that Mattathias was slain in battle, Bishop Newton proceeds:—"Mattathias was not slain in battle, but died of old age. His son, Judas Maccabeus, several times vanquished the generals of Antiochus, recovered the holy city, cleansed the sanctuary, restored the public worship of God, and not only survived Antiochus some years, but also received the good news of the dethroning and murdering of his son. His brother, Jonathan, was made high-priest, and his brother Simon sovereign prince of the Jews; and both these dignities, the high-priesthood and the sovereignty, descended to Simon's son, and continued united in the family for several generations. That therefore could not be deemed a little help, which prevailed and triumphed over all the power and malice of the enemy, and established the Jewish religion and government upon a firmer basis than before; so far were they from falling again into a state of
persecution, as the next verse intimates that they should.”*

Our answer to this is to be found in our pointing to the true sense of the original. We have shewn, we think, on the surest grounds, that our common translation, when we take its terms in their most popular acceptation, does not convey that sense. *A little help should be the help of a few*; as we gather from the words of Jonathan, the son of Saul, uttered in circumstances which admit no doubt of his meaning. We have shewn, also, that *to be holpen* does not imply, in a very frequent use of the verb in the Hebrew Scriptures, to receive a partial, or ultimately deficient, or ineffective, aid or assistance, but to obtain deliverance,—to receive such aid as completely answers the end for which it is given. With these senses of the terms, the language of Bishop Newton, in his objection, becomes convertible into a commentary, shewing how admirably the prediction of the prophet applies to the Jews, under the guidance and aid of Mattathias and Judas, and their successors. The Jews had in them, and their small armies, only the *help of a few*. Yet, with that *help of a few*, “they prevailed, and triumphed over all the power and malice of the enemy; and established their religion and government upon a firmer basis than before.” It was indeed with a few only, that Mattathias commenced those heroical actions, against the numerous armies of the Syrians, then in possession of the strong holds of Judea, which ended in the deliverance of his country. He first

* Dissert. xvii.
fled to the mountains, with his own five sons;* and was there joined, only by such slender numbers, as could subsist together in the wilderness, on their own cattle, which they took along with them.† His son Judas, in his first battle, was at the head of "such as were ready to perish;" yet fearlessly encountered, and slew Apollonius, who had "gathered the Gentiles together, and a great host out of Samaria."‡ In his second battle, with Seron, who commanded a "mighty host of the ungodly," Judas was at the head of only a "small company;" "who," says the historian, "when they saw the host coming to meet them, said unto Judas, How shall we be able, being so few, to fight against so great a multitude, and so strong?" "Unto whom Judas answered, it is no hard matter for many to be shut up in the hands of a few; and with the God of heaven it is all one to deliver with a great multitude, or a small company."§ The numerous other victories of Judas and his brothers, described in the First Book of Maccabees, were generally won by like comparatively slender numbers; but we need not, on this point, enter into a more extended detail, as the Book is in every one's hands. It is obvious, from it, that the help which supported the Jewish people against their oppressors and persecutors, and ultimately wrought out their deliverance, was, at first, literally, in the language of the prophet, the help of a few.

When the Jewish people were thus holpen with the help of a few—when, by the fidelity and constancy of

* 1st Macc. ii. 28. † 1st Macc. ii. 30. ‡ 1st Macc. iii. 9—11.
§ 1st Macc. iii. 13—18.
their military chiefs, (who were also their priests—their legal teachers,) and of their small armies, the affairs of their country were restored, then, in point of fact, "many did cleave to them with flatteries"—professed friendship for them—and entered into covenants with them. This they did, not with any view to promote the advantage of the Jewish people, but, like true flatterers, to promote their own selfish ends. To refer to a few examples of this: when Demetrius and Alexander contended for the Syrian throne, the former wrote the most flattering letters to Jonathan, who succeeded Judas in the command of the Jewish armies, that he might obtain his aid against his competitor. Alexander, on the other side, addressed him in yet more flattering terms, calling him his brother, and the king’s friend, and naming him to be high priest of the Jews. Demetrius, observing that Alexander was likely to obtain Jonathan’s assistance, wrote to the latter again, offering his nation many important favours and immunities; "but," says the historian, "when Jonathan and the people heard his words, they gave no credit to them;"—"but with Alexander they were well pleased,"—"and were confederate with him always."* Ptolemy, king of Egypt, also "honoured Jonathan, and wrote him among his chief friends, and made him a duke, and partaker of his dominion."† The younger Demetrius of Syria, also, when contending against Tryphon, and the young Antiochus, the son of Alexander, addressed Jonathan in the most flattering letters and embassies, and obtained from him

* 1st Macc. x. † 1st Macc. x. 65.
very important aid. "Nevertheless he dissembled in all that ever he spake, and estranged himself from Jonathan, neither rewarded he him according to the benefits which he had received of him, but troubled him very sore."* When Antiochus, the son of Demetrius, afterwards contested the Syrian throne with the usurper Tryphon, he addressed Simon,—who, by that time, had succeeded Jonathan,—in letters still more flattering than any of those to which we have yet referred, giving him authority to coin money, declaring Judea free, and promising Simon high honours. "But he brake all the covenants which he had made with him afore, and became strange unto him."† During the same period, also, the more distant Romans and Lacedemonians made and renewed leagues with the Jews, as related at length in the eighth, twelfth, and fourteenth chapters of 1st Maccabees; and we well know, how flattering and treacherous the leagues of the former people, especially, always were.

V. 35th. "And some of them that cause to be wise shall fall, to refine by them, and to make clean, and to make white, till the time of the end; for this shall continue to an appointed time."

We have already seen, that Bishop Newton objects to interpreting the 34th verse as referring to the Maccabees, because they prevailed and triumphed over all the power of the enemy, and established the Jewish religion and government upon a firmer basis than before; and so the Jews were far from falling into a state of persecution again,—as he imagines this 35th verse intimates they should do.

* 1st Macc. xi. 53. † 1st Macc. xv.
But the terms of this 35th verse do not appear to intimate the renewal of any general persecution, like that foretold in the 33d, and preceding verses, in which, in the terms of the prophet, "many" were to fall. There is a special limitation of the prediction here, to "them that cause to be wise;" by whom, we trust, it will now be allowed, after the preceding observations, we may well understand the teachers of the Jews, who were, according to the Mosaic law, the priests, the descendants of Aaron.—Both the afflictions which were to befall these teachers, and the national improvements which were to flow from them,—intimated, the former, in some of them falling, and the latter, in refining, and making clean, and white, by them,—were to continue longer than the general persecution; for the general persecution was to endure only for days, but the others were to continue to the time of the end, and to go on to an appointed, or set, time.

We see, then, that Bishop Newton's conception of the prediction in this 35th verse is erroneous. The verse refers exclusively to the teachers, and only some of them are to fall. It therefore intimates no general persecution.

We acknowledge there is more apparent difficulty in illustrating this verse than any we have yet directed our attention to; yet we trust to be able, by a careful investigation of the conditions implied in its terms, and by following the continuous stream of history of the time, to get at a satisfactory explanation of it.—For the history of the time, we must now have recourse to an additional authority; as the history in the Books of Maccabees is that only of a very limited period. For what succeeds, we have an excellent authority in Josephus, the Jewish historian. It
is an authority allowed to be every way competent for fidelity and clearness. Bishop Porteus justly says of him, "The fidelity, the veracity, and the probity of the writer, are universally allowed; and Scaliger in particular declares, that not only in the affairs of the Jews, but even of foreign nations, he deserves more credit than all the Greek and Roman writers put together."* We shall afterwards have occasion to make many references to, and quotations from, him; and as it is with broad substantial facts we have here to do, and not with any peculiarities in his style, we shall make our quotations from Whiston's Translation, to avoid all suspicion of suiting a translation to our views.

The difficulty, in the 35th verse, chiefly lies in being able to ascertain what particular era, in the progress of events, is meant by the end. Now, in proceeding to determine this, we observe, that the end is a time after the conclusion of the general persecution, foretold in the preceding verses; for we have noticed, that the prophet makes a very plain distinction between the duration of that persecution, and the duration of the events predicted in this verse. The former is to continue for days—the latter to some specific end; and we are naturally led to infer, that the time, by which the latter extends lower down than the former, is some very noticeable period, since the prophet marks it so carefully. It will be readily allowed, however, that, considering how continuously he has, in the preceding part of this chapter, from the 5th verse downwards, followed the natural order of the history of the Græco-Syrian and Græco-Egyptian kingdoms, without

* Bishop Porteus' Lectures on the Gospel of St. Matthew.—Lec. xx.
passing over any remarkable events in them affecting Daniel's people, we ought to look out here for a like continuity, in the events predicted, in respect of the succession of time. We are, in fact, from the preceding order of the prophecy, led to expect that this, and the following parts of it, will not leave any great void in the history of Daniel's people, but will foretell the more remarkable events in succession, and with a corresponding closeness. We therefore look for the fulfilment of the events predicted in the 35th verse, in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, and immediately after it, when Daniel's people obtained help. It is to be noticed, that although the arrival of deliverance, by the help of a few, is foreshewn previously to this verse, yet,—as the predictions in it relate specially to the fortune of the teachers, of which we had heard nothing peculiarly proper to them before,—we seem at liberty to look for what particularly befell them, both during the persecution, and immediately after it.

We observe next, that down to the era here called the end, there are to be teachers,—all the time,—placed in some conspicuous station, such as might make their authority and example effective; as is clearly implied in the refining, and making clean, and making white, that are occasioned by them.

Next, that these teachers are, some of them, to full; which, looking at the sense of the term in the 33d verse, we must interpret of their suffering violent deaths, or being led captive, or spoiled of their property, or rank, down to the time of the end.

Lastly, we observe, that down to that end, the refining, and making clean, and white, are to continue.
When, taking these observations along with us, we advert to the history of Daniel's people, during, and immediately after, the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, we find in it a clear fulfilment of this prophecy, and readily discover the era here called the end. The family of Mattathias—the teachers, continued for several generations at the head of the Jewish nation. Jonathan, who succeeded Judas as the military commander, was made high priest;* and after him, his brother, Simon, was made both high priest and governor.† Simon's son, John Hyrcanus, succeeded him in both capacities.‡ Aristobulus, the son of Hyrcanus, assumed, in addition to the high-priesthood, the title and state of king;§ and the two offices continued in his family, united in one person, till Antigonus, the last who was in possession of them both, was taken prisoner by Herod, surnamed the Great, and put to death by Mark Antony.|| "And thus," says Josephus, "did the government of the Asmoneans" (the descendants of Simon and Mattathias) "cease, a hundred and twenty-six years after it was set up."¶

Let us now see, how literally the conditions of the prophecy were fulfilled, in the history of this race of priests and sovereigns. Their's was a history, the events of which emerged during the persecution by Epiphanes, and through the time which immediately succeeded it. It was a history which had a definite and well-marked conclusion, or end, in the extinction of the male branches of the peculiar race, whose rule gave way to a totally different

* 1st Macc. x. 21.
† 1st Macc. xiv. 35.
‡ 1st Macc. xvi. 24, and Josephus' Antiquities, Book xiii. chap. 8. sec. 1.
§ Antiq. xiii. 11. 1.
¶ Ibid.
† Antiq. xiv. 16. 4.
succeeding system of government and affairs of the Jewish people. The special characters of the events, too, accurately agree with the prediction. Some of this race of priests, who instructed many, fell,—and fell by violent deaths, and by captivity, and by being spoiled of their possessions and authority. Eleazar, the son of Mattathias, was crushed to death under an elephant, which he killed in battle.* Judas Maccabeus also fell in battle.† His brother, John, was taken by the children of Jambri and put to death.‡ Jonathan was circumvented by Tryphon, and slain with a thousand men.§ Simon was treacherously murdered by his own son-in-law.|| Some of the race also fell, to the time of the end of their dynasty. Aristobulus, the son of Alexander Janneus, who, for a time, usurped the sovereignty, was taken captive, and carried to Rome, by Pompey the Great, to grace his triumph.¶ Hyrcanus, his elder brother, who was high priest for forty years, was spoiled of his office, and maimed by Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, and afterwards put to death by Herod.** We have already seen, that Antigonus himself was dethroned by Herod, and put to death by Antony. Aristobulus, the grandson of both the royal brothers, Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, by a son of the former, and daughter of the latter, and the last male descendant of the Asmonean family, who held for a short time the high-priesthood, was drowned by Herod.††

And by their teaching, and example of fidelity to their religion, under extreme persecution, and their good

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* 1st Macc. vi. 46. † 1st Macc. ix. 18. ‡ 1st Macc. ix. 36, 42. § 1st Macc. xii. 41—48. † 1st Macc. xvi. 16. ¶ Antiq. xiv. 4. 5. ** Antiq. xiv. 13. 10; and xv. 6. 2. †† Antiq. xv. 3. 3.
administration of public affairs, when first raised to the
supreme power, the family of Mattathias refined, and made
clean, and white, their countrymen. We learn what we
are to understand by refining, and the other synonymous
terms, from the language of another prophet. "I will
refine them as silver is refined,—and will try them as gold
is tried; and they shall call on my name, and I will hear
them: I will say, it is my people; and they shall say, the
Lord is my God."* From the cruel persecution of Epi-
phanes, and the numerous defections of the Jews, it
seemed as if the whole nation would cease to call the Lord
their God. But Mattathias continued faithful, and said,
"Though all the nations that are under the king's
dominion obey him, and fall away every one from the
religion of their fathers, and give consent to his command-
ments;—yet will I, and my sons, and my brethren, walk
in the covenant of our fathers. God forbid that we
should forsake the law and ordinances. We will not
hearken to the king's words, to go from our religion,
either on the right hand or the left."† This resolution,
faithfully persisted in by him and his sons, led to the
wars, and heroical achievements of the Maccabees; during
which they retook and purified the temple, and restored,
there, those services which were the centre and support of
the Mosaic institutions. The whole nation, by degrees,
submitted themselves to the rule and instructions, and
imitated the example, of these faithful and resolute priests.
They deserted the superstitions of the heathens, and again

* Zechariah xiii. 9.  † 1st Macc. ii. 19—22.
called the Lord their God, and joined in those services which he had commanded. In the words of Bishop Newton, already quoted, "the Jewish religion and government were established on a firmer basis than before." John Hyrcanus, their first successor, walked in the footsteps of the five sons of Mattathias. "He administered the government," says Josephus, "in the best manner for thirty-one years."* The authors of the Universal History, summing up the merits of his administration, say,—"his reign was no less remarkable on account of his great wisdom and piety, than his conquests abroad. Never did the Jewish religion or commonwealth appear in greater lustre, since the return from the captivity."† Thus, was restored, among Daniel's people, that fidelity to their revealed religion, which continued to characterize them afterwards. They no more apostatized from that religion, to adopt heathen superstitions. They were thus, in this respect, "refined, and made clean, and made white," by the fidelity and zealous exertions of the Maccabees and Asmoneans;—although corruption and defilement afterwards, unhappily, appeared among them, under new forms, when they made the word of God of none effect through their traditions, till "wrath was complete."

We have now come to the conclusion of the Third Section of these Illustrations, during the progress of which, we have had occasion to controvert not a little of the reasoning of Bishop Newton,—on the five verses of Daniel which form its subject,—in his highly valuable

* Antiq. xiii. 10, 7.
"Dissertations on the Prophecies, which have remarkably been fulfilled, and at this time are fulfilling, in the world." But we have only controverted his reasoning in a passage, where he himself seems to allow, that he is not very well assured of the firmness of the ground on which he treads; for he admits, that, in interpreting this part of Daniel's last prophecy, commentators "pursue so many different paths, that it is not always easy to know whom it is best and safest to follow." We trust, that while, in the search after truth, we have debated many of his positions respecting this part of the prophecy, we have done so in terms of sufficient respect for the name of that eminent author, who, with learning, industry, good judgment, and eloquence, that highly fitted him for the task, has illustrated, in the most satisfactory manner, many other of the Scripture prophecies; and so, we trust, has been one instrument of confirming the Christian faith, and hope, of many. In the succeeding part of our illustrations, we shall not so frequently advert to his reasoning. But we cannot part from him here without paying this humble tribute to his high merit; lest we should seem,—by arguing against him so often, in reference to our very limited subject,—to furnish ground for suspicion, that his reasoning, on other points, is equally liable to objection. We think his reasoning clear, sound, and incontrovertible, in the great majority of his other interpretations of prophecy.

We have now arrived at a stage of our own illustrations, where we are placed at a very remote distance from the corresponding one of Newton. We have interpreted the 35th verse as a prediction of Mattathias, and his descendants, the Asmoneans. He interprets it as a prediction of
the heathen persecutions of the Christian Church, which were put an end to by Constantine the Great; and he goes on to interpret the succeeding verses, of the eleventh chapter, as predicting events in the history of that church, after Constantine's time. We think that what remains of Daniel's eleventh chapter, forms a clear prediction of the character and actions of Herod the Great; including, parenthetically, a prediction of the remarkable war between Mark Antony and Augustus Cæsar, which occurred during his reign, and in the progress and issue of which, his condition, as king of Daniel's people, was deeply involved, and brought into hazard. It is obvious, that, in supporting an illustration so widely at variance with that of Newton, it would avail our arguments little, to discuss the merits of his. We shall therefore, now, seldom introduce his name; but proceed to support our propositions, by considerations resting on the text of Daniel, and the agreements between it and the events of the remarkable period of history, to which we have referred. We trust to be able to shew, in the next Section, that these agreements are so close, while, at the same time, the whole subject-matter is so singular, as to leave no reasonable doubt of the correctness of our illustration of that particular part of the prophecy; and, at the same time, to confirm the correctness of the illustrations already given, since they have led us on, in the continuous order of History, from Antiochus Epiphanes to Herod.
SECTION IV.

Contents.—The predictions, in the 36th verse, and all following it to the end of the xi. chapter, fulfilled—in Herod the Great—and in the events of the Actian war, which occurred during his reign, and is parenthetically introduced in the prophecy.—A close agreement between some terms, in the 36th verse, and terms employed by the Apostle Paul, in his great Christian prophecy of the man of sin, has led commentators to apply that verse to the man of sin, and to introduce great confusion into their interpretations of this last prophecy of Daniel.—When we compare the whole of Paul’s prophecy with the whole of Daniel’s, there are found discrepancies between them, that shew they have not both the same subject.—Paul predicts a character of extreme and rare impiety, assuming divine honours, exercising a spiritual function, and extending his power by signs and lying wonders.—His prophecy is full, clear, and precise in its terms, and is obviously fulfilled in the Pope of Rome.—Daniel predicts a character of great impiety, but in terms like those that are applied by other prophets to various impious characters.—The predictions in the 36th, 37th, 38th, and 39th verses, literally fulfilled in Herod—in his being the only king, after Daniel’s time, over the whole Jewish nation, independently of the priestly authority—in his tyranny, and success in war—in his impiety—in his apparently pious speeches to the Jews—in his reign continuing down to the time of the wicked generation which rejected the Saviour—in his Idumean descent—in his murdering his beloved wife, and all her kindred—in his rebuilding the temple at Jerusalem, and converting it into a fortress, with a garrison, to overawe the Jews, and secure his own power—in his building walled cities, having splendid temples in them, dedicated to Augustus Caesar, as a divinity—in his filling these with garrisons—and assigning the neighbouring lands to the soldiers.—The predictions, in the 40th verse, fulfilled—in Cleopatra and Mark Antony going to war with Augustus Caesar—in Herod, at first, being on the
side of Cleopatra and Antony—in the rapidity of the conquests of Augustus in that war—in his fighting some actions with cavalry, but none with infantry—in his gaining the great naval victory of Actium—and in his quickly getting possession of a great extent of territory. —The predictions, in the 41st verse, fulfilled—in Augustus with his army passing through Judea—and in the failure of the expedition he sent against the mingled people of Arabia.—The predictions, in the 42d and 43d verses, fulfilled—in his reducing Egypt, and its dependencies, to the form of a Roman province—in his getting possession of the treasures of Cleopatra; although she, at one time, meditated flying with them by the Red Sea, and, at another, burning them with herself—and in his subduing, by his officers, the Garamantes in Libya, and Candace queen of Ethiopia.—The predictions, in the 44th verse, fulfilled—in the announcement of the birth of Jesus, by the wise men from the East—in the intelligence Herod received from Rome of the conspiracies of his son Antipater, and the undutiful behaviour of two other sons—in Herod's great fury on these occasions—in his slaying the young children of Bethlehem, his son Antipater, and many other persons, about the same time.—The predictions, in the 45th verse, fulfilled—in Herod's building two royal palaces in Jerusalem, where, it appears from Matthew, he was present when the wise men came from the East—and in his having recourse, in vain, to many remedies, for the cure, or mitigation, of his last painful disease.

In our illustrations, from history, of the five verses we have now considered, we have not trodden a path that was quite untrodden before; for Porphyry and Grotius, and others, have applied them to Antiochus Epiphanes and the Maccabees. If there was any thing deficient in their illustrations, it was, in their failing to perceive, that the 35th verse contains a prediction that comprehends also the fortune of the Asmoneans, and the condition of the Jewish religion under that race of priests and sovereigns, down to the end of their dynasty. We are now, however, arrived
at a point, from which we humbly propose to open up a path that is new; for, as far as we know, no one has offered the illustrations we are about to bring forward. The part of the prophecy, from the 36th verse to the end of the Book of Daniel, has, we think, been hitherto quite misunderstood; and the difficulties, which later commentators have conceived to exist in it, have afforded the chief reasons for their rejecting the interpretations of Porphyry and Grotius, of the 31st, 32d, 33d, 34th, and 35th verses, and their breaking away abruptly from the continuous course of history, to look for the fulfilment of these verses in the times of the Gospel. Bishop Newton, we have seen, says, the 31st verse might very well apply to Epiphanes, if what follows, (by which he obviously means the passage we are now arrived at,) would apply to him. He says, however, very justly, of that passage, "that it is impossible to apply it to Epiphanes, or any of the Syrian kings his successors."

Porphyry, and others who follow him, have, it is true, applied the 36th and following verses to Epiphanes himself;* but in doing so, while they have correctly applied the 31st and four following verses to him, they have fallen into error, here, from not attending to the conclusion of the 35th verse, which predicts some state of affairs that was to continue for some time after the general persecution by that tyrant, and thus precludes the application of the 36th verse, and what follows, to him. The state of affairs, predicted in the 35th verse was, in addition to its continuing for some length of time, to have some definite

* Newton.—Dissert. xvii.
end; and therefore we are led, by the very terms of the prophecy, to look, in the 36th verse, for the opening up of some new series of events.

Other commentators having, in vain, looked for the fulfilment of this 36th, and the following verses, in any of the Syrian kings,—for the characters and actions of no one of these sovereigns at all agree with this part of the prophecy,—have missed their way, here, by attending to a brief agreement between certain terms, employed by the prophet, in the 36th verse, and some terms, employed by the Apostle Paul, in his great Christian Prophecy of the Man of Sin. They have imagined, that this agreement between the terms of the prophet and those of the Apostle, brief as it is, directed them to look for the fulfilment of this part of the prophecy in the times of the Christian Church. This has led them into a double error. The application of the 36th verse to any part of the history of the Christian Church, is found altogether incompatible,—when looking at the successive order of the terms of the whole passage,—with the application of the 31st, and four following verses, to Antiochus Epiphanes. It is therefore, that, at the 31st verse, they bring forward, as we have seen Bishop Newton does, another interpretation of the passage,—applying it to the Romans; although we have found it to be literally and closely fulfilled in Epiphanes.—Thus they bring great confusion into a preceding part of the prophecy, by breaking off their interpretations, in the very middle of the highly characteristic and striking predictions of that cruel persecutor.—This is the error they have fallen into on one side. On the other, in looking forward, they have failed to
observe, that the 36th verse, and those following it in the
eleventh chapter, form very literal predictions of the charac-
ter, and deeds, and events of the reign of a king, who suc-
ceeded,—not any Syrian king,—but the Maccabees, and
their descendants the Asmoneans. The effect of the latter
error has been, that they have quite misunderstood the
twelfth chapter of the prophecy, which, in our view, con-
tains as signal a prediction of the Advent of the Saviour,
and of the mighty blessings to mankind, which have
resulted from it, as is to be found in the volume of the
Old Testament.

We will inquire into the nature of the parallelism be-
tween the terms of Daniel and Paul,—which has exercised
such a powerful influence over the plan of interpretation
of our more recent distinguished commentators,—in illus-
trating the 36th verse, to which we now proceed.

V. 36th. ¶ "And the king shall do according to his
will; and he shall exalt and magnify himself above every
God, and shall speak marvellous things concerning the
God of gods, and shall flourish till wrath is complete (or
till the completion of wrath); for a short work shall be
done."

It is quite obvious, from the successive tenor of the
prophet's language, that, by this emphatic introduction of
the king, we are not referred backward to any individual,
before named as a king, and whom we are to understand
as meant here; for, where the term last occurs, two kings
are named in conjunction, in the 27th verse:—"Both
these kings' hearts shall be to do mischief; and they shall
speak lies at one table." The two, who do this, are the
king of the south, and a vile person, who stood up in the
estate of the king of the north; which latter we have seen is Antiochus Epiphanes. The vile person is nowhere else named a king, but in this 27th verse, in conjunction with the king of the south. It would be an incorrectness of language, of an extreme kind, to re-introduce either of these kings, in such an emphatic way, without giving any indication which of the two is meant; and no indication of the kind occurs in the text. But further:—it becomes quite apparent, when we look forward to the 40th verse, that this king, in the 36th verse, is neither a king of the south, nor a king of the north; for, in that 40th verse, a king of the south pushes with him, and a king of the north comes against him. To discover the king of the 36th verse, then, we must look for a sovereign power, existing at the same time with, but distinct from, a sovereign power of the south, and another of the north.—We have eras, marked in the terms of the prophecy, between which we are to look for his existence;—the one era, the end, or appointed time named in the 35th verse; and the other a different end, named in the 40th verse, where we are told, "At the time of the end, a king of the south shall push with him." We have seen, that the end, in the 35th verse, may be satisfactorily interpreted of the end of that Asmonean dynasty, which exercised, in one person, the functions of both high priest and sovereign. We have not yet seen what era is meant, by the end, in the 40th verse; but on examining that passage, we perceive, that, as the term, end, is set down in immediate connection with a king, or sovereignty, of the south, we shall probably best, looking at the prophecy only, interpret it, the end of the sovereignty of the south. We are led then to look for
the king in the 36th verse, as existing after the extinction of the Asmonean dynasty, and at the time of the end of the king of the south, whom, in the former part of the prophecy, all the commentators have interpreted to be the Græco-Egyptian kingdom and its sovereigns.

The prophet employs the emphatic Hebrew article in naming this king of the 36th verse. He is not a king, but the king. From this we are naturally led to infer, that there is something peculiar in his sovereignty, distinguishing him, in some remarkable way, from all the kings named in this prophecy. In accordance with this indication, we find a king,—at the time, when we see we are directed, by the tenor of the prophecy, to look for him,—in Herod, commonly called the Great; in whose sovereignty there were peculiarities remarkably distinguishing him from all others here introduced. The other kings, named by Daniel in this prophecy, were kings of foreign nations. Herod was the king of Daniel’s people; and he was the only king after Daniel’s time, who held, to the end of his life, the sovereign power over all that people, independently of, and separate from, the priestly authority. He is styled emphatically, by the Evangelist Matthew, Herod the king;* and, by Luke, Herod the king of Judea.† Let us go on to see, how literally and fully the character and actions of this king, and the more remarkable events, that occurred during his reign, agree with the predictions of the prophet, from the beginning of this 36th verse, to the end of the eleventh chapter.

* Matthew ii. 1.  
† Luke i. 5.
Our chief authority for the character and actions of Herod is Josephus. He has transmitted to us a most circumstantial, and, at the same time, highly consistent and characteristic, account of the life of that singular tyrant, which gives us full information of the transactions, during his reign, within Judea itself. But there are, in this part of the prophecy, predictions of events,—which occurred, at the same period, beyond the boundaries of the Jewish kingdom, and yet involved the fortune of Herod's sovereignty,—to which Josephus makes only brief references. The details of these events are found in writers of the transactions of the Augustan period of Roman history. Plutarch, in his Life of Mark Antony,—the most consistent, clear, and instructive, of all the lives he has written,—gives us a circumstantial detail of the particular events we refer to. He is an authority every way competent for wisdom, gravity, impartiality, and, for the most part, accuracy respecting facts. Not to multiply quotations unnecessarily in testimony of facts, which have never been disputed, we will refer to his authority for these events, making our quotations from the translation of his Lives, by the Langhorne.

The first part of the character of the king in the 36th verse, "he shall do according to his will," applies correctly to Herod. He was a self-willed and arbitrary tyrant. Josephus says of him, "A man he was of great barbarity towards all men equally, and a slave to his passion; but above the consideration of what was right."* But "he

* Antiq. xvii. 8. 1.
did according to his will," also, in another sense, in which, we are taught, from other parts of Daniel's prophecies, to understand these terms. It is said of the ram with two horns,—interpreted by Gabriel to mean the kings of Media and Persia,—that "he did according to his will." * The like is said of the mighty king in the 3d verse of this xi. chapter, who is plainly Alexander the Great; and in verse 16th of the same chapter, it is said of another king,—whom the commentators have proved to be Antiochus the Great,—that "he shall do according to his will, and none shall stand before him." Now, these were successful warriors, who overpowered, in that capacity, all opposition to their will. We all know of the conquests of Cyrus, and other Persian kings; of those of Alexander the Great; and of Antiochus the Great, during the earlier part of his reign, to which the prophet is referring in the terms last quoted. Herod was also a most successful warrior; although within a more limited field. Josephus adds to the terms we last introduced from him,—"Yet was he favoured by fortune as much as any man ever was, for, from a private man, he became a king; and though he were encompassed with ten thousand dangers, he got clear of them all, and continued his life till a very old age; but then, as to the affairs of his family and children, in which, indeed, according to his own opinion, he was also very fortunate, because he was able to conquer his enemies, yet, in my opinion, he was herein very unfortunate."

"And he shall exalt and magnify himself above every God."

* Daniel viii. 4.
These are the terms of the Prophet, which, agreeing closely, as they do, with some terms, employed by the Apostle Paul, in his prophecy of the \textit{man of sin}, have led commentators to imagine, that the Prophet and the Apostle both foreshew exactly the same thing. But although the terms of both agree in part, yet when we compare the whole terms in their respective prophecies, we perceive, at once, that there are discrepancies between them, so important, that the two cannot refer to the same specific events. The terms of Paul are, "Let no man deceive you by any means: for that day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition; \textit{who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped}; so that he, as God, sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God;"* and in the 9th and 10th verses following, we have additional characteristics of the \textit{man of sin}, "whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish." There is the greatest closeness of meaning between the terms of the Apostle,—"\textit{who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped}," and those of the Prophet,—"\textit{he shall exalt and magnify himself above every God;}" and also, between the same terms of the Apostle, and those of the Prophet in his succeeding 37th verse,—"\textit{to every God he shall have no regard}". But here the literal agreement between the terms of the respective prophecies ends; although each of them contains many

* 2d Thessalonians ii. 3, 4.
more particulars. Now all that is said, in which they agree, may, with the strictest correctness, be said of every impious person whatever. He opposes his own sinful desires to God's will; he exalts himself above his authority; he has no regard,—no feeling of responsibility, to any superior being. In fact, terms corresponding with both those of Paul and Daniel, in the brief clauses where they agree, are employed in other parts of Scripture to describe the impious.—Thus Isaiah brings in the impious king of Babylon as saying, "I will exalt my throne above the stars of God"—"I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the Most High."* Jeremiah says of Moab, "He magnifieth himself against the Lord."† Ezekiel says of Seir, "Ye have magnified against me, and have multiplied your words against me."‡ There is nothing in the agreeing terms then, that, when we consider them by themselves, can restrict and bind them in, as referring to one particular event or character, both in the mouth of the Prophet, and in that of the Apostle. But when we look at the accompanying additional terms, descriptive of the respective characters of the king, in Daniel, and of the man of sin, in the Epistle of Paul, we discover several remarkable discrepancies between these two characters.—All the terms in Daniel describe a character, certainly of great, but by no means of rare, impiety.—Those in Paul describe a character, of impiety the most extreme and rare.—He assumes to himself Divine honours.—He shews himself that he is God. The character, in Daniel, is only

a king; and appears emphatically named a king, to distinguish him from the teachers, the priests, of the 35th and preceding verses.—The character, described by Paul, differently from this, sitteth in the temple of God; by which we can understand nothing less, than that he possesses a spiritual authority.—The king, in Daniel, is like Cyrus, and Alexander the Great, and Antiochus the Great. Like them, he does according to his will, and none stand before him; but he gets possession of his kingly authority by military conquest. The coming of the man of sin is after a very different manner,—"after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish;"—words, which form a clear declaration, that the power of the man of sin should be obtained and secured, by impious pretensions to work miracles, and by wicked frauds.

Notwithstanding the close agreement between a few of their respective terms, we see, when we advert to the whole tenor and conditions of each, that we are not yet permitted to identify Daniel's prophecy of the King, with Paul's signal Christian prophecy of the Man of Sin. The latter is different, and has a different subject-matter, from the former. The terms of it are full, clear, and precise; and so obviously fulfilled in the rise of the impious pretensions, and demoralizing tenets and superstitions, of popery,—in the temple of God—the Christian Church, that the fulfilment, in this manner, is the subject of one part of our protestant religious faith.*

The terms, "he shall exalt and magnify himself above every God," as they stand in Daniel, are admirably descriptive of the character of Herod. He was a most impious king. His ambition, and selfish desires, and violent and angry passions, gave the law to his whole life; and every part of his conduct, down to his expiring moments, gave proof that he had no regard to God,—that there was, in his breast, no feeling of responsibility to Him, and that all sense of religion was totally deadened within him. We shall have occasion to make particular references to many instances of this, in illustrating some following passages of the prophecy. In the mean time, for confirming our general statement of his impiety, we can refer to an authority which admits of no question of its correctness. Nothing could be a stronger proof of impiety, than his behaviour, on occasion of the wise men coming from the east to Jerusalem, and saying, "where is he who is born king of the Jews? for we have seen his star in the east, and are come to worship him," as related by Matthew.* The wise men announced, that a king of the Jews was born, to whom they were about to pay divine honours. Herod was aware of the prophecies which foretold the advent of a great Anointed King and Deliverer of the Jews, and consulted those who more particularly studied the prophecies, that he might learn the place of his birth; and, with the false and impious assurance, that he too would come to worship him, desired the wise men to inform him when they had discovered the new born King, that he might have an opportunity to put him to death. Failing

* Matthew ii. 1, 2.
to learn, from the wise men, the particular house and family of his birth, in the hope of effecting his destruction, he ordered the impious and cruel massacre of the children of Bethlehem; thus exalting and magnifying himself above God, and acting as if he could overthrow his purposes and decrees.

"And shall speak marvellous things concerning the God of gods." — Although thus exceedingly impious, Herod could yet speak marvellous things of the Supreme God, and profess great regard for, and gratitude to him, when it served the purposes of his ambition. Josephus has given us several of his speeches of this nature. Thus, when his army had suffered a defeat from the king of Arabia, who had slain Herod's ambassadors, he made a speech to his soldiers, in which were many expressions of apparent piety. "You are not ignorant," said he, "of the wickedness of the Arabians, which is to that degree as to appear incredible to all other men, and to include somewhat that shews the grossest barbarity and ignorance of God." — "And for ourselves, we have learnt from God the most excellent of our doctrines, and the most holy part of our law, by angels, or ambassadors." — "But perhaps some will say, that what is holy, and what is righteous, is indeed on our side, but that the Arabians are either more courageous, or more numerous than we are. Now, as to this, it is not fit for us to say so, for with whom is what is righteous, with them is God himself; now, where God is, there is both multitude and courage."*

* Antiq. xv. 5. 3.
rebuild the temple at Jerusalem; and he concluded it by declaring his resolution, "to make a thankful return, after the most pious manner, to God, for what blessings he had received from him, by giving him the kingdom, and that, by rendering his temple as complete as he was able."*

"And shall flourish till wrath is complete." Wrath is a term employed in many passages of Scripture, to denote the outward visible punishments, which God sent upon men, especially upon the Israelites, for their national sins, as in Numbers xvi. 46, Joshua xxii. 20, and many other places. By a common metonomy, the effect—the wrath, or punishment, is used for the cause of it—the sins; as in Joshua ix. 20:—"We will even let them live, lest wrath be upon us, because of the oath which we sware unto them:"—that is, lest we should commit sin in breaking our oath. In the vision of the ram and he-goat,—which, we have seen, foretells the same series of events with the vision under consideration,—there is a special time marked in the order of these events, by terms equivalent to those we are now discussing.—"When transgressors are come to the full," in Daniel viii. 23, obviously corresponds with, when "wrath is complete." Now the transgressors were to come to the full, antecedently to the destruction of the mighty and the holy people by a king of fierce countenance.† Thus we learn what the time was, down to which the king, of this 36th verse, was to flourish.—He shall flourish till the transgressors are come to the full,—till

* Antiq. xv. 11. 1.  
† Daniel viii. 23, 24.
inquity abound, so as to deserve that wrath should be inflicted on the nation; for it is thus that we must interpret the predictions of the two visions, as illustrating each other.—And have we not here the true character of the Jewish nation, as we find them, just after the death of Herod? How wicked and irremediable they were, we have the most abundant evidence in the New Testament. John the Baptist denounced that generation, as a generation of vipers; and warned them of the wrath their sins would call down upon them.* Christ himself applied to them the same terms;† and described them as more wicked than any other nation, or people, on whom the just judgments of God had ever descended.‡ They had not indeed, as in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, gone over to any of the false religions of the heathens; but they had perverted the true one.—They had substituted its outward observances for that religion of the heart, and general good conduct, in which Moses, and all their prophets, had instructed them, that its true essence and the evidence of its power consist. By them, its sublime doctrines and holy laws were reckoned compatible with, and even rendered subservient to, the indulgence of their worldly selfishness,—their ambition, pride, avarice, uncharitableness, and all the worst forms of moral depravity. When, in this period of their extreme corruption, the mercy of God sent the Divine Saviour and Instructor of mankind, to make an atonement for their sins, and to call them to repentance and newness of life, they would not hear him.

* Matthew iii. 7. † Matthew xii. 34. ‡ Matthew x—xii.; Mark iv—vii.; Luke x—xi.; and in many other passages.
To use the language which Daniel afterwards, as we shall see, applies to them, "the wicked did wickedly;" and with wicked hands they crucified him. The Apostle Paul thus describes their character and conduct, in terms, the latter part of which might seem a commentary on the words of Daniel, now under consideration, explaining them in the way, we do now. "They both killed the Lord Jesus and their own prophets, and have persecuted us; and they please not God, and are contrary to all men: Forbidding us to speak to the Gentiles that they might be saved, to fill up their sins always; for the wrath is come upon them to the uttermost.*

"For a short work shall be done." This is not joined to what immediately goes before, by the common conjunctive particle, so as to imply, that the short work, like the fulness of transgression, would directly succeed the time of the flourishing of the king. The term by which it is joined is correctly translated for, in our common version; and the sense is, that the short work would be dependent on the completeness, or fulness, of the wrath, or iniquity. The two visions, in the eighth and ninth chapters, throw a full light on what is meant by the short work. In the eighth chapter, we learn, that, when transgressors were come to the full, a king of fierce countenance would destroy the mighty and the holy people.† In the ninth chapter, we have some details of the nature of the destruction; and learn, that at "the end of the war," there would be short-work (or sudden) desolations, and that after "the

* 1st Thessalonians ii. 15, 16.  
† Daniel viii. 23, 24.
ceasing of the sacrifice and oblation," at the time of the completion, short work would give (or effect) desolations; for so the terms are to be rendered, in Daniel ix. 26, 27; although our translators have, in these two verses, rendered the term, which we have the Apostle Paul's authority to translate short work, by the English term determined; as they have done also in this 36th verse under consideration. We see then that the prophecy, here, having marked the time down to which the king would flourish, by indicating, that it would be down to an age or period of great iniquity, runs on, for a moment, to notice the sudden punishment that would, in the end, overtake that iniquity; of which Daniel had received intimation in his former visions.

But the prophecy immediately returns to the character and conduct of the king, in the following verse.

V. 37th. "And to the God of his fathers he shall have no regard, and to conjugal affection, and to every God he shall have no regard; for he shall magnify himself above all."

We are naturally led to expect some remarkable speciality in the religion, or professed religion of the king, in connection with his descent, when we find this statement of his behaviour to the god of his fathers so conspicuously made, after it had been formerly said, that he would exalt and magnify himself above every God. We discover such a speciality in the case of Herod. His father was not of the descendants of Israel, but an Idumean, as Josephus takes care, more than once, to assure us; as in his Antiquities xiv. 1. 3., where he says of Herod's father,— "There was a certain friend of Hyrcanus, an Idumean,
called Antipater." He goes on, at the place, to settle the point of his being an Idumean; because a flatterer of the son, Herod, had said, he was of the stock of the principal Jews, who came out of Babylon into Judea. Now, the same author informs us, the Idumeans had become converts to the religion of the Jews, only in the time of John Hyrcanus;* and lets us know also, that, before that time, they worshipped a god of their own, named Koze, to whose service there was appointed a family of native priests.† This god, Herod did not regard; for he professed himself, as we have seen in his speeches, to be of the religion of the Jews.

"And to conjugal affection he shall have no regard." This was true of Herod in an eminent degree. The fate of his beloved wife, Mariamne, and of her kindred, and sons, forms altogether one of the deepest tragedies that is to be found in the whole history of mankind. She was a lady of great beauty and merit, and of high rank—being of the family of the Asmoneans,—the sister of that Aristobulus, the young high priest, who was drowned by Herod,—and the grand-daughter of both the Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, who contended for the sovereignty and high-priesthood, in the time of Pompey the Great. Herod had a great affection for her;‡ yet he had no regard to it, when its dictates interfered with those of his ambition, and the indulgence of his other violent passions. Upon occasion of his being summoned before Mark Antony, to answer for the murder of the young Aristobulus, he left

* Antiq. xiii. 9. 1. † Antiq. xv. 7. 9. ‡ Antiq. xv. 3. 5.
orders with his uncle Joseph,—if he himself should be capitally punished by Antony, for his cruel deed,—to put Mariamne to death also; lest she should marry another after him.* Again, after the battle of Actium, when he went before Augustus Caesar to implore the clemency of that conqueror, against whom he had sided in the war with Antony and Cleopatra, he left orders with Sohemus,—if he himself should be killed,—to kill both Mariamne and her mother.† When Mariamne, on discovering that he had repeatedly given such inhuman orders respecting her, absented herself from his presence, he ordered her to be summarily condemned, and put to death.‡ He not only conceived and executed these matchless atrocities against his beloved wife, but he also put to death her grandfather Hyrcanus,—her mother Alexandra,—her brother Aristobulus,—and his own two sons, whom he had by her, excited to these unexampled crimes by the jealousy of a wicked ambition; for, as they were of the family of the Asmoneans, he feared they might become pretenders to the Jewish sovereignty. Josephus has given a most striking picture of the state of his mind after the murder of his wife; shewing, that the conjugal affection,—which he did not yet regard, nor obey the dictates of, but cruelly followed those of his ambition and capricious resentments,—was of the most ardent kind. He says, "When she was once dead, the king’s affections for her were kindled in a more outrageous manner than before, whose old passion for her we have already described; for his love to her was

* Antiq. xv. 3. 5.  † Antiq. xv. 6. 5.  ‡ Antiq. xv. 7. 4.
not of a calm nature,"—"for at its commencement it was of an enthusiastic kind;"—"but at this time his love to Mariamne seemed to seize him in such a peculiar manner, as looked like divine vengeance upon him for taking away her life; for he would frequently call upon her, and frequently lament for her in a most indecent manner. Moreover, he bethought him of every thing he could make use of to divert his mind from thinking of her, and contrived feasts and assemblies for that purpose; but nothing would suffice. He therefore laid aside the administration of public affairs, and was so far conquered by his passion, that he would order his servants to call for Mariamne, as if she were still alive, and could still hear them."*

"And to every God he shall have no regard, for he shall magnify himself above all." Terms, to the same effect as these, are employed in the preceding verse; and the repetition, here, of this part of the king's character, appears made in more immediate reference to the evidences of his impiety, furnished in those actions of his, that are foretold in the two immediately succeeding verses. We shall proceed to shew, that these actions demonstrate, in the performer, a total disregard to God, and that his mind was divested of every feeling of religion;—that he magnified himself, in doing those things, which he deemed might secure his worldly power and dominion, totally casting out of his heart all feeling of responsibility to any heavenly power.

* Antiq. xv. 7. 7.
The actions, when considered in connection with each other, are of a singular kind, and were those of Herod the Great.

V. 38th. "And, for his establishment, he shall honour fortresses to God: and to God, whom his fathers knew not, he shall honour them, with gold, and with silver, and with costly stones, and with precious things."

V. 39th. "And he shall do like things to walled fortresses with a strange god, whom he shall acknowledge, and increase with glory; and he shall cause them to have power in multitudes, and shall parcel out the land in hire."

How literally was all this fulfilled, by Herod's rebuilding and adorning the temple at Jerusalem, taking care to convert it into a fortress for his own garrisons, by which he might, in the most effectual manner, overawe the Jews, in the very place of their public worship of God?—by his building, at the same time, magnificent, strong, and walled cities, in honour of Augustus Cæsar, containing in them temples, dedicated to that Emperor as a divinity?—and by his encouraging his old soldiers, and many others, to settle in these, by parcelling out among them the neighbouring lands? The history of these proceedings is given very circumstantially by Josephus, and the details agree, in all points, with the terms of the Prophet.

The account of the rebuilding of the temple, and a full description of its magnificence, are to be found in Josephus' Antiquities, xv. 11.; but we deem them too long for insertion here. Herod honoured it with gold, and with silver, and with costly stones, and with pleasant things. Josephus says, the stones were white and strong, each of
them twenty-five cubits long, eight high, and twelve broad;* thus surpassing in dimensions even the “costly stones, great stones,” employed by Solomon, when he built it at first; to which we have already referred. He says, also, in another place, where he has given a full description of the temple, “the expenses Herod laid out upon the temple were vastly large, and the riches about it unspeakable.”† The great stones, and riches, of the temple, built by Herod, excited the astonishment of the Apostles. They said, “Master, see what manner of stones and what buildings are here.”‡ And they “spake of the temple, how it was adorned with goodly stones and gifts.”§

But the agreement of the history with all the other terms of the Prophet, is every way complete. Herod rebuilt this temple “to God, whom his fathers knew not;” for they, as we have seen, were Idumeans, and knew not the God of Israel, but were worshippers of the god Koze. He built it, and adorned it, too, not with any pious desire to honour and promote the glory of the God to whose service it was dedicated,—although, as we have seen, he could speak marvellous things concerning him, when it served his political ends to do so,—but he built it for “his own establishment”—for the security of his worldly power. The historian presents us with the full evidence, that this was his actuating motive. He converted the temple, by the adjunct of the tower Antonia, into a strong fortress. “On the north side of the temple,” says

* Antiq. xv. 11. 3.  † Wars, i. 21. 1.  ‡ Mark xiii. 1.  § Luke xxi. 5.
Josephus, "was built a citadel, whose walls were square, and strong, and of extraordinary firmness. This citadel was built by the kings of the Asmonean race, who were also high priests before Herod, and they called it the Tower, in which were reposed the vestments of the high priest, which the high priest only put on at the time when he was to offer sacrifice. These vestments king Herod kept in that place."—"But for the Tower itself, when Herod the king of the Jews had fortified it more firmly than before, in order to secure and guard the temple, he gratified Antonius, who was his friend, and the Roman ruler, and then gave it the name of the Tower of Antonia.”

"There was also an occult passage built for the king: it led from Antonia to the inner temple, at its eastern gate; over which he also erected for himself a tower, that he might have the opportunity of a subterraneous ascent to the temple, in order to guard against any sedition, which might be made by the people against their kings."* We learn, from another passage, what the real policy was, of this arrangement of the fortresses, within the precincts of the temple. The fortified places about the city, we are told, "were two, the one belonging to the city itself, the other belonging to the temple; and those that could get them into their hands had the whole nation under their power, for without the command of them it was not possible to offer their sacrifices; and to think of leaving off those sacrifices, is to every Jew plainly impossible, who are still more ready to lose their lives, than to leave off that divine worship which they have been wont to pay unto God."†

* Antiq. xv. 11. 4—7.  † Antiq. xv. 7. 8.
The impiety of all this is exceedingly fearful. How accurately fulfilled, in the character and conduct of Herod, were the Prophet's predictions of the king, that he would exalt and magnify himself above every God? and that one instance of his extreme impiety would consist, in his honouring fortresses to God, with gold, and silver, and costly stones, and pleasant things? The speeches of Herod, as given by Josephus, and his application to the chief priests and scribes to obtain an explanation of the ancient prophecies,* demonstrate, that he was acquainted with the writings of the inspired instructors of the Jewish nation, and acknowledged their authority. If, from that source, he had ever received any religious impressions, they were so completely defaced by the lust of political power,—which has degraded and wrecked so many other minds,—that, for obtaining and securing its object, he could coolly devise and adopt measures, for interrupting the religious services of a whole nation.—The pious priests, who preceded him in the government of Judea, had built a tower near the temple, to form a convenient depository for the priests' garments, and so to facilitate the administration of the religious ordinances. He converted the tower into a strong hold, with a garrison of his soldiers, in which the garments remained, not under the charge of the priests, but in his own custody; by which arrangement he could, at any time, prevent the celebration of these ordinances, by denying the priests access to their garments; and at the same time, having all the precincts

* Matthew ii. 4.
of the temple fully exposed to the attacks of a military force, he could drive away, from the prescribed place of their religious rites, both the priests and the people.

To fill up the picture of impiety, foreshewn by the Prophet,—while he could thus look at the service of the true God in his own temple, with the view only of making it subservient to the purposes of his own worldly ambition,—in direct opposition to the plainest, and frequently renewed, commandments of that God, he introduced and established the rites of heathen superstition, in its worst and meanest form. He built many fortified cities in honour of Augustus Cæsar, calling them by his name. In them he erected temples, dedicated to Augustus as a divinity; and he celebrated games, in honour of the same strange god, in imitation of those celebrated by the Greeks and Romans, in honour of their false gods. We shall, in proof of this, quote some passages of Josephus; and we shall do so at the more length, because they exhibit, at the same time, evidences of the fulfilment, in the acts of Herod, of other circumstances foretold in the 39th verse. Josephus says of Herod, "Since, therefore, he had now the city (Jerusalem) fortified by the palace in which he lived, and by the temple, which had a strong fortress by it, called Antonia, rebuilt by himself, he contrived to make Samaria a fortress for himself also, against all the people, and called it Sebaste, supposing that this place would be a strong hold against the country, not inferior to the former. So he fortified that place, which was a day's journey distant from Jerusalem, and which would be useful to him in common, to keep both the country and the city in awe. He also built another fortress for the
whole nation. It was of old called Strato’s Tower; but was by him named Cesarea. Moreover he chose out some select horsemen, and placed them in the great plain; and built for them a place in Galilee, called Gaba, with Hesebonitis, in Perea; and these were the places which he particularly built, while he was always inventing somewhat farther for his own security, and encompassing the whole nation with guards, that they might by no means get from under his power, nor fall into tumults, which they did continually upon any small commotion; and that if they did make any commotions, he might know of it, while some of his spies might be upon them from the neighbourhood, and might both be able to know what they were attempting, and to prevent it. And when he went about building the wall of Samaria, he contrived to bring thither many of those that had been assisting to him in his wars, and many of the people in that neighbourhood also, whom he made fellow-citizens with the rest. This he did, out of an ambitious desire of building a temple, and out of a desire to make the city more eminent than it had been before, but principally because he contrived that it might at once be for his own security, and a monument of his magnificence. He also changed its name, and called it Sebaste. Moreover, he parted the adjoining country, which was excellent in its kind, among the inhabitants of Samaria, that they might be in a happy condition, upon their first coming to inhabit. Besides all which, he compassed the city with a wall of great strength, and made use of the acclivity of the place for making its fortifications stronger; nor was the compass of the place made now so small as it had been before, but was such as ren-
dered it not inferior to the most famous cities, for it was twenty furlongs in circumference. Now within, and about the middle of it, he built a sacred place, of a furlong and a half, and adorned it with all sorts of decorations, and therein erected a temple, which was illustrious, on account of both its largeness and beauty; and as to the several parts of the city, he adorned them with decorations of all sorts also; and as to what was necessary to provide for his own security, he made the walls very strong for that purpose, and made it for the greatest part a citadel; and as to the elegance of the buildings, it was taken care of also, that he might leave monuments of the fineness of his taste, and of his beneficence, to future ages.”

That this magnificent temple in Sebaste was dedicated to Augustus, as a divinity, as were many other temples, built by Herod, in other walled fortresses, we learn from other passages in Josephus. Thus, in his Wars of the Jews, he says, “when he had built a most beautiful wall round a country in Samaria, twenty furlongs long, and had brought six thousand inhabitants into it, and had allotted to it a most fruitful piece of land, and in the midst of this city, thus built, had erected a very large temple to Caesar,”—“he called the city Sebaste, from Sebastos, or Augustus.”

He adds, in the same place, “When Caesar had farther bestowed upon him another additional country, he built there also a temple of white marble, hard by the fountains of Jordan;” and also, “to say all at once, there was not any place of his kingdom fit for the purpose, that was

• Antiq. xv. 8. 5.  
† Wars, i. 21. 2.
permitted to be without somewhat that was for Caesar's honour; and when he had filled his own country with temples, he poured out the like plentiful marks of his esteem into his province, and built many cities which he called Cesareas."

Let us take a brief review of all this now, and reflect how literally the accounts of the historian agree with the predictions of the Prophet, even to the most minute circumstances.—Herod professedly built fortresses to God,—to the God of Israel, whom his fathers knew not, and honoured them with gold, and silver, and with costly stones, and precious things; but in doing so, he manifested his impiety, and disregard of the God whom he professed to honour, by making the fortresses the instruments of his own earthly power, and contemplating the doing so, by the interruption of God's service and worship. He manifested that impiety, even in a still more unequivocal manner, by building and adorning other fortresses, in a like costly manner, to a strange God, Augustus Caesar, whom, in accordance with the most degraded forms of the heathen superstitions, he acknowledged, during his life time, as a divinity, and increased with glory. The temples and fortresses, which he thus built, he caused to overawe and bridle the neighbouring inhabitants, by the multitude of colonists,—men of his own creatures, and former soldiers, whom he enticed to settle there, by parcelling out among them the surrounding lands, as their hire. All this tended to his own firm establishment and security on the throne; for while the numerous strong holds, filled with garrisons of his adherents, enabled him to keep a fast hold of the country, he obtained the favour of many Jews, by rebuild-
ing, and outwardly honouring, their temple; and secured
the protection of Augustus, by the impious flattery which
he addressed to him.

The succeeding passage, from the beginning of the 40th
to the end of the 43d verse of the prophecy, contains, in
our view, a signal and literal prediction of very memora-
able events, which occurred during the reign of Herod;
and in which, although they chiefly took place beyond the
boundaries of Judea, the fortune of that kingdom was
very deeply involved. While we read it, we cannot but
feel, at once, the appropriateness of every one of its clauses
and terms, as descriptive of the origin, progress, and issue
of the great struggle between Augustus Caesar, on the one
hand, and Mark Antony and Cleopatra, on the other, for
the empire of the western world.

V. 40th. "And in the time of the end, a king of the
south shall push with him; and a king of the north shall
come upon him like a whirlwind, with chariots, and with
horsemen, and with many ships, and he shall enter into
the countries, and shall overflow, and pass over."

V. 41st. "And he shall enter into the glorious land,
and many countries shall be overthrown: and these shall
escape out of his hand, Edom, and Moab, and the chief of
the children of Ammon."

V. 42d. "And he shall stretch forth his hand upon the
countries, and the land of Egypt shall not escape."

V. 43d. "And he shall have power over the treasures of
the gold and silver, and over all the precious things of
Egypt; and the Libyans and Ethiopians shall beat his steps."

We have already remarked, that from the 5th to the
30th verses of this chapter, both inclusive, commentators
have, on good grounds, shewn, that by the kings of the south and north, there named, are to be understood the sovereigns of the Græco-Egyptian and Græco-Syrian kingdoms. Before the time of Herod, the Græco-Syrian kingdom had been subdued by the Romans, and reduced to the form of a Roman province. Its legal government, therefore, in his time, was the Senate and the people of Rome.—The seat of the power of Syria was thus changed. It was however still of more northerly latitude than Egypt and Judea; and the terms of the prophet, a king of the north, as accurately mark the Senate and people of Rome, in whose name Augustus carried on the war against Cleopatra and Antony, as, in the former part of the chapter, they had marked the Seleucidae in Syria.—The Græco-Egyptian kingdom still remained independent as before, under the rule of Cleopatra, the last descendant of the Ptolemies who occupied its throne. In this latter, then, we have a sovereign of the south, exactly as in the former part of the chapter.—We have already remarked also, that, by the time of the end, in the 40th verse, we shall, looking at the terms of the prophecy itself, best understand the end of the king or kingdom of the south, because the terms are, in the order of expression, most closely joined to that king. Let us go on to see, now, how accurate a fulfilment of the predictions in the four verses we have last quoted, arose out of the events of the great Actian war, and then we shall perceive that our interpretation of the time of the end, here, will be confirmed; for that war ended in the final overthrow of the king of the south, by the reduction of Egypt to the form of a Roman province.
The predictions in the 40th verse were literally fulfilled, by the manner of the commencement of the war between Augustus and Antony,—the sides on which the different parties were first engaged in it,—the rapidity of the conquests of Augustus,—and the peculiar arms by which he achieved them.

The first aggression, in the Actian war, was made by Antony, at the urgency of Cleopatra. "Antony," says Plutarch, "being informed of these things," (that is of certain disputes between Caesar and his own agents, in the Senate of Rome,) "immediately sent Canidius to the seacoast with sixteen legions. In the mean time, he went to Ephesus, attended by Cleopatra. There he assembled his fleet, which consisted of eight hundred ships of burden, whereof Cleopatra furnished two hundred, besides twenty thousand talents, and provisions for the whole army."

* Antony advanced from Ephesus to Athens with still increasing forces, summoned from the tributary kings, at a time when Cæsar was yet unprepared to resist him; for says Plutarch, "When Cæsar was informed of the celerity and magnificence of Antony's preparations, he was afraid of being forced into the war that summer. This would have been very inconvenient for him, as he was in want of almost every thing."† Thus a king of the south was the first to push in that war.—He also pushed with Herod; for Herod aided Antony and Cleopatra, at the commencement of the war. "The auxiliary kings," says Plutarch, "who fought under his (Antony's) banners, were Bocchus

* Plutarch's Life of Mark Antony.  † Ibid.
of Africa, Tarcondemus of Upper Cilicia, Archelaus of Cappadocia, Philadelphus of Paphlagonia, Mithridates of Commagene, and Adallas of Thrace. Those who did not attend in person, but sent supplies, were Polemo of Pontus, Malchus of Arabia, Herod of Judea, and Amyntas king of Lycaonia and Galatia."* Thus there was a literal fulfilment of the prediction, that a king of the south would push with him, who is the king of the 36th verse.

There was a fulfilment also of the prediction, that the leaders on the respective sides would be, a king of the south, and a king of the north; for the Senate and people of Rome declared war against Cleopatra alone: thus Antony, who, although the chief military leader of the forces of the south, could not with any propriety be designated as king, being at the head of neither of the nations, was reckoned no principal in this war. "When Caesar had made his preparations," says Plutarch, "it was decreed that war should be declared against Cleopatra; for that Antony could not be said to possess that power, which he had already given up to a woman."†

We shall postpone our reference to the rapidity of the conquests of Augustus, till we come to describe the conclusion of the war. But how strictly were the predictions of the Prophet fulfilled, in that description of forces with which Augustus achieved his conquests? At the commencement of the war, according to Plutarch, "Antony had no fewer than five hundred armed vessels, magnificently adorned, and furnished with eight or ten banks of

* Plutarch's Antony.  
† Ibid.
oars. He had however a hundred thousand foot, and
twelve thousand horse." "Cæsar had two hundred and
fifty men of war, eighty thousand foot, and an equal num-
ber of horse with the enemy."* Here then, on the two
sides, was the most numerous array of Roman infantry
which had ever been assembled together; and that was the
kind of force, which that people had been, from the
beginning, accustomed to rely on, and to decide their war-
like contests by, both against foreigners, and between
contending parties among themselves. It was the kind of
force, in fact, which, on account of its admirable discipline,
formed their most important national strength. Antony's
infantry and their leaders urged him to confide in their
discipline and fidelity, and to bring the contest to issue in a
land battle. "But," says Plutarch, "such a slave was he
to the will of a woman, that though much superior at
land, to gratify her, he put his whole confidence in the
navy; notwithstanding that the ships had not half their
complement of men." While "Cæsar's ships, which were
not high built, or splendidly set off for show, but tight
good sailors, were well manned and equipped."† The
determination of Antony, formed at the urgency of Cleo-
patra, brought on the great naval battle of Actium, in
which his fleet, through the flight of Cleopatra, was
totally ruined; and the war virtually decided in favour of
Cæsar. Thus did a king of the north come upon a king
of the south, like a whirlwind, with many ships. Antony's
land forces, deserted by himself after the naval battle,

* Plutarch's Antony.
† Ibid.
for he followed Cleopatra in her flight to Egypt, went over to Cæsar both in Greece and Libya. "They could not possibly believe," says Plutarch, "that a general, who had nineteen legions and twelve thousand horse, a general to whom vicissitude of fortune was nothing new, would so basely desert them. His soldiers had an inexpressible desire to see him, and still expecting that he would appear in some part or other, gave the strongest testimony of their courage and fidelity." "At last, however, when Canidius, who commanded them, fled from the camp by night, and when they were abandoned by their principal officers, they surrendered to Cæsar."* We also learn, from the same authority, that when Antony arrived in Libya, on his way to Egypt, "He was informed, that he who commanded his troops, there, was gone over to the enemy."† Thus, notwithstanding the immense muster of infantry on both sides, there was no great action with that kind of force, during the whole course of the war. But when Antony arrived in Egypt, and endeavoured to defend it, to fulfil the prediction of the Prophet, that the king of the north would come with chariots and horsemen, as well as with many ships, there were actions with cavalry. Plutarch says, "When he (Cæsar) arrived, he encamped near the Hippodrome (at Alexandria); upon which Antony made a brisk sally, routed the cavalry, drove them back into their trenches, and returned to the city with the complacency of a conqueror."

* Plutarch's Antony.  † Ibid.  ‡ Ibid.
Cleopatra, and left them without resource in their last retreat. Plutarch informs us, that, "Antony, concluding he could not die more honourably than in battle, determined to attack Cæsar at the same time both by sea and land." "As soon as it was light, he led his infantry out of the city, and posted them on a rising ground, from whence he saw his fleet advance towards the enemy. There he stood waiting for the event; but as soon as the two fleets met, they hailed each other with their oars in a very friendly manner—Antony's fleet making the first advances—and sailed together peaceably towards the city. This was no sooner done, than the cavalry deserted him in the same manner, and surrendered to Cæsar. His infantry were routed; and as he retired to the city, he exclaimed, that Cleopatra had betrayed him to those with whom he was fighting only for her sake."

This was the last shew of armed resistance on the part of Antony and Cleopatra. But let us go on to inquire how literally all the other predictions, in the four verses, were fulfilled during the progress of the Actian war.

Immediately after the great victory of Actium, Cæsar's forces entered into the countries, and overflowed and passed over. "After this great success," says Plutarch, "Cæsar sailed for Athens. The cities of Greece he found in extreme poverty; for they had been plundered of their cattle and every thing else before the war. He, therefore, not only admitted them to favour, but made a distribution among them of the remainder of the corn which had been provided

* Plutarch's Antony.
for the war."—"Soon after he (Antony) heard that Herod of Judea was gone over to Cæsar with some legions and cohorts, that several other powers had deserted his interests, and, in short, that he had no foreign assistance to depend upon."* Thus, he, who lately had at his nod the kings of Africa, Upper Cilicia, Paphlagonia, Comagene, Thrace, Pontus, Arabia, Judea, Lycaonia, and Galatia, besides the Roman provinces from Illyria to Armenia, could have no assistance from any of them. The king of the north had passed over these many countries, and had overthrown them.—"He entered also into the glorious land," that is, into the land of Judea, named before, in the 16th verse of this chapter of Daniel, the glorious land;—as is well proved by Bishop Newton, in his illustration of that verse, in his XVI. Dissertation, where he shews it contains a prediction of the entrance of Antiochus the Great into Judea and Jerusalem, to which passage of his we refer. After the victory of Actium, Cæsar, having the entire command of the sea, might, with his victorious fleet, have transported his army directly from Greece to Egypt, where Cleopatra and Antony were preparing the means of further resistance; or he might have landed it to the westward in Libya, where, as we have seen, one of Antony's armies had gone over to him. He preferred, however, to invade Egypt by the circuitous land route through Syria and Judea.—Josephus has given us an account of the manner in which he was entertained by Herod, on his march through Judea, and on his return.

* Plutarch's Antony.
After relating how Herod's submission was received by Cæsar at Rhodes, and his kingdom confirmed to him by that conqueror, he adds, "Cæsar went for Egypt through Syria, when Herod received him with royal and rich entertainments; and then did he first of all ride along with Cæsar, as he was reviewing his army about Ptolemais, and feasted him with all his friends, and then distributed among the rest of the army what was necessary to feast them withal. He also made a plentiful provision of water for them, when they were to march as far as Pelusium, through a dry country, which he did also in like manner on their return thence; nor were there any necessaries wanting to that army."*

While the king of the north was to enter into the glorious land, and many countries were to be overthrown, these, according to the prediction, were to escape out of his hand, Edom, and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon.

The people of these three countries, antecedently to the time of Daniel, had, in a great measure, lost their national distinctions, in consequence of the inroads and conquests of other nations; especially of the Israelites, Babylonians, and southern Arabians. As early as the time of Jeremiah, the kings of the land of Uz, and Edom, and Moab, and the children of Ammon, and Dedan, and Tema, and Buz, are named the mingled people, and reckoned along with the mingled people that dwell in the desert.† The original countries of the three nations,

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* Wars of the Jews, i. 20. 3.  † Jeremiah xxv. 20—24.
named by Daniel, bounded the land of Judea on the south and south-east, and separated it from the more southern nations, dwelling in the different habitable spots dispersed through the Arabian desert. To one like Daniel, conversant with the geographical names and distinctions of the earlier Hebrew Scriptures, *Edom, and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon*, would be an intelligible title of all the lands southward of Judea, now inhabited by the mingled people. The countries of the mingled people escaped, in a remarkable manner, out of the hand of Augustus Caesar.—When he passed on his expedition to Egypt, these countries lay out of the line of his march; and he does not appear, at that time, to have directed any attention to them. His conquest of Egypt, however, brought his power into their immediate neighbourhood; and soon after getting possession of it, he sent an expedition under Ælius Gallus, the governor of Egypt, which, according to Josephus, was joined by five hundred of Herod's guards,* to attempt the conquest of them. Dean Prideaux, in his "Connection of the Old and New Testament," has referred to the evidences of the progress and disastrous issue of this expedition, as they exist in Pliny, Strabo, and Dio Cassius; and has himself given a detailed narrative of it.† We refer to his work for the details. Most of the troops perished miserably by the diseases of the climate, and only a small number of them returned to Egypt—having effected no permanent conquest. The Authors of the Universal History, in a note added to

* Antiq. xv. 9. 3.
their account of this expedition, say, "The bad success that attended Ælius in this expedition, deterred both him and others from any further attempts on that country."  

But the land of Egypt did not escape, for Augustus had power over the treasures of gold and silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt. We have already stated how the last remaining ships and cavalry of Cleopatra went over to Cæsar; but the history of the fate of her treasures is very singular, and is worthy of a more detailed reference to it.

Egypt, from the time of the building of Alexandria, about three hundred years before the death of Cleopatra, had been the centre of a lucrative commerce; and the soil being at the same time proverbially fertile, the riches of the kingdom, and of its Macedonian race of princes,—whose civilized skill knew how to call forth its resources,—were very great. Cleopatra herself, we have seen, besides other supplies, could advance from her treasures twenty thousand talents to maintain the war against Cæsar; and there are many evidences in history of the great wealth of her predecessors. Through Alexandria passed the gems, pearls, spices, and other rich produce, and merchandize of India, which, from the earliest ages, have been in high request in the western part of the world. Thus the sovereigns of Egypt had a peculiar opportunity for enriching their treasuries with these highly-prized articles; as also with the gold, which came then, as it does now, from inner and eastern Africa. "All the ancients," say the Authors of the Universal

History, "speak of Alexandria, as the next in beauty, wealth, and extent, to Rome; some calling it the second metropolis of the world, others the city of cities, the queen of the East, and a second Rome."* Augustus Caesar was very desirous of securing the treasures of the sovereign of this wealthy city; but there was, twice, the utmost hazard that they should elude his grasp. After Cleopatra fled from the battle of Actium, Plutarch says, she "formed a design of drawing her galleys over the isthmus into the Red Sea, and purposed, with all her wealth and forces, to seek some remote country, where she might neither be reduced to slavery, nor involved in war. However, the first galleys, that were carried over, being burnt by the Arabians of Petra, and Antony not knowing that his land forces were dispersed, she gave up this enterprise, and began to fortify the avenues of her kingdom."† When Caesar afterwards, approaching from Judea, took Pelusium, and entered Egypt, the same author says, "Cleopatra had erected near the temple of Isis some monuments of extraordinary size and magnificence. To these she removed her treasure, her gold, silver, emeralds, pearls, ebony, ivory, and cinnamon;—together with a large quantity of flax and a number of torches. Caesar was under some apprehensions about this immense wealth, lest, upon some sudden emergency, she should set fire to the whole. For this reason, he was continually sending messengers to her with assurances of gentle and honourable treatment, while, in the mean time, he hastened to the city with his army."‡ When

‡ Ibid.
she was finally deserted by her fleet and army, she took refuge in the monument that contained her treasures. At this time she was in the utmost fear of being taken alive, to be led in triumph at Rome, according to the practice of a cruel and unrelenting people, who treated the chiefs of foreign nations, taken in war, with the utmost indignity and inhumanity. Cæsar, Plutarch tells us, "despatched Proculeius with orders to take Cleopatra alive, if it were possible; for he was extremely solicitous to save the treasures in the monument, which would so greatly add to the glory of his triumph. However she refused to admit him into the monument, and would only speak to him through the bolted gate.* Her person, and the treasures in the monument, were afterwards secured by a stratagem of Proculeius and Cornelius Gallus, as related by Plutarch; and thus "a king of the north had power over the treasures of gold and silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt;" although the Egyptian Queen, as was evidenced by the combustibles she stored up along with them, premeditated the burning both herself and them with fire, rather than she should fall into the hands of her enemy; and although the death, which she soon after procured for herself, proved her resolution not to be led in triumph.

After the death of Cleopatra, Egypt was immediately reduced, as we all know, to the form of a Roman province; and there was a final end of that king of the south, who is so frequently introduced in this prophecy of Daniel. The circumstance confirms the interpretation we have given.

* Plutarch's Antony.
to the terms the time of the end, in the 40th verse; for the time of the Actian war was the time of the end of the king of the south.

The conquest of Antony and Cleopatra by Augustus Caesar, may well, for its suddenness, and resistless torrent of success, be compared, as, in the language of the Prophet, the conquests of the king of the north are compared, to a whirlwind. The day before the battle of Actium, Antony and Cleopatra possessed all the Roman Empire to the eastward of the Adriatic Gulph, in Europe and Asia. They commanded the resources of the numerous tributary kings, whom Plutarch has named. Antony, besides, held Libya with an army; and Cleopatra, as sovereign, wielded the resources of the wealthy and civilized kingdom of Egypt. They were, at that moment, at the head of the numerous disciplined armies and fleets we have referred to, and possessed many strong fortresses, and populous cities, dispersed over their extensive territories. Yet their forces were completely vanquished, and these territories, with all their fortresses and cities, passed into the possession of their adversary, in less than a year. The battle of Actium was fought on the 2d of September of the year 31, before Christ; and Antony died of the wounds he had given himself, at Alexandria, on the 1st of August of the succeeding year; when Caesar immediately entered that city, and the war was at an end.

We have yet to illustrate some additional terms of the prophecy, so signally fulfilled in this war and its immediate results. — After predicting, that the king of the north would have power over the treasures of Egypt, the Prophet adds, "and the Libyans and Ethiopians shall be at
his steps."—The conquest of Egypt and maritime Libya, laid Inner Libya and Ethiopia open to the steps, that is, as we may interpret the term, to the inroads of Augustus Caesar, and his officers, of which advantage was soon afterwards taken by them. The Garamantes, an inland nation of Africa, (or Libya, as it was named by the Orientals,) were subdued by Cornelius Balbus, Augustus' officer; and the conquest was deemed so important, that Balbus was, contrary to the common practice on such occasions, allowed a triumph, although he was not a native Roman. Solinus, a Latin compiler of history, referred to, for this fact, by the Authors of the Universal History,* says, "Cornelius Balbus subdued the Garamantes, and was the first of all foreigners who triumphed for victory; for, although a native of Gades, he yet attained that honour."† This conquest took place about eleven years after the reduction of Egypt. About four or five years before this conquest of the Garamantes, and at the time when Ælius Gallus made the unsuccessful expedition into Arabia, to which we have above referred, Petronius the governor of Egypt made an expedition into Ethiopia. The historical evidences of this are referred to, as they occur in Strabo, Dio Cassius, and Pliny, by Dean Prideaux, in his Connection;‡ where he has given a clear narrative of it, to which we refer for the details. The history, in brief, is, that Candace Queen of Ethiopia, having made an irruption with an army into Upper Egypt, was defeated, with great loss, by Petronius, who

pursued her eight hundred miles into her own country—taking her principal towns, and returning with many prisoners; and, in a second campaign, compelled her to sue for peace, and imposed upon her such severe terms, that Augustus, upon her direct petition to himself, greatly relaxed them. Thus the Libyans and Ethiopians were at his steps.

At the 44th verse, there occurs a difficulty in the progress of our illustration, the nature of which we desire to present in its full and fair bearing, as it first offered itself to our notice; and, at the same time, to give the reasons, for which,—after, we trust, a careful examination of this part of the text, and the order of the whole prophecy,—we deem it more apparent than real. The terms of the verse are:

V. 44th. "And tidings out of the east and out of the north shall trouble him; and he shall go forth with great fury to destroy, and utterly to make away many."

The nature of the difficulty, here, is as follows:—The chief agent to the verbs, and antecedent to the pronouns, of the passage, has been a king of the north, ever since he was introduced in the 40th verse, down to the conclusion of the 43d verse. We have interpreted the king of the north to mean Augustus Cæsar, or the Roman power wielded by him; and have seen how accurately literal a prediction, the terms of the prophet, down to the end of the 43d verse, form of the actions of that conqueror in the Actian war. We cannot discover, however, that the terms in the 44th verse are predictions of any thing that Augustus did, or was concerned in, at the conclusion of that war. But let us review the terms, and structure,
and meaning of the prophecy, and see whether there is any other agent, of whose actions or condition, this verse can be interpreted as a prediction. When we make the review, we discover, that all that relates to the king of the north may well be considered as completed, at the conclusion of the 43d verse. He is first introduced as engaged in war with a king of the south. The succeeding clauses describe war, and the progress of conquest; and the war against a king of the south comes to an evident conclusion, with the conquest of Egypt, and the laying open of Libya and Ethiopia;—for the king of the south, all through this chapter, has signified the sovereign of Egypt. From observing, in this way, the completion of the war, we may very reasonably expect, that the agency of the king of the north is ended; and infer, that we are to find another agent when we come to the 44th verse. On examining further, we discover, that there is another agent,—The King of the 36th verse, who cannot be considered as having yet disappeared from the scene. We discover him last in the 40th verse, involved in a war between a king of the south and a king of the north, and taking side with the former; but we naturally expect to hear something more about him, considering how remarkable a personage he is in the prophecy; and considering, also, that the contest, between a king of the south and a king of the north, appears introduced as only a secondary subject to all that relates to him. He is named with the emphatic article; but a king of the south and a king of the north are not so distinguished. His character, and actions, and fortune form, therefore, the prime subjects of the passage. If we understand him to be Herod,—and his
character and actions, as we have seen hitherto, admirably agree with those of that tyrant,—then we perceive, that the fortune of his country is particularly distinguished from that of other countries, in the events of the war. While many countries have been overthrown by the king of the north, that king has only entered into the glorious land—the kingdom of Herod: but neither yet has "the king" of the 36th verse disappeared; nor has the king of the north stretched forth his hand upon his country, nor taken possession of his treasures, as he has done in respect of Egypt. If we take The King of the 36th verse,—who is thus yet present in the prophetic scene,—as the antecedent to the pronouns in the 44th verse, then we can shew, that the predictions in that verse had a clear fulfilment, in that historical order, in which, down to this point, we have discovered the fulfilment of all that precedes; and, at the same time, the text preserves a lucid and clear arrangement. The 40th, 41st, 42d, and 43d verses assume then a parenthetical form, within the predictions that refer to the king of the 36th verse, and the parenthesis forms a distinct and complete series of actions,—opening up with a war between a king of the south and a king of the north, and ending with the overthrow of the kingdom of the south.—Looking at the passage in this light, the antecedent to the pronouns in the 44th verse is to be found at a considerable distance backwards from them. But this is in consistency with a practice, which is not unfrequent in the Hebrew prophets. Bishop Horsley has noticed this practice of theirs in his criticism of the xviii. chapter of Isaiah. Remark ing on a particular example of it in that chapter, he says, "To those, to whom the prophetic style
in the original is not familiar, but to those, I think, only, it will appear strange that a pronoun should refer to an antecedent at so great a distance."

The difficulty that appeared to impede our way, in tracing out a fulfilment of this part of the prophecy, in the continuous order of history, thus disappears from the text, when we look at the passage relating to the kings of the south and of the north,—which comprehends a subject so much complete in itself,—as parenthetical. The King of the 36th verse becomes again the immediate subject of the prophecy of the 44th verse; and as, according to our preceding illustration, he is Herod the king of Judea, we again return from two foreign kings to that, which, in the commencement of the vision, it had been announced to Daniel, would be the main subject of the prophecy, his own people.†

And the correctness of this view of the whole passage, is confirmed by the literal manner in which the predictions in this 44th verse, and in the remaining verse of the chapter, were fulfilled in Herod. In giving an historical account of the tidings out of the east that troubled him, the Evangelist Matthew would seem to have translated some of the terms of this prophecy foretelling them, as best of all suit his narration. "Now, when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judea, in the days of Herod the king, behold, there came wise men from the east to Jerusalem, Saying, where is he that is born King of the Jews? for we have seen his star in the east, and are come to

worship him. When Herod the king heard these things, he was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him." These tidings alarmed the jealous usurper and tyrant, who had already put to death his wife's grandfather, and brother, and mother, and his own two sons, lest they should become pretenders to his throne, of which they were rightful heirs. He resolved therefore to cut off one, who was announced in such a signal manner, as being now born to be the King of the Jews. Having failed to obtain information through the wise men,—who were warned not to return to him,—in what particular family the new-born King of the Jews was to be found, he was filled with the utmost indignation; and the Evangelist, in describing his fury, and the cruel effect of it, would seem, here also, to have translated some of the terms of Daniel's prediction. "Then Herod, when he saw that he was mocked of the wise men, was exceeding wroth, and sent forth, and slew all the children that were in Bethlehem, and in all the coasts thereof, from two years old and under, according to the time which he had diligently inquired of the wise men."†—Such were the tidings out of the east that troubled him, and such the great fury with which he went forth to destroy and utterly to make away many; for we need not remark to those who are conversant with the language of the Old Testament, that a king is said to go forth, for effecting any purpose which he desires, when he sends forth his officers and servants to execute it, in his stead; as may be instanced in 2d Samuel xi. 1; where we find it said, that at the time when

* Matthew ii. 1, 2, 3.  
† Matthew ii. 16.
kings go forth to battle, David did not go forth personally, but "sent Joab, and his servants with him, and all Israel."

"Tidings out of the north," as we learn from Josephus, about the same time, also, troubled him. We have seen that, in the preceding verses, we are to understand Rome to be the seat of the king of the north; and from that city, of more northern latitude than Judea, Herod, about the very period of the arrival of the wise men from the east, received various pieces of intelligence which troubled him greatly. Antipater, his eldest son, then at Rome, contrived letters to be sent to him, giving information, that Archelaus and Philip, two of his younger sons, then at Rome also, had calumniated their father. From Rome, also, a letter of Acme, a maid of Julia Augustus' wife, confirmed the evidence of Antipater's conspiracy against the life of Herod, which had been otherwise partly discovered; and betrayed an additional plot of Antipater against Salome, Herod's sister. These remarkable occurrences, with their tragical results, are related circumstantially by Josephus, in his Antiquities,* and again in his Wars of the Jews.† We feel the whole too long for insertion here, as the narrative, in both places, is extended, by Josephus, over several chapters. Instead of giving a longer narrative ourselves than the above brief indication of the facts, or describing, in our own language, the troubles that surrounded Herod at this time, we prefer transcribing a passage, on these subjects, and on the state of

* Antiq. xvii. 4—7.  
† Wars i. 30—35.
Herod's mind, when he received the tidings from both the east and the north, from the accurate Authors of the Universal History. They have given a brief, but clear account of the various treacherous arts and conspiracies of Antipater; and the following reflections which they make on the condition of Herod, at this time, might seem indeed a commentary on the 44th verse, now under consideration, as applied to him. We copy them the more readily, as the Authors had no intention of applying it to him; and as therefore forming a singular incidental confirmation of the appropriateness with which we so apply it.—After having interrupted their narrative of the events of Herod's reign, and of the disturbances in his family, to give an account of the births of John the Baptist, and of Christ, they thus resume Herod's history:—"The reader may remember, that we left Herod in the most distracted state that can be well imagined; his conscience stung with the most lively grief for the murder of his beloved and virtuous Mariamne, and of her two worthy sons; his life and crown in imminent danger from the rebellious Antipater, and ungrateful Pheroras; his reign stained with rivers of innocent blood; his latter days embittered by the treacherous intrigues of a sister; his person and family hated by the whole Jewish nation; and, last of all, his crown, and all his glories, on the eve of being obscured by the birth of a miraculous child, who is proclaimed by heaven and earth to be the promised and long-expected Messiah and Saviour of the world. To all these plagues we must add some fresh intelligences, which came tumbling in upon that wretched monarch; and which, by assuring him still more, not only of the treasonable designs of the unnatural Antipater, but
also of the bitter complaints which his other two sons, then at the Roman Court, vented against them both, rendered him more than ever completely miserable. Had these two princes continued in their duty to him, they would have been a support and comfort, though his favourite one had proved the traitor they had represented him; but whom could he trust, when there was not one of his family left, that did not in some measure declare himself an enemy to him? This was the dreadful view in which he beheld himself and his unnatural offspring; not that those two young princes were really so divested of all filial affection, as they were represented to him by Antipater and his instruments, but it had been his and their constant care and study, by such vile misrepresentations, to render them more and more suspected by the jealous king.”*

The innocents of Bethlehem were not the only victims, at this time, of Herod’s fury. It was in a fit of fury that he ordered his own son Antipater to be executed, as related by Josephus. He states, that upon Herod, under the agony of his last disease, having attempted to kill himself, there was a great tumult made in the palace where he then was, as if he were dead. “Upon which Antipater, who verily believed his father was deceased, grew bold in his discourse, as hoping to be immediately and entirely released from his bonds, and to take the kingdom into his hands, without any more ado; so he discoursed with the jailor about letting him go, and in that case promised

him great things, both now and hereafter, as if that were the only thing now in question; but the jailor did not only refuse to do what Antipater would have him, but informed the king of his intentions, and how many solicitations he had had from him. Hereupon Herod, who had formerly no affection nor good-will towards his son to restrain him, when he heard what the jailor said, cried out, and beat his head, although he was at death's door, and raised himself upon his elbow, and sent for some of his guards, and commanded them to kill Antipater without any further delay."*

It was also during paroxysms of fury, that, nearly about the same time, he burned alive Matthias, and forty young men with him, who had pulled down the golden image of the eagle, which he had placed over the gate of the temple, as related in Josephus' Antiquities, Book xvii. chapter 6, section 4; and also issued the inhuman order to his sister Salome, and her husband, as related by Josephus in the same chapter. "He came again to Jericho, where he grew so choleric, that it brought him to do all things like a madman; and though he were near his death, he contrived the following wicked designs. He commanded that all the principal men of the entire Jewish nation, wheresoever they lived, should be called to him. Accordingly, there were a great number that came, because the whole nation was called, and all men heard of this call, and death was the penalty of such as should despise the epistles that were sent to call them. And now the king was in a wild rage against them all, the innocent, as well

* Antiq. xvii. 7.
as those who had afforded him ground for accusations; and when they were come, he ordered them all to be shut up in the hippodrome, and sent for his sister Salome, and her husband Alexas, and spake thus to them:—"I shall die in a little time, so great are my pains; which death ought to be cheerfully borne, and to be welcomed by all men; but what principally troubles me is this, that I shall die without being lamented, and without such mourning as men usually expect at a king's death." He added an order to them, to make the soldiers, immediately on his death, kill with their darts, all he had shut up in the hippodrome; that every family in Judea might have cause to mourn in earnest when he expired.

Thus strictly do the quarters whence disagreeable tidings reached Herod, his extreme fury, and matchless cruelty, agree with the terms of the prophet.

V. 45th. "And he shall plant his royal dwelling-places between the seas, in the glorious holy mountain; and he shall come to his end, and none shall help him."

It is hardly necessary for us to observe, that Mount Zion, situated between the Mediterranean and the Dead Seas, is named in the Scriptures the Mountain of Holiness, as in Psalm xlviii. 1, 2, and in other places.—There Herod built two palaces, one of which was the tower Antonia, within the precincts of the temple itself, as already referred to. Josephus expressly calls Antonia a royal palace. "The citadel he repaired," says he, "at a vast expense; nor was it other than a royal palace, which he called Antonia, in honour of Antony."* The other palace

* Wars, i. 21. 1.
was in the upper city. Josephus, in the same place, says, "he built himself a palace in the upper city, containing two very large and beautiful apartments, to which the holy house itself could not be compared. The one apartment he named Cæsareum, and the other Agrippium, from his two friends." In fact, no part of Herod’s actions distinguished him more, than his executing so many splendid and strong buildings. He was the greatest builder of cities, and temples, and palaces, for the extent and resources of his kingdom, of any of the sovereigns of whom history has preserved any detailed account.—We have already seen how literally the predictions, in the 38th and 39th verses, were fulfilled in his rebuilding the temple at Jerusalem, and, at the same time, building cities and temples in honour of Augustus Cæsar. In this 45th verse we have the subject of the king’s buildings again introduced; but they are now his palaces, or royal dwelling-places, and not his cities, as formerly. Introduced as the palaces are here, in near connection with the tidings that troubled him, the whole becomes a prediction fulfilled in the event, recorded by Matthew, of the wise men coming from the east to Jerusalem. From Matthew’s narrative, it is obvious, that Herod was at Jerusalem, and, consequently, in one of his royal dwelling-places, when the wise men came to Jerusalem. One of these royal dwelling-places was well adapted for holding the consultation with the chief priests and scribes, when Herod demanded of them where Christ should be born. The palace Antonia communicated by covered passages with the temple,—the daily resort of the priests,—from whence they could be
easily called into that palace. Thus, the prophet's separating the account of the building of the palaces, from that of the building of the walled fortresses, is not without significance, but fills up the prediction of the circumstances related by Matthew.

"And he shall come to his end, and none shall help him." This part of the prediction obviously implies, that, in his last hours, the king would apply for deliverance, or remedy, from some affliction or disease, but would receive none; and how literally fulfilled was it in the end of Herod the Great? History has preserved to us few such circumstantial accounts of the last days of remarkable men, as that which Josephus has transmitted to us of his; but we deem it too long for insertion here. It exhibits the most fearful picture, to be found almost any where, of the end of an impenitent sinner, who, having thrown out of his heart all fear of God, and feeling of responsibility to him, had equally lost all sense of duty to man; and after committing innumerable crimes and cruelties,—in which he spared not those connected with him by the dearest and tenderest ties, any more than others,—was at last seized, in his old age, with a painful and loathsome disease; and suffering alike from that, and from the pangs of guilty fear, yet continued in a course of extreme wickedness to the last hour;—seeking no remedy for his evil passions, but exhausting all the resources of the physician's skill to mitigate his bodily distemper, and lengthen out his wretched life. We refer to Josephus for the account of the remedies and expedients he had recourse to, by the advice of his physicians; all of which failed to relieve or
impede the progress of the disease, which cut him off, while he was meditating new crimes of matchless cruelty.*

Thus he came to his end, and none helped him.

The succeeding twelfth chapter presents predictions of events, of a kind so different from those we have now considered, that we assign a distinct section to its illustration.

* Antiq. xvii. 6—8; and Wars, i. 33.
SECTION V.

Contents.—Illustrations of the xii. chapter.—Michael proved by Bishop Horsley to be a name of the Saviour.—The same proved by another train of argument.—Meaning of the name, He who is like unto God.—It would seem to be repeatedly translated by the Apostle Paul, when declaring the Divinity of the Saviour.—The predictions, in the 1st verse, fulfilled—in Jesus being born in Bethlehem in the days of Herod the king, and afterwards entering on his public ministry—in his addressing himself first to the Jews—in the calamities sent upon the unbelieving Jews—and in the deliverance, both eternal and temporal, granted to the believing.—The predictions, in the 2d verse, fulfilled—in the preaching of Christ, awakening men from the death of sin—in some believing on him to everlasting life—and in others knowing him to be the Messiah, yet refusing to acknowledge him, from motives of worldly ambition, or for fear of the Jewish Rulers.—The predictions, in the 3d verse, fulfilled—in the preaching and writings of the Apostles and Evangelists, and in the effect of them,—the conversion of men to righteousness.—The predictions, in the 4th verse, fulfilled—in the concluding part of this prophecy of Daniel not being understood, till it was explained by Christ, in his own prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem—and in the preaching of the Gospel to the Gentiles.—The 5th verse, a description of the outward appearances of the vision.—The predictions, in the 6th, 7th, 11th, and 12th verses, fulfilled—in the length of time, consisting of two unequal predicted periods, during which the great Jewish war lasted—in the issue of that war, which was the complete dispersion of the Jewish nation—and in the blessedness, secured to them by their Saviour's promise,—of the Christians who endured to the end, amidst the sufferings and trials of the time of trouble.—The 9th verse, a repetition of part of the 4th verse.—The predictions, in the 10th verse, fulfilled—in the sanctification of the Christian Converts—in their understanding this prophecy, which was explained to them
by the Saviour—in the obstinate impenitence, and increasing wickedness, of the unbelieving Jews—and in their not understanding this prophecy.—Nature and terms of the promise made to Daniel, in the 13th verse.—It does not lead us to consider the general resurrection as a part of the fulfilment of this prophecy.—Brief notices of other predictions, in the scripture of truth, corresponding with this latter part of Daniel's last prophecy, as now interpreted.

We have now come to a part of the prophecy, in the twelfth chapter, which, from the view we have presented of the latter part of the eleventh chapter, will be felt of the deepest interest by every Christian; for its opening terms form a prediction of the precise time of the first Advent of the Saviour.

CHAPTER XII. V. 1st. "And at that time Michael shall stand, the great prince that standeth for the children of thy people; and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation, to that time; and at that time thy people shall be delivered, all found written in the book."

To illustrate this prediction, it is necessary, that we inquire who Michael, the great Prince, is; and here we take leave to introduce the clear and powerful reasoning of Bishop Horsley upon the question. In his sermon on Daniel iv. 17, he says,—"We read of another personage superior to Gabriel, who is named Michael. This personage is superior to Gabriel, for he comes to help him in the greatest difficulties; and Gabriel, the servant of the Most High God, declares that this Michael is the only supporter he has. This is well to be noted: Gabriel, one of God's ministering spirits, sent forth, as such spirits are
used to be, to minister for the elect people of God, has no supporter in this business but Michael. This great personage has been long distinguished in our calendars by the title of 'Michael the archangel.' It has been a long time a fashion in the church to speak very frequently and familiarly of archangels, as if they were an order of beings with which we are perfectly well acquainted. Some say there are seven of them. Upon what solid ground this assertion stands I know not: but this I know, that the word "archangel" is not to be found in any passage of the Old Testament: in the New Testament, the word occurs twice, and only twice. One of the two passages is in the 1st Epistle to the Thessalonians, where the Apostle, among the circumstances of the pomp of our Lord's descent from heaven to the final judgment, mentions the "voice of the archangel." The other passage is in the Epistle of Jude, where the title of archangel is coupled with the name of Michael,—"Michael the archangel." This passage is so remarkably obscure, that I shall not attempt to draw any conclusion from it but this, which manifestly follows, be the particular sense of the passage what it may: since this is one of the two texts in which alone the word "archangel" is found in the whole Bible,—since in this one text only the title of archangel is coupled with any name,—and since the name with which it is here coupled is Michael,—it follows undeniably that the archangel Michael is the only archangel of whom we know any thing from holy writ. It cannot be proved from holy writ,—and if not from holy writ, it cannot be proved at all,—that any archangel exists but the one archangel Michael; and this one archangel Michael is unquestionably the Michael of the book of Daniel.
"I must observe, by the way, with respect to the import of the title of archangel, that the word, by its etymology, clearly implies a superiority of rank and authority in the person to whom it is applied. It implies a command over angels; and this is all that the word of necessity implies. But it follows not, by any sound rule of argument, that because no other superiority than that of rank and authority is implied in the title, no other belongs to the person distinguished by the title, and that he is in all other respects a mere angel. Since we admit various orders of intelligent beings, it is evident that a being highly above the angelic order may command angels.

"To ascertain, if we can, to what order of beings the archangel Michael may belong, let us see how he is described by the Prophet Daniel, who never describes him by that title; and what action is attributed to him in the Book of Daniel, and in another Book in which he bears a very principal part.

"Now Daniel calls him "one of the chief princes," or "one of the capital princes," or "one of the princes that are at the head of all;" for this I maintain to be the full, and not more than the full, import of the Hebrew words. Now, since we are clearly got above the earth, into the order of celestials, who are the princes that are first, or at the head of all?—are they any other than the Three Persons in the Godhead? Michael, therefore, is one of them; but which of them? This is not left in doubt. Gabriel, speaking of him to Daniel, calls him, "Michael your prince," and "the great prince which standeth for the children of thy people;" that is, not for the nation of
the Jews in particular, but for the children, the spiritual children, of that holy seed, the elect people of God,—a description which applies particularly to the Son of God, and to no one else. And in perfect consistence with this description of Michael in the Book of Daniel, is the action assigned to him in the Apocalypse, in which we find him fighting with the Old Serpent, the deceiver of the world, and victorious in the combat. That combat who was to maintain?—in that combat who was to be victorious, but the seed of the woman? From all this it is evident, that Michael is a name for our Lord himself, in his particular character of the champion of his faithful people, against the violence of the apostate faction, and the wiles of the Devil. In this point, I have the good fortune to have a host of the learned on my side."

It may seem superfluous for us to add any thing to this convincing reasoning of Bishop Horsley, on the question, who Michael is; but as he introduces it only incidentally, in the course of an argument on another subject, and has, owing to the brevity imposed on him in such circumstances, not entered into other considerations,—of which there are several, that confirm his conclusion,—nor adverted to some objections that might be made to that conclusion, we may be permitted to advert to some of both; especially as it will afterwards be seen, that the conclusiveness of our proof of the fulfilment of this part of the prophecy much depends on fully ascertaining the Scriptural account of the matter.

From Bishop Horsley's reasoning it appears, that Archangel is a title given, by Jude, to our Lord himself. The only other passage, in which the title occurs, is in
1st Thessalonians iv. 16, referred to by Bishop Horsley. At the first view of that passage, it might seem, that the title is there given to some Being distinct from our Lord. Hence an objection might be raised to the correctness of considering it as applied to him in any other part of Scripture. But when we compare that passage with others in holy writ, we discover that there, too, we must consider it as applied to him. The terms of the passage are, "The Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the Archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first." Here we must understand the shout with which the Lord himself shall descend, the voice of the Archangel, and the trump of God, as all three employed, agreeably to Paul's ample and emphatic manner of expressing himself, to signify the same thing,—that is, the summons that shall call the dead from their graves. As to the shout, the passage itself ascribes it to the Lord; and respecting the voice, the Lord himself informs us, that it is his own voice that shall raise the dead to life, in a remarkable passage, which, as we shall have occasion to refer to part of it in illustration of some subsequent parts of the prophecy, we will quote at more length than might be necessary for our present purpose. It is in the Gospel by John.* "Then answered Jesus, and said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, the Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do: for what things soever he doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise. For the Father loveth the Son,

* John v. 19—28
and sheweth him all things that himself doeth: and he will shew him greater works than these, that ye may marvel. For as the Father raiseth up the dead, and quickeneth them; even so the Son quickeneth whom he will. For the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son. That all men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father. He that honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father which hath sent him. Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation; but is passed from death unto life. Verily, verily, I say unto you, The hour is coming, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they that hear shall live. For as the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself; And hath given him authority to execute judgment also, because he is the Son of Man. Marvel not at this: for the hour is coming, in the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice, And shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation." Thus, it is not at the voice of any created being, that all that are in their graves shall come forth; but it is at the voice of Him, by whom, Paul assures us, "all things were created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible," "and who is before all things."* It is the same voice, which said, "Let there be light," "and there was light,"—the same

* Colossians i. 16, 17.
voice, at whose command the tribes of animated beings sprang to life, and which gave the decree for the creation of man,—that shall command "the graves to be opened," and call the "dead to come forth out of their graves." On his own authority, also, we learn, that the trumpet, that shall sound in the day of the resurrection from the dead, is the trumpet of the Son of Man. "Then shall appear," says he, "the sign of the Son of Man in heaven: and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory. And he shall send his angels with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other."* It is not said, here, that he shall send his angels to raise a great sound of a trumpet; but he himself shall send them with, or, as it might be rendered, by a great sound of a trumpet.

We have thus a proof, drawn from Scripture, in a different order from Bishop Horsley's, of the correctness of his position, that Michael is a name for the Son of God himself. The Archangel, in 1st Thessalonians iv. 16, whose voice is to raise the dead, can be no other than our Lord; and in the 9th verse of Jude, the Archangel is named Michael. Although not of "the nature of angels,"† our Lord is their Commander, for "angels, and authorities, and powers, are subject unto him;"‡ and "thrones, dominions, principalities, powers, and all things, were created by him, and for him."§

* Matthew xxiv. 30, 31. † Hebrews ii. 16. ‡ 1st Peter iii. 22. § Colossians i. 16.
We observe, further, that the very name, Michael, is an appropriate name for our Lord, and for him alone. The literal meaning of the term Michael is, *Who is like unto God*; or, supplying the obvious ellipsis, *He who is like unto God.*

It does not belong to our present subject to illustrate, at length, the peculiar and essential doctrine of the Christian religion, presented to our notice in this literal meaning of the name Michael. Our immediate purpose is, to demonstrate that Michael, the great Prince who standeth for the children of Daniel's people, is clearly no other than Christ. Confining ourselves here, then, to the proof of this, we observe, that Christ himself, in the passage we lately quoted from the fifth chapter of John's Gospel, claims like honour to himself as is due to the Father, and says, that "as the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself, and as the Father raiseth up the dead and quickeneth them, even so the Son quickeneth whom he will." Here then is a claim, on the part of Christ himself, to a likeness to God, in some of the most essential powers and attributes of the divine nature. The Apostle Paul, in declaring the Divinity of Christ's nature, has often made use of terms that might seem to be professedly translations of the name "Michael," now under consideration. In 2d Corinthians iv. 4, he says, "the god of this world hath blinded the minds of them which believe not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them." In Philippians ii. 5, 6, 7, he says, "Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus; Who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God; But made
himself of no reputation." In Colossians i. 15, he calls Christ—the Father's dear Son, "the image of the invisible God." And in the beginning of the Epistle to the Hebrews, he says, God "hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the worlds; who being the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person, and upholding all things by the word of his power, when he had himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high."*

We might adduce many other proofs to a similar effect, but we trust it is now abundantly demonstrated, that Michael, the great Prince, in this last vision of Daniel, is the same with him who is predicted as the Messiah, the Prince, in the preceding vision of the seventy weeks.† It will be allowed, too, that Messiah and Michael, in the respective prophecies, are each of them introduced at the same time, in the order of events; for, after the Messiah shall be cut off, but not for himself, it is said, in the vision of the seventy weeks, that the people of the Prince that shall come shall destroy the city and sanctuary, and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end of the war sudden desolations ‡; and, corresponding with these predictions of great calamity, after Michael shall stand, the great Prince who standeth for the children of Daniel's people, it is said, in this last vision, that "there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation, to that time."§

* Bishop Newton, and the other commentators, who apply this xii. chapter to the resurrection, and the general judgment, all consider Michael as a name of Christ.
† Daniel ix. 25. ‡ Daniel ix. 26. § Daniel xii. 1.
These last terms are those which agree so closely with terms employed by Christ himself, in his prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem. We have already seen, that the terms of Christ are uttered by him so nearly in connection with a quotation of other terms, which he makes professedly from Daniel, and which is taken even from this twelfth chapter of his prophecies, that we cannot but infer, that they are taken from Daniel likewise:—"Then," says our Saviour, "shall be great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world to this time, no, nor ever shall be."* "There shall be a time of trouble," says Daniel, "such as never was since there was a nation, to that time."—Our Saviour certainly referred to the tribulation attendant on the fearful destruction of Jerusalem, and dispersion of the Jewish people, by the Roman arms under Titus; and when we understand Daniel's time of trouble, as belonging to the same events, which so many considerations compel us to do, then the whole of his prophecy, in this twelfth chapter, can be easily demonstrated to have received a signal and complete fulfilment—in the Advent of Christ—in the deliverance wrought, by him, for the believing and penitent—in the promulgation, by him, of a pure spiritual doctrine, awakening men from the death of sin, and confirming the good tidings of life and immortality—in the preaching and writings of the Apostles—in the offer of the Gospel, first to the Jews, and its acceptance by a part of them, and rejection by another part—in its being afterwards preached to the Gentiles,

* Matthew xxiv. 21.
and received by many of them—in the prophecy itself not being understood till it was explained by Christ, and then not understood by the unbelieving Jews, but understood by the Christian Converts—in the continued impenitence and increasing wickedness of the unbelieving Jews—in the judgments at last sent upon them in the Roman war—in the duration of that war—and in the immediate abatement of the sufferings attending it, on Titus getting unexpected possession of the last strong holds of Jerusalem. We proceed, in the order of the prophecy, to shew, how completely and closely all the circumstances, implied in its terms, were fulfilled in these ever-memorable, and some of them the most deeply-interesting, events, that have occurred in the history of the world.

We have already shewn, that the last prediction, in the eleventh chapter, received its fulfilment in the death of Herod the Great. The commencement of this twelfth chapter is,—"And at that time Michael shall stand up." It is quite unnecessary that we should shew, in detail, how accurately this prediction was fulfilled, in respect of time, in the advent and ministry of Christ upon earth. Jesus Christ, "who is the image of God," was born at Bethlehem, in the last years of Herod the king of Judea; and after his death, he grew up, "in favour with God and man," and entered upon his public ministry.—The certain fulfilment of the prediction, here, in respect of the time, is very clear; and the circumstance must render it the more deeply interesting.

The predictions of the Old Testament, that mark the exact time of the Saviour's coming, have always appeared to Christians to be among those of the deepest moment;—
such as that of Jacob, that "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, until Shiloh come;"*—that of Haggai, that, by the coming of the Desire of all nations, the glory of the second temple should be greater than that of the first;†—and that of Daniel of the seventy weeks.‡ These prophecies serve, in the most direct manner, to take away all ground for the belief of the Jews, that their Messiah is not yet come; and to convince all, who impartially and honestly inquire into their true import, that Jesus of Nazareth is that promised deliverer. The prophecy of the seventy weeks, especially, has been deemed one of the utmost importance in this view; but there has been, owing to a little obscurity in the record of the chronology of the Jews, after the "going forth of the commandment" to build their second temple, not a little difference in opinion respecting some points of the exact fulfilment. But here is a prophecy, in this twelfth chapter, of the precise time of the Messiah's manifestation, which, from the views we have presented of the latter part of the eleventh chapter, and its fulfilment, can be subject to no doubt or controversy. The time of Messiah's coming is, in it, determinately foretold, not to the limit of one single year, indeed, as the time of his death is foretold in the prophecy of the seventy weeks, but within very narrow limits, which we can mark out and authenticate, from the clearest historical records; and that time accords, in the most perfect and satisfactory manner, with the time indicated in the prophecy of the seventy weeks, and in the prophecies of Jacob and Haggai.

* Genesis xlix. 10.  † Haggai ii. 7—9.  ‡ Daniel ix.

x 2
In literal fulfilment of the prophecy, also, Jesus of Nazareth stood, in the first instance, "for the children of Daniel's people." When he was born in Bethlehem, the wise men from the east announced his birth to Jerusalem, and Herod, as the birth of "the King of the Jews;" and the title which Pilate wrote, and put on his cross, was, "Jesus of Nazareth the King of the Jews."* He was of the nation of the Jews according to the flesh, and a descendant of their ancient Royal Family. Judea and Galilee, the two regions possessed by the Jews, were the scenes of the more than mortal works wrought by this great Prince. He there healed the sick; he miraculously fed the hungry; he calmed, by his voice, the storms of the wind and seas; he raised the dead to life. He announced, there, with his own mouth, that his kingdom was come, and proclaimed its emancipating and cheering influence,—of power to break, within the hearts of his willing subjects, the chains of sin, and misery, and death, and to make them exult in the liberty, and joyful hope, of the Sons of God. He chose the first twelve ministers of his heavenly and spiritual kingdom from among Daniel's people; and commissioned them to go forth, and perform like works of heavenly power and mercy, as he himself performed,† and to proclaim him as One whom "God had exalted with his right hand to be a Prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance to Israel and forgiveness of sins."‡ He said of himself, "I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel;"§ and, that the lost sheep of that people might

be, if they would only hear and obey, the first to be put in full possession of the blessings of his spiritual and beneficent reign, he at first gave this commandment to his Apostles, "Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not: But go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel."*

Thus literally were the terms of the prophecy fulfilled in Jesus Christ, both in respect of the time of his appearance, and the people for whom he at first stood, and proclaimed the blessings of his kingdom. But although he thus "came unto his own, his own received him not."† The leaders of that people would not receive him as their Prince and Saviour. They "delivered him up, and denied him in the presence of Pontius Pilate, when he was determined to let him go." They "denied the Holy One and the Just, and desired a murderer to be granted to them; and killed the Prince of life."‡ They also persecuted his Apostles, and forbade them to speak to the Gentiles, and by these grievous offences, to repeat the language of Paul, they filled up their sins, and wrath came upon them to the uttermost.§ In fulfilment of the prediction of the Prophet, in his next clause, there came upon them "a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation, to that time."

The instruments, and the manner of that trouble, were not announced to Daniel, in this his last vision; nor was that necessary, as they had been already intimated to him, in both the vision of the eighth chapter and that of the

* Matthew x. 5, 6. † John i. 11. ‡ Acts iii. 13—15. § 1st Thessalonians ii. 16.
ninth; and the order of the predicted events, in the respective visions, would enable him to understand to what passages, in his two previous visions, the time of trouble referred. He had been informed, in the vision of the eighth chapter, that, when the transgressors were come to the full, a king of fierce countenance should stand up, and should destroy the mighty and the holy people; and, in this last vision, he was informed that The King, in the 36th verse of the xi. chapter, should flourish till wrath was complete; and thus the time of trouble, that succeeded that king's coming to his end, became identified with that destruction of the mighty and the holy people, that was to succeed the transgressors' coming to the full.

—It was equally identified, by the order of events, with the destruction predicted in the vision of the ninth chapter. In that chapter, the Messiah was to be cut off, but not for himself; and then the city Jerusalem, and the sanctuary, were to be destroyed, and sudden desolation was to be effected. In this last vision, Michael is to stand, the great Prince who standeth for the children of Daniel's people, and then a time of trouble is to succeed. Antecedently, then, to our Saviour's quotation of the Prophet's words in this last vision, which has, to us, thrown such a clear light upon the subject, the time of trouble, of this vision, was, to Daniel, identified with the destruction of the mighty and the holy people, predicted in the vision of the eighth chapter, and with the destruction of the city Jerusalem and the sanctuary, predicted in the vision of the ninth.

It is quite unnecessary for us to enter into any detail of the events of the great Jewish war, in which, after suffering many previous calamities, the whole nation, assembled
at Jerusalem to celebrate the Passover, was at last environed there by the cruel Roman armies; and, while exposed to the continual assaults and massacres of an unrelenting enemy without, suffered still more from the yet more cruel and unrelenting demagogues and democratical factions, and from all the horrors of famine, within; till the city was quite destroyed, and the Roman plough-share, in sign of utter desolation, made to pass over its ruins. There was then "a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation, to that time;" but for an account of the details, we refer to Josephus, and to those writers who have illustrated our Saviour's prediction of the calamities of that fearful war;—particularly Bishops Newton and Porteus. We shall only quote, from the former, two brief passages, which the two latter have also quoted from him; in one of which, he describes the troubles of his countrymen in terms like those in which Daniel here predicts them; and in the other, declares the unexampled wickedness which was punished by such overwhelming misery. Josephus says, in his Preface to the Wars of the Jews, "It had come to pass, that our city Jerusalem had arrived at a higher degree of felicity than any other city under the Roman government, and yet at last fell into the sorest of calamities again. Accordingly it appears to me, that the misfortunes of all men, from the beginning of the world, if they be compared to those of the Jews, are not so considerable as they were." In the Wars of the Jews, book v. chapter 10, section 5,—speaking of the Jewish demagogues, and their factions,—he says, "It is impossible to go distinctly over every instance of these men's iniquity. I shall therefore speak
my mind here at once briefly: That neither did any other city ever suffer such miseries, nor did any age ever breed a generation more fruitful in wickedness than this was, from the beginning of the world."

Daniel's vision, in his eighth chapter, at which he fainted and was sick for days, ended with an intimation of the destruction of the mighty and the holy people, and contained no prediction, consolatory to him, in the contemplation of such a calamity, but a very brief one,—separated from the machinery of the vision, and not explained by Gabriel,—that the sanctuary should be cleansed after 2300 days; a prediction which Gabriel desired to be shut up, and which is not as yet fulfilled; since the sanctuary at Jerusalem is still trodden down of the Gentiles. His vision, in his ninth chapter, ended with an intimation of the same destruction of his people, and of their city Jerusalem, and its sanctuary;—but, although it contained no allusion to the detached and shut-up part of the former vision, it contained very consoling intimations of events that were to precede the destruction of the city and sanctuary. Gabriel, in it, said to Daniel, "Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the Most Holy."* He added, a little after, that the Messiah the Prince,—that is, as is clear from the original terms, the Most Holy who was to be anointed, of

* Daniel ix. 24.
the passage just quoted,—was to be cut off, but not for himself; and then the people of the prince that should come should destroy the city, and the sanctuary.*

In like manner, as in the vision of the ninth chapter, this last vision now under consideration,—while it announces the dispersion of the holy people,† and the taking away of the daily sacrifice,‡ and a time of unexampled trouble,§—intimates, in detail, many blessings that should follow the standing of Michael,—the great Prince who standeth for the children of Daniel's people; and these blessings are chiefly, and may be all, of a spiritual nature, like those foretold in the ninth chapter. They are the deliverance of a part of Daniel's people,‖—the awakening of the dead to life,¶—the extensive dissemination of knowledge,**—and the cleansing and purification of men from wickedness,††

It might seem, at first view of the order of the terms of this last vision, that these blessings were, in the order of time, to follow the time of trouble; as the time of trouble is mentioned antecedently to their announcement. But when we take into view the order of all the things predicted in this twelfth chapter, we perceive, that the dispersion of the power of the holy people,—one element of the time of trouble,—is mentioned after the enumeration of most of the blessings; and the taking away the daily sacrifice, and setting up the abomination of desolation,—which likewise belong to the time of trouble,—are mentioned after the announcement of all the blessings, excepting

* Daniel ix. 25, 26. † Daniel xii. 7. ‡ Daniel xii. 11.
§ Daniel xii. 1. † Daniel xii. 1. ¶ Daniel xii. 2.
** Daniel xii. 3, 4. †† Daniel xii. 10.
some that should belong to those who might survive that time. The time of trouble seems introduced immediately after the standing up of Michael, in reference to, and to identify this particular part of the last vision with, the conclusion of the vision in the ninth chapter; where the destruction of the city and sanctuary, and the consequent desolation, are mentioned immediately after the anointing, and cutting off, of the Messiah. After marking, in this way, the identity of these passages of the respective visions, the Prophet returns to a detail of the blessings, that should result from Michael standing for the children of his people. The first of these blessings is referred exclusively to that people, and is therefore clearly dependent on the standing of Michael;—a circumstance otherwise rendered certain by the re-introduction of the terms at that time, which again,—after the mention of the time of trouble,—brings in the subject with which the verse commences; as becomes evident when we place the first and last clauses of the verse together in direct succession, as follows: "And at that time Michael shall stand up, the great Prince who standeth up for the children of thy people,"—"and at that time, thy people shall be delivered, all found written in the book."

Who they were, that should be found written in the book, we gather from looking at the obvious origin of this figurative expression, and examining its usage in other parts of the Scriptures. It clearly had its origin from the practice, which was common even from the earliest age of man, of keeping accurate genealogies of the different families; through means of which the rights of primogeniture, and other privileges, were clearly ascertained, and a correct
chronology of events preserved, and authenticated. The earliest of these genealogies are, a fragment of the genealogy of the family of Cain, in the fourth chapter of Genesis, and the full "Book of the generations of Adam," in the fifth chapter. The Patriarchs and descendants of Jacob continued to write and preserve such genealogies; by means of which every one's inheritance, rights, privileges, and immunities, derived to him from his ancestors, were evidenced and authenticated; for that it was the practice to refer to these registers, for evidence respecting these matters, is evident from Ezra ii. 62. Hence arose the figurative phraseology, which represents those who are destined by God to receive mercy and favour from him, as being written in a book, or having their names written in the book of life, or in the book of God's remembrance. We find this form of speech used as early as the time of Moses. After the sin of the Israelites in making the golden calf, Moses interceded with God for them, and said, "Yet now, if thou wilt, forgive their sin; and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written. And the Lord said unto Moses, Whosoever hath sinned against me, him will I blot out of my book."* The Psalmist, in a prediction of the destiny of the wicked, among whom the Apostle Peter has taught us to reckon Judas the traitor, as one to whom he particularly refers,† says, "Let them be blotted out of the book of the living, and not be written with the righteous."‡ This most significant and impressive figure of speech is adopted by

* Exodus xxxii. 32, 33.  
† Acts i. 20.  
‡ Psalm lxix. 28.
the writers of the New Testament. Paul speaks of his own fellow-labourers in the Gospel, "whose names are in the book of life;"* and the same form of expression occurs in the Revelation to designate the Redeemed of Christ. The prediction of the Prophet, then, in the latter part of this first verse, was fulfilled in that part of Daniel's people, who, obeying the call of the Saviour to faith in him, and repentance, and new obedience, obtained, through his blood, eternal redemption.† Although the Jewish rulers, and the greater part of the nation, would not have him to be their king, but delivered him up to the Gentiles, yet says Paul, "God hath not cast away his people which he foreknew,"—but, as in the time of Elias, he reserved to himself seven thousand men, who had not bowed the knee to the image of Baal,—"Even so then at this present time also there is a remnant according to the election of grace."‡ Within a short time after Christ's ascension, the "remnant" amounted to several thousands;§ and afterwards "believers were added to the Lord, multitudes both of men and women."‖ These were at that time delivered; for while the sacrifices of their national law, which they offered year by year continually, could not make the comers thereunto perfect,¶ they were "sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all."** Thus the Most Holy Anointed,—Michael the great Prince, who stood for them,—being cut off, but not for himself, in the terms of Daniel in the ninth chapter, for them "finished the transgression, and

* Philippians iv. 3. † Hebrews ix. 12. ‡ Romans xi. 2—5.
** Hebrews x. 10.
made an end of sins, and made reconciliation for iniquity, and brought in everlasting righteousness." There was superadded to the eternal deliverance they thus obtained, a temporal deliverance also, in that time of trouble during which their unbelieving countrymen perished by the sword and famine. He, in whom they believed, taught them the signs that should precede the approaching calamities, and warned them to escape from them by a timely flight.* Of his warning they availed themselves. "We learn from ecclesiastical historians," says Bishop Newton, "that at this juncture," (the approach of the siege of Jerusalem) "all who believed in Christ left Jerusalem, and removed to Pella, and other places beyond the river Jordan; so that they all marvellously escaped the general shipwreck of their countrymen; and we do not read, anywhere, that so much as one of them perished in the destruction of Jerusalem."† Thus in every sense, "at that time Daniel's people were delivered, all found written in the book."

V. 2d. "And many that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to everlasting shame and contempt."

There occurred an event, at the resurrection of Christ, which, at first view, might seem a literal fulfilment of the prophecy in this second verse. Matthew informs us, that then "The graves were opened; and many bodies of the saints which slept arose, And came out of the graves after his resurrection, and went into the holy city, and appeared

* Matthew xxiv. 15, 16.  † Dissert. xix.
unto many."* These, however, were bodies of the saints only; and there were not among them those who "awoke to everlasting shame and contempt." The literal fulfilment, then, did not take place, with respect to all the conditions of the prediction; and we are not entitled to consider that event as the one specially here foreshewn.—But if we consider the terms of the prophet, in this second verse, as figurative, we at once perceive it to be one of the most signal predictions of the good tidings, proclaimed by Christ and his Apostles to sinful and dying men, that is to be found in the Old Testament Scriptures. When taken as figurative, the language is still perfectly definite and intelligible, being similar to that employed by other ancient prophets, when fortelling the surpassing blessedness to be bestowed on mankind by the revelation of Jesus Christ, as contrasted with the misery of their natural ignorance and sinfulness. It is quite unnecessary that we should adduce any instances, since they are so numerous and notorious that might be adduced, to prove, that the Hebrews were accustomed to express death by sleep; and it is nearly as unnecessary to give instances of the prophets representing ignorant, insensible, or impenitent sinners, as being in a state of sleep, or of death. Isaiah says to such sinners, "the Lord hath poured out upon you the spirit of deep sleep, and hath closed your eyes;"† and, in another passage, he describes them as being "in desolate places as dead men."‡ The prophets also describe those sinners, who obey the calls to faith and penitence, as

* Matthew xxvii. 52, 53. † Isaiah xxix. 10. ‡ Isaiah lix. 10.
awakening to light, and arising from the dead.—Isaiah, announcing the future salvation of his people, describes it as the destruction of a covering of darkness, and a conquest of death. The Lord of Hosts "will destroy the face of the covering cast over all people, and the veil that is spread over all nations. He will swallow up death in victory."* In another place, where he expressly announces the blessings of that most desirable knowledge that should flow from the Redeemer's advent and preaching, he says, "Arise, shine; for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee."† The Apostle Paul has paraphrased this verse of Isaiah, in such terms as throw a clear light on those of Daniel now under consideration;—"Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light."‡ There is yet another prediction of Isaiah, so closely resembling one clause, in this verse of Daniel, that we cannot refrain from quoting it, especially as Matthew has taught us that it had its fulfilment in Christ's teaching:—"The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light: they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined."§ Christ himself employs like figures of speech, in the passage which we formerly quoted from the fifth chapter of John's Gospel:—"The hour is coming, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live."|| In these terms he does not refer to the general resurrection,—for he introduces that in different and appropriate terms, a little

after,—but he refers to the resurrection from sin—elsewhere called "the first resurrection,"—as is evident from his saying, that the time of it was just then while he was speaking:—"The hour is coming, and now is." The words of Christ himself thus direct us to an assured fulfillment of Daniel's prediction, in the blessed effects of his own preaching. He assured mankind himself, and also by his Apostles, that, through his own merits and intercession, his sincere disciples, living in prayer,* shall have their minds awakened to righteousness, by the Spirit of God, and be at last quickened in their mortal bodies, by the same Spirit;† and thus he called and animated those who before "were dead in trespasses and sins,"‡ by new, powerful, and delightful motives, to rouse themselves from the sleep of that spiritual death. Many, as we have already seen, were obedient to his call, and that of his Apostles, and thus had "part in the first resurrection."§ Have we not, in this, a clear fulfilment of the prediction, that, after Michael should stand, many that sleep in the dust of the earth should awake to everlasting life.

At the same time was fulfilled the other branch of this prophecy—that "some should awake to everlasting shame and contempt." Christ not only assured the faithful and obedient of a future life of endless happiness, but declared, that a life of endless misery awaited the impenitent. It may seem unnecessary to shew, how the eyes of many awoke to the full light of these solemn and deeply

* John xv. 16—xiv. 16. † Romans viii. 10, 11. ‡ Ephesians ii. 1. § Revelations xx. 6.
interesting truths, proclaimed and confirmed by Christ, and yet would not walk by that light. "This is the condemnation," said he himself, "that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil."* They saw the light, but their sinful hearts preferred the darkness. We have full grounds to believe, that many of the Jewish nation, in the time of the Saviour, were of the number,—and many, too, who were in high authority among them. Their rulers confessed, that Christ wrought many miracles;† and, at the same time, well knew, that no man could do these miracles, except God were with him.‡ They had thus a conviction in their own minds of his divine authority; and this at a time, too, when, reading aright the ancient prophecies, they looked for the appearance of the great predicted Prophet,—the Ruler in Israel, whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting.§ They yet allowed their convictions,—thus irresistibly arising from the evidence of both miracles and prophecy,—that Jesus was their Messiah, to be overpowered by their sinful desires of worldly power and wealth, and a mean attachment to their miserable and ever-changing politics. They took measures to persecute and destroy him, and said, "If we let him alone, all men will believe on him; and the Romans shall come and take away both our place and nation."|| We have clear evidence, that many, at this time, acted in opposition to their settled convictions, and declined to acknowledge him, in whom they believed,

* John iii. 19. † John xi. 47. ‡ John iii. 2. § John vii. 40, and Deuteronomy xviii. 18; and Matthew ii. 6, and Micah v. 2. || John xi. 48.
from another motive,—the fear of the persecution of their own self-righteous and intolerant religious sects. "Nevertheless," says the Apostle John, "among the chief rulers also many believed on him; but because of the Pharisees they did not confess him, lest they should be put out of the synagogue: For they loved the praise of men more than the praise of God."* Thus light came to these men, but they shut their eyes against it, because their deeds were evil; or, in the equally figurative language of Daniel, they awoke from sleep in the dust of the earth, but it was only to everlasting shame and contempt.

V. 3d. "And they that cause to be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that cause many to be righteous, as the stars for ever and ever."

In our observations on the 33d and 35th verses of the eleventh chapter, we have shewn how well the designation, "they that cause to be wise," applies, there, to Mattathias and his family, in connection with every thing else, predicted in that whole passage.—They were a family of priests, and in that capacity the legal "teachers" of the descendants of Jacob. In the verse now under consideration, the Prophet predicts the appearance, after the standing of Michael, of some super- eminent class of teachers, whom he compares, both for brightness and endurance, to the most splendid and permanent objects in the visible creation,—the lights and stars of heaven. He gives them also an additional designation, calling them not only "they that cause to be wise," but likewise "they

* John xii. 42, 43.
that cause many to be righteous." We have already seen, that Bishop Horsley says, that this latter designation, in this particular place, describes "the preachers of the word of God." Will not all be ready to adopt his explanation, and to acknowledge the admirable appropriateness of the prediction, when applied to those preachers of the word of God, who were instructed and sent forth by their heavenly Master, at the period of time to which the course of our illustrations of the whole prophecy has now conducted us? The Apostles of Christ, instructed by him,—witnesses of his life,—speaking his words,—and inspired by the Holy Ghost, are the bright lights of the moral, as the luminaries of the firmament are of the natural world. Christ himself named them "the light of the world;"* and commanded them to "let their light shine before men."* They faithfully and assiduously fulfilled his commandment, amidst opposition, and hardship, and persecution, of the severest kind. They were the teachers of the most deeply-interesting and delightful truths, that have ever been made known to man. They indeed shone as the brightness of the firmament, while propagating, every where, a full knowledge of the spotless life, the miraculous works, the sublime doctrines, the perfect precepts, the consoling promises, and alarming threatenings, of Him, who was "a light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of his people Israel."† Before their death, they committed to writing a full, clear, and consistent account of that pure spiritual religion, which their Divine Master came to reveal for the

* Matthew v. 14, 16.  
† Luke ii. 32.
instruction and salvation of sinful and dying men; and transmitted, to all posterity, a book, which perfects a rule of faith and manners, fitted for reception by all the kindreds of the earth; and which will never cease to be the delight and consolation of virtuous minds.—Thus, in causing many to be righteous, by their preaching, during their lives, and afterwards in causing many to be righteous, by their writings, the Apostles and Evangelists shone, and still continue, and will continue, to shine, as the brightness of the firmament, and as the stars for ever and ever.

V. 4th. "And thou, Daniel, shut up the words, and seal the book, to the time of the end; many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased."

It will be allowed, that the former clause of this verse appears, even at the first view, to intimate, that this part of the prophecy should not be understood until about the time of its full accomplishment. We consider it a prediction to that effect; but, as it is repeated again in the 9th verse following, in connection with certain exceptions, stated in the 10th verse, to its being understood even at the time of the end, we will defer our illustration of it, till we come to these two verses; when we trust to be able to shew, that, so considering it, it was closely fulfilled. We proceed at present to the important prediction in the latter clause, "many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased."

The third verse of this chapter, which we have already illustrated, is also a prediction of the diffusion of knowledge by those that cause to be wise, and those that cause many to be righteous; for knowledge is there very significantly and intelligibly expressed, in an imagery common
in the Scriptures, by the shining and brightness of the teachers. We have just seen, how completely that prediction was fulfilled by the preaching and writings of the Apostles and Evangelists.—Here we have another prediction of the diffusion of knowledge, following very near to that one; and yet separated from it, by the brief introduction of another subject. We expect, therefore, that something different is implied, in the second prophecy, from what is foretold in the first; and, on more closely looking at its terms, we find new conditions in it, that are not found in the first. In the first prediction, the number of the teachers of knowledge is not alluded to;—in the second, they are expressed as being many. In the first, the character of the knowledge is expressed by great brightness, which is compared to that of the brightest objects in the creation, and therefore, to our apprehensions, incapable of increase;—in the second, it is said, knowledge shall be increased. But the most remarkable new condition is, that, whereas, in the first prediction, it is not definitely intimated to whom the teachers are to communicate their knowledge, in the second, it is said, many shall run to and fro, that the increase of knowledge may follow. The term, here translated to run to and fro, implies, in other passages of Scripture, to go into all parts of the earth; as we need to instance only, in 2d Chronicles xvi. 9,—"For the eyes of the Lord run to and fro throughout the whole earth," and in Zechariah iv. 10, where words nearly the same occur.

How clear and complete a fulfilment was there of this prediction, "many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased," when the Apostles, and many of their
converts, went forth to preach the gospel to the Gentiles? Christ, in his prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem, had announced, that, previously to that event, the "gospel of the kingdom should be preached in all the world, for a witness unto all nations;" and before he ascended into heaven, he gave instructions to his followers, to "go and teach all nations," and to "go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature;" and promised to be always with them, in the work, to the end of the world.† The assiduity and zeal with which, after the conversion of Cornelius and his family by Peter,‡ they carried these instructions into execution, are evidenced in the Acts of the Apostles, and in their Epistles,—especially in those of Paul; and are so notorious that we need not, here, enter into a detail of the particulars. The prediction of Daniel was fulfilled in all points. Many, besides the Apostles themselves, were employed in preaching the gospel to the Gentiles, and confirming those who embraced the Christian faith. They literally ran to and fro throughout all the nations, and planted Christian churches every where; and this, in fulfilment of Christ's prediction, antecedently to the great war by which Daniel's people were scattered abroad. By these means, how infinitely was knowledge increased among the Gentiles!

It is extremely difficult for us, who, from our infancy, have been blessed with the knowledge of Divine Revelation, to form an adequate conception of the blank and cheerless condition of those minds that were never

* Matthew xxiv. 14. † Matthew xxviii. 19, 20, and Mark xvi. 15. ‡ Acts x.
enlightened by it. It is true that God never, in any nation, left himself without a witness of his power, wisdom, and goodness; but it is equally true, that the testimony of the witness was everywhere misunderstood, or misinterpreted, in the heathen world. Even in the most inquisitive and learned of heathen nations, all the instruction that men gathered from the testimony of the natural witness, was, to erect a temple "to the unknown God."* How desolate, under such circumstances, was the whole aspect of human life! How miserable its conclusion! The origin and destiny of man were unknown. He was seen here, only for a little time, passing to death in successive generations, and having all his better affections blighted, and the charities of father, son, and brother, broken asunder, by an inevitable fate, that seemed to consign all alike to forgetfulness. Many miseries surrounded, and oppressed him, even while here, which were heightened by the effects of his own bad passions; for he had no authoritative and clear rule for the regulation and restraint of his pride, ambition, avarice, lust, envy, malice, and revenge, which wrought continual confusion through every province of society. Even if he did make an imperfect discovery of such a rule, he was actuated by no motive, sufficiently powerful and permanent, to bind him to the observance of it. He had no assured recognition of any eternal and righteous Governor of the world, to whom he might be amenable, who could remove the miseries, and rectify the evils, by which he was surrounded, and

* Acts xvii. 23.
who would extend mercy and pardon to such a grievous transgressor, as his own convictions told him he was; for if he did look up to the unknown God, it was, as the whole system of the heathen superstitions and sacrifices fully demonstrates, with the feelings of a criminal, desirous to escape punishment, but having no steady assurance of favour.—How infinitely increased was knowledge, when the messengers of the Divine Teacher carried to men, so overwhelmed with ignorance and hopelessness, the delightful discoveries of the Gospel! and taught with the most assured and unwavering authority,—that God governs all events, by an unerring and gracious providence;—that he is reconciling the world to himself through a Divine Mediator, who, by his own blood, has made a perfect atonement for the sins of men, through which the believing and penitent will now find mercy, and be raised from the dead to everlasting life;—that they, who, in the spirit of prayer, maintain in their hearts a constant feeling of their dependence upon God, a sense of his presence with them, and conviction of their responsibility to him, will have their souls enlightened, invigorated, and purified by the Holy Ghost, and become, in temper and spirit, in some measure, like the merciful Mediator himself, who both taught the purest and holiest lessons, and exhibited, in his own life, a perfect and consistent example of virtue, such as imperfect and sinful man, before his appearance on earth, could have formed no conception of.

This Divine knowledge, which the Apostles and first Christians ran to and fro to communicate to all nations, maintains, and will for ever maintain, a lofty and unapproachable superiority over all the knowledge that man

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can discover for himself.—The latter, in every one of its branches, is imperfect and unsatisfying; as they, who most deeply pursue its discoveries, most deeply feel. It can never be reached, in any degree of advancement, excepting by a few, and is, at best, the knowledge of a transitory and mortal being. The former bears the stamp of perfection, imprinted by its Divine Author; and, eminently adapted to the condition of all ranks and degrees of men, it is alike calculated to elevate the understandings, and to purify the hearts, of high and low, rich and poor,—to give them full consolation amidst the unavoidable evils of life,—to expel the fear of death from their minds,—and to enter with them into that future heavenly state, which it has laid open to their view.—In this way, then, the prediction of Daniel was literally fulfilled. The day-spring of true knowledge from on high, waited on the footsteps of the Apostles of Christ, as they traversed the Gentile world, dispelling darkness and doubt and fear, and diffusing light and confidence and joy, over every condition of human life.

In formerly illustrating our Saviour's professed quotation from Daniel, we purposely deferred taking notice of some other seemingly obvious references, which he makes to this chapter, till the illustration of the successive parts of the prophecy should render them of more easy explanation. One of his references, in his prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem, seems to be to this 4th verse.—He said, "This gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations; and then shall the end come"—(Matthew xxiv, 14.) This immediately precedes his professed quotation from Daniel.—
In Mark, the corresponding terms are, "The gospel must first be published among all nations"—(Mark xiii. 10.) This, in Mark, does not immediately precede the professed quotation from Daniel; but all that intervenes is a warning of the persecutions the Apostles should suffer for preaching the gospel,—an instruction for their behaviour under them,—and a blessing promised to those who should not be intimidated by them. Are we not urged, by all the circumstances, to consider these words of Christ as containing a reference to this 4th verse of Daniel? In the words as given by Matthew, the end is immediately connected with the preaching of the gospel.—The term, end, is not in Mark; but the word, first, implies that it was to follow that preaching. In Daniel, the term, end, is closely approximated to the running to and fro of many, and the increase of knowledge; and from the general tenor of the prophecy it appears, this running to and fro, and increase of knowledge, were to precede the end; for the dispersion of the holy people,—the end, or finishing, of the whole,—is introduced in a succeeding verse. These observations confirm the correctness of our views, when we consider Christ's professed quotation as being made from this twelfth chapter of Daniel.

V. 5th. "And I, Daniel, looked, and, behold, there stood other two, one on one bank of the river, and one on the other bank of the river."

V. 6th. "And said to the man clothed in linen, who was upon the waters of the river, How long shall be the end of these wonders?"

V. 7th. "And I heard the man clothed in linen, who was upon the waters of the river, and he held up his right
hand and his left hand unto heaven, and sware by him that liveth for ever, that it shall be for a time, times, and a part; and when, in the finishing, the power of the holy people is scattered abroad, all these things shall be finished."

Down to this 5th verse, the prophecy had been communicated to Daniel by one man clothed in linen; but here two others are introduced as interlocutors with him; and all the prophecy, to the end, consists of a colloquy between these three beings, and an answer, of the first of them, to a question by Daniel.

The colloquy commences with the question, on one part, *How long shall be the end of these wonders?* and it is answered, on the other part, *that it shall be for a time, times, and a part; and when, in the finishing, the power of the holy people is scattered abroad, all these things shall be finished.* When we reflect on the parallelism, which, we have shewn, exists between this last vision of Daniel and his two visions in the eighth and ninth chapters, we perceive, that the scattering abroad of the holy people must refer to the destruction of the holy people by a king of fierce countenance, foretold in the eighth chapter, and to the destruction of the city Jerusalem and the sanctuary, and the utter desolation, foretold in the ninth chapter. If any doubt should remain, respecting this point, it is put an end to, by observing, in the succeeding verses, that Daniel asks an explanation of the answer of the man clothed in linen, in the seventh verse, and that one part of the explanation he receives is, "*from the time the daily sacrifice is caused to be taken away, and to the setting up the abomination of desolation, a thousand two hundred and ninety days*"—(verse 11.) In this explanation, we
have more of the circumstances introduced, that had been
predicted in both the eighth and ninth chapters, as atten-
dant on the destruction of the holy people, and of the city
Jerusalem; for in the eighth chapter, the daily sacrifice was
to be taken away,* and in the ninth, the sacrifice and obla-
tion were to cease, and the overspreading of abomination to
make desolation, at the time of the destruction.† Thus
there is left no doubt, that, in the passage immediately
under consideration, the same event is predicted, that had
been already predicted in these chapters.

The complete scattering abroad of the power of the
holy people is thus, we perceive, on a comparison of the
prophecies, the final result of the destruction of the city
Jerusalem, formerly foretold to Daniel; and, according to
the very terms of this last prophecy, in the 7th verse, it is
the last thing in itself predicted.

But, previously to the complete scattering abroad of the
power of the holy people, a certain time was to run, which
in the 7th verse is called a time, times, and a part.
Whatever the length of that time may be, it was obviously,
from the terms of the 7th verse, to have its end at the
moment when the holy people were wholly dispersed or
scattered abroad; but no era is set in the 7th verse, from
whence it was to have its commencement; and, as the length
of time is expressed in obscure terms, the commencement
is left uncertain,—insomuch that Daniel did not under-
stand the answer in this 7th verse. He says, in the
eighth verse, "I heard but I understood not." Let us
endeavour to throw light upon this matter. We have it

* Daniel viii. 11.       † Daniel ix. 27.
in our power to do so, by considering the conditions of the question and answer in the 6th and 7th verses, and that part of the explanation of them given to Daniel, which is contained in the following 11th and 12th verses. We crave indulgence to the minuteness and circumstantiality of the following observations, which have seemed, to us, necessary, in this part of our illustrations.

The question in the 6th verse has a reference exclusively to the last events predicted in this prophecy; for although the common translation has the question in the form, "How long shall it be to the end of these wonders?" this is not consistent with the original. The proper translation of that is, How long the end of these wonders? The inquiry, then, obviously, does not regard any period of time that might intervene between the date of the revelation to Daniel, and that of the complete fulfilment of the whole series of predictions; but it regards the duration of the last events predicted, which, as the answer to the question shews, were to issue in a complete dispersion of the holy people. It has relation, then, only to the duration of the time of trouble, predicted in the 1st verse of this chapter, which, we have seen, is identical with the time of war and destruction, foretold in the concluding verses of the ninth chapter; and that time of trouble was to be for a time, times, and a part, before a complete dispersion of the holy people should be effected.

There is another passage in Daniel's prophecies, where, in our common translation, like terms are used to express a measure of time. It is in the 25th verse of the seventh chapter. It is there said of the little horn, of the vision of that chapter, which rose after the first ten horns, and before
whom three of these fell, "He shall speak great words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High, and think to change times and laws: and they shall be given into his hand until a time, and times, and the dividing of time." That chapter is written in the Chaldee dialect; and the term translated time, in the 25th verse, is found employed obviously to express a year, in another chapter, written in the same dialect, namely, in Daniel iv. 16, 23, 25, 32.—There seems to be no doubt, that, in the seventh chapter also, we must understand the term to denote a year. That chapter contains Daniel's vision of the four great monarchies, and the ten smaller ones that were to arise out of the last of the great ones, among which an eleventh was afterwards to come up, and pluck up three of the ten by the roots. The prophecy has been accurately fulfilled, in the succession of the empires of Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome, and the number of smaller kingdoms, into which that of Rome was, in the end, divided.—It was among these last, that the little horn was to arise, into whose hands the times and laws were to be given, for a time, times, and the dividing of time. Many able commentators, and, among others, Bishop Newton, to whom we have so often referred, have shewn, that the characters of the little horn agree well with the Roman Pontiff.* Here then is a prophecy, reaching much lower into time than the last one of Daniel, which is our present subject,—which refers to Daniel's own people the Jews, and, according to its own express terms, reaches no farther down in time, than to their complete dispersion.—The

*Newton's Dissertations on the Prophecies.—Dissert. xiv.
prophecy in the seventh chapter is still only, as to one part of it, in the course of being fulfilled. The kingdoms that arose out of the Roman empire, and the Pope, who arose among them, still possess their power; and the time, times, and dividing of time,—or as, we see, we must explain the terms, a year, years, and part of a year,—are, therefore, not yet expired. Enough of the prophecy is, however, fulfilled, and a sufficiently long time has run on, since the power of the Pope arose, to teach us, that we must interpret these years, not as natural years, but prophetic years, like those of Ezekiel iv. 6, of which each day represents a year. As no era is given, from which to number the years, we cannot find out the time of their expiry; and the prophecy will, in this respect, not be understood, until it is fulfilled.

We have thought it necessary to enter into these points respecting the vision in the seventh chapter, lest we should seem to disturb any part of what we consider the correct interpretation of it by Bishop Newton, while we shew,—as we now propose to do,—that there are various conditions in this last vision of Daniel, that direct us to interpret the time, times, and a part,—as the terms occur in it,—as expressing natural years, and not years of which each day represents a year.

The term, employed in the 7th verse, now under consideration, to express time, is derived from the same root, as the Chaldee term in the iv. and vii. chapters of Daniel, to which we have just referred. It is employed by the Hebrews to denote an appointed or set time; as in 1st Samuel xiii. 8, where the circumstances of the narrative leave no doubt about its meaning. "He (Saul) tarried
seven days, according to the set time that Samuel had appointed." Samuel had said to him, "seven days shalt thou tarry, till I come to thee."* It is used in a particular manner to express the appointed annual festivals of the Jews, as the passover, and the feasts of first fruits and tabernacles; as we may instance in Exodus xxiii. 15, and Isaiah i. 14.—The term, which our translators have, in the same 7th verse, rendered a half, in the margin they have rendered a part; which we adopt as the right sense, for the root signifies to divide any thing into parts, whether equal or unequal.†

Looking at this common use of the terms, it may be admitted, that the expression, time, times, and a part, signifies three rounds of the annual appointed feasts, and a part of a fourth,—that is three years, and an undefined part of a third year. That this is its meaning is confirmed by part of the explanation given, by the man clothed in linen, to Daniel, as an answer to the question he put to him. There are other particulars contained in that explanation; but, although it will make us depart a little from the order of the verses, (a matter which will, in the sequel, be found here of no injurious consequence,) we will first direct our attention to the particular explanation respecting the time, in the part of his answer, contained in the 11th and 12th verses.

In inquiring into the nature of that explanation, we must advert to the eighth verse, which leads on to it, and which is, "And I heard, and I understood not, and I said, O my Lord, what shall be the latter end of these things?"

* 1st Samuel x. 8.
† See Parkhurst.
What Daniel understood not was the immediately preceding terms of the man clothed in linen, "it shall be for a time, times, and a part; and when, in the finishing, the power of the holy people is scattered abroad, all these things shall be finished." He understood no part of this answer; for his negation, in the eighth verse, excepts no part of it. When, however, he received the answer to his question, (verses 9—13,) he then understood the whole; for he expressly tell us so, in the introduction of the vision, in chapter x., verse 1st, where he says, "he understood the thing, and had understanding of the vision." We thus ascertain, clearly, that the days, numbered in the 11th and 12th verses, are equivalent to, and an explanation of, the "time, times, and a part." Daniel, although he did not understand what was meant by time, times, and a part, understood what was meant by certain numbers of days, and would most naturally understand day, in the sense in which he himself uses the term, in the introduction of the vision; to which we will presently more particularly advert. Further:—it is to be observed, that the question which he puts in this eighth verse, "What shall be the latter end of these things?" has no more reference, than the one in the sixth verse, to the time that might intervene between the date of the vision and that of its final accomplishment. It refers only to the last things foreshewn. The term, which, in the eighth verse, we have translated latter end, denotes, according to Parkhurst, the hindermost, or extreme, part. We shall instance its occurrence in Job xlii. 12, where this is certainly its meaning: "So the Lord blessed the latter end of Job more than his beginning." Daniel inquires, by
this question, then, into the particulars of the last events foreshewn to him, both in this vision, and in his two visions of the 8th and 9th chapters,—the time of trouble that was to end in the dispersion of his people, and the destruction of the city and sanctuary. All doubt about this point is dispelled by looking at a part of the answer of the man clothed in linen to Daniel, in the 11th verse, where the taking away the daily sacrifice, and the setting up the abomination of desolation,—circumstances formerly predicted as attending that destruction,*—are clearly recognised, by the man clothed in linen, as being among the things concerning which Daniel questioned him. In the 11th and 12th verses, then, we have an explanation of the 7th verse, and especially of what length of time is meant by the time, times, and a part.

The terms of the 11th and 12th verses are:—"And from the time the daily sacrifice is caused to be taken away, and to the setting up the abomination of desolation, a thousand two hundred and ninety days. He is blessed, that waiteth, and cometh to a thousand three hundred and five and thirty days." It is here said, in the 11th verse, that 1290 days should intervene between the taking away the daily sacrifice and the setting up the abomination of desolation. In the 12th verse, it is intimated, that the duration of the time of trouble of the latter end should be longer than the interval of 1290 days; for, that he should be blessed, or happy, and so be delivered from trouble,—not, who waited and came to the 1290 days, but who

* Daniel ix. 27.
waited and came to 1335 days, or to 45 days more than the 1290. The larger of these two numbers, then, comprehends the whole time of the events of the latter end, regarding which Daniel made inquiry; and it literally corresponds with the time, times, and a part, of the 7th verse,—understanding one time to express a year; for in 1335 days, reckoning, according to the Jewish mode, thirty days to a month, there are forty-four and a half months,—or three years eight months and a half.

We have already observed, that there is a key given us, in this last vision of Daniel, which opens up to us the sense in which the word day is used in it; and that we must here understand it, in its most common sense, for a period of twenty-four hours, and not as representing a year. Daniel, in prefacing the vision, uses the term day in its most ordinary acceptation, and says, “I was mourning three weeks of days;”* and the man clothed in linen uses it in the same sense, where he says, “the prince of the kingdom of Persia withstood me one and twenty days;”† that is, as is clear from the context, during the whole time of Daniel's mourning. This is the sense in which the term day is used, in these two places, by Daniel, and by the man clothed in linen; and there is no indication whatever that the sense is afterwards changed in the vision. In all places, then, where it is used in it, we must surely take it in their sense.

These observations seem conclusively to prove, that we are here to understand the term day in its most common

* Daniel x. 2.  
† Daniel x. 13.
sense. But there is yet another observation to be added to these, which can leave no remaining doubt on the point. The vision was granted to Daniel, to make him understand the former revelations, made to him on the same subject. This is its professed design, declared by the man clothed in linen. * In the strictest accordance with this design, he delivers the prophecy in plain and popular language, and uses terms in their most popular acceptation. There is, in the whole vision, very little of figurative or typical language, like that so often used in other prophecies, and in some of Daniel’s former ones;—as in Nebuchadnezzar’s dream, and in his own visions of the four monarchies and of the ram and he-goat. We may even say, there is no such language in this last vision, excepting in the predictions of spiritual things; and even in them, the figurative language used is that which had been long established as popular among the Hebrews. This last prophecy of Daniel is the plainest of the prophecies in the Old Testament. Every thing in it is called by its common, popular, name. The proper names of countries,—Persia, Greece, Egypt, Chittim, Libya, Ethiopia,—are simply expressed. A king, a kingdom, a nation, armies, fortresses, walled cities, the sword, flame, spoil, captivity, captives, horsemen, ships, gold, silver, costly stones, treasures, flatteries, the covenant, the sanctuary, the daily sacrifice, shame, contempt, knowledge, righteousness—all these,—all things, we may say,—are obviously to be understood in their most common acceptation. The term day cannot be a solitary exception

* Daniel x. 11, 12, 14.
to this uniform popular use of terms, throughout the whole prophecy.

Let us see now, how, taking day to express a natural day, this part of the prophecy was fulfilled, in the special duration, and in some remarkable events, of the war which ended in the dispersion of Daniel's people.

In the 11th verse, it is foretold that 1290 days should intervene between two remarkable events—the one, the taking away of the daily sacrifice—and the other, the setting up of the abomination of desolation. In the 12th verse, it is foretold, that he should be blessed who should wait and come to 1335 days. We see then, that there are two eras marked respecting the 1290 days;—one, from which it is to commence, and one, with which it is to end. —There is also an era of blessedness, marked for the conclusion of the longer time of 1335 days. That the shorter time of 1290 days is comprehended in, and forms a part of, the longer of 1335 days, appears sufficiently clear from the whole order of the terms of Daniel's question, and the answer to it.

The daily sacrifice was the sacrifice of a lamb every morning, and another every evening, to be kept up as a continual burnt offering, throughout the generations of the Israelites, at the door of the tabernacle; or in the temple, when this was afterwards built. A promise was given by God, that, if they continued to celebrate this sacrifice, he would meet with the children of Israel, and sanctify them with his glory, and dwell among them, and be their God.*

* Exodus xxix. 38—45.
A rite, rendered interesting by such a promise, was naturally dear to the heart of every pious Israelite; and to him it would be a great calamity that such a sacrifice should fail. That it should fail, at the predicted destruction of his people, had been already announced to Daniel, as we have seen, in the vision contained in his eighth chapter,* and also in that contained in the ninth chapter.† It did fail during the progress of the siege of Jerusalem by the Romans, under Titus; and Josephus has preserved the date of the occurrence, in the beginning of the second chapter of the sixth book of the Wars. “And now Titus,” say he, “gave orders to his soldiers that were with him, to dig up the foundations of the tower Antonia, and make a ready passage for his army to come up, while he himself had Josephus brought to him; for he had been informed, that on that very day, which was the seventeenth day of Panemus, the sacrifice, called “the daily sacrifice,” had failed, and had not been offered to God for want of men to offer it, and that the people were grievously troubled at it.”

We are taught by Christ himself, what we are to understand by “the abomination of desolation.” With respect to this point, we will give the illustration of Bishop Newton. After quoting Christ's language, as thus given by Matthew, “When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place, (whoso readeth, let him understand,) then let them which be in Judea flee into the mountains,”‡

* Daniel viii. 11. † Daniel ix. 27. ‡ Matthew xxiv. 15, 16.
Newton adds, "Whatever difficulty there is in these words, it may be cleared up by the parallel place in St. Luke xxii. 20, 21: 'And when ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that the desolation thereof is nigh. Then let them which are in Judea flee to the mountains.' So that the abomination of desolation is the Roman army."

The Roman army compassed Jerusalem before the failing of the daily sacrifice; whereas, from the order in which the events are set down in Daniel, there might, at first view, seem to be, in the vision, a prediction, that the daily sacrifice should first be taken away. But we observe, with respect to this point, that there is nothing whatever in the verbs of the sentence to indicate which of the events should precede the other.—The interval of time between them only is expressed.—The terms are literally, "And from the time the daily sacrifice is caused to be taken away, and to the setting up the abomination of desolation, a thousand two hundred and ninety days." Thus, although the daily sacrifice is first named, yet, as neither it, nor the abomination of desolation, is connected with any future tense of a verb, we are at liberty to reckon the interval of time between the two events, abstractedly from any consideration of the order of their occurrence.

We must interpret the words of Christ, when quoting Daniel's terms here, as referring to the first time, after the delivery of his prediction, when Jerusalem was compassed in a hostile manner with armies. The first army that

* Dissert. xix.
compassed it, after that time, was that of Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria; who, after the seditious Jews, under Eleazar, had treacherously slain the Roman garrison,* marched with a large force against it. The history of his expedition is given by Josephus, in the nineteenth chapter of the second book of the Wars. When he approached Jerusalem, he first pitched his camp upon Scopus, seven furlongs distant from the city; but afterwards came into a part of it; and, having burnt the new city, and the timber market, he pitched his camp over against the royal palace. Thus the abomination of desolation stood in the holy place. Cestius, through his own mismanagement, failed to get possession of the city; and, retiring suddenly from it, he was pursued and beaten by the Jews. "This defeat," says Josephus, "happened on the eighth day of the month Dios, in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero." It was after this retreat of Cestius, that "the time of trouble" of Daniel's people, properly speaking, commenced; for then, but not till then, the great body of the nation rose up in arms; and the war with the Romans was maintained with great fury, till Jerusalem was taken and destroyed by Titus.

We learn from history, then, both the time when the Roman armies first compassed Jerusalem, at the commencement of the time of trouble, and the time when the daily sacrifice was taken away, The first was in the month Dios of the Syro-Macedonians, corresponding with the Hebrew month Marchesvan, and our month November,

* Josephus, Wars, ii. 17. 10.
and, according to Dr. Hartwell Horne's "Chronological Table," in the year 66 of the Christian Era.—The second was in the month Panemus, corresponding with the Hebrew Tamuz, and our July, and, according to the same table, in the year 70 of the Christian Era.

It is to be observed, that the 1290 days of Daniel make up 43 even great months of the Hebrews, of 30 days each; and that it was their practice, in reckoning time, to set down even years and months; although the time expressed might not be exactly the even years, or months, but nearer to them than to any other even years and months. That this was their practice, when reckoning by years, is evident from the statements of the lengths of the reigns of the kings of Judah and Israel; and that it was so also, in respect of months, we can refer to Judges xx. 47; 1st Samuel vi. 1; 2d Samuel vi. 11; 1st Kings xi. 16; 2d Kings xv. 8, and various other places.

Taking this practice of reckoning time into account, and adverting also to the circumstance, that the 1290 days contain a precise number of even great months,—that is exactly forty-three,—we perceive, that in the prophecy, the interval, between the time when Jerusalem was first compassed with armies, in the beginning of the Jewish war, and the time when the daily sacrifice ceased, is indicated with sufficient accuracy, in consistency with the Hebrew usage in such a case. The interval of time, between the two events, was, according to Josephus, forty-three complete months, besides the fractional parts of the two months, in which the events severally occurred.

In the 12th verse, they are pronounced to be blessed, or happy, who waited and came to 1335 days. This more...
lengthened period contains forty-five days, or one Hebrew
great month and a half, more than the 1290 days. Now,
when we examine the history of the siege of Jerusalem,
we find, that, about a month and a half after the failing of
the daily sacrifice, the siege was finally ended, by Titus
getting sudden and unexpected possession of the last
strong hold of the besieged,—the upper city. When that
prince, after eighteen days' labour in raising the necessary
works, got his battering engines to act upon this last
defence of the Jews, Josephus informs us, that the
defenders were seized with an extreme panic, and that the
"tyrants" (the chiefs of the wicked factions who ruled the
city) "did now wholly deprive themselves of the security
they had in their own power, and came down from those
very towers of their own accord, wherein they could have
never been taken by force."—"They now left these
towers of themselves, or rather they were ejected out of
them by God himself." The Romans, he adds, "when
they had gotten upon the last wall, without any bloodshed,
could hardly believe what they found to be true."*

This last action, which finished the siege, took place on
the seventh day of the month Gorpieus,† which answers
to the Hebrew month Elul, and to our September; so
that there were forty-nine free days, between that on which
the daily sacrifice failed and that on which the city was
finally taken; a space of time nearer to a Jewish month
and a half, represented by the forty-five days of the Pro-
phet, than to either one month, or two months.

* Wars, vi. 8, 4-5.  † Ibid.
The differences between the respective times, foretold by the Prophet, and indicated by the historian, are well accounted for by the uniform practice of reckoning time among the Hebrews, to which we have just referred. At the same time, within the limits of that practice, there is a close correspondence between the two longer periods of the Prophet and historian, and the like between their two shorter periods; whilst the difference between the longer and the shorter of each is great. The Prophet and historian agree, very closely, respecting the longer period, before the taking away the daily sacrifice, and also respecting the shorter one, after it; although the former is twenty-eight times longer than the latter. This, in itself, affords a high probability, that we have given the correct illustration of the prophecy, as far as relates to the predicted time, and that altogether independently of the predicted concomitant circumstances. When we take these circumstances, also, into account,—and we are next to direct our attention to them,—the proof arising from them appears conclusive, that the time, times, and a part, of the 7th verse, and the 1335 days of the 12th verse,—the latter divided into two periods of 1290, and 45 days,—are predictions of the time of the duration of the great war, which issued in the final destruction of Jerusalem.

One of the circumstances is, the scattering abroad of the power of the holy people. It is predicted in the 7th verse, that this scattering abroad should be completed, and that all things foreshewn in this prophecy should be finished, at the end of the time, times, and a part. It was at the conclusion of a war, commencing in the last months of the sixty-sixth year of the Christian Era, and ending in the
early autumnal months of the seventieth year of the same era,—and thus continuing three years and a part of a fourth,—that the Jewish nation, Daniel's people, were wholly and finally dispersed. In the language of Christ himself, they were "led away captive into all nations."* Jerusalem, in fulfilment of his prediction, has since remained "trodden down of the Gentiles;" and although the Jews, while thus completely scattered abroad, have, contrary to what has ever taken place with regard to any other nation under like circumstances, been preserved, by a signal providence, as a remarkably distinct people, they have, till now, remained "without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice,"† in the land which was once their own; and to which, by many endearing ties, and stirring recollections, the whole nation, for many generations, was fervently attached. Thus fully were the predictions in the 7th verse fulfilled, when Jerusalem was taken by Titus.

In the 12th verse,—some terms of which we must hold to be an explanation of the measure of time stated in the 7th verse, otherwise the answer to Daniel's question could not have given the information which he sought,—there is a different circumstance predicted, as about to take place, at the expiry of the time of trouble of the latter end. It is predicted, that they should be blessed, who should wait and come to the conclusion of that time. This might, at first view, seem quite inconsistent with the other circumstance,—the complete dispersion of the holy people,—

† Hosea iii. 4.
which, instead of being one of blessedness, is obviously one of calamity and pain. But let us see how accurately the prediction of blessedness, to those specially described and characterized by the Prophet, was fulfilled, at the same time with the prediction of calamity. We have the highest authority for the evidence of this.

Before introducing that authority,—which describes a spiritual blessedness,—we may observe, that, in a temporal view, many were blessed, or happy, who survived, or came to the end of the Jewish war. Titus, immediately on getting possession of the upper city, extended his clemency to the survivors. "He let such go free," says Josephus, "as had been bound by the tyrants, and were left in the prisons."* These, then, had waited, and had come to the 1335 days, and were happy in comparison with those who miserably perished during the progress of the war. The historian further says, in the same chapter, "Caesar gave orders that they should kill none but those that were in arms, and opposed them, but should take the rest alive." In short, the terrors and slaughters of the war were instantly abated, upon the taking of the upper city by the Romans.—The time of trouble then ended.

But in an infinitely higher sense were they blessed, who were of the "remnant of Israel according to the election of grace," and maintained their fidelity to their Heavenly Master, amidst the privations, and terrors, and temptations, of that fearful time of trouble. Christ, after warning his followers of the calamities of that time, and of the per-

* Warz, vi. 9. 1.
secutions, and sufferings, and temptations to which they should be exposed, pronounced the highest of all blessings on those that should continue faithful under them. "He that shall endure unto the end," said he, "the same shall be saved."* Unquestionably this is his promise to the faithful, and obedient, and persevering, in all ages of his church; but, comprehended, as it is, in his prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem, it has a special reference to those who should endure under the trials peculiar to the last great war, in which that city was to be trodden down. These trials, he intimated, should be very severe. He said, "There shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders; insomuch that (if it were possible) they shall deceive the very elect."† He forewarned his followers also, that they should not escape sufferings, during that time of trouble: "Except those days should be shortened," said he, "there should no flesh be saved: but for the elect's sake those days shall be shortened."‡

Our Saviour's promise to the enduring, that they should be saved, seems another reference, in his own prediction, to the terms of Daniel.—"He that shall endure unto the end, the same shall be saved,"§ seems a parallelism to the terms of the prophet, "He is blessed that waiteth and cometh to 1335 days." Christ's terms, in Matthew, are followed, in the succeeding verse, by a direct reference to the end of the Jewish nation, and after that by the professed quotation from Daniel.—The same terms, in Mark,

* Matthew xxiv. 13.  † Matthew xxiv. 24.  § Matthew xxiv. 22.
are immediately followed by the quotation from Daniel. We have to observe also that the term, translated \textit{waiteth}, in Daniel, has obviously, in other parts of Scripture, the full and deep import of the term \textit{endureth}, as used in the promise of our Saviour; as, for instance, in Isaiah xxx. 18, \textit{"The Lord is a God of judgment; blessed are all they that wait for him;"} where \textit{to wait} means evidently \textit{to continue faithful}, or, in our Saviour's sense, \textit{to endure}.

How completely, then, was the Prophet's prediction fulfilled, both in a temporal and spiritual sense? They who survived the last assault of Jerusalem had their lives spared by the clemency of the enemy; and infinitely more blessed were the Christian converts, who adhered to their faith amidst the sufferings and trials of the time of trouble. They had their Saviour's promise that \textit{they should be saved}.

In concluding these illustrations of the Prophet's predictions regarding the length of a particular time, we observe, that our Saviour's terms intimate to us, in the plainest manner, that the length of time, during which the \textit{troubles}, he foretold, should continue, would form an important element of these troubles, in reference to the condition, and ultimate escape, of the elect. \textit{"For the elect's sake,"} says he, \textit{"these days shall be shortened."} His words give a deep import to the particular \textit{length of the time}, shewing, that it was worthy to be made a special subject of prophecy. That prophecy, after our Saviour's explanation of it to his disciples, may have enabled them to take measures for their own safety, with a correct reference to the length of time, during which they were exposed to danger and trial, and thus have been of great
benefit to them, in a temporal view; while its remarkable fulfilment would be one means of strengthening their faith, and stimulating them to that continued Christian endurance, to which the Saviour promised salvation.

With the view of bringing together, into one place, all the illustrations we have to offer, in regard to the predicted length of time, we have considered the 7th and 8th, and the 11th and 12th verses, in connection with each other, passing, for a time, over the 9th and 10th verses. We now return to the consideration of these verses; in which we shall find predictions of very important circumstances, that took place, during the *time of trouble* of the great Jewish war. Our illustrations of these will manifest, still more, the correctness of the application, of this whole latter part of the prophecy, to that time.

Although Daniel himself understood the vision, yet it was not to be understood by others, till towards its final accomplishment; for the man clothed in linen said to him, in the 9th verse, "Go thy way, Daniel; for the words are shut up, and sealed, to the time of the end."

This is a repetition of the prediction in the preceding 4th verse, where Daniel was enjoined to "shut up the words, and seal the book, to the time of the end." In the language of other prophets, words, or a book, shut up or sealed, are words, or a book, which cannot be read or understood; as becomes evident by a reference to Isaiah xxix. 9—12.—This is a prediction, then, that this particular part of the prophecy, at least down from the 4th verse, should not be understood, till at, or near, the time of its fulfilment. We have satisfactory evidence that this actually took place. We have already referred to the
ignorance of the Apostles regarding the meaning of this part of the prophecy, till Christ himself explained it to them, on occasion of their calling his attention to the strong buildings of the temple; and their ignorance in the matter, we may take as a correct indication of that of their countrymen in general. The subject of this verse is, however, partly continued in the next one, and presented, there, with more circumstances. We shall therefore proceed to that verse, without going here into more detail on this particular point.

V. 10th. “Many shall be made clean, and shall be made white, and shall be refined; and the wicked shall do wickedly; and none of the wicked shall understand, and they that cause to be wise shall understand.”

Who the many were, that, in fulfilment of this prediction, were, at the time of the end of the Jewish nation, made clean, and white, and refined, we have no difficulty in discovering. In the language of the Apostle Paul, the sincere converts to the Christian faith, “were washed, and sanctified, and justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the spirit of our God.”* We as readily discover who the wicked were, that, at the same time, in fulfilment of the prediction in the next clause of the verse, did wickedly. While there was a “remnant of Israel according to the election of grace,” “the rest were blinded,”† “to fill up their sins alway.”‡ But we need not repeat the accounts of the wickedness of that generation of the unbelieving Jews, which we have received from Christ

* 1st Corinthians vi. 11.        † Romans xi. 5—7.
† 1st Thessalonians ii. 16.
himself, from John the Baptist and Paul, and from their own historian, Josephus.

As these men were wicked, so also, at this time, none of them understood this prophecy of Daniel, and the other prophecies contained in the scripture of truth, which foretold the dispersion of their nation. Even down to the last stages of the siege of Jerusalem, they understood not these divine oracles; but they put faith in the false prophets, who, in fulfilment of Christ's prediction, appeared in great numbers, during the course of the war. Josephus informs us, that after Titus had taken the second wall of Jerusalem, and made preparation for assaulting the third, he made overtures to the besieged, promising them safety upon their surrender:—“in answer to which, the seditious cast reproaches upon Caesar himself, and upon his father also;” and said, “that this temple would be preserved by him who inhabited therein.”* In another place, the same historian, after having given a fearful description of the slaughter of the besieged, at the capture and burning of the temple, adds, “A false prophet was the occasion of these people's destruction, who had made a public proclamation in the city that very day, that God commanded them to get up upon the temple, and that they should receive miraculous signs of their deliverance. Now, there was then a great number of false prophets suborned by the tyrants to impose upon the people, who announced this to them, that they should wait for deliverance from God.”—“Thus were the miserable people persuaded by these deceivers, and such as belied God himself.”†

* Wars, v. 11. 2.  † Wars, vi. 5. 2—3.
"And they that cause to be wise shall understand."

We have already seen that the terms, *they that cause to be wise*, form a highly appropriate designation of the Apostles, and first teachers of Christianity. Christ himself had forewarned them of the approaching destruction of the city and temple, and plainly instructed them regarding the signs that should precede and accompany the calamitous war, and the final dispersion of the Jewish people. In doing this, he had, in express terms, referred them to this last vision and prophecy of Daniel, and taught them to understand it. Accordingly, when the signs appeared, they remembered his warning and fled from that "distress" and "wrath,"* which came upon the unbelieving and wicked people; so that, as has been already stated, not one Christian is known to have perished during the whole progress of the war. Thus closely, with respect to every predicted circumstance, concomitant with the setting up of the abomination of desolation, the taking away of the daily sacrifice, and the complete scattering abroad of the holy people, was this part of Daniel's prophecy fulfilled, in the commencement, progress, and conclusion of the great war, carried on by the Romans against the Jews, and ended by the former, under Titus, getting possession of, and destroying Jerusalem.

In the conclusion of our illustration of these last predictions, we present some additional considerations, which, in our view, compel us to reject any application of this last chapter of Daniel to the general resurrection, by their


\[\text{d d 2}\]
clearly directing us to apply the 11th verse of it to the siege and destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. The *taking away of the daily sacrifice* is four times predicted in the three last visions of Daniel,—once in the vision of the viii. chapter, (verse 11th)—once in that of the ix. chapter, (verse 27th)—and twice in the last vision, namely, in the 31st verse of the xi. chapter, and in the 11th verse of the xii. chapter. The most approved commentators have proved, in a highly satisfactory manner, that the predictions of *taking away the daily sacrifice*, in the viii. and ix. chapters, were fulfilled by its failure during the siege of Jerusalem by Titus; and, in fact, the circumstances predicted in both chapters, in conjunction with it—the destruction of the mighty and the holy people, in the viii. chapter (verse 24th)—and the destruction of the city and sanctuary in the ix. chapter (verse 26th), can be understood only of the destruction effected by the Romans. The prediction of *taking away the sacrifice*, in the 31st verse of the xi. chapter, has very different conditions accompanying it. In that passage, there is no prediction of any destruction. On the contrary, it is there predicted, that the sanctuary should be only polluted, not destroyed; and that, in the falls, the persecuted people should be holpen—that is delivered, or saved,—by the help of a few; and that refining, and making clean, and white, should follow. All this implies only a temporary ceasing of the daily sacrifice; and the whole conditions of the prediction were completely fulfilled, by the temporary suppression of it, which occurred during the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes; as we have already shewn. In the cases of these three several predictions, the soundest principles of interpretation direct us
to a fulfilment of the prophecies in a *literal suppression of the daily sacrifice*, on the altar, in the temple at Jerusalem. We cannot be permitted to interpret the prediction of the *taking away of the daily sacrifice*, in the 11th verse of the xii. chapter, as if the terms, there, had a different meaning from what they have elsewhere in the same Prophet; and, in one instance, in the same prophecy. We must interpret them, there also, as foreshewing a *literal suppression of the daily sacrifice*, on the altar, in the temple at Jerusalem. The accompanying conditions, there predicted,—which are the *setting up of the abomination of desolation*, and the *scattering abroad of the power of the holy people*,—indicate the special fulfilment in the siege and destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans; for on our Saviour's authority, we learn, that the former condition was then fulfilled;* and his prediction, that the Jews should then be led away captive into all nations,† and its clear historical fulfilment, prove, that the latter condition, also, was fulfilled at the same time.

There is one verse of this last vision of Daniel, which yet remains to be taken notice of. The man clothed in linen, having "made him understand what should befal his people in the latter days,"‡ addressed to Daniel himself a most gracious promise, and said, verse 13th: "And go thou thy way to the end, and thou shalt rest, and shalt stand in thy portion, at the end of the days."

There can be no doubt, that the terms of this verse have tended, with some other terms to be found in this twelfth

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‡ Daniel x. 14.
chapter, to lead commentators into the belief, that the whole of it applies to the general resurrection. We have seen that the other terms, which, no doubt, have more particularly had a tendency to that effect,—which are in the second verse, and express a wakening of those that sleep in the dust of the earth,—admit of another and a very important application; and were fulfilled, in close continuity, in respect of time, with the other events foretold in this vision, in that most memorable of all the events which have yet occurred in the world,—the promulgation of pardon, and reconciliation, and sanctification, and assurance of eternal life, by Jesus Christ, to those who will believe and obey him. All the other circumstances predicted in this chapter, down to this last verse, had, as we have seen, an equally clear fulfilment, in events that occurred in a like close and continuous order; so that the terms of the verse now stand alone, in seeming to point to the general resurrection, by the assurance to Daniel, that he should rest and stand in his portion, at the end of the days.

But it is only in our language that the terms seem to do so. In that, indeed, it appears implied, that Daniel should stand up, or rise, from a state of rest, at the end of the days. The original term, however, which is translated stand, does not imply any change from one condition, or position, to another. It has not the sense, to rise up. Pike translates it, to stand, to stand still; and Parkhurst, to continue, to subsist, be sustained or supported, in the same condition, whether of rest or motion, to stand, stand still, stay, remain; and produces various examples of its use in these senses; for which we refer to him.
The promise made to Daniel, then, was, that his lot, or portion, should continue sure to him, notwithstanding the great calamities that should overtake his people. It was an assurance that the calamities should not affect him. He already possessed information, that gave him the knowledge of what his ultimate portion would be. In the vision of the seventy weeks, he had been pronounced, by Gabriel, to be greatly beloved;* and the man clothed in linen, who delivered to him the prophecy of this last vision, had twice declared him to be a man greatly beloved;† and had said to him, "fear not, peace be unto thee."‡ He knew, that peace is the end of the upright man,§ whose inheritance, or portion, is for ever.|| He had been overwhelmed with grief, even to fainting and sickness, upon the first announcement to him of the destruction of the holy people, in the vision of the eighth chapter;¶ and to console him under the contemplation of the afflicting end of that people, still more circumstantially revealed to him, in this his last vision, the merciful assurance was given to himself, which is contained in the thirteenth verse,—that his own lot or portion would remain to him, unaffected by the wrath which was to overtake others. He had been carried captive into a strange land in his early years;** and possessed no lot with his own people, in the earthly land of their inheritance; yet he manifested the deepest interest in their well-being, and adhered with signal fidelity to their divine faith, and institutions, and laws, in the midst of the luxurious and idolatrous courts,

* Daniel ix. 23.  † Daniel x. 11 and 19.  ‡ Daniel x. 19.  § Psalm xxxvii. 37.  ¶ Ibid. verse 18.  ¶¶ Daniel viii. 27.  ** Daniel i. 3, 6.
in which he was conversant, and under the fearful trials he sometimes underwent there; and this assurance, given him in his old age, would enable him, with the excellent forefathers of his people, to die in the faith—that his portion would be in a better and heavenly country.*

In the conclusion of these illustrations, we will now proceed to shew, how all this, which was predicted to Daniel by the man clothed in linen, agrees with the things which were already "noted in the scripture of truth."† This part of our subject would admit of a lengthened illustration; but we will confine our attention to a few of the more striking points in it. Our observations on these will tend, in a high degree, to confirm the justness of the whole view we have taken of the latter part of the prophecy, and its fulfilment.

The man clothed in linen said to Daniel, "Now I am come to make thee understand what shall befal thy people in the latter days."‡ The term, here translated latter, is that which, in many other passages of Scripture, requires to be translated latter end; as we have already instanced in Job xlii. 12, where its meaning cannot be misunderstood. It is the term used by Daniel, in his question, in the eighth verse of the twelfth chapter, "what shall be the latter end of these things?" Both the man clothed in linen and Daniel would seem, in using this term, to have referred to that passage in the last Song of Moses, in which the calamities of the Jewish nation,—inflicted by the Roman armies,—and their final dispersion, are so

* Hebrews xi. 13, 16.  † Daniel x. 21.
‡ Daniel x. 14.
obviously foretold.* Moses uses the term both in the beginning of the passage, and at its conclusion:—"When the Lord saw it," (that is, their impiety and forgetfulness of him,) "he abhorred them, because of the provoking of his sons and of his daughters. And he said, I will hide my face from them, I will see what their end shall be."† The term here translated end, in the words of Moses, is, in the original, the one referred to; and he employs it again in the earnest prayer for the well-being of his people, with which, in the succeeding 29th verse, he closes up the prediction of their calamities:—"Oh! that they were wise, that they understood this; that they would consider their latter end!"

Moses, in some of his terms, in this prediction, characterises the generation, whose calamities he foretells, in accordance with the character given of it by Daniel:—"They are a very froward generation, children in whom is no faith."‡ "They are a nation void of counsel, neither is there any understanding in them."§ How closely does this agree in sense with the predictions of Daniel, "The wicked shall do wickedly, and none of the wicked shall understand?" The calamities, foretold by Moses, in this passage, also well agree with the unexampled trouble predicted by Daniel, and with the destruction of the holy people, and of the city and sanctuary, by hostile armies. "The sword without," says Moses, "and terror within, shall destroy both the young man and the virgin, the suckling also, and the man of

* Deuteronomy xxxii. 19—29. † Deut. xxxii. 19, 20.
‡ Deut. xxxii. 20. § Deut. xxxii. 28.
gray hairs."* The dispersion, also, is here foretold by him, in terms as descriptive of its completeness, as those of Daniel:—"I said, I would scatter them into corners, I would make the remembrance of them to cease from among men; Were it not that I feared the wrath of the enemy, lest their adversaries should behave themselves strangely, and lest they should say, Our high hand, and not the Lord, hath done this."† In the long prediction of Moses, in the twenty-eighth chapter of Deuteronomy, of the future calamities that should befall the Israelites on account of their sins,—and which, all have agreed, refers chiefly to the final calamities, inflicted on them by the Roman armies, as it concludes with saying, they should be brought into Egypt again in ships, which occurred to the prisoners taken by Titus,—the dispersion is also predicted, and the same term employed to express it that is used by Daniel: "The Lord shall scatter thee among all people, from the one end of the earth even unto the other"—(verse 64.) In the same chapter, also, there is another prediction, which, we believe, cannot be shewn to have been literally fulfilled, but in the instance of Herod the Great, and his family. It is in the 43d and 44th verses:—"The stranger that is within thee shall get up above thee very high; and thou shalt come down very low. He shall lend to thee, and thou shalt not lend to him: He shall be the head, and thou shalt be the tail." Herod, a descendant of the Idumeans, whose fathers, in the terms of Daniel, "knew not God," was a stranger within

* Deut. xxxii. 25. † Deut. xxxii. 26, 27, marginal reading.
the Jewish community, outwardly professing their religion, and enjoying the privileges of their nation. His father, Antipater, was very rich.* He himself became their sovereign head, and drew into his treasuries all their wealth; so that, upon occasion of a famine in the land, they had no means of making provision against the calamity, but by the money he advanced to them, for that purpose.† As Herod got up above them very high, so they came down very low; for as his elevation was obtained by the favour of the Romans, that artful people secured, through him, such an influence over Judea, that, soon after his death, they were enabled quietly to reduce it to the form of a province.‡

It would be only to repeat what is already ably demonstrated by many writers, and is fully known and acknowledged, were we to shew, in detail, that the Scripture of truth contains predictions of other infinitely more important events, predicted also in the last vision of Daniel—the advent of Christ—the deliverance he wrought for mankind—the divine knowledge he communicated—his addressing himself first to the Jews—and the calling of the Gentiles. Besides, this branch of the subject is, in particular, infinitely too extensive and important, to admit of a suitable detail, in this short essay; and we refrain from entering into it at large. But there is another signal prophecy of Moses, so remarkably agreeing, in its tenor, with the first verses of Daniel's twelfth chapter, as now interpreted, that we will refer very briefly to the agree-

* Josephus' Antiq. xiv. 1, 3. † Josephus' Antiq. xv. 9. ‡ Josephus' Wars, ii. 8.
ments. It is the prophecy in the eighteenth chapter of Deuteronomy, in the eighteenth and nineteenth verses; which is quoted by both the Apostle Peter, and Stephen, as a prediction of Christ.* "I will raise them up a Prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee, and will put my words in his mouth; and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him. And it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto my words, which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him." We perceive at once,—that the "Prophet, raised up among their brethren," corresponds with "Michael the great Prince, who standeth for the children of Daniel's people;"—that the threatening, "whosoever will not hearken unto my words, which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him," agrees with the prediction of "a time of trouble;"—and that the announcement, "I will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him," agrees with the predictions, in Daniel, of great light, and increase of knowledge.

In another Section, we will briefly present, by themselves, some interesting results, arising from the whole tenor of these illustrations.

* Acts iii. 22; and vii. 37.
SECTION VI.

Contents.—Great number of close agreements, between the latter part of the prophecy and a continuous train of events recorded in history.—Tabular view of the agreements.—They are too numerous to be the results of chance.—The explanation of Porphyry, and other adversaries of the Christian Faith, inadmissible here; for Christians and Jews could not have combined to add this part to Daniel, after the events took place.—The prophecy thus conclusively proves itself to be a revelation of God.

It will be readily allowed, that a very high presumption in favour of the justness of the foregoing illustrations, arises out of the circumstance, that all the events, which we have indicated, as forming the fulfilment of the latter part of Daniel’s last vision, run on, in succession to each other, in the known continuous order of history. In that order, the successive events agree with the successive terms of the prophecy most closely,—and so uniformly and consistently, that there is not one predictive clause in the prophecy, to which we have not found some important event, or circumstance, very accurately corresponding. The number of the agreements is great, even regarding the limited part of the prophecy which it has been our business to illustrate.* On that circumstance there

* The agreements, between the predictions, in the former part of this prophecy, and a regularly successive train of signal events and circumstances in history, are about as numerous as the like agreements, relating to this latter part of it; as may be perceived, on reckoning them up, as illustrated in Bishop Newton’s xvi. Dissertation.
depends a result of importance, to which we would now direct attention; but as the greatness of the number is not very readily estimated, with accuracy, on reading over the illustrations in detail, we will first, to exhibit it in a clear view, present the terms of Daniel, and the events by which the prophecy was fulfilled, in a tabular form—marking them in succession, by corresponding numbers:—

**Daniel xi. 31.**

1. And arms, from him, shall stand,

2. and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength,

3. and they shall cause the daily sacrifice to be taken away,

4. and they shall place the abomination that maketh desolate.

5. And such as do wickedly in the covenant shall he cause to pollute, by flatteries;

6. and the people that do know their God shall be strong, and do exploits.

7. And they that cause to be wise of the people shall instruct many;

**Fulfilment.**

1. Antiochus Epiphanes sent into Judea, under his chief collector of taxes, a military force, which succeeded in getting possession of Jerusalem, and the whole country,

2. and offered sacrifices on the idol altar, which was upon the altar of God,

3. and, by command of Antiochus, suppressed the Jewish sacrifices,

4. and established a heathen garrison in the city of David.

5. Antiochus, by his promises and favours, seduced many Jews, to join in heathen rites;

6. but part of the priests and people, especially the family of the Maccabees, resisted his influence and authority, and performed great achievements in defence of their revealed religion.

7. And Mattathias, a priest, and other legal teachers of the Jewish people, by their animating exhortations, and courageous example, encouraged many to be faithful to the law of God;
DANIEL XI.

8. and they shall fall by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil, for days.

9. And in the falls, they shall be holpen,

10. by the help of a few;

11. and many shall cleave to them with flatteries.

12. And some of them that cause to be wise shall fall,

13. to refine by them, and to make clean, and to make white,

14. till the time of the end;

15. for this shall continue to an appointed time.

16. And the king

FULFILMENT.

8. and during the struggle in defence of their faith, many of the Jews fell, and suffered by all the calamities of war, for several years.

9. The Jews at length effected their religious liberty, and restored the Mosaic law and ritual,

10. through the exertions of the small armies of the Maccabees;

11. and then the contending kings of Syria, the king of Egypt, and the more distant Romans, made hollow and flattering treaties with them.

12. And some of the Maccabees, and of the Asmoncean family their descendants, who possessed the high priesthood and sovereignty, in one person, fell by violence, or were denuded of their authority;

13. but by their influence and example the purity of the Jewish worship was restored;

14. although some of them continued to fall by violence, or to be deposed, till the end of their sovereignty;

15. for that sovereignty was at length finally cut off, by the extinction of the male descendants of the family.

16. At the time of the end of that family, Herod the Great became The King of the Jews, independently of the priestly authority;
DANIEL XI.

17. shall do according to his will;

18. and he shall exalt and magnify himself above every God,

19. and shall speak marvellous things concerning the God of gods,

20. and shall flourish till wrath is complete; for a short work shall be done.

21. And to the god of his fathers he shall have no regard,

22. and to conjugal affection, and to every God he shall have no regard; for he shall magnify himself above all.

23. And, for his establishment,

24. he shall honour fortresses to God:

25. and to God, whom his fathers knew not,

26. he shall honour them with gold, and with silver, and with costly stones, and with precious things.

27. And he shall do like things in walled fortresses,

FULFILMENT.

17. for he obtained the kingly power by military conquest, and was a most arbitrary and cruel tyrant,

18. and as impious as cruel;

19. yet, to flatter the Jews, he could speak reverently of the God of heaven;

20. and his reign continued down to the time of that wicked generation, which rejected the Saviour.

21. His fathers were Idumeans, and he did not worship their god.

22. He put to death his beloved wife Mariamne, and all her kindred of the family of the Asmoneans—the high priests, and former sovereigns.

23. Although exceedingly impious, yet, for his security on the throne,

24. he rebuilt the temple of God at Jerusalem, converting it into a fortress, which he held with a garrison, to overawe the Jews in the midst of their religious services;

25. and thus to God, whom his fathers, being Idumeans, knew not,

26. he built a temple, with stones more large and costly than those in Solomon's temple, and adorned it in the richest manner.

27. And such was his great impiety, that while he did this, he, at the same time, built many walled cities, in honour of Augustus Cæsar,
DANIEL XI.

28. with a strange god,

29. whom he shall acknowledge and increase with glory;
30. and he shall cause them to have power in multitudes,

31. and shall parcel out the land in hire.

32. (And in the time of the end,

33. a king of the south shall push

34. with him;

35. and a king of the north shall come upon him like a whirlwind,
36. with chariots, and with horsemen,

37. and with many ships,

38. and he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow and pass over.

39. And he shall enter into the glorious land,

FULFILMENT.

28. and in them reared like magnificent temples, dedicated to the Emperor as a divinity,

29. whom he addressed by every impious form of flattery;

30. and, for his own additional security, he filled these fortresses with numerous garrisons of his old soldiers,

31. whom he rewarded, by dividing among them the neighbouring lands.

32. During the reign of Herod, and in time of the end of the Graeco-Egyptian kingdom,

33. Cleopatra and Mark Antony made war upon Augustus Cæsar, commanding for the Senate of Rome;

34. Herod, at first, aiding Cleopatra and Antony;

35. and Augustus made a rapid conquest of his enemies,

36. fighting some actions with cavalry, although none with infantry,

37. gaining the decisive naval victory of Actium,

38. and, in less than a year after that victory, overrunning that part of the Roman republic eastward of the Adriatic Gulph, in Europe and Asia, and also Cyrenaica, in Africa.

39. Augustus, both going to, and returning from, Egypt, passed with his army through Judea;

v f
40. and many countries shall be overthrown;

41. and these shall escape out of his hand, Edom, and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon.

42. And he shall stretch forth his hand upon the countries, and the land of Egypt shall not escape.
43. And he shall have power over the treasures of the gold, and silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt;

44. and the Libyans,

45. and Ethiopians, shall be at his steps.)
46. And tidings out of the east

47. and out of the north shall trouble him;

FULFILMENT.

40. and he speedily got possession of all the kingdoms tributary to the Roman republic;
41. but he did not enter into the countries of the mingled people of Arabia; and the expedition, he afterwards sent, under Αἰλίας Gallus, to subdue them, utterly failed.
42. He, however, reduced Egypt, and its dependencies, to the form of a Roman province;
43. and got possession of all the accumulated treasures of the family of the Lagides; although Cleopatra once mediated carrying them away in a fleet by the Red Sea, and afterwards burning them with herself.
44. The possession of Cyrenaica and Egypt opened the way for the arms of Augustus into Inner Libya, and Ethiopia, which he took advantage of to subdue the Garamantes,—a Libyan nation,
45. and Candace,—the queen of Ethiopia.
46. Herod and all Jerusalem with him were troubled by the tidings of the wise men from the east;
47. and, about the same time, Herod himself was troubled by accounts, from Rome, of the conspiracy of his son Antipater against him, and of the undutiful behaviour of two others of his sons.
DANIEL XI.

48. and he shall go forth, with great fury,

49. to destroy, and utterly to make away many.

50. And he shall plant his royal dwelling-places between the seas, in the glorious holy mountain;

51. and he shall come to his end, and none shall help him.

FULFILMENT.

48. When he saw that he was mocked of the wise men, he was exceeding wroth,

49. and sent forth, and slew all the children that were in Bethlehem, and in all the coasts thereof. In fits of fury, also, he slew his own son Antipater, and burnt alive forty Jews; and he left the inhuman order, with his sister Salome and her husband, to put all the principal men of Judea to death, as soon as he expired.

50. The wise men from the east, according to Matthew, found Herod at Jerusalem, where he had built two splendid palaces, one of them overawing the temple, and communicating with it by a subterraneous passage.

51. Herod soon after died, having, in vain, had recourse to a multitude of remedies, to mitigate his painful and loathsome disease.

DANIEL XII. 1.

52. And at that time Michael shall stand,

53. the great Prince, who standeth for the children of thy people;

54. and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was...
since there was a nation, to that
time;

55. and at that time thy people
shall be delivered, all found writ-
ten in the book.

56. And many that sleep in the
dust of the earth shall awake,
some to everlasting life,

57. and some to everlasting
shame and contempt.

58. And they that cause to be
wise shall shine as the brightness
of the firmament;

59. and they that cause many
to be righteous,
60. as the stars for ever and
ever.

FULFILMENT.

rejected and crucified him, the
nation was overwhelmed with un-
exampld calamities, which Jesus
himself predicted, in terms similar
to those of Daniel, in this clause;

55. but the "remnant, accord-
ing to the election of grace,"
who believed in him, were saved
from their sins, and also from the
temporal calamities, which befell
their unbelieving countrymen.

56. And many that were dead
in trespasses and sins awoke, at
the preaching of Christ, to the
joyful hope of pardon, and sanc-
tification, and a blessed resurrec-
tion from the dead, through his
merits, and atonement, and inter-
cession, and to newness of life;

57. and others, who awoke to
see the light, which he brought
into the world, either "shut their
eyes against the light, because
their deeds were evil," or refused
to acknowledge him, for fear of
the Jewish rulers.

58. The Apostles of Christ,
instructed by himself, and en-
lightened by the Holy Ghost,
became the great lights of the
moral world, as the luminaries of
the firmament are of the natural,

59. and converted many to
righteousness,

60. and still continue, and will
continue, to do so, by their writ-
ings, which make clear to sinful
and perishing men, the path to
immortality.
61. And thou, Daniel, shut up the words, and seal the book, to the time of the end;

62. many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.

And I, Daniel, looked, and, behold, there stood other two, one on one bank of the river, and one on the other bank of the river.

63. And said to the man clothed in linen, who was upon the waters of the river, How long shall be the end of these wonders?

And I heard the man clothed in linen, who was upon the waters of the river, and he held up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and sware by him that liveth for ever, that it shall be for a time, times, and a part;

64. and when, in the finishing, the power of the holy people is scattered abroad, all these things shall be finished.

And I heard, and I understood not: and I said, O my Lord, what shall be the latter end of these things?

61. This part of the last prophecy of Daniel, as is clear from the remarks of the Apostles regarding the temple, was not understood, till Christ explained it to them, near the time of its full accomplishment;

62. but, before that full accomplishment, the Apostles, and first Christian teachers, went into all the world, and preached the gospel to every creature; thus spreading heavenly knowledge everywhere.

(This verse is merely descriptive of the outward appearances of the vision, and contains no prediction.)

63. The great war, carried on by the Romans against the Jewish nation, which ended in the final overthrow of the latter, lasted three years and a part of a fourth year;

64. at the end of which time, the Jews were "led away captive into all nations," and have ever since remained dispersed.
And he said, Go thy way, Daniel; for the words are shut up and sealed to the time of the end.

65. Many shall be made clean, and shall be made white, and shall be refined;

66. and the wicked shall do wickedly;

67. and none of the wicked shall understand,

68. and they that cause to be wise shall understand.

69. And from the time the daily sacrifice is caused to be taken away, and to the setting up the abomination of desolation, a thousand two hundred and ninety days.

70. He is blessed, that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days.

(FULFILMENT.

(This is a repetition of the prediction in the 4th verse.)

65. The Christian converts were washed, and sanctified, and justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the spirit of our God,” 1st Cor. vi. 11.—The sincerity of their faith, also, underwent a severe trial, during the hardships and temptations of the war.

66. And the unbelieving Jews filled up their sins alway;” (1st Thess. ii. 16.)

67. and none of them understood this prophecy, or the other prophecies regarding the destruction of their city, even down to the end of the siege.

68. But the Apostles, and first Christians, understood this prophecy, having had it especially explained to them by Christ.

69. Between the time when Cestius Gallus attacked Jerusalem with his army, when the war became national, and the time when the daily sacrifice ceased, there intervened forty-three complete months. (See the foregoing illustrations.)

70. About a month and a half after the ceasing of the daily sacrifice, Titus took the last resisting part of Jerusalem.— (See the foregoing illustrations.) Immediately, on getting com-
And go thou thy way to the end, and thou shalt rest, and shalt stand in thy portion, at the end of the days.

The Mathematician, who demands the most rigorous proof of the truths of his peculiar science, will readily allow,—for he can demonstrate on the sure principles of that science,—that these signal agreements, between the prophecy and the history, are too numerous to be the results of chance; and with respect to this passage of the prophecy, there is no room for the infidel explanation of Porphyry. That ancient adversary of the Christian Faith perceived the agreements, between the terms of this prophecy and the events recorded in history, down to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, to be so remarkable, that he could not evade the force of the argument, arising from the circumstance, for the divine inspiration of the prophecy, but by the assertion, that it was written after the events, by some person who lived about the time of...
Epiphanes. The assertion, as far as it went, was at utter variance with the most clear and authentic evidence, both internal and external, that all the prophecies of Daniel were written, as they profess to be, during the reigns of the Babylonian and first Persian kings. But we have found agreements equally remarkable, between the latter part of this prophecy and events which occurred, during the reign of Herod the Great,—during the times of Christ and his Apostles,—and during the war which ended in the final dispersion of the Jews. No one will hazard the assertion, that both the Jews and the Christians combined to add this latter part to the prophecy of Daniel, after the occurrence of these events. Not a shadow of suspicion, on any ground whatever, can by possibility exist, that it did not form a part of the Hebrew Scriptures, antecedently to that occurrence; and as the agreements, between it and the history,—authentic, also, above suspicion,—are too close and numerous to be the results of chance, the proof arising from them is conclusive,—That the prophecy is a revelation of God, who "hath determined the times before appointed,"† and to whom alone "are known all his works from the beginning."‡

Such is the result at which we arrive, from the examination of a few verses of the Holy Scriptures. But there is, in them, a vast profusion of other important prophecies, which have been as accurately and circumstantially fulfilled, or are actually in the course of being so fulfilled before our eyes, as the one to which we have now

* See Bishop Newton—Dissert. xiii.
‡ Acts xv. 18.
directed our attention; and God has been pleased to give, in the richest abundance, every other form of proof, which the case admits of, that these writings are all dictated by his spirit. We have full evidence, then, that the Almighty Creator has communicated with us, and instructed us regarding his own nature and will, and our origin, and duty, and destiny, through the medium of language,—his own gift,—by means of which we acquire all knowledge. That he would beneficently condescend to do this, a due reflection on his wisdom and goodness, so abundantly poured out over the whole creation, would lead us to anticipate; and our anticipations have been most graciously and amply realized, to the utmost extent of our most earnest desires. The Holy Scriptures convey to us that knowledge, which it is worthy of God to reveal, and most deeply important and interesting to us to acquire. In them we every where hear the voice of a wise, merciful, and loving Father,—instructing and reclaiming his ignorant and erring children,—directing them to the loftiest views,—inspiring them with the noblest purposes,—and freely offering them the richest blessings. The Book, that speaks to us, in this manner, from God, is our dearest possession. With what diligence, and attention, and fervent prayer for the enlightening power of his spirit, ought we to study it, and teach it all to our children? and how solicitous ought we to be, not only to learn, but also to obey?

We cannot refrain from adding, in conclusion, a few remarks on the people, whose sad dispersion forms the concluding subject of the prophecy we have examined, in reference to the lessons their history teaches us, and
our duty towards their descendants. Their rejection and crucifixion of the Son of God called down, upon that generation, a series of calamities, more fearful than were ever inflicted on any other nation; and their descendants yet remain disunited, broken, "scattered into corners," where they have been often treated with the utmost indignity and cruelty. While we look at their punishment, let us fear, and avoid their offences. Let us exterminate, from our own hearts, the meanness of ambition, the baseness of avarice, the selfishness of the desire of popular applause, the vileness of spiritual pride.—These were the worldly and unhallowed passions, that, actuating their hearts, and the hearts of their rulers, blinded their understandings, and led them to contemn and reject their long promised Saviour, on account of the lowliness of his outward condition; although he presented himself with proofs of his Divine authority, sufficient to convince every unprejudiced mind.

While we reflect, that God, to whom alone vengeance belongeth, saw fit to punish, for their unbelief, those, who, for many generations, were his own peculiarly chosen and favoured people, let us not forget, that he employed, as the instruments for inflicting his judgments, an ambitious, tyrannical, and cruel nation, with whose counsels and conduct, Christians can have no fellowship or sympathy. Our Divine Teacher has taught us, by his own example, that our feelings and conduct, towards his countrymen, ought to be those of compassion and charity. He wept over their city,—expressing for them all the deep fervour of a parental tenderness, and lamenting that their house was to be left to them desolate. His last injunction
to his followers was, to go and teach all nations; and he promised to bless their exertions in the work, by being with them always to the end of the world. It is our duty to obey, in the humble, but stedfast, confidence, that the blessing will follow. There is no nation towards whom we are urged to the performance of the duty, by more affecting considerations, than the nation whose fathers formed, for ages, the Church of God, and which was chosen and separated from other nations, for the most wise and beneficent ends—for preserving the Archives of the human race—the Records of God’s earlier revelations—and the Prophetic Evidences of his last perfected revelation. They have been for a time cast away; but we know that they shall be again received.† Their “sanctuary and their host have been long trodden under foot;”‡ but we know that their “sanctuary shall be cleansed,”§—and that “all Israel shall be saved;”|| and who can tell whether the time for this may not be speedily approaching? The knowledge of that time is indeed, as yet, shut up; but not so is the rule of our duty. That plainly directs us to employ all prudent means, and fair arguments, (among which, those derived from their own prophecies cannot but be deeply interesting to them, and were in fact those most frequently employed by the Apostles of Christ,) to bring them into the fold of the true Shepherd. To rouse our exertions in such a labour of charity, we have the assurance, that the conversion of the Jews will be the signal and the cause of the extension

* Romans xi. 15. † Daniel viii. 13. ‡ Daniel viii. 14.
of the Christian Faith, and of the prevalence of its power, among all nations;—for the Apostle Paul instructs us, that if the fall of them be the riches of the world, and the diminishing of them the riches of the Gentiles, much more will their fulness be.*

* Romans xi. 12.

ERRATA.

Page 33, line 4, for nor read or.
,, 35, ,, 3, for nouns read noun.
,, 41, ,, 22, for and which read which.
,, 57, ,, 20, for singular read signal.
,, 98, ,, 13, for against read upon.
,, 176, ,, 21, insert ? after life.
,, 188, ,, 16, for in itself predicted read predicted in itself.
,, 193, ,, 8, insert own after his.

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